

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

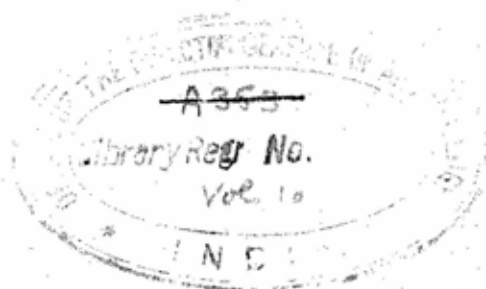
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

**CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
LIBRARY**

---

CALL No. 891.0959105/J.BRS.  
25/78

D.G.A. 79.



~~A353~~



# THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY

(FOUNDED 1910)

*For the Investigation and Encouragement of Arts, Science and Literature in  
relation to Burma and neighbouring Countries.*

## PATRON.

HIS HONOUR SIR REGINALD CRADDOCK, K. C. S. I., I. C. S.

## COUNCIL.

### *President.*

M. HUNTER, ESQ., M. A., C. I. E.\*

### *Vice-Presidents.*

J. T. BEST, ESQ., M. A.\*

J. S. FURNIVALL, ESQ., I. C. S.

U HPAY, A. T. M., K. S. M.

### *Honorary Secretary and Treasurer.*

PROFESSOR G. H. LUCE, B. A.\*

### *Honorary Editor.*

PROFESSOR MAUNG TIN, M. A.\*

### *Members of the Committee.*

REV. D. C. GILMORE, M.A.

J. A. STEWART, ESQ., M. A., I. C. S.

TAW SEIN KO, ESQ., C. I. E.

CHAS. DUROISELLE, ESQ.

PROF. W. G. FRASER, M. A.\*

J. J. NOLAN, ESQ.

PROF. G. R. T. ROSS, M.A., D. Phil.

THE HON'BLE MR. C. M. WEBB,  
I.C.S.

BISHOP CARDOT.

U KYAW DUN, K.S.M.

A. RODGER, ESQ.

U MAY OUNG, M. A., LL. B.,  
*Bar.-at-Law.\**

THE HON. MR. JUSTICE MAUNG KIN,  
*Bar.-at-Law.*

G. E. HARVEY, ESQ., I. C. S.

A. P. MORRIS, ESQ., B.Sc.,  
A.M. Inst. C.E.

THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD  
BISHOP OF RANGOON.

REV. J. A. DRYSDALE, M.A.  
U PO BYU.

A. KHALAK, ESQ.

U SHWE ZAN AUNG, B.A.

L. AH YAIN, ESQ., *Bar.-at-Law.*

L. F. TAYLOR, ESQ.

PROF. K. M. WARD, B. A.

\* Members of the Sub-Committee.

891.0957/05

J. B. R. S.

25178



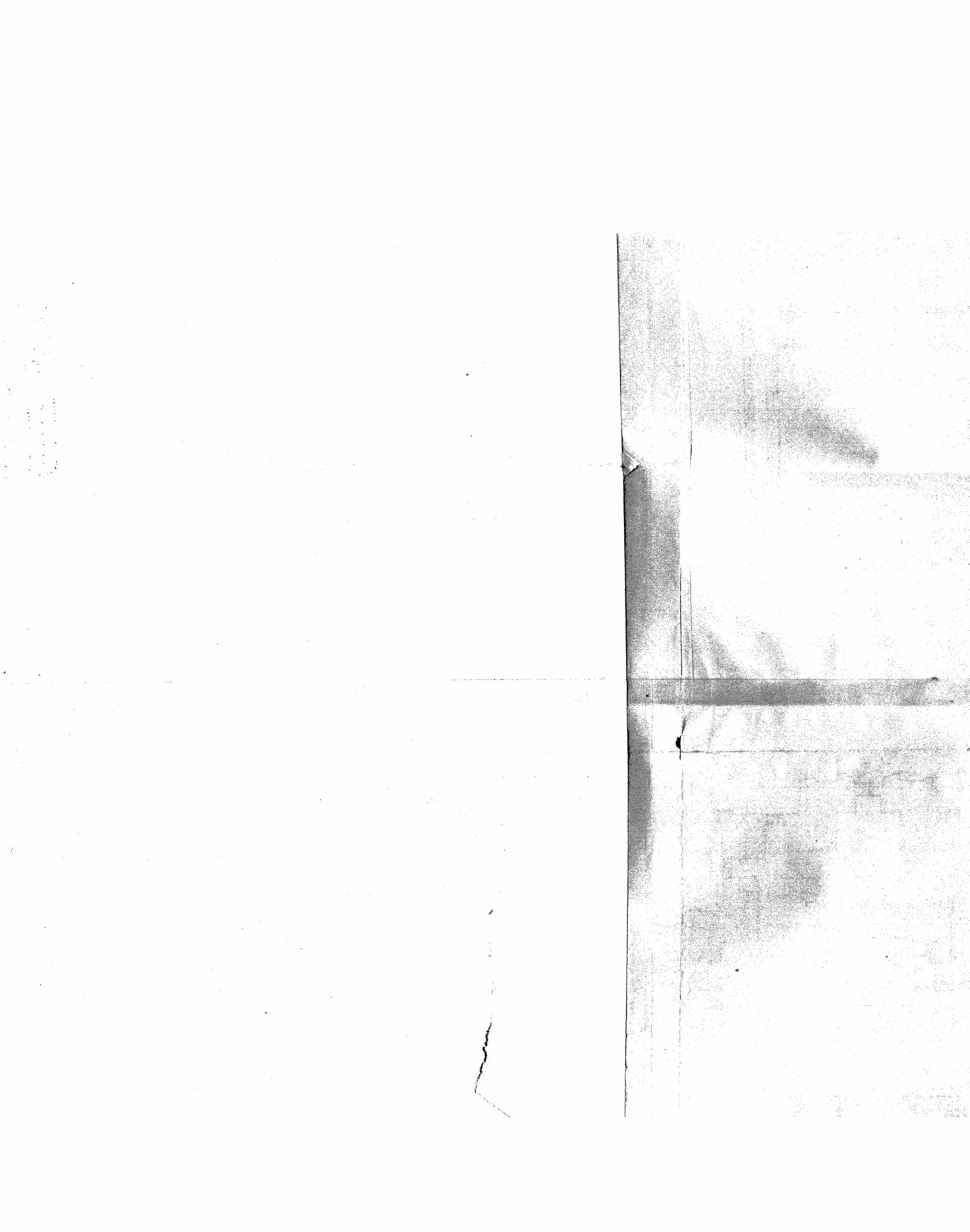
CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
LIBRARY, NEW DELHI.

Acc. No. .... 25178 .....

Date ..... 16.1.51 .....

Call No. ~~89105~~ / B.R.S.2

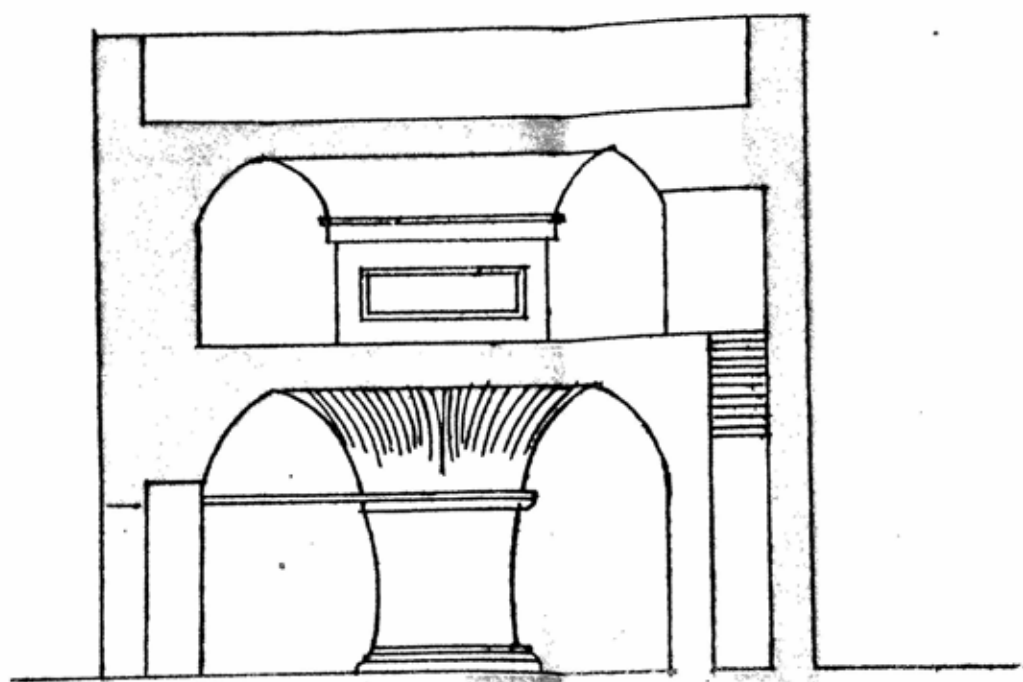
891.0959105 / J.B.R.S



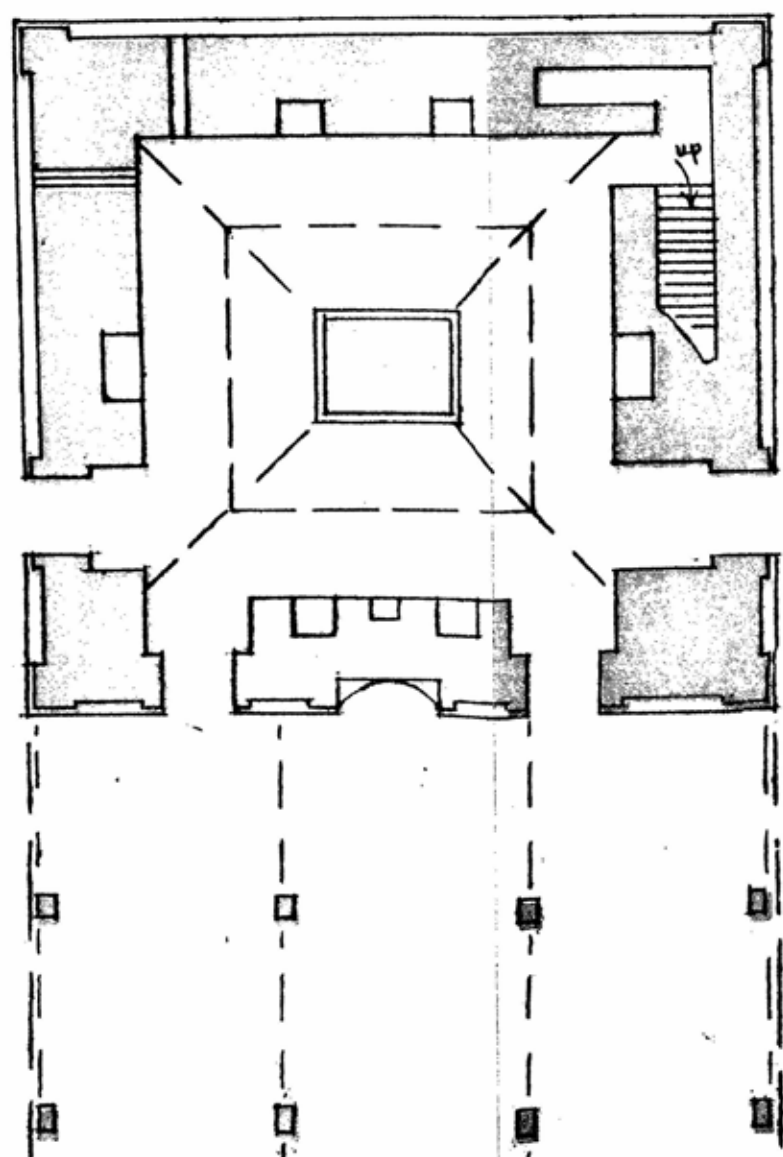
# Monastery West of Nyaungu- Minnanhu Road

Scale:

Feet 5 10 15 20 Feet.



Section.



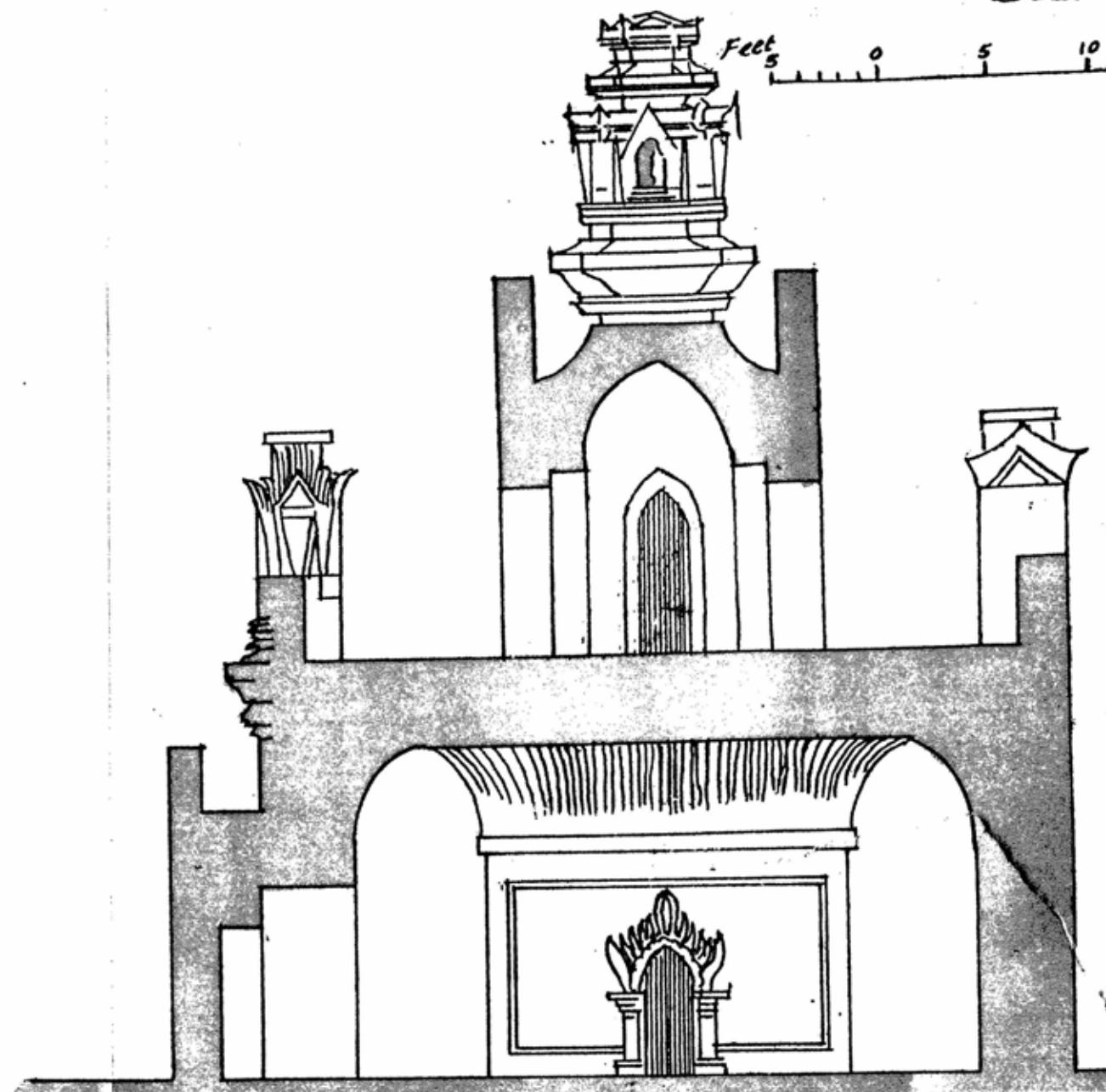
GROVND PLAN

PLATE 1.

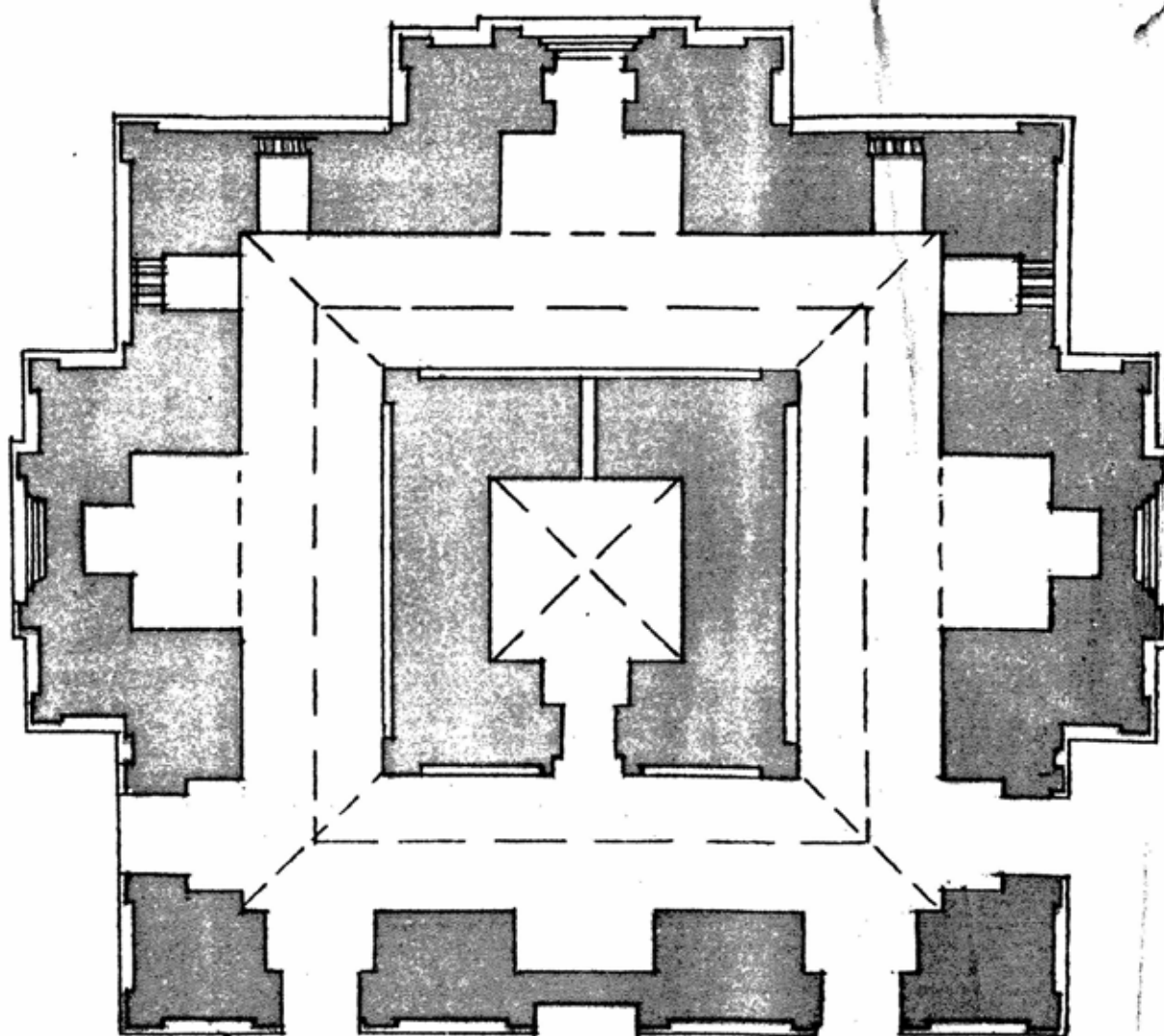
# Monastery at Dayinpat

Scale:

Feet 5 10 15



SECTION



GROVND PLAN

PLATE 2

## THE MONASTERIES OF PAGAN.\*

Burmese Art and Architecture have been smothered for years by a cloud of indifference and unconsciousness on the part of the British and Burmese public and officials. Through the initial action of Lord Curzon, a good deal has been done to safeguard these objects, but nothing has been done since Sir Henry Yule wrote his "Mission to the Court of Ava" in 1855, to dispel the public ignorance that exists as to the nature, the intellectual and artistic value of Burmese buildings.

So much has this spirit of "What, can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" been prevalent, that very few people are aware of the existence of a wonderful series of Burmese semi-religious buildings contemporaneous in date with the Great Temples of the 11th and 12th centuries.

I refer to the monasteries large and small, simple and complex, that are grouped in large numbers in and around Pagan. These monasteries are in themselves quite a complete study and reveal much that is not disclosed by the study of the Temples alone. The free manner in which the plan and arrangements were varied, according to the special needs of each case, is most marked, and shows that the Burmese were not slavish copyists of accepted forms and features, where the religious rules permitted freedom. In addition to this versatile spirit, the mastery of considerable architectural problems is revealed in the magnificent scale of the larger monasteries, which is quite startling to the average person who believes that the priest or *phongyi* never lived in anything better than a ruined wooden *kyaung*.

An average example of one of these monasteries would approximate to the size of the Keep to a Norman Castle, the Burmese buildings having large vaulted halls and passages two storeys in height, reached by staircases arranged in the thickness of the walls. The whole was finished with plaster enrichments, terra-cotta enamels and frescoes, all of which seem to have been of a higher artistic excellence than much of what was attempted by the Normans. The Burmese carried out massive vaulting on the

lower and upper floor levels without difficulty and disposed of the great thrusts of vaults which provided difficult problems for the Gothic builders. The arch in all its forms, circular, pointed and flat was well known and constantly used, while in India the arch at this period was unknown and only the circular arch was in use in Europe. The exterior treatment was refined, well balanced, and worthy to take a distinguished place among the achievements of the past. Thus it appears that the affluence of that Burmese period was doubtless much in advance of any culture the East then knew or that has since been known in Burma. All this we shall see portrayed even in the dwellings of such renowned ascetics as the Buddhist Monk. Of the many types of these monasteries, there are clearly defined groups showing distinct stages of development, and I propose to describe these now in sequence.

Plate 1. This is the simplest and most elementary form. A square building containing one apartment downstairs and one upstairs, and vaulted with plain pointed vaults springing from one central pier. This pier contained a small cell on the first floor. Attached to the entrance front or main facade was a large square platform covered by a triple gable wood roof, and supported by rows of wood posts. This external feature is confirmed in several instances by the remains left of the lines of the roof on the wall, and the stone sockets for the upright posts carrying the roof which yet remain on the platform. The main shrine in this type of monastery was outside the building in this open porch, and formed the central feature of this facade in an elliptical recess on the central axis, with a door on each side leading to the building, the three features being enriched with small pilasters and flame pediments. In the later types the shrine or image is placed inside the monastery. In general effect these buildings were well handled. Two of these monasteries were grouped together about 50 feet apart and enclosed with the usual bold fence wall. The main walls were battered, i.e., sloped inwards, and finished with a main cornice, angle pilasters and strongly marked plinth; all these

\* Delivered at an Ordinary Meeting at Rangoon College on 6th February, 1920.



features are well proportioned and divide the main masses in excellent taste. The narrow and tall nature of the building is accentuated and made a pleasing profile by the tapering effect produced by the batter of the walls.

**Stone Enrichments:** Stone is employed to some degree. The angle enrichments to the cornices, the gargoyles and quatrefoil windows to the upper floor are executed in stone. The latter feature shows how well acquainted the Burmese were in handling this material.

**Plate 2.** The next type found at Dayinpato was a larger edition of the foregoing, but with many more exterior embellishments, so that, without consulting the plan, the relation to the first type would not be so clear. The main differences of plan are the addition of a central cell and three large bays or recesses on the axis of three walls. The latter was turned to great account as an architectural feature of the elevation, and ranks with anything produced in the Renaissance period for the restraint, the balance of parts and general scholarly treatment. There are no first floor rooms but it is crowned by a central tower with a turret of bold and pleasing Chinese character. The intermediate angles of each recessed surface on the tower, central turret and four angle turrets, have an outward batter which gives a wonderful effect in suggesting force and a visible life to the design.

**Plate 3.** The third instance of this series near Upali Thein was almost similar in exterior appearance, but is a much larger structure with a first floor storey. The plan however, is entirely different, providing eight priests' cells in addition to the central cell, which may have contained an image. These cells are arranged around three sides of the processional passage around the central cell, the main entrance hall occupying the fourth side. This example shows resource in planning, and is a dignified design entirely free from all suggestion or features of the Pagoda or temple, and expressing its purpose as a residence of affluence and importance. If one can conceive its original form and finish the structure, it would have reflected a cultured taste several centuries in advance of anything produced in Europe at this period.

**Plate 4.** The next group of monasteries for consideration is found at Tamani. They reflect a great advance and growth in the requirements of

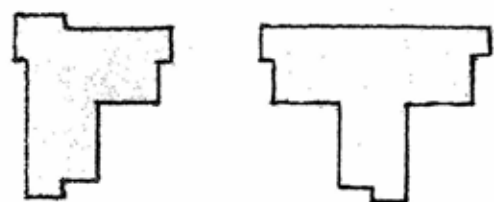
the religious order, partaking more of the nature of a Buddhist University. As previously noticed the practice of grouping the monastic buildings together, within one enclosure, is again seen in this instance, but with the difference that one building is constructed purely for devotional studies and uses, while the other appears to fulfil the needs of the school and college with its students and probationers. In the first-named building the shrine or image chamber now takes a very important place at the west end, being of large dimensions and two storeys in height with images on both floors. Around this chamber is the usual processional corridor which is very lofty and vaulted. Attached to the east end of this Buddhist Chapel are the monks' cells arranged around a great central hall, but the head monk or archbishop appears to have been provided with a special apartment on the other side of the chapel on the main axis of the building. Another instance of this type of plan occurs at the village of Minnanthu (Plate 5), where the great vaulted hall and cells are carried up and repeat the same scheme on the upper level—while in this instance only the shrine and corridor are carried up as a great tower. This, by the way, finally disposes of Captain Yate's statement that "Any person to occupy a floor over one's head would be felt as an intense degradation, and that there is no such thing as a two-storey dwelling in the country."

Now, to return to those college buildings. The second block or wing (Plate 6) is placed on the south of the chapel block about 30 feet apart and contains two central halls, one large hall 55 feet long and 36 feet wide, and one 36 feet square hall. On the north and south sides of these halls are arranged the monks' cells with a separate passage from the main hall to the outside between each cell.

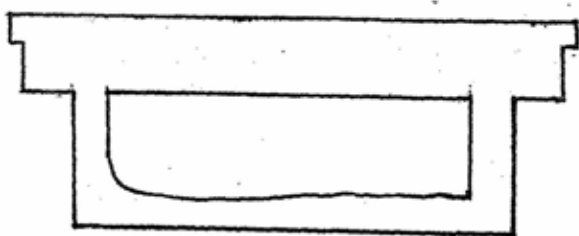
It is only possible to conjecture what the original use of the building was. It is evident, however, that it was designed for accommodating large numbers, and ample provision is made for easy ingress and egress. This is evidenced by the numerous passages and doorways from and between the halls and double staircases at the vestibule. From this indication and from the known fact that the priests were the only channels of education and maintained religious schools and colleges, as they do to-day, it can be reasonably inferred that this building was a wing

# Monastery at Taman: scholastic wing =

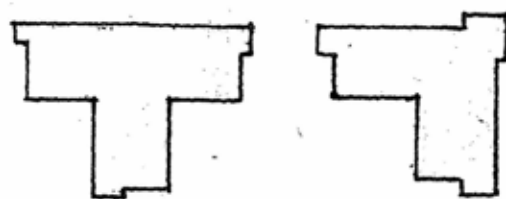
Feet 5 0 5 10 15 Feet.



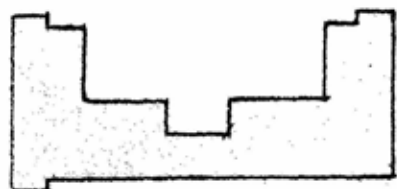
CELL



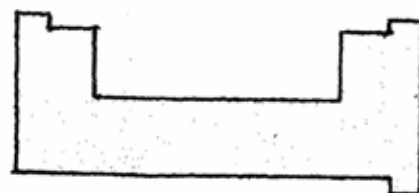
GREAT HALL.



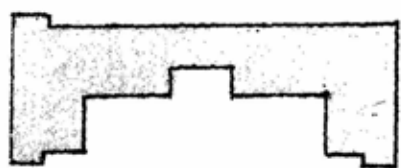
CELL



PASSAGE.

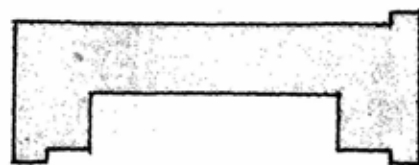


PASSAGE.



CELL

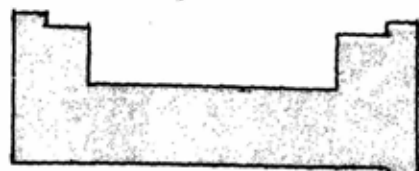
OR.



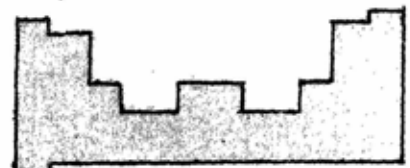
CELL

COLLEGE.

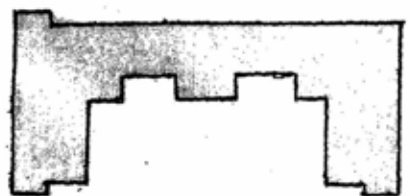
55 X 36



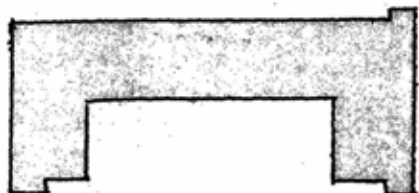
PASSAGE



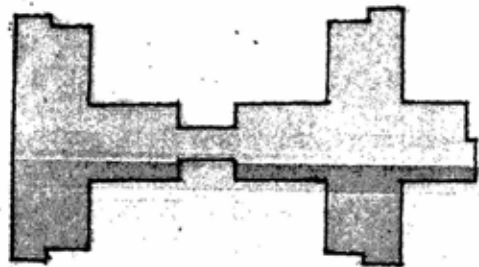
PASSAGE



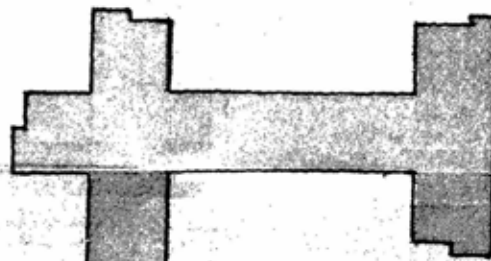
CELL



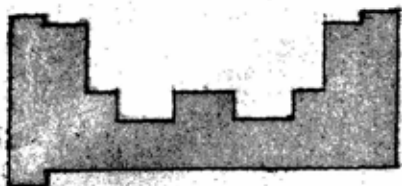
CELL



CELL.



CELL



PASSAGE.

SCHOOL

31 X 36

OR.

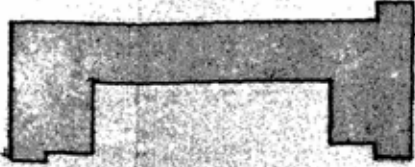
LIBRARY.



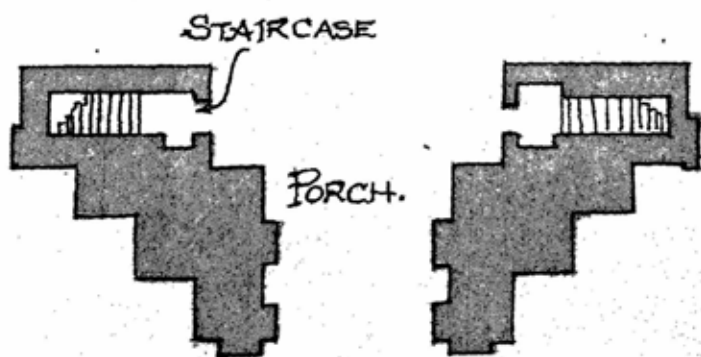
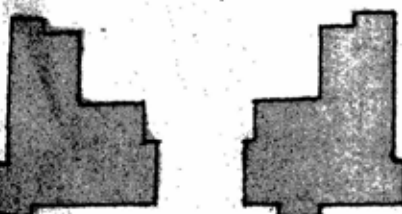
PASSAGE



CELL.

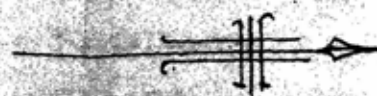


CELL



STAIRCASE

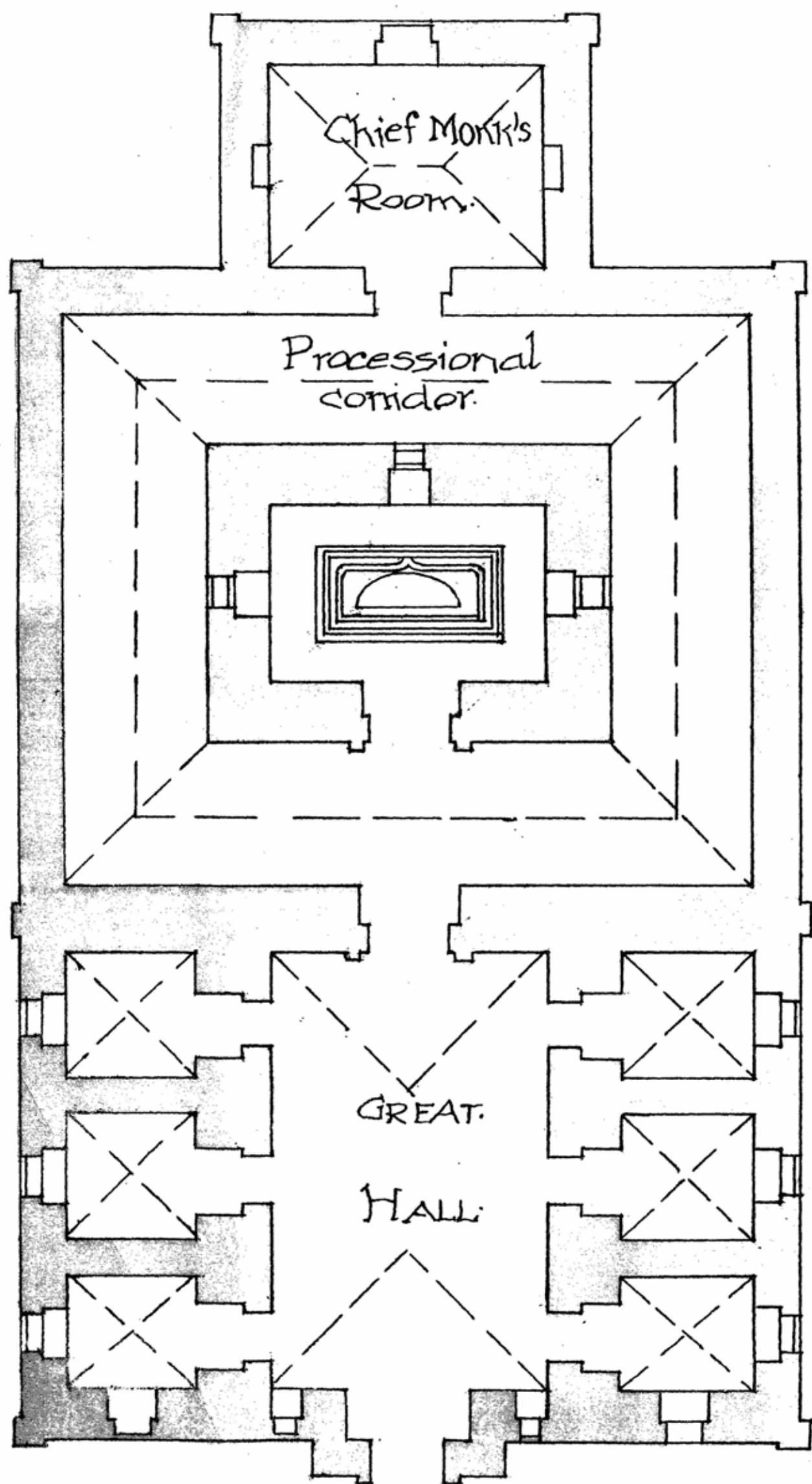
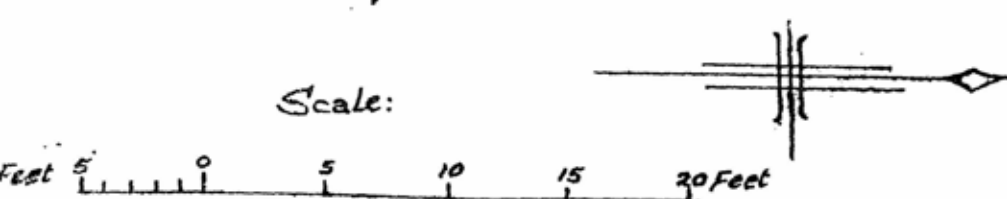
PORCH.







# Monastery: N Tamami Wing with Chapel:





# Monastery NE. Lemyethna: Minnanthu:

Scale: Feet 5 10 15 20 Feet.

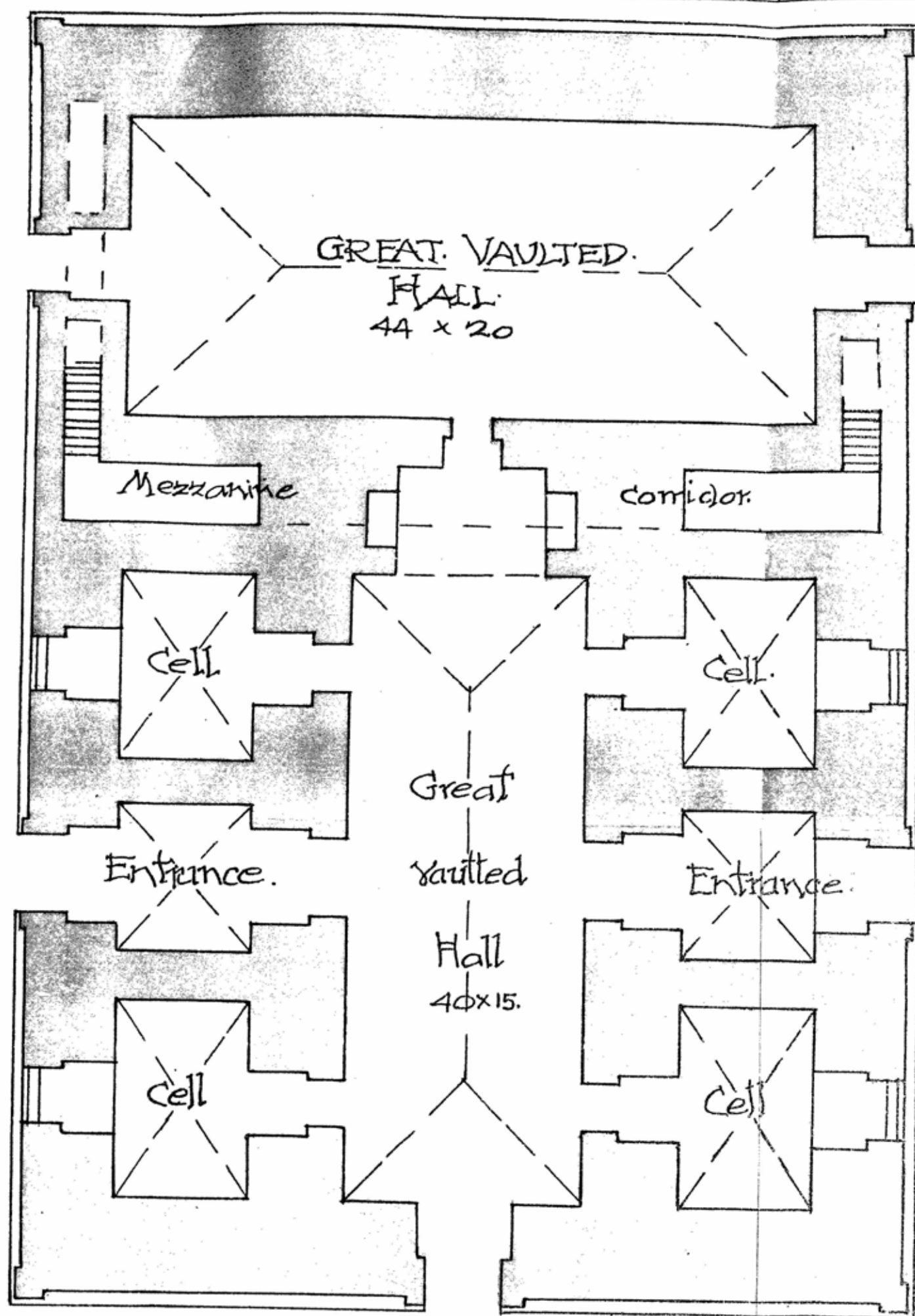


PLATE 5.

GROUND PLAN



# Monastery. N.W. of Upali. Thein

Scale:

Feet 5 0 5 10 15 Feet

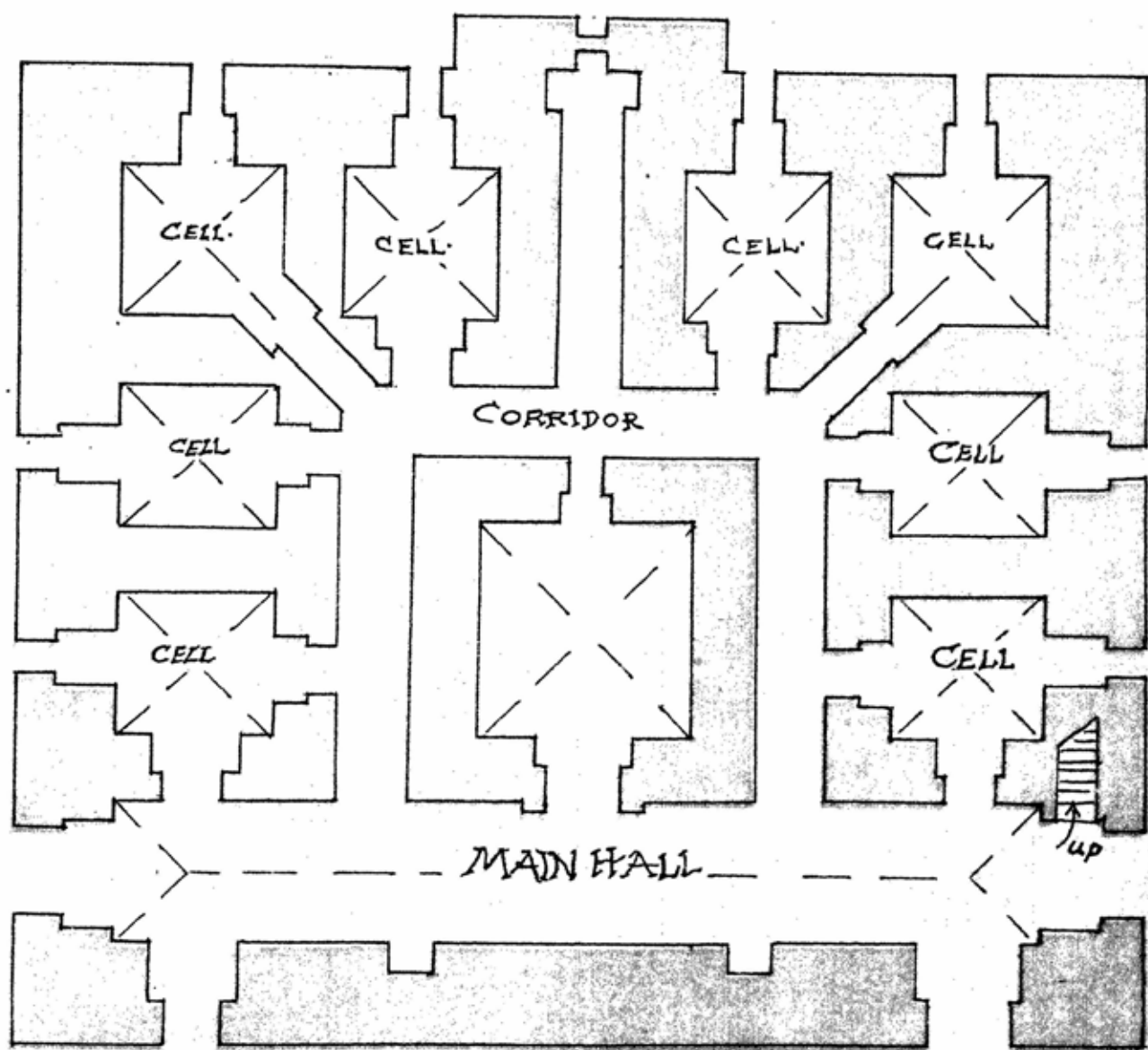


PLATE 3.

## GROUND PLAN



Monastery South of Apeyatana:

Scale:

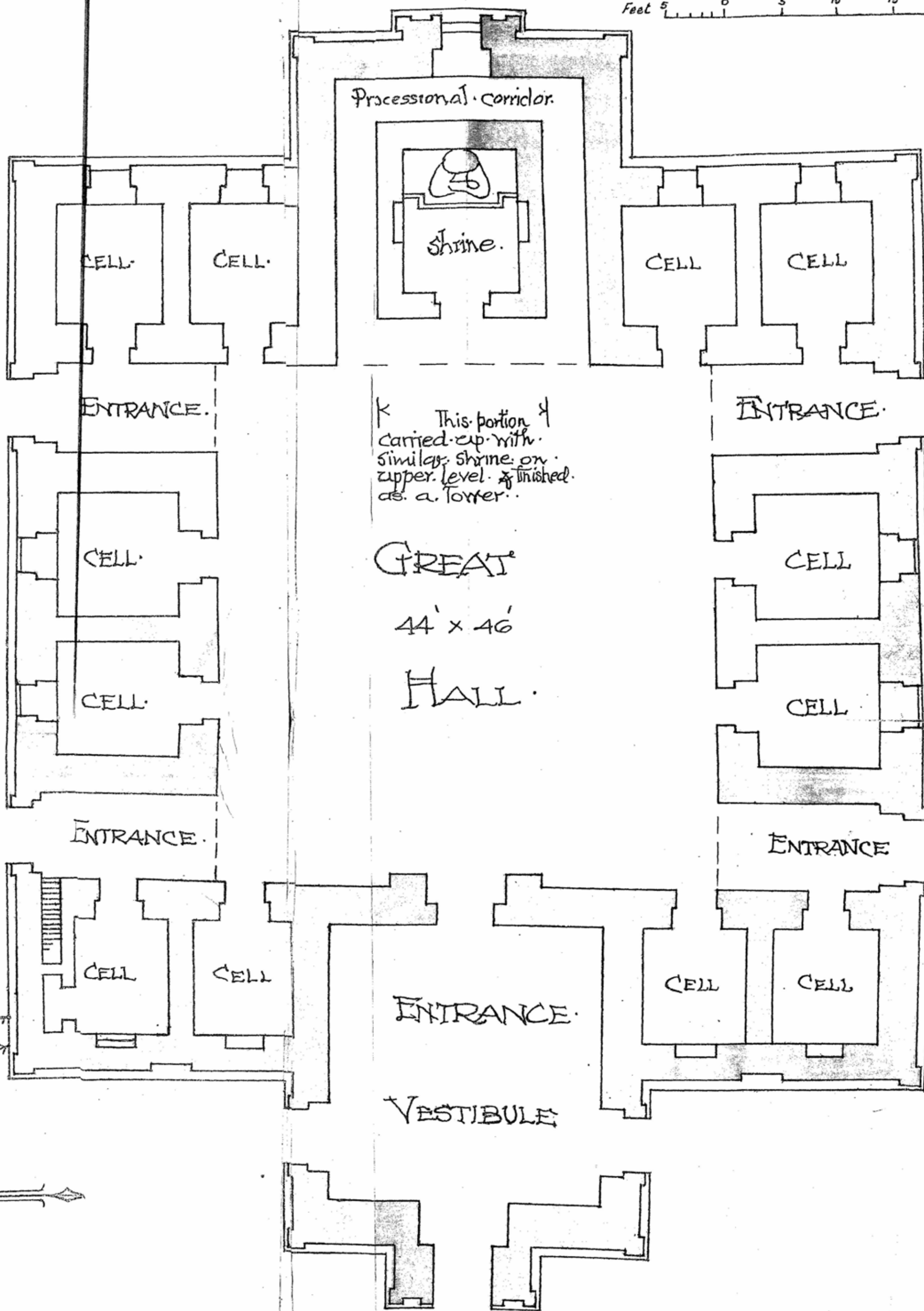


PLATE 7

# GROVND - PLAN.

devoted to the educational side of the priests' life. It is unlikely that these halls were employed for ordination as they are far too open to public access, and the presence of the priests' living cells is against it. The staircases arranged on both sides of and off the main porch are quite what we should expect in European buildings, and not in Eastern buildings, where they are generally relegated to some odd and out of the way corner. These stairs led to the first floor level, which appears to have existed over the square hall only. The exterior design of this building was most successful and direct. The oblong building is treated with a pedestal, plinth pilasters, cornices and parapets, on good classical lines, while the upper floor is set back and forms a kind of "Attic." The whole facade forms the restful setting for the projecting pyramidal central porch, giving the keynote of richness and national spirit to the composition.

Plate 7. The last type of monastery is the largest and combines the arrangements of the last two buildings in one. This example is found near the temple of Apeyatana and marks a climax in coherent and articulate planning, which throughout is such a marked characteristic of Burmese construction. The outline of the building is an exact square broken on its east and west sides by the projecting entrance hall and chapel respectively. A great central hall about 45 feet square is the main apartment with cells and exit passages around the north and south sides and angles. A staircase with its tower occupies the south-east angle and evidently only led to the flat roof which was of wood and has disappeared. But the shrine chamber was carried up to the roof level and a similar shrine and image appear here, which was finished externally as a central western tower to the west facade. All the arches to the windows and most of the doors are flat arches with radiating voussoirs beautifully finished. This form of arch was well known to the Burmese, as it appears in many other buildings, and is freely used as a relieving arch. This is a remarkable thing, as it is very doubtful and improbable that this refinement of the arch principle was even known to any nation in Europe at this period of history. Now I decline to attempt to trace the prototypes of these buildings, as it would require an extensive knowledge of the early Indian and Chinese buildings before any-

thing conclusive could be reached. But I have observed the very close similarity between the Indian rock-cut Vihara caves at Ajanta and the last monastery near the Apeyatana. A series of these are illustrated in Fergusson's History of Arch. The examples described as caves Nos. 2, 3 and 16 are almost replicas of this Burmese example as far as the plan is considered, with the exception that in the rock-cut halls there was no need for the numerous side exits, and the entrance took the form of a long portico rather than a square entrance hall. The interior effect of these rock-cut examples with their massive stone columns and heavy entablatures and ceiling were undoubtedly very far removed from the effect produced by the Burmese buildings. This goes to show that the procedure conventions and religious system of the Indian Buddhists were faithfully adhered to as far as it could be conveyed by written rules, and we see the established precedents of religion reflected in the arrangements of the plan, but the way in which the plan has been clothed by the Burmese is entirely national and peculiar to the race. Having given some outline of a few of the types of the monasteries I was fortunate to come across in my brief visit to Pagan, I now propose to describe a few of the minor parts. The phongyi or priest's cell is an apartment common to all these buildings and seldom varied much. This was an apartment about 8 feet or 10 feet square placed on an outside wall, vaulted with a plain intersecting pointed vault. The external wall contained one window often filled and divided up into squares with brick mullions and bars, or finished with a wood open frame of the same character. The two side walls contained niches generally arranged with two in one wall and one in the other—the entrance door being on the internal end, which was also of wood. On careful inspection of all the cells the old beam holes of an upper floor still remain. This doubtless formed the monk's sleeping apartment and could be reached by a bamboo ladder. Light was often admitted by small spy holes through the wall. All the wall surfaces were properly plastered and were finished with very plain frescoes consisting chiefly of black and gold lines cutting the wall surface up into panels and marking the cornices and skirting lines, and picking out the niches with ogee shaped arch heads. The whole effect



was most refined and well lighted, making living rooms that would not be despised to-day.

I should be unworthy of my subject if I left it without some reference to the cardinal and national feature of Burmese Architecture; I refer to what has been described as the Flame Pediment or Gable which is employed both as a structural form and decorative feature to doors, windows, porches, gables and in every conceivable position where its character could be displayed to some artistic advantage. Its form and composition is probably too well known to need any description from me. Its astonishingly unusual character expressed through the medium of brick or stone has formed the subject of wide speculation and conjecture, without ever reaching any reasonable or satisfactory solution as to what brought it into being as a pronounced national feature. This question was constantly before me during my stay in Pagan and much that I saw there led me to what appears as a very reasonable solution. In studying the broad issues of each national style of architecture there is always one condition which inevitably shaped its characteristics in one certain set direction. That was the character of the building material each nation was forced to use. To take a few instances—the Egyptians had to depend upon reeds and Nile mud for their early buildings, and this necessity produced the great sloping expanses of wall surface, the peculiar cornices, the reeded columns, and almost every detail that attracts the eye. The Assyrians had no timber or stone, and perforce the brick was evolved, with all its possibilities in arches, domes and so on. The Greeks employed timber and we see the resulting post and lintel and finally the column and entablature in marble. The Romans discovered the use of concrete and spanned enormous spaces with the dome, and were enabled to take the greatest stride in engineering the world has ever known. Examples could be continued thus with almost every nation. Now with this clue to work upon, an examination of the earliest building materials employed in Burma or China, their original home, should furnish some data—but the difficulty here is that in the majority of cases these materials were of a perishable nature and nothing is left to us. However, sculptures, frescoes, carving and the like come to the rescue and

supply the missing evidence. From sketches of certain examples of frescoes and sculptures, that now exist in Pagan, it can be fairly established that this original building material was the palm tree, possibly in combination with timber and the bamboo. In several frescoes in a triple temple at Minanthu (Plate 8) are bold and clear drawings of this early type of construction, showing that the great stems of the large palm leaf were used in the construction of the angles of building and gave the concave curve so closely associated with Mongolian forms. In the use of these palm stalks the leaves were left on as a decorative feature and adorned every angle, gable and doorway with a fine bold and flame-like feature. The drawing shows a fine example of a tower of more markedly Mongolian type than anything usually associated with Burmese work and the palm leaf angles and gables are so unmistakable in their representation that it leaves little room for doubt as to the correctness of this theory. No form in wood could ever be practically executed in the manner shewn, but it will be observed how much it was modified when in later times wood was employed for this feature, until finally this again was represented in the brick and stone conventional lines seen to-day at Pagan. An example of this feature after it had attained a wooden form will be seen well represented in a sculpture group at the Ananda (Plate 8). This shows the palm leaf already subdued, but the curved form of the walls are still retained, although the wood was used in beams and uprights as are clearly shewn. The scroll form below the palm leaf or flame was derived from this form of ornament which always appears carved on the large boards of wood buildings even to-day. This scroll ornament was one of the symbols of Buddhism, used before the image of Buddha was introduced by the Greeks. It forms the shield of the Trident.

In bringing my remarks to a close, I wish to express my indebtedness to Professor Ward and Professor Luce, whose enthusiasm in this neglected cause was inspiring, and through their wide knowledge and guidance I was enabled to gain some grasp of the extent and vast fund of information and history that lies at Pagan.

W. BRAXTON SINCLAIR.

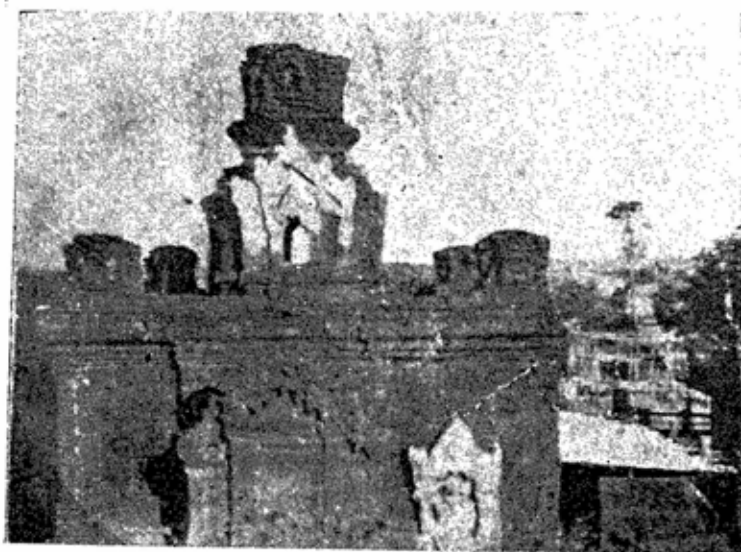


Fig 1.

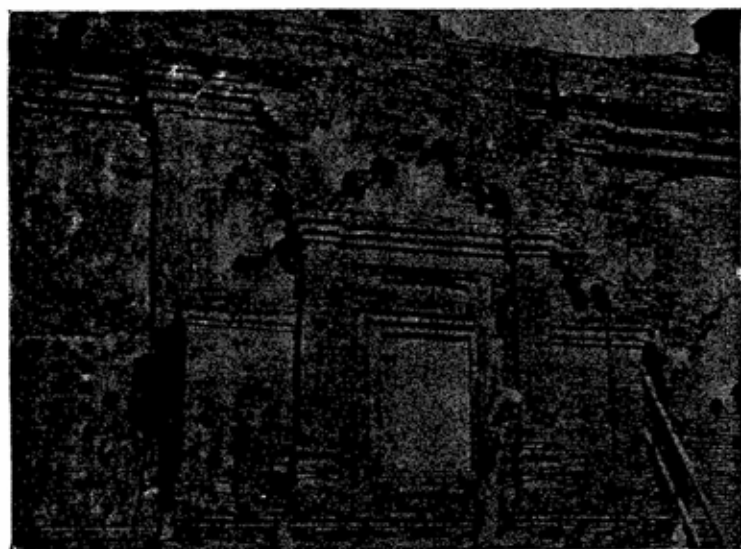


Fig 2

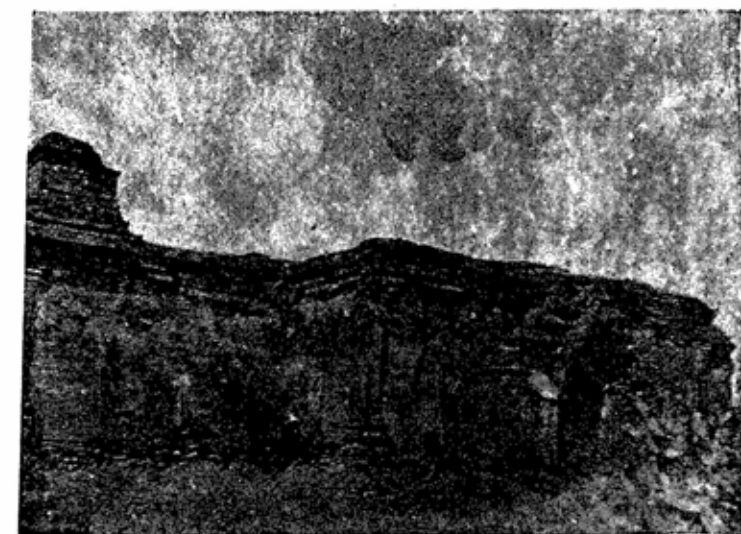


Fig. 4.



Fig. 3.

Figs. 1 and 2. Dayinpato Monastery. See Plate 2.

Fig. 3. A Monastery N.-W. of Upali Thein.

Fig. 4. Monastery S. of Apeyatana. See Plate 7.

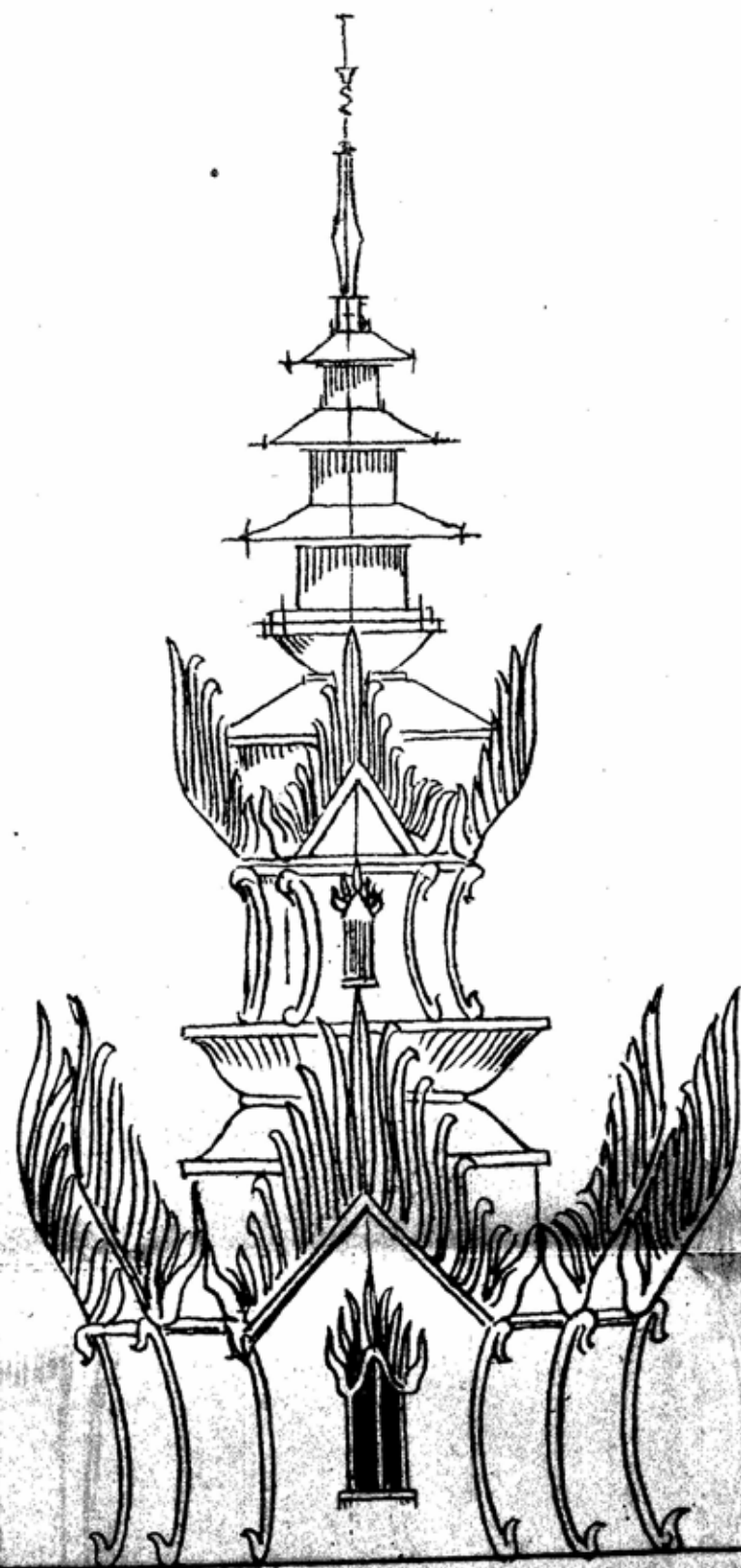
Fig. 5. A palm leaf pediment.



Fig. 5.



: Sketch of Frescoe  
drawing showing origin  
of Flame pediment.



The Palm-leaf convention  
in a timber barge  
board



Shield of the  
Trident of the  
Triple emblems  
(1) Buddha  
(2) Dharma - Law  
(3) Sangha - Priesthood

PLATE B.

From the Triple Temple Pagan.

Sculpture from the  
Ananda Pagoda.





## THE BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY OF CHANGE\*

When I was approached to contribute a paper to be read at this first Oriental Conference at Poona, I could not help selecting the above subject, suggested partly by Mrs. Rhys Davids' illuminating article on the Buddhist Principle of Change<sup>(1)</sup> and partly by Professor K. M. Ward's lucid paper on Buddhism and Bergsonism,<sup>(2)</sup> but chiefly as a protest against current views even at the risk of being considered reactionary or revolutionary. The present essay is but an elaboration of what I condensed and compressed into about forty lines on the Vipassanā course of culture in my Buddhist Philosophy of the Real.<sup>(3)</sup>

As the subject is of intrinsic importance, I am afraid this paper may exceed the Conference limit of 10 printed pages.

Pali scholars define rest as motion inhibited or arrested.<sup>(4)</sup> Thus in their view motion is primary. That Buddhism, like Bergsonism, starts with motion, and not with rest, may be judged from the significance and implication of its technical term *anicca*. It is a compound of a+na+i+tya. Root 'i' means 'to go or move' and *icca*, therefore, signifies motion. But believers in souls assert rest by denying this motion,<sup>(5)</sup> for their very conception of soul implies rigidity, fixity or stability.

Science teaches change, but before the discovery of radium, atomists, who believed in unalterability of their elements, admitted change of form only, and not of substance. Buddhists who deny this substance confute them. Their term *anicca* therefore implies a contradiction of rest and carries a negation or refutation of the wrong view of motion as rest. Thus for Buddhists, motion is real and rest, apparent; the latter being but an unperceived motion. The word *anicca* is applied to five complexes or Khandhas<sup>(6)</sup> which

change, while *aniccatā* is used to express change. In point of fact, khandhas themselves constitute change and the mark of this change is denoted by the word *anicca-lakkhaṇa*. But it must be borne in mind that change is one thing and its mark, another.

The nature of this change is unmistakably described in Buddhist works as a flux. To us who cannot as yet realise this flux from within as do our stream-winners (Sotāpannas) it can only be described in the form of a simile: "Like the current of a river."<sup>(7)</sup> But this remains a description like any other hearsay or report (anussavādi). In practice we Buddhists, from our present-day mental constitution in common with the rest of mankind, have of necessity to view this flux from outside as a succession of solidified or congealed states.

A child labours under hallucination of perception (*sañña-vippallāsa*) which perceives rest in motion.<sup>(8)</sup> He takes what I may call a magic-lantern view of fixed pictures on plates across a screen. To him a thing takes a fairly long time to change. In other words, he views change by means of periods (*addhāvasena*). With an adult who is still suffering from hallucination of mind (*citta-vippallāsa*) which views stability in mobility,<sup>(9)</sup> a thing lasts a while before change. But philosophers not yet exempt from hallucination of view (*diṭṭhi-vippallāsa*), which judges a static condition in a dynamic flow,<sup>(9)</sup> break up the flux into a cinematographic succession of what the Hon. Bertrand Russell calls time-corpuscles,<sup>(9)</sup> each lasting but a moment. That is to say, philosophers view change by means of moments (*khaṇavasena*).

True, the cinema is an improvement upon the magic lantern. It does not, however, differ in

\*Contributed to the First Oriental Conference, Poona, November, 1919.

(1). The *Quest* (Oct. 1917).

(2). J. B. R. S. (Dec. 1918).

(3). *Op. cit* (Aug. 1917) Critics have apparently thought that I have read Bergsonism into Buddhism. I am an ardent admirer of Bergson's genius which wonderfully lights up obscure passages in Buddhism, and I may here frankly acknowledge my indebtedness to him for having opened my eyes. But he has not added any new thought to Buddhism.

(4). Thā gatinivattiyam. *Abhidhānappadīpikāśūci*.

(5). Attādivasena na iccām. *Tikāgyaw*. It is curious that this heterodox phraseology as used by our author is translated by Burmese scholars by "not reachable, i.e., knowable in the sense of attā, etc." But I am inclined to think that he used the phrase in the sense of na attādivasena iccām (change without a soul, etc.).

(6). Na niccanti aniccām, khandhapañcakaṁ. *Old Tikā on Compdn.*

(7). Nādisoto viya. *Compdn.*

(8). Anicce niccanti sañña-citta-diṭṭhi-vippallāso. *Tikāgyaw*.

(9). The *Monist* (July 1915).

kind but only in degree of the rapidity of succession of fixed pictures on a film instead of on plates.

Men may even succeed by means of their cultured intellect in conceiving of this succession as continuous (santati- or santāna-vasena).<sup>(10)</sup>

But the human concept of continuity (santati-paññatti) rather disguises the real continuity, since every concept is rigid and obscures its corresponding fluid reality by fixing it at least in our minds. That is to say, human mind is apt to regard continuity as merely a series of momentary states. We spatially represent this series of states as bound together by continuity and causal laws. In this spatial representation of the time series, mankind depict the vanished past as still existing.

The faculty of perceiving change (anicca-saññā) in each of all the three classes of observers—the child, the adult and the philosopher—makes two marks (lakkhaṇas) in order to note a change. For it is the function of saññā to know, or rather note, a thing by means of the mark or marks made by itself,<sup>(11)</sup> just as a carpenter puts chalk-marks on his pieces of wood. The external observer places<sup>(12)</sup> these self-made marks upon things and looks upon becoming (bhava) as disappearing after coming into being.<sup>(13)</sup> In other words, he analyses becoming into being (atthitā or bhāva) and non-being (natthitā or abhāva), growth (udaya) and decay (vaya); or, arising or generation (uppāda) and ceasing or dissolution (bhaṅga).

To no man is it possible to think of change except in, and by means of, these two terms. Indeed, they are essential conditions through which we are compelled by our very constitution to note a change. What is conceptual change? It is the disappearance of one thing or form succeeded by the re-appearance of another. By constantly thinking of change in these two terms, men became oblivious of the fact that these terms

were mere marks made by themselves as a means of noting change,<sup>(14)</sup> i. e., in order to enable them intellectually to conceive change. And in course of time they began to look upon these marks of notation as real processes<sup>(15)</sup> attaching themselves to things.

So the Buddha in the *Tika Aṅuttara* said:—

Uppāda (arising) is apparent<sup>(16)</sup> and vaya (passing away) is apparent.<sup>(16)</sup> But he added a third hypothetical state after

these two terms in the form of *thīti* (duration) because men under the influence of hallucination of one kind or other mentioned above posit rest in the interval between the two terms. It will be noticed that this hypothetical mid-state was described by the Buddha last, and not between the two terms as it ought to have been if the three states were all real processes. The reversal of this natural order clearly shows that the *thīti* stage is superfluous as held by Ānanda, the author of *Mūlatikā*. In other words, *thīti* is not only a false, but a misleading, mark. The Buddha's actual phraseology was *thitassa aññathātā*, which literally means "a state (ttam) of duration (thitassa) other than (aññathā)." Other than what? Other than the two terms of genesis and dissolution already mentioned. So in our *Points of Controversy*<sup>(17)</sup> we rendered it by "duration amidst change" since change is denoted by these two terms. My elder colleague, Mrs. Rhys Davids, has since preferred to render it by "otherwiseness of duration" in her striking *Quest* article. Thus she has made out change or alteration, the very opposite of duration in the ordinary, not the Bergsonian, sense of the term. But she is not alone in her interpretation, for she obtains support from such eminent scholars as Shwegyin Sadaw who held the same view of alteration from a state of rest. If this interpretation be correct, we must regard the phrase in question as merely explanatory of change as denoted by the two foregoing terms of *Uppāda* and *Vaya*. In that case the Buddha

(10). Ariyāvamsa of Sagaing inclined to confine the expression santativasena to continuity in the present existence. Paccuppannavasena yeva atitānāgatapaccuppanna-santānavasena. *Mañisāramañjūsā*.

(11). Saññāṃ katvā jānātīti saññā. *Tikāgyaw*. Perception is a faculty that notes a thing by having made a mark.

(12). Lakkhaṇaṃ āropetvā. *Mañisāramañjūsā*.

(13). Hutvā abhāva. *Tikāgyaw*.

(14). Anena lakkhitabbaṃ. *Tikāgyaw*.

(15). Aniccata yeva lakkhaṇaṃ (iti) lakkhitabbaṃ. *Op. cit.*

(16). Paññāyati. On the implication of the word 'apparent' as opposed to 'real,' see my *Dialogue on Nibbāna* in the *J. B. R. S.* (Dec. 1918).

(17). P 55.

would have spoken of two phases or aspects or marks instead of three (*tiṇi lakkaṇāni*) as he did. It seems to me that the word 'otherwiseness' (*aññathātaṃ*) should be understood as in the English expression 'Changeability or otherwiseness of things' where it expresses the contrast of changeability and not of things.

Buddhaghosa and other writers recognise *ṭhiti* as an intermediate phase between the two terms. But there can be no doubt that Buddhist scholars have the Bergsonian turn of mind, for it is curious that they also use the word *ṭhiti* (duration) in the Bergsonian sense of duration, i.e., in the sense of flux and not in the sense of rest. They render it by "maturation or transition towards dissolution." They are reluctant to commit the Buddha to the teaching of permanence, however short its duration may be. As a matter of fact, the Buddha never taught rest as part of his creed, but merely recounted what men under hallucination think. The Buddha tolerated intellectual change as a means to the intuition of true flux as will be abundantly clear from the following exposition of the Buddhist practice of insights to evolve intuition.

An aspirant to intuition is first exhorted to select and single out personality (Khandha) from among past, present and future cosmic things in causal relations<sup>(18)</sup>; and taking it as a whole<sup>(19)</sup>, he is to contemplate it as changeable by reason of dissolution<sup>(20)</sup>, first by way of periods as in the case of a child and then by way of continuity or rather by way of continuous series. This continuity may be viewed by way of periods as in the case of a lay adult or by way of moments as in the case of a philosopher. The contemplative intellect (*sammasanañāṇa*), which develops time-corpuscles, *handles* (*sammasati*), so to speak, its object by means of the self-made marks referred to above. As its name implies, it is more a method than a distinct faculty of insight. It is, more or less, common<sup>(21)</sup> to other insights which follow.

Hence the practitioner at this stage is not yet designated an accomplished seer.<sup>(22)</sup> Space does not permit us to show that this contemplative process is inductive and leads to a general conclusion that everything is changeable.<sup>(23)</sup>

The next stage is the verification of this general conclusion. After a preliminary consideration of the arising of personalities in general in consequence of ignorance, desire,

kamma and food (physical or mental) and their ceasings when these causes are withdrawn, the intellect, termed *udayabbaya-ñāṇa*, now confines itself to a present, particular personality, preferably one's own, by way of moments without further reference to causal relations.<sup>(24)</sup> The practitioner carefully notes (*samanupassati*) the change of this individual personality by means of those two marks of waxing and waning made by intellect on each time-corpuscle as it flows past his post of observation or as he follows the flow itself. Human mind is apt to be satisfied with such a view of change. But we are unmistakeably warned against the danger of this self-satisfaction. The conceptual apprehension of change (*aniccānupassanā*) is liable to be mistaken for intuition (*maggañāṇa*) of the real flux, and this mistake may prove a formidable obstacle (*vipasanupakkilesa*) to further progress of the mind towards spiritual development. It is, however, a distinct advance by which the mind has got rid of the misleading mark of *ṭhiti*, i.e., all traces of hallucination (*vippallāsa-nimitta*), viz., rigidity, fixity, staticity, stability, and so forth. Hence the word *aniccānupassanā* (the exercise of mind on change) is synonymous with *animittānupassanā*, a view of things as free from rest or rigidity. But it is not the goal. It is but a means to an end. It is, as it were, the gate of spiritual or transcendental intuition (*maggaphala-dvāra*) and is therefore, called 'means of emancipation' (*vimokkha-mukha*) from rigidity, fixity or stagnancy. The danger, of course, lies in regarding this useful means as an end-in-itself.

Intellectual  
verification of  
conceptual  
change

General Method  
of contemplation  
of change

(18). Sappaccayesu tibhūmakasaṅkhāresu atitādibhedabhinnesu khandhādinayaṃ ārabha. *Compdn. of Phil.*

(19). Kalāpavasena saṅkhipitvā. *Op. cit.*

(20). Khayaṭṭhena aniccā. *Compdn. of Phil.*

(21). Tikāyaṇa sabbā pi vipassanā lakkaṇattaya-sammasana-kiccāva. *Maññāramajjūsā.*

(22). Sammasana-ñāṇalābhi āradhavi-passakoti saṅkhyam na gacchati. *Op. Cit.*

(23). Sabbe saṅkhārā aniccā. *Dhammapada.*

(24). Paccaye anāmasitvā paccuppanna-khandhesu nibbattilakkhana-mattassa vipariṇāmalakkhaṇa-mattassa ca dassanena khaṇavasena ca. *Tikāyaṇa.*



Of the two marks of change made by intellect on things, the being is readily discernible but not the non-being except when it comes at the end of a considerable interval. So the intellect is now trained to note change by means of the sole mark of dissolution or 'passing-away' during the stage of *Bhaṅga-ñāṇa*. But whether discerned momentarily or at the end of an interval, human mind is averse to non-being. Our own mark of dissolution now frightens us as if it were a real process, just as a child is frightened by the stump of a tree, which it fancies to be a ghost.

Taking these marks to be real processes, Buddhist scholars regard things as again and again oppressed (*paṭipīlita*). But it is as absurd to regard an inanimate object as 'oppressed' as to regard any non-mental thing as painful. In point of fact, it is we that are reflexively oppressed by our own marks. This constant oppression constitutes our *Dukkha* (misery).<sup>(25)</sup>

The word *dukkha* is generally rendered into Burmese by "pang-pan" a curious counterpart of the English expression "pang-of-pain." Like the English word painful, our word *dukkha* has also two senses. When the Buddha said: *sabbe saṅkhārā dukkhā*, he referred to objects as capable of causing pain. But when he spoke of *dukkha* as in the expressions *dukkha-dukkha* or *dukkha-vedanā*, he referred to the painful feeling itself. Thus in the former sense things themselves may be looked upon as instruments of fear (*bhayaṭṭhena dukkhā*) capable of causing us pain and grief. But in reality, as has just been observed, they do so through our own marks of change. It is the bogey of *Vaya* (destruction), rather than of *Udaya* (generation) that gives us worry and trouble. If this frightful *Vaya* intrudes upon our attention after the lapse of a considerable interval of false security we feel all the more aggrieved. The greater the interval, the greater the grief as in the case of the death of a grown-up member of a family compared with the death of a new-born babe. So by accustoming ourselves to the philosophical way of looking at things by way of momentary deaths, the sting of conceptual change is less felt and our pangs of pain are attenuated. So

much for the stage of intellectual fear or apprehension of danger, termed *Bhaya-ñāṇa*.

If our fear of objects gives us pain and causes us trouble, either the thing feared or our fear is at fault. We have seen that things in themselves are harmless. Then our fear must be faulty. It is faulty because it is groundless and it is so because we have been frightened by phantoms of our own creation. It is our way of thinking that is fraught with such evil consequences.

If we see our own faults, we attain *Ādinava-ñāṇa*. Thus in a discourse on Intuition in the *Paṭisambhidā-magga*, it is said: Seeing the fault of generation, the mind runs into non-generation.<sup>(26)</sup> Our scholars see the fault in generation forgetting that it was of their own making. They interpret the word *uppāda* in the quotation to mean the world, and *anuppāda*, *Nibbāna*. Looking upon generation as a real process, they unconsciously deny even spiritual existence in *Nibbāna*. But we might equally well substitute *bhaṅge* for *uppāde* in the text quoted and say: "Perceiving the defectiveness or fault of (our idea of) ceasing, the mind leaps towards non-ceasing." We have seen that both *uppāda* and *bhaṅga* are marks made by faulty intellect. The passage under consideration therefore implies that when we have found fault with our own way of thinking of change in these two terms, we are on our way to intuition of true flux. Thus we must keep clear of intellectual change as if it were a house on fire (*ādittagharassa viya*), so that we may not be consumed by the fire of our own conception.

Now no one likes evils. Therefore the practitioner is wearied of his own faults causing him so much trouble and ever bringing him to grief. His intellectual sense of weariness is *Nibbidā-ñāṇa*.

With this feeling of disgust or abhorrence he desires to escape from the shackles of conditions imposed by intellect on the three worlds of conceptual change, as fish from nets, etc., (*jālādito-macchādikā viya*). This intellectual desire of escape is described as *muccitukamyatā-ñāṇa*.

In order to effect this release, he must now think of the ways and means (*upāya*) of escape like a man, who mistaking a snake for a fish, has

(25). Udayabbaya-paṭipīlanasaṅkhāta-dukkhabhāvo. *Tikāyaṇa*.

(26). Uppāde ādinavaṃ disvā annuppāde cittaṃ pak-khandati.

caught hold of it by the neck and now revolves in mind how best to escape its attack. As the man squeezes the neck of the snake in order to scotch it, so the practitioner makes an effort to weaken the power of conditioned things over himself. He does this by pondering on them again and again as changeful, so that they may never appear to him again as permanent.<sup>(27)</sup> Continued and sustained efforts are necessary, for rest lurks in conceptual change or motion and things tend to appear stationary despite our efforts to think the contrary. This intellectual reflection marks the stage of *Paṭisaṅkhā-ñāṇa*.

Philosophical  
equanimity, a  
sine qua non  
of intuition

Seeing now that there is nothing to be taken as "I" or "mine" in things reflected upon as changeful, he is no longer actuated by fear or favour; nor moved by hate or love, nor by like or dislike. In short, he is affected neither by praise nor by blame. He is utterly indifferent to things like a man to his divorced wife (*cattabhariyo pūriso viya*). He was blind to her faults when he loved her. But when he saw her faults he hated her and he was equally blind to her good points. So he divorced his wife and he now knows her true nature when he neither loves nor hates her.

This intellectual indifference confirms our view that the thing in itself is not to be feared. Our fear is only engendered by our desire rooted in ignorance of true change. It is this desire, this ignorance, that has to be got rid of (*pahātabba*), and not the change which should be only understood (*pariññātabba*).<sup>(28)</sup>

The intellectual equanimity or philosophical calm is what Buddhists call *Saṅkhārupekkhā-ñāṇa*. With calmness the practitioner takes a bird's-eye view of the ocean below before he flies away from it (*samuddasakuṇī viya*).<sup>(29)</sup>

A disinterested and impartial view of things is an essential condition of knowing their true nature. For as long as a man has interest, so long he is bound to follow the bent of his inclination to satisfy it. He would try to

draw or derive profit by, and from, the use of concepts. That is to say, he carves or cuts up things into concepts and he accepts a portion that suits him but rejects the rest that suit him not.

No wonder then that Buddhists consider this insight of calm to be very important. When it matures (*paripākāṇi*) and reaches the climax of its own development (*Sikhāpattā*), it receives the name of 'adaptive' intellect (*anulomañāṇa*), sometimes called *sānuloma* because equanimity co-exists with adaption. It also leads to intuition. Hence the additional appellation of *vuṭṭhānagāminī*, the term *vuṭṭhāna* or 'Emergence' being applied to the Path because intuition rises above concepts of conditioned things and because the Path is an escape from evils. This intellect prepares the way for intuition by gradually removing ignorance which conceals true flux.<sup>(30)</sup> During the period of adaption the intellect of equanimity not only sharpens itself gradually, but fits, equips and qualifies the practitioner for intuition. Hence it is called *Saccānulomika-ñāṇa*<sup>(31)</sup> in the final process of transition from intellect to intuition.

This process is described in the *Aṭṭhasālīnī* as follows:—

When the time for intuition is about to arrive, mind-door consciousness turns the stream of being and adverts to the personality which has been the object of previous insights. In the three moments of adaption which follow, the same personality adverted to is apperceived and contemplated as changeful. The first adaptive intellect, removing the coarsest layers of ignorance which conceals true flux, strengthens the idea of change against non-change which, as already pointed out, tends to present itself again and again. The second adaptive is stronger and clearer and removes the next less coarse layers of ignorance. The third adaptive, being the strongest and clearest, is capable of removing the subtlest layers left of ignorance of true change. The first moment of adaption is called *parikamma* (preliminary or

(27). *Saṅkhāre dubbale katvā puna niccākārena upaṭthātum asaṃmatthabhāvaṃ pāpetvā. Maṇisāramañjūsā.* The *Tikāgyaw* has omitted the snake example which is given in the *Visuddhi-magga*.

(28). In Buddhist works *dukkha* is said to be *pariññātabba*. We have seen the inter-relation between change and pain. Besides, both *anicca* and *dukkha* are applied to the same *khandhas* in the quotation 'Yaṃ aniccaṃ taṃ

*dukkhaṃ*' from the Buddha. See the *oldest Tikā* on the *Compendium of Phil.*

(29). The *Tikāgyaw* has wrongly applied the figure of the bird and the ocean to the *Paṭisaṅkhā-ñāṇa* in the sense of hovering over and over again.

(30). *Olārikolārikassa saccapaṭicchādakamohassa vigamena saccapaṭivedhassa anulomaṃ saccānulomaṃ. Maṇisāramañjūsā.*

preparatory); the second, upacāra (proximate), and the third, anuloma<sup>(31)</sup> ('qualificatory').

Now one or other of the four intellectuals (ñāṇa-sampayutta) of the Main Type of Moral Thoughts (Mahā-kusala) described in Part I of the *Compendium of Philosophy* supervenes as 'adoptive' (gotrabhū-ñāṇa) by which the worldly heritage is cut off and the spiritual lineage is evolved. This then is a typical instance of creative evolution. But it is not yet an intuition proper. Neither is it called an insight (vipassanā) because it serves only as mind-door for intuition, adverting to true flux or Nibbana of which it has but a fore-taste, so to speak.

The following is the illustration given of the above final transitional process:—

A man who wishes to see the moon looks up at the cloudy sky. A wind drives away the densest masses of clouds; another stronger wind drives away the next less dense layers; and a third, the strongest, drives away the last layers when the moon becomes clearly visible to view.

The three 'adaptives' are comparable to the three successive winds and ignorance, to clouds. The 'adoptive' is represented by the man, while Nibbāna may be likened to the moon and intuition, to light.

Here in this example the winds cannot see the moon and the man cannot drive away the clouds. Thus the respective functions of the 'adaptive' and the 'adoptive' may be distinguished.

The figure of the moon is also useful to indicate the difference between the Nibbāna of the 'adoptive' and the Nibbāna of the Path. If I were to point my finger at the moon, my finger is not the moon. So the Nibbāna of the 'adoptive' intellect is but an index or a given mark (dinna-saññā) of the true object of the Path. In other words, the Nibbāna of the 'adoptive' still possesses the semblance of being conceptual.

The moon analogy must not be pushed too far. While the moon is external and existed beforehand, Nibbana is internal and did not exist beforehand. The latter is evolved along with in-

tuition. In this connection, Buddhaghosa warns us to understand the Path, the 'Fruit' and the Nibbana not as ornaments worn on another's head but only in one's own mind.<sup>(32)</sup>

The probationer who has been adopted into the family of Ariyas or Saints (santo) is inspired with a thought: "Now I shall know the Unknown."<sup>(33)</sup> He is then initiated into the mysteries of true flux, by being graduated in the Path. The initiate no longer views changes of fixed pictures upon a cinema screen, but enters the motion of the machine behind it. He has won the stream (sotāpatti) and he now lives flux. The figurative language "Like the river in a flow" with which we began is no more for him. In fact he may now dispense with all language which at its best is but a golden wand, and at its worst, a pithless castor-wood stick, pointing indifferently to heaps of things.<sup>(34)</sup>

I have confined myself to the consideration of change as the title of this paper demands. But in Buddhist books, marks or characteristics of pain and of soullessness are treated of along with those of change, since all the three are but different aspects of one and the same reality. I have here only incidentally shown how conceptual change gives us pain.

The contemplation of pain (*dukkhānupassanā*) enables one to give up his desire (*taṇhā*) by which he claims: "This is mine" and says: "This is good." It is synonymous with *ap-panihitānupassanā*, a view of things as undesirable. This view is a means of emancipation from the rounds of evil.

When the view of identical self, viz., *I* reap what *I* sow, is given up by a true knowledge of real change, however much a policeman may swear to the identity of a criminal with a thief as Russell in his *Monist* paper puts it in a Buddhist way, the opposite view of soullessness (*anattānupassanā*) is arrived at. It is synonymous with *suññatānupassanā*, a view of things as void or empty of entities, and is the means of freeing us from the theory of immortal souls.

(31). In the *Aṭṭhasālinī* all the three adaptives are spoken of as anuloma. But in the *Visuddhimagga* this term and *saccānulomika* are specifically applied to the third. The terms *sikkhāpattā* and *vuṭṭhānagāminī* are the synonyms of all the three.

(32). Tasmā na esa parassa sīse ābharaṇaṃ viya daṭṭhabbo; attano pana citte yeva daṭṭhabbo. *Visuddhimagga*.

(33). Anaññātāṃ .. .. . ñāssamīti. *Tikāgyaw*.

(34). *Pts. of Controversy*. P. 135.

The tendency of the human mind to staticity or stability is so great that when men can find nothing else to staticise, they must needs stabilise Nibbāna if only by way of contrast as though Nibbāna which is absolute were relative.

Now that Nibbāna is true flux intuited by graduates may be inferred from the fact that the Path, the Fruit and the Nibbāna are each named threefold, viz. animitta, appanīhita and suññata, according as the adaptive intellect in the final process of thought-transition contemplated the object by the marks of change, pain or soullessness.

But one may be inclined to think that our books are not so insistent on Nibbāna being a flux. When the Buddha compared it to an ocean as in the *Samyutta*, he spoke of Nibbāna as a collective whole. But there can be no doubt that he considered individual Nibbāna beings as streams flowing into that ocean. Indeed, the mental flux of the Eightfold Path is called stream (sota) because it flows into Nibbāna like a river into an ocean.<sup>(35)</sup> We may lose the the well-defined streams in the ocean, but no one will deny that flux continues, must continue, unperceived by us mortals.

As to the continuum of this flux after the final death of an Arahant, the Buddha said:—

“The intuitionist (vedagū) who has become established in the Dhamma after the dissolution of body can no longer be reckoned (as man, god, etc.)”<sup>(36)</sup>.

Buddhaghosa, if he did not rely on earlier authorities as he professed to have done, speculated that this Dhamma spoken of by the Buddha is no other than the Arahatta-phala-citta or Nibbāna.<sup>(37)</sup> Thus the divine favoured the continuation of the highest Fruit in the Anupādisesa Nibbāna as in the Sa-upādisesa with this difference that there is no physical body after the final death. Note the little word ‘or’ in his comments. He verily believed that the highest Fruit

and the Nibbāna are but two names of one and the same reality. Logically speaking, Nibbāna in the abstract is an attribute of the Path and the Fruit. But, in reality, that attribute cannot exist apart from the Path or the Fruit; both in terms of spiritual consciousness.

By showing Nibbāna to be a spiritual flux, I may be accused of considering Nibbāna as changeable and therefore fraught with evils. We have, however seen that only conceptual change is so fraught with evils but not true flux. Pragmatically speaking, our cutting up of an Arahant’s mental flux does not affect him in the least. It makes no difference at all to his life as in the uninterrupted flow of his intrafruitful consciousness of Nibbāna (phalasamāpatti), however busy an analytic psychologist may be in breaking up this flux into time-corpuscles for our edification.

Elsewhere in my *Dialogue on Nibbāna*,<sup>(38)</sup> I have, through my spokesman, identified Nibbāna with the peaceful mind of a saint. If this identification be objected to on the ground that the saint’s mind is conceptually changing, we may reply that we are expressly forbidden to apply the methods of the sammasanic intellect to transcendental objects.<sup>(39)</sup> In other words, we must not apply the marks of change (anicca), pain (dukkha) and even non-entity (anatta) to them.

Hence we must draw a distinction between the mere recognition of all realities including Nibbāna as anatta or soul-less<sup>(40)</sup> and the realisation of them as such. The former is intellectual and the latter, intuitional. In the former stage we apply the marks of anatta to them, but not in the latter. That is to say, a saint who has realised true flux by intuition no longer uses those marks which our intellect continues to employ.

The whole course of vipassanā culture described in our books as above may be summed up by the following illustration:—

(35). Nibbānaṃ paṭisavanato ..... nibbāna-mahā-samudda-ninnatāya sotāsādisattā vā soto ‘ti vuccati: ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo. *Tikāyavā.*

(36). Kāyassa bhedā dhammatṭho saṅkhyāṃ nopeti vedagū. *Salāyatana-Samyutta.*

(37). Dhammatṭho’ti asekhadhammesu nibbāne eva vūṭhito. *Commentary.*

(38). The *J. B. R. S.* (Dec. 1918). Since writing that dialogue my attention has been drawn by Bhikkhu Silācāra to the Mahāyanic paradox: Samsāra is Nibbāna. I confess that I am struck with the subtlety of the Mahāyanists’ bold speculation.

(39). Anuttarānaṃ asammasanupagattā āha lokuttara-vajjesu. *Maṇisāramāñjūsā.*

(40). Sabbe dhammā anattā. *Dhammapada.*

A lame man hops on two crutches with halting steps. He drops one crutch first and limps on the other. But when he has regained the power of walking freely, he discards the other, too. After learning how to walk, he plunges into a stream to swim.

Can we apply the rules of walking to swimming?

Here the lame man resembles the feeble and frail practitioner and walking stands for motion punctuated by intellect. The crutches are the marks by which we note a change, and the halting steps, the arresting stops which intellect in-

serts as breaks. The firm, solid ground recalls congealed and rigid states in conceptual change, while the mobile water reminds us of flux. The swimmer represents the stream-winner. He has no further need of high and dry ground, nor of the crutches which have served their useful purpose there.

A carpenter rubs out his chalk marks upon the completion of his work. We Buddhists remove a scaffold when a pagoda has been crowned with its *Hti* (umbrella). So with the structure of our philosophy.

SHWE ZAN AUNG.



## SHIN UTTAMAGYAW AND HIS TAWLA, A NATURE POEM.—IX.

The present verse concludes that charming and stately poem which stands unique in Burmese literature. Though it is in no way connected with the theme yet it reflects to some extent the character of the poem. It also reveals the lofty thoughts and sentiments emanating from one who is destined to become fully enlightened. This is evident from the fact that the poet, unlike other writers makes no prayer in his concluding verse to gain some sort of reward in return for the production of his work. Perhaps because he is mindful of his self-importance he unhesitatingly and boldly declares himself to be the embryo Buddha who is to succeed *Metteyya*, the next future Lord. He adds that *Metteyya* will utter a prediction to that effect.

This strange statement by the poet himself may not sound well in the ears of those who have not made a serious study of the poem. As a matter of fact, it certainly has to some degree the effect of enhancing the value of the poem chiefly in regard to its subject matter. On the other hand we may consider it a prayer couched in poetical language.

In the opening lines နှောင်းခြံအလော၊ မိတေယျာလျှင်... နိဗ္ဗာန်ရှင်ကာ၊ the poet describes *Metteyya*—the last Buddha to-be in the present *Kappa*—as one who has attained *arahatship* and who has therefore *Nirvāna* in possession.

နှောင်းခြံအလော၊ မိတေယျာလျှင် simply means "*Metteyya* who is to come last" the word နှောင်း meaning "Last." ဓမ္မတ္ထေယျ is the name of the fifth and last *Buddha* for only five *Buddhas* are to appear in this *Kappa*. Four have already appeared. The four *Buddhas* who have preceded Him are *Kakusandho*, *Konagamano*, *Kassapo* and *Gotamo*.

ရိဒ္ဓမာထား Literally this means "The victorious sword." ရိဒ္ဓမာ which stands for အရိဒ္ဓမာ is a Pāli term for "victorious." But the compound ရိဒ္ဓမာထား is here used metaphorically for *Arahatta* or *Arahatship* by the attainment of which all evils are cut off. Now this *Arahatta* has a triple name. It is termed "the void" or "Emptiness" (*suññata*), or "the Signless" (*animitta*), or "the Undesired" (*apanihita*) according as it is attained by the contemplation of things as unsubstantial, or impermanent, or evil. Hence the next expression အသွားသုံးလက် which literally means

"The three edges." ရိုးလက်တစ်ကြီး which literally means "One single handle" implies the same *Arahatta*, for though it has a triple name it is always regarded as one.

အရိပ်ငါးကြိမ် (five appearances) refers to the five *Jhānas* which form the principal means of entrance into the four *Paths* of which the *Path* of *Arahatta* (*Arahatta-maggo*) is the last. အိမ်နှင့်တကွ၊ Here အိမ် (the sheath) refers to သမာဓိ (*samādhi*) which is a state of supernatural tranquillity and is one of the most characteristic attributes of *Arahatta*. The figure is apt for *samādhi* keeps the mind at perfect rest as the sheath the sword.

ကျောက်မှပေါ်ထွက် literally means "Springing from the rock." But here *Sīla* (moral practice) is spoken of as ကျောက် (the rock) because from *sīla* which should be as firm as the rock springs *samādhi* and from *samādhi* springs true *paññā* (knowledge or insight into the four *Paths*).

ရွှေဘုန်းဆက်သည့် simply means that glory is extended. Here glory acquired on the attainment of *Arahatship* is referred to.

သန်လျက်သီလဝံ means "The sword belonging to the virtuous," that is, *Arahatta*. It therefore conveys the same meaning as ရိဒ္ဓမာထား mentioned above. သန်လျက် means "A two-edged sword" and is a common epithet of *Arahatta*. The three edges above-mentioned may be taken to include the pointed end of the sword also. သီလဝံ (*Pāli* သီလဝံသ) means "Having relation to the virtuous."

နိဗ္ဗာန်ရှင် literally means "possessor of *Nirvāna*," that is "one who is to attain *Nirvāna* at death, or one who has *Nirvāna* in sight or one by whom *Nirvāna* is intuited or discerned."

မဂ္ဂင်ရှင်တန်၊ လမ်းမှန်ခရီး၊ ..... ဗျာဒိတ်ရွှေသာ၊ This means that *Metteyya Buddha* seeing that the poet would at last arrive at *Nirvāna* through the practice of the Eight Ariyan Path-constituents makes the (following) prediction.

မဂ္ဂင်ရှင်တန် means "The holy Eightfold Path" (*Ariyo Aṭṭhangiko maggo*). See also notes on Verse VI.

လမ်းမှန်ခရီး means "The right way to *Nirvāna*" that is the holy Eightfold Path or the practice or cultivation thereof.

ရပ်ကြီးသာစည် Here *Nirvāna* is referred to as "a great flourishing locality."

သုံးမည်ပေ။ The most eminent master of the three classes of mankind, namely men, *nats* and *Brahmas*. This refers to *Metteyya*. For the meaning of the term ပရမေ see notes on Verse I.

ဗျာဒိတ်ချေသား means "To make a prediction." For a further explanation of the term ဗျာဒိတ် see notes on Verse VIII.

သပြေကျွန်းသာ။.....ပွင့်အံ့တုံဟူ။ This refers to the prediction noted above and means that on the Island of *Jambūdīpa* the noble priest by name Shin Uttamagyaw will at some future date succeed me as One who knows "the Four Noble Truths."

သပြေကျွန်းသာ means "The pleasant Island of *Jambūdīpa*, so called because သပြေ *Eugenia jambu* or the rose-apple tree is said to grow there as its emblem. *Jambūdīpa* is one of the four great Islands in "the world System" of Buddhist cosmogony. The remaining three Islands are *Pubbavideha*, *Aparagaya* and *Uttaraguru*. သညာသမုတ်။ ပညတ်ထုတ်သည် simply means "To call by a name;" သညာ (*Pāli*) means "A name;" and သမုတ် means "To call." ပညတ် is derived from the *Pāli* ပညတ္တိ which means "Making known."

အဟော်နောင်လာ means "Indeed the future comer," အဟော် which stands for အဟော being a *Pāli* term for "Indeed, oh, alas." That is to say "Indeed the poet is going to become a Buddha in future."

ငါရိုက်ရာကို။ This is a direct speech by *Metteyya* and means 'In my place.' ရိုက်ရာ stands for အရိုက်အရာ which is the same as အရိုက်အရာ and means "Place or office." Here it implies Buddhahood.

သစ္စာ in သစ္စာဖူးငုံ၊ ပွင့်အံ့တုံဟူ means "Truth" and it refers to the "Four Noble Truths." The poet does not yet know "the Four Noble Truths," but he is destined to realize them in future. So to him they are like a flower bud which will bloom one day. Hence the expression သစ္စာဖူးငုံ၊ ပွင့်အံ့တုံဟူ which means "The poet will become enlightened in the Four Noble Truths."

By the concluding lines from ကိုးရက်ရှင်ပင် down to the end of the verse the poet means to say that it is quite certain that he will (thus) be acclaimed *Bodhisatta* (Embryo Buddha) by *Metteyya*.

ကိုးရက်ရှင်ပင် means "The Lord who possesses the ninefold glory." (Cf. ကိုးရက်လူ့ဆွေ in Verse IV) ရှင်ပင် is a common epithet of Buddha. (Cf. ရှင်စော) The allusion here is to *Metteyya Buddha*.

အံ့ခိုတင်သည် means "To acclaim, to applaud" ငါလျှင်လည်းကောင်း။ ဗောဓိလောင်းဟူ means "I myself am a

*Bodhisatta*." ငါ (I) here stands for the poet for he is speaking to himself. ဗောဓိလောင်း means "An embryo Buddha," that is a *Bodhisatta* or one who is destined to attain Buddhahood. ဗောဓိ is a *Pāli* term for Buddhahood.

ညွတ်ညောင်း in ညွတ်ညောင်း တံဆိပ်။ ခတ်နှိပ်သေချာ means "To accede to, to acquiesce in; to yield to, to be influenced, to give way." The whole expression therefore means "To cause carefully a clear impression by a stamp."

နှုတ်ပြဿာ means "A verbal declaration." For the derivation of ပြဿာ see Verse VIII.

ညွတ်ညောင်းတံဆိပ်။ နှုတ်ဗျာဒိတ်ဖြင့်။ ခတ်နှိပ်သေချာ။ နှုတ်ပြဿာသည်။.....ခြွေခြစ်လိမ့်လွန်တည်း။ may be rendered thus: It is absolutely certain that a verbal declaration (by *Metteyya*) will come true and stand firm as a clear-cut impression carefully caused by means of a stamp.

Po BYU.

## IX.

၉။ ။နောင်ခြံအလာ။ ဖိတေယျာလျှင်။ ရိန္ဒမာ ထ န။ အသွားသုံးရွက်။ ရိုးလက်တက်၍။ အပြိုင်ငါးကြိမ်။ အိမ် နှင့် တ ကျွဲကျောက်မှ ပေါ်ထွက်။ ရွှေဘုန်း ဆက်သည်။ သန်လျက် သီလဝင်။ နိဗ္ဗာန် ရှင်ကာ။ မဂ္ဂင် ရှစ်တန်း။ လမ်းမှန် ခရီး။ ရပ်ကြီး သာစည်။ ရောက်အံ့ရည်၍။ သုံးမည်ပရမေ။ ဗျာဒိတ်ချေသား။ သပြေကျွန်းသာ။ နောင်အခါဝယ်။ သညာသမုတ်။ ပညတ်ထုတ်သည်။ ရှင်ဥတ္တမကျော်။ ထေရ်မြတ်သော်လည်း။ အဟော်နောင်လာ။ ငါရိုက်ရာကို။ သစ္စာဖူးငုံ။ ပွင့်အံ့တုံဟူ။ ကိုးရက် ရှင်ပင်။ အံ့ခို။ တင်သည်။ ငါလျှင်လည်းကောင်း။ ဗောဓိ လောင်းဟူ။ ညွတ်ညောင်း တံဆိပ်။ နှုတ်ဗျာဒိတ်ဖြင့်။ ခတ်နှိပ် သေချာ။ နှုတ်ပြဿာသည်။ ခြွေခြစ်လိမ့်လွန်တည်း။

*Metteyya*, the last to shine as Buddha in this age has cleft the bonds of evil with the triple-edged sword. He sits in saintly splendour and enjoys the unruffled serenity that springs from the rock of virtue.

The victorious Lord who is destined to achieve *Nirvāṇa* fore-discerns the To-be. In due time he would announce that Shin Uttamagyaw, the venerable monk, is the one who will next tread in his steps the superb eight-fold Path. The Lord of the nine glories will speak with no uncertain sound. His word must needs come true.

B. H.

## NOTES AND REVIEWS.

### THE TRIALS OF AN EMPIRE BUILDER.

Of all those who have dreamed dreams of Empire building, one of the most disappointed at one time, must surely have been Captain Ross, who nearly a century ago, settled in the Cocos or Keeling Islands. This group of islands is situated about 700 miles S. W. of Sumatra and 1200 miles S. W. of Singapore. It consists of about twenty small coral islands. These form a horse-shoe, enclosing a lagoon in which ships find an excellent anchorage. The area is about nine square miles, and cocoa-nuts are the chief, if not the only, product. The climate is temperate and healthy, but devastating cyclones occasionally break over the islands. The group takes its name from William Keeling who discovered it in the year 1609. Before that it had been uninhabited, and remained so for fully two centuries more, no one considering it worth the taking. During these two centuries English, French and Dutch navigators roamed these seas, but they were out for trade, and a group of small islands producing cocoa-nuts only, had no attractions for them. But by the beginning of the nineteenth century things were different, and the idea of bettering one's position in life by settling abroad attracted many. The first to select the Keeling Islands was an Englishman named Hare. He settled there in 1823, but what became of him, whether he tired of solitude and left or died in loneliness, I have been unable to learn. Undaunted by the fate of Hare, Captain Ross determined to settle in the islands with his family. It was a bold but risky venture, and one can imagine that Mrs. Ross would shrink from it, while the children, the boys especially, would hail it as an escape from school and as giving a chance of adventures somewhat similar to those of Robinson Crusoe.

Whether the boys found it quite the ideal life any boy would expect in such circumstances, there is nothing to show, but their father was soon in the thick of difficulties. The *Maulmein Chronicle* of 7th July 1838 gives the first part of

a memorial sent by him addressed to;

"His Excellency Vice Admiral  
The Hon. Sir T. P. Capel

Commander-in-Chief &c. &c. &c."

The memorial is very long-winded, and unfortunately only the first two parts of it are in my file of the *Chronicle* as several numbers of the paper are missing. These, no doubt, contained the remainder of this tale of woe, but there is enough in the two parts I have to give a fairly clear idea of what the trouble was.

The memorial begins,

"May it please Your Excellency,

I the undersigned settler of the Cocos or Keeling's Isles, humbly beg leave to lay before you the following representation of the case, on which I have come hither to solicit your benevolent aid and protection.

It is now more than ten years since I actually settled with my family and a party of followers upon these Isles, with the view of appropriating their resources to the support of a permanent settlement. Believing that with respect to that protection of government which it might become in process of time needful to obtain—although the extent of these resources at the moment, was far too minute and insignificant to occupy any portion of the attention of the supreme government—yet that the then expected and now occurring extension of British commerce with the Chinese Empire—the progressive improvement of the British Indian dominions—the rapid extension of the Australian colonies, and the probable resort of British whalers to the very inviting theatre for their business, which I knew to be afforded on the eastern side and southern gorge of the Indian ocean, even from Kerguelen's land, up to those Isles, and thence towards New Guinea; would whilst correspondingly extending the British commerce, metropolitan and colonial—in all likelihood impart to the harbourage afforded by the Isles, posited as they are upon the routes of



that commerce—a degree of importance, which might ultimately render it worthy of receiving a share adequate thereto, of that attention which originally it did not deserve, and therefore could be expected to receive.” This portentously long sentence rather takes one’s breath away, but it gives an idea of the mentality of this pioneer. For some two centuries before his time, various schemes of colonisation had attracted those, who were dissatisfied with the conditions of life in Great Britain, to the idea of emigration, but most of these went to places where there was a prospect of building up a State more or less on the British model, but modified to suit their own particular views of what a State should be. In what is now the United States of America, in Canada, and later in Australia, they hoped to find a new and a better home, but still more or less on the British model. Moreover in these places they would still be among people imbued with ideas similar to their own; would find companionship and help in any time of need that might arise. In a word, they were going to change their sky but not their environment. Captain Ross, however, stands on a totally different footing. In the Keeling Islands he would inevitably be cut off, for months at a stretch, from all European companionship and from any possibility of help in any need which might arise. It meant a great risk even had he gone alone, but the taking of his family with him increased the risk enormously. One can only call it foolhardy. Presumably he knew Hare’s experiences there, yet, a few years later, he took the same risk and in an aggravated form as he was risking his family as well as himself. We do not know the date of Hare’s death or departure, but Capt. Ross followed him very soon. The *Chronicle* of 7th July 1838 says that the memorial is extracted from the *Pinang Gazette*, and points out that H. M. Brig “*Pelorus*” which had sailed from Maulmain in October 1837 had been instructed to call at the Cocos on her way to New South Wales, probably in response to the Memorial from Capt. Ross. The date of the memorial therefore was probably late in 1836 or early in 1837. In it Capt. Ross says that it was more than ten years since he settled in the islands, so he must have gone there in 1826. Hare went there in 1823 only, so his stay must have been very short. His experience, however, whatever

it was, does not seem to have been any deterrent to Capt. Ross.

He tells the Admiral, in his memorial, that he was forty years of age when he left England to take up his residence in the Keeling Islands; and then gives the following account of how he came to go without any sanction, or promise of protection from the British Government. It had better be given in his own words. It runs:

“I had, however, fully intended that before leaving England to commence upon the undertaking which, at my age, (then forty years) most probably involved the fate of all that possibly remained with the capacity of being advantageously employed for the interests of my young family—I should wait upon the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the colonial department, with the object of ascertaining whether or not the patronage of the government would in any peculiar case, if not in general, be dispensed towards the support of the undertaking. But the gentleman to whom I applied to introduce me for the purpose, at once volunteered to make the application himself for me on the ground of his being possessed of influence to obtain an audience and consideration, to which so obscure and unimportant an individual as myself could not hope to attain, and I gladly accepted his apparently very kind offer; mysteriously enough, however, it happened that, after his procrastinating until I had to leave England without its being gone about, he finally neglected it altogether, and consequently the desired application was not made.”

Many of us have probably had somewhat similar experience and can sympathise with Capt. Ross in this matter. We know the man who says “My dear fellow, leave it to me. I’ll attend to it,” but does nothing. In this particular case, however, the friend possibly did not realise at the time of promising all that it implied. To ask the British Government in 1826, when its hands were full of far more important matters in many other directions, to take responsibility for what to most men must have seemed a Quixotic adventure, was to ask what on reflection he must have known no responsible Minister was likely to grant. He had infinitely more important interests to consider and was not likely to take Capt. Ross’s view that these small and out of the way islands would help to extend to any serious amount “British commerce, metro-

politan and colonial." He should, however, have told Capt. Ross that on reconsideration he did not see his way to give the help he had promised.

Capt. Ross does not seem to have known for some years after his settlement that his friend had not fulfilled his promise in this matter. Nor, from first to last, does he seem to have realised that he was asking Government to give what did not belong to them and to incur a serious and awkward responsibility should any other nation advance a claim to these islands.

In his memorial to the Admiral, he goes on to say;—"So soon, however, as I was apprized of this result, I proceeded to make out and forward through the government of the Mauritius, a petition to His Majesty for a grant of the private property of those Isles—having been advised that such was the proper mode of proceeding for obtaining the main object of my wishes; namely, an assurance of the protection of His Majesty's government being conceded to the settlement which I was making. To that petition I received no direct answer; but learned indirectly, that it was rejected on the ground of the apparent inutility of the settlement to any British interests; accompanied nevertheless, with an assurance, that the grant which I had petitioned for, should not be made to any other British subject—and as I had by the time when I received this information, viz. now only three years ago—become too far involved in the undertaking, to prudently abandon it, whilst a possibility remained of rendering it ultimately remunerative to my children, if not to myself, for the time, labour and capital, then expended upon it—and having occupied it as proprietor sufficiently long for obtaining a right to its property in permanency, which under the laws of England, the royal prerogative alone can set aside in favour of any other party—I felt myself to become under a moral necessity of going on with it at all hazards."

It is curious how persistently he ignores the obvious fact that the laws of England had no bearing on his case. They can only apply when a country has come under British control and, in this case the British Government had definitely refused to take over the islands. It was not until some twenty years later, in 1857, that they were annexed, and it was after the lapse of

nearly thirty years more that, in 1886, they were placed under the Government of the Straits Settlements. The total population was estimated at 807 in 1916. The Ross family still manage local affairs. The population consists chiefly of Malays.

Capt. Ross goes on to say in his memorial that it was only in the preceding year that he had managed to cover his outlay by his receipts. This, to say the least, must have been a very great disappointment and a keen anxiety to him; but he appealed to the Admiral mainly over trouble of a very different kind. He says that in 1835 he had only one man as head servant. This man's name was W. C. Leisk, but he had to be away frequently as mate on the small vessel by which some communication was kept up with Mauritius; Capt. Ross took advantage of a chance which offered to engage a man, "calling himself Joseph C. Raymond" who was a supernumerary on a British vessel which called at the Keeling Islands on her way from China to England. This man was appointed mate of the schooner in which Capt. Ross then went to Singapore. "On that voyage, I perceived, that although he was an able enough navigator, and tolerably expert seaman, his habit and manners were of a description so unsatisfactory and depraved that I should certainly have discharged him at the first of those places, but for the alarm which at the time prevailed of pirates being exceedingly numerous in the Straits and no European being to be had to put in his place" Capt. Ross was to visit Prince of Wales Island as well as Singapore. The schooner returned to the Keeling Islands in May 1836 and then the trouble began. Capt. Ross objected to any relations between his European employees and the Malay women, but the two—Leisk apparently remained—resented his attempts to stop this, and apparently stirred up disaffection among the Malays. "It remained in abeyance as it were, until the arrival of two American whalers to recruit and idle on shore—their declarations that so soon as the place became known to their fellows on the whaling ground great numbers would resort to it, for the same purposes, at once re-activated the spirits of the conspirators and made them desirous of going on with their nefarious views, without further delay."

Apparently matters remained in this very unsatisfactory state for months, but in December 1836 Capt. Ross went to Mauritius and did not return until February 1837. On his return he found five ships in the harbour, all or most of them American whalers, and found also that his instructions on various points had been disobeyed, for instance, a few hundred cocoanuts had been sold to a Dutch ship at five times the fixed price. Leisk seems to have left after this, but Raymond remained. Of him Capt. Ross says: "That having as will be presently noticed, such weighty reasons for sticking to the place, which he believed to be without the pale of regular law or justice, as would counterbalance in his estimation all the risk he ran of failure, or punishment in, or for attempting to go on with it."

No doubt in such an isolated place it was difficult to get reliable European assistants; but Capt. Ross does not seem to have been the man to manage the sort of men he had to take. For instance he says in regard to Raymond "that as I never hitherto had permitted any officer under me to strike, or even to scold, any person working, or being under their charge, so would I certainly not permit it to him." The British seaman of nearly a century ago was not the man who could be managed on any kid glove theory, and still less could he be expected to trust to such methods in dealing with those under him.

The next step in the drama was a rising of nearly half the Malays to demand an extravagant rise in wages as well as other concessions. The remainder of the story had better be given in the words of Capt. Ross himself.

"I offered the rate demanded because the demanders comprised nearly the whole of the nut-huskers and collectors, although they were previously far the highest paid of any department of the establishment, and in point of fact, were only working at the rate of about three to three and a half days per week, yet their total strike had the effect of setting all idle; but I refused to agree to the other condition, reminding them at the same time, that although they had a right to demand as much as they pleased of wages for their work, they had no right to remain upon my property, unless by my permission, which I certainly would not give to any that refused to work except upon such unreasonable conditions

as those with which they insisted upon my complying. But having been fully persuaded by the conspiring pair of ringleaders that they might safely act as pleased themselves any where on the Isles, they forthwith proceeded to commence wasting, burning, and appropriating accordingly, and refused to desist, although warned of the criminality of these proceedings, and offered by me a free passage from the Isles elsewhere. Convinced that such conduct on their part must have been prompted by the fellow Raymond, I turned my attention to his motions, and two more American whalers coming in, I presently found that he was employed in defending to them the proceedings of the revolvers, i. e. the masters of those vessels, and stimulating them to lend their aid in the way of virtual encouragement of those lawless doings. On this information, I took the fellow to task for his treacherous conduct, whilst he was actually pocketing my money as wages for faithful service, and was at once met with an outbreak of the most reckless falsehood and vulgar blackguard insolence, which had ever before fallen to my lot even to witness, although the first seven years of my life at sea had been passed amidst the refuse of sailors which usually composed the bulk of a whaler's crew in those days. Fortunately my previous suspicions and the gradual manner in which the whole affair had opened upon me, had so far prepared me, that I was not taken by surprise, in which case, I had certainly bestowed upon the villain his quietus on the instant; but as it was, I notified to him his being thenceforth dismissed from my service, and withal made to him the same offer of a passage from the Isles which I had made to the others, and with of course the same result, a refusal to accept it.

Finding myself thus situated, and not only destitute of means to protect the faithful portion of my servants whose lives were actually threatened by the anarchists, because they would not join in their lawless doings, but also of the means of carrying on any work in safety, even if I had hands to employ thereon, I saw that nought remained for me to do but proceed with all expedition to obtain adequate aid for the restoration of order; from whithersoever such aid might be had and as a British born subject, in duty bound to seek at least in the first instance from the con-

stituted authorities of his native sovereign, I resolved to proceed to lay the affair before your Excellency, as being the local chief of that department of His Majesty's government to which the surveillance of these Isles, if they are at all to be considered as under his dominion, do with the greatest propriety appear to belong naturally, if not artificially. And although I do submit myself most unreservedly to whatsoever decision your Excellency may be pleased to make upon consideration of these premises, yet, I humbly beg leave now to represent that I do not presume to contemplate the incurring of any pecuniary expense on account of His Majesty's government, but do believe that the sanction of your Excellency's name alone will be to me a tower of strength adequate to effect the peaceable submission of all the anarchists, the white faced ringleader perhaps excepted, but with whom, I shall in that case, have little difficulty of dealing so as to effect his following apparently, if not willingly, the example of the others. Nevertheless he is an atrocious character, whose subsequent presence upon the Isles for any considerable period, would doubtless be highly dangerous to the safety of property if not of persons; as may fairly be inferred from the fact of his having, as witnesses on the Isles are ready to prove, contemplated as a part of his lawless plans, the piratical seizure of this my schooner by the co-operation of the revolted Malay servants, for the purpose at once of possessing themselves of the means of getting away, if their plans failed, and in the meanwhile depriving me of the power of resorting as thus to seek for aid adequate to the arrestation and up-breaking of those plans.

Although asserting himself to be a British subject, I have obtained proof of his being in reality a foreign American a native of Charlestown in Massachusetts, as also that he has left America as a fugitive from New Orleans, where he had incurred the penalty of immurement in a States prison for a period of ten years a penalty to which, in that country, none other than a heinous crime could have subjected him, and which therefore renders probable the statement which has been broached on the Isles by some of his countrymen that the crime is, the having murdered a coloured woman; at all events whilst the fate which the unfortunate Englishmen Ambris-

ler and Arbuthnot, met at the hands of the American President hero of ditches and cotton-bag walls remains upon record, surely no such treacherous brigand as this American seems entitled to receive any very delicate consideration, if in addition to his wilful and premeditated violation not only of the laws of England, but also of the common rules of fair dealing and honesty expected of one man by another, he should further presume to oppose himself to duly constituted British authority, on territory which, if not British, is at all events not American."

It is evident that Capt. Ross realised the difficulty in which he was placed owing to his being in a sort of No man's land; and, consequently having no one to appeal to when he confronted lawlessness and refusal to submit to his rule. He stood virtually alone; he had no troops or police to back him in maintaining some sort of law and order; nor had he any valid claim for help in his dilemma from the British Government, as he had settled without sanction in a place which it had refused to annex. It would be interesting to know what was in the concluding part of the memorial; also how Capt. Ross managed eventually to restore order, but I have no means of ascertaining this. I find that I was wrong in saying that the want of the conclusion of the memorial is due to my file of the "Chronicle being incomplete." The second part of it is in the issue of 14th July 1838, and the next issue on my file is dated 1st August, so I concluded that one or more numbers were missing. But on looking again I find the following notice attached to the issue of 1st August:—

"In consequence of the death of the Printer of the Maulmain Chronicle, and the hitherto unsuccessful attempts to obtain another, the Editor regrets the necessity of suspending the publication of that paper. He is unable to form any idea as to the length of time before the publication can be resumed, but the vacancy occasioned by the death above alluded to will be filled as soon as practicable." Though a new printer was found in less than three weeks, by that time the tale of woe of poor Capt. Ross seems to have been lost sight of.

J. STUART.



## A BUDDHIST TANTRA.\*

### A Review.

Some one has remarked that religions are like clothes: each has its own style of cut, but all are apt to take on very much the shape of the men who wear them. The truth of this remark is largely confirmed when one takes a look around one in any part of the world, be it in Burma or Europe or America. It is borne out in this volume on Tibetan Buddhism, the seventh of a series of "Tantrik Texts" now being published under the general editorship of "Arthur Avalon," who—it is betraying no secret now to say—is Chief Justice Sir John Woodroffe of the Calcutta High Court.

In the ancient days the religion of the people of Tibet was a worship and placation of the unseen powers, mostly malignant ones, supposed to haunt the wild and desert places of that largely desert country. Demons these chiefly were, of grim and grisly aspect in their pictorial and sculptured representations. Then Buddhism was introduced into the country from India. But about the same time there seems also to have entered the Tantra branch of Hinduism, the worship of the horrific Shiva and his terrible spouse, which, with its resemblance—as regards externals at least—to what was already familiar to them in the autochthonic religion, procured for it a ready welcome from the Tibetans, whence has resulted among other things the existence of what is called here, a Buddhist Tantra. To a Buddhist of Southern lands however, there must always be something odd, or at least incongruous, about such a title. For if Buddhist, how can it be a Tantra, a Scripture of a branch of Hinduism? And if Tantra, how can it be Buddhist? how belong to a religion which teaches—as a stanza of the Dhammapada puts it—that "good is *restraint* of body, good is *restraint* of speech, good is *restraint* of mind; good is *restraint* in all ways," that *restraint* being for the Bhikkhu compliance with the Bhikkhu-Vinaya, and for the householder, the observance of the Five Precepts? However, let us not be too captious, but proceed at once to the consideration of the book itself in which there is much to interest seeing

that it is the first Tibetan Tantra Scripture to be translated into English or any other European language.

The volume opens with a very informing thirty-page foreword by the General Editor. For his preliminary remarks in this foreword, "Arthur Avalon" finds his text in a passage from a book entitled "Tibet and the Tibetans" by a Rev. Graham Sandberg, wherein the reverend gentlemen would appear to have delivered himself of this pronunciamiento:—

"As is invariably the case in Buddhist philosophical statements, were we to quote here (as we do later) these enunciations, they would be found to contain no real recondite wisdom, nor even any scheme of metaphysics and morality which could be dignified with the title of an ethical system. They are, mostly, mere pretentious phrases which have little consistency, and the profundity is only apparent and will not bear analysis. There is nothing ennobling to the individual, or calculated to make the world better; or even, in the Buddhist sense, less steeped in misery, in the doctrines of sublime vacuity and indifference to all claims with which Buddhism, whether Indian or Tibetan, occupies itself."

On this deliverance "Arthur Avalon" passes the sharp but not unpertinent comment:—

"Though this is perhaps an extreme statement, many other Western authors expatiate on the 'meaningless charlatanism and degeneracy' of Northern Buddhism. When will they learn, in this as in other cases, not to discredit common humanity by supposing that any large body of men have devoted themselves throughout the ages to 'meaningless' doctrines and practices! If they are meaningless to them, it is because they do not know the meaning.... Racial prejudice often grudges to the Asiatic the possession of any real merit, much less superiority over Western theories of life. Nevertheless, the true spirit of scholarship will endeavour to be just, and if any doctrine or practice is not understood, it is better and safer to admit this ignorance than to allege meaninglessness and absurdity—a

\* Tantrik Texts, Under the General Editorship of Arthur Avalon Vol. VII. Shrichakrasambhāra Tantra, a

Buddhist Tantra, edited by Kazi Dawa-samdup. Luzac & Co., London. Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1919.

charge which often implies nothing more than irritation in the face of what is not understood. We are, many of us, too much disposed to hold that what we cannot understand has no meaning at all. That is because we overflatter both our abilities and our knowledge. It is surely the acme of absurdity to deny that Northern Buddhism has any scheme of metaphysic, when it has developed some of the most subtle and logically welded themes which the world has ever known; or to deny that it has an ethical system, seeing that Buddhism, as also Brahmanism, have produced the most radical analysis of the basis of all morality, and have advocated every form of it which any other religion has affirmed to be of worth."

He then proceeds to draw the distinction—a distinction which exists in all creeds—between the crude beliefs of the more undeveloped minds among the adherents of Tantricism, and the deeper understanding of its more advanced followers, the former believing in the objective reality of the multitudinous *Devatās* they are called upon to worship; the latter knowing quite well that these—like everything else—have an existence that is entirely mind-made, the ritual of worship prescribed having for its object the ultimate bringing of both classes of devotees to a genuine practical realisation of the truth of the mind-made-ness, so to speak, of everything that is. He admits the existence of abuses of some of the details of this ritual, in fact, of sorcery of very unpleasant kind—of which we know something, in an obscure way, in Burma, also—but rightly says: "We must do credit both to our intelligence and sense of justice by endeavouring to understand any religion in its highest and truest aspect. The Tantras contain both a profound doctrine and a wonderfully conceived praxis."

Upon *Shūnyā* or *Shūnyatā* (Pali: *Suññā* or *Suññatā*) the central doctrine of Tibetan Buddhism, commonly translated "The Emptiness" or "The Void," he remarks that it is empty or void relatively to our mode of conceiving, but that does not mean that it is an absolute emptiness or void: "It is absurd to suppose that the Buddhist seeks, and is on his way to this. . . . 'Annihilation' means annihilation of the world-experience of forms, which as forms, are bound up with suffering. Liberation is sought from suffering, that is, from forms."

To this foreword, the general editor appends a translation in prose of a short Tibetan poem called "The Good Wishes" of "The Buddha Samanta Bhadra," with instructive explanatory notes interspersed through the text. This poem taken with the notes attached, furnishes a very illuminating conspectus in brief of the essence of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Unconscious Ignorance, it declares, is the root basis of all evil. This Ignorance regards self and others as separate. From this false sense of separateness arises gradually attachment, and craving after all the various objects of enjoyment. From the idea of things external to himself there arises in a man a subtle sense of something to be feared; and from this fear arises hatred. Pride puffs up the mind, and the man is inclined to exalt himself and decry others, whence follow quarrels, enmity, strife, and the killing of men by men. Also, lack of intelligence, dullness, unknowingness, cloud men's minds so that they engage in all sorts of useless actions, such actions as are done in the worlds of manifested life. From these evils and their baneful consequences, men are to find deliverance through the realisation within themselves of the "clear, pure mind inherent in every being. . . . May all those beings who suffer from their desires, strive not studiously to avoid them, nor (weakly) to give way to them; but let the Knower take its own course and attain its own exalted position." This last phrase, a note adds, "meaning literally, 'detaching the teeth-hold of the knower,' that is, detaching the knowing mind from its objects, thus letting it attain its own level free of them. This is a profound counsel. Merely to run away will effect no cure. The same temptation will recur. To surrender is to lose the fight for the supreme end. Let the mind take up a position of detachment from the objects which attract, and let it detachedly examine them, and the cause of their power over it, and so attain dominance." Here is indicated the characteristic feature of Tantra practice; not restraint, nor yet limitless, unbridled indulgence—*pace* the ordinary critic of Tantricism—but a praxis which has for its final object the clearing up of the ignorant mind by the bringing into activity and ultimately full growth, of the seed of the pure illuminate mind conceived to exist hidden and latent in all men. What is this 'pure mind,' this *Rigpa* of the Tibet-



ans, one would like to ask? Can be it any relation of the Nibbana-dhātu of which we find occasional mention in Pali literature? Has it anything to do with that seed, that element of Nibbana, which makes its presence fully known in Buddhas and Arahans?

The piece ends with these words: "By the power of the good wishes of me, Samanta Bhadra (Küntu-bZangpo) may all sentient beings without exception attain Buddhahood in the Dharma kāya (which is the Void, Shūnyatā, and Compassion, Karuna)."

The translation of this poem, as of the text of the Tantra itself which after an Introduction by its translator now follows, is the work of the Kazi Dawa-samdup of Gangtok, Sikkhim, an almost lifelong student of Tibetan and having an excellent knowledge of English, possessing also the advantage of having been instructed in Buddhism and in Tantra by a competent Tibetan Guru of Bhutan. Of the help of this his own personal Guru, as also of the kind assistance of a learned Lama of Tibet temporarily resident in Gangtok, he was able to avail himself in making his translation and in adding to it the very full notes that accompany his text and make it intelligible to the uninitiated reader.

About this text itself a Buddhist of Burma is not competent to say much that will be of any great value. It is largely a recital of ritual designed to help its performer to attain "the highest state of *rDorje-hChang* or *Vajradhara*," who is conceived of as the supreme head of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas, that is, stands for highest Buddhahood. Only the first part of the Tantra is translated in full, since the translator unfortunately lost by their deaths, the assistance of his teachers, when only so much of his task was completed, and did not feel competent to finish the work correctly alone. He has, however given a condensed summary of each of the six parts that follow the first, and in the last part, translated more fully than the other five before it, has ventured to give the interesting description it contains of a practice for the realisation of the *mind-made-ness* of all sense-impressions which somewhat resembles several of the practices in Satipaṭṭhāna current here in Burma among *Yathays* and others.

In the full text of the first part of the Tantra there is also an interesting instruction to the

devotee to this effect: "Then with a view to dispelling doubts about the Devatās and the Path, identify the thirty-seven Devatās created by, and meditated upon by, the mind with the thirty-seven branches of the Dharma which leads to Buddhahood, and these again must be thought of as being within the worshipper himself in the form of the thirty seven Devatās. This practice is for men of the highest intellect. Men of middling and lower intelligence should identify the recollection of the body to be *Khando-ma*." The notes to this passage then explain that the "thirty-seven branches of the Dharma" here mentioned are:—the Four Satipaṭṭhānā, the Four Sammāpadhānā, the Four Iddhipadā, the Five Indriyāni, the Five Balāni, the Seven Bojjhaṅgā, and the Eight members of the Ariyamagga; and that the recollection of the body as *Khando-ma* means to recollect that the body is made up of various elements, parts, functions, and so forth.

The obvious comment which a Buddhist of Burma would feel inclined to make on it all would be that it seems a very round-about way of saying what in Southern Buddhism is said in a few plain words. But to this the Northern Buddhist would probably reply: "The words truly are there in your Scriptures, but is their purport fully realised? What we are aiming at is a practical unmistakable realisation of the truths contained in these words. And this ritual and all our rituals are designed to take any and every kind of man just where he is and as he is, and gradually lead him on in the direction of that realisation by an easy natural method which takes care never to discourage him from moving forward, by asking him at any stage to take a leap too great for his powers."

And to this what could a Southern Buddhist reply but: "It may be so. In any case I must wish you well, even as I must wish all men well, who, whatsoever the road by which they choose to travel, are aiming to reach the goal of the Best."

Perhaps it were ungenerous not to say also in conclusion, that the translator of this particular Tantra Text as also the general editor of the series to which it belongs, deserves well of all—and happily they are an increasing number in these days—who wish to know what each religion stands for as it is understood by the best

among its followers. We can never get to know what any religious system really means save from those who are inside it. And Tantricism in particular has been for so long misunderstood and grossly misunderstood by those outside it, and so grievously misrepresented—intentionally or unintentionally—in what they have said about it, that all whose concern is that which ought to be all men's concern, truth, cannot be too grateful to "Arthur Avalon" for his good deed in produc-

ing this series of its authentic Scriptures; while they are under deep obligation to his able coadjutor, and in some sense, teacher in the present instance, Kazi Dawa-samdub, for rendering into English and expounding one of its Texts current among Tibetan Buddhists. It is the first book of its kind thus made accessible to European readers. It is to be hoped of its capable translator, who is surely unique in his equipment for such tasks, that he will not allow it to be the last.

S.

### THE BIRTH OF WONDER.

"*Primitive Ritual and Belief, An Anthropological Essay*," by the Rev. E. O. James. Methuen and Co., Ltd. 5/-.

Chance led me to take up one after the other *The Study of Words* by the late Archbishop Trench and *Primitive Ritual and Belief* by the Rev. E. O. James. Both works are studies in scientific history by priests of the Church of England. It would be difficult to find two books better illustrating the change which science and religion have undergone within two generations. For Archbishop Trench, who was at that time, 1851, Dean of Westminster, the world was created in B. C. 4004 and the only indubitable authentic account of the early days of man was given in the opening chapters of Genesis. He would certainly have reprobated and might perhaps have excommunicated the learned Christian priest whose study of primitive man forms the subject of this article. Mr. James looks for the rudiments of Christian ritual in the practices of the Australian aborigines; fifty years ago his religion would have been anathema, twenty years ago his science would have been suspect. That is one feature of his book of very general interest, that in these days he can be a scientist, dealing in the unconditioned spirit of scientific enquiry with facts concerning the origin of religion, and yet is able to remain a priest of the Anglican communion.

But the matter of his enquiry has an even wider interest. He is concerned to trace the relation between ritual, myth, magic and religion. His results differ from those of Sir James Frazer as widely as his methods; not improbably, as he himself suggests, the difference in result is largely due to a difference in method. Sir James

ransacked the world with more than German thoroughness, and reconciled his readers to the process by the wide sweep of his argument and the lightness of his style. Our present author distrusts such wide comparisons of a long catalogue of facts, "superficially similar but really incommensurable"; he follows the intensive method which he considers less likely to lead to false conclusions. He confines his analysis almost entirely to the Australian aborigines, only extending his range when the chosen area fails to provide him with sufficient data. It is now generally recognised that this is the more fertile method of studying social phenomena; a social fact is not a butterfly that can be pinned down and studied at leisure independently of its environment, man is something more than an unit in the census rolls. Sir James Frazer seeing that ritual was imitative classed it as magic, elementary science, the science of primitive man, who holds that "nature is determined . . . by the operation of immutable laws acting mechanically." The savage goes through rain making ceremonies in order to produce rain by imitating it. That was an obvious deduction from the circumstances; the savage imitates rain when he wants rain, therefore he imitates rain so as to make it rain. That is the intellectual common sense explanation, without multiplying causes. Mr. James admits that ritual is imitative, but holds that it is the outward sign of an inward emotion, the anticipation of a Christian sacrament. It is as essentially a religious act for the Burman or the English sailor to whistle for the wind as it is for a Buddhist boy to be admitted as a *ko-yin* or a Christian child to receive confirmation. It is common ground between both theories that pri-

primitive man is prone to ritual in every crisis of his life, but the one pictures him as magical, utilitarian, the other shows him to be religious in a very real sense, living his religion. According to Mr. James it does not occur to primitive man to wonder how the elephant got his trunk, he accepts the universe. He does not resort to ritual in order to gain a logically conceived end by some magical relation between means and end; the ritual is an expression of intense longing, "the rite as a whole is felt to be in some mystic way effective in bringing about the desired result."

An important feature in Mr. James' work is the stress which he lays on the distinction between private and public rites. The former are of an individual and sacramental nature, the latter refer to the well-being of the community at large. On this basis of classification he proceeds to examine Australian rites, the private ritual of birth, initiation or re-birth, marriage and death, and the public ritual of totems, war and rain making. He traces foreshadowings and essential similarities between those and the ritual procession of the Christian life, baptism and the purification of the mother, confirmation, the Eucharist, marriage, funeral ceremonies and the communion of the saints. Thus "in the catholic creeds of Christianity the vital truths of all religious cults find a place." It would be interesting to trace a corresponding analogy between primitive ritual and the theory and practice of Buddhism in Burma.

It is interesting also in the light of this book to recall the two studies of ritual that have been placed on record in the Journal of this Society. Mr. Grant Brown described for us with ghastly detail the human sacrifices of the Nagas; Mr. Halliday gave us the more pleasant picture of the Talaing Kalok dance. But in attempting to analyse these descriptions one can hardly fail to be struck with the difficulty of distinguishing between their magical and religious elements. That difficulty is encountered in the interpretation of many of the facts instanced by Mr. James. It is in fact inherent in his theory. The savage imitates the making of rain because he wants the rain to fall. Sir J. G. Frazer explains that he does so *because* he wants the rain to fall. Mr. James holds that he does so because he can not help it. The ritual is "not only the outward

expression of thought, but also the vent of pent up emotions and activity." The savage acts before he thinks and forms of ritual must have preceded the development of ideas concerning the how and why of what was being done. When he tries to puzzle out the meaning of his actions he finds them so irrational that he invents gods to account for them.

That however is not the only way in which the hosts of heaven are recruited. Myths partly find their origin in drama. Men returning from battle or the chase recount their exploits with the aid of gesture; memorable episodes are crystallised in dramatic form; the event in which the drama originates passes from memory and they rehearse thenceforth the deeds of legendary heroes. Not improbably it was in this fashion that Tabin-shwe-ti, who lived so lately as the 16th century, gained his Place among the Thirty Seven Nats. But there is a further development, which did not happen with Tabin-shwe-ti. It becomes the practice for the drama to be acted on occasions similar to that which gave it birth and the savage reads into these anticipatory rites a magical efficiency. The ritual however is not effective because like produces like, but because in reproducing more or less realistically some practical activity it tends to establish an *ex post facto* idea of "sympathetic" causation. Then gradually in the normal development of religion the gods leave the earth and become regimented in a heavenly hierarchy of principalities and powers, whose spiritual functions are gradually absorbed by the one god of monotheistic religions.

The distinctive character of Mr. James' work is that it presents us with a religious theory of ritual. The theory associated with Herbert Spencer and Grant Allen pictured the origin of religion in the apotheosis of the Hero. He could "do things" when he was alive, he was a man to propitiate and not to anger; the same character is carried over with him after death. Sir J. G. Frazer pictures the savage turning to religion when magic failed him. He hoped to get something out of it that even magic was not strong enough to give. But these theories and all similar intellectual theories of the origin of religion are essentially irreligious. The authors see that religion is often confounded with the promise of a good time coming, but do not appre-

ciate the essential character of religion, that in no material or profane sense, immediately demonstrable, does the good time ever come. Mr. James avoids their fallacy; he traces the origin of religion to an earlier stage, to a specific religious instinct, an instinct to walk by faith. If you consider the savage walking by the light of reason it is obvious that he would have made a very poor job of life; he would not have walked very far. Even in the 20th century the soundest philosophers are those who find a reason for doing what the plain man does without worrying about a reason.

It can hardly be doubted that in this hypothesis Mr. James has made a notable advance towards the elucidation of anthropological problems. Viewed in the light of his theory primitive ritual is the elementary expression of the religious instinct before man has occupied himself with wonder. Then with the birth of wonder

he accounts for his ritual with myths. Directly he has a myth he has something that he can grasp intellectually and he endeavours to turn it to practical, utilitarian, intellectually conceived ends. That is magic. Out of magic slowly develops science, leaving religion as the solution of the problems that remain unsolved. Mr. James has demonstrated that in its earliest as in its latest forms religion is the metaphysical basis of morality.

We have wandered a good way from the Australian aborigines. But we have gone hand in hand with the author. His book is, ultimately, a tract. That is brought out in the interesting prefatory note contributed by Dr. Maret, the Reader in Social Anthropology at Oxford. But it is none the less good scientific work, a collection and classification of facts. Each reader can draw his own conclusions from them.

J. S. F.

### BURMESE NOVELS.

12.—*Maung Ba Shwe and Ma Hla May* of Kyaiklat by Maung San Thein, Student, St. John's College, Rangoon. Rangoon, Irrawaddy Press, 1910. Price Rs. 1/4.

A remarkable production from a student. The language is good and restrained. The story is a simple one of the meeting and marriage of the hero and the heroine. The first part just gives us enough to expect an unfaithful husband in Maung Ba Shwe. The value of the novel suffers by printing it in parts, which may not get beyond the first part.

13.—*Maung Mya Din and Ma Mè Yu* by Maung Po Ye, Pakokku, Dhammavati Printing Press, Part I, 1911, price 12 annas.

Quite simple in plot being wholly a love-story of Maung Mya Din with Ma Mè Yu, his first love. Courtship is carried on in the ordinary way through the medium of letters entrusted to the indispensable go-between. The young man is not satisfied with the mere requital of his sweetheart's love but insists on meeting her. This the girl finds impracticable, not because she does not wish it but because Burmese etiquette does not allow her to see a young man, not yet approved by her parents. Mya Din goes off in high dudgeon and makes love to another girl in

exactly the same way, *i. e.*, through the medium of letters. One is struck by the want of variety in the love-making of a young man to two distinct persons, the letters to the second love being written in almost exactly the same style and sentiment as to the first. And the go-between comes and goes and thrives by working on the deluded fancies of the lovers.

14.—*Maung Shwe Taung Wuttu* by Saya Thin, 1911. Yedanathiri Press.

This is more like a dull account of Burmese ancient history and archaeology than a novel.

15.—*Maung Cherry and Ma Myat Le, or How to get an appointment*, by T. Ba Thwin, 1912. Irrawaddy Press, Rangoon, 8 annas.

This is the first book of social interest. Cherry comes as a good genius to young Burmans, idle and too proud to work, while all the business is being snatched from their hands by the alien Chinaman and Kala. Cherry, being himself a European man of business, gives them friendly lectures and advice on the difference between independent life and service life, and urges them to develop some business, as without money—so he argues—not even such charitable acts as almsgiving can be made. He ridicules the vain modern Burman for his preference of foreign



goods such as Japanese silk to his own Tavoy silk, of boots and shoes to slippers. He at last prevails upon them to start a company to run a hotel and helps them by becoming its President. He is an advocate also for female education, pointing out the evils of the present system of primary education, where English is not taught and urges the inauguration of the Burma University. Interest in the book is maintained by a beautiful lady, Myat Le, the cynosure of all eyes. The first part, however, ends with her elopement with some outsider.

16.—*Maung Hlaing, the Pennyit seller*. Part I, by Maung Tha Zan, Thonze, Universal Printing Press 1912.

A good novel of humour and pathos with a touch of satire. The story is about a Burman who deceives a simple Karen girl from the plantations and forgets her as soon as he gets to Rangoon and takes a new wife. The Karen wife and her relations pursue him with the doggedness of blind love and the scenes that follow testify to the author's dramatic powers. The dramatic value of the book is enhanced by a skilful use of Karen accentuation of Burmese words. Indeed we have no hesitation in saying that this is the first Burmese novel which approaches European novels as regards the humour and satire of its dialogues. The love scenes are good examples.

## REPORT OF THE SUPERINTENDENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY, BURMA 1919.

This Report is the last that Mr. Taw Sein Ko has written. It contains many important discussions by Mr. Taw Sein Ko who has thrown out suggestions on such points as the relation between the Shan and Tibetan alphabets, the preservation of Buddhism and the cultural origins of the Talaings and the Burmans. He reiterates his old contention about the influence of China on Burma in religion and language. Whether Mr. Taw Sein Ko is right or wrong in his views is a question of future research.

Mr. Duroiselle has contributed largely to the Report. We like his suggestions for a history of Burma, where his wide reading and careful scholarship are well displayed. Mr. Duroiselle writes well on the Lopburi Inscription, the oldest Talaing Inscription as yet discovered. The great interest to us of Mr. Duroiselle's articles lies in the fact that he gives us in clear language the substance of the learning that is scattered in French and German publications. His article on 'Kaḍāram not in Burma' is a good instance. Mr. Duroiselle approves of M. Coedès's new identification of Kaḍāram with Kedah in West Malay Peninsula. This and other identifications made by M. Coedès are different from those made by Mr. Taw Sein Ko, who has given us his views in the Annual Reports.

The question is an important one and we only hope, with Mr. Duroiselle, that Mr. Taw Sein Ko and M. Coedès will be able to come to a satisfactory conclusion.

In paragraph 43 Mr. Duroiselle touches upon the Alaungsithu *versus* Narapatisithu controversy. We agree to all that he says in the first part of the paragraph; but his sentence that "The stone inscriptions never call Alaungsithu by this name" has surprised us. We construe the sentence to mean that Alaungsithu, the grandfather is never called by the name Alaungsithu in stone inscriptions. But surely Mr. Duroiselle, who is so familiar with the inscriptions knows that the name Alaungsithu, to quote one instance, occurs in line 10 of the inscription on page 37 of the Original Inscriptions, collected by King Bodawpaya in Upper Burma, which Mr. Duroiselle himself, then officiating for Mr. Taw Sein Ko published in 1913? The date being 527 sakkaraj = 1165 A. D., Alaungsithu the grandfather is meant in the inscription, referred to. Besides, the author of the New Chronicle (Twinthin Mahasithu) tells us that in inscriptions Alaungsithu, the grandfather is called by the following names: Alaungsithu Shwegudāyakā, Alaungsithu-Minchantha, Shwegudāyakā-Minsithu, Alaungsithu lord of the 36 white



elephants.<sup>(1)</sup> Now Twinthin, as Mr. Duroiselle doubtless knows was a scholar and historian of no mean order, as his New History, to give an instance, abundantly shows.<sup>(2)</sup> One of his duties was to check the inscriptions in Bodawpaya's reign in the Archaeological office.<sup>(3)</sup> His views on the Inscriptions are therefore entitled to special weight. Indeed, it is very probable from the number of Inscriptions that must have perished,<sup>(4)</sup> that he was acquainted with many more inscriptions than we can ever hope to collect. Twinthin's testimony coupled with the evidence of the Inscription we have quoted above are sufficient proof that Alaungsithu, the grandfather is called Alaungsithu, as well as Sithu and Narapatisithu in the Inscriptions. If we have in any way misconstrued Mr. Duroiselle's

statement and if Mr. Duroiselle means some thing else we have missed, we tender our apology and hope that he will put us right.

In the second part of paragraph 43, Mr. Duroiselle, on the strength of the name *Arahan Shin* in an inscription, works out the building of the Nandamaññā to be between 1112 and 1118. Mr. Duroiselle's conclusion is worthy of note as pointing to the building of an Ari temple in Alaungsithu's reign, when according to the chronicles the Ari had already been disgraced by Anawrahta some half a century previously. We would like to have the whole inscription to see whether the context confirms Mr. Duroiselle's interpretation.

—Editor.

### ANANTATHURIYA'S DEATH SONG.—A FURTHER NOTE.

In the last number of the Journal we have traced this song to the Great Chronicle of Maung Kala (1724 A. D.), and compared it with the versions given in the New Chronicle and the Glass Palace Chronicle. Some poetical friends have pointed out to us that *သွေးသည်အနိစ္စာ* which we have rendered as "The blood is transitory" (last line), taking *သွေး* to be the blood ought to be construed as *အနိစ္စာသွေးသည်*, making *အနိစ္စာ* (transitoriness, impermanence) the subject and *သွေးသည်* the verb, to *lure*. We were just considering whether this meaning (of the law of impermanence luring Anantathuriya into his fate) would be more poetical and were beginning to be *lured* away by its attractiveness, when we happened to consult the Old Chronicle, which gives a version different in many points. We obtained this Old Chronicle from U Tin, of Pagan, who prefers to call it the Middle Chronicle. It is certainly an older Chronicle than the Great Chronicle and its date has been assigned to about 1530. It is valuable for a comparative study of history. For instance, it makes Narapatisithu, the grandson a greater man than Alaungsithu the grandfather. Thus, the glowing account of travels which is related of the grandfather in the Great Chronicle and

Glass Palace Chronicle is related of the grandson in this chronicle, (and the New Chronicle of Twinthin also). We give the Death song in full:

သူတယောက်ကား၊ ကောင်းဘို့ရောက်မှ၊ သူတယောက်သည်၊  
ပျောက်နှင့်လေသာ၊ ဓမ္မတာတည်း။

ရွှေအိမ်နန်းနှင့်၊ ကြွင်းလည်းခံ၊ မတ်ပေါင်းရံလျက်၊ ပျော်စိုက်  
ညှိမ်း၊ စည်းစိမ်မကွာ၊ မင်းချမ်းသာကား၊ သမုဒ္ဒရာ၊ ရေမျက်နှာထက်၊  
ခဏတက်သား၊ ရွှေဂူပမာ၊ တသက်လျာတည်း။

ကြင်နာသနား၊ အစားမသတ်၊ ယခုလွှတ်လည်း၊ ကင်းပြတ်  
ကြမ္မာ၊ သူတကာတို့၊ ခန္ဓာခိုင်ကြည်၊ အတည်မမြဲ၊ ဖောက်လွှတ်  
သည်၊ မချွတ်စရာ၊ သတ္တဝါတည်း။

ရိုးကော်ရော်၊ ပုဇွန်အကျွန်း၊ ပန်ခုံတံလျက်၊ သံသာစက်၍၊  
ကြိုက်လစ်တွက်မှ၊ တုံ့ဖက်မလို၊ စိတ်မြဲသိ၍၊ ကြည်ညိုလွှတ်မြန်၊ သ  
ခပ်မွန်အား၊ မချန်စစ်စစ်၊ အပြစ်မီးရေ၊ ခွင့်လှူပေး၏၊ သွေးသား  
ခပ်မွန်အား၊ မချန်စစ်စစ်၊ အပြစ်မီးရေ၊ ခွင့်လှူပေး၏၊ သွေးသား  
အနိစ္စာ၊ သေမြဲရာသား၊ ကိုယ်ခန္ဓာတည်း။

It will be seen that this Old Chronicle<sup>(5)</sup> reads *သွေးသားအနိစ္စာ*, which confirms our interpretation. But if we were still under the *luring* influence we could easily attribute *သွေးသားအနိစ္စာ* (blood-and-flesh is impermanent) to a copyist's error for *သွေးသည်အနိစ္စာ*.

Editor.

(1). Quoted from the Bernard Free Library MS.

(2). See our remarks on Anantathuriya's Death-song in the last number of the Journal. See also Vol. V, part II, page 60 for his Vocabulary of Archaic words.

(3). See page 71. Inscriptions copied from the stones collected by King Bodawpaya, Vol. I, 1897.

(4). "Not a few must have been broken in transit or by mismanagement at the place of destination"—Duroiselle, Preface to the Inscriptions, 1913, above cited.

(5). As also the New chronicle of Pagan.

## DERIVATION OF "ARI".

In the preceding number of this Journal (Vol. IX Part III, pp. 155-6) the Editor criticises my derivation of the word *arī* from the Pali *ariya*, and comes to the conclusion that it is not derived from *ariya* but from *arañña*. At first sight, his criticism appears to be sound; unfortunately his argument is based on two capital errors which vitiate it. He wonders whether it is a slip of the pen when I give *arañ* as the written form of the word *arī*. It was no slip of the pen at all, and the transcription is perfectly correct. Final ခ် has never been meant in pure Burmese words or in words derived from the Pali to represent a double *ññ*, it is but a symbol for the sounds *ī*, *é* and *è*, and it does not stand therefore, as is attested by its use since the 11th century, for a final nasal; the Burmese themselves have understood this so well that, to give it a nasal sound when required, they place over it the *nigahīta*, thus ခ်, pronounced *in* (not *īñ*); and they have so well understood also that ခ် does not stand for a double letter *ññ*, that the custom is gradually gaining ground in educated circles and in books seriously edited, to represent this sound ခ် by the single nasal ခ်, *ñ* (pronounced *in*). Put shortly, ခ် in Burmese, has never been meant to be a double letter; it is merely a symbol used to represent the vowel sound *ī*, and is therefore meant for, and as it is used in reality is, a single letter; for Burmese, as the Editor doubtless knows, has not, and cannot have double final letters; hence the literal transliteration of ခ် by *ñ*.<sup>(1)</sup> This rendering has always been understood as an elementary matter of fact by orientalists in the Far-East and in Europe, not only for Burmese, but also for other languages. That is why Blagden, for instance, when transliterating Talaing, renders တွာခ် by *twāñ* and not *twāññ*; why Ed. Huber, transliterating a passage from the "New History of Pagan" (၇၀၈၀၀၀၀၀) in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française* for 1905, p. 179, renders လာခ် by *lañ* and not *laññ*; ပြာခ် by *prañ* and not *praññ*; သာခ် by *sañ* and not *saññ*. Examples might easily be multiplied, but the

matter is too elementary to give it such honour. My transliteration of အရဉ် by *arañ* was consequently not a slip of the pen, but a rational transliteration. If we admit with the Editor that ခ် as it is used in Burmese represents a double nasal, there can be no reasonable objection to ခ်, which is of course the same letter but initial, being a double nasal also, so that, in transcription we should get such incongruous forms as: ခ် = *ññan*, ခ် = *ññā*, etc. So that when Maung Tin says that "the word is written *Araññ* (a) in Burmese (with a double nasal) so generally that if we came across *arañ* we should look upon it as a careless script," by his insertion of an (a) after the supposed form *araññ*, he seems merely to be begging the question and is asserting straight off that အရဉ် is derived from *arañña* (အရဉ်), not only without further enquiry into the plausibility of his statement, but against all the rules of Burmese phonetics. No doubt, the two words look so very much alike, that the temptation to take them for one and the same word is indeed great; but appearances are not seldom deceitful in philological equations. His assertion that I have derived *arī* from *ariya* instead of *arañña* on the basis of its sound and not of its form does not stand in the light of the explanations which come lower down. Maung Tin has based his derivation *araññ* (sic) = *arañña*, on a passage of a history of Pagan written in Pali, which runs, "athāpi Samathitthāne<sup>(2)</sup> nisinnehi micchādittthikehi *araññabhikkhūhi* sad-dhiñ" etc; but what he does not tell us is that this is the only place in which *arañña* (အရဉ်) is found: that throughout the whole work the author uses constantly the expressions အရဉ် or အရဉ်ကြီး; should not this fact alone have been sufficient to make Maung Tin pause before committing himself to his statement? This being the case, it is clear that အရဉ် in this passage is nothing but a copyist's mistake, who forgot to place the *virāma* on the last letter of the word အရဉ်; that this is the case is shown by other copies which, in this very passage read အရဉ်; for in-

(1) Because if transcribed phonetically by *ī* it would not be distinguishable from the symbol ခ် = *ī*, and would lead to endless misconceptions in the meanings of words written with ခ် and ခ်.

(2) Maung Tin transcribes here *samathi* = *သမထိ*; but all the copies have *samathī* = *သမထိ*.

stance, in the copy of U Tin, Sub-Divisional Officer, Pagan, page 22, which runs—"athāpi Samathitthāne nisinnehi micchādittthikehi araṇi (အရင်း) bhikkhūhi" etc; moreover, it is doubtful whether the author, instead of araṇiṇābhikkhū would not have preferably used the expression āraṇiṇakā bhikkhū, which is the usual one.<sup>(3)</sup> This copyist's mistake, as well as the fact that ည် is a conventional sign to represent the sound ī and not a double nasal ññ, vitiates altogether Maung Tin's derivation, arī=araññ=araññā.

Now, to show that the derivation from *ariya* is not impossible but rather reasonable and very probable. In words derived from the Pali, a final ည် always represents a final Pali—y (a),—īy (a) or—eyy (a). Examples of this change are numerous; a few will suffice here: paccaya, *paccañ* (ပဉ္စဉ်); Kaccāyana, *Kaccañ* (ကဉ္စဉ်=ကဉ္စာယ=ကဉ္စာယ—this form is found in inscriptions); tullaccaya, *tullaccañ*, (တုလဉ္စဉ်); naya, *nañ*, (နဉ်); vinaya, *vinañ* (ဝိနဉ်); also found as ဝိနယ, ဝိနဉ် ဝိနဉ်, in inscriptions); ājāniya, *ājānañ* (အာဇာနဉ်); arimetteyya, which appears in Burmese also under the forms metteyya, mitriyā, arimiteyya, mittiyā and arimittiyā, becomes *mitteñ* (မိတ္တဉ်, pron. meitti), *mittañ* (မိတ္တဉ်) and *arimatañ* (အရိမတဉ်). Pāḷeyyaka becomes *pulalañ*<sup>(4)</sup> (ပုလလဉ်=ပုလိလယက=ပုလိလယ=ပုလိလဉ်=ပုလလဉ်); upameyya, *upamañ* (ဥပမဉ်); Jeyasūra, *cañsñ* (စဉ်ဆု) etc., etc. If then such words as ājāniya, mittiyā, arimittiyā, become in Burmese, ājānañ, mittañ and arimatañ, why should not ariya become araṇi (အရင်း)? The process is simple: ājāniya—အာဇာနိယ = အာဇာနိယ = အာဇာနိယ = အာဇာနဉ်, because two signs ည် and ဉ် are unnecessary to represent the same vowel sound in the same syllable, and therefore one is dropped. So also; ariya—အရိယ = အရိယ = အရိယ = အရင်း, just as အရိမိတ္တိယာ becomes အရိမတဉ် and ဥပမယ = ဥပမဉ်. I have shown<sup>(5)</sup> that the old Burmese used indifferently the sounds ī, é, è, at a time when the language seems to have been in a stage of flux, new forms and consequently new sounds slowly displacing older ones; this lasted for centuries; we can, if I may use the expression, follow the struggle in a long series of inscriptions; this is particularly the case with the three sounds ī, é, è, and so are explained such forms, for the same word, as—ဝိနယ, ဝိနဉ်

ဝိနဉ် = ဝိနဉ် (vinaya; နေယ, နယ, နိယ, နေဉ် = နဉ်; (naya), and numerous others; this long evolution has left its traces on the language of the present day, for such words written one way and so pronounced in formal discourse, are pronounced differently in colloquial speech; as for instance, ဆဉ် = ဆယ; ပြဉ် (Prome) = ပြေ; နဉ် (little) = န; ရဉ် = ရီ; လဉ် = လယ် and so on with a very large number. All these examples and those previously cited conclusively show that, from the time when Burmese began to be written (XIth century), this final ည် was used as a symbol to represent the sound ī (indifferently pronounced ī, é, or è); and that in words derived from the Pali, it regularly represents a Pali final —ya, —īyya and —eyya. I have, I hope, shown, that, in deriving araṇi from ariya, I did not in the least do so "on the basis of its sound rather than on the form which has produced the sound," for as a matter of fact, ည် (ī) never represents a Pali final ññ (a).

It now remains to show that this ည် is not a Pali ññ (a). It is self evident if we bear in mind that—whatever its origins in a remote stage of the language of which we now know nothing—as far back as the XIth century, epigraphical evidence abundantly proves that it was used to represent the vowel ī in words which were then (and even now as has been shown) pronounced either ī, or é or è; if it is a vowel, then it cannot be nor can it represent a nasal consonant in derived words. I have already stated that words which, in Pali, terminate in—ññā have been adopted in Burmese, whether literary or spoken, just as they are, without clipping. For instance *paññā* (ပညာ) remains *paññā*, and so *kaññā*, *araññā*, *dhaññā*, *anuññā*, *vaññā*, *saññā*, etc; this is easily verified by running through a Pali dictionary. The exceptions to this statement are so very few that they are not sufficient to invalidate it. They are: *puññā*—ပုည=ဘုန်း (pron. phôn) in the word ဘုန်းကြီး (=ပုန်း=ခန်း=ဘုန်း; with this compare Talaing ပုန်း=puññā); *sāmaññā*—သာမဉ်=သာမန် (*sāman*); *suññā*—သုဉ်=သုန်း (sun); *bhuñjana*—ဘုဉ်နာ=ဘုန်း (ဘုဉ်နာ=ဘုန်း=ဘုန်း; with this compare also Talaing ပုန်း in ပုန်းလှေ=ဘုန်းလှေ); there may certainly be a few others, but I think they will be very few. It will be remarked that in these

(3). For instance, Pārājikan-aṭṭhakathā, Burmese edition, p. 532.

(4). With insertion of vowel u after the initial labial, a phenomenon quite frequent in Burmese.

(5). *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. I Part I, pp. 30ff.

words, the Pali—*ñi* (a) becomes an *n* (န) (6) and not an ည, which would be impossible, since this latter is a vowel *i*.

There is a clipped word, သမ္ပဉ် which represents *sampajañña*; but it will be remarked that the final ည is not a nasal *ñi*; it is the vowel ည *i* nasalized by means of the *niggaḥita* (†) which in Burmese is pronounced *n*. သမ္ပဉ် is pronounced *thampazīn*; if it were written without the *niggaḥita* it would be *sampajī* (သမ္ပဉ်); ည throughout Burmese equals *i* + *n*, and is thus in sound equivalent to န *n* pronounced *in*. In all these words, therefore, a final Pali—*ñi*(a) becomes *n* (န) and not *i*=ည; and this is quite regular since both *ñi* and *ñ* are nasal, and quite in accordance with Burmese phonetics in which all final nasals besides the dental (န, နှ, န်, †) are pronounced as *n* (န) dental. That ည=*i* + *n* is shown by many Burmese words: ကျဉ်း—pronounced=*kyīn*, but ကျဉ်း=*kyī*; စဉ်း=*sīn*, but စဉ်း=*si*; ဖျဉ်း=*phyīn*, but ဖျဉ်း=*phyi* or *phyé*, and so on. Now, as in some words, a final nasal has inherent before it the sound of *i*, (this is always the case for န, န်=*in*), the word သမ္ပဉ် could not have been written otherwise if its proper sound was to be represented. Had it been written သမ္ပဉ် (sompajin) it would be pronounced *thampazēn*, and would represent a Pali word \**sampajina* or \**sampajinda*, cf. သုရိန္ဒ (sūrin)=*sūrinḍa*; if written သမ္ပဉ် (sompajān) it would be pronounced *thampazīn* but would derive from a word \**sampajāṅga*, cf. နှဉ်း (dhutañ)=*dhūtaṅga*; if သမ္ပဉ် (sompajīm), it would be pronounced *thampazēn*, and refer to Pali word \**sampajīm*; if, lastly, it were written သမ္ပဉ် (sompajāñ=sompajī, its pronunciation would be *thampazī* and it would refer to a form \**sampajāya*. Therefore, in the word သမ္ပဉ်=သမ္ပဉ်, the Pali final nasal—*ñi*(a) is also represented by the nasal *n*=*niggaḥita*. To illustrate that in this word the ည is nothing but *i* + *n*, this *n* representing the final—*ñi* (a), I give the following words in which the ည *in*, proceeds from a final—*n* or *n*; they will at the same time illustrate what has just been said, first that,

all final nasals whether Burmese or Pali become a dental nasal; and that in such words, ည (*i*) in ည (*in*) merely represents that *i* sound inherent in Burmese in a large number of words ending in a nasal: အဘိညာဉ် and အဘိညာဉ်, pronounced *abhinyān*=*abhiññāṇa*; ဝိညာဉ် or ဝိညာဉ်, pron. *Winyān*=*viññāṇa*; ပုထုဉ်, pron. *puthuzān*=*puthujāna*; ဥယျာဉ် or ဥယျာဉ်, pron. *uyān*=*uyyāṇa*; ယဉ်, pron. *yān*=*yāṇa*. This class of words is numerous, but these few examples will suffice. The words given above in illustration, ဘုန်း, သုန်း, သာမန်, represent the oldest way of spelling them; they are found regularly written with an န (n) in inscriptions, manuscripts, and most books. I say *most* books because since about three decades there has been a tendency to change the spelling of certain words; the principal being the change of ဓ to ဘ in numerous words; the adoption, of which I have already spoken at the very beginning, of နှ (ñ final) instead of ည *in*, in Burmese and Pali words, and also to replace final န *n* in the very few words, derived from Pali ones terminating in *ñi* (a). So that now, for instance, we may see but not universally, the word ဘုန်း (pron. *phōn*) from *bhuñjana* written ဘုန်း but pronounced the same as ဘုန်း; or သုန်း (pron. *sōn*) from *suñña* written သုန်း (pron. *sōn*). But this goes only to prove again that, in the very few cases where a Pali word ending in *ñi* is adopted in Burmese after clipping it, the *ñi* becomes a dental nasal *n*.

To resume: ည represents always the vowel *i* in pure Burmese or in derived words. In derived words, it is the result of a Pali final—*aya*,—*iya* or—*eyya*.

Pali final—*ñi* is preserved intact in borrowed words, and in the few words in which it undergoes change, it becomes the dental *n*. The word အရဉ်း *arī*, consequently, if it is after all a foreign word, is properly derived from *ariya*, and not from *arañña*, however closely the two words look like twins. And the statement of Maung Tin that a Pali final *ñi* is the origin of the Burmese vowel *i* (ည) is disproved by facts.

CHAS. DUROISSELLE.

(6). This change of final *ñi* or *ñ* to *n* is not peculiar to Burmese, it is also absolutely regular in Talaing: *mañña* (the Mon or Talaings)—မည=မည=မန (man); *smān*—

သ္မာဉ်=သ္မာန (smān); *twāñ*—တ္ဘာဉ်=တ္ဘာန (twān); *pan*—ည=ပန: *pan*, etc.



## PROCEEDINGS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

*Minutes of a Meeting of the Committee held at Rangoon College on the 28th January, 1919.*

### PRESENT:

H. Hunter, Esqr., C. I. E., *President*  
(*in the Chair*).  
J. T. Best, Esqr., M. A., *Vice-President*.  
J. J. Nolan, Esqr.  
Maung Tin, *Honorary Editor*.  
Mr. A. Khalat.  
G. E. Harvey, Esqr.  
J. C. Mackenzie, Esqr., *Honorary Secretary and Treasurer*.

### BUSINESS:

1. Arrangements for the election of office-bearers for the forthcoming year were discussed.
2. The revenue and expenditure report for the year 1918 was read and circulated.
3. It was resolved that out of the balance in hand a sum of Rs. 1,000/- should be placed on deposit with the Upper Burma Central Co-operative Bank.
4. The Honorary Secretary's report for the year 1918 was read and approved.
5. It was agreed that the Society should undertake the publication of the English translation of the *Hmannan Yazawin* which is at present being made by Maung Tin the Hony. Editor. It was agreed that the publication should be spread over a period of about two years.

J. C. MACKENZIE.

*Hony. Secretary and Treasurer.*

*Minutes of a meeting of the Sub-Committee held at Rangoon College on 14th August, 1919.*

### PRESENT:

M. Hunter, Esqr., M. A., *President*.  
J. T. Best, Esqr., M. A.  
Maung Tin, *Editor*.  
J. C. Mackenzie, Esqr., *Secretary*.

### BUSINESS:

1. The minutes of the meeting held on 20th December, 1918, were read and confirmed.
2. The date for the meeting of the Committee was fixed for Thursday, 21st August, 1919.

3. The date for the next General Meeting was fixed for 29th August, 1919.

4. It was agreed that a paper by R. Halliday, Esqr., on the "Birth Feast of the Mons" be read at the General Meeting.

5. The following new members were admitted:—

(i) S. J. Oates, Esqr., proposed by Mr. J. S. Furnivall, seconded by Mr. J. C. Mackenzie.

(ii) Maung Hla Tin, { proposed by Mr.  
(iii) Maung Hla Tin, { Hunter and second-  
ed by Maung Tin.

6. Letter No. 1167 M/4 B 3 dated 9th May, 1919, from the Secretary to the Government of Burma on the subject of the establishment of central libraries throughout India was read and, after discussion it was resolved that the matter be referred to the Committee.

7. A proposal by Messrs. J. S. Furnivall and B. W. Swithinbank that the Society should address the Local Government urging the desirability of sending Professor Maung Tin to Europe was considered and after discussion was referred to the Committee.

8. A letter from the President of the Burmese Academy, Kyauksè, was referred to the Committee.

9. A proposed change in the Secretaryship was discussed as the present holder desired to resign. Maung Tin stated that Professor G. H. Luce was willing to be Secretary. The matter was referred to the Committee.

J. C. MACKENZIE,

*Secretary.*

*Minutes of a Meeting of the Committee at Rangoon College on Friday, the 29th August, 1919, at 8 a. m.*

### PRESENT:

M. Hunter, C. I. E., (*in the Chair*).  
J. J. Nolan, Esqr.  
The Hon'ble U May Oung,  
Mr. A. Khalat.  
Rev. J. A. Drysdale.  
J. T. Best, Esqr., M. A.



Professor Maung Tin.  
 Professor K. M. Ward.  
 Professor G. H. Luce.  
 U Hpay.  
 J. C. Mackenzie, Esqr.

BUSINESS:

1. The minutes of the meeting held on 28th January, 1919, were read and confirmed.

2. On reference from the Sub-Committee letter No. 1167-M/4. B-3 dated 9th May, 1919, from the Secretary to the Government of Burma was considered.

It was resolved that a reply be sent in the following sense:

- (a) That if central libraries are to be constituted Burma should be a separate centre.
- (b) That the Bernard Free Library as at present constituted is entirely unsuitable to form the nucleus of a central library.
- (c) That the Society considered that there is urgent need in Rangoon for a new library, with an adequate supply of books and an adequate staff; and that for such a library a new building in a central position is required.

3. On reference from the Sub-Committee a proposal by Messrs. J. S. Furnivall and B. W. Swithinbank that Government should be addressed on the subject of sending Professor Maung Tin to Europe before the Burma University is inaugurated, was considered.

It was resolved that the Secretary should address the Local Government on the subject urging the extreme desirability of Professor Maung Tin being sent to Europe and pointing out that the case is so urgent that if the present rules do not permit of his being sent with an adequate stipend for an adequate period, the present rules should be disregarded.

It was also resolved that the Secretary should address the Educational Syndicate on the subject.

4. A letter from the Burmese Academy, Kyaukse, was read in which the Society was asked to appoint a judge to award a prize offered by the Academy for an architectural design at the Provincial Art Exhibition.

It was resolved that the Society regretted that it could not appoint a judge.

5. The resignation of Mr. J. C. Mackenzie of the Honorary Secretaryship was accepted. It was agreed that Professor Luce should take over the Secretaryship and Treasurership from Mr. Mackenzie.

J. C. MACKENZIE,  
 Secretary.

*Minutes of a Meeting of the Committee held at  
 Rangoon College on Thursday the 26th  
 February, 1920, at 8-30 a. m.*

PRESENT:

M. Hunter, Esqr., C. I. E., *President,*  
*(in the Chair).*

J. J. Nolan, Esqr.

J. T. Best, Esqr.

Professor Maung Tin.

Professor K. M. Ward.

Professor G. H. Luce, *(Hony. Secretary).*

BUSINESS:

1. The minutes of the last Committee meeting held on August 29th, 1919, were read and confirmed.

2. Mr. M. S. Collis and Professor A. Campbell were elected members.

3. In accordance with the resolution made at a meeting of the Committee on January 28th, 1919, it was decided to invest Rs. 1,000/- out of the balance to the credit of the Society for five years with Upper Burma Central Co-operative Bank, as soon as funds are available.

4. A set of 25 gramophone records, received from the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, of the languages spoken in Bombay Presidency, was placed on the table.

It was resolved that the gift be acknowledged with the thanks of the Society, and that a request be made for a catalogue for the purpose of identifying them.

5. The Annual Report of the Honorary Secretary was read and adopted and the Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for 1919 passed round.

6. Suggestions were made for Office-holders and Committee members for 1920.

G. H. LUCE,  
 Honorary Secretary.

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting of the Burma Research Society was held at Rangoon College on 27th of February, 1920, Mr. M. Hunter, C. I. E., President of the Society was in the chair.

The reports of the Honorary Secretary and Treasurer for the year 1919 were read. The Honorary Secretary's report showed that the number of members on the roll of the Society at the beginning of the year was 188. Three new members were enrolled during 1919. Four members resigned. Two ordinary members became life members. Two members died during the year. So the number of members at the close of the year was 185.

The principal activities of the Society during the year included a series of lectures at the Arts and Crafts Exhibition. The public addresses on Burmese History were delivered as well as two papers at ordinary meetings. The Committee met twice, the Sub-Committee once during the year. Three numbers of the Journal were published. The Honorary Editor, Prof. Maung Tin, is at present engaged on a translation of the Hmannan Yazawin, the publication of which has been undertaken by the Society. The Society also addressed the Local Government and the Educational Syndicate urging the extreme desirability of Maung Tin being sent to Europe before the University opens.

The Honorary Treasurer's report showed that the year opened with a balance of Rs. 8,061-2-7, the income during the year was Rs. 1,802-14-0, the expenditure Rs. 1,810-13-3, and the balance at the close of the year Rs. 8,053-3-4. Of the balance a sum of Rs. 5,100/- is invested in War-bonds and Cash-certificates. Bills for Rs. 1,802/8 for printing charges for three numbers of the

Journal are still outstanding. Mr. J. C. Mackenzie was Honorary Secretary and Treasurer till February 21st, 1920, when Professor G. H. Luce took over charge. On the motion of Prof. Ward and Mr. Nolan and seconded by Mr. Best and U Hpay the annual reports were unanimously adopted.

Office-bearers for the present year (1920) were elected. Mr. M. Hunter, C. I. E., was re-elected President, Messrs. J. S. Furnivall, J. T. Best, and U Hpay were re-elected Vice-Presidents. Professor G. H. Luce and Professor Maung Tin were re-elected as Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, and Honorary Editor respectively.

Last year's Committee, with the exception of Mr. Luce who is now Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, were re-elected and Mr. J. A. Stewart and Professor Fraser were added to their numbers. The members of the Committee for the present year are as follows:—

Rev. D. C. Gilmore, M. A.; Messrs. J. A. Stewart, M. A., I. C. S.; Taw Sein Ko, C. I. E.; Chas. Duroiselle, M. R. A. S. Professors W. G. Fraser; G. R. T. Ross; Mr. J. J. Nolan; the Hon'ble Mr. C. M. Webb, I. C. S. Bishop Cardot; U Kyaw Dun, K. S. M.; Mr. A. Rodger; U May Oung, M. A., LL. B.; the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Maung Kin; Messrs. G. E. Harvey, M. A., I. C. S.; A. P. Morris; the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Rangoon; Rev. J. A. Drysdale, M. A.; U Po Byu; Mr. A. Khalak; U Shwe Zan Aung, B.A.; L. A. Yain, *Bar-at-Law*; Mr. L. F. Taylor, M. A.; Prof. K. M. Ward.

After the above business had been transacted an illustrated paper by Mr. Luce entitled "The Smaller Temples of Pagan" was read.

# BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

## Revenue and Expenditure Account for 1919.

	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
1. By Last Year's balance	8,061	2	7	1. To Clerk's pay	360	0	0
2. „ Ordinary Subscriptions	1,230	0	0	2. „ Peon's pay	36	0	0
3. „ Subscriptions for Life Membership	300	0	0	3. „ Postage stamps	90	0	0
4. „ Interest on 5½% War Bonds of 1920	246	6	0	4. „ Printing of the Journal	1,071	12	0
5. „ Sale of Journal	26	8	0	5. „ Stationery	19	5	0
				6. „ Printing of forms, notices, etc.	35	0	0
				7. „ Refreshments at General Meetings	67	15	0
				8. „ Telegrams	1	2	0
				9. „ Typewriting fee	19	14	0
				10. „ Furniture (one almirah for the Library)	56	0	0
				11. „ Miscellaneous	53	13	3
					1,810	13	3
				Balance	8,053	3	4

### Details of Balance.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Indian War Loan			
5½% War Bonds	4,500	0	0
Post Office 5 year cash Certificate, amount due on maturity	600	0	0
With Hony. Editor	50	0	0
Balance at the Bank	2,841	1	2
Cheque returned by the Bank	60	0	0
Cash in hand	2	2	2

9,864 0 7

8,053 3 4 9,864 0 7

J. C. MACKENZIE,

21-2-20

Honorary Treasurer.

## LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

### RECEIVED SINCE DECEMBER, 1919, Vol. IX, Part III.

**The Indian Antiquary: a journal of oriental research**, August to December, 1919.

**Epigraphia Birmanica, being lithic and other inscriptions of Burma**, edited by Taw Sein Ko and Chas. Duroiselle, Vol. I, Part I,

**The Fauna of British India including Ceylon and Burma—Mollusca**, by W. T. Blanford and H. H. Godwin-Austin.

**The Fauna of British India including Ceylon and Burma—Rhynchota**, Vol. III and V\*

**Castes and Tribes of Southern India**, 7 vols, by E. Thurston (1909).\*

**Annual Progress Report (abridged) of the Superintendent, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Archaeological Survey of India Northern Circle**, for the year ending 31st March, 1919.

**A complete set of 25 gramophone records of the languages and dialects spoken in Bombay presidency (i. e., Gujarati, Marathi, Kanarese, Konkani, Sindhi Bhil—2 dialects, and Khandeshi.)**

**Journal of the East India Association**, January, 1920.

**The Burney Papers,—List of Contents**, Vols. I—V.

**Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle**, for 1918-19.

---

\* Presented by Prof. W. G. Fraser.





# LIST OF MEMBERS.

*Corrected to April 1920.*

Adamson, Sir Harvey, M.A., LL.D., KT., K.C.S.I.	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Aung, Maung Ba		
Aung, U Shwe Zan, B.A.		
Ba, U .. .. .	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Ba-Ket, Major, I.M.S.		
Ban, Maung Shwe, <i>Bar.-at-Law</i> ..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Barton, C. S.		
Baw, U Hla		
Bellars, A. E., M.A.		
Best, J. T., M.A.		
Bigg-wither, Major F.		
Bishop, F.		
Blagden, C. Otto .. .. .	..	<i>Corresponding Member.</i>
Boedicker, F. L. F.		
Bridges, J. E. .. .. .	..	<i>Corresponding Member.</i>
Brown, H. A., B.A., I.C.S.		
Brown, R. R., B.A., I.C.S.		
Brown, G. E. R. Grant, I.C.S. ..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Browne, C. E.		
Bu, Maung San Shwe		
Bye, U Po, K.S.M. .. .. .	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Byu, U Po		
Campbell, Professor, A.		
Cameron, C. J. N., I.C.V.D.		
Cardot, Rt. Rev. Bishop A.		
Carr, W., I.C.S. .. .. .	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Cassim, A., B.A.		
Casson, R., B.A., I.C.S.		
Chan, Htoon		
Chit, U Po, A.T.M. .. .. .	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Circar, Dr.		
Clague, J. B.A., I.C.S.		
Clayton, H., M.A., I.C.S.		
Cochrane, R. A. .. .. .	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Collis, M. S., B.A., I.C.S.		
Cooper, C. R. P., B.A., I.C.S.		
Cooper, W. G.		
Couper, T., M.A., I.C.S. . . .	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Covernton, J. G., M.A., C.I.E.		
Craddock, Sir Reginald, K.C.S.I., I.C.S.,	..	<i>Patron.</i>
Craig, T.		
Crawford, Prof. R. N., M.A.		
Cuffe, Lady .. .. .	..	<i>Life Member</i>
Cummings, Rev. Dr. J. E., M.A., D.D.		
Darwood, J. W.		
Davis, C. K.		
Dawson, L., <i>Bar.-at-Law.</i>		

deSilva, Thos. P.			
Dewes, Lt.-Col. F. J.			
Din, U Min, T.D.M.			
Do, U Tha Ka, K.S.M.			
Douglas, Prof. W., M.A., B.P.H., B.D.			
Drysdale, Rev. J. A., M.A.			
Dun, Maung Ba, <i>Bar.-at-Law.</i>			
Dun, U Kyaw, K.S.M.			
Dunn, C. W., B.A., I.C.S.			
Duroiselle, Chas.			
E, U Ba, B.A.			
Enriquez, Major C. M. D.			
Fogarty, P. C., B.A., I.C.S.			
Fraser, Prof. W. G., M.A.			
Furnivall, J. S., B.A., I.C.S.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Fyffe, The Rt. Rev. Bishop R. S.			
Gale, U Maung			
Gilmore, Rev. D. C.			
Gordon, D. M.,	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Grant, C. F., M.A., I.C.S.			
Grantham, S. G., B.A., I.C.S.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Gyee, J. A. Maung, <i>Bar.-at-Law.</i>			
Gywe, U Tha, <i>Bar.-at-Law.</i>			
Habgood, J. C.			
Halliday, Rev. R.	..	..	.. <i>Corresponding Member.</i>
Hamlin, Lieut., A. E.			
Han, Maung Ba, M.A.			
Harvey, G. E., M.A., I.C.S.			
Hertz, W. A., C.S.I., F.R.G.S.			
Hla, Maung Aung, B.A.			
Hla, Maung Kyaw San			
Hlaing, Maung Po	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Holme, H. B., B.A., I.C.S.			
Houldey, J. E., B.A., I.C.S.			
Hpay, U, K.S.M., A.T.M.			
Hunter, M., M.A., C.I.E.			
Jones, B. M.			
Keith, A. D., B.A., M.R.A.S., <i>Bar.-at-Law.</i>			
Keith, The Hon'ble Mr. W. J., M.A., I.C.S.			
Khalak, A.			
Kin, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Maung, <i>Bar.-at-Law.</i>			
Kin, U Thein, A.T.M., B.A., F.C.S.			
Ko, Taw Sein, C.I.E.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Kumeran, Dr. P. J.			
Kun, Maung, <i>Bar.-at-Law.</i>			
Kyaw, Maung Ba, K.S.M.			
Kyu, U Po, A.T.M., K.S.M.			
Lack, Major L. H. A., I.M.S.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Leach, F. B., B.A., I.C.S.			
Lewishon, F., M.A., I.C.S.			
Lightfoot, S. St. C.			

List, J. N.			
Luce, Prof. G. H., B.A.			
McCallum, J. L., I.C.S.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
McDowall, R. G., M.A., I.C.S.			
Mackenzie, J. C., M.A., I.C.S.			
Marshall, Rev. H. I.			
Maung, Maung Kin			
Maung, Maung Thein, M.A., LL.B., <i>Bar.-at-Law.</i>			
Maung, Maung Thein	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Maung, Maung Chit			
Me, U, K.S.M.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Metteyya, Bhikkhu Ananda			
Moore, H. C., B.A., I.C.S.			
Morris, A. P., B.Sc.			
Nepean, N. St. V.			
Nolan, J. J.			
Nyein, U Tun, I.S.O.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member</i>
O, U Kyi, B.A.			
Oates, S. J.			
Ommanney, J. L.			
On, Maung Po, B.A.			
Ormiston, Lieut.-Col. T. L., M.A., <i>Bar.-at-Law</i> , I.A.			
Oung, The Hon'ble U May, M.A., LL.B., <i>Bar.-at-Law.</i>			
Page, A. J., B.A., I.C.S.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Pedley, Dr. T. F.			
Pennell, C. S., M.A., I.C.S.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Perroy, The Very Rev. Father			
Pridmore, Lieut.-Col. W. G., C.M.G., I.M.S.			
Prothero, Capt. J. E. D., I.A.			
Rhi, Maung Kyaw Sa			
Rice, The Hon'ble Mr. W. F., I.C.S.			
Roberts, Major A. B.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Robertson, L. C.			
Rodger, A.			
Ross, Dr. G. R. T., M.A., D.Phil.			
Rost, Lieut.-Col. E. R., I.M.S.			
Rutledge, J. G., M.A., <i>Bar.-at-Law.</i>			
Sa, Maung Po, B.A.			
Sa, U Po, I.S.O., K.S.M.			
Saing, Maung Ba, <i>Bar.-at-Law.</i>			
St. Guily, The Very Rev. Father			
Salaraks, Luang Phraisom			
Saunders, L. H., I.C.S.			
Saw, H. Po, B.A.			
Scholes, W. A.			
Seppings, E. H.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Set, Maung, B.A.			
Sewell, Lieut.-Col. J. H.			
Shaw, John			
Shein, Maung Tun, B.A.			
Silvanus, D. H. M.			

Sin, Maung Po (2)			
Smith, Rev. J. F.			
Smyth, W. J., B.A., I.C.S.			
Snow, C. A., M.A.			
So, Maung Ba			
Stevens, T. H. G.			
Stewart, J. A. M.A., I.C.S.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Stuart, J.	..	..	.. <i>Corresponding Member.</i>
Swan, Maung Boon	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Swinhoe, R.			
Swithinbank, B. W., I.C.S.			
Symns, J. M., M.A.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Taylor, L. F., B.A.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Teik, Saw Tun, B.A.			
Temple, Sir Richard	..	..	.. <i>Corresponding Member.</i>
Teong, Taw Sone			
Tha, Maung Ba, B.A.			
Than, Maung Po, A.T.M.			
Than, Maung Aung, B.A.			
Thein, Saya	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Tin, Prof. Maung, M.A.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Tin, Maung Hla (1)			
Tin, Maung Hla (2)			
Tin U, A.T.M., K.S.M.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Tripp, L. M. G.			
U, U Tun			
Van Horn, Prof. C. E., M.A.			
Wallace, W. V. I.C.S.			
Ward, Prof. K. M., B.A.			
Webb, The Hon'ble Mr. C. M.			
White, Sir Herbert Thirkell	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Whitnah, Prof. C. H., M.Sc.			
Wilson, J. C. C.			
Win, Maung Tun (1)			
Wollaston, The Hon'ble Mr. C. H.			
Woods, E. A.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Ya, Maung Tun, A.T.M.			
Yain, L. A., <i>Bar-at-Law.</i>			
Yon, U Kyin, K.S.M.			

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

The editors feel that explanation is due to the Members of the Society for the late appearance of the present number of the Journal.\* It will be sufficient perhaps to point out that they are inexperienced and cannot at once take the place of Maung Tin who has edited it successfully for so many years, also they have been assisting in a humble manner in the initiation of new enterprises which will greatly extend the work and activities of the Society.

A Text Publication Fund will soon be started with the object of printing and making accessible various interesting manuscripts which are at present scarce and almost unknown. A start will be made with Yazawins, Thamaings, Sittans, suitable extracts from the Hluttaw records and other similar documents in Burmese or Pali. At a later date Talaing manuscripts and the Shan Chronicles may be included. Detailed proposals are at present under consideration. The work will, of course, be carried out with the assistance of competent Sayas who have generously offered their services.

The work of compiling a Bibliography of books on Burma has been commenced. It is hoped that the Bibliography will be ready for publication in the Journal within a year.

A general index of the contents of the ten volumes of the Journal has been undertaken. This will be published, when completed, as a supplement to the Journal.

In the present number will be found a collec-

tion of folk-lore, tales and legends. It is suggested that members of the Society, who are stationed in the District or who have to tour, should make a point of collecting such tales and should send them to the Hon. Editors for publication. The Journal will be enlivened and the investigator will find profit and entertainment in the task. There are many other matters of interest that may easily be collected. For instance the history and legends attached to place-names. Major Enriquez presents us with some of these in his article "Beyond Mandalay." Bird-legends are to be found in his published books and other writings. Burma is full of interest to those who will look around.

The present number also contains the germs of a Dictionary of literary biography. It is called a "Dictionary of Authors" and is one of the successful essays in the recent prize competition. Mistakes and omissions no doubt occur and the Editors will welcome all additions and corrections. Work of this sort deserves encouragement.

In every number is to be found a list of Periodicals, books and other publications which have been presented to the Society. Arrangements are now being made to provide suitable reviews. Members of the Society who are willing to write reviews are requested to communicate with us and to indicate the subjects in which they are interested.

*Joint Editors.*

\* The numbers for April and August 1921 will appear simultaneously in October. The December number is

now in hand and will issue at its proper time.



## BEYOND MANDALAY.

BY MAJOR C. M. ENRIQUEZ.

Anyone who visits the country north of Mandalay must face the railway journey to Madaya. And since this requires more than ordinary fortitude, the area, with its quiet villages, pagodas and tamarind trees, remains unknown to all but a few officials travelling on their lawful occasions. The tiny train drawn up near the Zegyo Market accomplishes its reckless journey of 16 miles in 3 hours, and starts off by wallowing along the smelliest drains of Mandalay until it passes reluctantly into clear open country and follows a canal the rest of the way to Madaya. This part of the pilgrimage is pleasant enough. The canal is shaded, with big trees including the *Htanaung Bin*, whose quaintly twisted limbs are a feature of Upper Burma. Boats move up and down the water-way, and white pagodas stand in a setting of flaming gold-mohur. Rice fields stretch away into the distance. This is a rich country, and I am made aware of the fact by the jewels on the hand of the old Burmese lady who shares my compartment, and by the wads of bank-notes which she stuffs into a suitcase. Presently we pass Taung Byon, celebrated for its *Nats*, on whose account the place is sometimes called Nat Ywa. The *Nats* Shwe Byin Gyi and Shwe Byin Ngè were sons of a great Burmese soldier called Byat-ta and nephews of King Kyanzittha himself. They were done to death in a particularly unpleasant way, and consequently their temper in *Nathood* is uncertain. Their festival takes place in August and is the resort of *Nat-kadaws*.<sup>(1)</sup>

Madaya is a wonderful garden of Betel and Coccoanut palms. The country is fertile and well irrigated, but unhealthy. Canals flow in all directions through the palmgroves, and it is quite an experience to follow these shaded water-ways

where flash the jewelled wings of the King-Fisher. Beyond the dense plantations there is more open jungle, where the white-necked Storks build on the tree-tops in March. In June, Weaver-birds, their heads now crowned with gold, hurry to and fro building their amazing nests.

During my visit a certain yellow bird called Maung Yin Wa Hgnet,<sup>(2)</sup> or The Yellow Novice, caused a sensation in one of the villages by suddenly assuming a new song. The Burmese are quick enough to note any such phenomenon, which appeals strongly to their imagination. A thrill of this sort is always agitating the mystery loving Burmese villager. A few weeks before, a golden image had made its appearance in another village where it was visible to some people but not to others. Such manifestations, and the appearance of fire-balls and so on about a pagoda, are due to the power of relics, but are not considered fortunate signs. Elsewhere, a man dug up treasure which he remembered having buried in a previous life. These interesting events are of course topics of delightful speculation. I cannot identify the yellow novice, but its unseemly conduct may perhaps be ascribed to the power of mimicry which some birds possess. For a short period this otherwise sober little bird suddenly broke out with a whistle which sounded distinctly like:—

Ta-sè pe mè. Yu-ma-la?

Ta-sè-pe-mè-byo.

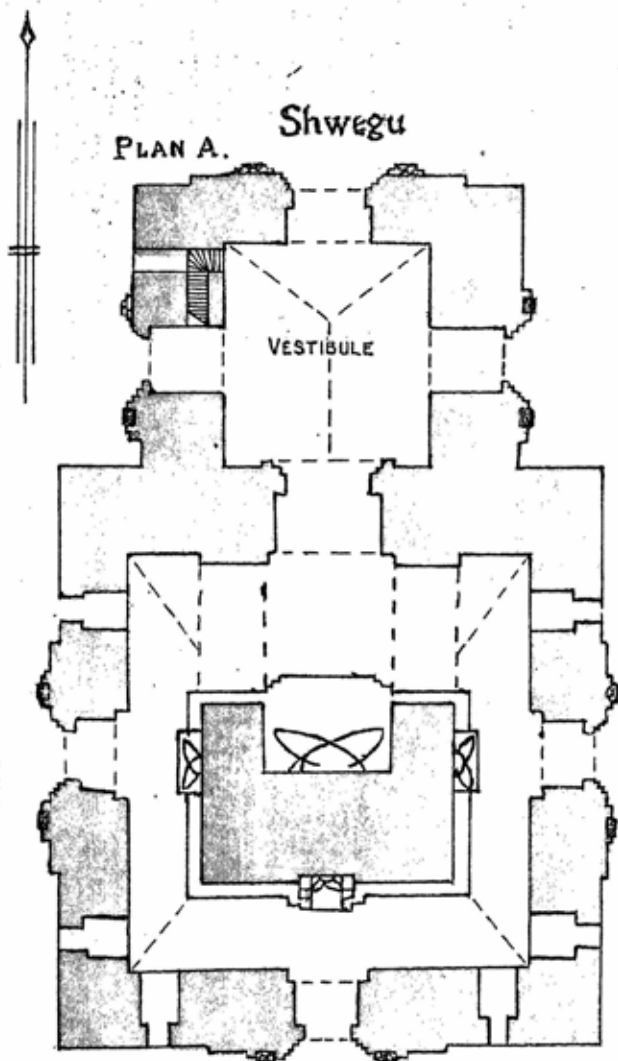
Kyok-po-ta-sè

which means—I will give you ten. Will you take them? I will give you ten. Ten to me too. I can only suggest that this depraved yellow novice was the reincarnation of a Bookie.

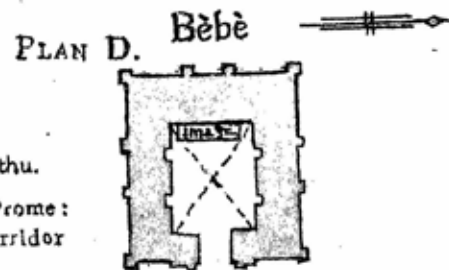
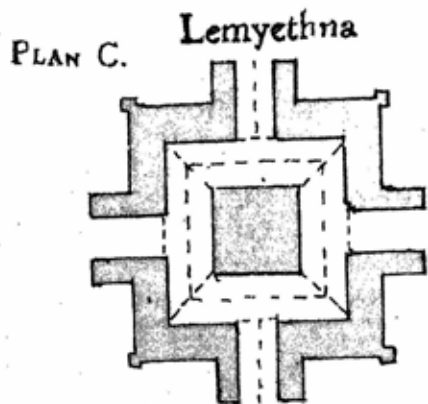
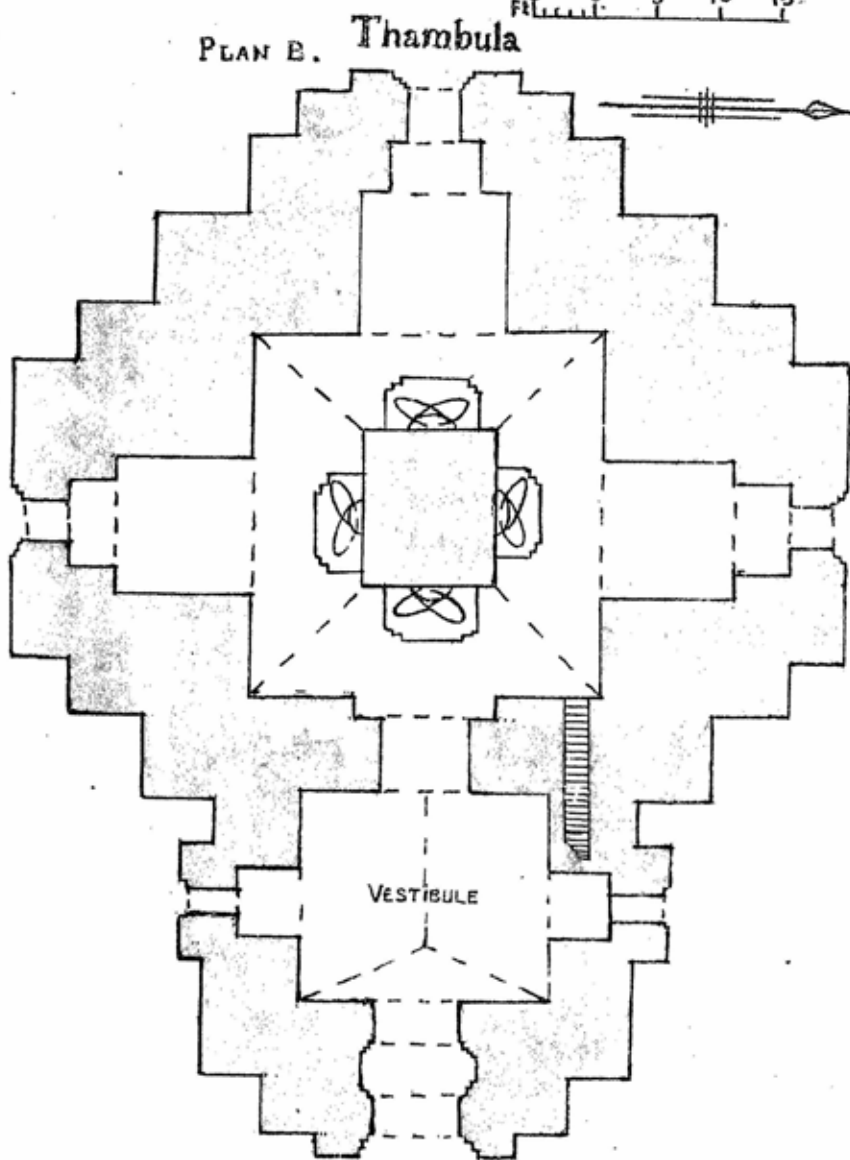
(1). *Net wives*, or mediums.

(2). မောင်ရင်စိုင်း





Scale: (for all)  
 5 0 5 10 15  
 Feet



- PLAN A.—Shwegugyi, Pagan.  
 PLAN B.—Thambula Pagoda, Minnanthu.  
 PLAN C.—Lemyethna Pagoda, Old Prome: prototype of Pillar-and-Corridor Temple  
 PLAN D.—Bèbè Pagoda, Old Prome: prototype of the Cella Temple.



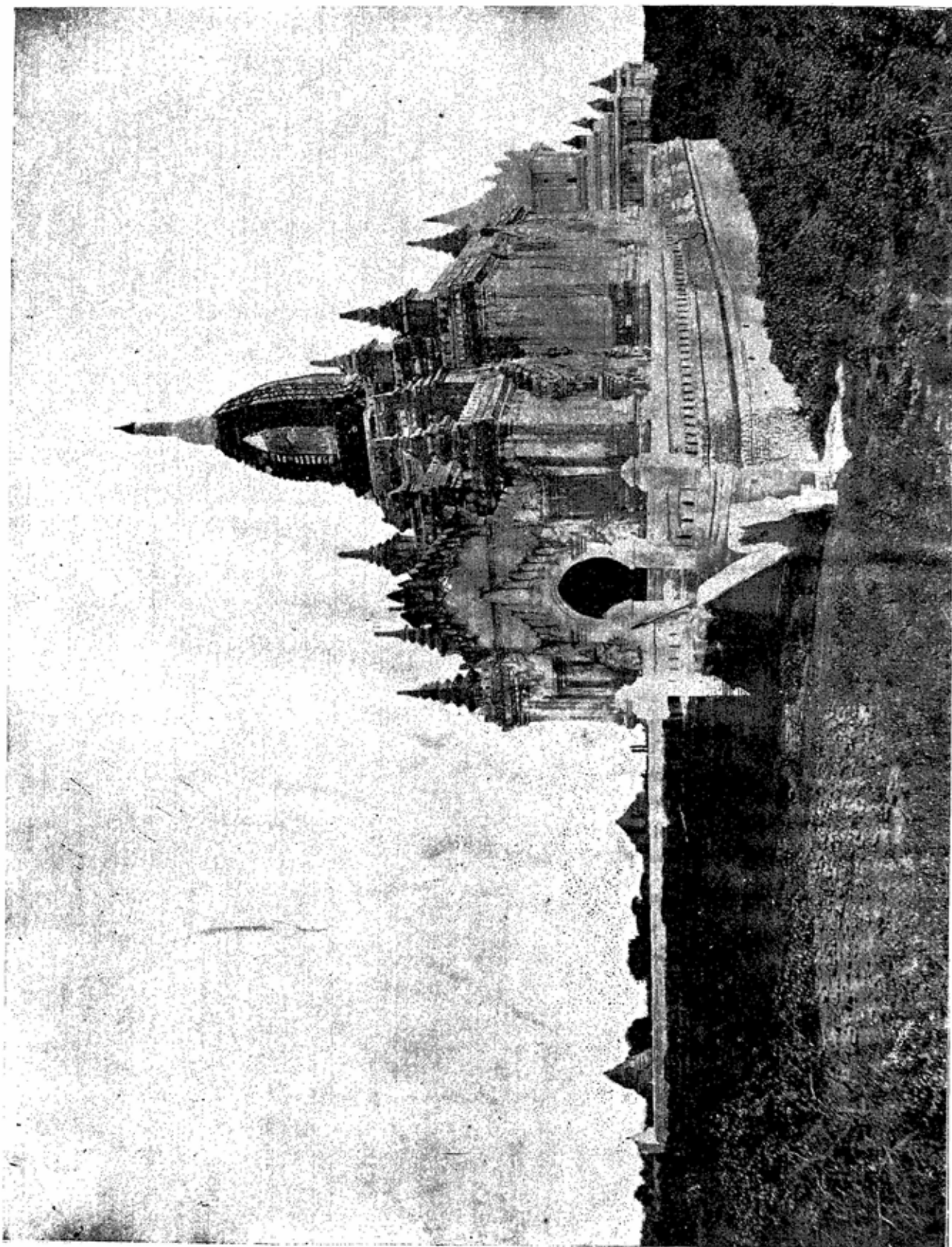
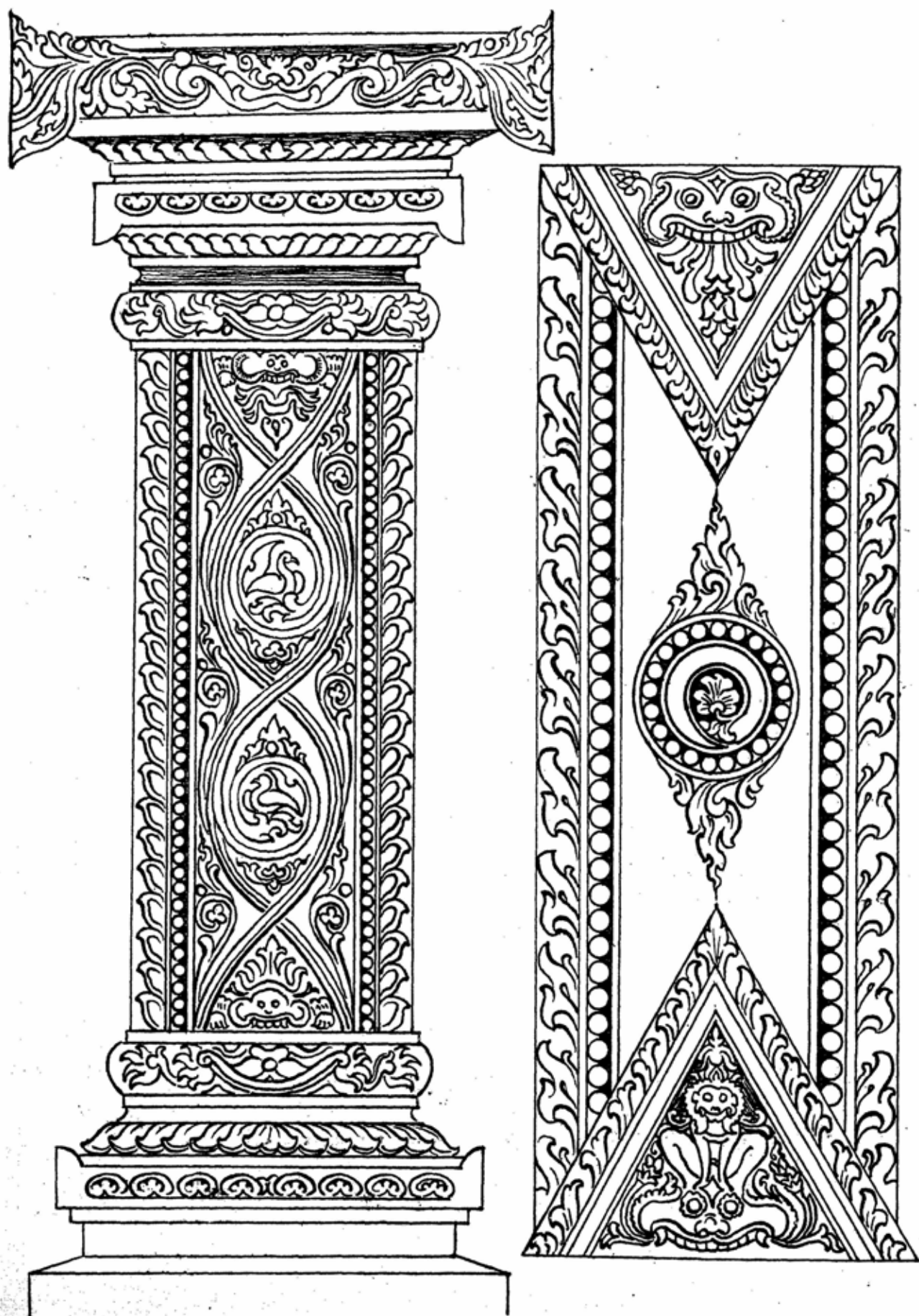


PLATE II.

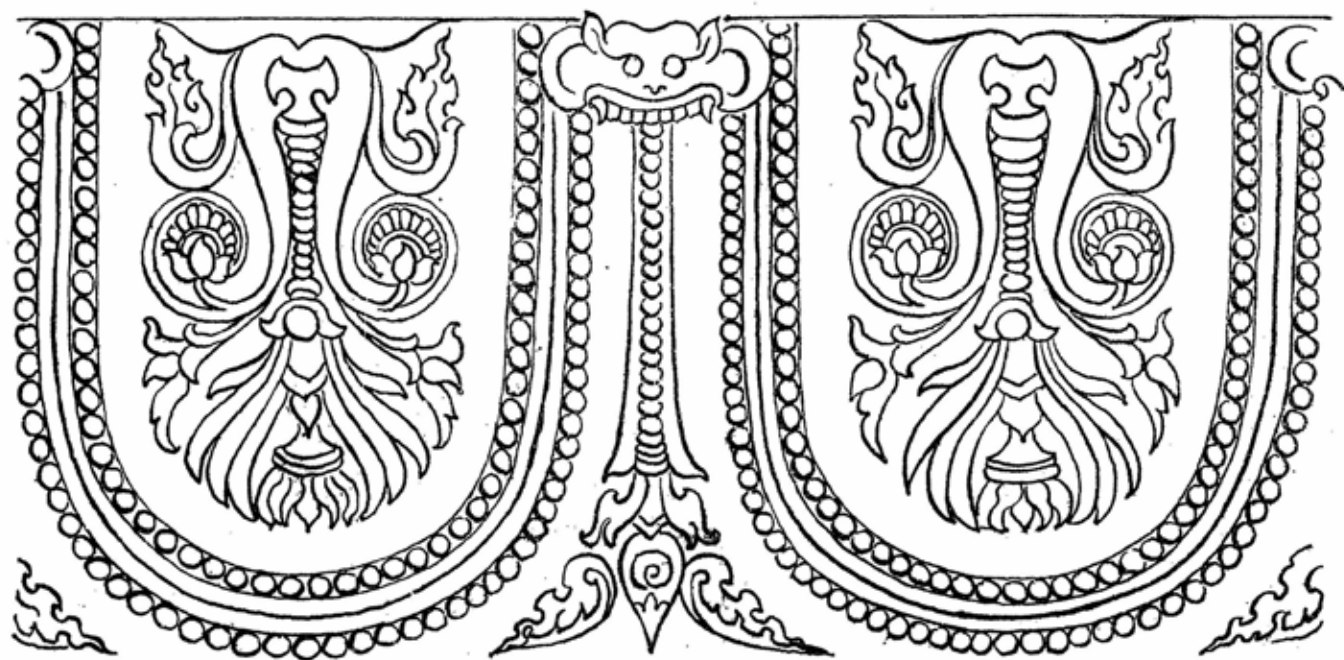
SHWEGUGYI PAGODA, PAGAN.





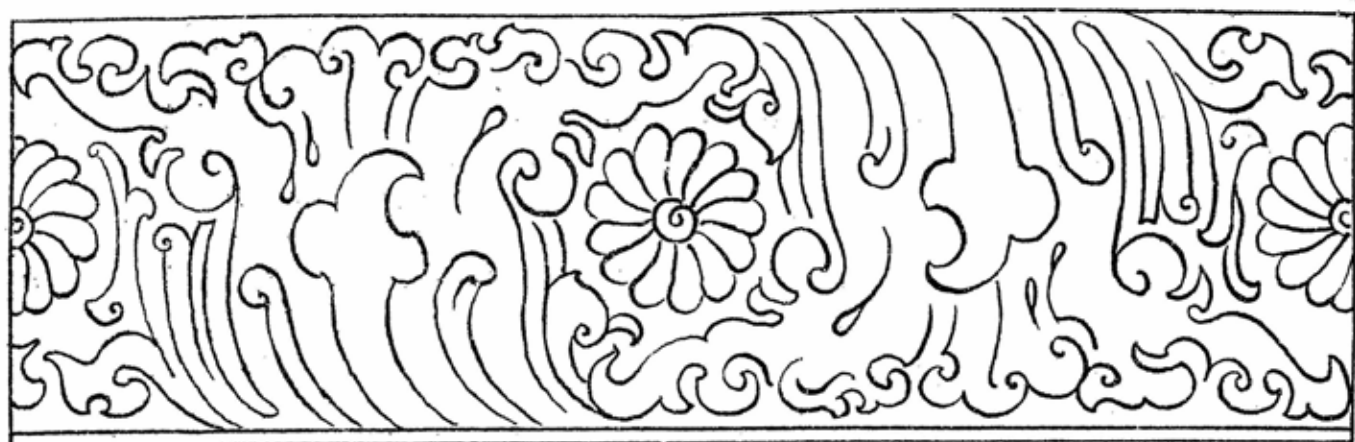


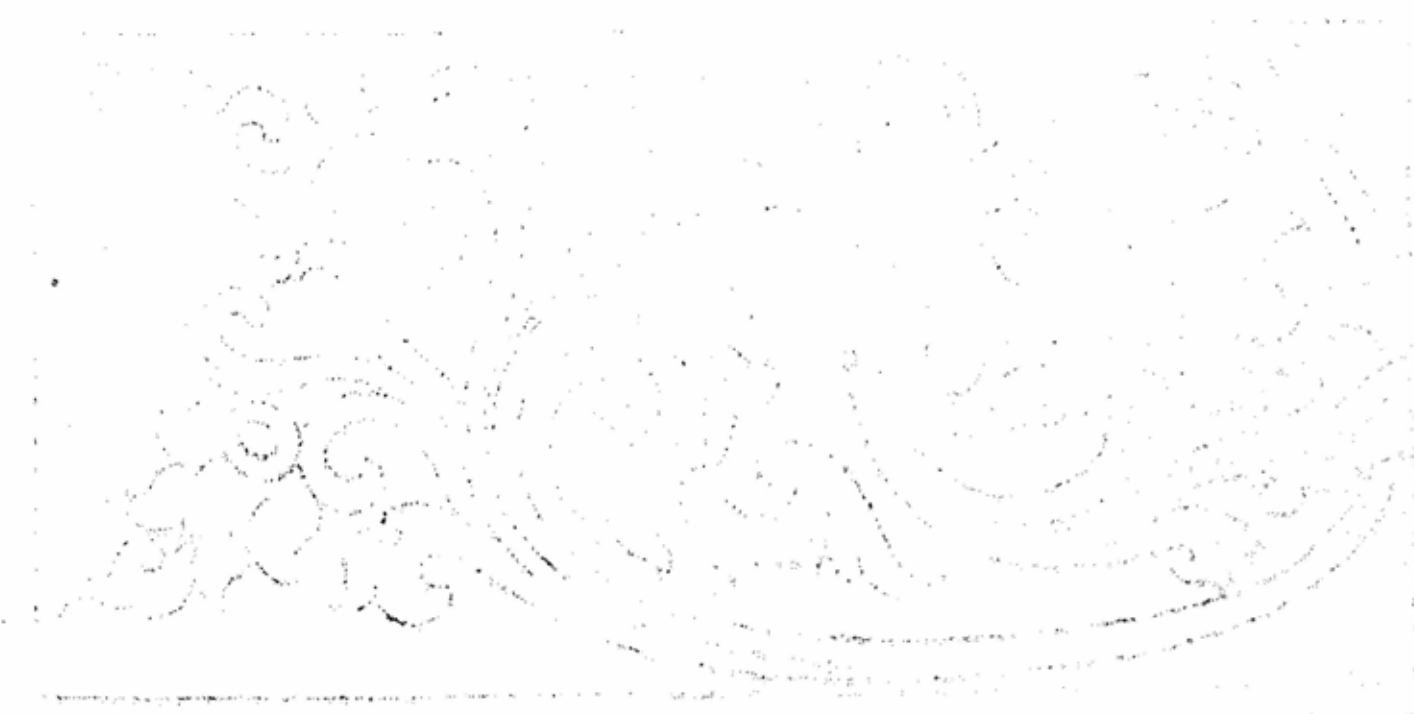


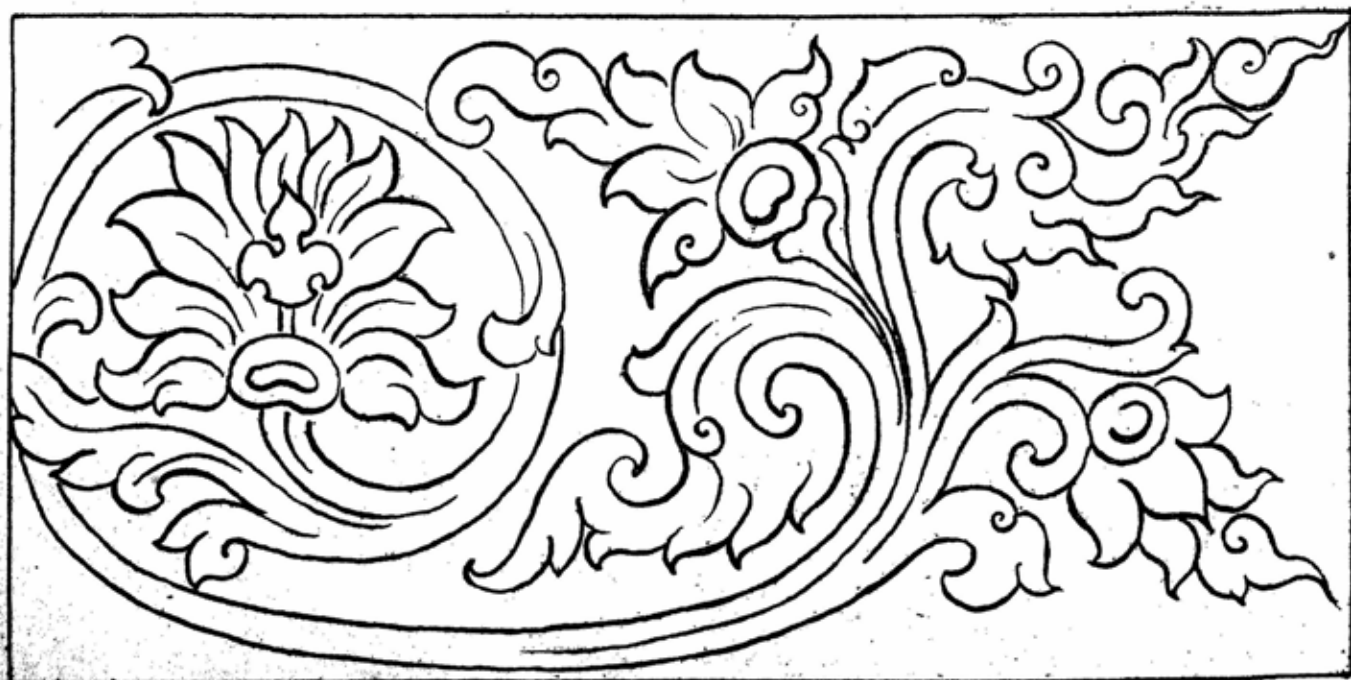
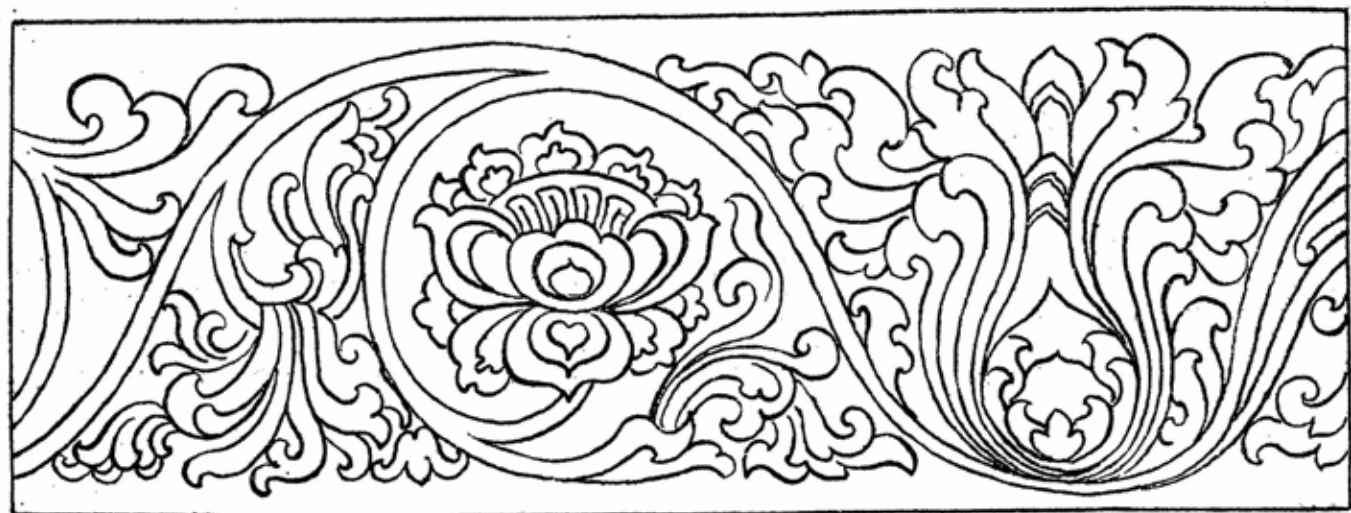




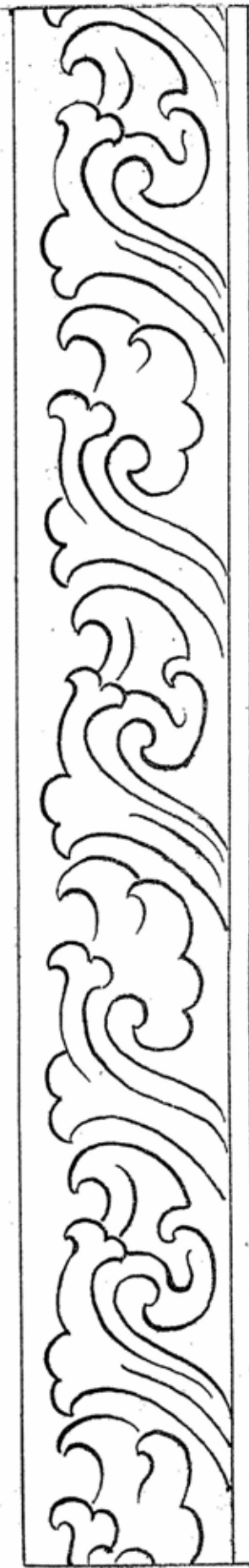




















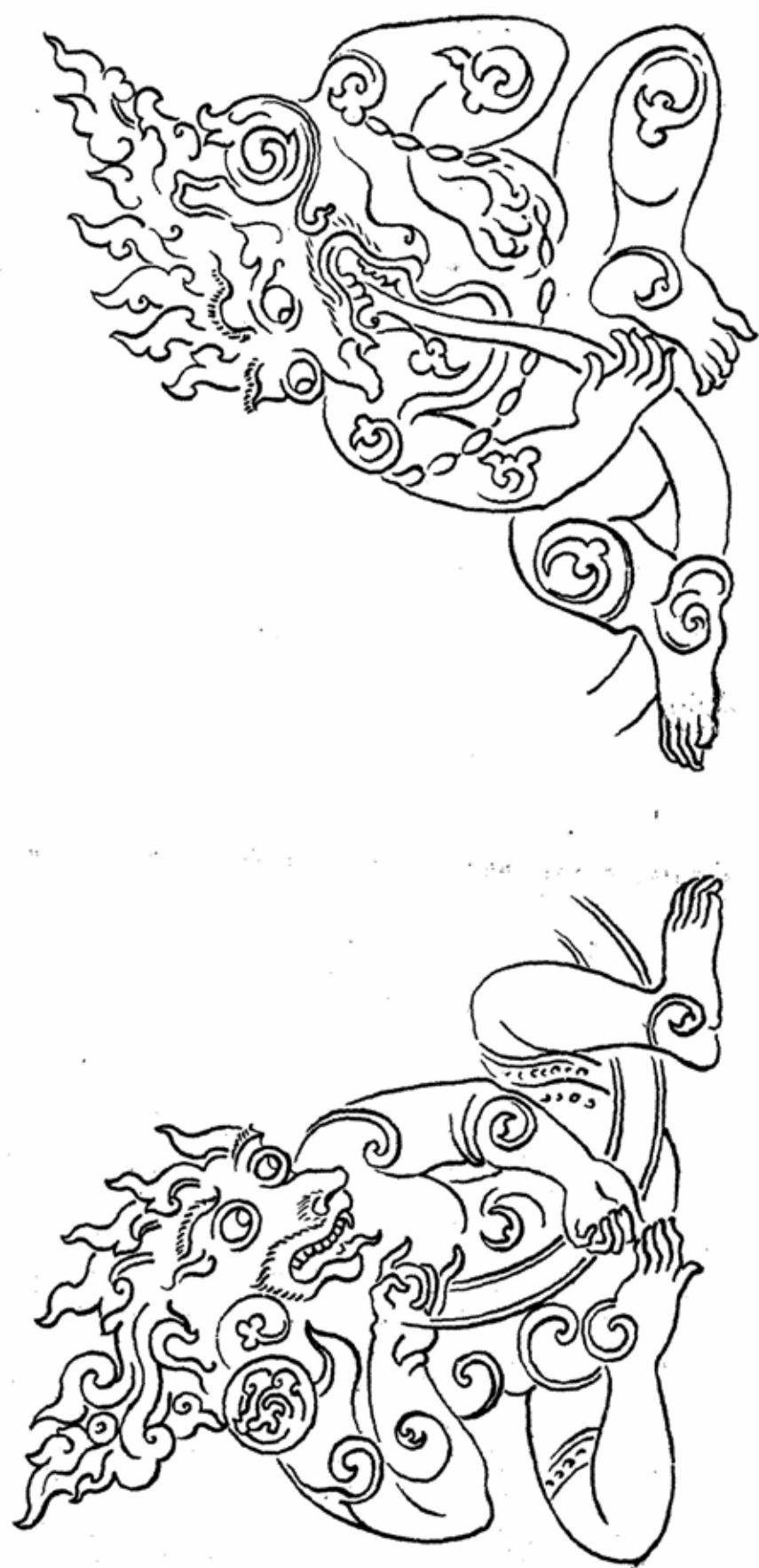
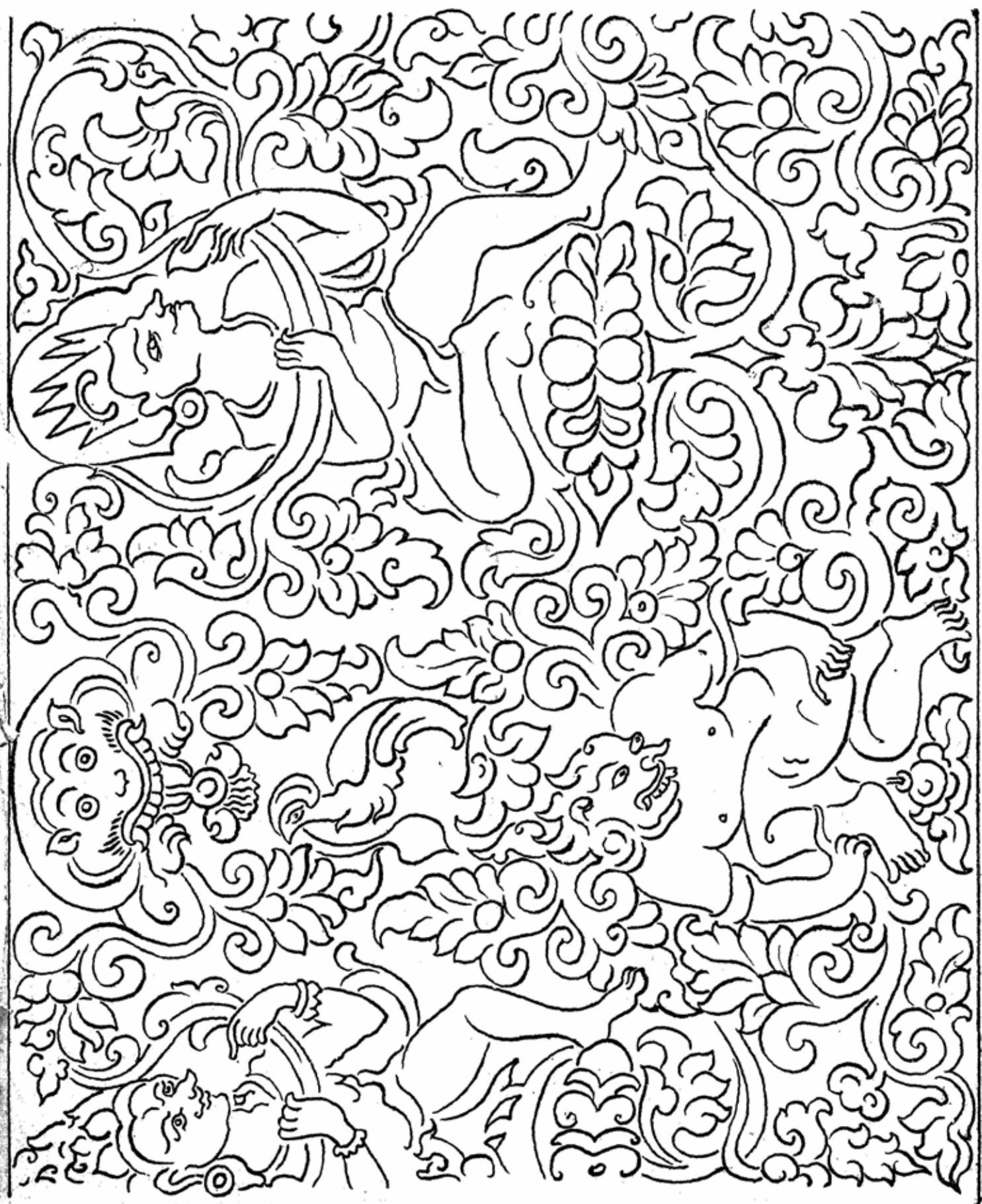


PLATE IX





## THE SMALLER TEMPLES OF PAGAN.\*

### I

Let us build today one of the smaller temples of Pagān. It shall have but one storey, reaching no great height yet none the less aspiring. As in many of the greater temples we shall have a central pillar, square below and with a leafy struggling plinth, leaping without into the jagged curves of the *sikhara*. Against each face we shall enthrone the Buddha touching earth. Each mass and coign and curve of the building must relate to him. Sentinels at the door face outwards guarding him; the roof of the vestibule must lean and point to him; the vault of the corridor bend over him; within the side walls of the porch the stairways rise towards him; the two-headed cobra be his halo; the whole flame-tipped temple stand as a crown about him. Yet he is no mere idol, no mere god even. The inner great flame-archway that almost bursts the vault of the vestibule, the small but eloquent flame-pediment framing the image, warn us that we have entered not a building but an idea, and are confronting not a person but a fact.

There are other designs open to us of course.<sup>(1)</sup> We might have no central pillar, but only a square chamber whose walls grow upwards and arch inwards, meeting like four petals of a flower in a point above the Buddha's head. For he, again, is the jewel in this lotus—throned against a screen or reredos that also arches to an apex. If we would have a bright and generous fane we shall open equal pointed archways on each side; if we prefer secrecy and religious light, we shall have but one entrance and a vestibule, set the screen and image against the further wall, and close the side arches in a plain recess

or perforated window. Then kneeling before the Buddha we may find more exquisite communion, the lotus closing over us and him.

Outside, we feel the same spirit of aspiration as in the greater temples, shewn in similar ways. Leafage of plinth and capital, flame-pediments, dado and pilasters with their V-mouldings, frieze<sup>(2)</sup> of looping pearl pendants; and above, the terraces and fire-tongued corner stupas, the flights and flaming archways up the centre of each face, the broken curves and yearnings of the *sikhara*—are all the same. Often instead of the *sikhara* we have a bell-pagoda at the top, not indeed so aspiring for its curves are horizontal rather than vertical, but no less lovely.

But here is yet no main distinction between the great and smaller temples. The latter have but one storey; they are less stern, but far less grand and less aspiring. How shall we restore the balance and make these humbler shrines, if not so powerful, as moving? We will rest content with their smallness, make a virtue of it in fact, and give our best care to elaborate their smallness, their detail. And hence will arise this natural if surprising fact, that the Pagan temples which have most surface to adorn are the most empty of ornament, and those whose pettiness, one thinks, might well dispense with ornament are the most adorned. For of course these temples were treated from the first as works of art. To be seen at all, the giants must be seen at a distance; their surface therefore was treated in a broad manner. Inside, although their large wall-spaces might tempt the painter, the gloom and narrowness of the corridors told him that fresco was impossible. No such reflec-

\*Read at the Annual Meeting at Rangoon Colelge on the 27th February, 1920.

(1). The prototypes of the two main kinds of Temple here described are the Lemyethna and Bèbè at Old Prome. See their groundplans (Plate I). The Thambula at Minnanthu is a good instance of the developed pillar-and-corridor Type, with vestibule.

(2). This is, I fear, an inaccurate use of the word, but it would be hard to find a substitute. The Pagan 'frieze' does not come between the cornice and the architrave but is the lowest member of the latter. The features alluded to in this paragraph have been described at length in the author's article entitled "The Greater Temples of Pagan" Vol. VIII, Part III.



tion would deter the architect of the smaller shrines. The very closeness with which his surface will be regarded will tempt him to make it worthier of a close regard. The artist who is denied the infinite will ever turn to the infinitesimal.

There are few pagodas at Pagan of which I think the decoration florid. Flowery it is often, certainly, but there is scarcely anything even of the fine extravagance of Bagyidaw's time, much less of the rank jungle rife in Burmese art today. Nowadays design is often utterly choked. A hundred years ago it was rarely lost but rarely emphasised; the interest was mainly local; we have noble detail—ramps of stairways, gables, scrolls of parapets—but only now and then great architecture. At Pagan ornament was severely chastened. Hardly is it allowed even for a moment to outstep the main bounding lines. Within the usual loops of the festoon frieze urnlike foliage or praying figures throned on lotus might be indefinitely elaborated. Within the soaring flames of the pediments harpies, centaurs, bird-elephants, or dancing spirits coiled in spirals snorted from the jaws of dragons, are not stinted. And these details are not merely indicated by the slight incisions common in the larger temples, but are often modelled with a firm hand deeply. A few liberties of course are taken. The flametips pass insensibly into alternating leaf and bud, still keeping the surge of the pyramid. In the dado the hard jointure of the inverted Vs. is sometimes softened to a curve. The stern line below the frieze is modestly broken by little tails of pearl.

Meantime the usual mouldings are become more complex.<sup>(3)</sup> Fine sheath mouldings and rosettes brace the string course of the architrave. Bands of square windswept leafage quicken the plinth. Bosses between the enamel plaques of the recesses or between the Vs of pilasters are carved with deer and peacocks or spirits seated or flying, and sometimes even fill the hollows for the plaques. Each lancet of the *sikhara* has a Buddha throned on lotus that rests on coiling fountains of foliage springing from a monster's head. From the top V of the pilasters a dragon

mask projects with bulging cheeks and indrawn lips disgorging the long scrolls and tassels that fill the V. Similar grotesques salute us on every leading quoin or gargoyle. At the bottom of the corner pilasters lions with double bodies lash their tails, or *kinnaras* (human to the waist, with heavy ostrich wings and talons below) stand out in high relief. Above, instead of the Vs, straight bands of foliage often climb obliquely to the edge. Porch pilasters are enriched with towering coils of foliage holding sphinxes, heraldic lions, unicorns, or dragons rampant and affronted. Amid this riot of strange shapes a simple frieze of separate oval leaves with seated saints or placid pecking birds between, will often take the place of the festoons and pendants. The most elaborate detail is perhaps seen in the moulding of the flame-pediments. In the outmost flames or horns claw-handed *makaras* coil back their trunks and gape; from within their jaws stand lions rampant up the vertical reach of the horn; beckoning figures leaping from their heads carry round the horn tip. At the foot of the centre flame is a goggle-eyed grotesque upon whose bulging cheeks squats a demon with a double paunch; a tusked four-footed monster stands erect upon his head, upholding the lotus stalk whereon the praying Sakra sits.

## II

What means this fearsome brood, these

"*Complicated monsters, head and tail,*

*Scorpion and Asp and Amphisbaena dire,*

*Cerastes horned, Hydrus, and Ellops drear,*

*And Dipsas"?*

John Bull has a wholesome contempt for monsters and barbaric art generally. His method, whenever he runs into them, is Milton's—to name and catalogue the brutes. "*Cerastes horned.*" That is simple enough, but what if one has a trunk and tusks as well as horns? No doubt it has some oriental quaint significance; it has the strength of the ox, the valour of the lion, the majesty of the elephant. But if it has some grining clown sprawled along its back? That surely detracts somewhat from its majesty. Let us go a little deeper and seek some allegorical

(3). See Maung Ba Nyan's free-hand drawings of and IV.

pilasters and festoon friezes at Minnanthu (Plates III

significance. This seems more promising at first; a certain tusked grotesque with a hooped navel seems commonly to stand for Lust; one begins to suspect one is on the track of some old comic art whose conventions, once intelligible, are forgotten. But what allegorical meaning, tell me, has a monkey with four cheeks?

Now I cannot define precisely the meaning of these monsters, and that is why I have indicated the course of thought they aroused in me, as perhaps in other foreign observers. And so we come to a full stop, and often in despair resign the study of Oriental, or rather Indian, art to "Orientalists" and to those who delight not in the delightfulness but in the pedigree of art. The fact is that until we have no other option we can hardly, try as we will, concede these old craftsmen of the mediaeval East a pure sense of art, of abstract formal significance.

My first inkling of what I venture to think the truth about these monsters was the observation that they are never terrible, could never have been terrible even to the simplest villager of old Pagan; that they were, in fact, never meant to terrify. Nor can I conceive what other lesson they could be intended to convey, nor what emotion except one—Delight.

One of their commonest subjects in fresco is a flying spirit girt with clouds. But given the bare outline of his garland of clouds the artist soon begins to quicken them. Now they resemble custard apples, now wreathed conchs, now breasts with nipples. Soon they develop goggling eyes and pass into wolves or owls, bulldogs, serpents, hooded cobras, or whole tussockfuls of hinted fiends. Indeed the fauna and flora of these frescoes are not easy to distinguish. Lions with leafy manes, fire-breathing unicorns with floral horns, devils with trailing creepers for their tails, goats, bears, ducks, and deer—all herbaceous and sprouting. No less easily does flora pass into fauna. The tops of palm trees coil into the trunks of elephants. Peepul trees have bones for branches. Vegetation waxes demoniacal. Leaves expand into groping hands with eyes in them. Now dragons end in foliage, now foliage in dragons. Nor is this community of form confined to leaves and animals alone. The hair of the more human figures is often soaring into

flame; their fingernails shoot fire. The crease of knees or thighs or elbows, the coil of anklebone or navel, are rarely left devoid of foliation.<sup>(4)</sup> Eyebrows wriggle into snakes, and the curve of chin and jaw is prolonged outwards into rearing dragons.

"How often is a bush supposed a bear!" said Theseus; and when this happens, in art as well as in life, it is often very alarming. But when a bear is supposed a bush, in art at all events, it alarms no one. In the Pagan frescoes both illusions are continually present, and their common explanation, I think, can only lie in the artist's exuberant delight in the suggestiveness of line. It simply runs away with him. Now I do not claim that such rhapsodies of line are the highest form of art; they may be merely frivolous; but they are often magnificent, and they are certainly art.

### III

But let us return to our temple. We have enriched the outside mouldings in a broad sufficient manner. We shall do far more with fresco in the interior. We will not however tolerate a riot. Every inch from top to bottom shall be covered, but all shall be properly designed from the beginning. Besides the large wall spaces, we have walls broken by the pointed archways into spandrels and the breadth, wide or narrow, of the piers; then we have the inner walls and soffits of the archways; and of course the vault of the vestibule and the four pendentives of the sanctuary ceiling. For all of these we must devise a scheme of decoration. We must not attempt to make it a gallery of independent pictures. Nothing prominent should distract attention from the image. The effect of the detail should rather reinforce that of the whole. In painting the vestibule therefore let us try to stimulate the right emotion, in the sanctuary to make it overwhelming.

The main entrance archways we will leave bare. All other arches will have their corners and edges lined with ribands running parallel to the arch along both the soffit and the face. The actual point of every arch we shall uplift with a painted ogee tip, the lowest voussoirs with broad painted horns. The space between the edge and corner ribands we can now divide by

(4). See Plate IX etc.

horizontal lines into panels—a tall oblong panel in the centre, several long narrow panels above and below, like plinth and architrave. Above, whether it be vault or soffit, at the point where the arch begins to spring we shall have a broad plain painted "frieze" of separate oval leaves such as we carved outside in the frieze-moulding of the porches. This will bind in the temple's forehead like a plain fillet. At every corner we shall paint pilasters of the usual type, with up and down turned Vs.

So much for the plan. What then of the detail. As we enter the plain archway our glance leaps across the vestibule and fixes on the face of the inner arch—an important point d'appui. What have we there? No frieze; little or no fresco; but the great inner flame pediment surging almost to the roof, strangely significant as I have pointed out already. On each hand, beside the tall pilasters supporting it, will be seen in fresco or the round a standing spirit with up-lifted finger facing us as we enter; his gesture bids us, so it seems, be silent. Above him in the spandrels are spirits stooping from the clouds with lilies in their hands; they "make their bends adornings" and invite us, it appears, to enter. If however we can resist them for a while, let us first study the frescoes on the other walls of the vestibule.

The one by which we entered also has flying spirits in the spandrels; in fact they seldom fail to fill the haunches of the arches. Always graceful, whether they descend flying from above with tossing hands and palms of their feet upflung behind them and clouds about their knees, or whether they sit sidelong with an upright poise and pray; their forms are varied by the sorts of offerings they bear—flags, garlands, rattles, torches, conchs, flaming censers, caskets, or long stems of flowering acanthus. The three walls are mainly covered with continuous panels presenting scenes from the cycle of Buddhist Jatakas and folk-lore. Above the painted frieze the vault rises, from the entrance and two side walls only; the latter meet in a ridge pointing towards the image, the former leans in and meets them in a groin; vaults and soffits are painted golden brown in a subtle diaper, Greek cross, or circle pattern, often very beautiful and rich, enclosing tondos of the seated Buddha. The frieze too

admits of some variety, where for oval leaf are often substituted pendants and festoons, or a similar pattern in which long-snouted dragons lift the limp blue coils of intertwined serpents. At times the frieze is but a line of objects dangled from above, ducks, owls, globes, tripods, tortoises and *galons*. In the tall panels below the soffits lolling frank-eyed Bodhisats with wristbands and armlets and jewels knotted in their hair stand in dancing posture, their floating shawls about them, or sway gracefully with leaning mitres towards the sanctuary.

Let us now enter. As we pass beneath the archway, the large panels of the seated Buddha with processions of adoring saints and spirits offering gifts above and below him, prepare in us the more solemn feeling proper to the inner shrine. Above, in each triangle of the pendentives, sit beneath the *bodhi* tree or *pyatthat* the four Enlightened Ones of the present cycle—Kakusandha, Kassapa, Konagamana, Gotama. At the apex of the roof is a round expanded lotus-flower, orb within orb of overlapping petals ranged around a heart white and burning. Below, grouped in fresco along the walls round the colossal image of Gotama, is the Buddhist hierarchy, Buddhas countless as the sand of Ganges, each seated on his throne and touching earth beneath the tree of wisdom. Usually the panels are of varied size, one or more rows of small panels are of varied side, one or more rows of small panels enclosing a large one; each section large or small will have the same or similar design. Nor can this endless repetition be fairly made a matter of reproach. The faithful worshipper, admitted trembling to the company of all the heavenly saints, is not conscious of their monotony. Art here is certainly the handmaid of Religion; we cannot blame her for discharging her liturgy so well.

As a matter of fact, even here there is plenty of variety if we look for it; the nature of the temple demands, as I have said, that it should not be too conspicuous. Above and below these big panels are long processional bands of varying narrowness. If we examine them closely we shall often find some matter of interest. Now they prove to be blunt-headed dwarfs with horns and trumpets, and now four-handed Indian

deities, now mitred men with beaks of hornbills, now slim three-headed ladies holding closed umbrellas. Some are carried in a litter, some ride a Naga boat, others on baby elephants; many are waving flags or shaking tambours, and grim straddling drummers crash the barrels slung across their bellies. We may even find a *genre* subject—people fishing with nets like clubs, the fish meantime nibbling their ears; a king, perhaps, surrounded by his queens. In a low blue belt of fresco we find monks kneeling before reliquaries, horses in rich caparisons, horned cattle, crouching elephants, with studs of diaper between the panels.

We have still to deal with the three main archways of the cella, and here are often the most striking of the large designs. Their theme is commonly conventional. Here is the birth of prince Siddhattha. Here attended by acolytes with almsbowls he descends begging from Mt. Pandava. Here he sits in profile receiving the homage of lumbering tailed *yakkhas*. Here in an aisle of a *tazaung-pyatthat*, often peaked and winged and beautiful, he sits preaching to ecstatic hosts. And here finally he reclines entering *parinirvana*; from his carpet rise curious "O's and eyes of light," fire-flowers, shell-torches, or shooting star fish. Another panel offers us a seascape. Through jostling, parallel, and broken curves that indicate the waves rise trembling lotus buds and tall lilies with long dropping bells. Waterfowl hover above. In and out among the flabby trees pass alligators, horned sea-spiders, snails, crabs, lizards, staring octopus and swordfish. A sea-serpent rears his hood above a pagoda of coils; wriggling fish like tadpoles slide down the deep towards him. In the midst a scaly dragon heaves his snorting head with forefeet flat upon the water; his tail is coiled behind him; his level body is a boat whereon a monk and his disciples ride the enchanted ocean.

We have now seen almost everything, but our artist's work is only just begun. Most of the themes I have described are merely his stock in trade repeated, with variations, in temple after temple. This, we may be sure, was due not to lack of originality but to self-control. Fresco at Pagan is always the servant of architecture, and architecture of religion. But art is irrepressible, and all our teeming artist can do is to hide his

new decorative work in corners and odd places where only the curious will find them. What places have we left still unexplored? There remain the corner 'pilasters,' the horns and ribands of the face and soffit of the arches. Here variety is the rule, and little can be said except to indicate a few of the varieties.

At the base of the 'pilasters' hidden in the gloom of the corners is a cynical faced monster. He leans over his outspread elbows with double arching shoulders spanning the angle and framing the broken curve of his head; beneath are wrinkles and the arch of his eyebrows, goggling eyes, and a long fence of teeth and tushes; his arms sweep inwards in a glorious curve around his foliated elbows, and warp or plunge into flaming fingertips. Sometimes we see him squatting, vast shouldered always, behind his mountain knees; he hugs two crowned and towering serpents, his tail coiled vertically around his navel. Above him in a halo floats a straddling urchin in Shan trousers from which proceed, not legs, but foliage that coils up and fills the  $\Lambda$ . Often however in the fresco these Vs are missing, and instead we have a ladder of panels up the corners with figures on each side of the angle artfully related. Here crowned women with seven jewels piled upon their heads and earlobes big with tubes dance, single or in pairs, contrasted on each wall. Sometimes they are grouped in amorous pairs or trios, tall jolly Bodhisatvas embraced by simpering Saktis. Panels of animals and monsters will alternate with these. Now it is two elephants with sprawling riders, a gloating loon asquat or dancing between them. Often the clownish riders hug with their thighs the necks of plunging monsters or leap aside gesticulating. In the corner a bear's head with foliated snout and four legs strutting inwards to the angle.

In the horns are *makaras* of all shapes, lions, ogres, elephants, and crocodiles, or more especially a medley of them all, composite or superposed in fine pyramidal design. Some with serpents knotted in their hair crawl and gape like Orc in Blake's prophetic books. Some have tails that wriggle all the way up the riband of the arch, each loop embraced by crouched or swinging figures. More often the *makara* spouts foliage around the arch or soffit, rich fruit and intricate



tendrils, where bearded owls stand sentinel and hoary goats and rams and wrestling satyrs prance or stoop with foliated tails. Above or in the hollow of the horn is a *kinnara*. Down to the waist she is a clean and limber siren with fair face, full bosom, and prominent navel. Suddenly her white thighs merge into black ostrich legs and talons. Feathers like level flames burst outward from her hips; a vial of dark fire plunges from her womb. Her wrists and arms are circled by black bands which, when we look at them more closely, prove to be the writhings of a barking serpent whose neck she pinches in her hand. Her body, poised upon tall birdlike legs, now ends in coils of a reptile, now the trunk of an elephant, now the fluke of a whale. In the ribbands and soffits are mazes of superb foliage enclosing squares, circles, ovals, and ellipses, which contain an infinite circus of sly peering shapes, bestial and human, cats, camels, monkeys, bulls, peacocks, tapirs, and giraffes.<sup>(5)</sup>

#### IV

The scheme of fresco here set forth is better suited to the *cella* type of temple than to that with pillar and corridor. The latter, unless the corridor is broad and the vault low, will rarely allow the spectator to take in one large panel at a glance. This limitation applies of course only to the corridor; the broad vestibule as well as all the porches are as fit for fresco in the one type of temple as in the other. If then the corridor is narrow we will only have our circle pattern on the vault, the leaf frieze below, painted pilasters within the four corners, and horned and ogee dressings and ribbands on the inner face of the archways. Otherwise the walls of the corridor will be left bare, but to compensate for this we will hollow foiled or pointed niches, one between each corner and the central archway, and set therein stone images or reliefs. These niches are often faced with beautiful flame-pediments, sometimes backed with tapering *pyatthat* tiers or *sikhara* in high relief. Plainer and deeper niches or meditation cells are often found within the side walls of the porches.

Again it often happens that the image facing the vestibule must be larger than the others. This may push the pillar back some distance from the centre; and since the space for throned images may now be too small, the other sides will have instead great shallow niches, tall for a standing Buddha, long for one in *parinirvana*, with tilted head and halo, elaborate coffin, and tapering pyre of sandalwood within the trefoil arching of the niche. Sometimes to avoid this eccentricity of the pillar, the main colossus is set back within a deep recess;<sup>(6)</sup> and this is even carried so far as to create a new *cella* actually within the central pillar. Thereby a passage from daylight to deep gloom is obtained similar to that we owe to the double corridors in the larger temples. But we are passing now into a new type.

Now though the narrowness of the corridor may make painting on the walls impossible, fresco is quite permissible on each face of the central pillar, for as one enters at the tall archways one sees it from a distance. Often the only fresco here is the conventional green branching tree within or without the cobra-hood or halo beneath which the Buddha sits. Often there are flying spirits in the clouds. And here especially will occur the largest theme of the Pagan painter—the attack and discomfiture of Mara's hosts—, here most appropriate, for it was in token of his victory over Mara that the Buddha, seated calm amid the tumult, touched the earth.

On the left of him they are seen advancing. They are riding asses, camels, horses with rich housings, portly fowls, three-headed cobras, zebras flecked and spotted, or white-maned snarling sphinxes, one with hooked nose and coiling tushes on an antlered stag. In merry rout they come, a troop of prancing Bacchanals, bearded men with loins girt, women in tight bodices, all with sidelong laughing eyes. Those on foot have each their leading knee uplifted, the gnomon thus suggestive of a difficult advance. All have arms stretched high above their heads, some shaking spears, or stretching bows, or brandishing their shields round, oblong, and embossed; others

(5). See Plates V, VI, VII and X for horizontal bands of fresco, Plate VIII for specimens of vertical arch-ribbands.

(6). See the groundplan of the Shwegugyi (Plate I).

clutch daggers or wind horns, or carry clubs across their shoulders. In the centre a white howdahed elephant dangles in his trunk a hapless wretch hanging head downwards with extended hands. At the top left and right hand corner is Mara, a tusked and snouted monster with a bow, watching or hounding on the combatants.

But the Buddha sits unmoved; and on the right hand they retire, routed but not a whit crestfallen. Their hands are empty, their weapons gone. Mara's bowstring is broken. As they recede some look backwards and raise their palms in gesture of humorous despair. Some in turbans and trousers straddle waddling ducks. Some are running, with plump and jolly thighs and swelling bosoms. A dragon-centaur barks with gaiety. Some dance or hug each other or laugh and wave farewell.

The theme is often treated, and with relish, for there is great room for variety, of which the artist fully avails himself. The best and largest specimen<sup>(7)</sup> however has half fallen within the last few years owing to the cracking of the plaster.

## V.

So far I have given little but a general description of these temples. I have not even mentioned them individually. Yet there is much variety, especially in the frescoes. These of course are in the main decorative and arouse therefore only a sense of pure aesthetic pleasure. But some artists had a clear preference for one method of arousing it. The Kanthapa, for instance, is alive with uncouth monsters, Ku 289 to the south of it with flying spirits, Ku 356, a lovely temple north of the Letputkan, is full of piety, the Thanbula of gaiety, the Payathonzu of lust. The Nandamañña, though small, has great variety with a liking for the grotesque. The artist of an unnumbered little temple near the river north of Thiripyissapya has devoted all his time to an excellent series of Jatakas. Sometimes the whole temple is thick set with minute squares of seated Buddhas, overpowering in their piety and ugliness. In some, like the Winido or Kutha, attention has been paid chiefly to the fresco, and the

plaster work neglected; others, like the Ateikdan or Malonbyit, go to the other extreme.

Unique among these temples is the Shweku.<sup>(8)</sup> Its place, high set on a tall platform amid the giants of Pagan, makes it appear one of them; and its fame in history and tragic union with the fortunes of its founder strengthen the impression. Still more does its architecture; for though it is rich in ornament all is done in bold severest manner, which betrays, I venture to think, the youthful style of the architect of the Thatbyinyu. The detail however has been woefully defaced, and it must be admitted that the interior is heavy to the point of clumsiness. There is no fresco; it has the window openings and great wooden doors characteristic of the greater temples, but its muscular and lavish mouldings, especially without, its noble *pyatthat* stupas, the light and freshness of its interior, the plain luxury of its terraces and *sikhara*, distinguish it from every other temple and give it a place among the masterpieces of Pagan. But perhaps the finest thing about it is the prayer, inscribed within the walls, of its founder Alaungsithu.

## VI.

Of the skill shewn by the painter it may be said in general that he has shewn all this great variety and life without the use of chiaroscuro or more than an elementary sense of perspective and foreshortening. How far this impoverishes his work it is not easy to determine. For in art ideas soon find their proper voice, and we who are today so used to realism are prone, I fear, to be unjust to those who are not so conscious of its importance. The balance, however, and flat pattern of many of these frescoes, the flow of line rhythmic and luxuriant, and ever-active fertility of invention are apparent, and often cause us to forgive an ill-drawn hand, a foot in awkward profile, or an elongated eye. In elaboration of leaf-form, indeed, the Burman is a master. Given his main bounding line, and guided not by measurement of dead points or right angles but by a true sense of growth, direction, and relation, he will

(7). In the Thanbula, Minnanthu.

(8). Built in 1141 A. D. by Alaungsithu, who was here, at the age of 101, smothered to death by his son Narathu (See Plates I and II).



even today produce quite wonderful work, playing with his form, refining and enriching it, with a certainty of mind he never evinces in philosophy.

Let us turn finally to the architecture. I have spoken only of the two chief types of smaller temples; there are other well marked types less common, as well as numerous solitary specimens. Of the two types I have dealt with, the one with pillar and corridor is certainly the more perfect as an artistic whole. The gesture of the central obelisk and Buddhas, the relation to them of the corridor and porches, are both sound in design, beautiful, and full of meaning. The *cella* type is sound indeed in structure, the lines of groining always soaring to a point and never rounding to a dome. But here the placing of the screen and image has often troubled the designer, unless, as in the smallest temples, the back porch is sacrificed and the image set against the wall. Otherwise the tall screen, set back of course some distance from the centre, straitens and obscures the porch behind it; and if, to make amends for this, a smaller image is also put against that side of

the screen the effect is even unpleasant. Still there is an inwardness, a spiritual intimacy one feels in a temple of this kind more than in the other. In the latter, stepping round the corridor and coming on the image from one side, the guest feels almost an intruder. In the former he is led unconscious to his proper station, and as he falls upon his knees, then, and not before, are screen and image beautiful and significant in their relation both to him and to the temple as a whole. Grandeur, however, and sterner is the emotion of the first type. There facing outwards from the omphalos of truth sit the Masters of the four Eras, gazing north south east and west over a world of illusion. They need neither our worship nor their own society. Only the flame of consciousness burns between them and above them; and even that they heed not, for they have reached nirvana; and though they still touch earth it is as laws and forces, cause and effect, impersonal, unmoved by prayer or passion, yet just, absolute, and eternal.

G. H. LUCE.

#### NOTE.

In the tracings here given, as well as in other ones too large to reproduce, I am much indebted for invaluable help to Maung Ba Nyan, Professor Ward, Captain Braxton Sinclair, Maung Tha Htun, Maung San Win, and to my wife. I am especially grateful to Maung Ba Nyan. For the reproduction of the plates (which in Plates VIII and IX has involved reduction in size) he is solely responsible, himself committing them to the stone; and to his hard work and enthusiasm the merit of the results is due. I am most anxious however that these designs should not be regarded in any way as the pick of the Pagan frescoes, or even as fair specimens of the variety and wealth there to be found. We had only a day or two to give to the tracing of them, and went chiefly to the Thambula, Nandamañña, and Payathonzu, where they happen to be exceptionally clean and clear. But it would be premature, and probably wrong, to say that they contain the best frescoes in Pagan. There must be over a hundred and fifty pagodas covered with frescoes—probably many more; and of these about fifty are of first importance, being painted in the bold style I have described. All but a very few of these are lost and coated in the mire of ages. The Theimmazi is an instance, a temple which the Archaeological Department has begun

to clean; the effect is extraordinary; what was almost an indistinguishable blur is now a masterpiece of Burmese design. If all the other temples are cleansed with the same care and tenderness, Burma—I venture to believe—will have an art-gallery to be proud of, excelling anything of the same period in Europe. But the work is an urgent one. Beneath the smooth hard surface, fine as alabaster, which takes the fresco, the soft undercoat is everywhere riddled with insects, which either work outwards puncturing the surface or weaken the latter till it cracks and falls. Half the frescoes are already ruined in this way. If nothing effective can be done to stop the insects—and I consider this at once the most difficult and the most urgent problem of conservation in Burma—the frescoes should be cleaned and coloured, and tracings made of the broadest possible selection of them. This work should be entrusted to a number of good Burmese artists, for no mere ignorant or mechanical copyist (as I know by personal and sad experience) can do it justice. But if this work is done, and a gallery of the tracings kept in Rangoon or other cities of Burma, I believe there are in Pagan enough variety and vigour of design to revive all the fine arts in Burma from their present pitiful decay.

## OLD RANGOON.\*

### I

Towards the beginning of the rainy season in the year 1755 the victorious Burmese leader, Alaungpaya, moved down the river from Danubyu and occupied the position of Dagon, on the plain adjoining the Shwe Dagon Pagoda. "Never doubting for a moment," says Phayre, "his final success, though the enemy's capital was still unconquered, Alaungpaya laid out a new city which he designed to be the future port of Pegu. The site chosen was admirably adapted for this object, and to proclaim his forecast of the immediate destruction of his enemies, he called the new city Rangoon." Rangoon is Burmese "Yan-gon" and means "the end of the war." The confidence of this great warrior of the days of Clive was justified by the event, for he completely defeated the Talaings and succeeded in consolidating the kingdom of Burma. He carried his victorious standards into China and Siam, and founded the last reigning dynasty of Burmese monarchs.

Alaungpaya was determined to destroy Syriam which had for many years been the chief city of the South, and which largely owed its importance and prosperity to the growing trade of Burma with adventurous merchants from the European nations of the West. Syriam gave place to Rangoon as the centre of maritime commerce in Lower Burma: but not for a hundred years after its foundation did Rangoon begin even remotely to resemble the city of today. Its trade grew after the First Burmese War of 1824-6, but the Burmese government failed to seize its opportunity. The British had taken over the port of Moulmein which soon began its brief era of prosperity. High hopes of its future were in those days current among the settlers of Moulmein, hopes which have never been fulfilled; for the advantages which it owed to its being the chief port of British Burma, were lost when, after the Second

Burmese War of 1852, the whole province of Pegu became a part of the British Empire, and Rangoon became its capital. From this latter year dates the process of rapid growth in extent and in wealth, which has transformed the city of Rangoon and which clearly continues at the present day.

### II

In these brief notes it is proposed first to make a short excursion into the history of Lower Burma before Rangoon received its name from Alaungpaya and secondly to attempt while narrating the city's subsequent history to reconstruct its outward aspect as it appeared at various dates from the 16th century to the present time. The material which I have made use of has been gathered from various sources but mostly from printed English books such as gazetteers of the locality and books by travellers.

It was with the extension of European discovery at the beginning of the sixteenth century, that European traders and Portuguese adventurers began to haunt the coasts of Pegu. But it must not be thought that prior to the sixteenth century Burma was isolated from the outside world. On the contrary it is probable that Lower Burma had intimate commercial and other relations with India and Ceylon by sea, and also with India, China and Siam by land. The Burmese and Talaings themselves were probably never a seafaring race, but there were prosperous empires and kingdoms in India, whence came colonists by sea and settled on the fertile coast of Lower Burma, and on islands which are now the delta of the Irrawaddy. We appear to possess remarkably scanty information regarding the early period of Burma's history. There are several reasons which explain this deficiency. In the first place the native records of Burma whether carved in stone or recorded on palm leaves have not yet been fully investigated. From

\*Read at an ordinary meeting at Rangoon College on 26th August 1920.

the discovery and decipherment of inscriptions, a work which is being carried on with vigour and enthusiasm by the Archaeological Department, and from the fuller study of the Talaing chronicles, which is being rendered possible by living scholars, much fresh information may be expected. The reports of the officers of Alexander the Great written in the fourth century B. C. and the account of Megasthenes shed light on the early history of India, but leave Burma in obscurity. The Chinese pilgrims who visited India in the fifth to the seventh centuries after Christ, came by way of the gates of the North West Frontier and their vivid records help the historian of Burma but little. Moreover the history of South India is far more obscure than that of North India, and it is from the historian of South India that we might expect to get information regarding its relations with the countries on the Eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal.

The South of India was in remote times shut off from the North by a barrier of hill and forest and had a distinct Dravidan civilisation of its own, into which Hindu ideas from the North only gradually penetrated. "Wealthy cities existed in South India, whose gold, pearls, conch-shells, pepper, beryls and choice cotton goods attracted foreign traders from the earliest ages. Commerce supplied the wealth required for life on civilized lines and the Dravidians were not afraid to cross the seas."\* It is certain that before the time of Christ the external commerce of the South was considerable. Asoka, the great Emperor and promoter of Buddhism, who reigned in the 3rd century B. C. conquered Kalinga on the Bay of Bengal, and from evidence of his time we learn of the Tamil Kingdoms of the South and their ports. Ceylonese chronicles of about the 5th century B. C. speak of Buddhist missions in Asoka's time to various countries, including Suvarnabhumi which is, rightly or wrongly, identified with Lower Burma. There were Indian settlements in Jabadios (Java or Sumatra) by the time of Ptolemy (150 A. D.). The Andhra dynasty whose original kingdom was Telingana ruled for 4½ centuries from about 230 B. C. and were notable merchants by land and sea. During the first and second centuries

of the Christian era trade between Southern India and the Roman Empire was extensive. It may be regarded as certain that Burma was very early in contact with some of these flourishing nations of India, both Buddhist and Hindu. The history of the Tamil states up to a late period is still obscure. For centuries they must have flourished and we hear of Rājendra Choladeva of about 1000 A. C. who sent a fleet across the Bay of Bengal and temporarily occupied Pegu.

It is perhaps worth while to emphasise the importance and the enterprise of the Kingdoms of Peninsular India in early times, because the conclusion of most enquirers seems to be that the coasts of Burma were colonised by Indian settlers from the Western shores of the Bay of Bengal and that through these settlers civilising influences were brought to bear on the Mongolian inhabitants of Burma especially the Talaings or Mons who dwelt around the lower reaches of the rivers of Burma. The Indians settled by the river banks and on the ridges, then not far inland, and were no doubt the builders of the oldest pagodas, which would therefore show the positions of their settlements. Evidence seems to show that they principally came from Orissa and the Telugu country. The Talaings belong to the Tibeto-Burman race but preceded the Burmans in the occupation of what is now called Burma. In course of time the Burmans occupied the northern part of the valley of the Irrawaddy and were probably from some very early time in contact with Indians who had come by the land route. They at length established a kingdom of a very high standard of civilisation around Pagan, which owed a great deal to South Indian influences transmitted through the Talaings. The Talaings occupied the southern part of the country and were probably dominated by Indian immigrants up to a comparatively late date, say the 5th century A. C.: their independent kingdom lay round Thaton and was destroyed by the Burmese conqueror Anorata in 1057 A. C. His motive in swooping down on the South was probably the destruction of strong and flourishing Indian settlements which dotted the delta, as Mr. Duroiselle has recently said.<sup>(1)</sup> The oldest of these settlements was probably Criksetra or

\*Vincent Smith.

(1). *Epig Birm.* Vol. I. Pt. I.

Old Prome; four others are mentioned near Rangoon viz. Pokkharavati Trihakumbha (from which Forchhammer derived the word Dagon), Asitanjana and Ramnagara.

One may conclude that while Indian settlers exploited the country, the Tibeto-Burman races were learning from them, and that in course of time the latter began to consolidate their power into their various kingdoms. The prestige of the Indian settlers diminished owing to the increasing coherence of Burmans and of Talaings, and perhaps also to the weakening of the Indians in their home country.

### III.

A glimpse has been given of Rangoon with its Indian settlements. We hear a great deal about the Shwe Dagon pagoda from legends and chronicles. Its erection is dated back to remote times some centuries before the Christian era. The story of the pagoda, thus told, has an interest of its own, but it is not the interest of historical fact. It is stated that the first village on the site of the present Rangoon was built about 585 B. C. by two brothers who had received some of Gaudama's hairs, from the Buddha himself and buried them on the summit of a little hill, and over them erected the Shwe Dagon pagoda. Poonareeka who reigned in Pegu from 746 to 761 A. D. is said to have built or re-established the town which he called Aramana. We first come to trustworthy record in the 15th century when the pagoda was restored by the sovereigns of Pegu, that is, of the Talaing Kingdom whose capital was Pegu. There are Talaing inscriptions near the pagoda, engraved on stones and set up by King Dhammaceti in 1485. In the beginning of the 16th century the Talaing queen Shin-saw-bu raised a large terrace and erected a new pagoda over the old stupa. She is said have built a palace and resided at Dagon (i. e. near the Shwe Dagon pagoda) and it is stated, on what authority I do not know, that the ramparts of her palace are to be seen on the golf course at Prome Road. The mounds on the golf course no doubt are the remains of the walls built by Tharawadi in 1841, as will be pointed out later. The Talaing Paklat history states however that Shin-saw-bu built a town on the West of the

Pagoda.<sup>(2)</sup> After her time the pagoda was frequently repaired and enlarged. It is stated that the Shwe Dagon consists of seven pagodas, one superimposed on the other. Little is known of the town itself until we meet with the records of early European visitors: but its name Dagon is well known and its governor latterly occupied a position of importance second to none but the King.

### IV.

So far it has been attempted to sketch a background of history for the locality where now stands Rangoon, before the times with which we are familiar. While war succeeded war and kingdoms rose and fell in the inland jungles, settlements in and near Rangoon looked to India and were centres of trade and probably of industry and art. As the Burmans in the upper country and the Talaings in the lower country grew stronger, the Indian settlements grew weaker. We may assume that villages on the site of Rangoon remained of little importance for centuries. Thaton sunk to insignificance after its conquest by Anorata: Pegu became and remained for long the capital of lower Burma. It was no doubt the port of Lower Burma just as Rangoon is today, but amongst other causes changes in the configuration of the country which have been remarkable and rapid in all this land of rivers, at length deprived Pegu of its position as a port. It was still a magnificent city in the 16th century, but its subsequent history is that of a transference of its business and trade to towns lower down in the deltaic lands. Hence the growing importance of Syriam and Dala in the story of commerce with European traders. As we have already seen, Syriam at length was to yield up its advantages and prosperity to Rangoon, which had probably been previously distinguished only by its possession of a famous shrine, the Shwe Dagon pagoda.

Early travellers from the West have left us their impressions of Dagon in those days. We know that the Portuguese leader, Dalboquerque, was in communication with the King of Pegu in the beginning of the 16th century. As early as the early half of the 15th century, a Venetian had visited Burma and from his time to that of

(2). v. Pegu Gazetteer Vo. I. P. 24.



## V.

Dalboquerque and throughout the 16th century visitors to these shores were fairly numerous. An amazing picture is given in their accounts of the splendour and might of Pegu, until 1600, when a Jesuit priest describes the lamentable spectacle of its ruin wrought by 'the cruellest tyrant that ever breathed' the King of Arakan. Philip de Brito a Portuguese adventurer, received from the King of Arakan the port of Syriam but in 1613 he was overwhelmed and killed by the King of Ava, who from that date dominates the whole of Burma. Ralph Fitch a merchant of London was the first Englishman to visit Burma. He came in 1586. A few years later the first organised expedition from England to open up trade in the East was sent out; the defeat of the Great Armada in 1588 had dealt a heavy blow to the pretensions of Portugal, and Dutch and English became the rivals for the eastern trade. It was not till 1618 that trade began to be conducted by the British with the valley of the Irrawaddy, which had already been exploited by the Portuguese. The East India Company established settlements at Prome, Ava and Syriam, and intercourse was freer than ever again till after the 2nd Burmese war of 1852. Owing, it is said, to the frequent internal wars, trade languished by the end of the 17th century, though Syriam continued to be the residence of British and other foreign merchants. In 1740 the rebellion of the Talaings occurred and in 1744 the resident at Syriam was withdrawn. In 1755 the British factory at Bassein was destroyed by the King of Ava. In 1759 the population of Negrais which had been settled from Madras in 1753 was murdered. Subsequently little trade was done by the British though we hear of some being carried on with Rangoon, which as we have seen had been founded by Alaungpaya in 1755. From 1760 till 1795 there were no diplomatic relations between the British Government and Ava. From 1795 onwards we have the records of various envoys and missions from the Company to the Count of Ava, until and after the first Burmese war: and we have also the records of unofficial visitors to the country. The 2nd Burmese war of 1852 established British relations with Ava on an entirely new footing.

Throughout this long period of trade and strife what do we hear of Rangoon? In the first part of the period before the foundation of Rangoon by Alaungpaya there are some interesting descriptions of Dagon and its celebrated pagoda. Ferdinand Mendez Pinto one of the occasional European adventurers in Burma during the 15th and sixteenth centuries of whose travels we have some record mentions Digon (Dagon=Talaing Ta-kong i.e. Rangoon). Caesar Frederick gives a glowing description of Pegu which he visited in 1569: Gasparo Balbi, a Venetian jeweller came to Pegu with a stock of emeralds in 1583. Until Balbi little or nothing is recorded of Dagon, though it is frequently mentioned; Dalla and Syriam were evidently much more important places. Balbi came to Pegu by way of Bassein, which seems then to have been the greatest port of Pegu and through which all the travellers of that time seem to have come. Bassein lost its importance after 1790 for its governors were such that no merchant dared approach the place. (1) Balbi went on to Dalla, (Dalla was a district of the delta from early times and its headquarters were probably near the mouth of the Rangoon river. Symes says it was reported to be on the west side of the "China Buckier river."), and the day after leaving Dalla he came to "the citie of Dogon" Of this place he writes: "After we were landed we began to go on the right hand in a large street about 50 paces broad, in which we saw wooden houses gilded and adorned with delicate gardens after their custom, wherein their Talapoints, which are their Friars, dwell and look to the Pagod or Verella of Dogon. The left side is furnished with portals and shops...and by this street they go to the Varella for a good mile straight forward, either under paint houses or in the open street which is free to walk in." Here there is no difficulty in recognising the approach to the pagoda from the river. Ralph Fitch is the first Englishman who has given an account of a visit to Pegu: Albert Fytche the second Chief Commissioner of British Burma was proud to claim him as an ancestor. He followed the route of Balbi, from Bassein via Dalla and Syriam to Rangoon. Here is his description of Dagon.

(1). Sangermano.

"About two days' journey from Pegu there is a Varelle or Pagode which is the Pilgrimage of the Pegues; it is called Dogonne, and is of a wonderful bigness and all gilded from the foot to the toppe. And there is an house by it wherein the Tallipoies which are their priests do preach . . . . . There are houses very faire round about for the pilgrims to lie in and many goodly houses for the Tallipoies to preach in, which are full of images both of men and women, which are all gilded over with golde. It is the fairest place, as I suppose, that is in the world: it standeth very high, and there are four ways to it, which all along are set with trees of fruits, in such wise that a man goe in the shade above two miles in length. And when their feast day is, a man can hardly passe by water or by land for the great presse of people; for they come from all places of the Kingdome of Pegu thither at their feast." Dagon, then, was a great place of pilgrimage for the people of Burma: we meet with no suggestion that it was otherwise important, although it must always have possessed remarkable natural advantages for a trading station. In 1755 Alaungpaya established the town as the port of his Kingdom and gave it the name by which it is now known. A British factory was early established there and was kept up at least till 1782. Symes says the Burmans in order to encourage trade invited strangers of every nation to resort to their ports. Wars and domestic dissensions impeded trade but during the short intervals of tranquillity many strangers flocked to the port, among whom the industrious few soon acquired wealth by means of their superior knowledge. "The Parsees, Armenians and Mussulmen engrossed the largest share of the trade," and some of them occupied high posts under government. Thus the descendant of a Portuguese family was Shawbunder, "intendant of the port, and receiver of the port customs." To his activity Rangoon was indebted for the pavement of its streets, for several well-built wooden bridges, a wharf raised on posts and a spacious custom house. Crawford attributes the construction of two roads which led to the southern face of the Shwe Dagon to a Muhammadan merchant of Rangoon. The post of Shawbunder referred to above was later occupied by a Spaniard called Lansiego or "the Don"

to whom frequent reference is made in records. English and other merchants settled in Rangoon. Although Symes describes it as a flourishing seaport the town was by no means imposing in appearance. It lay by the river on the site of the commercial part of modern Rangoon but was "little more than a collection of bamboo huts on a marshy flat, but little above the level of low tides, intersected by narrow and irregular streets." In 1794 the Governor-General of India sent Captain Michael Symes on an embassy to the King of Ava. Symes' record of his journey is interesting, but he appears to have formed an exaggerated opinion of the magnificence of the Burmese Empire. Evidence of this is perhaps seen in his account of Rangoon, which though by no means highly coloured, yet contrasts with the picture of the mean and wretched town as described by subsequent visitors. On the other hand it is probable that in Symes' time the town was enjoying a period of unusual prosperity. Symes thus describes the place:—"It stretches along the bank of the river about a mile and is not more than a third of a mile in breadth. The city or miou (myo) is a square surrounded by a high stockade and on the North side it is further strengthened by an indifferent fosse, across which a wooden bridge is thrown; in this face there are two gates in each of the others only one. Wooden stages are erected in several places within the stockade, for musqueteers to stand on in case of an attack. On the South side, towards the river, which is about twenty or thirty yards from the palisade, there are a number of huts and three wharfs with cranes for landing goods. A battery of twelve cannons, six and nine pounders, raised on the bank, commands the river; but the guns and carriages are in such a wretched condition that they could do little execution. Close to the principal wharf are two commodious wooden houses, used by the merchants as an exchange, where they usually meet in the cool of the morning and evening; to converse and transact business. The streets of the town are narrow, but clean and well paved; there are numerous channels to carry off the rain, over which strong planks are laid, to prevent an interruption of intercourse. The houses are raised on posts from the ground; the smaller supported by bamboos, the larger by strong timbers. All the offi-



cers of Government, the most opulent merchants and persons of consideration, live within the fort; shipwrights and people of inferior rank, inhabit the suburbs. Swine are suffered to roam about the town at large: these animals which are with reason held unclean, do not belong to any particular owners; they are servants of the public, common scavengers; they go under the houses and devour the filth. The Burmans are also fond of dogs, numbers of which infest the streets; the breed is small and extremely noisy." Again he says "the road leading from the city to the temple (i.e. the Shwe Dagon) is formed with care; a wide causeway in the centre prevents the rain from lodging, and throws it off on the sides: numberless little spires are ranged along the edge of the road, in which are niches to receive small images of their divinity Gaudma. Several Kioums or monasteries lay in this direction, generally removed a short distance from the public way, under the shade of pipal or tamarind trees." He was told that the number of pongyis exceeded 1500. The population is estimated at 30,000; more probably it was about 25,000. The "city or myo" as described above was comparatively small, but as Symes points out, increasing trade and consequent population, had extended the town far beyond the limits that formerly comprehended Rangoon as it was founded by Alaungpaya. It has already been suggested that Rangoon fell off in population and prosperity after Symes' visit in 1795: this is supported by the fact that its population in 1812 was only about 8000. In 1826 a census was taken and there were then 8666 inhabitants: after the First Burmese war an impetus was given to trade and the town again expanded, so that in 1852 the population was estimated at about the same as in 1795. "Through changes of government," says Spearman, "laws neglected or ill-administered, insurrections, wars, and a dirt-and-marsh-poisoned atmosphere the number of houses and of inhabitants rose and fell, until the country passed under British rule." Mrs. Judson, wife of the famous missionary, writes about 1813, "At the present time there is quite a famine. . . . There are constant robberies and murders committed." Later on she speaks of the dreadful ravages of cholera. Moreover the attitude of

the Burmese government at this time was not calculated to encourage business and trade: witness its treatment of Captain Cox who was British resident in Rangoon from 1796 to 1798.

Mrs. Judson's occasional remarks throw light on life in those days. "There are no English families in Rangoon and there is not a female in all Burmah with whom I can converse." When she arrived in Rangoon she was thoroughly disheartened by the prospect of the town. "The evening of that day, we have marked as the most gloomy and distressing that we have ever passed." Before she left it, it had become "the dearest spot on earth." She speaks of the beauty of the surrounding country in contrast with the squalor of the town.

H. Gouger, a merchant from Bengal, went to Rangoon in 1822. Then, says he, the Empire was a terra incognita, and he speaks of the three or four traders at Rangoon, who had rarely penetrated more than a few miles from the town. The published narratives of the two missions from the Bengal Government to Ava (Symes in 1795 and Cox in 1796) contained all the information he could collect. But as a matter of fact by this time missionaries like Sangermano and Judson, had learned a great deal about the country. Gouger describes Rangoon as a miserable, dirty little town, containing 8000 or 10000 people. The houses were mostly of bamboo and teak and were thatched. The town was almost without drainage and intersected by muddy creeks through which the tide flowed at high water. It was the seat of government of a province, ruled by a viceroy or wongee in high favour at the court. Lansieo was at this time collector of customs. The royal duties on imports were 1/10th of every article. The Officers of Government had to find their own salaries, and the consequent corruptions will be readily imagined. Every morning Gouger rode out to "a secluded little lake two or three miles from town"—the Royal Lake or Kandawgyi. In this little frequented spot, he bathed, well concealed from public view by trees and brushwood. He repeated his visit to Rangoon after the war of 1824-1826, and found the banks of the lake dilapidated, the trees cut down, and the clear, sparkling waters converted into a filthy shiny pool.

"It seemed to have been made the common washing pot for the whole British army."

All accounts agree as to the poor appearance of the town, and as to its mud and filth. Outside the small town and apart from populous suburbs like Tat-gale the country was a jungle, with tanks and marshes here and there, right up to the great pagoda. In addition to the roads to the pagoda, there were only innumerable paths through the jungle. But the landscape was bright with pagodas, which in times of stress, were at this period frequently being despoiled of their treasures. The punishment for this offence was death. Most of these pagodas have disappeared through decay or in the destructive course of wars.

Accounts of Rangoon during the occupation by the British in the first war, confirm the impression left by earlier writers. They may however be quoted. It is important to remember that before the British landed the Burmese leader drove the people out of the town away into the jungle, and hence the British found the town all the more desolate by being entirely destitute of inhabitants.

From Wilson's narrative of the Burmese War the following description is taken. The town was found to extend "about 900 yards along the bank of the river and to be about six or seven hundred yards wide in its broadest part: at either extremity extend unprotected suburbs, but the centre, or the town itself, is defended by an enclosure of palisades 10 or 12 feet high, strengthened internally by embankments of earth and protected externally on one side by the river, and on the other three sides by a shallow creek or ditch communicating with the river and expanding at the western end into a morass crossed by a bridge. The palisade encloses the whole of the town of Rangoon in the shape of an irregular parallelogram, having one gate in each of its three faces, and two in that of the North; at the river gate is a wharf, denominated the King's Wharf." Major Snodgrass was thoroughly disappointed by the appearance of a town of which he had heard so much. In reading his account, one must remember the disappointment felt on finding the town deserted and no supplies obtainable. Moreover the rains were beginning and no accommodation was avail-

able save "dirty and miserable hovels." In such circumstances, it is hardly to be expected that the Major should have viewed the town in a very favourable light. "We had been so much accustomed," says he, "to hear Rangoon spoken of as a place of great trade and commercial importance, that we could not fail to be disappointed at its mean and poor appearance. We had talked of its custom-house, its dockyards and its harbour, until our imaginations led us to anticipate, if not splendour, at least some visible signs of a flourishing commercial city; but however humble our expectations might have been, they must still have fallen short of the miserable and desolate picture which the place presented when first occupied by the British troops. The town, if a vast assemblage of wooden huts may be dignified by that name, is surrounded by a wooden stockade, from sixteen to eighteen feet in height, which effectually shuts out all view of the fine river which runs past it, and gives it a confined and insalubrious appearance. There are a few brick houses, chiefly belonging to Europeans, within the stockade, upon which a heavy tax is levied.....It has ever been the policy of the Court of Ava to prevent, as much as possible, both foreigners and natives from having houses of permanent materials....The custom-house, the principal building in the place, seemed fast tottering into ruins. One solitary hull upon the stocks marked the dockyard, and a few coasting-vessels and country canoes were the only craft found in this great commercial mart of India beyond the Ganges. "One object alone remained to attract universal admiration: the lofty Shwedagon, rising in splendour and magnificence above the town, presenting a striking contrast to the scene below. The houses in Rangoon and Ava, generally, are built of wood or bamboo: those of the former material usually belong to the officers of government, or the wealthier description of inhabitants: the floors are raised some feet above the ground, which would contribute much to their dryness, healthiness and comfort were not the space almost invariably a receptacle for dirt and stagnant water, from which, during the heat of the day, pestilential vapours constantly ascend.....Herds of meagre swine, the disgusting scavengers of the town, infest the streets by day and at night they

are relieved by packs of hungry dogs.... There are two roads from town to the Shoedagon, which on either side are crowded with numerous pagodas..... The village of Kemmendine, situated on the river, only three miles above Rangoon, was a war-boat station and chiefly inhabited by the King's war-boat men. The ground behind the village, elevated and commanding, is surrounded by a thick forest in its rear. Another account of the roads to the great pagoda" says: "Connecting this hill (i.e. the hill of the Shwe Dagon) with the town is a gradual slope along which are two excellent roads proceeding from each extremity of the northern face of the stockade to the pagoda and lined with substantial teak buildings belonging to the priesthood. The ground on either side is described as swampy, but it is difficult to find any in the neighbourhood which is not so: there are also several tanks along the road overgrown with rushes and weeds and full of mud and stagnant water." The same account goes on: "Towards the south, as far as the mouth of the river, rice flats extend on every side, intersected here and there by low bushes; but on the north a dense jungle reaches almost to the very verge of the pagoda, and, with the exception of occasional patches and open plains, forms the only prospect in that direction." The British held Rangoon till December 1827. Thereafter a new stockade was built around the town, and other works of restoration were undertaken. But still about 1840 the town is described as a dull, miserable place which during the rains resembled nothing but a neglected swamp. The principal portion of the town lay within the stockade but the larger and more popular part was the suburb called Tat-gale on its west face. The main street led from the custom-house through nearly the middle of the stockade. This was built in the form of an irregular square with its southern face running for some 1200 yards parallel to the river. The northern face was of similar length, the eastern face was 605 yards long and the western 210 yards.<sup>(1)</sup> In the north face there were two gates and one sally-port, in the south, facing the river, three gates and three sally ports, in the east two gates, and in the west one gate and three sally

ports, in the east two gates, and in the west one gate and one sally port." We may conclude that the town stood between 1826 and 1841 much as it stood before the war.

## VI.

It has been shown that there are fairly ample materials on which to base an attempted reconstruction of the old town of Rangoon as it was in early part of last century. No great change occurred till 1841 when Tharawadi built a new stockade near the Shwe Dagon and the town at least in part was consequently removed thither. We may now endeavour to determine more or less precisely the site of the old town up to the latter date and place it in relation to the modern city.

The principal part of the town as has been seen was the small area (about 75 acres) surrounded by a stockade on the bank of the river. In 1833 the stockade was still standing: by 1846 it had almost entirely disappeared, almost the sole alteration in the general appearance of the town from the time of Syme's visit. It had been destroyed when Tharawadi built his new town. The new stockade which had been built after the war of 1824-26 was of solid teak, 18 to 24 inches square, nearly 18 feet high. Near the top at intervals were port-holes. A platform ran around the inside near the top wall, approached by eastern steps. It was surrounded on the outside by a ditch. Rev. Mr. Bennett who knew Burma for over 50 years, writing in 1883, says that the southern face of the stockade ran nearly on the line of the present Strand Road from near Sparks Street to near Mogul Street. It is probable however that western extremity was more nearly on the line of the present Tseekai Mounng Tawlay Street. It is no doubt now impossible to determine the exact site of the old town. Even in 1883 there was left hardly a single foot of soil, roads or buildings of what was once Rangoon. As Spearman says in his Gazetteer of 1879, "the Rangoon of today is as unlike the Rangoon of 1852 as modern London is unlike the London of 500 years ago." We may however accept the suggested line of the southern face of the stockade. The eastern side ran from a little east

(1). It will be observed that estimates of the size of a larger area than the old: but this would not quite account

the "myo" disagree. Perhaps the new stockade enclosed for the disparity.

of Sparks Street northwards to near Dalhousie Street. The northern side lay partly on Dalhousie Street and partly on Merchant Street as far as near Tseekai MOUNG Tawlay Street and the western side linked up the north western corner with the Strand. The stockaded area was roughly quadrilateral but the eastern side was considerably longer than the western side. The whole area was much lower than at the present day and was consequently marshy. The spring tides ran all over the town. Outside the town on the south, there was the main, for long the only wharf, also known as the King's Wharf. It was near the present Barr Street Jetty. The Custom House was on the bank a little to the west of the wharf on a site that is now part of Strand Road. From the wharf a road led past the custom house to a gate in the stockade and ran almost straight through the town a little to the east of the line of the present Barr Street, to a gate in the northern face of the stockade. Apart from the Custom House there were only one or two buildings on the river bank outside the stockade. It was intended in 1853 to preserve the whole of the Strand open, except for the Custom House. In those days the strand near the wharf was the meeting place of "all Rangoon and shipping folk." It was sometimes called the Exchange or Gossip Wharf: here people of all creeds and races gathered in the evenings. On the western side of the stockade there was a single gate, probably near where Merchant Street and Tseekai MOUNG Tawlay Street meet. Just beyond it on the west was a small creek, with a populous village mostly occupied by boatmen. The tide ran up the creek for some distance: and the latter was crossed by a large wooden bridge. The road went still further west to another and much larger tidal stream a little to the west of where Latter Street now is. On the banks of this stream were the timber yards of several European merchants. Beyond this to the west there were paddy fields on the low ground as far as Kemmendine, which was the village of the Burmese King's boatmen.

On the north side of the stockade was a swamp which probably varied in extent with the season and the tides. It surrounded the Sule Pagoda,

which was to the north of the stockade and to which access was given by a brick causeway over the swamp laid from a point near the gate already mentioned on the northern face of the stockade. The swamp stretched well to the westward, and a road running northward from the river on about the line of Latter Street crossed it by a long wooden bridge; and so led out to the country towards the north. The swamp was connected with the river by a creek "near the Government Timber Depot on the west" and with the Botatoung creek on the east.<sup>(2)</sup> On the north side of the stockade east of the Sule Pagoda there were, it is stated, in 1833 pleasant gardens belonging to the Burmese officials and the merchants, where picnics were frequently held. On the north a road issued from the town by the gate almost opposite the gate near the main wharf on the south. This road bent round on the north of the Sule Pagoda and joined another road which ran northwards from the river a little to the east of the present China Street. The road must then have continued approximately on the line of the present Pagoda Road. It was lined with Kyaungs which were especially numerous where the road approached the southern entrance of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda.

On the northern side of the stockade there were two large gates, although on each of the other sides there was but one. The second gate on the north was towards the east, and a road issuing from it ran northwards near the line of Phayre Street to near the Scots Kirk, whence it continued to the great pagoda roughly on the line of the present Signal Pagoda Road. It was lined with pagodas and Kyaungs. This road appears to have been known as the Wongyee's Road and the gate by which it issued from the town as the Wongyee's gate. One writer calls this "the Death Gate" as out of it all funerals and execution parties were required to pass. The road continued to rise after passing the Signal Pagoda (then called Sale's Pagoda, after Sale the general subsequently famed at Jalālābād) until it approached the south-eastern corner of the Shwe Dagon; then it dipped low to the right and passed round the eastern side of the pagoda. Beyond

(2). Probably here is meant the creek near West St.

which was later on the end of the canal, vide map of 1867.



the eastern entrance of the pagoda was the Scotch Tank (so called, it is stated, owing to its "medicinal" qualities). On the further side of the pagoda was a swamp. On the low ground beneath Signal Pagoda was a small lake called "Kandawglay," so distinguished from the larger lake or "Kandawgyi," now called the Royal Lake. Kandawglay has almost entirely disappeared. It was then a favourite resort for picnics, being surrounded with beautiful woods in which stood many pagodas and zayats. The greater part of the country between the Shwe Dagon and the town was thickly wooded in its higher part and swampy in its lower. All the high ground where now stand the Jail, the Asylum and the Judson College, was occupied by mango, jack and pine apple gardens. Fruits abounded everywhere. In the woods there were many kyaungs. Thus where the High School now stands, were then several large buildings known as the King's Kyaungs. Where the Railway Station now stands the ground was swampy both east and west, and there were many tanks. This part was later on after 1852 drained by a canal (whence Canal Street) which ran practically round the town. It has now almost entirely disappeared.

On the east of the stockade the ground was a swamp and there were but a few huts until the fishermen's village of Poozoundoung was reached.

We may now have a glimpse of the town within the stockade. It had changed so little that the descriptions already quoted will hold good for the eighteen thirties. On entering the gate near the main wharf on the south, the visitor was on a road leading north as has already been pointed out. A little beyond the gate he would come to a street running east and west, the Kuladan street, so called because it was mainly inhabited by foreigners. Some of the buildings were entirely of wood. There were few houses entirely built of brick. Owing to the extreme danger from fire in a town of wooden buildings and thatched roofs, elaborate precautions were taken against fire. Koladan Street ran on a line east and west probably near the modern Shafraz Road. A few hundred feet further north was the main street of the town running east and west, probably near the line of the present Merchant Street.

On this street was situated the palace of the Burmese Viceroy, consisting of a series of wooden buildings elevated about 5 feet above the ground, and the High Court lay southwards of the Palace. On or near this street were the few brick buildings which belonged to foreign merchants. The principal English merchants then were Messrs. Spears, Roy, Trill and Crisp, who dealt in book-muslin, cotton goods &c. These merchants also owned the timber yards outside the town on the west, already mentioned. Trade in those days was greatly impeded by the laws against the export of such commodities as gold, silver, precious stones and rice. There was thus difficulty in paying for goods in Calcutta. To return to the town itself, the streets were paved with brick and there were brick drains on either side, in which the children caught fish when the spring tides flooded the city. The streets were in good repair as no carts were allowed inside the stockade. In addition to the three streets already mentioned, there was a fourth of importance leading across the town northwards on about the line if the present Lewis Street to the Wongyee's gate.

Much that is of interest might be recorded of old Rangoon but the present purpose is to sketch the further history of the town. In 1841 King Tharawadi, the successor of Bagyidaw, also known as Konbaung-min, founded a royal city on the south and west of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda. This was the supposed site of the ancient village of Ukkalaba (Ukkala=Ussa=Orissa), a name which had also been applied in former days to a Kingdom of the delta, presumably west of the Dalla district. He destroyed the stockade of the old town of Rangoon by the river. He threw up a bund around the site of his new town. In 1846, little had been done to complete the new town except this bund and the stockaded gateways, one of which was on Godwin Road probably a little to the south of the present stand on the race course, another in the middle of the race course and a third near the Jubilee Hall, on the road to the pagoda, and perhaps a fourth at the Signal Pagoda Road entrance. Starting from the southwest corner near the compound of the headquarters of the 18th Battalion I.D.F. the boundary of the new town crossed the maidan towards the Jubilee Hall near the main gate, and con-

tinued to a point near the junction of Simpson Road and Signal Pagoda Road where it turned northward keeping below Signal Pagoda on the eastern slope and led up to the eastern side of the Shwe Dagon enclosure. The pagoda was the citadel, and stood in the north east corner of the town. The northern boundary ran from the pagoda across the golf course (where remains of the bund are still to be seen) and a short distance beyond Prome Road, where it turned south for a short distance and then turned eastwards across the southern end of the golfcourse to a point roughly corresponding to the line of Budd Road. From this point the western boundary roughly ran down the line of Budd Road, enclosing the Eindawya Pagoda near Bishop's Court and so reached the south western corner. There was a ditch outside the bund except, I think, on the eastern side. At this time Godwin Road was made, and was then called Lanmadaw and ran on its present line to the western side of the pagoda. The main road up to the southern side of the pagoda was paved with brick. The King built himself a palace near where the Cantonment Church now stands. As we have seen little progress had been made with the new town in 1846: probably the work was not carried on vigorously during the later years of Tharawadi. He died in 1846. According to Spearman when the King directed the removal of the town to its new site 'the royal order was to a certain extent obeyed; the principal buildings and government offices were placed in the new town, and were there when the British force landed and captured Rangoon in April 1852.' It is clear however that in 1846 the old town by the river was still the main centre of the population.

Before the war broke out in 1852 all the people in Rangoon were removed to the new town and all the buildings in the place were destroyed. In Lieutenant Ford's map of 1852 the site of the old town is marked with the note "old town in ruins."

## VII.

The story of the town has now been traced up to the war of 1852, when the Second Burmese

war was fought and Pegu became part of the British Empire. From that date, works were put in hand which have almost entirely obliterated the old town or towns. Within six months of its capture, steps were taken for laying out a new town with regular streets, for raising the general level, and for keeping out the river. The level of the whole town east of Godwin Road has been raised in some places several feet, material being brought from the higher ground inland. The work of reclamation is still going on. Government administered the town till 1874 when it was handed over to municipal administration. Fraser, an officer of the Engineers laid out the town on a plan which has been much admired. He had a great opportunity of course in view of the destruction of the old town. After the war, plots of land were apportioned by Government on the understanding that they would be vacated when the plans for a new town were decided on. Hence there arose a large number of unsubstantial huts on the site of the town. One capitalist obtained a large piece of ground and built wooden barracks, with rooms which he rented out on enormous rates. Large numbers of people wanted accommodation, for after the success of the British in 1852, people of all sorts from Madras and Calcutta and elsewhere poured into the town. The temporary erections were swept away as the building of the town progressed. The new town of Tharawadi was reserved for the cantonment, and after 1852 was known as the stockade. As everyone knows, it was not many years before Rangoon grew beyond the limits of Fraser's plan, even beyond the limits he allowed for extension westwards. The town then began to expand without any comprehensive plan to ensure its growth on right lines, and it is only within very recent years that steps have been taken, with knowledge of the past and imagination of the future, to prevent its degenerating into an ugly and ill planned town round an admirable nucleus, and to guide its development so that it may be not only a mighty but also a nobly planned city, 'worthy of the praise of Fitch—"It is the fairest place, as I suppose, that is in the world."

W. G. FRASER.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The following list includes only books that have been consulted.

Bennett.—"Rangoon Fifty years ago." (1883).

Clifford.—"Further India." (1904.)

Cox.—"Journal of a Residence in the Burmhan Empire." (1821.)

Crawford.—Journal of an Embassy to Ava in 1795." (2nd Edition 1834.)

Duroiselle.—"Notes on Ancient Geography of Burma." (1906.)

Duroiselle.—In "Epigraphia Birmanica." Part I.

Forchhammer.—"Early History and Geography of British Burma." (1883.)

Furnivall and Morrison.—"Syriam District." (Burma Gazetteer.) (1914.)

Fytche.—"Burma Past and Present." (1878).

Gouger.—"Two Years Imprisonment in Burma." 1860.)

Hakluyt.—

Journal of the Burma Research Society.

Judson.—"An Account of the A. B. Mission." (1823.)

Laurie.—"Our Burmese Wars." (2nd Edition 1885.)

Malcom.—"Travels in South Eastern Asia." (1839.)

McCrindle.—"Ptolemy's Ancient India." (1885).  
Page.—"Pegu District." (Burma Gazetteer.)

1917.

Phayre.—"History of Burma." 1883.

Purchas.—

"Rough Pencillings of a Rough Trip to Rangoon." (1853.)

Sangermano.—"The Burmese Empire." (Edition 1893.)

Vincent Smith's Histories of India.

Snodgrass.—"Narrative of the Burmese War." (1827.)

Spearman.—"British Burma Gazetteer." (1879.)

Stewart.—In "Pegu District." (Burma Gazetteer.) Chap. 2. (1917.)

Symes.—"Embassy to Ava in 1795." (2nd Edition 1800.)

Trant.—"Two Years in Ava." (1827.)

Wilson.—"Documents Illustrative of the Burmese War." (1827.)

Winter.—"Six Months in British Burma." (1858.)

Yule.—"Narrative of a Mission to the Court of Ava in 1855." (1858.)

## THE ERA OF DECAY.

[At the beginning of the Era of Decay in this Auspicious World-Cycle the following rules were enacted by rulers of men:—

1. Not to take others' life.
2. Not to steal others' belongings.
3. To abstain from adultery.
4. Not to speak falsehood.
5. To abstain from intoxicating drinks.

Under the regime of these monarchs while the rules were in force men lived very long. Perfect as they were in strength, beauty and intellect they were inflicted by no disease other than infirmity due to old age. They were wealthy and innocent. In short, throughout the length and breadth of the King's domains peace and prosperity reigned supreme.

In course of time, however, during the reign of Antimapurisa, King of Mithila, capital of the kingdom of Videha in India, it happened that the sovereign ceased to conform to the manners, customs and institutions of righteous monarchs and began to rule in his own way. The people on their part began to harbour immoral desires and became perverted in nature. Some would steal others' belongings, and when captured and sent to the King for trial they would attribute their crime to their indigence. Then the King would dismiss them with handsome rewards admonishing them to live honestly and to abstain from committing such crime. This policy of the King merely encouraged unprincipled men to commit theft, which became so common that the King being unable to stop it by his act of clemency passed at last the death sentence on them. In this manner the sin of taking others' lives appeared and weapons such as swords, spears and what not were in vogue. Consequently men's life was shortened from 80,000 to 40,000 years. At the same time their health, strength, beauty and intellect were greatly impaired.

At this epoch thieves and robbers when captured and sent before the King would speak falsehood and deny their guilt to escape from death. The sin of speaking falsehood was com-

mitted by men and life was further shortened to twenty-thousand years. This was followed by a generation when men who spoke slanderous words could live only ten thousand years. Being overwhelmed with evils they lacked in beauty. Handsome persons were rare, and men being fascinated by such wives of others as were beautiful began to commit adultery. Human life was reduced to five thousand years; and still further to two thousand, one thousand, and five-hundred respectively, as men used ribaldry and frivolous talk, cherished covetousness and greed, and professed heretical views. Children following the examples set by their parents began to harbour immoral passions. Actuated by vicious desires they resorted to unlawful means to satisfy them. Consequently they could live two hundred and fifty years only—which in the next generation, were reduced to a hundred as men ceased to respect their parents. Thus life becomes shorter and shorter as men are more perverted in nature, till men would barely live ten years.

At this stage men begin to repent and avoid the Ten Evils. Consequently they live longer and longer, their life rising by leaps and bounds from generation to generation to an innumerable number of years.

However, the evolution of human nature is such that in due course corruption follows, and as generation follows generations the span of human life is gradually curtailed. At an age when men can live a hundred thousand years, the city of Benares will be the great city by the name of Ketumati ruled by a mighty emperor Sankha in whose time will appear Metteyya, our future Buddha to preach the law for the salvation of mankind.

The underlying cause, therefore, of decay of life, strength and beauty is the self-conceit of men which has led them to abandon old institutions and initiate their own; and the only remedy is a tenacious adherence to the principles of our fore-fathers—which alone will be conducive to the realisation of lofty ideals. B. K.]

အာယုဟာယနပြောခွန်း\*

ယခုဘဏ္ဍာကမ္ဘာတွင်၊ ဦးစွာအစ။ အာယုဟာယနခေတ်ကာလ၌တိုင်းနိုင်ငံကိုစိုးစံအုပ်ချုပ်မင်းလုပ်တော်မူကြသောဧကရာဇ်အပေါင်းတို့သည်။ တိုင်းနေပြည်သူ။ ဗိုလ်လူ အများတို့အား။ ကြက်မတောင်ရှည်။ သာကြည့်ပိုက်ဖြာ။ တရားဥပဒေ။ ပြဋ္ဌာန်းသတ်မှတ်တော်မူကြသည်ကား။ ။ သူတပါး၏ အသက်ကို မသတ်အပ်။ မသတ်ထိုက်။ မသတ်စေရ။ စောင့်ရှောက်ထိန်းသိမ်း၍ထားသောသူတပါး၏ပစ္စည်းဥစ္စာကိုမခိုးမယူအပ်။ မခိုးမယူထိုက်။ မခိုးမယူစေရ။ ကိလေသာကာမ မိစ္ဆာစာရကိုလွန်ကျွေး၍။ သူတပုဂ္ဂိုလ်တို့၏သားမယား၌ဘောက်ပြားမှားယွင်းခြင်းကိုမပြုအပ်။ မပြုထိုက်မပြုစေရ။ မဟုတ်မမှန်ဘောက်ပြန် ချွတ်လှဲသော အတူတကွသာ မာယာစကားကို မဆိုအပ်။ မဆိုထိုက်။ မဆိုစေရ။ မဇ္ဈပါဏသေအရက်ကိုလည်း မသောက်အပ်။ မသောက်ထိုက်။ မသောက်စေရ။ လျှောက်ပတ်သင့်လျော်၍။ လူသူတော်အများတို့ စားသောက်သုံးစွဲမြဲဖြစ်သော အစာအဟာရကိုသာလျှင် စားသောက်သုံးစွဲကြစေဟူသော အမိန့်ဥပဒေ ၅ ချက်ကိုသာ။ အဆက်ဆက်သောဘုရင်မင်းတရားတို့။ ပြဋ္ဌာန်းပိုင်းခြားလျက်။ တိုင်းကားနိုင်ငံကို။ ပိုင်စံသိမ်းချုပ်။ စိုးအုပ်တော်မူကြသောကြောင့်။ အာယုဝဏ္ဏအသက်ရှည်၍အရပ်အဆင်းလှပတင့်တယ်ခြင်း။ အိုမင်းကုန်းကွ ဇရာဗုဒ္ဓလဒ္ဓကွဝေဒနာမှတစ်ပါး။ အခြားဝေဒနာရော ၊ မရှိ။ ပကတိကုန်းမာချမ်းသာခြင်း။ ဉာဏ်ပညာထက်သန်၍အားအန်မလကြီးမားခြင်း။ ခိုးသေးထားပြီမခိုင်းတန္တကင်းလျက်။ နိုင်ငံတော်လေးမျက်နှာပင်။ သာယာဝပြောကြလေသည်။ ။ ယခုအခါ ယနယ်မြေအတွင်း။ ဝေဒေဟတိုင်း။ မိမိလာပြည့်ရှင်အန္တိမပုရိသဘုရင်မင်းမြတ်လက်ထက်တော်မူကျရောက်မှ။ ရှေးရှေးသောမင်းကောင်းမင်းမြတ်တို့၏ထုံးတမ်းသဘာဝ။ ပဝေဏီယဓမ္မသို့မလိုက်မကျင့်။ မိမိအကြိတ်မိမိသဘောဖြင့်။ အလိုအလျောက်အတ္တနောမတိအုပ်ချုပ်စီမံသောကြောင့်။ တိုင်းနိုင်ငံသူ။ ဗိုလ်လူအပေါင်းတို့သည်။ မကောင်းသောအကြံကိုကြံစည်၍။ မတော်မသင့်။ အကျင့်ပျက်ကွက်။ သူတပါး၏ဥစ္စာဘဏ္ဍာကိုခိုးဝှက်စားသောက်လေက။ ဥစ္စာနေပစ္စည်းရှင်တို့က။ ဆံဆွဲလက်ငင်တွေ့မြင်ဖမ်းယူလျက်။ ဘုရင်မင်းမြတ်ထံ ဆက်သောအခါ။ သူတပါးဥစ္စာကို အတယ်ကြောင့် ခိုးယူပါသနည်းဟုစစ်မေးသော်။ အသက်မွေးရန်စပါးဆန်မလုံလောက်သောကြောင့်။ ခိုးယူမိပါသည်တင်လျှောက်လေရာ။ သူတပါး၏ပစ္စည်းဘဏ္ဍာကိုမခိုးမယူလင့်။ ဤဥစ္စာကိုငါပေးအံ့ သားမယားနှင့် ချမ်းသာစွာ အသယ်မွေးလေဟု။ ဘေးမှ လွတ်လိုက်လေလျှင်။ ထို့နည်း ထပ်တူ။ တဦးသော သူကိုလည်း။ ခိုးယူဖမ်းမိပြန်က။ တဖန်စားသောက်ရန်ဥစ္စာပေးလျက်။ ဘေးမှလွတ်ပြန်သောအခါ။ တိုင်းပြည်မြို့ရွာလေးမျက်နှာက။ ဥစ္စာဘဏ္ဍာခိုးဝှက်ယူငင်သောသူတို့အား။ ဘုရင်မင်းမြတ်က မစမြောက်စား၍စီးပွားဥစ္စာ များစွာပင် ဆုတော်ပေးသည်ဟု။ အနီးအဝေး သတင်စကား။ ဖြစ်ပွားကြေညာလျက်။ အမြို့မြို့အရွာရွာ။ ခိုးဝှက်လုယက်မှုအခါနီးကို။ ပြကုန်ကျွေးလွန်ကြလေရာ။ ဥစ္စာဘဏ္ဍာဖြင့်မထောက်မမ

ဘဲ။ အန္တိမပုရိသဘုရင်မင်းမြတ်သည်။ ခိုးသူတို့အားသတ်ဖြတ်ခြင်းပါဏာတိပါတက်ကို။ စီမံပြဋ္ဌာန်းတော်မူရ၍။ လူတို့အသက် (၈၀၀၀) တမ်းကစ၍။ အခါနီးပါဏာတိပါတဒုစရိုက်နှစ်ပါး။ ထားလက်နက်ထာဝရပယောဂတို့သည်။ လောက၌အထင်အရှား။ အန္တိအပြား။ ဖြစ်ပွားပေါ်ပေါက်လာလေသည်။ ။ ဤကဲ့သို့ခိုးဝှက်ခြင်းအခါနီးပါးက။ ထားလက်နက်ဖြင့်သူ့အသက်ကိုသတ်ခြင်း ပါဏာတိပါတ။ ဖြစ်ပွားပေါ်ထွက်ခြင်းကိစ္စကြောင့်။ အသက် (၈၀၀၀) တမ်းရှည်မြင့်စွာ နေကြရသောမိဘနှစ်ပါးမှ။ ပေါက်ဘွားသောသားသမီးတို့သည်။ မကောင်းမှုဒုစရိုက် အမိုက်ဖုံးလွှမ်း၍။ အသက် (၄၀၀၀) တမ်းသို့ဆုတ်ယုတ်ခြင်းဖြစ်လာသဖြင့်။ အရပ်အဆင်းအင်္ဂါလက္ခဏာလည်းမလှမပ။ ခွန်အားမလုံးရပ်သဏ္ဌာန်လည်း လျော့ပါး။ အနာရောဂါဘေးဘယလည်းများပြားကြလေသည်။ ။ လူတို့သက်တမ်း (၄၀၀၀) သမယ။ ဤခေတ်သို့ အကျတစွာ။ ပြည်သူတို့ကခိုးသေးထားပြီတို့အား။ ချုပ်နှောင်ဖမ်းဆီး၍ဘုရင်မင်းမြတ်ထံဆက်ကြသောအခါ။ အသက်ဘေးမှလွတ်ကြောင်းကြိတ်သံလျက်။ မမှန်မကန်သောမုသာဝါဒစကားဖြင့်။ ခိုးသားထားပြီမဟုတ်လေဟန်။ ငြင်းဆန်ကွယ်ဝှက်၍။ လူတို့အသက် (၄၀၀၀) တမ်းကာလမှာ။ မုသာဝါဒဒုစရိုက်သည်လူတို့အန္တိအပြား။ ထင်ရှားပေါ်ပေါက်လာလေသည်။ ။ ဤသို့မတော်မမှန်မဟုတ်မလျာ။ အကုသိုလ်ဒုစရိုက် မုသာကြောင့်။ အနှစ် (၄၀၀၀) အသက်ရှည်ကြသောဘမိနှစ်ပါးမှ။ မွေးမြင်ပေါက်ဘွားသော။ သမီးသားအပေါင်းတို့သည်။ အသက် (၂၀၀၀) တမ်းသို့ ဆုတ်ယုတ်လျော့သက်၍။ ထိုသူထိုမင်းတို့ လက်ထက်သို့တိုက်ရောက်ကာလ။ ပိသုဏဝါစာစကားဖြင့်။ ဤသူကားထားပြီဤသူကားခိုးသားဟု။ ဘုရင်မင်းမြတ်ထံသို့သွားပြီးလျှင်ချော့ပြစ်ကုန်းတိုက်ကြသောကြောင့်။ အသက် (၂၀၀၀) တမ်းခေတ်ကာလ၌။ ပိသုဏဝါစာ ဒုစရိုက်။ ထင်ရှား ပေါ်ပေါက် လာလေသည်။ ။ အသက် (၂၀၀၀) တမ်းမျှ နေရသော။ မိဘ နှစ်ပါး တို့မှ။ မွေးမြင်ပေါက်ဘွား။ ထိုသူတို့၏ သမီးသားတို့သည်။ အကုသိုလ်နှောင့်ရှက် ။ အသက် (၁၀၀၀) တမ်းသို့ဆုတ်ယုတ်နိုင်မူပြီးလျှင်။ အရပ်အဆင်းလှပသူအလွန်နည်းပါး။ မလှမပသူများပြားသောကြောင့်။ ထိုသူတို့အားတရားပျက်ကွက်။ ရမ္မက်တဏှာကိလေသာပူပြင်း၍။ အဆင်းရုပ်ဝါလက္ခဏာနှင့်ပြည့်စုံသောသူတပါး၏သားမယားကို။ ကျူးလွန်ပြစ်မှား ကြသောကြောင့်။ အသက် (၁၀၀၀) တမ်း ကာလမှာ။ မိစ္ဆာစာရဒုစရိုက်သည်။ လောက၌အန္တိအပြား။ ထင်ရှားပေါ်ပေါက်လာပြန်လေသည်။ ။ ကာမေသုမိစ္ဆာ။ ဒုစရိုက်ကံကြမ္မာကြောင့်။ ထိုကာလထိုအခါ။ နှစ်ခြာသောမိဘတို့ပိုက်ထုပ်မွေးဘွားသောသားသမီးတစုတို့သည်။ အာယုသက်ဆစ်။ အနှစ် (၅၀၀) တမ်းသို့ဆုတ်ယုတ်လျော့ကျပြီးလျှင်။ ရုန်းရင်းညစ်ညမ်းကြမ်းတမ်းသောဖရေသဝါစာ။ အနှစ်သာရမပါအကာသက်သက်။ အနက်အမိပ္ပါယ်ခြံကင်းလျက်။ ပိန်ဖျင်းသောသမ္ပပလာပဒုစရိုက်နှစ်ပါးသည်။ ထင်ရှားပေါ်

\* Read at the Arts and Crafts Exhibition, Jubilee Hall, 24th January, 1919.

ထွက်။အသက် (၅၀၀၀) တမ်းမှာပင်။ သောသောသွမ်းသွမ်း။ မြေးယုက်ဖုံးလွှမ်းလာလေသည်။ ၈၀စီကံဒုစရိုက်။ အမိုက်တရား။ ထိုနှစ်ပါးတို့ကြောင့်။ လူတို့သက်ဆစ်။ အချို့ကားအနှစ် (၂၅၀၀) အချို့မှာ (၂၀၀၀) သို့တိုင်တိုင်။ တပြိုင်နက်တချိန်တည်းဆုတ်ယုတ်နိမ့်ကျပြီးခါ။ သူတထူးဥစ္စာကိုမိမိဘဏ္ဍာဖြစ်လိုသောအာသား။ ရှေ့ရှုကြံစည်ခြင်းအတိဇ္ဈာ။ သူ့စည်းစိမ် သူ့စီးပွားကို။ ပျက်ပြားချွတ်ယွင်းစေလိုသောမျှာပါဒတို့သည်။ (၂၅၀၀) (၂၀၀၀) သောအသက်တမ်းကာလ၌။ လောဘ ရှေ့သွား။ ထွန်းကား ပေါ်ပေါက် လာ သောကြောင့်။ လူတို့အသက်အပိုင်းအခြားသည်။ (၁၀၀၀) ထိဆုတ်ယုတ်လျော့ပါးလေကာ။ အမှန်ကိုအမှား။ အမှားကိုအမှန်။ ဘောက်ပြန်ချွတ်ယွင်း။ တင်းလင်းစွဲငြိတတ်သော။ မိစ္ဆာဒိဋ္ဌိဟူသော ဒုစရိုက်တရားသည်။ စည်ကားပွင့်လန်း (၁၀၀၀) တမ်းမှာပင်။ အထင်အရှား။ ဖြစ်ပွားပေါ်ပေါက်လာလေသည်။ ၁။ မိစ္ဆာဒိဋ္ဌိ။ ကပ်ငြိစွဲလမ်းသောကြောင့်။ (၁၀၀၀) တမ်းမှ (၅၀၀) ထိဆုတ်ယုတ်နည်းပါးလျက်။ အဝံသွားရာ ချည်ပါသည် ဆိုသောဥပမာစကားကဲ့သို့။ ရှေ့ဆောင်နှားလာ။ မိဘနှစ်ပါးတို့၏အတုသို့လိုက်၍။ ဒုစရိုက် (၁၀) ပါးမျှမကဘဲ။ မသင့်လျော်သောအရာ၌တပ်မက်ခြင်းအဓမ္မရာဂ။ လွန်ကဲစွာပူပန်ခြင်းဝိသမလောဘ။ ဘောမတုဖြစ်ကြလျက်။ နှစ်သက်မြတ်နိုးခြင်းမိစ္ဆာဓမ္မပရေတ။ သတ္တလောကကို ဖုံးလွှမ်းပြီးလျှင်။ အသက်တမ်း (၁၀၀၀) မှ။ (၂၅၀) (၂၀၀) ဆုတ်နစ်လျော့ကျပြီးခါ။ မိဘနှစ်ပါးသက်ကြီးသူအိုတို့အား။ မရိုမသေမခံမညား မလေးမစား။ နိဋ္ဌိထက်သောကား။ ကျူးလွန် ပြစ်မှားကြ၍။ ဤသူတို့မှ ပေါက်ဘွားသော။ နောက်သမီးနောက်သားတို့မှာ။ အနှစ် (၁၀၀) မျှ။ အသက် ၆၀၀ ရှည်မြင့်ကြလျက်။ တစတစအယုတ်တရား။ စည်ကားပွားများထွန်းကားတိုးတက်သဖြင့်။ အန္တရာယ်ရာဂ။ အနာမျိုးအတန်တန်။ ဘေးရန်အသီးသီး။ ဘီစီးသောင်းကျန်း။ ညည်းပန်းနှောင့်ယှက်။ နှိပ်စက်ရုံမျှမက။ တဦးနှင့်တဦးမခွန်မမင်။ မကြင်မနာမေတ္တာပျက်ကွက်၍။ အထူးထူးသောလက်နက်တို့ဖြင့်။ တိုက်ဖျက်သတ်ညှစ်။ လူတို့သက်ဆစ်။ (၁၀) တမ်းသို့တိုင်အောင်ဆုတ်ယုတ်ပြီးမှ။ ထိတ်လန့်ခြင်းသတိသံဝေ။ တဖန်ရကြသောကြောင့် အာယုသက်ဆစ်။ အနှစ် (၈၀၀၀) တမ်းကာလက အစပေါ်တွက်သော။ သူ့တပါး၏ ဥစ္စာကို လုယူခိုးဝှက်ခြင်း။ သူတပါးအသက်ကိုသတ်ဖြတ်ခြင်းဟူသော။ အကုသိုလ် (၁၀) ပါး။ ဒုစရိုက်တရားတို့ကို။ အစဉ်အတိုင်းပယ်ဖျောက်။ စောင့်ရှောက်ကုသမှုကြသောကြောင့်။ လူတို့၏အသက်အပိုင်းအခြားသည်။ လွန်ကဲတိုးတက်ပြန့်ပွားလျက်။ အဆက်ဆက်သောသမီးသားတို့၏။ အသက်အာယုဗလ ပွားများခြင်းဝန်နည်။ လက္ခတ်ရင်တီး။ မြောက်ချီး အံ့ ဩ ဘွယ်။ ၂၀-၄၀-၈၀-၁၆၀-၃၂၀-၆၄၀ မှ။ ၂၀၀၀-၄၀၀၀-၈၀၀၀ မှ။ ၂၀၀၀၀-၄၀၀၀၀-၈၀၀၀၀-၁၆၀၀၀၀ မှ။ ဆင့်လောင်းတိုးတက်။ အသက် အသင်္ချေ။ တည်နေဖြစ်ပွားကြပြီးမှ။ ကာလတောင်

တာ။ မြင့်ရှည်ခဲ့သော်။ လူသတ္တဝါတို့အမူအကျင့်။ မသင့်မတရား။ ရှေးနည်းအလာ။ ဘောက်ပြားယွင်းသွေကြပြန်သောကြောင့်။ အသင်္ချေယု။ အသက်တမ်းမှ။ တစတစ လျော့ပျက်နေကုန်ဆုတ်။ ယုတ်ကာယုတ်ကာ။ ဟာယနခေတ်။ တကြိမ်ဖြစ်ပြန်၍။ လူတို့သက်ဆစ်။ အနှစ် (၈၀၀၀) တမ်းသို့ တခါတဖန်။ တိုင်ရောက်ပြန်သောကာလ။ အဝန်းယူဇနာ ၉၀၀ ကျယ်ပြန့်သော အဓိဗ္ဗိယနယ်နယ်အတွင်း။ တိန္ဒူပုန်းဏားတို့၏ ဘာသာ။ ဗဏာရတ်ခေါ်သော ဗာရာဏသီ မြို့ကြီးသည်။ ကေတုမတီရာဇဌာနီနေပြည်တော်ကြီးဖြစ်၍။ ဘုန်းတန်ကြီးမားသော။ သင်္ခအမည်တော်ရှိသောဧကရာဇ်ခေါ်ဗျာ။ မင်းတရားကြီးအုပ်ချုပ် စိုးစံတော်မူလျက်။ ထိုဘုရင်မင်းမြတ် လက်ထက်တွင်။ ဂေါတမဘုရားရှင်ကဲ့သို့။ မြတ္တာ လူနတ် ပရိသတ် တို့အား။ နိဗ္ဗာန်ရောက်ကြောင်းတရား။ ဟောကြားဆုံးမဩဝါဒပေးတော်မူအံ့သောငှာ။ မေတ္တေယျ အမည်တော်ရှိသောဘုရားမြတ်စွာသည်။ သစ္စာမဲ့ရင့်ပွင့်တော်မူလတ္တံ့ ဖြစ်ချေသည်။

ဤသို့အသက်အဆင်း လုံးရပ်သဏ္ဌာန်။ ဘောက်ပြန်ပျက်ပြား။ တိုးပွားဆုတ်ယုတ်ခြင်း၏ အရင်းမူလ ဖြစ်ကြရသည်ကား။ အဓမ္မမတော်မတရား။ ထွန်းကားပေါ်ထွက်ပြီးလျှင်။ မည်သည့်လူမျိုး။ မည်သည့်ဘာသာ။ မည်သည့်တိုင်းကားနိုင်ငံမဆို။ မိမိတို့အမျိုးအနွယ်အစဉ်အဆက်။ အထက်ကွယ်လွန်ပြီးသောမိဘဘိုးဘွားတို့။ အပိုင်းအခြားဥပဒေသသို့ မလိုက်မနား။ ငါသာတတီသည်။ ငါသာမြတ်သည်။ ငါသာသိသည်။ အတ္တနောမတီ။ မိမိထင်မြင်ရာ။ မောဟာ ဂတိအတွက်ကြောင့်။ အသက်အဆင်းဆုတ်ယုတ်ပြီးခါ။ အနာရောဂါများပြားလျက်။ မကျူးလွန်မပြစ်မှားထိုက်သော။ ရှေးလူဟောင်းတို့၏ပဝေဏီယဓမ္မပြဋ္ဌာန်းချက်ကို။ ပယ်ဖျက်ကျော်နင်းခြင်းကြောင့်ဖြစ်ကြလေသည်။

ပေါရာဏာရှေးယခင်။ ရာဇဝင်မူဟောင်းများတွင်။ ယခင်အထက်စိုးစံတော်မူသော ဘုရင်မင်းမြတ်နှင့်။ အတတ်အလိမ်မာ။ ပညာအမြော်အမြင်။ အဆင်အခြင် မတူတန်သော ဘုရင်မင်းမြတ်၏ လက်ထက်၌။ နိုင်ငံတိုင်းကား။ ပျက်ပြားကျဉ်းမြောင်း၍။ ပြည်သူအပေါင်းတို့နှလုံးစိတ်ဝမ်း။ မချမ်းမသာ။ ပူဆာနှမ်းညစ်။ ဖြစ်လေဘူးသည်ကို ထောက်သော်။ ချောင်းကိုပြစ်၍ မြစ်ကိုရှာလျှင် ရေသာများ၍ငါးမတွေ့။ ထုံးဟောင်းကိုပြစ်၍ ထုံးသစ်ရှာလျှင် နေရာများ၍ကြားမစေ့။ ဆိုသကဲ့သို့ ဆုတ်ချော်ဆုတ်နစ်မြင်းမဖြစ်စေရ။ ပေါရာဏာဧကရာဇ်ဘုရင်။ မိခင်ဘခင်တို့၏ အဆုံးအမ ဩဝါဒ ပြဋ္ဌာန်းချက်ကို။ အစဉ်တစိုက်လိုက်နာကျင့်သုံးကာ။ မချစ်သော်လည်းမမုန်း။ မမြတ်သော်လည်းမရှုံ့။ စကားပုံထုံးနှင့်တပြေ။ လောကဓမ္မအရေး ရည်ရွယ်ရာရောက်။ ထင်တိုင်းပေါက်၍ပြီးမြောက်အောင်မြင်ကြမည်ဖြစ်တော့သည်။ ။

ဆရာဘိ။









## BRASS FIGURE-LAMP FOUND AT OLD WESALI, ARAKAN.

Of all the forms of gifts to the Gods (*deva dānam*) there is perhaps none which can equalise in merit-winning capacity that which is offered in the form of lamps or *dīpam*, from the Sanskrit *dīpa* "to light." Everywhere they form the accessories of temple-worship; but the particular type of lamps, conceived in the form of human statues, generally female, supporting in both hands the cup which holds the oil for burning the wick, are characteristically South Indian, and are commonly to be met with in all Visweswara temples of that particular part of the peninsula. Except in the temple of Annapurna at Benares where the only example of this type is to be found, there is none to be seen in the whole of Northern India. In Ceylon too, though its close proximity has given it a large share of other South Indian types, no specimen of the figure lamp has ever yet been discovered.

From the earliest times the gift of figure-lamps to temples seemed to have been looked upon with particular favour by the people of South India; for they firmly believed that in the symbolic expression of the burning devotion of the donors represented in the lamps, untold virtues were likely to be acquired for themselves both in this life and in the hereafter. Thus when such gifts were made they were usually accompanied by the offer of cows, buffaloes, sheep or goats from the milk of which the necessary clarified butter is extracted for the perpetual use of the lamps in the temples. One peculiarity in the construction of these statue-lamps is that they should always be placed upon pedestals. No merit is to be attached to those that are without. For it is expressly laid down in the Sacred Texts that though Mother Earth has been patient under different forms of sufferings she will not allow any legs to kick her nor put up with the heat of lamps.

The antiquity of this type of lamp is undoubted. In the literature of south India which deals with the remote times of the first and second

centuries, frequent mentions are made of it. And indeed from this source alone it can also be gathered with some degree of certainty that the early Greeks and Romans were more or less responsible for the introduction of this type into South India, where especially at Madras and Kaveripatnam they had extensively settled down for purposes of trade. These people brought their wares from the west, and among them the figure-lamps also came. The Indian craftsmen seeing them for the first time were probably attracted by the novelty of the human *motif* employed in the design of the lamps. Next they imitated, and to suit their particular purpose they merely substituted their own forms of drapery and other ornamentation peculiar to the accepted canons of their own art.

The specimen found in Arakan (vide illustrations) measures 9 inches in height including the pedestal. It represents a woman in the act of holding out in front of her a rather elongated pear-shaped receptacle intended to hold the oil, which by means of the wick is meant to be burnt before the images. Her features are sharp and pointed. The ears are large and the nose is long, prominent and well-defined. The hair is coiled on the crown of the head, slightly pushed back. She wears a plain necklace and an amulet on each upper arm fastened by a broad band. There is a bangle round each wrist and a similar one round the middle of each forearm. Except for these few ornaments the body is absolutely bare. A girdle encircles the waist and another lower down over the hips fastens the close-fitting drapery which falls in folds below the knees. One end of the cloth is apparently brought round from the back between the thighs and after being slipped over the girdle it is allowed to fall in front in graceful folds. It is impossible to say whether this specimen is purely South Indian or of a mixed type. The peculiar method of wearing the hair in a topknot and the

arrangement of the drapery are unlike anything met with in the collections of India. Indeed the general impression suggests that the statuette is more inclined towards either Egyptian or Assyrian than towards Indian both in design and execution. Whether it was actually made in Arakan or simply conveyed by the merchants of Southern India we have no definite means of ascertaining at present. There is a line of inscriptions (in Arakanese characters) round the upper part of the pedestal. But this shall be noticed later.

In regard to the final destruction of Wesali, the Arakanese histories are not in general agreement. Some authorities state that it took place in the second century A. D. while others are inclined to the belief that at about the middle of the tenth century Wesali simply ceased to be the capital, and was given up in favour of the newly founded city of Sanbawot. But the life of the old city still continued till it was finally destroyed in the latter half of the eleventh century. So, though there is nothing definite to go by in determining the age of this figure-lamp, if any reliance can be placed in the data afforded by Arakanese histories, it may confidently be assumed that it must belong to the eleventh century or earlier. It is a great pity that no competent authority has ever yet thought it fit to properly survey the site of this famous old city to whose harbour, in days long gone by, more than a thousand vessels are said to have annually put in laden with merchandise of all description extracted from the great emporiums of the Eastern world. One has simply to understand its past history..

its former greatness, to enable him to form a pretty shrewd idea of the store of priceless art treasures lying buried beneath the soil.

As has already been mentioned above a line of inscription round the upper part of the pedestal records the gift, evidently made by a royal personage. It reads thus:—အယနာ ခေါင်ရဲခေတ်. This is more or less a facsimile of the original which in modern Burmese may be rendered အယနာတောင်းခေတ် “the gift of Ayana.” The final syllable တေ် unmistakably suggests the donor's rank. The inscription is of particular interest especially when considered in relation to the statuette with which it is associated. For to whatever age the latter may belong, it is difficult to get away from the inference that the Arakanese (Burmese) literature must have also been current at the time.

Some 30 years ago the late Dr. Forchammer visited Arakan, and in an admirable report on its antiquities stated with some degree of conviction that the Arakanese (Burmese) alphabet could not have been in use in the country much before the beginning of the 16th century. As a matter of fact the learned doctor saw much of Myohoung and other places; but for some reason or other he missed Wesali altogether. So the inscription under consideration accords a convincing proof of the unreliability of the doctor's deductions; for, to say the least, it must be several centuries older than the period at which the present alphabet is authoritatively reported to have been introduced into Arakan.

SAN SHWE BU.

## THE SHWEGUGYI PAGODA INSCRIPTION, PAGAN, 1141, A.D.

The inscription here transliterated and translated is the one found at Shwegugyi Pagoda, Pagan, and printed in Burmese characters on pages 159—164 of the Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava 1892. As we have had no opportunity of examining the actual stone or the estampages we do not guarantee the accuracy of the text. But we believe there are not any important errors in the printed text. U Tun Nyein gives too free a rendering in his translation of the Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava.

The Inscription is in Pali verse of great poetical merit. It is dated 503 B. E. corresponding

to 1141 A. D. and is set up by the famous Pagan King Alaungsithu, who, according to the latest revision by the Burma Archaeological Department, reigned from 1112—1187 A. D. It is satisfactory to know that Pagan Scholars of that date could compose such good Pali. Some verses of the prayer remind us of the canonical *Metta sutta* or, the *discourse on Love*. We have not attempted to confine the spirit of the beautiful prayer within textual notes and references. We are indebted to Mr. G. H. Luce for his kindness in putting our translation into blank verse.

—Editor.

### PALI TEXT.

Srī namo buddhāya :

1. Yo kāmapaṇkagahaṇaṃ taritum nisamma  
Nālaṃ tilokam akhilaṃ varadhamma-  
bhāṇum  
Tassesaṇāya bhuvi māpayi suddhibuddhi  
Buddhaṃ name tamasaṃsaṃ saha dhamma  
saṅghaṃ.
2. Ayaṃ hi bhaddako kappo pañcabuddha-  
virājito  
Uppannā tattha cattāro sambuddhā di-  
paduttamā.
3. Tesu Gotamabuddhassa Sakyaputtassa nā-  
ṇino  
Guṇaṃ pakāsayissāmi saṅkhepena suṇā-  
tha me.
4. Bhavesu ca anekesu lokanātho mahāyaso  
Pūritvā pārami sabbā cariyāyo ca sabbathā
5. Tato pañcapariccāge sattānaṃ hitakāraṇā  
Pariccajivā so vīro anantakarūṇālayo;
6. Vessantarattabhāvasmiṃ dhito sattahite  
rato  
Pāramiṇaṃ dasannaṃ tu kūṭaṃ gaṇhitva  
nāyako.
7. Tato cavitvā Tusite pūre uppajji cakkhu-  
mā

### TRANSLATION.

Reverence to the Buddha, whose pure mind  
Made for the earth a Sun—his noble Law,  
That all three worlds may follow him and reach  
Salvation, who were powerless else to cross  
The jungle and slough of sensuality.  
To the sole Lord I bow, His Law, His Church.  
Auspicious cycle of our world, adorned  
By Buddhas five! Four Buddhas have arisen,  
Perfect, of all two-footed things the best;  
Of these, in brief, the Sakyas' son inspired  
Gotama Buddha will I praise. Attend!

Through many lives our world's majestic Lord  
Summed all Perfections and Observances;  
The Home of endless pity then achieved  
His self-denials five for all our weal;  
Born as Vessantara he sought delight  
In doing good to men and aye excelled  
In all the Ten Perfections; passing thence

- Rūpādi dasaṭhānehi aññe deve atikkami.
8. Cakkavālasahashehi dasaḥ' āgamma sabbaso  
Devehi yācito santo Buddhabhāvāya sālavo.
  9. Vilokanāni pañc'eva vi loketvā guṇālayo  
Tato cavitvā Tusitā uppajji Sākiye kule.
  10. Ekūnatimsavassāni gharāvāse jutindharo  
Vasitvāna tato dhīro pabbajjāyābhikkhami.
  11. Pabbajjītvāna so vīro icchanto bodhim  
uttamaṃ  
Padhānaṃ padahetvāna katvā dukkara-  
kāriyaṃ.
  12. Ajapālarukkhāmūle nisiditvā Tathāgato  
Tattha pāyāsam aggayha nerañjaram upā-  
gato.
  13. Nerañjarāya tīramhi pāyāsam ada so jino  
Paṭiyattavaramaggena bodhimaṇḍam upā-  
gami.
  14. Āsabhaṇṭhānapallaṅkaṃ acalaṃ daḷham  
akampitaṃ.  
Cāturo aṅge adhiṭṭhāya nisīdi purisuttamo.
  15. Nissajja pallaṅkavare narāsabho  
Dumindamūle dipadānam uttamo  
Na chambhati vigatabhayo va kesarī  
Disvāna māraṃ saha senavāhanaṃ.
  16. Mārakkavāṭaṃ bhinditvā uttāsetvā sa  
senakaṃ  
Jayappatto mahāvīro santacitto samāhito
  17. Pubbenivāsaññaṃ ca dibbacakkhuṃ ca  
cakkhumā  
Sammāsanto mahāñānī tayo yāme atik-  
kami.
  18. Tattha pacchimayāmasmiṃ paccayākāram  
uttamaṃ  
Anulomapaṭilomaṃ manasākāsi sīrindharo
  19. Sabbaññutaṃ ñāṇavaraṃ sambujjhitvā  
mahāmuni  
Buddho ti dhammabuddhattā samaññā pa-  
ṭhamāṃ ahu.
  20. Bujjhitvā sabbadhammānaṃ udānaṃ kat-  
vā pabhaṅkaro  
Tatth'eva pallaṅkavare sattāhaṃ vītina-  
mayi.
  21. Samitasabbasantāpo katakicco anāsavo  
Udaggo sumano haṭṭho vicinteti bahum  
hitaṃ.

The Eye-endowed was born in Tusita,  
That city where in beauty and the Ten  
Additions he surpassed the other gods,  
Who from the myriad universes came  
Entreating, till he longed for Buddhahood.

The Paragon his observations five  
Marked, and departing Tusita was born  
In Sakiyan line. For thirty years save one  
In home he dwelt, the Lord of glory; thence  
He went a monk, resolved. In his desire  
For highest wisdom he put forth his strength  
In hard ascetic practices; he sate,  
Tathagata, beneath the Goatherd tree  
And taking pulse went toward Nerañjara;  
Upon its banks the Conqueror ate pulse  
And by the high prepared path he passed  
Toward wisdom's centre; there the factors four  
Of truth establishing he sate enthroned,  
Captain and bull of men on the bull-seat,  
Unshaking, firm, immovable; he sate  
Beneath the king of trees, the lord of men,  
Nor trembled, fearless as a lion maned,  
'Fore Mara and his hosts; whose engines fell  
He brake, affrighting them; victorious, calm  
And rapt in contemplation all that night's  
Three watches he, the keen-eyed hero, scanned  
The lore of former births and sights occult;  
Then comprehended, in the latest watch,  
Backward and forward all the causal chain  
(O glorious Sage!), and knew omniscience,  
Divinest knowledge, Buddhahood. (Thereby  
First rose the name of Buddha). There enthroned  
Seven days he tarried voicing prophecy  
Inspired, the Light-giver, all duties done,  
All fever cooled, and free from poison-drugs,  
In rapture jubilant, meditating weal.

22. Tibhuvanādiccapavaradhammarājā ti vis-  
suto  
Rājā āsi mahāpañño saddhammasavane  
rato.
23. Rajjaṃ dhammena kārento so samena  
narādhipo  
Buddhuppādakhaṇo nāma lokasmiṃ ati-  
dullabho.
24. Manussesūpapatti ca saddhammasavanam  
pi ca  
Cintayitvāna evan tu yoniso varabuddhi-  
mā.
25. Uddisetvāna Buddhassa Gotamassa mahe-  
sino  
Manoramam gandhakuṭim paṭiṭṭhāpesi  
'mam subham
26. Cetiyeḥi anekehi devarūpehi cāpitaṃ  
Saṇṭhānavantam uccena paṭhavyā ugga-  
taṃ viya
27. Tāyanto lokanāthassa varapaññassa sat-  
thuno  
Pañcanimmalacakkhussa bimbari vimha-  
yam āvahan
28. Siriyā sobhamānam ca dassanīyam mano-  
ramam  
Sajivam Buddhasettham va kārāpesi guṇā-  
layo
29. Kārāpetvā likhāpetvā Piṭakattayam utta-  
mam  
Ticivarehi 'nekehi acchādetvāna bhikkhavo
30. Bhojāpetvā sahatthehi vippasanno guhā-  
maye  
Buddhabhāvāya āsatto panidhānam udī-  
rayi:—
31. Yathā aham mahāsatto pūritvā dasapā-  
rami  
Pāpuṇitvāna sambodhim satte moci bandha-  
nā
32. Anāgate tathāham pi pūrinto dasapārami  
Pāpuṇitvāna sambodhim satte moci bandha-  
nā
33. Pattasabbaññutañño dhammagambhī-  
ratam jino  
Nisāmetvāna desetum nirussāham upāgato
34. Cakkavālasahashehi dasa 'āgamma yācito  
Brahmāmarehi nekehi sādarehi guṇākaro
35. Timsayojanikam maggam gamtvā nātula-  
vikkamo

There was a king most wise, the lord of men,  
Who loved the hearing of good Law; his name  
Tibhuvanadiccapavaradhammaraja.  
This just and righteous ruler of the land  
Bethought him: "Rarely, rarely in this world  
Are Buddhas born: and to be born a man  
Is hard; and hard to hear the Buddha's Law."  
So truly wise with best intelligence  
He ordered: "Make a pleasing lovely room,  
A fragrant chamber for the mighty sage  
Gotama Buddha. On a platform high  
Exalt it, and adorn with *cetiyas*  
And images of spirits." This great king  
Abode of virtue, ordered to be made  
(Most like the noble Buddha while he lived)  
An image glorious-wonderful and fair  
Of the world's Lord, the Teacher, whose five eyes  
Might never wink,—so purely wise was he.  
Thereafter the three peerless Pitakas  
He copied; clad the monks with many a set  
Of triple robes, and with his royal hands,  
What time the *gu* was dedicated, fain  
He fed them, cheerfully; then cried aloud  
In strong desire for Buddhahood this prayer:—

"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.

This Conqueror, having plumbed the deeps of  
Law  
And reached omniscience, durst not publish it  
Till from the myriad universes came  
Suppliant brahmas and immortals, sore  
Entreating him; who hearkened—Virtue's mine!  
Indued with valour beyond weight!—and came



- Patvesipatanam ramman dijasaṅghanise-  
vitarin.
36. Pañcavaggiyatherānam dhammacakkappa-  
vattanam  
Desayitvāna pāpesi brahmāmaragaṇam  
saha.
37. Aññakoṇḍaññatherena nibbānapadam utta-  
man  
Tathevāham pi deseyyam dhammacakkap-  
pavattanam
38. Yamakapāṭihīriyaññāne tathvā Tathāgato  
Akāsi buddhavisayam iddhiṃ nekavidham  
hi so.
39. Satthu kāyā samabbhūtā nīlā pītā ca lohitā  
Odātā saha mañceṭṭhā sapabhassaranā-  
makā
40. Ādhāvanti vidhāvanti vipphuranti param-  
parā  
Jotayanti disā sabbā chabbaṇṇā raṃsiyo  
brahā
41. Buddhā mayam ti maññante titthiye neka-  
laddhike  
Saggamokkxapathā p'ete rittamuṭṭhi va  
tucchake
42. Pāpente caturāpāye gāhetvā laddhim at-  
tano  
Nibbāne natthike satte vañcetvāna ane-  
kathā
43. Disvā dayāya sattesu samussāhitamānaso  
Cakkavālehi nekehi ānetvā merupabbate
44. Iddhayā puna te sabbe tthapetvā paṭipāṭiyā  
Māpetvā matthake tesam seṭṭham ratana-  
caṅkamam
45. Caṅkamanto tahirā nātho tosayanto mahā-  
janam  
Pāṭihīram nidasseṣi dasseyya 'ham pi tam  
tathā
46. Pāṭihīram nidassetvā garitvāna tidasā-  
layam  
Pāricchattakamūlamhi paṇḍukampalanā-  
make
47. Jalanto buddharamsihi nisīditvā silātale  
Pāyanto amataṃ pānam devabrahmagāṇe  
bahū
48. Dhammam desayi devānam sakkhim kat-  
vāna mātaram  
Tathevāham pi deseyyam tam dhammam  
atidullabham
49. Sinerumuddhani Buddho tthito tattha  
mahāyaso  
Lokavivarāṇam nāma pāṭiheram akārayi

A space of thirty *yojanas*, by road  
To sweet Isipatana, the resort  
Of all the twice-born; there to Elders Five  
He taught the turning of the wheel of Law,  
And brahmas and immortals, all that host,  
With the elder Aññakoṇḍañña he caused  
To reach Nirvana, matchless path.—So I  
Would teach the turning of the wheel of Law.

The working of twin miracles he knew  
And dealt in divers magic meet for Lords;  
For from the Master's body forth there came  
Blue-green and yellow and red and white and  
brown

And dazzling rays, six coloured rays that ran  
Straight, thwart, by fits, or flashed all ways at  
once.

Certain schismatic heretics who deemed  
'We are the Buddhas,' who had left the path  
Of liberty to heaven, and for their schism  
Obnoxious stood to the four hells—vain souls,  
Vain as this empty handful!—cheating men  
Alway, and called Nirvana nothingness—  
He saw and pitying brought them from all worlds  
To Mt. Mēru, and ranging in one row  
By magic power upon their heads he built  
A jewelled path where to and fro he walked  
Delighting all, and shewed his miracle.—  
Such miracles may I have power to shew.

Thereafter to the seat of Thirty Three  
Repairing, radiant Buddha, on the rock  
Called Pandukampala he sate him down  
Hard by the foot of Paricchattaka,  
And gave ambrosial liquor to the hosts  
Of many spirits and brahmas; these he taught  
Within his mother's audience the Law.—  
So would I teach that Law inscrutable.

There on the summit of Sinēru stood  
In pomp the Buddha and by power divine

50. Tathevāhaṃ tattha t̥hito pāṭiheraṃ maha-  
bbhūtaṃ  
Lokavivaraṇaṃ nāma kareyyaṃ taṃ anā-  
gate
51. Dhammaṃ desiya devānaṃ tāvatiṃsā  
mahītaṃ  
Otaritvā pi sattānaṃ dhammaṃ desiya  
nekathā
52. Bakādiḷe ca brahmāṇo yakkhe cālāva-  
kādiḷe  
Deve sakkādayo ceva sucilomādi rakkhase.
53. Jāṇussoṇādiḷe neke brahmaṇe cāpi kak-  
khaḷe  
Cūḷodaraḷe nāge Dhanapālādiḷe gaje.
54. Buddhā mayaṃ ti maññānte aneke titthike  
pi ca  
Damesi 'nuttare dhamme bhaveyyaṃ tā-  
diso ahaṃ
55. Asādhāraṇāṇehi chahi yutto Tathāgato  
Pañcakkicāni sādhesi bhaveyyaṃ tādiso  
ahaṃ
56. Dharaṇī viya sīlena himavā va samādhinā  
Ākāso viya paññāya asaṅgo anilo yathā.
57. Esa khīṇāsavo Buddho anagho tiṇṇasaṃ-  
sayo  
Sabbakammakkhayaṃ patto vimutto pa-  
dhi saṅkhaye.
58. Danto sayāṃ dametā ca sametā nibbuto isi  
Nibbāpetā ca āsatto assāsetā mahājanaṃ.
59. Āsayo buddhimantānaṃ puññakamma  
sukkhesaṃ  
Anāgāro mahāvīro bhaveyyaṃ tādiso  
ahaṃ
60. Durāsado duppasaho acalo uggato brahā  
Anantaṇāṇo asamasamo sabbaṃ tamavi-  
nodano,
61. Anubyañjanasampanno battiṃsavaralak-  
khaṇo  
Byāmapabbhāparikkhitto ketumālābhilaṇ-  
kato.
62. Upeto buddhadhammehi aṭṭharasahi nā-  
yako  
Catusaccadaso nātho buddhaṇāṇehi cud-  
dasa.
63. Rāgo doso ca moho ca visā sabbe samū-  
hatā  
Akatūpamo mahāvīro bhaveyyaṃ tādiso  
ahaṃ
64. Sukhumacchikena jālena udakaṃ yo parik-  
khipe  
Ye keci udake pāṇā antojāligatā siyuraṃ

Flung ope the world.—There standing, so would I  
Do marvels and fling open wide the world.

Descending earthward after spirits taught,  
He taught the creatures of our earth the Law  
In divers ways; by matchless Law he tamed  
Cranes, brahmas, *alavaka yakkhas*, sprites,  
Sakka, and white-haired *rakkhasa*, and brutes,  
Bitch-knee, and other rugged brahmins, snakes,  
Culodara and all, the elephant  
Hight Dhanapala, and many heretics  
Who thought 'We are the Buddhas.'—So would I.

Thus the Tathagata who bare the yoke  
Of six uncommon knowledges discharged  
His functions five.—So also fain would I.

In virtue sure as earth, in fixity  
As Himava, in wisdom as the heaven,  
Unfettered as the wind, our Lord is purged  
Of poison-drugs and sinless; far beyond  
All doubt emerging, all his karma done,  
By death of all his elements set free.  
He tameth others, for himself is tamed;  
He calmeth others, for himself is calm;  
Comforteth all unweariedly. The wise  
Rest on him as a prop, and they who seek  
Happiness find their benefit in him.  
Hero without a home!—Would I were he!

Hard to approach, hard to excel, the Lord  
Immoveable and towering, infinite  
In wisdom, sole, dispeller of the dark;  
His lesser marks and two and thirty signs  
Decked with a halo, with a glory girt  
One fathom deep; our general indued  
With eighteen virtues of a Buddha, lord  
Of all his fourteen knowledges, the seer  
Of the four truths;—He hath uprooted all  
The poisons, lust and hate and misconceit.  
Hero incomparable!—Would I were he!

As when a fisherman with subtil net  
Encompasseth a water, all things found  
Within that water needs must enter in;

65. Tath'eva pāpakammantā ye keci puthu  
titthiyā  
Titthigahaṇapakkhannā paramāsenā mohi-  
tā
66. Suddhena buddhañāṇena anāvaraṇadas-  
sinā  
Antojāligatā ete ñāṇaṃ tassānatikkamuṃ
67. Yena ñāṇena pattāsi kevalaṃ bodhim  
uttamaṃ  
Tena ñāṇena so nātho maddati paratitthiye
68. Yath' aṇḍajā ca saṃsedā opapātajalāpujā  
Kākādi pakkhino sabbe antalikkhapade-  
sago
69. Ye keci pāṇabhūt'atthi saññino vā asaññino  
Sabbe te tassa ñāṇamhi anto honti samo-  
gadhā.
70. Mohandhakārapakkhanno ayaṃ loko sa-  
devako  
Tassa ñāṇamhi jotante andhakārā vidhaṃ-  
sitā
71. Yathodayanto ādicco vinodeti tamaṃ sadā  
Tath' eva so Buddhasettṭho viddhaṃseti  
tamaṃ sadā
72. Yath' eva Buddhō varadammaśārathi  
Sattā ahu devamanussapūjito  
Tath'eva'haṃ devamanussapūjito  
Buddho bhavēyyaṃ varadammaśārathi
73. Dānena iminā mayhaṃ yaṃ settṭhaṃ  
pasutaṃ mayā  
Puññaṃ anupamaṃ loke sabbasattahitā-  
vahaṃ
74. Puññaṃ tena vipulen' idha vā huraṃ vā  
Na devabrahmasuramāravibūtiyo vā  
Sabbā pi siddhinaraṇājavibūtiyo vā  
Paṭhemi n'eva jinasāvakabhūmiyo vā
75. Saṃsārasotaṃ chinditvā setuṃ katvāna  
santanuṃ  
Santāretvā janaṃ sabbam pāpeyyuṃ  
puram uttamaṃ
76. Tiṇṇo'han tāraye vūlhaṃ danto ca damaye  
sahaṃ  
Assatto sāsāye bhiruṃ suttaṃ Buddhō  
pabodhaye
77. Ādittasamaye santo bandhaṃ mutto pamo-  
caye  
Nibbuto samaye dosaṃ saddhammehi  
purakkhato
78. Attani mūlasaṃbhūtā dhammā akusalā  
tayo

So many heretics, ill-doers, who leapt  
Into the shoal of heresy beguiled  
By specious handling, were encompassed round  
With the pure Buddha's vision and clean eyes  
And might not pass beyond. That vision sure  
Whereby he reached the height of wisdom, hem-  
med  
Opposing heretics; all living things  
Egg-born or vapour-born or aqueous, ghosts,  
Crows, and all winged fowl which cross the sky,  
All things both conscious and unconscious passed  
Within that net, within that wisdom plunged.  
The world of spirits and our world had leapt  
To night and error; but that wisdom shone  
And night is scattered. As the rising sun  
Dispelleth darkness ever, so doth he,  
Our best, the Buddha, Teacher, Charioteer,  
Tamer of men, by men and spirits adored.—  
Would I were such a Buddha, Charioteer,  
Tamer of men, by men and spirits adored.

By this my gift, whatever boon I seek,  
It is the best of boons, to profit all;  
By this abundant merit I desire  
Here nor hereafter no angelic pomp  
Of Brahmas, Suras, Maras; nor the state  
And splendours of a monarch; nay, not even  
To be the pupil of the Conqueror.  
But I would build a causeway sheer athwart  
The river of Samsara, and all folk  
Would speed across thereby until they reach  
The Blessed City. I myself would cross  
And drag the drowning over. Ay, myself  
Tamed, I would tame the wilful; comforted,  
Comfort the timid; wakened, wake the asleep;  
Cool, cool the burning; freed, set free the bound.  
Tranquil and led by the good doctrines I  
Would hatred calm. The three immoral states,

- Lobho doso ca moho ca jāta khiyantu me  
sadā.
79. Ahimsanena uppanno bhogo me bohi thā-  
varo  
Māhu sādharmaṇo aggicorādinaṃ bhava  
bhava
80. Rūpe sadde rase gandhe phoṭṭhabbe ca  
manorame  
Apagacchatu me kāmaccando kusalasam-  
bhavo.
81. Lokapālā ca ye dhammā vuttā ādicca  
bandhunā  
Hiri-ottappasamikhātā mā te chaddentu  
maṃ sadā
82. Yathā bhoge cajiṭvāna nikkhamiṃsu na-  
ruttamā  
Akitti-ādayo sabbe paṇḍitā atthadassino.
83. Tath' evāhaṃ bhava sabbam cajiṭvā bhoga-  
sampadam  
Sāsane upagaccheyyaṃ sikkhittayapari-  
ggahe.
84. Yaṃ sikkhāpadam paññattam hitakāmena  
satthunā  
Khuddānukhuddakam sabbam pūreyyam  
tam anāgate.
85. Yathāpi cando vimalo gaccham ākāsadhā-  
tuyā  
Sabbe tāraṇe loke ābhāya atisobhati.
86. Tath' evāhaṃ arahato satthuno sāsane rato  
Sīlādiguṇasamyutto sobheyyam sāva-  
kantare.
87. Suttābhiddhamavinayaṃ dhāreyyam sat-  
thuno matam  
Atthabyañjanasampannam navaṅgasatthu-  
sāsanam
88. Attattham ca parattham ca sādheyyam  
jinasāsane  
Akattabbam ti yaṃ vuttam mā kareyyam  
mahesinā
89. Kataññukavedī ca bhaveyyam sabbadā  
aham  
Pāpamittehi samasaggo mā hotu satatam  
mama.
90. Disvāna jananādihi dukkhitam sanarāma-  
ram  
Lokam sañjāta-ussāho tāreyyam bhavasā-  
garā.
91. Iminā katapuññaena Mettayyaṃ loka-  
nāyakam  
Battimsalakkhaṇūpetam ketumālāvirā-  
jitam

Greed, hate, delusion, rooted all in self,  
O may they die, whenever born in me!  
Won not by oppression may my wealth remain  
Nor yield to fire nor robbers, life by life.  
Longings of sense for all delicious things,  
Sounds, sights, and touches, odours, relishes,  
Pregnant of immorality, begone!  
May sense of shame, fear of reproach (declared  
By the Sun's kinsman Guardians of the world)  
Cover me alway! As the best of men  
Forsaking worldly wealth and worthless fame  
Fled, for he saw their meaning—so would I  
All worldly wealth forsaking draw me near  
Religion and the threefold course ensue.

I would fulfil hereafter, great and small,  
Those rules the Teacher gave for our behoof.  
Borne through the element the spotless moon  
Outdazzles all the constellated stars:  
So I delighting in the Master's lore,  
The saint's religion, virtuously yoked,  
Would shine among disciples. I would know  
Sutta, and Abhidhamma, Vinaya,  
The Master's mind, his ninefold doctrine fraught  
With words and meaning. By the Conqueror's  
Law

I would do good to others and myself.  
What the Great Sage forbids I would not do.  
May I be alway conscious and aware  
Of kindness done me. Union of ill friends  
Be far from me. Beholding man's distress  
I would put forth mine energies and save  
Men, spirits, worlds, from seas of endless change.

By merit of this act I would behold  
Mettayya, captain of the world, endued  
With two and thirty emblems, where he walks

92. Sobhitam indacāpehi merurājam va  
caṅkamaṁ  
Dhammadesanāya mocentaṁ satte saṁ-  
sārabandhanā  
93. Disvā sutvāna saddhammaṁ sasaṅgha  
lokanāyakaṁ  
Sakkaccaṁ pūjayitvāna paccayehi catūhi  
taṁ.  
94. Upeto atthadhammehi byākato tena sa-  
tthunā  
Majjhe devamanussānaṁ buddhatthāya  
bhaveyya 'haṁ  
95. Guṇehi 'nekehi yathā tathāgato  
Virocati devamanussapūjito  
Tath' eva' haṁ devamanussapūjito  
Guṇehi 'nekehi virocayeyyaṁ.  
96. Saṁsārabandhanā satte catuvīsatisaṅkhaye  
Mocento niṭṭhāpetvāna buddhakkiccam ase-  
sato.  
97. Dhammakhandhasahassāni caturāsīti sab-  
baso  
Desitvāna hitatthāya sattānaṁ ca anāgate.  
98. Aggikkhandho va lokasmiṁ jaletvāna sa-  
sāvako  
Sabbasaṅkhatadhammānaṁ pakāsento ani-  
ccataṁ  
99. Niccasaññaṁ ca nāsento bālānaṁ avijā-  
nataṁ  
Ajaraṁ amaraṁ khemaṁ nibbānapūraṁ  
uttamaṁ  
100. Pāpuṇittha tathāhaṁ pi buddhakkiccam  
samāpiya  
Pāpuṇeyyaṁ puram taṁ va accantasukha-  
dāyakaṁ ti.
- Enhaloed on a rainbow pathway fair  
Like Mèru King of mountains, and sets free  
Samsara's captives by his holy words.  
There might I hear good Law, and bending low  
Offer the four things needful to the Lord  
And all his monks, till clad in virtues eight,  
Informed by such a Teacher, I become  
A Buddha in the eyes of spirits and men.
- Tathagata by men and spirits adored  
Shines bright in virtues manifold; so I  
Would shine and be by men and spirits adored.
- The twenty four infinities he saved  
From bondage of Samsara, compassed all  
A Buddha's duties, mercifully taught  
The fourscore and four thousand points of Law  
For good of all hereafter, blazed abroad  
With his disciples like a ball of fire,  
Set forth the transience of conditioned things,  
Wrecking the notion of dull fools who deemed  
'All things are stable,' and at last attained  
The city of Nirvana, safe retreat  
Where is not age nor death.—O might I thus  
Compass a Buddha's duties and attain  
That city lavish of abounding bliss!"

This is the stone inscription of the king  
Siritibhuvanadiccapavaradhammaraja  
Brave, thoughtful, keen, and prudent, who ensues  
The elements of wisdom, the Three Gems  
Adores, and seeks Nirvana. He began  
On Sunday the fourth waxing of Kason  
In the five hundred and third year to build  
At an auspicious moment. That same year  
On Thursday eleventh waning of Nadaw  
'Twas done, with effigies of guardian spirits.\*

\* The Pali text of the conclusion had been missed out from our original transcription and could not be inserted here for want of time.

## NOTES AND REVIEWS.

### LACQUER WARE CALLED "YUN."

Mr. A. P. Morris' interesting lecture on lacquer ware industry of Burma is reproduced at pages 1-13 of the Journal of the Burma Research Society for April 1919.

A persual of it will convince one that the lecturer has made an extensive enquiry to ascertain the derivation and meaning of the words "YUN" (ယုန်), "YUN-IT" (ယုန်အိတ်), the origin of the Pagan ware called "YUN," and the period during which it was first introduced in Pagan. In conclusion he says that the suggestions given by the Pagan lacquer workers of the Shan States agree with the general opinion from Siam that the word "YUN" is merely the Shan name of the Laos, and indicates that the craft had its origin among those people. He is, however, unable to ascertain the derivation of the word "IT." I quite agree with him that the "YUN" work of Pagan had its origin in a Shan State called "YUN," but with due respect to him, I cannot agree with him that the word "YUN" is merely the Shan name of the Laos; for there is a distinct race of the Shan called "YUN," though some of them may now be found in Laos, and the word "YUN" is derived from Pali word "ယောန" or "ယဝန" (Yona or Yavana) with the final "န" having been killed. The vowel "ဩ" and the syllable "အေ" are interchangeable according to the Rule of the Pali Grammar "ဩအေယာ."

The ancient countries of Shans situate to the East of Burma were given Pali names which were borrowed from the names of the ancient countries situate in and about India.

The Siamese country is called ယိုဒယ (Yodya) by the Burmans and ညိုဒယ (Dyodya) by the Mons or Talaings. These names are nothing but the words corrupted from Pali အယုတ္ထ (A-

yudaya) which means unconquerable country. The Modern Oudh in India was known as Ayodhya in ancient times.

The name of the country now known as Cambodia is also a corrupted Pali word "ကမ္ဘောဇ" (Kamboza).

That part of the country which is to the North of Siam was in ancient times called ယောန (Yona) or ယောနက (Yonaka) in Pali. This name is borrowed from that of the country of Baktrian Greeks in which King Milinda (Menander of the Greeks) once reigned.

Yona or Yonaka is one of those nine countries to which Buddhist Missionaries were sent out from Pataliputra to spread Buddhist religion during the reign of King Asoka. That is the reason why some Burmans who do not know the Geography of India and the adjoining countries and their Histories are still under the misapprehension that King Milinda (မိလိန္ဒ) was a Yun Shan and the famous book called Milinda Panhnya (မိလိန္ဒပဉ္စာ) was produced in the Shan country.

I cannot find any old records which define the boundaries of the ancient Yun Country, but I think that that ancient country comprised the modern Yunan and Chiengmai (Burmese Zinme ဇင်းမင်း) for the following reasons:—

(a) The word "Yunan" is also derived probably from the Pali word "Yona," as the Pali vowels ဋ and ဩ (U and O) are interchangeable, and the Burmese History called Hmannan Maha Razawin identifies the ancient Yona Country to be Yunan.

(b) In a book named Shwe-bon-Nidan (ရွှေဘုံမင်း) the King of Zinme is called Yun King.

The book says that when Shwe-si-gon pagoda had been built at Pin-Ya (ပိန်ယ) by King Pin-ya-



Tazi-Shin (တီးယတစီရှင်), four Kings of foreign countries, namely the Yun King (ယွန်းမင်း) of Zinme, the Gywam King (ဂွမ်းမင်း) who ruled the Ayodhya Country (Siam), the King of Arakan, and the Linzin King who ruled the Lawa Country (Laos), visited Pin-Ya, and then these four Kings and King Pin-Ya-Tazi-Shin celebrated the pagoda festival together.

It is said further that the four distinguished visitors then built one Pagoda each named respectively Nandagiri (နန္ဒာဂီရိ) Sandagiri (စန္ဒာဂီရိ) Ratanagiri (ရတနာဂီရိ) and Sandagiri-muni (စန္ဒာဂီရိမုနိ) at Pin-Ya before they returned to their respective countries. The author of the book then quoted as his authority a portion of the ancient poem written on the subject as follows;

“ရွှေယွန်းမည်သည်။ ဂွမ်းပြည်ဦးကိုင်။ ရခိုင်လင်းစင်။ နိုင်နွဲ့နှင့်  
သာ။ ပင်းယမြို့မှာ။ ဌာပနာသည်။ မန္တလေး။ မုနိရုပ်ချာ။ ဘုန်းတောက်  
ခြာသည်။ စန္ဒာဂီရိ။ လျှပ်စကြာ။ ထိန်ထိန်ဝါသည်။ ရတနာဂီရိ။ ခေါင်  
ထိသွား။ သိထွေလာသည်။ စန္ဒာဂီရိ။ မုနိရုပ်တူ။”

From this it is clear that the Lawa country and the Yun country are quite separate, and that being so, the inhabitants of Lawa cannot be called Yuns, and consequently it cannot be correct to say that the word “YUN” is merely the Shan name of the Laos.

The modern Zinme (Chienhmai) appears to have been known by different names in different periods; for it was also called တမိဘူဉ္ဇ (Haribonza) in Shwebon-Nidan. It is also called သုဋ္ဌဘူမိ (Suvanna Bumi) in the History of King Shinbyu Shin of Hanthawaddy.

2. Regarding the derivation of the Burmese word “အပ်” I should say that it is derived from the Yun Shan word “Ep” (အပ်). I do not know Yun Shan personally, but I have ascertained this by making enquiry from the Shans who admit themselves to be Yun Shans and others who know the language.

3. Now that the true derivation of the words “ယွန်း” and “အပ်” has been ascertained, the meaning of the Burmese words “ယွန်းအပ်” and “ကွန်းအပ်” becomes by themselves clear. The former means the cylindrical box of ornamental lacquer work that was originated in the Yun Country, and that the latter means betel box.

3. Now comes the question as to when the lacquer industry called “YUN” was first introduced in Pagan. According to the information

given to Mr. Morris by U Tin, K.S.M., A.T.M., S.D.O. of Pagan, the industry was brought from the Yun State to Thaton and thence reached Pagan in 1058 A.D. I think he means to say that King Anorata introduced the industry in Pagan after his conquest of Thaton.

I have reasons to doubt that the Yun industry reached Pagan so early.

Thaton is not far away from Chiangmai (ancient Yona) and there is an inland trade route between the two countries. It is therefore quite possible that the articles of Yun work were exported from the Yun State to Thaton for sale even in very early days; but there is no record to show that the artists who were skilled in the Yun work were ever brought from the Yun State to Thaton.

Thaton was a country of Mons or Talaing.

It appears the Mons knew how to make a betel box of lacquer work long ago; for they have its name in their own language. They called betel box ဆုအိ-ဇု (Pronounced Khadah-Jabalu).

If the betel box had been an imported article, the Mons also should have borrowed its name from the language of the foreigners who made it.

The Mon betel box, however, appears to be of a plain lacquer work, and not of an ornamental work like Yun work.

The Talaings never conquered the Yun State and so they could not have been able to bring the Yun workers from their country to Thaton. That being the case King Anorata could not have been able to take away Yun workers from Thaton to Pagan in the 11th century A.D. The Burmese and Talaing Histories do not say that King Anorata took away any Yun workers from Thaton. Even the names “ယွန်းအပ်” and “ကွန်းအပ်” are not to be found in the books on the Burmese History. From this it is presumable that betel box was first used by the people of Burma proper not long ago.

In the year 617 B.E. (1255 A.D.) Raza-Thin-Kyan a famous Burmese minister of Pagan used a wooden salver called “ပန်းကပ်” (Pankap) as his vessel for betel. Here the word “ပန်း” is Burmese and should not be mistaken for Hindustani word “Pan” which means betel. An ornamental word is called “ပန်း” in Burmese. The wooden salver is a vessel of ornamental design which is done by turning on a lathe. A turner is therefore

called “ပန်ပုတ်ထာမာ” (Pan-put-thama) in Burmese. The word “ပန်” in ပန်ပုတ်ထာမာ, etc., has the same meaning.

Later on during the reign of King Mingaung of Ava (1401-1492 A. D.) the wooden salver was still used as a receptacle for betel, and it was then called “ကျွန်းကျပ်” (Kwankyap). Afterwards the name Kwankyap “ကျွန်းကျပ်” was changed into “ကျွန်းကလပ်” Kwam Kalap. It may be noted that “ဝ” and “လ” are interchangeable.

A tiger is called “ကျား” (Kya) in Burmese and ကွ (Kla) in Talaing.

The History of King Shin-byu-Shin of Hanthawaddy shows that in 919 B. E. (1557 A. D.) Shin-byu-Shin invaded Zinme and conquered it and that the King of Zinme then became his vassal and had to send him annually as a tribute, elephants, ponies “ကျွန်းကျပ်” (Kwankyap) “ယွန်ဗု” (Yun-bu), etc.—From this it is clear that Yun work was being manufactured at Zinme at the time.

In 926 B. E. (1564 A. D.) the king of Zinme rebelled against King Shin-byu-Shin of Hanthawaddy. The latter therefore had to march his army again to Zinme and put down the rebellion. At that time, Shin-byu-Shin took the King of Zinme and his ministers captive to Hanthawaddy

and at the same time he took away from Zinme many artists, including makers of lacquer ware called “သစ်စေးထာမာ” (Thitse-thama) and other classes of Shans numbering 40,000 to Hanthawaddy.

King Shin-byu-Shin was the only King of Burma who could completely conquer Chiengmai, Linzin, Laos, and Siam and brought the artists from these countries to Burma. That being the case, it seems clear that the Yun industry was first introduced in Burma only in 1564 A. D., and so the industry must have reached Pagan only at a later period.

Mr. Morris says that a tube lacquer work dated 1274 A. D. was discovered in the Mingala Pagoda at Pagan. When I visited Pagan last year U Tin kindly showed this to me in the museum there. It is a Kyúp (ကြွပ်) a circular case of teak, which has been painted with Thitsi and yellow Ochre. It is a plain work and not a Yun work. This kind of plain lacquer work of wood must have been known to the Burmans much earlier. Daunglan, Byat, Kalap, Kwet, Ok, etc., which are plain lacquer ware have been used by the Burmans from time immemorial. One cannot say when the Burmans began to know this industry.

KYAW DUN.

## THE HISTORY OF OLD MYAUNGMYA.

The following account was taken down from the lips of an old resident of Myaungmya, called U Shwe It, by U Kyaw, the Subdivisional officer, at my instance. U Shwe It states that he memorized it from a palm-leaf document in possession of his master U Pe. This palm-leaf was destroyed in a fire fifteen years ago.

I have had the opportunity of checking the principal events of this account with a chronicle in the possession of Mr. Furnivall. The two largely agree and the present rendering may be regarded as an amplification. Besides the historical value of the story as representing the traditional history of old Myaungmya, it is worth preserving as a thoroughly good tale, coloured, complete and of a strong Burmese flavour.

“In about the year 745 B. E. the Talaing King, Rajadrit, son of Byin-nya U, ascended the throne of Pegu. Making a progress through his Kingdom, he came to Taik-kala, of which place he appointed governor Nga Thalon Ngé, a man of Pegu- Chaung-pya, and gave him the style, La-gun-Ein. Now on his progress he reached the mouth of the Daga Chaung with his Captain Pyat Sa and with Yan Aung, U Ba Gaung, Byin-nya Gyaw, Thamein Thatut and La-gun Ein, ministers. Depending upon these, he launched an attack by river against the Panthays of Bassein. Thrice he was worsted, but now the fourth time, taking council of La-gun Ein, he drove huge wooden pillars into the bed of the river and overthrew the Panthay Power. With that, he came up to Bassein and took possession of the City.

Continuing again his progress, he sailed to Myaungmya, which at that time the daughter of the King of the Panthays, Princess Ommadani, was building. King Rajadrit was pleased with the site of the town and gave moneys for the palace, the wall and the moat, so that the work was finished. Whereupon he desired to know of any who would undertake the government of the same, but no one of his ministers was content to remain at Myaungmya, so that he appointed Nga Lauk Pya, an old servant of his palace, to be governor and his brother, Nga Lauk Yon, minister. Whenafter he returned to Pegu.

Now Nga Lauk Pya and Nga Lauk Yon went year by year to pay tribute to the king, but after the third year, when they came no more, the king sent a royal messenger to ask why they failed. To him Nga Lauk Pya replied:

'In this world a king of land and sea is called Lawka-Thamudi Nat. But in the six heavens above the earth the Nats are content with those pleasures which they can attain by means of their power. For it is not customary for the Nats of Tawadeintha to pay tribute to those of Rama, nor again do those of Rama pay to the Nats of Tokthida. Wherefore on this earth thou and I being Lawka-thamudi Nats, why should we not abide by the laws of the Nats of heaven nor expect tribute one from the other?'

Now when the king heard these words, he was much enraged and commanded that Nga Lauk Pya, the ungrateful servant, be taken captive. But Yan Naung and U Ba Gaung, his ministers, said: 'Because Nga Lauk Pya is a Governor, it is not fitting to send any one of us. Let the King himself go against him.'

The king therefore marched with horse and foot to Kontha, which is over against Myaungmya, and from thence sent this message to Nga Lauk Pya:

'I have been forced to come hither, because Nga Lauk Pya has betrayed his trust. Will he yield or will he engage?'

To which Nga Lauk Pya replied: 'I will not yield. Yet though we must settle this by arms. I would not jeopardize the lives of my people. Come out therefore against me alone, for this matter lies between us only.'

The king then mounted his elephant and went out to meet Nga Lauk Pya; and he sitting his

elephant, Hauk-gyi, given him of old by the king, met Rajadrit at the gate called Thitpok. But from its youth the king's elephant had feared Hauk-gyi, and when they were side by side, it lost heart, and Hauk-gyi pressed it against the gate. Then Nga Lauk Pya thought to draw his sword and cut down the king, but the sword remained fast in the scabbard and would not come out; wherefore he struck him on the forehead with his riding prong and drew blood. With great difficulty the king disengaged his elephant and withdrew.

Byinnya Gyaw and Thamein Thatut, his ministers, then pressed to be permitted to take his place, saying that Nga Lauk Pya, an ungrateful servant, was no fit adversary for the king. But he refused, thanking them, and said:

'It is of no moment; I shall capture the fellow alive in this encounter. My elephant has been afraid of Hauk-gyi from youth. Take him away therefore and bring in Shit-kaing.' So they brought in Shit-kaing and the king through the keeper gave his royal order to the elephant and mounting upon it, again set out against Nga Lauk Pya. But Shit-kaing had no fear of Hauk-gyi and charged with great fury. As they passed in full career, the king caught Nga Lauk Pya by the hair and brought him away alive, as he had said. So he came back to his ministers and delivered Nga Lauk Pya to them, and the army returned to Kontha.

Then the king called Nga Lauk Pya and said: 'Why did this slave rebel against his master?'

But Nga Lauk Pya made no answer.

Then the king said:

'Thou art an old servant, but untrustworthy, I will spare thee but thou shalt serve before me at Pegu.'

But Nga Lauk Pya, knowing that the king would not spare him, said: 'Kill me now!'

The king refused and took him to Pegu. And before his departure, Rajadrit destroyed the whole city of Myaungmya by fire, for it was a rebellious city, and he gave orders thrice that no one should build it again. And for that sin of rebellion he cropped the ears and tail of Hauk-gyi and drove him away to the hills that never again could he be a royal elephant.

When king Rajadrit entered his capital he put Nga Lauk Pya to death. M. S. COLLIS.

## ALAUNGSITHU *versus* NARAPATISITHU

I must thank the Editor for his kindly review of my contributions to the Report of the Archaeological Survey for 1919, in the number of this Journal for April 1920. On one point, however, he does not see eye to eye with me. I say in the Report (beginning of p. 22), that "inscriptions never call Alaungsithu by this name." This sentence, as here written, and torn from its context, can quite naturally be construed as Maung Tin himself, after isolating it, construes it, that is, that in no inscriptions whatever, is the name Alaungsithu to be found. But if the same sentence is read, as it ought to be, in connection with the few lines which follow it, it becomes, I think, quite clear that it means Alaungsithu is not called by this name in the inscriptions engraved during his lifetime. This is quite a different matter; and the fact remains that this king is unknown by this name in his inscriptions, which does not, *ipso facto*, mean that such is the case in inscriptions engraved *after* him. Having read the above quoted sentence and construed it apart from its context, Maung Tin was naturally surprised at the statement, the more so as he thought he had come across an inscription bearing a date which falls within the reign of that king and also the name "Alaungsithu." This inscription, as the Editor tells us, is found on page 37 of the volume of Original Inscriptions. But here again, Maung Tin has misread; the inscription was not engraved in Sakkarāj 527=1165 A. D., but in Sakkarāj 686=1324 A. D., that is, 159 years later, as may be seen from the last date in the inscription. It cannot be classed, therefore, among the documents of king Alaungsithu, and does not belong properly to Alaungsithu; <sup>(1)</sup> another important point will also show this: the language. To anyone somewhat acquainted with

the language of the inscriptions and its gradual development from the XIth. century upwards, it will be readily evident that the language of the document cited by Maung Tin does not belong to the phase of the language current in Alaungsithu's reign; neither does the orthography. Shortly, this document is the recast made in A.D. 1324 or more probably after 1342, <sup>(1)</sup> of an original one dated A.D. 1165; and it is not a rigorously exact copy, since the language is not what we should expect in a document of that date. That, as we have it now, it is only a recast, is clear also from the way in which the king is mentioned; it is most improbable that, during the king's lifetime, he should be described shortly and drily as "Alaungsithu" in an official document; it would have been a gross error in courtly etiquette and one fraught with danger to the perpetrator. I was perfectly aware of the existence of this document, as well as of a good number of others of the same character referring to the same king, when I wrote, in the Annual Report, the passage criticized by Maung Tin, for I had already been working for some time at the List of Inscriptions now going through the press.

Inscriptions such as the one just discussed, that is, recasts of old documents, are numerous; they are particularly plentiful in the "Inscriptions copied by King Bodawpaya;" there are not a few in the "Original Inscriptions."<sup>(2)</sup> In many cases these and the other volumes—but in a much lesser degree the volume of Inscriptions found at Pagan, Panya and Ava—must be consulted with care, discrimination, and some criticism, under the penalty of falling into very regrettable mistakes and misleading statements.<sup>(3)</sup> Some of these recasts look, on the face of them, as if they were original documents; these recasts

(1). But it is even later than this; for there is mention made of Sin-byū-Ngā-zī-shin, of Panya, who ascended the throne about 1342 A. D. The inscription is not whole; the lower part is missing. It is a collection, as we now have it, of seven documents ranging from 1150 A. D. to 1324 A. D. These are not verbatim and exact copies, because the original documents have been recast, though the text was closely adhered to; this is shewn by the language, the spelling, the paleography; and, in the case cited, the very way in which the name "Alaungsithu" is used.

(2). They were called "Original" because they contain a percentage of the original documents which were copied in Bodawpaya's reign, the copies being placed in the Arakan Pagoda at Manḍalay. Those not thus copied, although they are often only recasts, are original in so much as they were not copied by Bodawpaya; their date is sometimes pretty early.

(3). Some explanations on the subject is given in the preface to the List of Inscriptions now in the press. Cf. also Annual Report for 1915, paragraph 68; and paragraph 29, of the Annual Report for 1920 (in the press).



are mostly faithful to the original; the misfortune is that often the dates have been misread.<sup>(3)</sup> A good example will make this clear. Let us take the inscription on page 16 of the Original Inscriptions. The document here is dated (line 3) Sakkarāj 468=A. D. 1106; from the first line, it is clear that it belongs to Alaungsithu, since he is called there by his title of "Shwegu-Dāyagā"<sup>(4)</sup>. Now, to a person somewhat acquainted with Burmese history, it is manifest that this date of 1106 is impossible. Alaungsithu built the Shwegugyi temple after he had ascended the throne, and he succeeded Kyanzithā as king only in 1112; still, we might be in doubt did we not know the exact date of the foundation of the Shwegugyi; but according to the inscription still *in situ* in this temple, the Shwegugyi was completed in Sakkarāj 503=A. D. 1141.<sup>(5)</sup> It is from this date only that Alaungsithu was designated as "Shwegugyi-Dāyagā" (=The Founder of Shwegugyi). The date of the inscription under discussion, A. D. 1106, is therefore absolutely wrong. What are we then to deduce? Simply this: that the document is a recast in which the original date has been misread, as is often the case. This example will show how easy it would be, for a person not on his guard or insufficiently versed in Burmese history, to impugn, on the strength of an inscription, a statement in some work or other, which he could not reconcile with this document.

I quite agree with Maung Tin that the Thwinthin Mahāsithu was a good scholar, and full of acumen. He is quite right (the Thwinthin) when he says in his history that Alaungsithu was called in inscriptions by the several names quoted by Maung Tin; they do not exhaust the list, for I could give one or two others. But these names appear mostly in inscriptions written after Alaungsithu's death. This does not seem to have struck the Thwinthin; hence his statement, based on the fact that he did not think of ascertaining whether the inscription containing the name

"Alaungsithu" were originals or recasts. My own statement that the name "Alaungsithu" is not found in this king's *original* inscriptions remains the same. We know in this office all the inscriptions which were known to the Thwinthin, and a good number more which were found during the last three or four decades.<sup>(6)</sup> As for the inscriptions that were lost in the time of the Thwinthin, when they were being collected, he could not possibly have seen them, because they were wilfully *lost* during transit, and never reached Amarapura, as is explained on page 1 of my preface to the Original Inscriptions.

As for the last paragraph in Maung Tin's review, I will merely say that the inscription referred to will appear in a future number of the *Epigraphia Birmanica*. Meanwhile, I would point out to the fact that, although the Arī received a check during the reign of Anorat'a, this does not at all mean that they were swept off the face of the country; it does not mean either that the blow was such as to reduce them to almost complete impotence or insignificance. A religion which, from the testimony of the chronicles themselves, held supreme sway in the land for several centuries and whose ministers were counted by tens of thousands, must have, necessarily, had a strong and lasting influence on the people's mind, and it could not be brushed aside with, as we say now, a stroke of the pen. The new religion from Thaton became the state religion, which does not mean that it displaced altogether the Arī; it took several centuries to do that. Burmese documents themselves bear testimony to this; for instance we know that they were still numerous in the XIVth century, when they are still referred to as Arī;<sup>(7)</sup> then, after this, this appellation seems to be no more used; but the Arī still go on strong for well over two centuries under other names, and their gradually dwindling numbers are referred to as Arī-

(4). So called because he built the Shwegu temple at Pagan.

(5). Exactly, 25th November 1141. It was begun on 25th April, 1141.

(6). He knew the inscriptions now collected at the Arakan Pagoda and at Amarapura; the fragments to which Maung Tin alludes are still at Amarapura. Besides, he must have been cognized of a good number at Sagaing, Shwebo, Pagan, etc. But from the time Forchhammer

became the first Government Archaeologist up to present time, a large number of new inscriptions, amounting to several hundreds, have been found all over Upper Burma. A large number of these have already been published and there is enough material in this office to form another very large volume.

(7). Mhan-nan I, 422 (old Edition); Sāsanañāvahsa-sadan, pp. 94, 98 and Sāsanañānkāra, pp. 127, 132.

tain amount of sectarian acerbity and without passing much under silence.

A capital point in reading history, is to avoid reading it into too tight compartments; such as, for instance, dividing sharply and rigidly Northern and Southern Buddhism, and picturing their adherents uniformly and constantly in a state of theological war and bitter, irreducible hatred and enmity. That such was not the case, that members of the two schools often and in many localities lived peacefully side by side and even studied one another's books, we know on the testimony of the Chinese pilgrims and of the Tibetan Tāranātha. And evidence, epigraphical, sculptural, etc. is far from lacking, to shew that something similar existed also in Burma.

VAJIRABUDDHI AND THE PAGAN-RAZAWIN.

is mentioned at page 206 of the Kavalakkhaṇḍipāṇī as having been written by Shin Ādicca. These two are comparatively late compositions. The third, also referred to as Rājavaṇ-pāṭhī in the Samantacakkhudiṇī, p. 356, is the Pagan Chronicle in Pali cited by the Editor; it is there mentioned to have been written by Shin Vajira. In looking over my notes I found that this was the only reference I had concerning this history in Pali and its author Shin Vajira.<sup>(4)</sup> There may be others; good fortune did not favour me in tracing any. This work of Vajira seems to be rather scarce; it is not in the "List of Manuscripts in the Bernard Free Library," and a somewhat extensive search has failed to trace a copy in a good number of monasteries. The copy in my office was made years ago from a copy in the possession of U Tin, Sub-divisional Officer at Pagan—and I think Maung Tin's copy was made from the same manuscript. I wrote to the learned Sub-divisional Officer on the subject of its authorship, and he referred me back to my own reference in the Samantacakkhudiṇī; he also

(3). See ဝိသုဒ္ဓိသုတ်, p. 223; Samantacakkhudi-  
pani I, 356, and Kavilakkhaṇādīpani, p. 206.

(4). The Samntacakkhu, *opus. cit.*, has, စင်စိရသ္မိလ်



knows of no other. The author of the Samantacakkhu was a splendid scholar, as is evident to anyone persuing his work, and a careful one and critical. His ascribing the authorship of this history to Vajira is not in accord with the Editor's assertion that its author was one Vajirabuddhi. The two names are not interchangeable; both are pretty frequent monkish names; moreover, the Samantacakkhu gives no

date. All this shews the importance, from the standpoint of the history of literature in Burma, of Maung Tin's statement, which differs from the generally accepted view on the subject based on the Samantacakkhudīpanī; and the desirability of his making known to workers in the field the source of his information.

CHAS. DUROISELLE.

NOTE:—We obtained the Paukkan history from the same source, namely, U Tin of Pagan, who also supplied us with the information that the author's name was Vajirabuddhi and the date fifteenth century. We hold that the name Vajirabuddhi is essentially the same as Vajirapuggala, where Vajira is the proper name, especially as U Tin has cited the Samantacakkhudīpanī, cited by Mr. Duroiselle. We were and are still not certain of the date. Hence the word *attributed* in our note. When we have completed our comparative study of Burmese Chronicles, we may be in a position to assign the proper date.

—Editor.

## DERIVATION OF "ARI."

We are glad that our criticism of Mr. Duroiselle's derivation of the word Ari has elicited the valuable contribution to the origin of the final ဌ (see the preceding number). We quite agree that there is a philological tendency for a Pali y (a), īy (a) or eyy (a) to be represented by that letter. We congratulate Mr. Duroiselle on his list of words which establishes this tendency in the Burmese language. But we have reason to believe that "Ari" or to use the Burmese form အရိ does not come under that tendency at all and remains unaffected by Mr. Duroiselle's remarks. And we still maintain that it is derived from *arañña* and not from *Ariya*. We never quarrelled with the final ဌ as a symbol for the sounds ī, é, and è. We admit that we were not as careful as Mr. Duroiselle in the use of the term "double ññ", which we regarded as irrelevant. For whether we use a single ñ or a double ññ, we all know that we refer to အရိ whose derivation is in question.

Mr. Duroiselle will not deny that the derivation of words is governed by their literary history. Now we have never discovered a passage in Burmese literature where *ariya* has been curtailed into "ari". It preserves its full form. Here are some examples from the *Old*

*Historical Ballads*, May Oung's edition: အရိယာပုဂ္ဂိုလ် (p. 127), အရိယာကို (p. 143), အရိယာနှင့် (p. 176), အရိယာဏ္ဍာန် (p. 214), အရိယာဝယ် (p. 278). These Old Historical Ballads are among the best gems of Burmese poetry and their date ranges from the middle of the 14th century to the middle of the 17th century. (Pitakatthamaing, p. 215). Their evidence therefore is very strong indeed. The examples quoted above show conclusively that in the best gems of Burmese poetry the word *ariya* is used in its full form. Two of the examples အရိယာပုဂ္ဂိုလ် (*Pali* ariyapuggala) and အရိယာဏ္ဍာန် (*Pali* ariyasanthāna) are decisive. For the poet has employed a five-syllabled foot and would rather break the metre (which requires four syllables in a foot) than clip *ariya* in any way. It would be so natural for the poet to say အရိယပုဂ္ဂိုလ် and အရိယဏ္ဍာန် (if "ari"=*ariya*) and thus preserve the purity of his work of art! As a matter of fact the poet has curtailed puggala into ပုဂ္ဂိုလ် (*pron.* poggo), and *santhāna* into ဘဏ္ဍာန် (*santhan*) and keeps *ariya* intact. We thus see that in the oldest and best poetry the word *ariya* has not been curtailed into "ari" even in places where the exigences of the metre would demand such curtailment. The word *ariya* in such expressions as အရိယာသင် and not အရိသင် occurs

in some of the Inscriptions (e. g. p. 807 of Inscriptions copied from the Stones collected by King Bodawpaya, Vol. II, 1897).

Let us now study the history of "Ari" in Burmese poetry. Here are some examples:

(a) ငါ့နှင်တူ၍။ ဘယ်သူတို့တည်း။ ရှိမည်နည်းဟု။ အရည်းမုန့်။ ရသေ့အလောက်။ *Twinthin's Janakapyo*. 'In the manner of hermits, Ari monks thinking, can there be people like me?'

(b) တောင်ရံကြည်။ မိုးရိုးမည်းသို့။ အရည်းပီပီ။ ဆည်းကပ်ရှိသည် *ibid*. 'Thorough Ari resort to mountain groves, places dim, dusky and dark'.

(c) တလောက်ထီးတည်း။ မွတ်သည်းညည်းလျက်။ အရည်တာသာ။ တပ်ရာမရှိ—*Thilawuntha's Paramidawganpyo*. 'In the nature of Ari, passionless, alone, suffering hunger'.

(d) တကိုယ်ရည်းဖြင့်။ အရည်းပီပီ။ ဖုန်ဝသီကို—*Manli's Magghadevapyo*. 'The thorough Ari, lonely dweller on mystic trance.'

(e) ရှေးခါသော်လည်း။ သူတော်နည်းဖြင့်။ အရည်းပီလှ။ စွန့်ဘူးစွန့်ဟု *Rathtathara's Koganpyo*. 'Renounced the world formerly as a thorough Ari in the manner of a holy man.'

The sense of the above passages (we could quote more) connects 'ari' with a "forest-dweller" and not with *ariya*, the Buddhist Arahant. We shall be glad if any one will point out any passage in Burmese literature where a different interpretation of "Ari" is given. We shall then see if the evidence of such passages is strong enough to overthrow the evidence we have shown. The conclusion is forced upon us that the literary history of *ariya* and "Ari" proves Mr. Duroiselle's derivation of Ari from *ariya* to be untenable. Mr. Duroiselle is unjust to us in the last sentence but one in the second column of p. 28 of the Journal, last number, where he says "but what he does not tell us is that this is the only place in which *arañña* (အရည်) is found &c.' In our first note p. 156 of Vol. IX, part III, we have already told Mr. Duroiselle that "in other places the same chronicle calls them by the Burmese term" (အရည်). Does not the copyst's carelessness in dropping the virama show how easily the Pali *arañña* (အရည်) can become အရည်?

—Editor.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY

*Minutes of the Meeting of the Committee held at Rangoon College on Tuesday, March 16th, 1920, at 8-30 a. m.*

### PRESENT.

M. Hunter, Esquire, C. I. E., *President*  
(*in the Chair.*)

U Po Byu  
J. J. Nolan, Esqr.  
J. T. Best, Esq.  
A. Khalak, Esqr.  
U Shwe Zan Aung  
U Hpay  
Prof. K. M. Ward  
Prof. Maung Tin  
Prof. G. H. Luce.

### BUSINESS.

1. The Minutes of the last Committee Meeting held on February 26th, 1920, were read and confirmed.

2. The following were re-elected Members of the Sub-Committee:—Messrs. M. Hunter, (President), J. T. Best, (Vice-President) and U May Oung. Prof. W. G. Fraser was also elected. Prof. Maung Tin, (Honorary Editor) and Mr. Luce, (Honorary Secretary and Treasurer) are Members ex-officio under Rule 23.

3. At the instance of the President, seconded by Mr. Best, it was resolved to hold future ordinary meetings at 6-30 instead of 5-30 p. m.

4. It was resolved to offer a prize or prizes to the value of Rs. 100/- to Burmese scholars for valuable contributions in Burmese on the history or literature of Burma, such articles becoming the property of the Society and being afterwards translated into English and published in the Journal.

A Special Sub-Committee consisting of U Po Byu, U May Oung, U Hpay, U Shwe Zan Aung, Prof. Maung Tin and Mr. Luce was appointed to arrange the details and also to deal with the proposal of U Po Byu that copies of future

articles in Burmese included in the Journal be distributed gratis among prominent Burmese Scholars.

5. With reference to the disparity between the numbers of Journals published and Journals sold, it was resolved that the Editor and Secretary invite the American Baptist Mission Press

- (i) to print, at reduced cost, 300 copies instead of 500 for each Number;
- (ii) to sell at a certain commission, copies of the Journal in their shop.

6. The Secretary pointed out that whereas the Society sends its publications free to the following bodies:—

- (1) Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- (2) Philippine Library.
- (3) L'Ecole Francaise d'Extrême Orient, Hanoi.
- (4) Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland it receives nothing from them in return.

Resolved that the Secretary make representations to the above societies, and if they continue to deny us their publications to deny them ours.

Resolved also that a complete series of copies of the Journal be sent henceforward to the Director-General of Archaeology, India, and a request made for one volume (1910-11) of the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, India which is missing in the Society's Library.

---

*Minutes of the Sub-Committee Meeting held at 9, Lancaster Road, at 8-30 a.m., Sunday, June 13th, 1920.*

### MEMBERS PRESENT.

The Hon'ble U May Oung  
Prof. G. H. Luce  
Prof. W. G. Fraser.  
Prof. Maung Tin.

BUSINESS.

1. Election of members:—

(a) Mr. Conyers Baker—Proposed by U May Oung, seconded by Prof. Fraser. Elected.

(b) Prof. Ainley—Proposed by Professor Maung Tin, seconded by U May Oung. Elected.

(c) Maung On Pe—Proposed by Professor Maung Tin, seconded by Prof. Fraser.

*Resolved:* To propose Maung On Pe at the next Committee meeting.

2. Election of Office-bearers:—

(a) A Vice-President in the place of Mr. J. T. Best.

—*Resolved:* To bring up at the next Committee meeting.

(b) A member of Sub-Committee in the place of Mr. J. T. Best.

—*Resolved:* To invite the Committee to appoint Mr. J. S. Furnivall.

(c) An Acting President during the absence of Mr. Hunter.

—*Resolved:* Unnecessary.

3. Future meetings:

*Resolved:* (a) That the next ordinary meeting be held at 6-30 p.m. on Friday, July 16th, 1920, when Mr. Fraser will read his paper on Old Rangoon.

(b) That a Committee Meeting be called before that date, early in July.

(c) That recommendation be made at the next Committee Meeting that the Society cease to provide refreshments at future meetings.

4. *Resolved:* To recommend to the Committee that in future, in view of their services to Society, Mr. J. T. Best and Bhikkhu Silacara receive issues of the Journal free.

G. H. LUCE,  
*Honorary Secretary.*

## **LIST OF PUBLICATIONS**

**RECEIVED SINCE APRIL, 1920, Vol. X, Part I.**

**Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, — No. 2 —  
Varieties of the Vishnu Image, by B. B. Bidyabinod [1920].**

**A Guide to the Observatories at Delhi, Jaipur, Ujjain and  
Benares, by G. R. Kaye, [1920].**

**Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, — No. 4 —  
The Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Nagari, by Prof.  
D. R. Bhandarkar, M. A.**

**Indian Antiquary, January, February, March, 1920.**

**Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, — No. 5 —  
Archaeology and Vaishnava Tradition, by Ramaprasad Chanda.**

**Journal of the East India Association, April, 1920. (Vol. XI,  
No. 2.)**

**Annals of the Bandarkar Institute, Vol. I, Part I—1918-19.**

Thirty-three miles of bad road connect Madaya with Singu on the Irrawaddy. The journey is an easy one of 3 marches through pretty country where forest alternates pleasantly with pasture. The Francolin calls cheerfully from the thicket, and barking deer are frequently seen and heard. In June the first rain storms have washed the distant hills with blue. The foliage is fresh, and the ground covered as by magic with a carpet of turf. Each village is buried in tamarinds whose tender greenery casts deep pools of shade over the country, where the people live their quiet lives in cool shadows. Pagodas and lions stand here and there—some new, some old, and some engaged in their death-struggle with the destroying *peepul*. A solitary marble hill rises in the west, whence come the marble Buddhas of Burma. We passed several blocks of stone being carried into Mandalay, where they are finished off in the neighbourhood of the Arakan Pagoda. The quarries are the monopoly of a few hereditary workers.

The country through which we are passing has a military tradition, though that tradition is now nearly forgotten. In these happier days when the Burmese have once more found their feet as soldiers, it is to be hoped the old spirit will revive. Madaya, Yenatha and Singu were all military posts whose fortifications, though now overgrown by jungle, can still be traced. The name Madaya is derived from *Mat-taya*, meaning *a hundred chiefs*. Outside Yenatha is an out-post called Kin Ywa, or *Sentry Village*. These forgotten posts no doubt influenced profoundly the lives of the ancestors of the present generation. Half way between Yenatha and Shwepyi is a marble slab lying in a *sayat*, or shed, which records that the shed and an adjacent tank were repaired 24 years ago, and which goes on to mention the legend that a grandson of Kyanzittha came here with an army and a thousand officers.

The country round Shwepyi is intimately associated with the unsavory tragedy of Htilat. The incident has lent names to a dozen villages and streams. Htilat lived at Nyaungwun, and

earned celebrity by disembowelling his wife Ma Po U, a native of Shwe Kon Taing, in order to procure her son as a charm for invisibility. Some say the Htilat pagoda in this neighbourhood was built by Htilat himself. Others say it was built by his father, who, however, left the shrine without a crown until his son's time. Hence the name Htilat Paya <sup>(3)</sup>—*Pagoda without Umbrella*. Htilat received his dreadful idea from a *Nat* whose memory is preserved in the names of two streams, U Min Chaung <sup>(4)</sup> (*Stream of Prince U*), and Nat Min Chaung <sup>(5)</sup> (*Stream of the Nat Prince*). The instructions of the *Nat* were written on a *parabaik*, or folding book, which Htilat found in the mouth of a crocodile at Chaung Thon Gwa <sup>(6)</sup> (*Three Rivers*) and he thought the whole matter over at Chin Hnaing Chaung <sup>(7)</sup> (*Thinking over stream*). The deed was committed at Tha Hpauk Gon <sup>(8)</sup> (*Son Stab Hill*): and the pitiful charm was laid on the ground at Pek Kin Chaung <sup>(9)</sup> (*Leaves Spread Nook*).

So much for the deed. The strange part is that it does not appear in the least revolting to the Burmese. Htilat lived for a time by robbery, and according to one account built the pagoda out of the proceeds. Eventually he was arrested and brought before the King of Ava who was so charmed with his delightful manners that he appointed Htilat Minister of the Treasury!! The legend records that Htilat died full of honour, and apparently no moral lesson is intended by the story. Unable to appreciate the indigenous belief in charms and omens, the European mind is entirely incapable of following the train of Burmese thought into such situations. It is quite certain that Burmese Kings buried people alive under the foundations of pagodas, palaces and embankments, selecting victims with fortunate names like *Aung*, *Pyu* and *E*. (Victorious, White and Cool.) And this in a Buddhist country! The persistence of *Nat* worship must not, however, be overlooked. Again, the behaviour of the Wethandaya to his wife and children appears to us monstrous, whereas the Burmese regard it as the highest expression of charity and unselfish-

(3). ထိလတ်ဘုရား  
(4). ဦးမင်းချောင်း  
(5). နတ်မင်းချောင်း  
(6). ချောင်းသုံးခွ

(7). ချင်းခိုင်ချောင်း  
(8). သားပေါက်ကုန်း  
(9). ကောင်းချောင်း



ness. The Story of Htilat, besides giving names to a number of rivers and villages, is often represented in wood carvings, and is the subject of plays. A dozen years ago the hideous deed was repeated by a man in Lower Burma who had seen the play acted. But instead of being promoted to a treasury, he was hanged.

The superstitious motive actuating Htilat's crime is comprehensible to the Burman. With its morality he is not concerned, and here enters a religious issue. Htilat by his murder and robbery becomes automatically involved in the Buddhist Law of *Karma*—the Law of Cause and Effect—the Law of Moral Retribution, just and sure, not swerving a hair's breadth, and absolutely inexorable. Htilat's punishment is assured in this life or another, and neither King nor people are called upon to hasten it. And today we are faced with the same attitude. The deserter is pitied for his misfortune. The murderer is admired for his pluck. The criminal is not exposed. It is impossible for us to follow these subtle arguments without a close insight into Buddhism, which is a pure, magnificent truth, but too lofty for practical application by the descendants of apes, whose beasthood is after all hardly veiled, even in the best of us, by a thin screen of law, fear and convention.

Social laws in Buddhist countries do not attempt to supplement *Karma*. Under Burmese regime crime was considered only in its aspect as a civil wrong, for which the injured party must be compensated. This at least was the theory. Murder was punished by a fine of Rs. 300, to be paid to relatives of the deceased. It was the price of blood, and the same price was paid during the war for recruits, who by enlisting, were of course going straight to glorious death; though it was usually permissible for the hero to sell himself again two or three times *en route*. The idea of compensation pervades simple codes like the present Kachin Hills Regulation, which are merely an embodiment of tribal fines and values.

Burmese Kings had few soldiers and police to support their authority. Poor fellows, they had no Legislative Councils, and the Y. M. B. A. did not then venture its valuable opinions. The autocrat ruled simply by *Myitta* or love, by persuasion—in fact by expediency. An ex-

perienced collector of wealth like the robber Htilat was obviously the right person to protect the King's treasury.

However we may regard this view, it must be accepted as based upon fact. Mr. Taw Sein Ko, to whom I turned for advice, gives me an interesting illustration. In 1886, shortly after the British annexation, the dacoit Bo Swe was supreme in Minbu, where he had a large following. He tendered his surrender to Sir Charles Bernard on condition of appointment (without exam) to the post of Extra Assistant Commissioner. Sir Charles was astonished at what he considered the man's effrontery. But a Burmese King would certainly have accepted the offer in order to enlist Bo Swe's genius on the right side. Instead of conducting a further bloody campaign in Minbu, Bo Swe, with his personal experience of crime, would, no doubt, have made a model E. A. C. Openly taking bribes from both parties with charming impartiality, he would have returned that of the unsuccessful litigant. He would have administered cheap, intelligent justice: and the people, by avoiding him on all possible occasions, would have been ten times as "free" as they ever will be under Reform.

A shallow lake near Shwepyithar affords good duck and snipe shooting in winter. By June the ducks are gone, but great crowds of large water birds remain. I have seldom seen such quantities of Plover, Cormorants, Heron and Storks together. Enormous Adjutants assemble in scores, and Jabiru, or Black-necked Storks, also resort here. It is quite fascinating to watch the antics of these large birds. They take little notice of the villagers who drag the shallows with nets. Painted Storks march across the lake methodically with a quick step, like a regiment in close order; and it is wonderful that any fish at all survive the activities of so many expert fishermen.

Leaving Shwepyithar we climbed a low spur upon which some *phoongyi* had lavished his affection, building there a small pagoda. There is a natural depression on the rock which, with the help of a little cement, as been made to resemble the "foot print of a *Yahan*." In an adjacent village we met a couple of Manipuris, or *Ponas* as they called themselves, who were wandering about casting horoscopes. Apparently a number of Manipuris were brought to Mandalay in Burmese times.

These two had never been out of Burma. I am told that Burmese Kings sometimes maintained Manipuri cavalry. A colony of Arakanese still resides near the Mahamuni Pagoda in Mandalay—their ancestors having been brought over as slaves when the Mahamuni image was carried to Burma after the conquest of Arakan by Bodaw Paya.

Singu, with its white pagodas by the Irrawaddy, is of course well known to river travellers, though mail steamers sweep contemptuously by without touching. It is an old little place, full of ruined shrines and lions and big trees, and is said to have been founded in the 6th century B. E. Singu derives its name from the outlaw Nga Sin<sup>(10)</sup> who, as the word "Ku" denotes, swam the Irrawaddy at this point. In fact he swam it twice, the feat being commemorated by the villages of Ma-hkauk and Mala<sup>(11)</sup> on the opposite bank. These names are corruptions of *Hnit-hkauk* and *Hnit-la*<sup>(12)</sup> which mean respectively *twice going* and *twice coming*. Wild characters like Nga Sin are affectionately remembered in Burma, and their memory cherished much as that of Robin Hood. Many were outlaws only temporarily. Probably they were really political leaders who had the sympathy of the people: and sometimes, as in this case, they came into favour with Kings who had formerly hunted them. Several river side villages in this section of the Irrawaddy record the pursuit of Nga Sin by King Kyanzittha in the eleventh century. At a village, now called Shagwe,<sup>(13)</sup> Nga Sin took refuge in a hollow cutch tree (Sha Bin)<sup>(14)</sup> which Kyanzittha cleft with his spear. Hence the name Shagwe—*Cutch tree Cleft*. The place where Nga Sin turned and laughed at his pursuer is called Nga-ye:<sup>(15)</sup> and where the King got a clear view of the fugitive is called Tat Ywa<sup>(16)</sup>—*Sight village*. At last Kyanzittha thought he had got Nga Sin, and that place is called Sheinmaga—a corruption of *Shi nu ga*<sup>(17)</sup>—*will he be there?* Finally Nga Sin was captured at Singaing<sup>(18)</sup>—*Sin caught*. Then followed reconciliation, and Nga Sin helped Kyan-

zittha in his wars. I am indebted to U Shein, Township Officer of Singu, and to Maung Willie, circle Police Inspector, for many of these stories. Legend has obscured incidents and names. The names themselves are corrupt—sometimes beyond recognition. Yet they contain the germ of history, and preserve brave deeds and brave men from oblivion. They hand down living personalities through the centuries. Legend chafes with whimsical disregard of merit its heroes for remembrance, without much discrimination of motives and morals. Some are worthy, some are not—but fearless men of every age have claimed the sympathy of their fellows and the affection of posterity, and to such is given immortality in the speech of the people.

On the lower slopes of the hills seven miles east of Singu, lies an old pagoda called Male Paya—obscure and remote, but endowed locally with great sanctity. From the quiet, shaded village of Male, a handsome causeway, massive and simple in design, ascends the hill to the shrine. The bell-shaped pagoda and its fine *tazaung* or pavilion, stand in a wide court, as yet unspoiled by modern frightfulness. It breathes the atmosphere of old Burma; and from the paved court yard a splendid view is obtained of the wooded country across which lies the road from Singu. According to the legend—and it is all set forth at length on an enscribed stone—the Saint or *Arahan*. Shin Male obtained relics from the Thagya Min twenty-nine years after the death of Buddha, and enshrined them here. Coming to something more authentic, it is recorded that Alaung Sithu (fifth King of the Pagan dynasty: A. D. 1085 to 1160) visited the pagoda, repaired it, and dedicated land for its maintenance. The modern village of Kyauk Taing (*Stone Pillar*) was one of the boundaries of the consecrated area. The pagoda still enjoys this revenue which amounts to 2000 baskets of paddy a year, worth about Rs. 2,000/-. The fund is administered by the Headman of Nat-taung Village. The descendents of slaves dedicated to the Male Pagoda by King Alaung Sithu still occupy the

(10). ငဝေ  
(11). မမေရ် and မမာ  
(12). ဂမေရ် and ဂမာ  
(13). ရာဇွဲ  
(14). ရာဇဝေ

(15). ငရယ်  
(16). တစ်ရွာ  
(17). ရှိမ္မား  
(18). ခင်ရဲ

surrounding villages. Alaung Sithu's prayer is remembered to this day "May Kings and governments who in future days repair this shrine, share my *Kutho*," he said "and may those who destroy my work of merit suffer hell, and never see the future Buddha."

The dedication of land for the upkeep of the Male Pagoda has been confirmed twice since Alaung Sithu's day—first in 918 B. E. by Hsin Byu Shin (apparently not the Hsin Byu Shin of the Alaungpra dynasty), and again in 955 B. E. by Maha Dhamma Yaza II, King of Hanthawaddy. Alaung Sithu's elephant plays an important part in the legend, and indeed confuses the issue by his waywardness. When aware of the sacredness of the site he fainted with surprise, and eventually recovered, bolted, returned and died, leaving a track of names in his wake such as Hsin-pyuyale (*White Elephant got back*) and Hsin The Chaung (*Elephant died stream*).

*Wuttagan*, or dedicated land, is now comparatively rare. After Annexation Government was obliged to restrict the alienation of property, and to prohibit it altogether for private individuals. Only dedications made by Burmese Kings are recognised. It is a pity, however, that lands are not now dedicated afresh for the maintenance of some of the more important monuments of Burma, especially Pagodas of historical or archaeological value which have no festivals or other means of revenue. For instance, a magnificent old monument like the Dhamma-yan Gyi Pagoda at Pagan now falling to pieces with neglect, might be preserved indefinitely by a grant of *Wuttagan* land. Experience shows that such dedications are highly popular. They do not usually lapse, but survive the vicissitudes of Governments, providing a means of maintenance for all time. Regular repairs are possible when a building has a small income of its own, and such provision is more effective than niggardly grants from the Archaeological Department when decay is already far advanced.

In the case of Pagan it appears that dedica-

tions of land mentioned in the inscriptions *have* lapsed, except in the case of the Ananda and Shwezigon Pagodas. These have assigned to them respectively 75 acres and 461 acres, but since they are in daily use, they are less in need of steady incomes than any of the other monuments.

Riverine villages in the Mandalay district are comparatively poor. Most of the crops depend for success upon rain alone. Others rely on flooding, which may easily be too much or too little. Island property is constantly disappearing in one place and building up in another, but fresh silt is often covered with sand for the first few years. Nevertheless, efforts are being made to encourage island cultivation. It is at any rate less precarious for the pioneer than the opening up of virgin jungle, where he usually succumbs physically or financially to fever, failure or tree stumps, leaving those who succeed him to benefit by his labours. Jungle clearing has been up-hill work in Katha and Mogaung. In Pegu it was found that no single pioneer who had cleared jungle in 1902 was in possession of the paddy land that was bearing valuable crops in 1912. Even their successors had failed, and it was the third generation that reaped the harvest.

Returning to Mandalay by launch we were able to touch at several small riverine villages. One of these was Katthin where the Buddha was borne in his buffalo incarnation. According to the legend, he fought a great battle with his father, and the words Hkat-thin, from which the village derives its name, means—*Buffalo learning to fight*. Another village visited was Nandaw Gyun—*Royal Palace Island*—where King Bodaw Paya put a temporary residence while building his Mingun Pagoda. The vast wreck of that unfinished and ill-fated monument, still the largest masonry building in the world, now rent by earthquakes, lies on the opposite bank of the Irrawaddy, rising above the tree-tops like a mountain of brick.

## FOLKLORE AND LEGENDS OF BURMA.

L. F. TAYLOR.

The following tales and legends have been collected from many parts of Burma and were related to me in many different tongues. In nearly every case (excluding tales told in Burmese) the method of translation has been the same. The words were first written down exactly as uttered. A literal translation was then prepared, each word having its Burma equivalent set down against it. Next, a free paraphrase in Burmese was recorded. Finally a free translation into English was made in which the literal sense was adhered to as closely as possible.

Some of the traditions and myths appear to belong to the tribes and races from whom they were obtained, but others have a wider diffusion and it cannot be ascertained where they originated. Some of them may be peculiar to a tribe, others may have spread throughout Indo-China, whilst others perhaps have a circulation almost world wide.

In the absence of definite knowledge I have simply given, in each case, the name of the language in which the recitation was made. I would like to suggest that Missionaries, Government Officers and other readers of this Journal who may find themselves stationed in the more backward parts of the Province devote some of their spare time to studying and recording the tales and legends of their fellow creatures. Profit and entertainment will amply reward them for their pains.

### FLOOD MYTHS.

#### I.

##### KACHIN.\*

A long time ago N-gawn wa Magam made the heavens and the earth. He took his steel pincers,

his hammer, his pelletbow and his mud pullets and he created them. Then he determined to build a bridge across the Irrawaddy (Mali hka). But nine men who were jealous of his works came to him and lied saying "O N-gawn wa Magam, your mother is dead, return home." N-gawn wa Magam however replied "I can get another mother" and refused to return. They came again and said "Your father is dead, return home." Then N-gawn wa Magam, saying "it's hard to replace a father," arose and returned home. To his surprise he found that his parents were not only in good health but were awaiting his return. Then his spleen arose and his liver became heated and he sent forth the flood. In this flood all living people died save only two orphans, a brother and a sister. The way in which they avoided destruction was this: their ancestors being wealthy had left them a large drum in which they could shelter. Having loaded the drum with all kinds of food, with nine cocks and nine needles, they drifted over the surface of the waters. Thus for a season they floated on the waters and bobbed up and down in the firmament. Afterwards, wishing to ascertain if the floods had abated, they threw out the needles and heard them clang upon the rocks below. Also they set free the nine cocks and heard them crow. Then, full of rejoicing, they left their drum and wandered about on the earth to find a dwelling place. Soon they met an ogre, the Nhkut Hkun Nat, who, wishing to eat them, seized them, placed them in his bag and carried them back and gave them to his wife to kill and prepare mince meat of them. The wife however took pity on the orphans, and being full of compassion for them, she set them free. So once more they wandered. Then they met the Tingra Shun Nat

\* The Kachin myth was first written down for me and translated by the Rev. J. F. Ingram of the American Baptist Mission. My own version is based on his and is

almost the same. The Rev. Ingram took a great deal of trouble and I am much indebted to him.



and said to him "O grandfather, the Nhkut Hkun Nat, in order to eat us, sprang upon us and seized us." Then the Tingra Shun Nat hid them both and waited for their pursuer. When the Nhkut Hkun Nat came along and asked "Have you seen my two orphans? This is the way by which they came and their footsteps terminate here," Tingra Shun replied "No, I have seen them not, they have not come this way."

Later, the two orphans having given birth to a son, Tingra Shun took the son, killed him and minced the flesh and scattered it at the junction of the nine roads. When the orphans enquired he said to them "Your children are yonder at the crossroads, where eight other roads join." Then they ran to the crossroads, but the new race of children which had sprung to life from the minced fragments of their son did not recognize them and drove them away and chased them as far as the land of the sun where, it is said, they still live. From then till now all Kachins regard the orphans as nats and make offerings to them, even to the sun nats.

## 2.

## LISHAW.

Long ago a great fire and a great flood devastated the earth. First came the fire and the earth was consumed, the trees were destroyed and fell, and the rocks were splintered and rolled down the slopes of the mountains. Then came the flood, so deep that no place was left uncovered that could support life. Animals and birds all died and perished. Two orphans only, a boy and a girl, escaped. When the earth became dry again, these two desired to marry. So they ascended a mountain to consult the omens carrying with them two flat circular trays which they set rolling down the slopes into the valley. Then they took up the two parts of a mortar and rolled them down. The two trays were found to have fallen the same side up and the mortar and its base were both standing right end up. Consequently the omens being good they became husband and wife. Afterwards children were born to them, nine sons and nine daughters. From these nine couples sprang 9 races and their descendants became many. The earth became full of them.

## 3

## A NAT INVOCATION.

SAMONG HPON.

Part 1.—O Lord of the sunrise and sunset, O Hsa Seing Lung, with brush and flag, with paper chain, with bunches of golden flowers, with white flowers, with food and drink, I humbly make offering to you. It has happened to me this day that I have vomited my food and my drink. I have not been able to sleep and only with difficulty have I been able to eat. O Lord, make the heat of my body to subside, let eating be pleasant and let my fever depart. O Lord, I shiko to you, this day I worship you. Give me shade and shelter; let me have shade, let me have shelter. O Lord, I beseech you. From now, henceforth, let me continue to live happily with my father and mother, with my son and wife. Lord! There is none other like you. Let me remain peaceful and prosperous. Let my life be firm as a rock and compact as a roll of leaves. Please return now to your abode, O Lord, I humbly shiko to you.

Part 2.—To-day, O followers of the Lord, when your Lord rises, rise ye too; sit when he sits and go when he goes. O followers of the Lord, O lesser Lords. With your Lord, together with your Lord, make eating pleasant and make drinking pleasant, together with your Lord. With brush and paper chain, with flag and flag stick and bamboo tea pot, I make offering and shiko to you, together with your Lord. Make me fortunate, give me shade and give me shelter, from now and henceforth. You, O Lords, together with your Lord, the Great Lord, I adore and shiko. Make me to be as if I had found a good medicine, as if I had eaten a powerful drug. Let me be fortunate. Make me strong as if I had lived upon good food. Let me be prosperous, I also my father, my wife, my son and his wife, my household and house site. Keep my heart and chest warm, preserve them in health. Let me enjoy peace and prosperity. By means of your power make me to be fortunate. Please return now and go back to your abode.

## 4

## THE LEGEND OF THE NAT U YIN GYI.

FROM A BURMESE VERSION.

There were once two sisters who lived in different villages. They were both married and

had one son each. The son of the elder sister was named Maung Po Aung, that of the younger Maung Yin Gyi.

Maung Yin Gyi was a skilful musician and could earn money anywhere. Maung Po Aung had to work wherever he could find employment. One day Maung Yin Gyi went to visit his cousin who was then working with a party of woodcutters and went with them to Diamond Island in a boat. Being the youngest of the party he was left on the beach to cook food and to watch the boat. Having boiled the rice and prepared the meal he commenced to play, this he did so well that seven fairies came and danced to his strains and the youngest of them fell in love with him. When the woodcutters returned they made a raft of their logs and tried to tow it behind the boat, but it would not move. They therefore concluded that one of their number had offended the spirits and cast lots to determine the bringer of such misfortune. Three times the lot fell upon Maung Yin Gyi, so they left him behind and went away with the boat and the raft which no longer refused to move. As for Maung Yin Gyi the fairies turned him into a Nat like themselves and he went away and lived in the Nat Abode.

NOTE.—Like all Nats, Maung Yin Gyi became somewhat capricious. The people of Lower Burma, therefore, are in the habit of offering him food to keep him from harming them. Woodcutters especially have to do this before cutting wood. U Yin Gyi (as he is now known) receives food offerings (without flesh) at the beginning and end of the Buddhist Lent. Burmans make their offerings in the evenings at sunset and Talains in the mornings at sunrise. Smaller offerings may be made at any time save on Wednesday and during the Buddhist Lent. Another name by which this Nat is known is "Ye-ngan-baing-ashin-gyi," or the Great "Lord of the Salt-Waters," it being supposed that he holds sway over the salt waters and tidal creeks. Offerings are made on a bamboo platform supported on a bamboo post and bearing cocoa-nut fronds at the four corners.

## 5

## BIRD LEGENDS.

SGAW KAREN.

There lived once a young girl who was very lazy in her habits and who always rose late in the morning. She persisted in her evil habits despite the repeated warning of her parents. One day enemies attacked the house and her parents, having roused her, fled for safety. The girl, however, went on with her sleep. When at last she woke up, she found herself surrounded by her enemies who made preparations to kill her. Having begged them in vain to spare her life, she began calling her mother. Suddenly she was transformed into a bird and flew away, but she may still be heard calling for her mother Hto-mo-wu, hto-mo-wu.\*

## 6

BURMESE.

There was once a big handsome bird which ruled over all the smaller birds of the jungle and which was greatly loved by them.

One day in order to show their affection, they decided to ask permission of their ruler for all of them to kiss him. Assent was readily given. Now a bird has sharp beak and cannot kiss without drawing a drop of blood. By the end of the ceremony therefore, the ruler had received so many marks of affection and had lost so much blood that he was reduced to a very small bird. Ever since then he was called the Nan-Pyi-Sok bird.†

## 7

BURMESE.

There was once a boatman who lived happily with his wife in a small house, earning their food by letting out his boat and himself on hire. One day he was commissioned to go to a distant village. Unable to take his wife with him he provided her with enough food and money to last until his return and went away. The wife however was not faithful and allowed another man to visit her. The husband on the other hand missed his wife and every day he thought of her. He saved his earnings and even scrupled to purchase food for himself in order that he might be able to give her

\* Hto=bird, mo=mother.

† Nan=kiss, Pyi=finished, Sok=suck.



all. When therefore he returned home and saw his wife with the other man he was so stricken with grief that he fell in a faint to the floor. As soon as he recovered the wicked couple attacked him with kicks and blows and sent him away.

For long he wandered, bemoaning his fate until at length he took shelter in a Zayat. Then he reflected thus "Why should I worry about this woman? She is the cause of my misery and she will never be kind to me again. Evidently she has ceased to love me. It will be better never to think of her again." And he felt consoled.

But later he reflected once more and recalled to mind how they had both promised one another on the day of their marriage never to seek love elsewhere and he felt that death would be preferable to the pangs of a broken heart. So he decided to kill his wife, "For" said he, "if I kill her now, I need never to worry any more about her and my mind will be consoled. Further more it will prevent her living with my enemy.

So he took a large knife and went back to his house and killed the wicked pair saying "we two should live together, we two should live together." Whilst crying thus, he and his wife both turned into birds and to this day they may be heard calling out "we two together, we two together." "Hnit-yauk-chin, Hnit-yauk-chin."

But the husband now takes precautions. When the wife lays eggs in a hole in the tree, he fastens her in so that she cannot get away. With stiff mud and black varnish he plasters up the mouth of the hole, leaving only an aperture through which he can pass food. Should any other bird approach her during his absence and leave its footprints on the mud, he at once suspects her and drags her out and kills her with a stab of his bill, calling out, "we two should live together, we two should live together." "Hnit-yauk-chin, Hnit-yauk-chin."

## 8.

## BURMESE.

There was once a man who collected a quantity of food to make an offering. Before he could prepare the food he was taken ill and saw that he

must soon die. He then thought: "I am now near death and my offering has not been made. If I die now, the offering will be made by others and I shall gain no merit. It will be better to allow my wife and children to consume it." So thinking, he died and was turned into a bird. This bird is called the Wet-kyet-chauk-kaung-pyauk-thauk-sa bird.\*

## 9.

## LOVE SONGS.

## PALAUNG.

Let me sing this to you. Above all things you must pay attention to the Law. Don't lust after carnal gratifications, for, after all, the parts of the body have no permanence. Moreover ones flesh is but as the flesh of animals, fit for vultures to feed upon. Although without your features may be beautiful as jade, yet there is no beauty within. Oh, my dear one! My beautiful one! Don't lust my sister, pass safely through the present world. Know God and study the Law, both for your own sake and for mine. If you do this, then the next existence will certainly be good for both of us and you will get whatever you pray for. Oh my dear one, whose complexion is smooth as wax. If you once begin to do wrong, then you will pass from bad to worse, and on account of your sins you will go to hell.

[Sung by a husband to his wife in order to encourage her in the path of virtue.]

## 10.

## MARU.

Oh dear! Oh beautiful cousin! Will you tell me who you are? How shall I speak to you? Whence do you come? Whose child are you? Are you not to me already as the daughter of my uncle and aunt,† and of my father-in-law and mother-in-law? Is it not so? When we have intercourse together, don't say that it hurts, that it is painful. My heart is drawn towards you and becomes big with love. But how do you feel? I am a gallant lover and will marry you. I will make presents of a big gong, a long robe and a napauk‡ when I marry you.

\* Wet=pig; kyet=fowl; chauk=six; kaung=person; pyauk=lost; thauk=drink; sa=eat.

† An animal intermediate between an ox and a buffalo. Probably the same as the Chin "mythun," the result of

cross-breeding between a wild bison and an ordinary cow.

‡ Among tribes who practise cross-cousin marriage, the parents-in-law will naturally be an uncle and an aunt.

[This is one of the love songs that a Maru youth will sing to the lady of his fancy. The lady who receives this attention must sing an appropriate song by way of reply. Should she fail in this she would be considered uncultured and the youth would turn his glances elsewhere.]

## II.

## LAMENTATIONS.

PADAUNG KAREN.\*

The cock crows on Mount Praswa, the monkey howls on Mount Prasaing. Old men listen carefully to learn whether the crowing and the howling portend good or ill.

Nothing but mountains and valleys. I fight the tigers but I have no spears. I chase the ox but I get no meat. All animals are afraid. The trees are difficult to climb and the land is so rough that even when I walk slowly I stumble. The water from Praso Mountain flows to Toungoo, the water from Prase runs away to Siam. The rocks glare, the sun scorches the barbs of the Indian corn. I am unable to get even a load of corn, neither can I clear for myself a field. My mouth is like a mushroom. The grandfather instead of becoming fat is slender, even the children of the rich cry out "O mother, give us some food." Wanting to travel by a new road I must pay for men to clear it, wanting to go by an old one I must pay the fee demanded. Wanting to sow paddy I must pay excessive taxes. The whole earth mocks at me. I am bewitched even when setting traps for rats near the Salween.

[Praswa and Prasaing are the names of a well known mountain near Dorokho in Loikaw. Near this mountain there once occurred a great landslide which covered up animals and men. Those animals and birds which escaped rushed for safety to Praswa Mountain and the cocks crowed when they attained safety and the monkeys howled with joy.]

This story is intended to show the hardships of life when the Karen country was first conquered by the Burmans.]

## 12.

SGAW KAREN.

The rivers and lands shall shake and tremble. If you lay down your hat or rain shield they will be carried away. The bore will rise in the river and rush along, then the Kura birds <sup>(1)</sup> will sing. You cannot anchor your community with posts of timber and bamboo you can only do it by retaining your children and keeping them at home. When you remain together even the wild beasts will not be able to harm you. Fix your fences with spikes of iron, an iron fence cannot be jumped. Don't leave home.

Friend! When the ed rice grains are beaten they appear to fly into the air and disappear, but but golden grains remain upon the log. <sup>(2)</sup> Don't go away, Naw Dubaw, stay behind and consult the chicken bones.

In places where water is good, I have been, where land is good, there also have I been. I have been to all good places. But whenever I wanted to ascend from my boat to buy food, I never had sufficient time. Even after eating and washing my hands, riches were of no use to me, for I had to make spears of my silver and dah handles of my gold in order to protect myself. Don't praise other countries. There you will have to pay even for land and water, and if you manage to get curry and dried fish to eat, you will have to feed others. Don't settle amongst other peoples. Yours will be the fate that befell the youth who, thinking only of his parents-in-law gave all his food to them and every thing he earned. When he could give no more they turned him out and he had to return to his old mother who fed him on crabs. A mother has infinite love.

The hornbill flies from the place where it was reared, but the Edolis loves its home and sings with joy. The big Toucan loves not its offspring, but the Edolis rejoices in its young and sings with joy.

Brothers, unite together and build a strong house <sup>(3)</sup> so that even if the sky falls it will support it. If you live together in harmony, then even a stone roasted in ashes will be delicious as a sweet potato.

\* For this translation I am indebted to Father Peano of the Roman Catholic Mission, Dorokho.

(1). The Kura bird alights on the banks of a river after the bore has passed and sings.

(2). The log upon which the paddy is thrashed.

(3). By uniting together make the community strong enough to withstand any misfortune.

Possibly an allusion to the long houses which sheltered whole communities.

[This is a song containing the advice of the elders to the young and the burden is this. Better to live poor and contented than rich and anxious. Better to enjoy the love of ones family and kin than suffer the greed and envy of others.]

## 13.

**FABLES.**

GHEKO KAREN.

There was once an orphan boy whose grandmother sent him out in search of food. He set a trap in the top of a tree and caught a bird. Then he liberated the bird and told it to fly to his grandmother's house and cook itself nicely. When he returned home in the evening, the old lady had to explain that birds when caught must be first killed and then cooked. Next day he set out again, and seeing some mushrooms he took out his knife and cut them and brought them back to his grandmother who had then to explain to him that mushrooms must be plucked by the roots. On yet another occasion he saw a swarm of bees and thought to catch them, but they stung him and so he ran home to his grandmother who explained that bees must first be stupefied by means of smoke. Once more he set out and met a monk whom he followed and whose robes he set on fire to, but the monk pelted him with stones and he had yet another failure to tell his grandmother. The old lady then explained that monks were a superior class of people who must be worshipped and not annoyed. Finally he went out again and this time he met a tiger which he began to worship, but the tiger immediately killed him and ate him up.

## 14.

DANU.

There was once a poor man who earned his living by gathering and selling fire wood. Although he was so poor, he never forgot to make offerings to the local Nat. Every evening when he cooked his food for the next day, he used to set some aside for this purpose, which he offered up at the foot of the tree where the Nat lived.

As a result of the merit that he had so gained, the tree Nat, feeling very grateful, produced three golden eggs and gave them to the poor man in order to help him. Whilst he was on the way

back to the house, carrying the eggs in his hand, a kite swooped down and snatched one away. Thus he lost the first egg. As for the second egg, whilst he was bathing, a fish took it away. Only the third egg was now left to him. This he took home and showed to his wife and son. So full of rejoicing were they at their good fortune that their neighbours became curious and watched them through the holes in the walls of their house. At length, when it was very late, they hid the egg in the ashes of the fire and went to sleep. Then the neighbours entered quietly and stole it.

Next day the poor man discovered his loss, but he remained just as charitable as before. Having no rice left to offer the Nat, he went to the river side and caught a fish. Having no firewood left, he climbed a tree and brought down the twigs of a bird's nest. Great was his surprise when on taking the nest to pieces he found his first missing egg, greater still was his joy when on cutting open the fish he discovered the second egg.

As for the neighbours, seeing that the powerful Nat was truly favouring the poor man, and fearing the consequences of their wickedness, they went to him confessed all and give him back the third of the golden eggs.

## 15.

**SHORT TALES.***Prose Version.*

SGAW KAREN.

Kunawle and his wife Mue lived together. One day Kunawle had to go away on a journey, and fearing that harm might befall his wife, he prepared ready for her use seven stacks of water pots and seven bundles of firewood. When he left he told her that on no account was she to come down out of the house. After he had gone, a boa tried in vain to entice her out. Finally as a last resort, he attacked the pigs under the house. The woman rushed down and the boa, wrapping itself round her, took her to its hole and kept her prisoner. A dove that lived nearby went in search of Kunawle to tell him what had happened. It cooed to attract attention and then asked for Kunawle. At the seventh village it found him and told him exactly what had occurred. Thereupon Kunawle returned to save his wife. The boa demanded his heart's blood as a ransom.

Kunawle killed a dog and offered its blood, but the boa refused it. He then cut his finger and offered his own blood, but the boa refused that too. So in the end Kunawle had to puncture his own heart and bleed to death, and the boa released Mue.

*From the song version.*

It is said that Kunawle was patient and had to rescue Mue from the pit. It is said also that Mue was faithful. Some people think that she loved the boa. This however is not true.

The fact is she was taken by force. When she saw the snake she lost her presence of mind and became excited. She ought of course, to have remained quietly in the house together with her water pots and firewood. Therefore had the dove to search for her husband and to coo: "Naw Mue is being killed by a boa, come back quickly, Saw Kunawle."

16.

BWE KAREN.

A poor man once approached a King and begged for food. The King, being compassionate and wishing to remove the beggar's poverty, gave him a precious stone. The beggar however, instead of selling it for sufficient money to purchase food to last a long time, was about to exchange it for a single dish of rice. The King therefore took back the stone, but in order that he might still assist the poor man to moderate fortune, he placed a heap of silver in the middle of a road which the beggar must cross. But the beggar did not notice it and left it. Finally a spirit came along and gave him three magical arrows in order that he might shoot things to eat, but he forgot his instructions and so he has had nothing to eat even to this day.

17.

PWO KAREN.

Long ago there lived an old man and an old woman and they had one child. This child was a girl and they called her "Nangmengpurwa." One day the husband and the wife went out fishing. The old man made his rod of the wood of the Lesangpu tree. When at length he caught a fish, his wife said "that will be enough for Nangmengpurwa to eat," but her husband replied

"don't be a nuisance. I have only to beat you with this rod and you will turn into a tortoise." After further time had elapsed he caught another fish and his wife once more said "that will be enough for Nangmengpurwa to eat." The husband then became angry and beat the old woman with his rod and she turned into a tortoise. When he returned home his daughter said "Father! mother has not yet returned, where is she?" and he answered "your mother remained behind plucking vegetables." After waiting a long time for her mother the girl again said "Father! mother has not yet returned, where is she?" and he replied "your mother remained behind gathering fuel, she will come soon." Once more she repeated her question and said "mother is remaining away very long." So at last the father had to confess to his child that he had beaten her mother with his fishing rod and she had turned into a tortoise. Then she said "Father! go show me the place." So her father showed her the place and she called out to her mother saying:—"Mother Mother! show yourself. Father has beaten mother with a fishing rod and she has turned into a tortoise." Then the mother, in the form of a tortoise, came up to the top of the water and swam to where she stood and she fed her, after which she returned home.

18.

PWO KAREN.

Two orphan brothers were brought up by their grandmother. When they grew up they reciprocated this kindness by searching for food and tending the old lady. The elder brother used to bathe her every day, but one day he said to his younger brother "to day do you please to bathe grandmother" and the younger brother replied "very well, brother, I will do so," and the elder brother left the house. Then the younger brother boiled some water and poured it over his grandmother and the grandmother died. The elder brother returned later, and saw that his grandmother was dead and scolded his younger brother and ordered him to summon a priest to bury the body. The younger brother went out, and seeing a company of devils, he brought them back with him. As soon as the devils saw the corpse they ate it up. The two brothers then said to one



another "this is dangerous for us, let us run away and hide," so they ran away and hid. When the devils had finished eating the grandmother they went to look for the two youths in order to eat them. Having found them, they caught them and devoured them.

## 19.

## SHAN.

Once upon a time a Shan man whilst walking in the jungle noticed two eggs of the Sungang Snake. He boiled and ate them and then returned to his village. When his friends returned after the day's work was done, he told them how he had found and eaten the snake eggs. But they all became serious and answered "you must leave the village at once; in the evening the snake will come to seek revenge and if it finds you here, it will kill you and all of us." So the man grew very much afraid. But a friend comforted him and said "This snake, known as the Sungang snake, has great powers. If a man eat its eggs, then even without being told where the man lives, it will track him down and kill him. Now I will tell you what to do. Go and hide in a hole in the ground. When the snake commences to enter to follow you, cut off its head with a dah." The man therefore armed himself with a dah and went and concealed himself in a hole as he had been told.

When the parent snakes returned in the evening to their eggs and found nothing but the shells, they at once followed up the footprints of the man who had stolen them. But the man, with his dah ready in his hand, watched their approach. As the male snake lowered its head to enter the hole, the man cut it so that it died. He served the female snake in the same manner. Then, having successfully disposed of his foes, he climbed out of the hole and returned to his home.

## 20.

## DANAW.

[A prose version, very similar to the above, exists also among the Danaws. It is so similar that it need not be repeated. The Danaws however possess also a song version in an idiom so

archaic that even the elders find difficulty in translating it. It runs somewhat as follows:—] Two men were wandering about in the country. They turned their steps to the South, to the South did they go. Then they turned West, to the Sunset did these two men go. Then they faced North, to the North did they journey. At last they came East and moved towards the land of the Rising Sun. They found by the roadside the eggs of a snake and ate them. Finally they returned home. When they had related their adventures their neighbours were afraid. They were sent back into the jungle and were not allowed to enter the village. So they wandered again, first to the South, then to the West, then to the North and at last to the East. Then they took shelter in a cave. When the snake came to look for them, they cut off its head with a dah as it was entering the cave.

## 21.

## PALAUNG.

A certain king once dreamt that his bowels encircled his city seven times, so he sent for his soothsayers. But the soothsayers were jealous of the Lady Loi Ngun, the wife of the Crown Prince and the king's daughter-in-law. Therefore they said to the king "You must, O King, make offerings of many kinds of flesh, including the flesh of the Lady Loi Ngun. If you fail to do this, the city will certainly be destroyed."

Wishing to preserve the city from destruction, and being unwilling to sacrifice the Lady Loi Ngun without the consent of the Crown Prince who was then absent on a mission, he hit upon a way of avoiding both misfortunes. His queen placed a magic robe upon the Crown Princess. The result was that when the executioners were ready to kill her, she suddenly flew up into the sky. Then she heard the crying of her infant child and her tears fell and she wept aloud. "My dear child," she cried "now your father will know how these wicked soothsayers wished to kill me. Though I long to give you milk, I am unable to do so. I will fly away to the protection of the hermit who lives to the North. When your father returns to the city, tell him what has happened," and she flew away to the North. Whilst she was away, there came a great earthquake and the city was violently shaken.

22.

## KARENBYU.

There was once an orphan boy who lived with his grandmother. One day some men went to catch frogs and fish for food and the boy went with them. Being unable to catch anything, the men consulted their chicken bones, when suddenly the boy, struck by a Nat, fell to the ground. The men, regarding this as an omen, picked him up and threw him into the water. After that they caught frogs and fish in plenty. When they had collected enough, they returned home.

As soon as the grandmother saw them, she asked about her grandson, but the men replied that he had remained behind and would come later. When it got dark and the boy had not come back, she began to suspect that the men had killed him.

She went therefore into the jungle and carefully buried two singing insects, the bristles of a pig, one big gong and one flat gong.\* Three days later, the men, hearing strange and extraordinary noises, went out to investigate. When they approached the place where the objects were buried, the earth opened and swallowed them up.

23.

## MARU.

Once upon a time a blind man and a lame woman lived together. They made their living by breaking into their neighbours' houses and stealing their possessions. On one occasion, it being very dark, they stopped to rest in a cemetery on their way home. When they proceeded to share the stolen money, the blind man, being unable to see, asked the woman to divide. The woman, of course, gave a lot to herself and very little to the blind man. The latter therefore became angry and saying "in what a silly manner you have divided. O lame wench" he hit her with his staff, and, wonderful to relate, cured her of her deformity. Then the woman saying "how blind you are" hit back and struck him across the face, curing him immediately of his blindness. After this, the two lived peacefully together and shared their spoils equally. Descended from them, the Marus are a strong and sturdy race.

24.

## GHEKO KAREN.

A cripple and a blind man once agreed to live together. One day whilst they were walking together on the road, the cripple saw a bird's nest in the top of a tree. So the blind man climbed the tree and put his hand into the nest to search for eggs. Instead of eggs however, he seized a snake which lashed him across the eyes with its tail and which, in fear, he threw down on to the cripple who was waiting at the foot of the tree. The cripple was so terrified that he pulled himself erect and his twisted hip immediately became straight so that he was cured. As for the blind man, his adventure had so alarmed him that he opened his eyes wide and was able to see. The two men went away rejoicing in their good fortune.

25.

## ANIMAL TALE.

## AKHA.

Once upon a time a tortoise and a monkey became friends. One day the tortoise said to the monkey "Tomorrow we will catch animals" and he explained his plan as follows:—"Tomorrow I will start first and you will follow; when you see a bundle of rice on the road, pick it up and bring it along with you." The next morning, the tortoise starting early, disguised himself as a bundle of rice which the monkey, when he saw it, picked up and placed in a bag which he slung over his shoulder. After a short while the monkey called out for the tortoise "Hey, tortoise." "Ley," replied the tortoise in a weak voice. The monkey hearing this reply thought that the tortoise was still far ahead and followed him. Then the tortoise upset some water† in the monkey's bag and the monkey seeing it drip out said "My friend's curry gravy is leaking" and put out his hands to catch it and drank it. "It is tasteful indeed" he remarked. Then having called for the tortoise twice and thrice and not having seen him, he became angry and thought he would open and eat the bundle of rice. So he opened it and seeing his friend said "Oh you cunning fellow" and they both laughed.

\* i. e. she performed a certain magical rite.

† The correct translation in Burmese, of this incident is  
လိမ္မော်သီးသီးသီး



The monkey then said to the tortoise "Tomorrow also I will provide a bundle of rice, when you see it you must carry it" and the two returned home. Next morning the monkey left first and having hidden himself in a bundle of rice, he waited, but his hands and feet were sticking out. When the tortoise saw the bundle he said aloud "this is my friend's bundle, I think, therefore I will shoot at it and see if I can hit it." Having said this, he took him. But the monkey crying out "don't shoot, don't shoot" emerged from the bundle. Then having rested awhile, the two returned home.

## 26.

## TRADITION OF THE LOST WORD.

FROM THE RED KAREN.

In olden times our ancestors were cutting grass in a Taungya when God approached them and asked them to carry Him. They replied that they were busy and had no time to do so, but they gave Him a hat to protect Him against the sun.

Then God went on and asked the Burmans to carry Him, but they too replied that they were busy and gave Him a paddle.

Finally God approached the white men and called out to them and they came and carried Him.

After the white men had returned home, God sent them a book of gold and silver, to the Burmans a book of palm leaf and to the Karens a book of skin. When the messenger approached the latter they were busy so they asked him to deposit the present on the stump of a tree and he did so.

When they had finished their work they went to look for the book but it had disappeared. "I saw it fall to the root of the tree and devoured it" said a dog that was standing near. "Where do you retire every day?" asked the elders. "When I retire, the fowls devour my leavings" replied the dog. "If that be so, we must search the bones inside the fowls" said the elders, and so, even to this day, we Karens consult the bones of the fowl.

The big bird\* that ascended the mountain taught us that it is good to retire to the mountain to worship. If we forget to worship we shall suffer fever and sickness.

Those who eat chickens† forget what they wish to do, but those who consult the livers of pigs know whether an action will be fortunate or otherwise.

## 27.

## TAUNGTHA HISTORICAL TRADITION.

TAUNGTHA VERSION.

There was once a King of Thaton who was travelling through the jungle on the Mountains of Martaban when he met a Keindara in the form of a beautiful lady. Falling in love with her he took her back to his Palace and made her his Chief Queen. Their descendants were numerous and filled the land. But wars arose and the descendants of the King of Thaton fled far away and took refuge on the slopes of Popa Mountain. There they lived and multiplied under the protection of the King of Burma. "Let us not tell anyone that we are descendants of the King of Thaton," they agreed, "or the King of the Burmans will arrest us and make us slaves. If asked what we are, we will answer 'we are Pyus.'" Moreover they clothed themselves in white, and they lived in safety and multiplied, and a very beautiful girl was born among them. One day, when the girl was growing into a beautiful woman, Prince Kyanzittha, the son of Anawrata, King of Pagan, went on a visit to Popa Mountain. Seeing the beautiful maiden he asked her who she was. "I am a descendant of the King of Thaton" she replied, and Kyanzittha took her back with him and married her and made her his Chief Queen. Then children and grandchildren were born to them. But the Queen longed to see her parents once more and told Kyanzittha of her desire. So he gave her the Myosaship of Popa, and presented her also with a gold hair pin, a gold belt and a golden scarf to console her. Then when the descendants of the King of Thaton had increased so that the slopes of Popa would no longer support them, he established them in the

\* This refers to a fabulous bird which used to ascend a mountain once a year to Worship. Noticing that the villagers round about did not pray, it taught them how to do so.

† In olden times the Karens did not eat fowls but only killed them to consult their bones. A man who cooked and ate the flesh would forget to examine the bones.

village of Mangala† and in Wethet where they built 12 houses, also in 10 houses in Mue village in the Yaw township of Chakap. So Kyanzittha established them, and they are now a numerous people. When Burmans, ask "of what race are you?" they reply "in former times we lived in Taungtha city, and for long we have been known as Taungthas. After the name of this city, we call ourselves Taungthas."

28.

ANOTHER VERSION.\*

The great King of Thaton, having unfurled his battle-standard, met on the Mountains of Martaban a Manussa-Keindara, took her away with him, named her Keindaradewi and appointed her his Chief Queen, the occupant of the Southern Appartments. On the seventh succession of sons, grandsons and great-grandsons, the Kingdom fell into disorder and many of the people fled and hid on Mount Popa in Burma where, by the Burmans, they were known as

Brus. Now the Bru people were enlightened and well endowed with the higher virtues, also, they wore white clothes.

One day Prince Kyanyit, son of Nawratha Minzaw, King of Pagan, while visiting Mount Popa, saw a beautiful maiden and asked her the name and lineage of her parents. Being thus questioned she replied: "We are descendants of the King of Thaton" and the Prince took her away with him. When he became King he made her his Chief Queen and presented her with a gold hairpin, a golden girdle and a scarf.

After many days and months, wishing to see her parents again, she repeatedly asked permission of the King, so the King gave her the Myosaship of Popa. Shortly afterwards the Queen's parents died and she also died of grief. Later on, the descendants of the King of Thaton, becoming numerous, divided themselves up and separated. Twelve households were established in a place which they called Wetlet in Mingala Tilin. Ten more households were established in a village which they named Mi-E in Yaw-kyakhat.

† i. e. Tilin.

\* This version is taken from a parabaik in the possession of a Taungtha living at Tilin. The language is Burmese, but the style is so peculiar as to suggest that it was written by a Taungtha rather than by a Burman.

The owner of the parabaik inherited it from his grandfather and is unable to say whether the legend is taken from a Taungtha or Burmese original.

This legend, but not this version of it, is referred to by Mr. Blagden on p. 85, of Vol. I, Part 2, of the *Epigraphia Birmanica*.

## A STUDY IN BURMESE SOCIOLOGY.

By TAW SEIN KO, C. I. E.

Pages 8—13 of the Report on the Police Administration of Burma for the year 1919 afford us an interesting reading as they give us a glimpse into the sociology of Burma. Many experienced and sympathetic Deputy Commissioners and Commissioners give their opinions on the increasing criminality of the Province, and out of these, we select, for comment, the opinions of Mr. C. R. Wilkinson I. C. S. Deputy Commissioner of Katha, and of Mr. H. Clayton, C. I. E., I. C. S., Commissioner of the Arakan Division. The Katha district is inhabited by Kachins, Shans, and Kadus, who are not so intelligent or advanced in civilization as the Burmans, and Mr. Wilkinson must have been greatly struck by the racial characteristics of these different nationalities. He says "As regards the causes of crime, my opinion remains unchanged that the principal cause is racial and not economic. Tracts with a purely Burmese population show more crime than those into whose population an admixture of races such as Shan and Kachin enters and the comparison holds good not only as between districts but also as between different townships in this district. I would reiterate my conviction that, although the causes of crime are many and complex the causes its non-repression are few, simple and easily removed. It is my settled conviction that simplification of our Judicial System, which is far too advanced for this primitive land, would reduce crime to one-fourth of its present volume. I would almost say that I have not yet found any part of Burma for which the Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation would not *mutatis mutandis* form a sufficiently advanced code of law." We must confess to a great deal of sympathy with the remarks of the Deputy Commissioner, but we cannot accept them without a detailed examination. He makes two allegations: (1) that the principal cause of crime in Burma is racial,

i. e. to say, that the Burmans, as a race, are addicted to criminal proclivities; and (II) that crime would be reduced to one fourth of its present volume, if the existing Judicial system was simplified and if a simple Code of law on the Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation was enacted. With all due deference, we beg to differ from him on the first point. We venture to deny that the Burmans, as a race, are criminal. They have abundant animal spirits for which there is no outlet. Time hangs heavy on them and Satan finds work for idle hands to do. As petty traders, they enjoy much leisure and, as cultivators, they are employed only for about six months in the year. They are just like public school-boys, who are inclined to indulge in horseplay and to tyrannize over their unsophisticated fellow-villagers like the Shans and the Kachins. Besides, the facilities of communication provided for them, e. g. good roads and railways, enable them to enjoy the pleasurable excitement of the towns and they need the wherewithal to "have a good time" occasionally. The best antidote for their *ennui*, which is mainly due to their unoccupied leisure, is to establish schools, clubs, libraries, newspapers, and to revive their national games and sports, like boxing, wrestling, dancing, foot races, boat races, pony races, cart races, etc. In the Tharrawaddy District, crime has been materially reduced, under the auspices of Colonel F. R. Nethersole, C. I. E. by starting a newspaper, by establishing social clubs, and by creating councils of village Headmen where local matters can be discussed and local grievances redressed. The example of Tharrawaddy may be followed, with great advantage, in other districts. The wondrous pacification of Tharrawaddy shows that the Burmans are not, by nature, or as a race, criminal. Their criminality is due to their environment. Improve that environment, and their

criminality is toned down considerably. As regards the second point, namely, the simplification of the existing Judicial system and the enactment of a Code of law on the lines of the Kachin Hill Tribes Regulation, it appears to be too late now to set back the hands of the clock. Our judicial system has come to stay and it cannot be simplified on the lines suggested or done away with. It is no doubt true that, in the early sixties and seventies, when Sir Arthur Phayre and Colonel Albert Fytche were chief Commissioners of Lower Burma, the then simple Judicial requirements of the Province were amply satisfied by what was known as "Sparks' Code," which occupied the place of the Indian Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code, Civil Procedure Code, Evidence Act, Contract Act and the Manu Dhammathat. But since then we have travelled very far from that period on the path of progress and enlightenment, and it would certainly be a retrograde measure to revert to the old order of things. We could however, devise some remedy to improve the administration of our complicated Judicial system, especially in the matter of raising the percentage of convictions. It must be admitted that the intellectual equipment of the Local Bar is much higher than that of the subordinate Judiciary or of the Police Prosecuting staff. The great majority of our subordinate Judges and Magistrates are promoted clerks; they are wanting in a critical or comprehensive knowledge of the system of criminal law; they have not kept up their reading of English or Burmese books; and, being versed only in routine work, they have lost touch with the great outside world. The Police Prosecutors in the Township, Subdivisional, and even in some of the District Courts, are not better off. Most of them are promoted Constables or Sergeants, who have done well on the executive side. They know something of the provisions of the Police Act, but are quite unable to follow the logical and hair-splitting subtleties of the Indian Penal Code or the Evidence Act. Their knowledge of Burmese, their own mother-tongue, is defective and their mental horizon is even more limited than that of the subordinate magistrates. On the other hand, at the Local Bar, we have intelligent and keen-witted men, who have received a legal training and have

passed stiff examinations. They know the law, study the details of their cases, and are quick-witted to look for loop-holes for the escape of their clients. They often browbeat Magistrates and wrest Judgments from them. It is also well-known that thieves and dacoits dispose of a portion of their stolen property and engage the best counsel available for their defence. Our suggestions for remedying the existing state of matters are as follows. A new examination has been instituted for the recruitment of the Burma Civil Service, which was lately called the Provincial Service. The successful candidates should be sent to the University for a year, as it is done in England. Let them study Law under the best Professor, and also legal procedure in the Rangoon Courts. Then, on the expiry of their year's period of probation, and after passing their Final examination, let them choose either the Executive or Judicial side of the Service. The subordinate magistrates will then have a better intellectual equipment than the members of the Local Bar. As regards the Police Prosecutors, there is a Police Training School at Mandalay. Let them receive a special training in that School. Study leave should also be granted to Deputy, Assistant, and District Superintendents of Police to study Law in England, India, or even at the Rangoon University.

Mr. H. Clayton, I. C. S. is the most idealistic of our Burma Civilians and his remarks are always interesting and worth listening to. He says: "Crime as was recently pointed out by the author of 'Crime and Criminals,' is simply conduct injurious to the society to which the Criminal belongs, or more specifically the preponderance of self-regarding conduct, occasionally of racial conduct, over social conduct." This is a patent truism, namely, that crime means the preponderance of "self-regarding conduct" over "social conduct;" in other words the preponderance of "egoism" over "altruism." In Burma the development of these two qualities has not gone hand in hand, "Egoism" has been more highly developed, through a keener struggle for existence, which is due to the harder conditions of modern competitive life, and the development of "altruism" has very much lagged behind. Under the auspices of the Rangoon University, it is hoped that the development of

"Altruism" which involves forbearance, self-control, and self-sacrifice, will make up its much needed leeway. The second statement which is more pregnant than the first says; "The additional reinforcements of the social instincts which every human society has devised in order to enable them to prevail over the self-regarding instincts are, as the above quoted writer points out, custom, religion and criminal law. The Government in Burma has relied almost entirely on the last named; and it is to the decay of the first two that I would largely attribute the present tendencies to crime." The social restraints to check crime are custom, religion and criminal law, and the Local Government has taken only the last under its wing, leaving the two other factors entirely out in the cold. In studying Burmese Criminology we have to study the psychology of the Burmese boy. It is the custom in Burma to leave the moral and religious training of the Burmese boy entirely to the Buddhist monks hence the complaint in the successive annual Reports of the Director of Public Instruction of the absence of "home discipline" in Burmese families. The boy goes to a monastery when he is about six or seven years old; becomes a novice at the age of twelve; and leaves school to work for his living when he is fifteen or sixteen years old. He rarely stays on in the kyaung till he is twenty. He there learns self-abasement, discipline, obedience, respect for superiors, self-control, the value of combination and esprit de corps and certain moral truths and religious tenets; which stand him in good stead in after life. This condition of things has changed. During the long vacation of his English school or College, the Burman boy now goes to a monastery to become a novice and don the yellow garb for only a couple of days or weeks. He has lost touch with his religion, his literature, his history and even with his own language and society. In short, he has become denationalized. His parents do not hold themselves responsible for his moral behaviour, and the *pongyis* have no longer any control over him. The governing authorities punish or put him in jail, when he becomes a criminal. The religious and moral restraints have been considerably slackened, and criminality has been increased.

In the silent and sequestered cloisters of the Rangoon University the many interesting problems connected with Burmese Criminology, and also with social advancement of the Burmese race, may be discussed and solved, to the great advantage of the Province.

The third extract from Mr. Clayton's remarks is the most interesting of all. He says: "Social conduct means forbearance and self-restraint, the limitation of the self-regarding activities, and the application by every man, whenever a conflict arises in him between self-assertion and forbearance, of the test 'which is best for the society to which I belong?' These qualities I believe to be capable of development in Burma equally with other countries. The spread of Co-operation is only one example of the correctness of this belief. The best method of developing them is that of conferring responsibility. There is a wise saying of Goethe: 'If you treat men as if they were only what they are, you make them worse. But if you treat them as if they were what they ought to be, you carry them with you as far as they can go.'" Egoism being still so strong in them, Burmans have yet to learn the art of effacing themselves in society or the larger unit in which they themselves are merged. Mr. Clayton thinks that his lesson should be taught to them by means of the Co-operative Movement, which is fortunately making much headway in the Province and by conferring on them responsible Government. The quotation from Goethe is excellent. It means: "Build realism on realism—you get Retrogression. But build idealism on realism—you get Progression." In the governance of a country we are inclined to be too prosaic and matter of fact, and to be too wedded to the rule of thumb; we want more idealism, imagination, sympathy, and foresight. We must, according to Goethe, teach the Burmans the way they should go, and not keep them on the path they are already treading.

The problem of reducing the volume of crime is very important for the social uplift of the Country, and we hope that it would be studied with greater assiduity when the Burma Reform Scheme comes into operation.



## BUDDHISM IN EUROPE.

BHIKKHU SILACARA.

The Germans are an astounding people. Six years ago they astonished many, their well-wishers no less than those who did not wish them well, by the completeness with which they, a kindly, soft, rather sentimental people at bottom, placed themselves entirely at the disposal of those who said to them: "You are in a hard world. If you want to go forward in it you have got to be hard too," and putting their own feelings in abeyance, obediently did all that their mentors told them to do. Deliberately, in cold blood, they made themselves hard with the same thoroughness wherewith they were accustomed to do all to which they applied themselves, and, the world at large strongly objecting, the world put them down. Now, with that wholesome but unpleasant experience behind them, they are with equal thoroughness turning their backs on all their late teachers drilled into them through decades in school-room and barracks, and are resuming their former life and ways with a surprising intensity. Since the war ended there has been among them a remarkable increase in all kinds of ethical and religious activities. Christian Endeavour Societies have increased in number by over fifty per cent; and, what should interest Burma more, the religion of Burma is receiving a quite special share of attention from all those—and they are very many in Germany to-day—who are anxiously looking for some substitute for the 'Gott mit uns' (God is with us) formula and all that went along with it, that has brought them to such ruin. And what helps more in this direction is that all Germans are now at perfect liberty to profess Buddhism or any other religion they please "that is not contrary to public order or morality," as the decree published immediately by the new republican government worded it, which was not the case under the old order of things. In those days their Government which meant their Kaiser,

stood in dread, real or simulated, of what *more suo* he melodramatically called 'The Yellow Peril,' and his Buddhist subjects were not allowed to call themselves such on their police papers, but had to enter themselves as 'free-thinkers.' Now all that is changed, and the result of the change is very noticeable on all hands.

Quite the most remarkable phenomenon of the new days is the publication of a book dealing with the Teaching of the Buddha which, appearing in the spring of 1917, already has reached the large sale for that class of book of over seven thousand copies, and is still selling well. This is the more noteworthy in that it is not a cheap book, and though written in a very easy style considering the nature of the subject, is not exactly light reading. Such a thing has never happened before in Europe, that a book on an alien religion costing twelve shillings, which is a large sum now for poverty-stricken Germans to pay, should reach such a large sale in such a comparatively short time.

But there is a reason for the book's popularity, and it is one that should interest and a little perturb some of the more eminent exponents of Burma's religion, and that is, that although it is entitled "The Teaching of the Buddha" (*Die Lehre des Buddha*), and within the compass of its 500 odd pages gives an excellently presented account of the Doctrine with a wealth of supporting passages from the Pitakas, it yet, as regards the Fundamental doctrine of the Buddha, the doctrine of Anatta, completely departs from the Buddha's teaching, as that teaching has hitherto been understood in the East. The Anatta doctrine, reduced to its simplest form, is the teaching that 'entity-ness' is only a convenience of human thinking to which there is no corresponding veritable actuality, and that this holds good as much with reference



to man's 'being' as any other; or still simpler: it means that there is no 'being' anywhere but only 'Becoming,' in man or outside him, seen in the light of the highest truth.

But Georg Grimm, the author of the book in question—who is a Doctor of Laws, and a barrister by profession—takes the doctrine of the Buddha and gives it an entirely different interpretation from that which has till now prevailed. He does not deny a single one of the many sayings on this subject attributed to the Buddha, but he says in effect: "Certainly, as the Buddha teaches, there is no *Atta*, no eternal entity in anything that can be perceived by any sense, or conceived in any thought of the mind. All that is *Anatta*, not *Atta*, not eternal entity, as the Buddha so constantly and rightly insisted. But why did He so insist on this? Simply because the *Atta* is beyond all sense and all thought, living its own life in its home, *Nibbana*. It is by its nature for ever unknowable, but still it lives in *Nibbana*, blissful and eternal." Dr Grimm thus makes the Buddha's non-ego doctrine into a doctrine of a transcendental unknowable ego, not so very unlike the doctrine to the same effect set forth over a hundred years ago in his own country by Fichte and Schelling. And if one points out to him that "all *Dhammas* are non-ego," "*sabbe dhamma anatta*," and that *Nibbana* is included among these *Dhammas*, his reply is: "Of course *Nibbana* is not my ego. That is what I say. My ego is just itself; and everything else whatsoever, *Nibbana* as well, is not it, is *An-atta*. Just as Munich is not my personal self, but the place where I live; so, *Nibbana* is not my ego, but only where my ego lives."

Naturally Dr. Grimm has no proof to offer in support of this his assertion. Only one passage from the authentic Scriptures of Buddhism can he quote which lends the slightest colour to his view, that namely from the beginning of the *Mahāvagga* where we are told of a number of young *Brahmins* who have set out to pursue and bring back the runaway wife of one of them, and who encountering the Buddha who asks them whither they are bound, are addressed by Him in these words: "What think ye, young men? which is best,—to go in search of this woman, or to go in search of the self?" None the less Dr. Grimm holds that the Buddha, if not ex-

plicitly, at least by implication, taught the existence of a transcendental self; and that it is due to the subsequent perversion of the Buddha's teaching, promulgated first by what he calls the "Siamese Sect," that the whole Buddhist world to-day does not believe in a transcendental ego. As a result of his own reflection he has come to the conclusion that belief in such a transcendental ego is the kernel of the Buddha's doctrine as originally taught by the Buddha, which it has been left for him, Georg Grimm, to bring to light again at this late day; and that it is now his mission to restore this belief to its proper place in the creed of all the Buddhists in the world, including of course those in the East, where the new light which the West in his person brings to it, must be spread abroad so as to remove the erroneous idea of the Buddha's teaching which has prevailed there only too long. So here is something for Burma and other Buddhist lands of the East to do. They have either to maintain against this new heresy that has sprung up in the West, their own old beliefs and confute it; or admit that it is truth and abandon their old belief of centuries two hundred and more; or just pay it no attention. But when one considers the energetic nature of the Westerner, and his immediate feverish desire when he adopts a new belief, to go out and get as many as possible of his fellowmen to adopt it along with him, it does not require much imagination to foresee the appearance in Burma some day of yet another addition to the missionaries of all kinds of belief,—one who will have a mission to convert Burma to *Atta-Buddhism*!

As said, Dr. Grimm can point to only one passage in the *Pitakas* which seems even remotely to countenance his belief. His method therefore is simply to assume its correctness and then proceed to show, to his own satisfaction at least, that his assumption is not contradicted by any word of the Buddha's speaking, but falls into line with all He said.

"I am," he stoutly begins the section of his book which deals particularly with this his ego doctrine. "I am: this is the most certain axiom there is. It belongs to those that are evident in themselves, antecedent to all proof. It is in fact antecedent to all proof; for whatever I want to prove, that *I* precisely want to prove, and want

to prove for *myself*," and so on in similar strain for two pages, winding up, oddly enough in a book supposed to be expounding Buddhist doctrine, with a confirmatory quotation, not from a Buddhist Pitaka, but from a Vedic Upanishad. To all which we fancy a representative of Burmese Buddhism, such as the Ledi Sayadaw for instance, would simply reply: "What you say does not make out the existence of a transcendental ego, a *lokuttarā attā*, but only of a *puggala*, a person, the conventional, ordinary *I* of common speech and thought."

Meanwhile, notwithstanding the popularity of the book in which he sets forth his views, and the large circulation immediately attained by the monthly magazine he has founded for their advocacy, Dr. Grimm is not being left uncontradicted in his own country by some there who have been in the East and learned at first hand what Dr. Grimm has only become acquainted with in books.

Among these first-hand knowers of the East and its beliefs, are Dr. Paul Dahlke, a deep and powerful thinker, who has paid one or two visits to Burma, and has spent a succession of winters in Ceylon studying Pali and the doctrines as held by the leading Theras of the Island, and as a result of his studies has published a number of books in his own language, some of which have been translated into English. To Dr. Grimm's doctrine of a transcendental ego as constituent part of the Buddha's teaching Dr. Dahlke opposes a flat denial, declaring that the Buddha teaches An-atta simply and solely, Anatta-Buddhism and not Atta-Buddhism in any shape or form. In exposition of his knowledge on this point and as counterblast to Dr. Grimm's view, he has given a series of public lectures on Buddhism in Berlin which have had a remarkable success in that late stronghold of Anti-Yellow-Peril-ism, and has gathered round him quite a strong group of people from the better classes, professional men and others who are not mere fashionable dilettantes, but serious, earnest students of the Buddha-idea. He has also founded a Buddhist Press which issues a quarterly entitled "The New Buddhist Times" (*Zeitschrift für Neu-Buddhismus*) for the continued propagation of his own views of Buddhism, which Press also issues booklets dealing with Buddhist doctrine as

Dr. Dahlke sees it, and has lately embarked on the publication of a series of translations from the Buddhist Texts, beginning with the Dhammapada and the Digha Nikaya. There is also under weigh the establishment of a "Buddhist House," a place of retreat to which Buddhist laymen may repair from time to time for quiet thought and the practice of "recollectedness."

But while thus opposing Dr. Grimm's wrong view, Dr. Dahlke himself entertains a view which some in Burma will be almost certain to hold stands as much in need of correction as the belief in a transcendental ego. He believes, namely, that Nibbana is simply and solely what he calls an *Abfallwert*, which, as nearly as we can represent it in English, might be rendered as "privation-value," whereby he means to say that Nibbana is a word indicative only of the *absence* of something, namely, of Craving, Hatred, and Delusion, and that it signifies absolutely nothing more than this. Any attempt to assert that it is anything more, such as Dr. Grimm's that it has a transcendental ego in it or anything else, he denounces as transcendentalism, as a stepping outside of actuality, and consequently into the realm of fiction, fancy, and imagination. And this, he holds, is not true Buddhism, which in his idea of it, consists in cleaving closely to plain, sober, present fact. It is this strenuous adhesion simply to present fact and experience and to nothing else which he probably wishes to denominate as *New Buddhism*, since, as a knower of Pali, he must know that there is a *lokuttara cittaṃ*, which one cannot translate in any other way but as "transcendental thought or mind." And that this Citta has as its *ārammanam* or object, *lokuttarā dhammā* or "transcendental things," and is the possession of those who are on the higher "Eightfold Path," of those who are technically called the *Stream-entered*, the *Once-returner*, the *Non-returner*, and the *Worthy One*, and those who have attained the "Fruit" of these four states of development. But in despite of the Texts—the Abhidhamma Text to be precise—all this Dr. Dahlke evidently wishes to brush aside as unessential to Buddhism as he conceives it, and unneeded to-day by the scientific mind which is accustomed rigorously to exclude all that is not immediately under its hand, and to deal only in what actually is here and now. Dr.

Dahlke and his New Buddhism thus seem to stand for what we might call a Buddhist Positivism.

In addition to these two movements in German Buddhism, there has also arisen, or rather, there has been revived—for it was already in existence before 1914, but was suppressed during the war—a third Buddhist movement which stands midway between the Grimm and the Dahlke schools, and perhaps represents more closely than either, the Buddhism of Burma and Ceylon.

The main idea of its leader, a Dr. Bohn, is that it does not greatly matter, at least to begin with, what view of Lokuttara things a European convert to Buddhism holds, if only he applies himself as well as he can to the living of the Buddhist life of observance of the Five Precepts. This movement, accordingly, is represented by the revived "League of Buddhist Life" which made and makes its one demand on its members, an honest attempt at Buddhist living, and considers that in doing this they will be laying the best foundation for arriving at correct views. This League also publishes a periodical, a monthly, for the propagation of its views on the necessity in Europe to-day of Buddhist ways of living to replace these that have brought it to its present pass. We may, quote a few sentences from its Prospectus which fairly well set forth the grounds of its desire to introduce a better morality:—

"If lately we have been horrified witnesses of the terrible strife and horror of the world-war, in which hatred, greed of gain and a false *kultur*, practised through decades in the life of the peoples, worked themselves out into visible action, if the unbiassed seeker for truth has the perception forced upon him that so many of the achievements of our highly developed technique were made to serve the ends only of destruction and *Unkultur*;...if we see that none of the various religious systems nor any philosophy has been able up to the present hour to establish a sound world-view and a genuine *Kultur*, so that there has arisen this powerful longing of our day and time for a true religion, we Buddhists with right can point to the fact that never in the name of the Buddha or of any of His disciples has a drop of blood been violently shed, and that his teaching by its mildness and profound content of

moral truth, has conquered a large part of the globe; and wherever the peoples have lived according to its precepts, has brought with it peace, truth, contentment," and so on.

In this school of Western Buddhism we imagine the East will find little that needs correction but only something to add, this namely,—that to Right Conduct, *Sīla*, needs to be joined *Samādhi*, right development of mind, in order that eventually *Pañña* or insight may be reached, and that these are an essential part of complete Buddhism equally with the first member of the Path, Right Conduct, on which the League of Buddhist Life seems to lay all the stress. However, Dr. Bohn and his associates are probably moved thus to emphasise conduct as main constituent of Buddhism, by the state of things which they find immediately round them in their own country, where influences have long been at work of a sort which directly undermined morality, and inculcated in its place the crudest, crassest self-assertion as a something worthy to be aimed at and carried out in practice, and the more thoroughly, the more worthy of praise.

Is the task of Eastern Buddhism in future to be that of correcting one after another as they arise, the various wrong views into which its western converts fall? It certainly begins to look very like it. For these converts have not so much been converted as been brought to convert themselves. They have questioned and criticised themselves out of all possibility of belief in the current religion of their continent, and in taking to a religion which has appealed to them like Buddhism on account of its large content of rationality, they are not likely, even in accepting it as meeting their needs, to drop all at once the very qualities in themselves which brought them to it. They are not likely to refrain from criticising and questioning their newly adopted faith any more than they did what nominally was their old faith. And this being so, many new variants of Buddhist belief are certain to arise in these questioning minds. The strongly individualised and vigorous mind of the West, coming to an old Eastern religion with no particular wish or desire to be converted to it but simply enquiring if it is worth accepting as truth, is very likely in many cases when struck by something in it that appeals, to be not so much moved to be converted

to Buddhism as to try to convert Buddhism to itself, after the example of the famous Constantine who never was converted to Christianity—that is only what the history books say—but made a bold endeavour, and largely succeeded, in converting Christianity to Constantine.

Buddhism is a religion of free thought, of free thinking, if ever there was one; and it is not at all a cause for lament if western converts to it still go on thinking and testing it by all the intelligent tests known to them. But if this tendency were to go on entirely unchecked by the knowledge of those who can claim Buddhism in some sort as their birthright, who have an acquaintance with it that is not merely of the head but of the whole being, something possessed in virtue of blood and training and lifelong environment, there is prospect of some such state of things arising among European Buddhists as is to be found to-day in Japan with its thousand and one sects, some of which can only be regarded as caricatures of the Buddha's teaching.

In these circumstances it would seem advisable, commendable, that some at least of those who represent the indigenous Buddhism of Burma and Ceylon should take a little trouble to familiarise themselves with the ways of thought of the West, read and study a little of the science and philosophy and psychology current in western lands, so that they may be in a better position to give sound guidance to any western enquirer into their religion in his difficulties, be able to see what

precisely are his difficulties, and give him some reliable indication of how they are met in the Buddha's teaching.

Such reading and study also might well have an important effect on their own thought in broadening it, enlarging it, bringing to their view other facets of the jewel they have in their keeping, of whose existence it may be, they hitherto have been quite unaware. In any case, at the present hour Buddhism in Europe stands in need, and perhaps always will stand in need, of being reminded by the less violently moving, but not for that any the less acute, East, that in its charge there is a considerable body of doctrine which it is worth the while of the West to study and get to know well and truly first, before it proceeds to launch out upon development of its own. When it has really seized this body of doctrine, appraised it without bias in faithful, purely objective fashion, that is, somewhat *unlearned* much it has learned on its own roads, and come to the East with, as far as possible, a fresh, uncoloured mind, whatever it does then, whether it quietly adopts the Eastern views exactly as these are set forth by their representatives, or finds a mode of expressing them of its own, the result will be one well worth achieving; and the union of western vigour with Eastern depth of intellect, will perhaps only serve to the reinvigoration, it may be the complete rejuvenation, of the great religion of the East that is the religion of Burma.

---



# ဟံသာဝတီဆင်ဖြူရှင်၏အကြောင်းအရာချုပ်

ဧချင်းဘွဲ့ခံ မင်းရဲနရာ အမည်ရှိသော မင်းသားမှာ။ ဟံသာဝတီ ဆင်ဖြူရှင်၏ညီတော် ကိုးသိန်းသခင် ဘုရင်မင်းခေါင်းဘွဲ့ခံ တောင် ဂူမင်းနှင့် ပြည်မြို့ဘုရင်ထွေးသို့တော် လေးကျွန်း မိဖုရားတွင် သား တော်တောင်ဂူကို မင်းပြုသည့်သီဟသူကိုဘွားမြင်တော်မူသည်။ ထို တောင်ဂူမင်း သီဟသူပင် သက္ကရာဇ် ၉၆၀ တွင် ဟံသာဝတီကိုတိုက် ဖျက်၍ လက်နက်ခိုင်ခံ့ပြတော်မူလေ၏။ ။ ထိုသီဟသူမင်း၏ သား တော်မင်းရဲကျော်ထင်ဘွဲ့ခံ နေမျိုးဒက္ကသည်။ ဟံသာဝတီ ဆင်ဖြူရှင် သားတော် ငါးဆူဒါယကာမင်း၏ သို့တော် ခင်ရှေ့ထိုးနှင့် စုံဘက် ရာ။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၉၆၇ ခုနှစ်တွင် မင်းရဲနရာကိုဘွားမြင်တော်မူသည်။ ။ ထိုမင်းရဲနရာနှင့် စပ်လျဉ်း၍ ဇေယျရန္တမိတ်ဆိုသူ စာဆိုပညာရှိ စပ် ဆိုခဲ့သည်။ မင်းရဲနရာဧချင်း။ ။ မင်းရဲနတ်တူ သိင်္ခသူဟူ။ တောင် ဂူနန်းမြင့် ရိပ်ဖြူဥဒ္ဓသာ။ နတ်ရှင်သားတော် မင်းငါးတော်တွင်။ ရွှေ မြော်ထွဋ်တား ဘေးဘုရားလျှင်။ ဝန်းလျားဇေယျ။ လုံးလုံးယူ၍။ ယဉ်ပြု ပေါက်မ ရာမကနှင့်။ ဒီပကြာငါး ဟံသာကျွန်းဝယ်။ ရွှေနန်းသာစံ ဘိသိက်ခံသည်။ ။ ဘုန်းလျှံနေသိမ်း သောင်းတည့်လေ။ ဟူသောစ ကားကို။ အရင်းမူလထား၍။ ဟံသာဝတီ ဆင်ဖြူရှင် ဘုရင်မင်း တရားကြီး၏ အတ္ထုပ္ပတ္တိဟုဆိုအပ်သော အကြောင်းအရာတော် အ စု အစဉ်ကို။ ရာဇဝင် အမျိုးမျိုး။ ဧချင်းလင်္ကာ ပျို့ကဗျာ အမျိုးမျိုး။ မော်ကွန်းကျောက်စာ။ နန်းစဉ်မှတ်တမ်းစာ အမျိုးမျိုး စသည်တို့မှ။ ရာထုတ်နှုတ်၍ အကျဉ်းချုပ်သဘော ပြောဟောလိုသည်မှာ။

တောင်ဂူဘုရင် မဟာသီရိဇေယျသုရ ဘွဲ့တံဆိပ်နာမံ ခံယူတော်မူ သောမင်းကြီးညီသည်။ ငန္ဒယ်ကုန်းသူကြီးသို့ကို နန်းတင်ရာ။ သက္က ရာဇ် ၁၇၀ ခုနှစ်တွင်။ သားတော် တပင်ရွှေထီးကို ဘွား မြင် သည်။ ဘွားမြင်တော်မူသောအခါ။ တောတောင် မြို့ရွာတို့တွင်။ လျှပ်စစ်မီး လျှံအသွင် ထင်မြင်ပြီးခါ။ မိုးသီးကြီး သီးထန်စွာရွာလျက်။ မိုးသီးမိုး ပေါက် ရှောက်သီးလုံးခန့်သည်းစွာကျ၏။ အရှေ့ရှမ်းပြည်မိုင်းသောင် စားလည်း ခစားခိုင်လော၏။ ။ ယင်းကဲ့သို့သော တိတ်ကြီးနိမိတ် ကြီးတို့ ထင်မြင်လာသော်။ ခမည်းတော် မင်းကြီးညီသည်။ ထိုသား တော်အားများစွာအားထားချစ်ခင်ပြီးလျှင်။ ပုခက်တော်တင် အခမ်း အနာသွဲ့။ ရွှေထီးရွှေချက်ကိုအုပ်စိုးစေပြီးလျှင်။ တပင်ရွှေထီးဟုအမည် မှည့်တော်မူ၏။ ထိုကြောင့်မဟုတ်လော။ ရာဇဗလ။ ရာဇဒေဝ။ ရာ ဇဗဟုဟူ၍ ကြက်သရေဆောင် ဘွဲ့တံဆိပ် ၃ မျိုးရ။ လျော်ကားသုံး ထောင်မှူး စပ်ဆိုသည်။ မင်းတရားရွှေထီး ဧချင်းဘွဲ့။ ။ အဆန်း အ ကျယ်။ အံ့အဲဘွယ်လျင်။ ရောင်နွယ် ထွန်းတောက်။ တောင်မြောက် ညီးညီး။ လျှပ်စစ်မီးနှင့်။ ရိုက်ထီးကောင်းကင်။ ဖြူစင်ရေခဲ။ ရှောက်ရွာ ကြုံလျက်။ ကျော်သဲနတ်တူ။ ဘွားတော်မူက။ ဇေယျပွင့်ရန်။ သည် လျင်မှန်ဟူ။ ရွှေစွန်တိုင်းကား။ မိုင်းသောင်စားလည်း။ ဘုန်းအားပြုမ်း ပြုမ်း။ တထောင်ရှမ်းနှင့်။ ဥမ်းတစုပုံ။ ပြေးဝင်တုံရှင်။ ပြည့်စုံခပ်သိမ်း။ ချမ်းမြဲမတ။ ရှင်ချစ်ဘကား။ ဒေသရပ်သာ။ ရှစ်မျက်နှာကို။ ငါနှင့် ငါ့သား။ နှစ်ပါးလက်ရံ။ ရန်နှောင်တုံးသို့။ ပတ်ကုံးကျွန်းစည်။ လှည့် လည်ထဲကြီး။ မှတ်တော်သံ၍။ မင်းစံရောင်မောင်။ မင်းကောင်းတို့မှ။ ရွှေထီးပြည့်။ သစ်ဟုချက်ချက်။ ရွှေပုခက်၍။ စုံမက်လွန်ကြင်။ ပွဲပြုံး တင်မှ။ ကျော်ထင် ကြောငြာ။ ဥပရာဟူ။ မည်သာ ရွှေထီး။ တမွတ်ချီး သည်။ ။ မင်းကြီးတည့် ရင်သွေး။ ဘိုးတော်မြေ။ ။ ဟူ၍၎င်း။ ထို

မင်းတရား ရွှေထီး နားတော် သွင်းတွင်။ နတ်ရှင် သီဟ။ ရှင်ချစ်ဘ ကား။ တေဇထွန်းပေါ်။ ရှင်ကိုမြှောက်။ ဝတ်တော်တန်းဆာ။ ကိရိ ယာသရဇ္ဈ။ ထီးဖြူဆင်မြင်း။ ပြည်လုံးနှင်းသည် ဟူ၍၎င်း။ ။ ရှင်ဘ ရင်နှစ်။ ရှင်ကိုချစ်၍။ မြို့သစ် အတွင်း။ ကန်ကြာ အင်း၍။ လင်းလင်း ဘယ်ညာ။ နန်းတော်သာ၏။ ခမ်းဝါအရိပ်။ သောင်းမြေထိပ်၍။ တံ ဆိပ်ကြက်သရေ။ မြဲတေထွန်းညီး။ တမွတ်ချီးသည်။ ။ ရွှေထီးတည် မည်တော်ပေ။ ။ ဟူ၍၎င်း။ အကြောင်းအားလျော်စွာစပ်ဆိုလေ၏။

ထိုနောက်က ဆိုခဲ့သော ဧချင်းများ အရ။ ဇေယာဝဏ္ဏတိုင်း။ ကေတုမတီ မည်သော တောင်ဂူမြို့ကြီးရှင်။ ဘုရင် မင်းကြီးညီသည်။ သားတော်တပင်ရွှေထီးကို။ နန်းတော်မြှောက်ဘက်တွင်။ အိမ်တော် ဆောက်လုပ်၍။ စံနေ စေရာ။ တပင် ရွှေထီး၏ အထိမ်း အရမှာ။ တောင်ခမင်ကြီး၏သား။ မင်းရဲသိင်္ခသူဘွဲ့ခံ မင်းကြီးဆွေဆိုသူ ဖြစ် လေသည်။ ဤမင်းကြီးဆွေသည် တူးရှင်းတိုင် ရွာသူ ရှင်မျိုးမြတ်နှင့် သင့်ကြသောအားဖြင့်။ သားသို့ငါးယောက် ဘွားမြင်သည့်အနက်။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၈၇၃ ခု နှစ် တွင် ဘွား မြင် သော (ရှင်ရဲထွတ်) သည် ကား။ တပင်ရွှေထီးထက် တနှစ်မျှသာကြီး၍။ ဘွားဘက်တော် တ ယောက်ဖြစ်လေ၏။

အထိန်းတော် မင်းကြီးဆွေ၏သား (ရှင်ရဲထွတ်) သည်လည်း။ သူ၏အဘဖြစ်သူမင်းကြီးဆွေရှိရာ။ တပင်ရွှေထီး၏အိမ်တော်သို့။ မ ပြတ်မပြတ် လာသဖြင့်။ သံသရာ ဆုတောင်း ရှေးကံ ဟောင်းအား လျော်စွာ။ သခင်ကြီးဆိုသူ မင်းသို့နှင့်။ (ရှင်ရဲထွတ်) တို့သည်။ မ လွတ်မကင်း။ ချစ်ခင်ရည်ငံရင်း ရှိကြသောဟူ၏။ ။ ဤချစ်ခင်ရည် ငံရှိကြသည် ဆိုသည်မှာ။ ခုကာလစကားအားဖြင့်။ သီးရီးစား ဖြစ် ကြသည် ဆိုလိုသည်။ ။ ပြဋ္ဌိဘာသာအလို ဝိဂိဟ် ပြုလိုပြန်လျှင်။ သစ်ရည်တိုတို သီးရီးစားဟု ပြုလုပ်သင့်သည်။ အဓိပ္ပါယ်မှာမူ အတူ တကွ ချစ်ကြ ကြိုက်ကြသည်ကို ဆိုလိုသည်။ ။ ယင်းကဲ့သို့ ချစ်ခင် ရည်ငံရှိနေကြရာ။ တနေ့သွား။ မင်းသို့သခင်ကြီးက ပြက်ရယ်စကား ပြောကြား သည်မှာ။ ရဲထွတ်တွင် ငါ့ကျေးဇူး များစွာ ရှိသည်။ အ စားမှာလဲ ငါ့အစာ။ အဝတ်မှာလဲငါ့အဝတ်။ ယခုလို အခြေလှလှ နေရသည်မှာ။ ငါ့ကျေးဇူးပင်တကားဟု ပြောကြားလေရာ။ (ရှင်ရဲ ထွတ်) သည်။ ဇာတိ ပုည ဂုဏ်မာန။ ဟူသောစကားကို လားလား မှ မထောက်ထား။ ယောက်ျားတို့တုန်း။ ချိန်ဆုံးခါသင့် ပန်းနှယ်ပွင့် ၏ဟူသော ယခင် စကားကို။ များများကြီး အားထား သော လက္ခ ဏာဖြင့်။ ဘုန်းကြီးရဟန်းတို့သည်။ သင်္ကာန်းကို ကိုယ်တိုင်ယက်ရ ပါ၏လော။ လယ်ယာထွန်ယက်၍ အသက်မွေးရပါသလားဟု။ ပြန် ကြား ပြောဆိုလျှင်။ သခင်ကြီးက (ရဲထွတ်) သည် ဘုန်းကြီး ပေ လောဟု စောကြော မေးမြန်းပြန်ရာတွင်။ (ရှင်ရဲထွတ်) က ကျွန်ုပ် သည် ဘုန်းကြီးကား မဟုတ်။ သို့ရာတွင် ကမ္မသကာ တရားမျိုးကို။ အားကိုးယုံကြည်ပေသည်ဟု တည်ကြည်ခန့်ညားသော။ စကားဖြင့် ပြန်ကြား ပြောဆို လေ၏။ (ဤနေရာ၌ (ရှင်ရဲထွတ်) ဆိုသူကား။ ယောက္ခမ အရှိန် အားဖြင့် ထမိန်နား ခိုသော လူစားမျိုး မဟုတ် ကြောင်း ကောင်းကောင်းကြီး သိသင့်သိထိုက်၏။

ထိုနောက်သောအခါတွင် ခမည်းတော်တောင်ဂူဘုရင် နတ်ရွာ စံလွန်တော်မူသဖြင့်။ သက်တော် ၁၅ နှစ်အရွယ်မျှသာရှိသော။ တ

ပင်ရွှေထီးသည်။ ရွှေထီး ရွှေနန်း ရွှေကြွင်းကို။ သိမ်း မြန်း စိုးအုပ် တော်မူလေရာ။ မိမိ အထိမ်းတော်။ မင်းကြီးဆွေကို။ မင်းရဲသိန်ခသူ ဟူသော။ ဘွဲ့အမည် အရည်ကို ပေးအပ်သည့် အပြင်။ ၎င်း၏သား ဘွားဘက်တော် (ရှင်ရဲထွတ်) ကိုလည်း။ အမတော်သခင်ကြီးနှင့် ထိမ်းမြားပြီးလျှင်။ ကျော်ထင်နော်ရထာဟူသောဘွဲ့ဖြင့် စစ်ဗိုလ်ချုပ် ခန့်အပ် လျက်။ တလိုင်း အရပ် ဖြစ်သော။ ဟံသာဝတီ ပြည်ကြီးကို ကိုက်ဖျက်၍ လက်နက်နိုင်ငံပြုလေ၏။ ထိုအခိုက်အခါတွင် ပြည်၊ ပုဂံ၊ အင်းဝစသဖြင့်။ မြန်မာပြည် အတွင်း၌ မင်းနေပြည်များ။ အသီး အသီး ကွဲပြား ရှိနေကြလေ၏။ သို့ရာတွင် ဘုရင် ရွှေထီး သည် ဘုန်းကြီးသော မင်းတပီး ဖြစ်သည့် အလျောက်။ ယောက်ဖတော် ကျော်ထင်နော်ရထာ၏ လုပ်ရည်ကြံချည်ဖြင့်။ မြန်မာပြည်။ တလိုင်း ပြည်အလုံးကို သိမ်းကြီးရရှိသည်ပြင်။ တိုင်းပြည်နယ်ပယ် ချဲ့လှိသည် အတိုင်း။ ရခိုင်ပြည်။ ယိုးဒယားပြည်များကိုလည်း။ လုပ်ကြံ အောင် မြင်တော်မူလေ၏။

မင်းတရားရွှေထီးသည်။ စစ်ဗိုလ်ချုပ်ကြီး ကျော်ထင် နော်ရထာ ကို စစ်ရေး စစ်ရာ၌။ အလွန် အားကိုးရသဖြင့်။ ဘုရင့်နောင် ကျော် ထင်နော်ရထာဟူသော ဘွဲ့တံဆိပ်ကို ခပ်ခိုပ် ပေးသနား တော်မူ၍။ တိုင်းပြည် အားလုံးကို။ လွှဲအပ် ခန့်ထား လေသဖြင့်။ ဘုရင့်နောင် ကျော်ထင်နော်ရထာမှာ။ ဥပရာဇာ အိမ်ရှေ့မင်းတို့၏။ အစိုးအနင်း အဆောင်အရွက်မျှမက။ ရှင်ဘုရင်နှင့်အလားတူ၍။ တိုင်းနေပြည်သူ လူရှင်ရဟန်းတို့၏။ လေးမြတ်ကြည်ညိုခြင်းကိုပင် ခံရလေသည်။ ။

ဤဘုရင့်နောင်ကျော်ထင် နော်ရထာဘွဲ့ခံ။ နောင်သောအခါ ဟံ သာဝတီ ဆင်ဖြူရှင်ဖြစ်လတံ့သော။ (ရှင်ရဲထွတ်) ကား။ ယောက်ျား ကောင်းအာဇာနည်တို့လုံလပ်ရိယဖြင့် အာသာဝတီမည်သောပေါင်း လောင်းမြစ် ခြေဆေးချောင်း။ ပြုံးချောင်း။ ဆွာချောင်း။ ခပေါင်းမြစ် တို့ ရစ်ကြို ဆုံးစီးရာ ဒေသဌာနဒါရ။ ကေတုမတီ။ သီဟိုကြွင်းနန်း။ ရွှေ နန်းရှင်၏သို့။ သခင်ကြီးနှင့်။ ဆုံးစီး ပေါင်းဘက် သည်ကို။ အထက် ကျော်ကာလ။ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ငယ် ရွယ်စဉ်ကရရှိသော တေးထပ်ကလေး တပုဒ်မှာ။

ခပေါင်းရေ စမ်းဪဥ ရယ်နှင့်။ သန်းရွှေထု သခင်။ နန်း ကေတု ပလ္လင်မှာ တဘုရင်ရွှေထီး။ ပင်တိုင်နတ် လှမနော်မှာ။ အစမတော် နန်းလုံးဆီမီ။ ရဲထွတ်ဟု တကိုးပေါ်သည်။ တစ်စီးနော် မနီ။ အ ထိန်းတော် အကြီးနှင့်။ ဇနီးမြတ် လွန်သော်။ ဘွားဘက်တော် လူက လေးရယ်လို့။ ကောက်ယူမွေး နန်းထက်မှာပျော်။ လူရေဝ စမ်းလက် ပေါ်လျှင်။ ကွမ်းဆက်တော်ဝင်ပြီးမှ။ ပင်ရွှေထီးအစ်မပျို ရဲလို့ကြာခို။ ဆင်ဖြူရှင် စံထုံးဆုံးလျှင်။ ကံဆုံးကိုသိဘူးပလေ။ တံ့။ ဤတေးထပ် ကလေးမှာ။ ကဗျာပင်ဖြစ်သော်လည်း။ ရာဇဝင်။ ဗဟုသုတအရာ။ လွန်စွာ ထိသော။ မိသောစကား။ အသွားအလာများစွာ။ ပါရှိရ ကား။ များများကြီး မှတ်သင့်မှတ်ထိုက်ပါပေသည်။

ဘုရင့်နောင် ကျော်ထင်နော်ရထာသည်။ တိုင်းပြည် အလုံးကို ကြည့်ရှု ထိမ်းသိမ်း နေရာ။ မင်းတရား ရွှေထီးမှာ မူကား။ အနောက် ဥရောပတိုက်မှ ထွက်၍ စားကျက်လုကြသော။ လူမျိုးများ အနက်။ ပေါတုဝီ ပြည် သား ကုလား မြို့ မျိုး အ နက်။ ယရင်ဗျီ တ ယောက် နှင့်ပေါင်း၍ မကောင်းသော။ သောက်စား မူးယစ်ခြင်းတို့ဖြင့် အရူး

ဖြစ်နေလေ၏။ ။ဤစကား၌ ကုလားမြို့ဆိုသည်မှာ။ ရှေးကြသော မြန်မာ ကြီးများ သည်။ အိန္ဒိယသား တို့ကို ကုလားမဲ ကုလားနက် ဟူ၍ဝင်။ ဥရောပတိုက်သားတို့ကို။ အင်္ဂလိပ်။ ပြင်သစ်။ ဂျာမန်။ ပေါ တုဝီ စသဖြင့်ဝင်။ ခွဲခြား၍ မခေါ်မူ၍။ ကုလားမြို့ဟူ၍ ခေါ်တတ် ကြောင်းကို ပြလို၏။ ။ထိုကြောင့် စာဆိုတော် ဦးမင်း ရေးသား သည်။ လေးချိုးတပုဒ်တွင်။ ။မိစ္ဆာအယူ ကုလားမြို့ကို။ လွယ်ကူ သို့ပန်း။ ရွှေလက်ရဘမ်းမည်လို့။ ပါရှိလေသည်။ ။ယင်းသို့လျှင်။ ဘုရင်ရွှေထီးသည်။ သောက်စားယစ်မူး၍။ ရူးနေရုံမျှမကသေး။ မြန် မာမူးမတ်။ တလိုင်းမူးမတ်တို့၏သားမယား။ ဝန်ကတော်များကိုပင်။ မတရားသဖြင့် သိမ်းပိုက်ယူဝင်လေ့များ၍။ အမှားပုံကြီး ဖြစ်နေသည့် အတွင်း စစ်တောင်းစား သိန်စောထွတ် ဆိုသူ။ အမတ် လုပ်ကြံရ ကား။ ဘဝတပီးပြောင်းသွား ကွယ်လွန်တော် မူရလေ၏။ ။ဤ ဘုရင်ရွှေထီး၏ ထုံးကျင့်လုံးမူ၍။ အရက်သမား ရှင်ဘုရင်များသည်။ တိုင်းကာပြည်ရွာကို။ ကြာရှည်စွာ မအုပ်စိုးနိုင်ကြောင်း။ ကောင်း ကောင်းကြီးသိရာ၏။

မင်းတရားရွှေထီး ကွယ်လွန် အနိစ္စ ရောက်သော အခိုက်အခါ တွင်။ ဘုရင့်နောင် ကျော်ထင်နော်ရထာမှာ။ ဒလမြို့တွင်ရှိနေသဖြင့် စစ်တောင်းစား။ သိန်စောထွတ်သည်။ သိန်စက္ကဝေါ ဟူသောဘွဲ့ကို ခံ၍ ဟံသာဝတီနန်းကို သိမ်းမြန်းစိုးအုပ်လေ၏။

သိန်စက္ကဝေါသည်။ ထီးနန်းရ၍ ၃ လခန့်ရှိလျှင်။ တလိုင်းမူးမတ် စုံညီ အစည်းအဝေးကြီးက သိန်စက္ကဝေါကို။ သဘောမနှစ်သက်ကြ ရကား။ မုတ္တမမြို့စား သိန်ထောရာမကို ရွေးကောက်၍ မင်းမြှောက် ကြပြန်၏။ ။ထိုခေတ်အခါတွင်။ တောင်ငူ-ပြည်-စကု-စလင်း ဘောက်လင်း- လယ်ကိုင်း- ပုခန်းငယ်- စည်ကူး- စလေ- ပုဂံ စသောမြို့များလည်း။ မိမိတို့မြို့ကို။ မိမိတို့အခိုင်အလုံကြီး နေကြလေ ၏။

ယင်းကဲ့သို့ တလိုင်းပြည်။ မြန်မာပြည်။ အလုံးအစည်းအရုံးပျက် စီး၍။ အသီးသီးအဝဝရှိနေကြရာ။ ဒလတွင်ရှိနေသော။ ဘုရင့်နောင် ကျော်ထင်နော်ရထာသည်။ မြန်မာအမတ်။ တလိုင်းအမတ်။ ရှမ်းအ မတ်တို့နှင့် စည်းဝေး ကိုင်ပင်သောအခါ။ ဟံသာဝတီထက်။ ကေတု မတီမည်သော။ ဘွားတော်မူရာ။ တောင်ငူပြည်ကိုအလျင်အမြန်။ သင့်လျော်မည်ဟု တညီတညွတ်ထည်း။ ဆုံးဖြတ်ပြဌာန်းကြပြီးလျှင်။ တောင်ငူမြို့သို့ တပ်စိုးမိုလ်ခြေတို့နှင့် ချီတက်ခဲ့ကြပြီးလျှင်။ တောင်ငူ တွင်ဘုရင်ပြုလုပ်ရှိနေသော ညီတော် ဘုရင်မင်းခေါင်ကို တိုက်ဖျက် အောင်မြင်တော်မူရာ။ ညီတော်ကို စည်းစိမ်အသက် မပျက်တည် စေ၏။ ။ထို ကေတုမတီ မည် သော တိုက်ပွဲ အကြောင်းနှင့် စပ် လျည်း၍။ ။စစ်ကိုင်းထောင်သင်း။ စလင်းလက်ျာ။ ပြည်မှာ နဝ ဒေ။ ဟုတင်သောပညာရှိပုဂ္ဂိုလ် စာဆိုအမတ် ရေးစပ်ခဲ့သည်။ ။ ဟံသာဝတီ ဆင်ဖြူရှင်၏ မြေးတော်။ သားတော်ဇင်းမယ် ဘုရင်၏ သမီးတော်။ မင်းတရားမယ်တော်၏ချင်းမှာ။

မင်္ဂလာ မြောက်သန်း ဟံသာနန်း၌။ သိန်းသန်းခြံရံ လနယ်စံ၍။ မိဿံရစ်သောင်း ရံပေါင်းများစွာ လက်ျာတောင်ထား။ မိထုတ်များ နှင့် ဝန်းလျား စမယ် ပျော်ကြိုက် ဝယ်လျှင် အံ့ဘွယ် စရာ ရှိင်း မိစ္ဆာ တို့ကြိုရှာတွေ့ချွတ် ကောက်ညွတ်စလေ။ ကြပတော့ဖြင့် အမေ့ငုတ်



သစ္စာရှိ၍ ဂတိရိုးစု ရပ်နေလေသော်။ နတ်တူသီဟ။ နရိန္ဒလျှင်။ ခဏခြင်း၌။ တိမ်နွယ်မိုက်လည်။ သိုက်သိုက်ဝှမ်းဝှမ်း ဆွေရှည်ကျွမ်းနှင့် ပြည့်မွမ်းမွမ်းမတ်။ ဝန်းပတ်ရံကာ။ စကြာရွှေတင်။ လေးကျွန်းရှင်သို့။ ရပ်ထင်သာလျှ။ ဝှန်ပေါက်ပြသာ။ ဌာနတရ ကေတုမတိ ကြွခဲ့ချီသော်။ ပည်းသီးနောက်။ အထောက်ထောက်တည်။ တောင်မြောက်လမ်းတိုင်း အဆိုင်းဆိုင်းလျှင်။ တလိုင်းထူထပ် ဟန်နှင့်ရပ်ကိရုပ်ရှုပ်ဖျောက်ဖျောက် နေရှိန်ကြောက်သော်။ နှင်းပေါက်အလာ။ ပြေးလွှဲရှားမာ။ တရား ကြဉ်နံ။ တောင်ငူ နန်းကို။ လှစ်ထွန်း ကျည်ရှင်။ ရမြောက်လျှင်သည်။ ။လက်ဝင်တည့်မနေ။ အသာခွေးဟူ၍ ရေးစပ်လေ၏။

၎င်းအထက်ပါ ချောင်းအရ၊ ဘုရင်နောင် ကျော်ထင် နော်ရထာသည်။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၉၁၂ ခုနှစ် တွင် ကေတုမတိ တောင်ငူပြည်၌ပင် ယာယီကွန်းဆောက်၍။ ဘိသိတ်ခံတော်မူသည်။ ။တောင်ငူတိုက်ပွဲတွင်အားခံကြသဖြင့်။ ပွဲရ လမ်းရဖြစ်သော သူတို့အားလည်း။ ဘွဲ့အမည်အရည်မှစ၍ အကွင်းအခြည် အထည်အလိပ် များစွာတို့ကို။ လွှေလွှေရမ်းရမ်း ပေးကမ်း သနားတော်မူသည်။

ထိုနောက်၊ ကေတုမတိ မြို့ကို၊ အနေ အထားကြံအောင်၊ စီမံတော်မူ၍၊ ညီတော်၊ သားတော်၊ မှူးတော်၊ မတ်တော်၊ အပေါင်းတို့နှင့်၊ စိုင်းပြင်း တိုင်ပင်တော်မူရာ၊ ပြည်မြို့ကို လုပ်ကြံမှ၊ နိုင်ငံတော် ကျယ်ပြန့်မည်ဟု၊ တညီတညွတ်တည်း၊ ဆုံးဖြတ်ချက်အရ၊၎င်း ၉၁၂ ခုနှစ်တွင်ပင် ပြည်မြို့သို့၊ ချီတက်လုပ်ကြံ၊ လက်နက်နိုင်ငံ ပြုပြီးလျှင်၊ ၎င်းပြည်မြို့ကို၊ ညီတော်နန္ဒယော်ခေါ်ကို၊ သတိုးဓမ္မရာဇာဘွဲ့နှင့်၊ ဘုရင်ခံ ခန့်ထားတော် မူလေ၏။ ။၎င်းအချက်ကို ရည်၍၊ ဤအဆိုပါ ချောင်းတွင်၊ ။နရာဗိဗ္ဗိ၊ဘူပါလဟု၊ လောကထွင်ဖျား၊ သမုတ်ထားသည်၊ တရားနတ်ရှင်၊ တောင်ငူတွင်၌၊ သာရှင်ဖျော်ပါး၊ ပန်းမြေခန်းမှ၊ တိုင်းကားပတ်ကုံး၊ ရပ်အလုံးကို၊ ယူကျုံးတော့မည်၊ မှတ်တော်တည်လျက်၊ ကြံစည်စိတ်ဖြာ၊ နက်ပညာဖြင့်၊ မကြာခဏ၊ ပြည်ခေတ္တကို၊ ပြင်းပြတိုက်ခွန် လက်ရုံးနှံ၍၊ ရဲစံဘုန်းပြီး၊ ညီသတိုးအား၊ ဥမျိုးပရမေ၊ နှင်းခဲပေပြီ။ ။ဟူ၍ စပ်ဆိုတော်မူလေ၏။ ။သရေခေတ္တရာမည်သော တိုက်ပွဲကြီး ပြီးစီးသည် နောက်၊ စလင်း၊ စလေ၊ ပုဂံစသည်တို့ကို၊ ချီတက်တိုက်ခိုက် အောင်မြင်တော်မူသည်။ ။

စလင်းရေကြည်ဆိပ်၊ နန်းတော်၌ စံတော်မူခိုက်၊ စလင်းဘုရင်မင်းကျော်ထင်နှင့် တကွ၊ ရှင်ကြီး၊ လူကြီးမထီး၊ သင်္ချာရာဇာတို့ကို၊ ပင့်ဘိတ် ခေါ်ဝင်တော်မူလျက်၊ ရှေးအစု အစည်၊ အဆက်များကို၊ မေးမြန်းတော်မူရာ၊ ရှေးပုဂံ ကောင်းစားစည်၊ နော်ရထာမင်းစော၊ အလောင်း စည်သူ၊ နရပတိ စည်သူတို့၊ သမုတ်တော် မူခဲ့သော၊ ကျောင်းကန်ဘုရားတို့နှင့်၊ သက်ဆိုင်သော ဝတ္ထုကံမိုးမြေ၊ စာတန်းသမိုင်းများကို၊ အဝဇ္ဇတိယ မင်းခေါင်၏သား၊ သတိုးဆိုသူ လက်ထက်က၊ ပယ်ဖျက်တော်မူခဲ့ကြောင်းများနှင့်၊ လျှောက်ထား၍၊ အညာသားမင်းများ၏ အခြင်းအရာကို၊ ကြားတော်မူရာ၊ လွန်စွာစက်ဆုတ်တော်မူလျက်၊ တဖန်ယုတ်သိမ်းပယ်ဖျက်တော်မူလျက်၊ ဘုရားမြေ၊ ကျောင်းမြေများကို၊ ထပ်မံလွှဲအပ်တော်မူ၏။ ။

ထိုစကစလင်းစသောမြို့အရပ်များ၌၊ အညာသားမင်းများသည်၊ သတင်းကျွတ်လက်၊ ကု သာမြေသွန်းသည်ဟူ၍၊ ကွဲ၊ နွား၊ ဝက်၊

ကြိုက်၊ များစွာတို့ကို သတ်ဖြတ်၍၊ သေသွန်ပြီးသော၊ မိဘ၊ဘိုးဘွားတို့စားရအောင်ဟု၊ လက်ပြန်သွန်၍စားပွဲသောက်ပွဲ ပြုလုပ်ကြသော၊ အလေ့အကျက် ကိုလည်း၊ ပယ်ဖျက် ယုတ်သိမ်းတော် မူပြီးလျှင်၊ ကြီးစွာသောမင်းမိန့်အာဏာဖြင့် ကန့်ကွက်တားမြစ်တော်မူ၏။ ။

ထိုနောက်၊ ပုဂံသို့ ရောက်တော်မူလျှင်၊ သက္ကရာဇ် ၂၂၆ ခုနှစ်တွင် နန်းတက်တော်မူသော၊ သင်လည်ကြောင် မင်းလက်ထက်က စ၍၊ ရေတွင်မျောလာသော၊ သစ်တုံးများကို ဆယ်ယူပြီးလျှင်၊ ပုပ္ဖိုးတောင်ခြေ၌ထားပြီးလျှင်၊ မြန်မာပြည် တပြည်လုံး၊ အသိန်းအသန်းမက၊ များလှစွာသော ကွဲ၊ နွား၊ ဝက်၊ ကြက်တို့ကို၊ ရက်စက်စွာ သတ်ဖြတ်၍၊ ပွဲလမ်းသဘင် ပြုလုပ်ကြသည့်ပြင်၊ ၎င်းကွဲခေါင်း၊ နွားခေါင်း၊ ဝက်ခေါင်းတို့ကို၊ မိမိတို့အိမ်ဦး၊ အိမ်ရှေ့ တိုင်များတွင် ဆွဲဆင် ထားရှိကြသော မဟာဝီရိ နတ်ပွဲကြီး ကိုလည်း ဖျက်ဆီးယုတ်သိမ်းတော်မူ၏။ ။ယင်းကဲ့သို့ တားမြစ် ပိတ်ပင်ခဲ့သော်လည်း၊ လုံးလုံးကြီးမပပျောက်မူ၍၊ ယခုတိုင်၊ မဟာဝီရိခေါ်၊ မင်းမာဝီရိနတ်ကို၊ အမြတ်တနိုး၊ ကိုးကွယ်လိုသော အချို့မြန်မာများသည်၊ မိမိတို့နေအိမ်၌ နတ်အိုးသီးဆွဲခြင်း၊ နတ်အိုးထားခြင်းတို့ဖြင့် အမှားကြီးမှားလျက်ပင် ရှိကြသေးလေ၏။ ။

ပုဂံရွှေစည်းခုံဘုရားကိုလည်း၊ လုံးတော်ပြည့် ရွှေသင်္ကန်းကပ်လှူတော်မူ၏။ ။ငှက်ပစ် တောင် ဘုန်းတော်ကြီး ရှင်ခေ မင်္ဂလကိုလည်း၊ ဝိနည်းမိရ်သမုတ် ခန့်အပ်တော်မူ၏။ ထိုနောက် တောင်ငူအား၊ ပြည်အား၊ စလင်းအား၊ စသည်တို့နှင့် ရုံးစုညီညာ၍၊ ဟံသာဝတီပြည်ကိုပြန်၍လုပ်ကြံရာ၊ ဘုရင်နောင်ကျော်ထင် နော်ရထာနှင့်၊ ဟံသာဝတီဘုရင် သမိန်ထောရာမတို့၊ ပန်းကျော်ချောင်းတွင်၊ ဆင်စီးယှဉ်၍၊ စစ်ထိုးတော် မူမည်ရှိရာ၊ မြန်မာလူမျိုးတို့မှာ၊ အဓိဋ္ဌာန်ပါရမီကို၊ ယုံကြည်တတ်သည်နှင့်အညီ၊ ငါကအောင်မြင်၍၊ ဘုရားရှင်၏ သာသနာတော်ကို၊ ပြုစုရွက်ဆောင်ရမည်ဖြစ်လျှင်၊ ကောင်းကင်နိမိတ်ပြစေသော၊ ရုံးမည်ဖြစ်လျှင်၊ မြေကြီးနိမိတ် ပြစေသောဟု၊ အဓိဋ္ဌာန် သစ္စာမူ၍၊ ဆင်ဦးကင်း ထက်က၊ ရွှေကရားနှင့် ရေသွန်းလျှင်၊ မြေသို့ ကျသည်နှင့်တပြိုင်နက်၊ ကောင်းကင်၌ ငှက်အပေါင်းတို့သည်၊ သောင်းသောင်း ယုတ်ယုတ် အုတ်အုတ်သံသံ၊ တခဲနက်ကြွေးကျော်မည်တူ၍၊ ဆင်ပေါ်သို့ ပျံဝဲကြလေသော်၊ ကုန်းလယ်စီးဖြစ်သော၊ မြန်မာအမတ်၊ ဘယကမဏီနှင့်၊ တလိုင်း အမတ်ကြီး၊ ဗညားဒလတို့က၊ အလျှင်အမြန် တိုက်တော် မူတော့၊ အောင်မည်မချွတ်ဟု၊ နိမိတ်ဖတ်တော်မူ၍၊ လျှောက်ကြားသည့်အတိုင်း စီးချင်းယှဉ်ပြိုင် တိုက်ခိုက်တော်မူရာ၊ သမိန်ထောရာမ မည်သော တလိုင်းဘုရင်၊ စစ်ပျက် ရုံးနိမ့်ပုံ နှစ်နာကြောင်း များကို၊ မင်းခဲဗိဗ္ဗိ ချောင်းတွင်၊ ။ပြည်ကပြန်၍၊ ရာနမာန် ကြောက်ရွှင်၊ ညီမင်းခေါင်ကို၊ ရွှေတောင်ငူနန်း၊ စံစေမြန်းမှ၊ တသွန်းဥဿာ၊ ရာဇာမာနော၊ သမိန်ထောလျှင်၊ တကြောဇဇ္ဇ၊ ပြိုင်တူ မဲ့တောင်း၊ ပန်းကျော် ချောင်းဝယ်၊ ငွေညောင်းရန်စင်၊ မုန့်သွင်တောင်ထွေ၊ မြင်းခြေပြီးတပ်၊ ကြိုးချပ်ပိတ်ပျံ၊ သံယံအုတ်စီး၊ ကြံနှင့် ရည်းလည်း၊ စီးတည်းတင့်တော်၊ ဘေးစော ကျော်လျှင်၊ ဥပေါ်မုန့်မှန်၊ မျိုးဆက်ဒန်နှင့်၊ ပြောင်စိပြန်စောက်ထိုး၊ မိုးသို့ ကျောက်ကွန့်၊ ထွန်ထွန်စင်းစင်း၊ ငွေချိုးနင်းက၊

မင်းနှင့်စီဆင်၊ သည်ပြင် ခန့်တိုင်း၊ တလိုင်းပြည်လုံး၊ လက်ရုံးထွန်း  
ပြောင် တိုက်သတ် အောင်သည်။ ။ဟူ၍၎င်း။ မဟာဥပရာဇာ ဧ  
ချင်းတွင်း။ ။ဘေးတော်စောထီး၊ ရောက်လပြီသော်၊ ဖျဉ်းသုခ၊  
အနန္တကို၊ ကြိမ်းပသံမော၊ သမိန်ထောလျှင်၊ တွေးတော ခဲ့လျှင်း၊  
ပြိုင်လတ်ချင်းသော်၊ မှန်ကင်းလူဖျား၊ သိကြားပမာ၊ အဓိဋ္ဌာလည်း၊  
သာသနာအား၊ စီးပွားထင်ရှား၊ ငါထည်းစင်စစ်၊ ဆောင်တိုင်းဖြစ်  
မှု၊ ဧကရာဇ်မင်းချင်း၊ လက်ငင်းလျှင်ဆော၊ တွေ့စေသောဟု၊ မနော  
ဘုန်းလျှင်၊ နတ်ကိုတိုင်မှ၊ ပြောင်စိုင့်မှန်သောကံ၊ ခုပေါ်ပေါက်နှင့်၊  
လွှတ်ဖောက်၊ စောင်စောင်၊ တထောင်ကျော်မြတ်၊ စွယ်လတ်လက်ျာ၊  
မာန်ပါကျိုးအောင်၊ အောင်အောင်ပြတ်ပြတ်၊ တိုက်သတ်ပိုင်ပိုင်၊ စီး  
ချင်းနိုင်သည်။ ။စွယ်ပြိုင်တည့်နှောင်း၊ ရှေးမကြာသေး၊ ဟူ၍၎င်း၊  
အကြောင်းအားလျော်စွာ၊ ပညာရှိစာဆိုတော်တို့၊ ထုတ်တော် စပ်  
ဆိုတော်မူကြ၏။ ။

ဤဧချင်းအလော၊ ရာဇဝင်စကားဖြင့်၊ ရှေ့ကျသော မြန်မာဘုရင်၊  
တလိုင်းဘုရင်များသည်၊ ယခုလက်ထက် ဘုရင်တို့ကဲ့သို့၊ ရာဇပလ္လင်  
ပေါ်ကာ၊ ငါ၏စစ်ဗိုလ်ချုပ်ကြီးနှင့်၊ ရဲမက်စစ်သည်တော်များသည်၊ ငါ  
ဘုရင်မင်းမြတ်၏၊ ကူးစူးသစ္စာတော်ကို၊ စောင့်သိရှိသေကြ၍၊ တ  
ဘက်က၊ ရန်သူကို၊ တိုက်ဖျက်ကြဟူသော၊ အမိန့်တော်ကိုသာ၊ မ  
ပြန်မူ၍၊ ကိုယ်တိုင်တိုက်ခိုက် ကြသည်ကား၊ တယောက်ချင်းသာ၊  
ကိုယ်တိုင်ရှာ၊ သတ္တဝါ အပေါင်း၊ ပျက်စီးကြောင်း၊ ဟူသောစကား  
ကို၊ များများကြီး နှလုံးမူသောကြောင့်ဟု မှတ်အပ်၏။ ။

ဘုရင်နောင်ကျော်ထင် နော်ရတာသည်၊ သမိန်ထော ရာမကို၊  
အောင်မြင်တော် မူသောနေရာ၌၊ အထိမ်းအမှတ်ဖြစ်ရစ်စေရန်၊ သစ်  
တပ်နှင့်တကွ၊ ဇေတဝန် ကျောင်းတော်ကြီး ဆောက်လုပ်၍ လှူဒါန်း  
တော်မူသည်။

ယင်းသောအခါတွင်၊ ဘုရင်နောင်ကျော်ထင် နော်ရတာ၏ အ  
မည်နာမတော်သည်၊ ဟံသာဝတီဆင်ဖြူရှင်ဟု၊ အလွန်လျှင်၊ ကျော်  
စောထင်ပေါ်တော်မူ၏။ ။

ထိုနောက်၊ ရာမညတိုင်း၊ တလိုင်း ၃ ရပ်နှင့်တကွ၊ မြန်မာပြည်၊  
ရှမ်းပြည် အလုံးကို၊ သိမ်းကြီးစိုးစံ၊ ဘိသိက် ခံတော်မူသော ဟံသာ  
ဝတီဆင်ဖြူရှင်သည်၊ ချီယာဝတီမည်သော၊ ယိုးဒယားပြည်ကြီး၊ ဇင်း  
ရုံးပြည်၊ စုံပြည်၊ သီဟိုဠ်ကျွန်းစသော၊ တိုင်းပြည်နိုင်ငံတို့ကို၊ လုပ်ကြံ  
တိုက်ဖျက် လက်နက်နိုင်ငံ ပြုတော်မူသောဟူ၏။ ။

ထိုသို့သော ထီးဆောင်နန်းနေ၊ ပဒေသရာဇ် မင်းအပေါင်းတို့၊  
ပြတ်ညောင်း ကိုးကွယ်တော်မူရာ၊ ဟံသာဝတီ ဆင်ဖြူရှင်သည်၊ ရှမ်း  
ပြည်တခွင်တပြင်ကို၊ အောင်မြင်တော်မူလျှင်၊ ရှမ်းစော်ဘွားများက၊  
လျှောက်ထားကြသည်မှာ၊ ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ရှမ်းပြည်များ၌၊ စော်ဘွား တ  
ဦးသေလျှင်၊ ဆင်၊ မြင်း၊ ကျွဲ၊ နွား၊ လူမိန်းမ၊ လူသောကျားတို့ကို၊ စော်  
ဘွားအလောင်းနှင့် အတူလိုက်စေ၍၊ တကျိပ်သော်၎င်း၊ တရာသော်  
၎င်း၊ ရာထူး ကြီးငယ် အလိုက်၊ သတ် ဖြတ်၍၊ ထည့် လိုက်ရ ပါ  
သည်။ ။ထို့ပြင် ကွယ်ခန်းမင်း၊ စာခန်းမင်းတို့ သေသောအခါမှာမူ၊  
ဆင်းအစီး ၁၀၀၊ မြင်း ၁၀၀၊ မင်း၏ကိုယ်လုပ်တော် ၁၀၀၊ ယောက်ျား  
၁၀၀ တို့ကို၊ အရှင်လတ်လတ် သတ်၍၊ ထည့်လိုက်ရ ပါသည်ဟု၊

လျှောက်ထားကြရာ၊ ဟံသာဝတီ ဆင်ဖြူရှင်ကြားလျှင်၊ သနားကြည်  
ကွဲတော်မူ၍၊ ဤအကျင့်သည်၊ မိစ္ဆာမိဋ္ဌိတို့၏ မဟုတ်မလျား၊ မှား  
သော အကျင့်သာဖြစ်သည်။ ယနေ့မှစ၍၊ ကြက်တကောင်မျှ သတ်၍  
မထည့်ရ၊ ထည့်ခဲ့သော်၊ ကြီးစွာသော မင်းပြစ်စိုးဒဏ်၊ ခံစေရမည်  
ဟု၊ အမိန့်တော် ထုတ်ပြန်တော်မူ၏။ ။

ထိုနောက်၊ ဟံသာဝတီ ပြည်ကြီးရှင် ဆင်ဖြူရှင်မင်းတရားသည်၊  
ယိုးဒယားပြည်၊ ဇင်းမယ်ပြည်၊ လင်းဇင်းပြည်၊ ကသည်းပြည် စသည်  
တို့ကို အောင်တော်မူခဲ့ရာ၊ အဆိုပါ တိုင်းပြည်တို့မှ၊ ပန်းပု၊ ပန်းချီ၊  
ပန်းတိမ်စသော လက်မှုပညာသည်တို့ကိုလည်း၊ ခေါ်ယူခဲ့၍၊ ဟံသာ  
ဝတီ မြန်မာပြည်အတွင်း၊ ဆင်းရဲသား ကျွန်တော်မျိုးတို့အား၊ သင်  
ကြားလုပ်ကိုင်၊ ရောင်းဝယ်ဘောက်ကား စေတော်မူသည်။ ။

၎င်းနောက်၊ အမတ်ပေါင်း တသောင်း ရှစ်ရာမျှ၊ သင့်ရာသင့်ရာ  
ခန့်ထား၍၊ တရားသဖြင့် စီရင်ဆုံးဖြတ်စေရာ၊ သားတော် အိမ်ရှေ့  
မင်းမှစ၍၊ မှူးကြီးမတ်ရာ၊ သေနာပတိစသော အရာရှိတို့သည်၊ တံစိုး  
လက်ဆောင်စား၍ မတရားနိုင်စက် ဆုံးဖြတ်ခဲ့သော်၊ ငါဘုရင်မင်း  
မြတ်၏ ထံတော်မှောက်သို့ အရောက်၊ လာရောက် လျှောက်ထား  
နိုင်သည်ဟူ၍လည်း၊ အခွင့်အရေး ပေးသနားတော်မူ၏။ အကယ်၍  
တံခါးစောင့်တို့က၊ မဝင်ရဟု တားမြစ်ညှားအံ့၊ မင်းကြားစည်တီးဟူ  
သော၊ ခေါင်းလောင်းကြီးကို ထိုးဟူ၍၊ ကြေးမြို့သော တထောင်  
သွန်းသော၊ ခေါင်းလောင်းတော်ကြီးကို၊ နန်းတော်ရှေ့ တံခါးပြင်က၊  
ဆွဲထားစေလေ၏။ ။

ထိုပြင်၊ ဟံသာဝတီပြည်ကြီးသည်၊ တရားဓမ္မသတ်ဖြင့် ခြောင့်  
မတ်စွာ အုပ်စိုးသောနိုင်ငံတော်ကြီးဖြစ်စေခြင်းငှါ၊ မနုဿာရဓမ္မသတ်  
ဟောင်းကြီးကို၊ မူလထား၍၊ အခြားများစွာသော ဓမ္မသတ်တို့နှင့်၊  
တည်းဖြတ် ပြုပြင်ရမည် ဟူသော အမိန့်တော်အရ၊ ရှင်မဟာဗုဒ္ဓ  
သောသ စသော၊ ဆရာတော် သင်္ဃာတော် တကျိပ်နှစ်ပါးတို့က၊  
ဓမ္မသတ် ၃ပဒေများကို ပြုစုတော်မူကြရ၏။ ထိုနောက် လယ်ယာ  
စိုက်ပျိုးရေးကို၊ အားပေးထောက်မတော် မူသောအားဖြင့်၊ နယုန်  
ဝါဆိုတည်းဟူသော မိုးဦးဦး၊ ဝါခေါင် တော်သလင်းတည်းဟူသော  
မိုးဦးလယ်၊ သတင်းကျွတ် တန်ဆောင်မုန်း တည်းဟူသော မိုးဦး  
နှောင်း၊ ၎င်း ၆ လ အတွင်း၊ မူခင်းတရား၊ မဖြစ်ပွားစေနှင့်၊ ဟံသာ  
ဝတီ ရာဇဋ္ဌာနီ မင်းနေပြည်ကြီးမှစ၍၊ ငါဘုရင်မင်းမြတ် စိုးပိုင်တော်  
မူသော၊ တိုင်းပြည်မြို့ရွာဟူသမျှတို့က၊ ရာဇဝလ္လာ၊ မင်းအမှုထမ်း၊  
အရာရှိတို့က၊ အဆင့် အခေါ် မရှိစေရ ဟူ၍လည်း၊ နှစ်စဉ် နယုန်  
လဆန်း ၅ ရက်နေ့တိုင်း၊ ဆင်တော်ပေါ်တွင်၊ အမိန့်တော်ထင်၍၊  
စည်ကြီးတည်းပြီးလျှင်၊ အမိန့်တော် ပြန်သောဟူ၏။ ။

ထိုသို့ ဘာသာမျိုးခြား၊ များစွာသော လူမျိုးအပေါင်း တို့ကို၊  
မိမိမြန်မာ အမျိုးသားတို့နှင့်၊ မခြားသဲ၊ မပြားမကွဲ၊ တသားထဲ၊ သ  
ဘော ထားလျက်၊ တရားသဖြင့် အုပ်စိုးတော် မူသော၊ အာဏာ  
လက်ရုံး၊ ဘုန်းအာဏာနှင့်၊ ပြည့်စုံတော်မူသော၊ ဟံသာဝတီ ဆင်  
ဖြူရှင် ဘုရင်မင်းတရားကြီးသည်၊ သက္ကရာဇ် ၉၄၃ ခု၊ သက်တော်  
၆၆ နှစ်၊ နန်းစည်းစိမ် ၃၂ နှစ်တွင်၊ လူပြည်ဦး၍ နတ်ထီးကြွန်း  
စံမြန်း ကွယ်လွန်တော် မူလေသတည်း။ ။

## LIFE OF BAYIN-NAUNG.

By SAYA LUN.

TRANSLATED BY MAUNG BA KYA.

Mingyi-nyo (fl. 1485-1530 A. D.) took to wife a daughter of the headman of Nganwègon, and made her afterwards his queen. In the year 878 B. E. (1516 A. D.)\* a son was born to her. Storms of rain and hail and lightning attended his birth, and that day there came to the city of Taung-u the Myosa of Maingthaung, one of the Shan States, to pay homage to the King. These omens gladdened the heart of Mingyi-nyo, who knew that his son would be great. At the cradle ceremony the King set gold umbrellas to overshadow him, and named him Tabin Shwehti, prince of gold umbrellas. The story is told at length by Hlawga-thondaungmu, otherwise known as Yazabala, or Yazadewa, or Yazabahu, in his *Mintayashwehti-egyin*.

From this *egyin* we gather that Mingyinyo, King of Ketumati or Taung-u the capital of the Kingdom of Zeyyawaddana, had a house built for his son and placed him under the guardianship of Mingyi-Swe Minyètheinhkathu, son of Taungka-mingyi. Now Mingyi-swe had married a lady of Tuywindaing village, Shin Myo Myat, by whom he had five children. The eldest of them, Shin Yè Htut, was born in 877 B. E. (1515 A. D.) only one year older than the prince Tabin Shwehti. Shin Yè Htut used often to visit the prince's house where his father resided, and there he sometimes saw the princess Thah-kingyi, half sister of the prince. Their intimacy ripened into love. The following incident, trifling in itself, indicates the character of Shin Yè Htut.

One day while the princess was chatting with her lover, she jested and said "Yè Htut, I have been giving you food. I have been giving you

clothing. You are living on my bounties!" Now Yè Htut's motto was:—

Glory, wealth, and power  
Are a season's dower;  
They blossom, like a flower.

Regardless, then, of her high station he retorted "Do priests weave their own robes or plough for their own food?" "What!" "asked the princess "are you, Yè Htut, a hpongyi?" "No" said he proudly, "but I am certain of my destiny." Such was the manly spirit of the future Bayinnaung the general and Hsinbyushin the emperor.

In 1530 A. D. Tabin Shwehti, now fifteen years of age, ascended the throne of Taung-u. He conferred the title Minyètheinhkathu on his guardian, and to Shin Yè Htut his birthmate he gave the hand of his sister in marriage, and appointed him commander-in-chief of the army. At that time Burma was split into the petty kingdoms of Prome, Ava, Pagan etc., but Tabin Shwehti with the help of his general Bayinnaung consolidated all these states into a great kingdom.<sup>(1)</sup> The King, delighted with his military prowess, conferred on him the title Bayinnaung-Kyawhtin-nawrahta, and left the government of the kingdom wholly in his hands. In fact he came to be the real ruler of the kingdom, invested with the insignia of royalty, and more important than any Crown Prince in Burmese history.

Now about this time <sup>(2)</sup> Tabin Shwehti gave himself up to the company of his favourite, a European adventurer, from whom he learnt the habit of drinking <sup>(3)</sup> (*N. B.* Burmans of that age used the terms "Kalamè" for Indians, "Kalap-pu" for Europeans in general. Thus Sasodaw

\* Phayre gives 1514 A. D. as the date of Tabin Shwehti's birth.

(1). Captured Pegu 1539, Martaban 1540, Prome 1542,

invaded Arakan 1546 and Siam 1548 A. D.

(2). 1550 A. D.

(3). Nephew of the Portuguese, James Soares.

U Min says:—"မိစ္ဆာအယူ၊ ကုလားမြို့ကို၊ လွယ်ကူသုံးပန်း၊ ရွှေ  
လက်ရောင်းမည်လို့" which means: "intending to cap-  
ture European heretics as prisoners of war.") Addicted to hard drinking he began to lose his  
sense of morality, and had no scruple to commit  
adultery with the wives of his ministers, who  
naturally resented it. At last <sup>(4)</sup> he was assass-  
inated by Thameinsawhtut, the governor of  
Sittaung. <sup>(5)</sup> At the time of his death Bayinnaung  
was at Dala. <sup>(6)</sup> Thameinsawhtut seizing the  
opportunity usurped the throne, assuming the  
title Thameinsakkawaw. He proved however  
to be so cruel a tyrant that after three months his  
Talaing ministers dethroned him and offered the  
crown to Thameinhtawrama. <sup>(7)</sup> Chaos reigned  
in Hanthawaddy. Taung-u, Prome, Sagu, Salin,  
Bauklin and Lègaing built forts and asserted  
their independence. Bayinnaung held a council  
of his ministers, Burmese, Shan, and Talaing,  
and they advised him to capture Taung-u.  
Thither he marched with his army and defeated  
his brother the governor of Taung-u, <sup>(1)</sup> who had  
made himself independent and defended the  
city for some time. None the less the conqueror  
pardoned his brother and allowed him to retain  
his place. This fact is stated by Nawade-gyi in  
his *egyin* on Mintaya-mèdaw, daughter of  
Zimmèbayin and grand daughter of Hsinbyushin  
of Hanthawaddy. According to that *egyin*  
Bayinnaung built a temporary palace at Taung-u  
and rewarded his soldiers who had acquitted  
themselves well in battle with titles, goods and  
money.

Thereupon he set himself to re-organize the  
Kingdom. With full approval of his ministers,  
he attacked Prome, took it, and appointed his  
younger brother, Nandayawda, the governor with  
the title Thadodhammayaza. This too is stated  
in that *egyin*. Next he captured Salin, Sale, and  
Pagan.

During his sojourn at Salin a matter of grave  
importance was brought to his notice. Tracts of  
land, dedicated to monasteries and pagodas by

Alaungsithu and Narapatisithu Kings of Pagan,  
had been confiscated by Thado King of Ava, the  
son of Mingaung II. Bayinnaung listened to the  
complaints of the monks and leading people, de-  
nounced the act of impiety, and re-dedicated the  
land. It was then the custom in the parts of  
Sagu and Salin to hold sacrifices of pigs, fowl  
and buffaloes in honour of dead ancestors; this  
was forbidden by command of the conqueror.  
Even the festivals in honour of the Mahagiri  
nats, at which animals were sacrificed, were  
brought to a stop. Nat worship however still  
survives, in a modified form; cocoanuts dedicated  
to the nats are still hung in houses. Bayinnaung  
gilded the Shwezigon pagoda; and Shin Khe-  
mingala, a monk of Hngetpyittaung, he recog-  
nised as the authority on the Vinaya.

Then having mustered a large army from  
Salin, Prome, and other places, he descended on  
Hanthawaddy. <sup>(2)</sup> There, at Pangyawchaung, he  
was confronted by Thameinhtawrama. The  
Kings seated on their elephants faced each other  
in single combat. Bayinnaung sat on the head  
of his elephant, and holding a golden pitcher in  
his hand he prayed; "If I shall win this fight and  
do service to the religion, may I see an omen in  
the sky; if not, an omen on the earth." And he  
poured water from the pitcher. As it touched  
the earth, up flew a flock of birds into the sky,  
twittering loudly. Bayagamani the Burmese, and  
Byinnyadala the Talaing minister, seated on the  
back of the elephant saw this sight, and knowing  
he would win urged the King to begin the fight.  
This he did and conquered Thameinhtawrama  
the Talaing king in the battle. There is an eulogy  
on this victory in the Minyèdibba—*egyin* and  
Maha-upayaza-*egyin*. To commemorate it he  
built a large monastery and stockade on the battle  
field.

Now that he had overcome his chief antago-  
nist, he became emperor with the title Hsinbyu-  
shin of Hanthawaddy. He conquered Burma, the  
Shan States, Siam (Dwarawadi), Zimmè, Yun-

(4). In A. D. 1550.

(5). A Talaing noble of the former royal family of  
Pegu.

(6). Engaged in crushing the revolt of Thameinhtaw  
rama.

(7). Or Zaggali Min, last of the Talaing kings, a son  
of Binya Ran, called Xemindos by the Portuguese.  
(fl. 1550-1 A. D.)

(1). Thihathu, his half-brother.

(2). 1551 A. D.



nan and Ceylon,<sup>(1)</sup> and founded a vast empire. In those days the custom still survived in the Shan States of killing animals and even men and women, and burying them with their dead chiefs. When the emperor heard of it, he put a stop to this barbarous custom. He brought to Hanthawaddy craftsmen from Manipur, Zimmè and Siam, and made them impart their skill to his subjects and trade with them. Ten thousand eight hundred of his servants, including every race, he appointed to administer his empire. He commanded that if any of his officers, not excepting even the Crown Prince, were guilty of gross injustice, the matter should be reported to him in person, and he would grant an audience to the

wronged person. If any person were prevented from entering the palace to obtain an audience, he could sound the huge brass bell, weighing a thousand viss, which he hung for that purpose at the palace gate. The *Manutharadhammathat*<sup>(2)</sup> a treatise on Buddhist law, was drawn up at his command by a congress of learned *hsayadaws* including Shin Buddhagawtha. To encourage agriculture he issued a special order that no officer in the realm was to summon a cultivator during the six months from Nayon to Tazaungmon. This edict, mounted on the head of a royal elephant, was proclaimed with beating of drums.

He died in the year 943 B. E. (1581 A. D.) at the age of sixty-six.

(1). Conquered Ava 1555, Upper Shan States 1557, Zimmè 1558, Siam 1564 and 1569, Laos 1574, and received a tooth relic from Ceylon 1576, and was planning an in-

vasion of Arakan at the time of his death in 1581 A. D.

(2). A Burmese translation of the *Talaing Wagaru Dhammathat* of the 13th century.



## THE THRICE NAMED CITY KINGDOM OF THE SHANS, THE KANTUS AND THE SAKKYAS.

BY CHAN HTWAN OUNG, *Pleader.*

1. There was a meeting ground in Upper Burma from which the streams of immigration took place. It is the Takawng, the drum ferry of the Shans. It is the Thintwepre (သံတံခွေပြေ) the country where the tribes swarmed, of Kantus. It is the Sanghassaraṭṭha, the public way of the Sakkyas.\*

In the ninth century B. C., these tribes formed into the kingdom of Tagoung under the Sakkyia Chief called Abbhirājā. Upon his death, the Sakkyas ruling the other tribes were divided into two branches, one of them called the elder branch under Kamrājāgyi, settled at Kyaukpandoung in Northern Arakan in 820, B. C., and the younger branch under Kamrājānge was left at Tagoung.

2. In the sixth century B. C., Tagoung was destroyed by the Chinese and those Kantus who were captured by them, were deported to Arakan where they became known as the Rakkhaingtha, the settlers on the Rakkhaing land. Those that were collected by Bhinnakarājā, went down the River Irrawaddy in boats and settled at Male on the right bank of it. Here Bhinnakarājā died and his followers were divided into the Shan group, the Sakkyia group, and the Kantu group. The Shan group went eastward and founded the nineteen Shan States. The Sakkyia group went

down the Irrawaddy and joined the Sakkyia settlement (သုဒ္ဓိတ္တဇောသာကီဝင်မင်းတို့နေရာ) which was formed in the country of Sunaparanta where Muducitta, the only son of Kamrājāgyi, was made king of the Prus when Kamrājāgyi was on his way to Arakan in 820, B. C.

3. The Kantu group continued to dwell in Male under the rule of Nagachin, the queen of Binnakarājā. In 549, B. C., Kappilawat, the kingdom of Sakkyas, was destroyed by Viṭaṭupa, the king of Kosala, and those Sakkyas who saved their lives from the slaughter, came to Tagoung, probably without their Sakkyia women and found it unoccupied. They migrated to Male where their king, Dhajaraja, married Nagachin and where they found the Kantu women ready to marry them. When a son called Viraga was born to their king, they returned to Tagoung which was rebuilt and renamed Punjab. Here the Burmese, which is the composite language of the Kantus the Shans, and the Pali, was gradually formed, retaining the Kantu idiom. Where shall we study the Kantu language? It should be studied in Arakan and in Chittagong hill tracts where the Kantus became known as Mrun (မြွေ) (see my paper on a Brief History of Mrun).

ဤကဗျာစရိယ-ကဝိဝံသ-စာတမ်း၌ အကိုး အကားပြုသော ကျမ်းစာများအမည်။

- ၁။ မိရူးဆရာတော်ပေါရာဏစကားဖြေကျမ်း။
- ၂။ သန္တန်ဆရာတော် ပေါရာဏကထာဋီကာကျမ်း။
- ၃။ သမန္တစက္ခုဒီပနီ။
- ၄။ ပုစ္ဆာပိသဇ္ဇနီစာအုပ်။
- ၅။ ပိဋကတ် ၃ ပုံစာတမ်း။
- ၆။ ကဗျာသင်္ဂဟမေဒနီစာအုပ်။
- ၇။ ကဝိမဏ္ဍနဘေဒနီစာအုပ်။
- ၈။ ဝေါဟာရတ္ထပကာသနီစာအုပ်။
- ၉။ ဝေါဟာရလိနတ္ထဒီပနီစာအုပ်။
- ၁၀။ ကလိလက္ခဏာဒီပနီစာအုပ်။
- ၁၁။ ကဗျာဗန္ဓုသာရ။
- ၁၂။ မဟာဂီတအသစ်။
- ၁၃။ ကဝိသေတ္ထုမဉ္ဇူသာ။
- ၁၄။ ပေါရာဏဒီပနီ။

မောင်ဂန္ထရဗာသုတ။  
၂၆-၇-၂၀

အတုလဆရာတော်။ တောင်တွင်းဆရာတော်ကြည့်။  
အဒုမင်းညို။ ရခိုင်မင်းစာဆိုတော် ၁၉၄၃ ရခိုင်မင်းသမီး  
ချောင်းရေးသည်။

၁-ဥတ္တမသီရိဘွဲ့။ ၂- မဟာသင်္ခယာ စည်သူဘွဲ့။ ၃- ဝက်မစွပ်မြို့  
စားဘွဲ့။ ၄-တွင်းသင်းတိုက်ဝန်ဘွဲ့။ ၅-ဗလနန္ဒသူ  
ဘွဲ့။ နဝဒေးဘွဲ့များ ရသူကား တဦးတည်းပင်  
တည်းစစ်ကိုင်းနယ်၊ ဆားတောင်မ ၅ ရွာအဝင်၊  
ရွာတေးသူကြီး ရိုး၊ ငယ်မည်မောင်နု။ သူကြီး ဘွဲ့ဗ  
လနန္ဒသူ။ ဘိုးတော်ဘုရား လက်ထက် စန္ဒရီမုနိ  
မော်ကွန်းကိုရေးသား ဆက်သွင်းသောရွာတေး  
သူကြီးမောင်နုကို၊ နဝဒေးဘွဲ့နှင့် ဝက်မစွပ်မြို့စား  
သနားတော်မူသည်။ ။ စေတီယပကာသနီ-  
၃၈၅။ နဝဒေးဒုတိယကြည့်။

ဦးဥဂ္ဂံသ။ ဤရဝါဒီဇာတိရိယ သာရဝေါ တောရအုတ်  
ဖိုရ်ဆရာတော်ကြီး ၁၁၇၉ခု။ တပေါင်းလဆန်း  
၅ ရက်တနင်္ဂနွေနေ့သာရဝေါတိုက်ရွာကလေး  
ရွာဘွား ၁၂၆၇ ခု တပေါင်းလဆုပ် ၂ ရက်  
တနင်္ဂနွေနေ့ပြန်လွန်တော်မူသည်။ သက်တော်  
၈၀ သိက္ခာ ဝါတော် ၆၈ ၎င်း ရေးသားသော  
စာများ။ စွယ်တော်ရှောင်ရတု၊ ဗေဒိရှောင်ရတု။

ဦးဇေ။ အသည်ဝန်၊ အတွင်းဝန်။ တရားသူကြီး၊ မြင်း  
ခုံတိုင်မြို့စား မင်းကြီးမဟာအတုလသီဟသူဘွဲ့  
ခံ၊ ကဗျာဗန္ဓု ၁၇၃။

ဦးဩတာသ။ မင်းဘူးမြို့ ဘိုးတော် ဘုရား လက် ထက်  
၁၁၄၇ ခုတွင်မဟာဇနကဝတ္ထုစကား ပြေကိုစီ

ရင်ရေးသားသည်။ (၎င်းဝတ္ထုနိဂုံး ဒုတိယပုဒ်  
၌၊ ဝတ္ထုပြီးသက္ကရာဇ်မှ နေ့နှင့်ကေစာရသက္ကာ  
နှစ်ကောဇာမူ၊ ရာသီဂီမုန်၊ ဝသန်ပြောင်းစ ဟူ၍  
စပ်ဆိုသည်။

ဦးကြီး။ တောင်ငူမြို့စာရေးကြီး ကဗျာ ၁၇၄။  
ဦးစ။ စစ်ကိုင်းမြို့အ နောက်ဘက်။ မိချောင်းတက်  
ချောင်းတွင် ၁၁၂၈ ခု။ သတင်းကျွတ် လပြည့်  
ကျော် ၁၀ ရက် အင်္ဂါနေ့ဘွားသည်။ အဘမူ၊  
အလုံမြို့ မြောက်လက် မောက်တက်ရွာ၊ နောက်  
တော်ပါ မြင်းစီးကြီးသား ပေါက်ကျော်၊ အမိ  
ကား၊ သာလွန်မင်းတရားကြီး လက်ထက်၊ အ  
မတ်ကြီးဗညားကျန်းတော၏ မြေးမိငြိမ်းသာတို့  
ဖြစ်သည်။ ၆ နှစ်ရွယ်ရှိလျှင်အဘသေသည်။ ၁၁  
နှစ်ရွယ်ခန့်ရှိသော်၊ အဝမြို့မဲတီးဆရာတော်ကြီး  
ဦးပရမကျောင်း၌၊ စာပေသင်ကြား သာမဏော  
ပြု၍၊ လူထွက်လျှင်စစ်ကိုင်းမြို့ ပတိန်ဝန်ဟောင်း  
ငည့်န့်သမီး၊ မိနွေသင့်မြတ်ရာ၊ ပုတိန်အလုပ်၊  
ကျောက် ရောင်းဝယ်မှု၊ ကူးသန်း၍ ၁၉ နှစ်ရှိ  
သော်မယားသေဆုံးသည်နှင့်၊ အမရပူရမြို့တော်  
မှာအိမ်ရှေ့ သံတော်ဆင့်၊ လက်ရာပျံချီထံ၊ ရေး  
မှတ်နေသည့်နောက်၊ ရွှေဘုံနိဒါန်းကိုရေးသား  
စီရင်သော်၊ အဘိုးဖြစ်သော၊ အိမ်ရှေ့အတွင်းဝန်  
က၊ အိမ်ရှေ့ ဘုရား မှာ၊ အရည် အချင်း နှင့်  
လျှောက်ထားဆက်သ၊ ခစားနေသည့်အတွင်း  
ဌ်နောင်ဇတ်ဝတ္ထုယိုးဒယားဘာသာက၊ မြန်မာ  
ဘာသာ၊ ပြန်ပြီးလျှင်၊ ဇတ်စကား တီးမှုတ်ရန်  
သီချင်းများနှင့်တကွစီကုန်း ရေးသားဆက်သွင်း  
သည် တွင်၊ အကျော် အစော ဖြစ်လေသည်၊  
နောက် ဘဏ္ဍာ စာရေး ခန့်တော် မူပြီး အပါး  
တော်ဝယ် စေသုံး ထမ်း ရွက်ရသည်၊ နောက်  
သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၇၀ ခုနှစ်၊ အိမ်ရှေ့ဘုရားကြီး (မ  
ဟာမြတ်မုနိကို) ရခိုင်ပြည်မှ၊ ပင့်ဆောင်သော်  
နတ်ရွာစံလျှင် ၎င်းသားတော်၊ ဘိုးတော်ဘုရား  
မြေးတော်ကြီးစစ်ကိုင်းမင်းအိမ်ရှေ့သင်းပင်း အ  
လုံးအရင်းနှင့်တကွ၊ နှင်းအပ်တော် မူသည်တွင်၊  
(အိမ်ရှေ့ သံတော်ဆင့်) ပြည်လုံး ယူလှေမှုး  
ခန့်ထား တော်မူသည်။ ထိုနောက် အိမ်ရှေ့အ  
တွင်းဝန်ခန့်တော်မူ၍၊ ကသမြင်းတံမဟာရာဇာ  
ထောင်ထားသည် ကိုမြေတိုင်းအတွင်းဝန်နှင့်အ  
တူချီတက်တိုက်ခိုက်ရာ၊ အရေးပြီးစီး၊ ဦးဇေပရာ  
ကိုနန်းတင်ခဲ့ပြီးလျှင် ရွှေစက်တော် အောက်သို့

ရောက်သည်တွင်။ ငှားနေရာကသည်။ တော်နေ  
ရာသို့မြင့်၍ နေမျိုး ဇေသူရ။ ဘွဲ့သနားတော်မူ  
သည်။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၈၁ ခု။ နယုလ ဆဋ္ဌါန်  
ဆင်းမင်း သခင်၊ ဘိုးတော်မင်းတရားကြီး နတ်  
ပြည်စံတော်မူလျှင်၊ မြေးတော်၊ အိမ်ရှေ့မင်းရွှေ  
နန်းတက် သိမ်းတော်မူသည် တွင်၊ အတွင်းဝန်  
မဟာ သီရိ ဇေယျသူရ ဘွဲ့နှင့် အစီးအနင်းအ  
ဆောင် အရွက်နှင့်တကွ သူကောင်း ပြတော်မူ  
သည်။ နောက်၊ ၁၁၈၅ ခု။ ပန်းဝါ၊ ဧည့်ဝတီ  
ကြောင်းချီရာ၊ အလိုဝန် သတိုး မင်းကြီးမဟာ  
ဗန္ဓုလ၊ အုပ်ချုပ်ချီသည်တွင်၊ မင်းကြီးမဟာသီ  
ရိသီဟသူဘွဲ့နှင့် လက်ျာစစ်ကဲခန့်၍၊ လိုက်ပါ  
ထမ်းရွက်လင်း၍သို့ ရောက်လျှင်ရှေ့ချီသောင်း  
တပ်မှူး၊ ပန်းဝါကို တိုက် ၍ဆက်သသည်။ ရွှေ  
ဘွားတော်အောက်သို့ ရောက်လျှင် ဝန်ကြီးခန့်  
၍၊ တိုင်းရေးပြည်မှုများ စီရင်ရသည်။ နောက်ခ  
မည်းတော် (ရွှေဘိုမင်း) ဘုရား အထွဋ်အမြတ်  
ရောက်တော်မူပြန်လျှင်ကျောက်မျောင်းမြို့တော်  
တွင်။ ကုန်းဘောင်ပရမေ၊ ဇေယျဘတ်၊ အချိုးစ  
သောဘုန်းဘွဲ့ကို၊ ရေးသားဆက်သရာ၊ မဟာ  
သီရိဇေယျသူရဘွဲ့နှင့်ပင်၊ မြင်းတင်ခွန်ကိုသနား  
တော်မြတ်ခံရသည်နောက် ညီတော် မင်းတုန်း  
မင်းလက်ထက်၊ သက္ကရာဇ်၊ ၁၂၁၅ ခု။ ဝါခေါင်  
လဆန်း ၁ ရက်နေ့ကွယ်လွန်လေသည်။

ရေးသားသည့် စာစာရင်းကား။ ရတုလေး  
ချိုး၊ ပတ်ပျိုးသီချင်းခံ ၉ ကျောင်းရေးအင်္ဂါ ၁၅  
ခန့်မျှရှိသတတ်၊ ပုံနှိပ်ပြီး၊ မဟာဂီတ မေဒနီစာ  
အုပ်အဟောင်းအသစ်များနှိုက်ရှိလေပြီ။

ဆရာ ကဗျာဗန္ဓု၊ ၁၇၄။  
မဟာသင်္ခယာစည်သူ မဟာသီရိစည်သူဘွဲ့  
ခံဆားထောင်မရွာ ၅ ရွာ၊ ရွာလေးရွာဘွား၊ မြို့  
သူကြီးရိုး၊ ဒုတိယနဝဒေပင်တည်း။

ရွှေကျောင်းခဲခြင်း ၁၉၈၂ ခု။ အလောင်း  
စည်သူလေးကား။ စန္ဒကုမာရမျိုး ကုသုဒ္ဓါများရေး  
သားသည်။

စလေမြို့ဘွား ငယ်မည်ကိုပုတ်စည်။ ရှင်မည်  
ဦးပုညမန္တလေး ရတနာပုံ ပဉ္စမ သင်္ဂါယနာ  
တင် မင်းတုန်းမင်း ရွှေလက်ထက်တော် မင်းရွာ  
စည်ရွာစား မင်းလှ သင်္ခယာ ဘွဲ့တံဆိပ်နှင့်သူ  
ကောင်း ပြတော်မူသည်။ စာစာရင်း။ စည်ကူး  
မင်း နားတော်သွင်းမျိုးဟတ်လင်္ကာ၊ ဗေဒင်အ  
ဟောလင်္ကာ၊ မန္တလေးဘွဲ့မော်ကွန်း၊ ဇင်းမယ်  
နိုင်မော်ကွန်း၊ ဟောစာ၊ ဗေဒင်ဟောကိန်း၊ ရ

ဦးဇော်။

ဦးဇော်။

ဦးဘိုး။

ဦးဘိုးလင်း။

ဦးဘဲ။

ဦးဘုန်း။

ဦးမင်း။

ကန်၊ သမိုင်း၊ သံဃိုင်းတေးထပ်။ ယိုးဒယားနိုင်  
မော်ကွန်း ရတနာ နဒီမော်ကွန်း၊ ပိဇယ ပဌမ  
ကောသလရေသည် ပြဇာတ်များ၊ မေတ္တာစာ  
တေးထပ်ရတုအမျိုးမျိုးသဖြန်၊ မှာတမ်း၊ ခုံးချင်၊  
တောလား၊ ရေလား၊ မေတ္တာစာ၊ သာသနာ  
လျှောက်တရားစာအမျိုးမျိုးရေးသည် ၁၂၂၈ ခု၊  
မြင်ကွန်းအရေးတော်တွင်ကွယ်လွန်သည်။

ဆင်ဖြူများရှင် လက်ထက်သား တော်စည်  
ကူးမင်းမှာဆရာအဖြစ် ထမ်းရွက်သည်စည်။ ကူး  
မင်းကမင်းရဲဗိဗ္ဗုချင်းကောင်းလှကြောင်းအမိန့်  
ရှိလျှင်မင်္ဂလာချက်တွေ့ချီ၊ စည်ကူးမင်း ရွှေနား  
တော်သွင်း၊ ချင်းကိုရေးဆက်သည်၊ စည်ကူး  
မင်း၊ ၁၁၃၂ ခု အတွတ်အမြတ်ရောက်ကာလ  
မင်းရဲ ရာဇာဘွဲ့နှင့် ပလိပ်ရွာကို စားစေသည်  
၁၁၄၃ ခုနန်းတက်သောတိုး တော်ဘုရား ရွှေ  
လက်ထက်တော်တွင် ကျောက်ရင်းတောင်သာ  
၂ မြို့ကိုစားရသည်။ ဟူးရားညိုဘွဲ့-သီရိပဏ္ဍိတ်  
ဘွဲ့-များအနားခံရသည်။ ကဗျာသင်္ဂဟ။ ၈။

၃။ မှတ်စက္ကူတွင်ကြည့်ပါး  
ကဗျာဗန္ဓု၊ ၁၇၄- ရတုအမျိုးမျိုး ရေးသား  
သည်။ မင်းတုန်းမင်းလက်ထက်။  
ဘောင်ဝန် ကဗျာဗန္ဓု ၁၇၂- ရတုအမျိုးမျိုး  
ရေးသည်။

၁၂ ရာသီဘွဲ့ ၄ ချိုးများရေးသည်။  
မင်း ထင် သက် ရှည် ဘွဲ့ခံ (လူဝတ်) ရွှေ  
တောင်မြို့နားမရံရွာဇာတိ ၁၁၃၆ ခု ဘွား စနေ  
သားအမရပူရမြို့နန်းတည်။ ဘိုးတော်လက်ထက်  
သားတော်ပုသိမ်မင်းထံ၊ စာဆိုအရာနှင့်၊ ထမ်း  
ရွက်သည်။ အသက် ၃၉ နှစ် ၁၁၇၅ ခုတွင်ပုသိမ်မြို့  
ဟိုင်းကြီးကွန်း၊ ဆားခွန်ကိုစားရသည်။ နောက်  
ဘကြီးတော်လက်ထက် စာဆိုအရာနှင့်နေအိမ်  
ဆုလတ်များသနားတော်ခံရသည်။ စာဆိုမောင်  
ရေး၊ မောင်တလုပ်၊ မောင်အိမ် မောင်အိမ်တို့နှင့်  
အတူ၊ လေးချိုးရာသီဘွဲ့၊ မယ်ဆွဲ၊ မောင်ဘွဲ့များ  
ကိုလည်း လစည် ရေးသား ဆက်သွင်းရသည်၊  
သားတော် ပုဂံမင်း လက်ထက်၊ ၁၂၀၉ ခု တွင်  
ကွယ်လွန်သည်။ မဟာဂီတသစ်၊ ၁၂၁၅ ခု။  
ဝါခေါင်လဆန်း ၁ ရက်နေ့ ကွယ်လွန်သည်ပြီ  
ဆိုသည်။

နောက် ကျောက်မြောင်းမြို့က ပြည်ကြီးမွန်  
ဘောင်တော်နှင့်၊ အမရပူရမြို့သို့ ဝင်တော်မူရာ  
ဘုန်းတော်ဘွဲ့ကို ဆက်သည်တွင် ငွေတော် ၃၂  
နှင့်လှေလောင်း ၁ သနားဘော်မူသည်။ နောက်

ဦးဂန္ထိရ။  
ဦးနု။

ဦးပု။

ဦးပုည။

အမရပူရရှိ ရွှေနန်းတော်ကြီး မသိမ်းမှီအဂ္ဂိရက် အကြောင်း အရာတက်မနှုန်းသာ ဘူး ချီဘုန်း တော်ဘွဲ့ ၄ ချီးကိုဆက်သွင်းသည်တွင်မင်းတင် သက်ရှည်ဘွဲ့နှင့် ရွှေနန်းရိုး လမိုင်း လယ်တော် ပါယ် ၅၀ ထွက်သင့်စပါး ၁၀၀၀ (တထောင်) ကိုအသနားတော်မြတ်ခံရသည်။ ။ထိုနောက် ဇောင်းကလော ကုသိုလ်တော် ဘုရားရေစက် သွန်းချတော်မူသည့်နောက် ဥက္ကလာပမြို့သို့ရွှေ စက်ဖြန့် ချီတော်မူရာ ဘုန်းတော် ဘွဲ့ကို ဆက် သည်နှင့်သာယာဝတီမြို့တွင်ငွေတော်၊ ဥပါ သ နားတော်မြတ်ခံရသည်။ ။ထိုနောက်အေဝန်းခံ နန်းတော် ရေသဘင်ပွဲတော်တွင် လှေဘွဲ့ ဘုန်း တော်ဘွဲ့များဆက်သရာ၊ ငွေတော် ဥပါ သနား တော်မြတ်ခံရသည်။အေဝန်းခံနန်းတော်ကအမရ ပူရရှိသို့ဝင်တော်မူပြီးနောက်သားတော်ပုဂံမင်း လက်ထက်သက္ကရာဇ်၊ ၁၂၀၉ ခု နှစ်ဝယ်ကွယ် လွန်သောဟူ၏။

ဦးမင်း၊ (ဘိုးသူတော်) စာမုန်းကြီးရွာ အသုံးခံ ကြွေးပေးတော်မူ၍ ချီးမျှင့်ခြင်းခံရသော ရှင်ဗုဒ္ဓေါဘာသဘွဲ့ခံ၊ ဘိုး သူတော် ဦးမင်း၊ ၎င်းဘိုးသူတော် ဆက်သွင်း သော ၁၂ ရာသီဘွဲ့လွှမ်းချင်းမှာ၊ ထပ်ထပ်သာ စောဘော့အစချီသည် (ကဝိသေတ္တာမဇ္ဈိသ၊ ၂၉၆)

ဦးမောင်၊ ပုဂံ မင်း၏ သံတော်ဆင့် မင်းတုံး ဘုရင် လက်ထက် ၁၂၃၀ ပြည့်လောက်က စကျင် တောင်၌ပတ္တမြားကျောက်ပေါ်ရာ လေးချိုးရေး ဆက်သည်နှင့်သံတော်ဆင့်ကြီးခန့်သည်။ပဉ္စမ သင်္ဂါယနာတင်လေးချိုးရေးသည် (ကဝိမဏ္ဍန၊ ၅၆၆)

ဦးမောင်၊ ဆီးဘန်နီဆရာတော်၊ မာတိကာကြည့်။

ဦးရှင်၊ စစ်ကိုင်းစည်သာချောင် တောရ ကျောင်းရ ဟန်းတော်-ရတုများရေးသည်။

ဦးလန်း၊ ရွှေဘိုမင်းလက်ထက်၊ယမမင်းတိုင်၊တစ္ဆေ တိုင်၊ရှင်ပင်နံကိုင်းတိုင်၊ ပိဋ်စုံရတုရေး။

ကျည်းကန်ကိုရှင် ကြီး၊ နန္ဒဇေခေါင်းစည်ကြည့်ပါ။

ကင်းဝန်သေနတ်ဝန် ငယ်မည်ဦးကောင်းမင်းတုံးမင်းလက်ထက်။

မင်းကြီး၊ နေမိရကန်၊ ဂန္ဓတိန္ဒြ၊ ကပျို၊ ဓမ္မောဇမော်ကွန်း၊ စိတ္တုပ္ပက္ခိလေသစာတမ်းများရေးသည်။

ကန်တူပေါက်လှေမှူး။

ကန်တော်မင်းကျောင်းဆရာ။ ရတနာပူရရှိရွှေကူဒါယကာခံ ဒုတိယမင်းခေါင်းအစိုးတော်ဆရာ။

ကန်တော်မင်း ကျောင်း။ ကျော်ထင်ရန္တမိတ်။ ခင်ကြီးဖျော်။ ခင်မထွေး။ ငခိုင်။

ငရှေ့ပူ။

စစ်ကိုင်းမြို့။

စစ်ကိုင်းလက်ရွေးကြီးမှူး။

စောမင်းနှစ်။

စစ်လျှင်ထောင်မှူး။

စည်ကိုင်းဆရာတော်။

စည်သူကျော်ထင်

စည်သူရွှေတောင်။

စည်သူသင်္ခယာ။

စိန္တကျော်သူခံ။

သူကြီးဇေယျပုံချီ။  
တောင်တွင်းဆရာတော်ကြည့်။

ကျွန်တော်မျိုး (ကဗျာဗန္ဓ ၁၇၄) ရတုအ မျိုးမျိုးရေးသည်။  
မူးနားရဲချင်းရွာ ဇာတိ ၎င်းဆိုသက္ကရာဇ်၊ ၁၁၆၅ခု၊ အပြီး ရတနာရောင်ရှိန်ချီ၊ ကုသပျို၊ ဝေါလိနတ္တ၊ ၂၆၄။  
စကြိုချောင် ကျောင်းတိုက်နေ အမည်မသိ ရဟန်း။

ရှင်ထွေးညို၊ ပြည်စုန်မော်ကွန်း ရွှေစာတိုင် ဆင်တော်မော်ကွန်းများရေးသည်။

ပါရမီခန်းအဖြေ၊ မင်းဆက်စည်လင်္ကာ ရေးသည်သမန္တစက္ခု၊ I ချောင်းစာရင်းကြည့်။

လက်ဝဲနော်ရထာအတူတူ။  
ညောင်ရမ်းမင်းသံဆင့် ရတုအမျိုးမျိုးရေး။  
အနောက်ဝန် လောကချမ်းသာ ဘုရားဒါ ယကာမင်းတရား ချောင်းရေး။

ရွှေတောင်ရာဇကျော်ငယ်မည်မောင်ညိုဆင် ခြေတိုက်ဝန်ကဝိလက္ခဏာသတ်ပုံကိုရေးသော ရွှေတောင်ရာဇကျော်သည်၊ (စိန္တကျော်သူ) နံအင်္ဂါ၊ ၁၃ နှစ်အရွယ်သို့ ရောက်လျှင်ရှင်ပြု၍ ပစ္စဝေက္ခဏာလိင်ဒဏ်သေခံယူများနှင့် တကွ၊ ကမ္ဘာ ယနဘောဒသဌ၊ ငယ်ကျမ်းကို ရှေးဦးစွာ သင်သည်၊ သင်ပြီး၍ လည်းမပြတ် မလတ်၎င်း ကျမ်း၌ လာသောပ ဇာမ ဆုတောင်း ဂါထာ များဖြင့်မြတ်စွာဘုရားကို ရှိခိုး ပူဇော်ဆုတောင်း ပတ္တနာပြုလေ့ရှိသည်။ မြတ်စွာဘုရားအားရှိခိုးပူ ဇော်ရာတထိုင်တည်းကိုပင် သဌ၊ငယ်ကျမ်းများ ကိုတစောင်တဖွဲ့ကိုအောင်သရဇ္ဈယ်၏ဟု ပြော စမှတ်ပြုကြ၏။ အလွန်နှစ်လျှာ ပေါ့ပါးဆန်း အ လင်္ကာ၊သဌ၊ငယ်အဘိဓာန်ကျမ်းများကို၊ဝါစုဂ္ဂ တနှုတ်ရ ဆောင်ရွက်အထက်ငယ်ရွယ်စည်ကာ လကပင် ဆရာသမား၏ အနီးအပါးတွင်နေ၍ စာပေရွတ်အံသရဇ္ဈယ်ရာအကြား အကြား ဤ သံပေါက်လင်္ကာများကို စပ်ဆိုရေးသားလေ့ ရှိ သတတ်။

ရွှေတောင် ရာဇကျော်သည် ရတုကဗျာစပ် ဆိုလျှင်ကာရန်အသင့်အသင့်ညာဏ်၌ ထင်မြင်

နိုင်သည်ဖြစ်၍။ ကာရန်က၊ ခစားလာပေသည်  
ဟုပညာရှိတို့ချီးမွမ်းလေ့ ပြကြကုန်သတတ်ဟူ၍  
အစည်ပြောဆိုထုံးရှိသည်။

ပညတ္တမဒီပဏီမောင်းထောင်သာသနာပိုင်  
မြေကြားချက်၌ ပြ၏။ (ဘာဝမ်း) တွင်းသင်း  
တိုက်ဝန်မဟာသင်္ဃရာ၊ မဟာစည်သူ၏ နှမသား  
တူတော်သည်။ ငယ်မည် မောင်ညို၊ မောင်း  
ထောင်ရွာ သာမဏေလူထွက်၍၊ အဝဟံသာဝ  
တီရောက်မင်း လက်ထက် ဘထွေးတော် မင်း  
ရဲကျော်ခေါင်ထံမှာထမ်းရွက်သည်အသက် ၁၃  
နှစ်တွင်၊ ရွှေတောင်ရာဇကျော်ဘွဲ့ကိုခံသည်။ အ  
ဝဋ္ဋိပျက်၍၊ ရတနာ သိင်္ဃမိတ္တတွင် ငယ်မည်တွင်  
ပြန်၏။

အလောင်းဘုရားကြီး လက်ထက် ဆောင်း  
ပါးရေးသည်တွင်မှ စိန္တကျော်သူဘွဲ့ကို ပေးပြန်  
သည်။ ၎င်းအလောင်းမင်းဘုရား သားဗဒုံသခင်  
မှာစာဆိုအရာနှင့်ထမ်းရွက်၏။ အသက် ၂၀ ခန့်  
က၊ ကဝိလက္ခဏာသတ်ပုံထူးကို ရေးစီရင်သည်။  
(ကဗျာသင်္ဂဟမေဒနီ၊ ၈)

ဟံသာဝတီရောက်မင်း၊ သီရိသုဓမ္မ ရာဇာ  
လက်ထက်၌ စီရင်သော ကဝိလက္ခဏာသတ်ပုံ  
တွင်၊ ချိုလေးသာအိန္ဒ နှစ်ဘော်မိန့် ထိန်ထိန်  
ကျော်သံဝေ။ ။နသတ်တင်မြစ်ရေးနည်း စစ်  
အသစ်ရတတ်စေ။ ယင်း ၃ ပါးမှထူး၍ရလူများ  
ခေါင်ချုပ်နေ၊ အင်္ဂါမချိုစုံမျိုးပျို ငါတို့ဆရာပေ။  
ပညာရှိများထိုသူအား ညာထားကိုး ကွယ်လေ  
ဟူ၍၊ မိန့်အိန္ဒထိန်အကရာ၊ ၃ လုံးတက်၊ စွယ်စုံ  
ကျော်ထင်ဆရာ၊ ကြေးကန်ရှင်ကြီးနန္ဒဓဇကဆို  
လတုံသောအသံ ၃ ပါးကိုပိုမို ဘွဲ့နိုင် ပြန်သ  
ဖြင့် ဆရာ မြောက်ပေသည်။ ။တရားအချိန်  
များအသိန့်မိန့်တော်ဘယ်တိုင်နံ့သနည်း၊ မိုးတ  
ဟိန်ဟိန်း တသိန့်သိန်း၊ ထိန်ထိန်းဘယ်မျှကြား  
သနည်းဟူ၍၊ မိန့်အိန္ဒထိန်အချိန်၊ အသိန့်များကို  
သွင်း ပြစစ် ဆိုတော်မူသည်။ ပြဆို ခဲ့ပြီး သည့်  
ဆရာ ၂ ပါး စစ်ဆိုတော် မူသည် ထက်ပင်ပ  
ညတ်သံနသတ် အဖြစ်စစ်သည်ကို ထုပ်ဆောင်  
လျှင်ရှင်နန္ဒဓဇ ပေါ်တွင် ၃ လွန်းတင်၍ရနိုင်  
ဘွယ်များ၏ ဟု၊ ဆိုလတုံသော စာစစ်များကို  
စွယ်စုံကျော်ထင် အဖြေ၊ ကျီးသဲ ၄ ထပ်ဆရာ  
တော်ကထုပ်ဆောင်ပြန်သည်ကား။ လောကဝိ  
ဒုဉ်မြင်မိရဟတ် မိုးစုလတ်ဝယ်၊ ခရုပတ်လိန့်၊  
ရစ်၍အိန္ဒသား၊ ပက္ခဒိန္နလက်၊ တနှစ်ရက်၌၊ ဟူ၍  
၎င်း။

ဆီးကိုင်းစာ။

ဆီးဘန်နီဆရာ  
တော်။

ဇေယျကျော်သူ။

ဇေယျကျော်စွာ။

ဇေယျပုံချီ။

ဇေယျရန္တမိတ်ကြီး။

လောကဝိဒူ ၈ ပုဒ်မြောက်၊ တေ ဇောသံ  
ဝနုချီတွင် တေဇောသံဝင်။ မိုးထွဋ် ရိုက်အိန္ဒ၊  
တိုက်တသိ ထက်၊ ကျော်ထိန်ထွန်းထိန်၊ နေသူ  
ရိန်လျှင်ဟူ၍၎င်း။

စာတော်ရတု။ ။မိုးနတ်ဒေ ဝိန့်သံကြီး  
ဟိန်က၊ နာဂိန္ဒဥက္ခောင်း မြောက်သို့စောင်း၏  
ဟူ၍၎င်း။

စွယ်တော် ရှောင်ရတု။ ပြည် မဟာသိချိန်  
တွင်။ တောင်ဝှမ်းမြင့်နိန့်၊ စန်းစိန်စိန်လည်း၊ သိန့်  
သိန့်ညှင်းချေ၊ ကွန်ကွန်ဝေလျက်ဟူ၍၎င်း စပ်ဆို  
ကြောင်း။

၎င်း စိန္တ ကျော်သူခံ ရေးသောစာ စာရင်း  
များ။ ဩဝါဒထူးပျို ကဝိလက္ခဏာသတ်ပုံ၊ မင်း  
ဆက်လက်၊ ကဝိလမော်ကွန်း၊ စည့်ကူးမင်းနား  
တော်သွင်း။ ပင်းတလဲမင်းသားဧချင်း၊ ရတနာ  
သိင်္ဃမိတ္တ၊ ကန်တော်ဘွဲ့ပြဿာဗိသိချက်တော်ဘွဲ့။  
အိမ်တော်သိမ်းဘွဲ့။ အမြင့်မင်း လက်ထပ် ရတု။  
အိမ်ရွှေမိဖုရားဧချင်း။ ဘုန်းပဒေသာချီလူးတား။  
နမကာရန်သူညှင်း။ တောလားရတုပုဒ်စုံ။

ကျည်တောင် ရွာသား၊ နတ်ရှင်မယ်တော်  
ဧချင်း။ ဇမ္ဗူဒီပါ သောင်း ချာ အောင် မြေချီ  
သက္ကရာဇ်၊ ၇၀၀၊ ကသည်၊ ၁၀၀၀ ပြည့်ထိ  
ဖြစ်သည်။

ရဟန်းမည်ဦးနရိန္ဒ၊ ငယ်မည်ဦးမှော်။ အမရ  
ပူရပဌမမြို့နန်းတည်ဘိုးတော်ဘုရားဦးဝိုင်းလက်  
ထက်သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၇၃ ခု၊ ပြာသိုလဆုတ် ၁  
ရက် စနေနေ့ အတိုင်ပင်တော်ခံ (မဟာရာဇ  
သဏ္ဌိ) ဟူသောအဘအမိတွင်အနောက်ဘက်  
မင်းကွန်းရွာတွင် ဘွားရာဇာတိ မင်းတုံးမင်းသီ  
ဘောမင်း လက်ထက် တံဆိပ်ရ ဆရာတော်၊  
၁၂၅၀ ပြည့်ကဆုန်လဆုတ် ၁ ရက် ဗုဒ္ဓဟူးနေ့  
သက်တော် ၇၀ ဝါတော် ၅၀ တွင်ပြန်လွန်  
တော် မူလေ သတည်း။ ကဝိ မဏ္ဍန အေဒနီ။  
အောင်ခြင်း ၈ ပါးပျိုသစ်၊ အရည်ကောဝါဒ  
လင်္ကာ။ စတောဝါဒလင်္ကာ ၃ ပါး။ သကော  
ဝါဒလင်္ကာများရေးသည်။

ဘွဲ့ခံမောင်တို့။ အိမ်ရွှေရွှေတိုက်စိုးမိုး တော်  
ယူဧချင်းရေး။

မိုးတားမြို့စား။

လုံတော်စကြာ မော်ကွန်း ရေးသည် ၂၁၃  
(ကန်တော်မင်းကျောင်းသူကြီး)

တောင်ခွင်မြို့စား ၁၀၉၁ခု နှစ်လောက်က။



ဇေယျရန္တမိတ်။ သုံးတောင် လှော်ကားမျှသား တောင်ငူရွာ  
 တွင်သက္ကရာဇ် ၉၄၀ တွင်ဘွား၏။တောင်ငူမြို့  
 နန်းတည် မင်းအမတ်ဖြစ်၍ ကောင်စစ်ဒိုင်းအစု  
 ကိုမှူးရသည်။ ။ကဗျာသင်္ဂဟမေဒနီ။ ၆။

ဟံသာဝတီဝိပဿနာအနောက်တွင်စံနေတော်  
 မူကြိုက်။ နတ်ရွာ စံသည်ကိုအစွဲပြု၍ အနောက်  
 ဘက်လွန် မင်းတရားကြီးလက်ထက်။ တောင်ငူ  
 ကိုအလိုတော်ပြည့်ရာ၊ တောင်ငူမြို့ပါကျွန်းတော်  
 မျိုးကော င်စစ်လေ့မျှဇေယျရန္တမိတ်၊ ဟူ၍ဝေါ်  
 ဟာရလိနတ္ထဒီပနီ ၅၃ တွင်တွေ့သည်။မင်းရဲန  
 ရာ တောင်ငူ ရွှေနန်းတည် မင်းသား နတ်ရှင်  
 နောင်လည်းခေါ်၏။ အောင်ပန်းညွန့် လွန်ချီ  
 ချင်းသက္ကရာဇ် ၇၀၀ က ၁၀၀၀ ပြည့်အထိ  
 ဖြစ်သည်။အနောက်ဘက်လွန်မင်းဘုန်းဘွဲ့ရတူ။  
 ဘုရားတိုင်အဝမြို့ဘွဲ့မှစ၍ ရတု ၁၄ စုံ ယခုထင်  
 လျားရှိ၏ (ကဗျာ ၆။)

ဇေယျရန္တမိတ်ကျော် စလွယ်တော်ဆင်မော်ကွန်း။ လောကချမ်း  
 သူ။ သာဘုရားဒါယကာမင်းတရားခေတ်ရေးသည်။  
 ဇင်းမယ်ဘုရင်နော်။ ကဗျာဗန္ဓ ၁၇၂။ ရတုအမျိုးမျိုး။  
 ထာစော။

ဇင်းမယ်ဘုရင်ထွေး။	၎င်း	၎င်း။
ဇင်းမယ်မိဖုရား။	၎င်း	၎င်း။
ဇင်းမယ်အင်္ဂါရ။		
တရားသူကြီးမောင်စ။	အတွင်းဝန်အသည်ဝန်။	
တံဆိပ်စာရေး	သမ္ဘူလမျိုးရေးသည်။	
မောင်တူ။		
တံဆိပ်ဝန်မင်းလှ	နံပါတ် နှင့်တူ	
ရာဇကျော်ထင်။		
တန်ဆောင်းမိဖုရား။		

တွင်းသင်တိုက်ဝန်။ မဟာ သင်္ခယာ မဟာ စည်သူ ၂ ဘွဲ့ခံ  
 ၁၁၄၃ခုနှစ်။ တွင်းသင်းမင်းကြီးမဟာသင်္ခယာ၊  
 မဟာစည်သူဘွဲ့၊ငယ်မည်မောင်ထွန်းညို၊ (သာ  
 သနာဝံသ၊ ၁၄၉) တွင်းသင်ဝန် ဦးညိုကား  
 တော်တည့် မှန်ကန်လှသူ၊ အကျိုးမရှိ အမှုမဲ့စ  
 ကားတခွန်းမျှမပြောမဆိုသူ။လူသမ္မာဟူ၍ ထင်  
 လျား၏။ ၁၁၄၂-၄၃ခုနှစ် စည်သူမင်းနှင့် ဘိုး  
 တော်တို့လက်ထက်တည်း။ ဟံသာဝတီရောက်  
 မင်း လက် ထက်၊ ရ ဟန်းမည် လင်္ကာသာရ  
 ကျောင်းနေ ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်ကလူထွက်၍၊ ဗေဒမင်းဘိုး  
 တော်ဘုရား ဦးဝိုင်းထံ ဆရာ အဖြစ် ထမ်းရွက်  
 ၍ ဆရာကြီး ဦးထွန်းညို တွင်သည်။ ဘိုးတော်  
 ဘုရား အထွဋ် အမြတ်သို့ ရောက်လျှင်၊ မဟာ  
 သင်္ခယာ ဘွဲ့နှင့် ကျိဝန်ခန့်သည်။ နောက်မဟာ

စည်သူဘွဲ့နှင့်တွင်းသင်းတိုက်ဝန်ခန့်သည်။ယင်း  
 တွင်းမှ တွင်းသင်း မင်းကြီးတွင်သည်။ နောက်  
 ပုခန်းမင်းကြီး မရှိလျှင် ပတ္တများဥရစ်စီ တောင်  
 ငွေးများရသည်။ မင်းကွန်းစံနန်းတော် တွင်လွန်  
 သည်။ ဇာတိမောင်းထောင် ရွာနေ စိန္တကျော်  
 သူခံ ဦးညို၏အမိ မောင်တည်း။ (ကဗျာသင်္ဂ  
 ဟမေဒနီ ၆)။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၈၈ ခုဘွားသည်။ ဇနကာပျို  
 ကို အသက် ၈၀ တွင်စပ်ဆိုကြောင်း။ ဇနကာပျို  
 နိဂုံး၍။ ။ထောင့်ရှစ်ဆယ်ရှစ်။ ဘွားသည်နှစ်မှ  
 အသစ် ပေါ်လာ၊ ထောင်ကသာ၍ တရာစွန်း  
 ပေါက် ခြောက်ဆယ် ရှစ်တည့်။ နှစ် ဝိသာခါ၊  
 သီတာ မြစ်တွင်း၊ ရေလုံးလင်းမျှ၊ သစ်ဆင်း သ  
 ဘင်ဟူ၍၎င်း။ ။မင်းလက်ဝဲသုန္ဒြထက် ၃ နှစ်  
 ငယ်၏။

ဝိဒူရပျိုကို စပ်ဆိုသောအခါ အသက် ၆၄  
 နှစ်ရှိကြောင်း၊ ဝိဒူရပျိုနိဂုံးတွင် တထောင်များ  
 ကျယ်၊ တရာကယ်သား။ ငါးဆယ်နှစ်ခွဲ၊ ရတု  
 ဟေမ၊မာဃတက်ရွှန်း၊လဆန်း ၈ ရက်၊ လက်  
 ကား မကန်း၊ စန်းကားမိန်ခွင် ထွန်းတင် လျှံ  
 ပတ်။ နက္ခတ်ရေဝတီ၊ တိတီဇေယာ။ အခါ  
 ကောင်းမြေ၊နေ့ဗုဒ္ဓဝယ်။

ဝေဿန္တရာပျိုကိုအသက် ၇၂ နှစ်တွင်စပ်  
 ဆိုကြောင်း၎င်းနိဂုံး၌ သဗ္ဗိသတ၊ သဟဿဟု၊  
 ထွန်းစသက္ကရာဇ်နှစ်ဘဒရာ၊ လကားတပေါင်း၊  
 ဆောင်းရာသီစွန်း၊ ဆန်းဆယ်နှစ်ရက်၊ လက်  
 ကား ကုန်ခွင်၊ ရောင်ထင်ပရွှန်း၊ စန်းကားမေ  
 ခန်းပြင်းဟုန်ဝါရော်၊ စာပျော်ချမ်းမြေ့၊နေ့ကား  
 သောကြာ။

၎င်းရေးသားသော စာစာရင်းများ။ ။ဝေ  
 သန္တရာပျို၊ငါးရံမင်းပျို၊မဟော်ကျေးစေခန်း။  
 မဟော်ဥမင်ခန်း။ မုဒုလက္ခဏာ။ ဇနကာ။ ဘလ္လာ  
 ဒိယပျို၊ဇေယဒိသ၊ဝရသေတဂီရိဆင်တော် မော်  
 ကွန်း။ အရေးတော်မော်ကွန်း။ မျိုးတော်စည်ဇ  
 ချင်း၊ဆင်ဖြူရှင်မယ်ခေတ်။ တွင်းသင်းလူးတား။  
 အောင်ပင်လယ်ကန်ဘွဲ့။ ဓါးက ၃၇ တက်ခြင်း  
 လူးဟား။ ရေသဘင် လူးတား။ အမရပူရမြို့ဘွဲ့  
 မော်ကွန်း။မင်းကွန်းဘွဲ့မော်ကွန်း။

တောင်ဘီလာဆရာ ဆီးတောဘုရင် ဆရာလွန်၍ စလင်းမြို့ အ  
 တော်။ သည်ကြီးတွင်ဝင်စား၍၊ သက္ကရာဇ်။ ၉၄၀ ကြာ  
 သပဒေနေ့တွင်ဘွား၏။ ၉၅၄ ခု ၁၅ နှစ်ရွယ်  
 တွင်ဝေဿန္တရာပျိုကို စပ်သည်။ ၉၅၆ ခု ပြည့်  
 ရန်နိုင်မှုကပဉ္စင်းခံသည်။ ၉၅၂ ခုနှစ် စစ်ကိုင်း

မြစ်နား လေးထပ်ကျောင်းကို၊ မင်းရဲကျော်စွာ  
ဆောက်လုပ်ရသည်။ ၉၇၃ ခု ထိုကျောင်းကို  
တင်လှူတော်မူသည်။ တိပိဋကလင်္ကာရတံဆိပ်  
နာမံလည်း သာလွန်မင်းတရားပေးအပ်တော်မူ  
သည်။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၀၀ ပြည့်တပေါင်းလပြည့်  
နေ့သက်တော် ၆၀ ပြည့် တောင်ဘီလာတော  
သို့ ဝင်တော်မူသည်။ ၁၀၀၂ ခု အသက် ၇၅  
နှစ်တွင်ပျန်လွန်တော်မူသည်။

သာသနာဝံသ ၁၂၅ (ဝေဿန္တရာ ပျို့  
ဟောင်း) ရေးသည်။

တောင်ဆင်းဘုန်း      နတ်မောက်မြို့      'ဗိဇ္ဇရပျိုရေးသည်။  
တော်ကြီး။

တောင်တွင်းဆရာ ညာဏာလင်္ကာရ သဒ္ဓမ္မသေနာပတိမဟာ  
 တော်။ ရာဇဓမ္မ ရာဇာဓိရာဇာဂုရုသည်။ တောင်တွင်း  
 (ငယ်မည်ဦးဖျော်) ကြီးမြို့မြောက်ပုတီးကုန်းရွာ၌သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၀၆  
 ခု ကဆုန်လပြည့် အင်္ဂါနေ့ နံနက်နေ့ထွက် ဦး  
 ဘိုးပြေ မယ်ကြာတို့တွင် ဘွားမြင်သည်။ ငယ်  
 မည်။မောင်ဖျော် (ခင်ကြီးဖျော်အထုပ္ပတ္တိ ၄)  
 သက်တော် ၃၀ ရဟန်းသိက္ခာဝါ ၁၈ရတနာ  
 သိင်္ဃံအလောင်းမင်း တရားကြီး၏ သားတော်  
 အိမ်ရှေ့မင်းကြီးအဖြစ်ကကီးကွယ်တော်မူသည်  
 (ရှင်မဟာ သီလဝံသ ရှင်ဥက္ကမကျော် ဟိုနှင့်  
 ကားနှစ်ပေါင်း ၂၇၁ကွာ၏။ ထိုအရှင်များ မွေ  
 ဘွား သက္ကရာဇ်မှာကား၊ ၈၁၅။ ခင်ကြီးဖျော်  
 မွေးဘွား သည်မှာ၊ ၁၀၀၆ ခုနှစ်ဖြစ်သော  
 ကြောင့်တည်း။ ပါရမီခန်းအဖြေ။ ။

မင်းလက်ဝဲနော်ရထာအမေးပြု၍ပြေဆိုအပ်  
သော၊ ၁၁၂၅ ခု၊ ဝါခေါင်လဆုတ် ၈ ရက်၊ တ  
နင်္လာနေ့ ကျမ်းပြီး။ ပုစ္ဆာ ဝိသဇ္ဇာဏီကျမ်းများ  
ရေးသည်။

နဝဒေးကြီး (ပဌမ) ၁။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၈၀၄ ခုနှစ်တွင်နန်းတက်  
သော ပဌမအဝမြို့မင်းဆက် ၁၀။ တူပါရုံစေတီဒါယကာ၊ နရပတိ၏  
သားတော်အလတ်မင်းကြီးစွာဘွဲ့ခံ၊ ပြည်မြို့မင်းဆက် ၁၄။ ဆင်များ  
ရှင်သည်။ ။ သီရိခေတ္တရာ ပြည်မြို့တွင်၊ သက္ကရာဇ် ၈၀၇ ခုနှစ်တွင်  
မင်းပြုသည်။

မှတ်ရန်။ ။ ၎င်းပြည်မြို့ဝယ်၊ သီဟသူက စ၍မင်းရဲကျော်  
ခေါင်တိုင် မင်းဆက် ပေါင်း ၂၃။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၆၀၄ ခုနှစ်က ၉၇၀  
အထိဖြစ်သည်။ ၎င်းမင်းဆက်များ၏ သား တော် မင်းရဲသိင်္ခသူဟူ၍  
ရှိသည်။ ၎င်းသိင်္ခသူတွင်သားတော်မင်းဘစောဟူ၍ရှိသည်။ ထိုမင်း  
ဘစော၏ အထိန်းတော်သားကား ပဌမနဝဒေးကြီးဖြစ်သည်။ ။  
ကဗျာသင်္ဂဟမေဒနီ ၄ ခုပြည့်မင်းဘုရင်ထွေး လက်ထက် သွီးတော်  
နရပတိမယ်၏ အထိန်းတော်သားဟု ပြသည်။ ။ မင်းဘစော၏အ

ထိန်းတော်သားဖြစ်ကြောင်းဝေါဟာရ လိနတ္ထဒီပနီ ၃၀၄ ဆရာ၏ စကားကိုအမှန်ထားအပ်၏။

၂။ ၎င်းမင်းဘစောကား။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၈၉၄ ခုနှစ် ပြည်မြို့ကို မင်းပြုသော မင်းဆက် ၁၇ ဘုရင်နရပတိ၏နှမတော်။ နရပတိမယ် ၏မြောက်သားတော်ယောက်ဖမင်းတည်း။

၂။ ယောက်ဖတော်မင်းဘစောကိုပွတ်လယ်ရွာ၌ပြည်ဘုရင် နရပတိကွပ်မျက်၍ ၎င်းနှစ်မတော်ကို။စလင်း စည်သူ ကျော်ထင်ကို ပေးလှူ၍နှစ်မတော်နှင့် အတူနဝဒေးစလင်းမြို့သို့လိုက်၍ နေသည်။ထို စည်စလင်းလက်ျာတွင်သည်။

၄။ ထိုနောက်စလင်းမြို့ပျက်၍ စစ်ကိုင်း စည်သူ ကျော်ထင်သည်။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၉၀၇ ခုနှစ်ကစ၍။ နှစ်မင်းပြုသည်။ စစ်ကိုင်းသို့ နဝဒေးကြီးလိုက်၍နေသဖြင့်တောင်သင်းကိုမျှူးရလေသည်။ ထိုတွင်မှ စစ်ကိုင်းတောင်သင်းမှူးတင်ပြန်သည်။

၅။ ထိုနောက်သက္ကရာဇ် ၉၁၃ ခုနှစ်တွင် စည်သူကျော်ထင်သည်စစ်ကိုင်းမှအဝဋ္ဋိန်းနန်းကိုနရပတိစည်သူအမည်ခံနှင့်မင်းပြုတော်မူသည်။ နဝဒေးကြီးလည်း လိုက်ပါသည်။ ။နရပတိခံစလင်းစည်သူကျော်ထင်သည်အသက်တော်။ ၅၁ မှာ စစ်ကိုင်းတည်၍ ၆ နှစ်နေပြီးမှူးသက်တော် ၅၇ တွင်။ အဝရှေ့နန်းတက်တော်မူသည်။

နန်းစံ ၃ နှစ်မြောက်သက်တော် ၆၀ မှာနန်းကကျသည်။ ။  
နန်းကြသည်မှာ။

၆။ ဟံသာဝတီဆင်ဖြူများရှင်သည်။ ၉၁၆ ခု တန့်တုံလဆုပ် ၁၂ ရက်၊ အင်္ဂါနေ့လုပ်ကြံ၍အင်မြို့ပျက်ခဲ့လျှင်။ နရပတိစည်သူကျော် ထင်လည်းခြွေခံသင်းပင်းစုံရာနှင့် အနန်းဘောင်က စစ်ကူလာသော ဓော်ပွါးတို့တပ် (ဆင်ခေါင်းမှ) ရှိရာသို့ပေါင်းမည်ဟု သွားတော်မူ စဉ်။ ဟံသာဝတီဆင်ဖြူများရှင်မင်းတရားကြီးအပင်းအသင်းတွေ့လျှင် ဘမ်းယူဆက်သလေ၏။ မင်းတရားကြီးလည်းသနားတော်မူ၍ ကျေး ကျွန်အပေါင်းနှင့်တကွ ဟံသာဝတီသို့ဆောင်သွား၏။

ဝေါဟာရလိနတ္ထဒီပနီ ၃၀၅ ကအဝဋ္ဌိပျက်လျှင် မင်းဆက် ၂၀ ပြည့် ဘုရင်သတိုးဓမ္မရာဇာက နဝဒေးကြီး ကိုလျှောက်တောင်း ယူလေသည်။ ပြည်သူ ရောက်လျှင် နဝဒေး အမည် ရသည်။ ထိုအ ကြောင်းရည်၍ စစ်ကိုင်းတောင်သင်း၊ စလင်းလက်ယာ၊ ပြည်မှာနဝ ဒေးဟူ၍ ဆိုစကန်သည်ဟုပြု၏။

၇။ ၎င်းနဝဇ္ဇေကြီးသည်။ ဟံသာဝတီပဲခူးဆင်ဖြူများရှင် အထံတော်၌လည်း စာဆိုအမှုတော်ကိုထမ်းရွက်နေကြောင်းလည်း သိသာရသည်။ ။အကြောင်းသော်ကား၊ မှန်နန်းရာဇဝင် ဒုတိယစာအုပ် မျက်နှာ ၄၅၄ ၌။ ဟံသာဝတီဆင်ဖြူများရှင်လက်ထက်။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၉၂၀ ခု၊ နတ်တော်လဆန်း ငါးရက်၊ သောကြာနေ့။ တည်လုပ်သော ဟံသာဝတီမြို့ တံခါးနှစ်ဆယ် အမည်တို့သည်။ သိမှီသူ။ နဝဇ္ဇေစပ်ဆိုသည်စာနှင့်အညီတည်းဟူသိဆီ၏။

၈။ ဟံသာဝတီဆင်ဖြူများရှင် လက်ထက်၊ သက္ကရာဇ် ၉၄၁ ခုနှစ်၊ နဝဒေးကြီးစီရင်သည့် ဗောဓိရတနာချို၊ မနော်ဩ၊ ဟောင်းနီဂုံး တွင်။ ။ စစ်ကိုင်းတောင်သင်း၊ မယွင်းမှန်စွာ၊ လယ်ယာရွှေ့ဖူး မင်းများသခင်၊ ကြည်လင် နက်လေး၊ နဝဒေးဟု၊ ပေးတုံ မည်သာ၊

မတ်ကြီးရာလျှင်ဟူ၍ စပ်ဆိုသည် ထောက်၍။ ထိုနဝဒေးဘွဲ့ကား ဟံသာဝတီဆင်ဖြူများရှင် ပေးတော်မူကြောင်းကို သိသာသည်။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၉၂၀ ခုတာဝန်း ၃၄၀၀၅၅သောဟံသာဝတီမြို့ကြီးကိုတည်တော်မူပြီးနောက်၊ ရာဇဌာနီ အစရှိသော ဟံသာဝတီမြို့ဘွဲ့ရတို့ကို စပ်ဆိုရာတွင်ဆင်ဖြူများ ရှင်မင်းတရားကြီး အားရတော်မူ၍၊ နဝဒေးဘွဲ့သနားတော်မူကြောင်းကို ၁၀၈၅ ခု ဘွားပညာရှိအတွင်းဝန်မင်း လက်ဝဲနော်ရထာစီရင်သော နိဂုံးဖြေစာတမ်းတွင် ဆိုသည်ဟု ဝေါဟာရလိနတ္ထ ၃၀၄ ခြုံပြဆို၏။

၉။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၉၄၃ ခု နှစ်ဟံသာဝတီ ဆင်ဖြူများရှင်သားတော်ငါးဆူဒါယကာနန်းတက်သည့်နှစ်အင်းယားစား သောင်သွပ်စားတို့၊ ခြားနားပုန်ကန်သည်တွင်၊ ဇင်းမယ်ဘုရင်နော်ရထာမင်းစောနှင့်ပြည်ဘုရင် သတိုးဓမ္မရာဇာတို့ချီတက် လုပ်ကြံကြရာ၊ အဆိုတော် နဝဒေးကြီးလိုက်ပါ၍၊ ကြားသည်ပလျင်၊ တွေးဆရောက်မည်။ တဆံခြည်မျှမှတ်တည်ဝမ်းက။ အိပ်မက်မျှလျှင်၊ စနတည်၍။ မအောက်မေ့တည်။ ပျော်မွေ့နေရာ၊ ဖြတ်ချည်းသာလျှင်၊ ပွင့်လျာထွင်ထား။ ထိုဘုရားသည်။ ကြွသွားမနေ့၊ လျှင်ဆောရေးကြောင့်။ ကလေးကင်းထီး၊ အင်းယားခရူတောင်၊ ရန်မှောင်ပယ်ဖျောက်။ တိမ်ညှင်းရောက်သော်၊ နိုင်မြှောက်စက်ဝေ။ အထွေထွေကိုဆင်ခြေစရာ၊ မနီးပါခဲ့။ ဝေးစွာဖော်၍၊ မြိုင်တောထဲက။ ဝမ်းကွဲဆင့်လောင်း၊ နွေသစ်ပြောင်းသည်။ ။ တပေါင်းပြည့်လွှာပါဘိအံ့။ ။ ဟူ၍စပ်ဆိုလေသည်။

၁၀။ ဟံသာဝတီဆင်ဖြူများရှင်လက်ထက် ဇင်းမယ်မှ။ အိုမစွမ်းမှနဝဒေးဘွဲ့ကို ခံသည်။ အသက် ၁၀ ကျော်က၊ ရတုစာများကို ဆိုသည်ဟု ကဗျာသင်္ဂဟမေဒနီမျက်နှာ ၄ ခြုံပြ၏။

၁၁။ အချို့ဆရာတို့ကား စစ်ကိုင်းမင်းစည်သူကျော်ထင်လက်ထက်၊ စာဆိုမှုကြောင့် ရာဇဝတ်သင့်သည်နောက်တောင်သင်း မင်းစာမဆိုပြီလော မေးကြသည်တွင်၊ နဝဒေး “နဝဒေး” မဆိုပြီမဆိုပြီပြန်ပြောသောစကားကို အစွဲပြု၍ နဝဒေးခေါ်တွင် ဟန်ပြောဆိုကြ၏။ ယုတ္တိမတန်ဆင်ခြင်ကုန်။

၁၂။ ၎င်းနဝဒေးကြီးသည် ကေတုမတီ တောင်ငူ ဘုရင်မင်းများထံတော်၌ စာဆိုအမည်ဖြင့် အမှုတော်ထမ်းရွက်ကြောင်း ကိုလည်းသိသာရသည်။ စစ်ကိုင်းတောင်သင်း၊ စလင်းလက်ယာ။ ပြည်မှာနဝဒေး။ အခေါ်ခံသော တောင်ငူနဝဒေးကြီးဆို မနော်ဟရီပျိုဟူ၍၊ ပေါ်ရာဏဒီပဏီစာမျက်နှာ ၂၉၃ ခြုံတွေသည်။ တရပ်လည်းပိဋကတ် ၃ ပုံစာတမ်းပုဒ်ရေ ၁၁၁၈ တွင်ရာဇဗျူဟာပျိုကို၊ တောင်ငူနဝဒေးကြီးဆိုဟုတော်ပြသည်။

၁၃။ နဝဒေးကြီး၊ စပ်ဆိုရေးသားစီရင်သောစာ စာရင်းကား ရတုပေါင်း ၇ အင်္ဂါကျော် ပုဒ်ရေ ၄၀၀ ခန့်။

- မနော်ပျို၊ ဟောင်း
- မနော်ဟရီပျို
- ရာဇဗျူဟာပျို

မင်း တရား မယ် တော် ၏ အစ်မသို့ ဟံသာဝတီ ဆင်ဖြူများရှင်၏ သားတော်အလတ်ဇင်းမယ်နော်ရထာစောတို့ မောင် ၈ နှစ် ၈ ရ ၁ ဟု သိီးဘုရင် နှစ် မတော်ယိုးဒယား မိဖုရား ၂၆-၇-၂၀။

ဇေလင်း။  
ဘုရင်နှစ်မတော်ဇေလင်းလည်းဟူ၏။

တောင်သင်းမှူး နဝဒေးကြီးကြည့်။  
ရွေးလှဟံသာဝတီ ဆင်ဖြူများရှင် ကိုလုပ်တော်။

နေမျိုးကျော်ထင်။ မြင်းခင်းစား။  
နေမျိုးဇေယျာစည်သူ။ မိုးတားမြို့စားသား။  
နေမျိုးဇေယျာ။ အဆိုတော် ရတု အမျိုးမျိုးများ ရေးသားရန္တမိတ်။ သည်။

နေမျိုးနန္ဒမိတ်။ အတွင်းဝန်တောက် ငယ်မည် မောင်ဖူးကလေး။ မယ် တော် မာ ယာ ပျို။ ဥဗ္ဗာဒန္တိပျို၊ ဟောင်းရေးသားသည်။

နေမျိုးသီရိသင်္ခသူ။ ကျော်စည်တိုက်ဝန်။  
နေမျိုးသီဟသူ။ အမရပူရမြို့ နန်းတည်ဘိုးတော် မင်းတရားလက်ထက်အတွင်းဝန်၊ ရာဇဝသတီပျို၊ များရေးသားသည်။

နေမျိုးသင်္ခယာ။ ကျီစိုး၊ ရတုအမျိုးမျိုးရေးသားသည်။  
နတ်မောက်တောင် ဝိဇ္ဇာရပျို ရေး။

ဆင်းဘုန်းတော်ကြီး။  
နဝဒေးငယ်။  
နဝဒေးဒုတိယ။

စစ်ကိုင်းမြို့ဆားတောင်မ ၅ ရွာအဝင်။ ရွာဝေးသူကြီး ရိုးငယ်မည်။ မောင်နု သူကြီးဘွဲ့။ “မလနန္ဒသူ”။ ။ အမရပူရမြို့နန်းတည်။ ဘိုးတော် ဘုရား ဦးပိုင်း လက်ထက်။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၅၈ ခုနှစ်။ မိတ္ထီလာကန်တော်သို့ထွက်တော်မူရာ၊ ရှုလော့စည်ရှည်။ အစရှိ၊ မိတ္ထီလာကန်ဘွဲ့မော်ကွန်း၊ စာ တအင်္ဂါခန့်ကိုဆက်သည်တွင်၊ ချီးမွမ်းခြင်းခံရသည်။

ထိုနောက်သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၆၀ပြည့်နှစ်၊ ပုခန်းမင်းနှင့်ဇေယျာမင်းသို့ လက်ထပ်ရတု၊ တက်ပြီးလျှင်၊ ချီပိုင်းခုံရတုကိုဆက်သည်။ ။ ထိုနောက်မင်္ဂလာရတုမော်ကွန်း၊ ကဗျာအများရေး၍၊ နဝဒေးဘွဲ့ကိုခံရသည်။ ။ ထိုနောက်သံတော်ဆင့်ကြီးခန့်သည်နှင့်၊ မင်းကွန်းစံနန်းတော်ဝှင်၊ တွင်းသင်းမင်းကြီး မရှိသည်နောက်၊ တွင်းသင်းတိုက်

ဝန်။ ဝက်မစွတ်မြို့စား။ တော်နေရာ။ မဟာသင်္ခယာစည်သူ။ မဟာသီရိစည်သူဘွဲ့ခံသည်။

ထိုနောက်။ သက်ရွယ်အိုမင်း၍။ ကျောက်စိတောဝ်းဝေး သနားတော်မူ၏။ မင်းကြီးဥက္ကမသီရိဘွဲ့ကိုသနားတော်မူသည်။ ။ တံခါးနီတော်အထိ။ ပေါင်းစီး၍ဝင်ရသည်။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၂၀၂ ခု ပြာသိုလဆုတ် ၂ ရက်နေ့ကွယ်လွန်သည်။

စိကုန်းရေးသားသည့်စာစာရင်းကား။

မိတ္ထိလာကန် မော်ကွန်း။ ဝိလာသနီမော်ကွန်း။ ဣသျှာကူမော်ကွန်း။ ဗာဝရီမော်ကွန်း။ အာသံနိုင် ရခိုင်နိုင် ထားဝယ်နိုင်မော်ကွန်း။ လောကဝိဇ္ဇာမော်ကွန်း။ သာမုဗြိကမော်ကွန်း။ စန္ဒာမုနိမော်ကွန်း။ အမရပူရမြို့ဘွဲ့မော်ကွန်း။ ရတင်းမော်ကွန်း။ တရုတ်သံရောက်မော်ကွန်း။ ရတုအမျိုးမျိုး။

နဝဒေးကြီး။

သီရိခေတ္တရာပြည်မြို့တွင် သက္ကရာဇ် ၇၀၇ ခုနှစ်တွင်။ မင်းကြီးစွာဘွဲ့ခံ ဆင်များရှင် မင်းပြုသည်။ ၎င်းဆင်များရှင်သာ တော်။ မင်းရဲသိင်္ဃံသူဟူ၍ ရှိသည်။ ၎င်းသိင်္ဃံသူတွင် သားတော် မင်းဘစော ဟူ၍သတတ်။ ထိုမင်းဘစော၏ အထိန်းတော်သားကား။ နဝဒေးကြီးဖြစ်သည်။ ။ မင်းဘစောသည်ကား။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၈၉၄ ခုနှစ်ပြည်မြို့ကို မင်းပြုသည်။ (မင်းဆက် ၁၇) ဘုရင်ခံနရပတိ၏နမတော်နရပတိမယ်၏။ မြောက်သားတော်။ ယောက်ဖပင်တည်း။

၎င်း ယောက်ဖတော်။ မင်းဘစောကို ပွတ်လယ်ရွာ၌ ပြည်ဘုရင်နရပတိက။ ကွပ်မျက်ပြီးလျှင်။ ၎င်းနမတော်ကို။ စလင်းစည်သူကျော်ထင်အားပေးလျှင်။ မြို့နမတော်နှင့်အတူ။ နဝဒေးကြီးသည်။ စလင်း လိုက်၍နေသည်။ ထိုစည်။ စလင်းလက်ယာတွင်သည်။

ထိုနောက် စလင်းပျက်၍။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၉၀၇ ခုနှစ်၌။ စစ်ကိုင်းမြို့၌ စည်သူကျော်ထင် မင်းပြုပြန်သည်။ နဝဒေးကြီးလိုက်ပါ၍။ ထောင်သင်းဗိုလ်မှူးရလေသည်။ ထိုတွင်မှ စစ်ကိုင်း ထောင်သင်းမှူးတွင်ပြန်၏။

ထိုနောက် စည်သူ ကျော်ထင်သည် သက္ကရာဇ် ၉၁၃ ခုနှစ်၌။ စစ်ကိုင်းမြို့မှ။ အဝမြို့နန်းကို။ နရပတိစည်သူ အမည်ခံနှင့်။ မင်းပြုတော်မူစည် နဝဒေးကြီးလည်းလိုက်ပါသည်။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၉၁၆ ခုနှစ် တွင် ဟံသာဝတီဆင်ဖြူရှင်လုပ်ကြံ၍။ အဝမြို့ပျက်ခဲ့လျှင်။ ပြည်မြို့ဘုရင် သတိုး ဓမ္မ ရာဇာက။ လျှောက်ထားတောင်းယူသဖြင့်ပြည်မြို့သို့ရောက်လျှင်။ နဝဒေး

အမည် ရသည်။ ထိုကြောင့် စစ်ကိုင်း တောင်သင်း။ စလင်းလက်ယာ၊ ပြည်မှာနဝဒေး၊ ဟူ၍ဆိုစကုန်သည်။

၎င်းစီရင်စပ်ဆိုသောစာများကား။

မနော်ပျိုဟောင်း။ ရာဇဗျူဟပျို့။ လိုးဒယားမင်းဘုရားချင်း။

ရတုပေါင်း ၇ အင်္ဂါကျော် ပုဒ်ရေ ၄၀၀ ခန့်။

နန္ဒကျော်သူ။

နန္ဒကျော်ထင်ကြီး။

မြတောစား မင်းဆက် လင်္ကာကို ရေးသည်။ သမန္တစက္ခု ဒီပနီ ပဌမတွဲ ချောင်းစာရင်း အဖြေကြည့်။

နန္ဒဇော။

ကျည်းကန်ကိုသျှင်ကြီး။ ရှင်မည် နန္ဒဇော၊ အလုံနယ် မှုရွေးရွာအနီး၊ ကျည်းကန်ရွာဘွား လူမည် ကိုနု၊ ကုန်း တောင် မင်း ၁၁ ဆက်၊ သိုးတော်ဗမိုမင်းလက်ထက်၊ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၆၉ ခု၊ ကဆုန်လပြည့်ကျော် ကျမ်းပြီးသက္ကရာဇ် ၁၆၂၆ ဌာနီ ၁၀ လွန်းတင်ဂါထာ ၁၃ ပုဒ် ရေးသား စီကုန်းသည်။ ၎င်းပြင် စွယ်စုံ ကျော်ထင် သတ်ပုံ ပုစ္ဆာ များကို လည်း ရေးသား စီရင် သည်။ စကားပုံအမျိုးမျိုး။ (ကဗျာသင်္ဂဟ ၁၀)။

နန္ဒသူ။

မြို့စားရေး၊ မင်းကွန်း စေတီတော်တည် မော်ကွန်း၊ မင်းကွန်းဘုရား မော်ကွန်းများ ရေးသားသည်။

နန္ဒသူရ။

နန္ဒသူရိယ။

နန္ဒမိတ်။

(ရွှေတောင်နန္ဒမိတ်ကြည့်။) ဘိုးတော် ဗရံမင်း။ အကြီးတော်၏သား ငယ်မည် မောင်သူ။ ၎င်းကို အကြီးတော်ပင် ခန့်သည်။ ။ ဇဝင်ကူးမင်း လက် ထက် တွင်။ သံ တော် ဆင့် လှော်ကား ၃၀၀၀ မှု အတွင်းဝန်ထောက် ၃ နေရာကိုခန့်သည်။ ။ ကဗျာသင်္ဂဟ ၁၁။

နန္ဒမိတ်ကျော်သူ။

နတ်ရှင်နောင်။

ရတုအမျိုးမျိုးရေးသားသည်။

တောင် ငူ မင်း၊ သက္က ရာဇ် ၈၇၇ ခု၊ တန်ဆောင်မုန်းလဆန်း ၁၅ ရက်၊ အင်္ဂါနေ့၊ နက္ခတ် ၂၆ လုံးတွင်၊ ဇေယဝနနတ်ဦး၊ တောင်ငူ ကေတုမတီ မြို့ကို၊ မဟာသီရိဇေယျသူရ အမည် ခံသော။ မင်းကြီးညို တည်ထောင်ပြုစု၊ ထီးနန်းစံနေသည်ကစ၍၊ သားတော်တပင်ရွှေထီး။ ၃ အထိန်းတော် မင်းရဲသိင်္ဃံသူ။ ၄ ၎င်းသားတော် ဘုရင်နောင် ခံသော ဟံသာဝတီ ဆင်ဖြူရှင်။ ၅ ၎င်းညီတော်ကိုးသိန်းသခင် ဘုရင်မင်းခေါင်။ ၆ ၎င်းသားတော် ရွှေနန်းခေါင်မင်း။ ၇ ၎င်းသားတော် မဟာဓမ္မရာဇာ အမည်ခံသော တောင်ငူမင်း။ နတ်ရှင်နောင်တည်း။

၎င်းရေးသားသော စာများ။ ။သခင်ဘိုး  
ချင်း။ မင်းသက်ရှည်ချင်း။ ဝိမလရာဇချင်း။  
တောင်ငူမင်းဆိုစာပြိုင် ၂၀။ မိုးတောမိုးစိုင် အ  
လွတ်ဆို ၃၅။ ကျေးစေ ၁၂။ ဝိနည်းငှက်မေး  
ရတု ၃။ ရတုပေါင်း ၆၈။ (ဝေါလိနတ္ထ ၅၃)။  
သက္ကရာဇ် ၉၇၁ ခု။ ကေတုမတီ တောင်ငူပြည်  
တွင်။ နန်းတက်သော တောင်ငူဘုရင် မဟာဓမ္မ  
ရာဇာ တံဆိပ်နာမံတော်ရှိသော နတ်ရှင်နောင်  
ရေးသားစပ်ဆိုသည်ရတုဟုတွေ့ရသည်။

နန်းတွင်းမိညို } စစ်ကိုင်း အဝမ်း စည်သူကျော်ထင် လက်  
နန်းတွင်းမိပျို } ထက် ၉၁၀ ကျော်ကာ။  
ပဒေသရာဇာ။

အင်းဝ ညောင် ရမ်း ၁၀ ဆက်။ သက္ကရာဇ်  
၁၀၆၀ ပြည့် နန်း တက် သော ဘိုးတော် မာရ်  
အောင်ရတနာ ဘုရားဒါယကာ စနေမင်းလက်  
ထက် စုရေးစုကိုးကပင် ကဗျာလင်္ကာဆိုသည်။  
ဟံသာဝတီ ပါမင်းခမည်းတော်ဘဝဟုခန့်ခန့်  
တက်သော ခန္တမင်း လက်ထက်လည်း ကဗျာ  
လင်္ကာဆိုသည်။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၉၅ ခုနန်းတက်  
သော ဟံသာဝတီပါမင်းလက်ထက်။ မင်းရဲမင်း  
လှကျော်ထင် ဘွဲ့နှင့် အသည်ဝန်ကြီး ခန့်သည်။  
ဟံသာဝတီ ပါမင်းက ပျိုလင်္ကာ ရတု သီချင်းခံ  
စာဆိုများလှသဖြင့် စာဆိုကြီးဟုခေါ်၏။ ဘွဲ့မှာ  
၁ နတ်ရှင်နောင်ဘွဲ့။ ၂ ပဒေသရာဇာ။ ၃ ပဒေသ  
ရာဇာ။ ၄ မြို့တွင်းနတ်ရှင်ဘွဲ့များ သနားတော်မူ  
သည်။ ။ကဗျာ သင်္ဂဟ မေဒနီ ၅။ ၁၁၀၆ ခု၊  
ဝါဆိုလ၊ အသက် ၇၀ ကျော် စာဆိုပဒေသရာ  
ဇာ လည်း ဟံသာဝတီသို့ ရောက်မှ သံလျင် မြို့  
တွင်နာ၍ လွန်လေသည်။ ကုန်းဘောင်ဆက် မ  
ဟာရာဇဝင် ၁၀၃ ကြည့်။ မှန်နန်း စတုတ္ထထုပ်  
၁၁၇။

ကဗျာသင်္ဂဟ ၆) မင်းထိပ်ဦးနေ ချင်း။  
ထိပ်ဦးတင် ချင်း။ ထိပ်ပန်း ချင်း။ စကုမင်း ခ  
ချင်း။ စလင်းမင်းချင်း။ ၃၇ မင်းနတ်သံ။ မောင်  
ဆန် ပြန်တမ်း ချင်း။ ကျေးဇူးတော်ပျို။ ယိုးဒ  
ယားသံရောက်ပျို။ ကုမ္ဘာယပျို။ ဒန္တာသီရိပျို။ နု  
နု ပျို။ ကြာနက် ကေသာ။ မဟာ ပတိ။ နမော  
လင်္ကာ။ သူဇာ။ သမုဒ္ဒယောသ။ တောထွက်  
ခန်း (ဝိဇ္ဇကတ် ၁၀၀၀မနော်ပျိုသစ်) ဆန္ဒပြန်  
ပျို။ မနိခက်ပျို။ မနိခက်ဇတ်ချင်း။ ဘုန်းတူးဝေ  
ဆာချီသီချင်းခံကြီး စာများကို ရေးသားသည်။

ပခန်းကြီးခွဲနေ။ အမည်မသိဘုန်းကြီး။  
ပခန်းမင်းသား။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၀၃ ခုတွင်၊ နန်းတက်သော၊  
ဘိုးတော်ဘုရားသည် ယင်းတိုက်ရှာ လှိုင်းတက်

အမြင့်နှင့် ကာမမြို့စား ဘကြီးတော်၏ နို့ထိမ်း  
ရှင်ဝက်ကို၊ မြောက် ရွှေရေးဆောင် မိဖုရားကြီး  
မြောက် ရာမှ၊ ၁၁၄၅ ခု ဘွား သည်။ ငယ်မည်  
မောင်ဘကြီးဖြစ်သည်။ ၁၁၅၀ပြည့်၊ မြန်အောင်  
မြို့စားငယ်။ ၁၁၅၁ ခု၊ သတိုးမင်းရဲကျော်ခေါင်  
ဘွဲ့နောက် မဟာဓမ္မရာဇာဘွဲ့ကိုရသည်။

၁၁၅၅ ခုတွင်၊ မြန်အောင်မြို့နှင့်လဲ၍၊ ပုခန်း  
မြို့စား ရသည်။ ဘိုးတော်ဘုရားတွင် သားတော်  
ပေါင်း ၆၂ ပါးအနက်၊ ဘိုးတော်အထွဋ်အမြတ်  
သို့ ရောက်ဦး၍ ဘွား မြင် တော် မူ သော သား  
တော် အကြီးဆုံး ဖြစ်၍ အလွန်လည်း ချစ်မြတ်  
နိုးတော် မူ၏။ တရဲရော အခါ ဘိုးတော်သည်  
သားတော် ပုခန်း မင်းသားကို မျက်တော် မူ၍၊  
မြစ်ညာသစ်တောသို့ပို့ရာ၊ အောင်မြေ သာစံချီ  
ပတ်ပျိုးကိုရေး၍ ဆက်သ လိုက်ရာ၊ ဘိုးတော်  
ဘုရား အလွန် သနား တော်မူ သဖြင့်၊ အညာ  
သစ်တောမှ ပြန်၍ ခေါ်တော် မူ၏။ ၁၁၇၂ ခု၊  
အသက် ၂၇ နှစ်တွင်၊ ပုခန်းမင်းသားကွယ်လွန်  
တော်မူသည်။ မဟာဂီတသစ်။

ပဲခူးမိဖုရား။ အရေးတော်မော်ကွန်းရေးသားသည်။  
ပဲခူးမြို့မိဘုရား၊ နာခံတော်ရတုအမျိုးမျိုးရေးသားသည်။  
ပျံချီရွှေတောင်။ စက်ိုင်း ဥက္ကမရာဇ်မင်းသမီး သခင်ကြီးချင်း  
ပျော့ကြီးမှု။ ရေးသားသည်။  
ပယ်သူငယ်စားရှင် မြတ်ခေါင်။  
ပြည်မိဖုရား။  
ပြည်မင်းသံတော် ဆင့် မောင်ရည်။  
ပြည်မြို့ဝံ တောင် လည်ဘုန်း  
တော်ကြီးသဒ္ဓမ္မ ဇောတ။

ပြည်ချန်နိုင်မှု။ ဘိုးတော်ဘုရားလက်ထက်။  
ပြည်သတိုးမဟာ ငယ်မည်တော် မောင်ဘေပု။ ၁၁၉၉ ခု နန်း  
သီဟသူရဓမ္မ တက်တော်မူသော ရှေ့ဘိုဘုရင်၏ အလယ်နန်း  
ရာဇာခေါ် မိဖုရား။ ငယ်မည်မရွှေဦး၊ ဘွဲ့သီရိမဟာ စန္ဒာဘိ  
ပြည်မင်း။ ရတနာဒေဝီက။ ၁၁၇၁ ခုနှစ်တွင်ဘွားမြင်သည်။  
၁၂၀၇ ခု၊ သက်တော် ၃၆ နှစ်တွင် ရာဇဝတ်  
သင့်၍ ရေမှာ ဖျောက်ခြင်း ကို ခံတော် မူ ရ ရှာ  
သည်။ မဟာဂီတသစ်။

ပြည်အငြိမ့်သင်း  
လှေမှု။  
ပုဏ္ဏားဝကျော်။



မလနန္ဒသူ။ နံပါတ်၊ ရွာဝေးသူကြီးရိုး ဦးနု အတူတူ နဝ  
အေးဘွဲ့ခံသည်။

ဘယကျော်သူ။ ရသော်ရောတမ်းခြင်းပျို့ရေးသားသည်။

ဘယရန္တမိတ်။ လက်ဝဲသုန္ဒြိကျည်း။

ဘိုးခေါင်မူး။ သီရိသုဓမ္မရာဇာ အမည်တော် ရှိသော ရာ  
ဇာမန် စူဠာ ကောင်းမှု တော် ကြီး ဒါယကာ။  
သက္ကရာဇ် ၉၉၂ ခုနှစ်နန်းတက်သော၊ ငယ်မည်  
မောင်ကြီး၊ ဘွဲ့ သာလွန်မင်းတရား ကျွန်တော်  
မျိုး ဘိုးခေါင်မူး (မောင်စိမ့် လေစာ စီ ကျော  
ဘက်။)

မကွေးတရားစာ။

မစောစာ။

မနော်ဒေဝတရား စစ်။ ဂုတ္တိလပျို့၊ နာရဒပျို့သစ်ရေး။

မဟာစည်သူ။ ဝန်ထောက် မိုးထားမင်းကြီးကဗျာဗန္ဓ ၁၇၃  
ရတုအမျိုးမျိုး ရေးသားသည်။

မဟာမင်းလှမင်း ခေါင်။ ပညာရှိ ဆီမီးခုံ ရွာ စား ပုဂံ ဝန်၊ ငယ်မည်  
မောင်ရွှန်း၊ ကဗျာ ဗန္ဓ ၁၇၃။ ဥဗ္ဗဒန္တပျို့။  
မဟောပြဿနာခန်းပျို့။ ဇနကပျို့သစ်များ ရေး  
သားသည်။

မဟာဇေယသင်္ခယာ။ ငယ်မည် ဦးချိန်၊ လှေသင်း အတွင်းဝန် ရတ  
နာပူရစက္ကမိနန်းတည်။ မင်းလက်ထက်သံတော်  
ဆင့်ကြီး။ ။မင်းတုံးမင်းလက်ထက် လှေသင်း  
အတွင်းဝန်မင်းအရာ ခန့်ထား သူကောင်းပြီခံရ  
သည်။ ကဝိလက္ခဏာပီပနီကျမ်းပြုမင်းကြီး သီရိမ  
ဟာဇေယသင်္ခယာဆရာတည်း။ ဝေါဟာရလိနတ္ထ  
ပကာသနီကျမ်းကို ပြုစီရင်ခဲ့သည်။

မဟာမင်းလှရာဇာ။ အတွင်းဝန်။

မဟာဓမ္မသင်္ကြံ။ မင်းတိုင်ပင်အမတ် ချည်ပါရွာစာ။

မဟာသီဟသူရ။ အတွင်းဝန်ကြီး လက်ဝဲသုန္ဒြိကျည်း။

မဟာသီရိဥတ္တမဇေ (၁) ရတနာပူရစက္ကမိနန်းတည်။ (၂) အ

ယသင်္ကြံ၊ မဟာ မရပူရ ပဌမနန်းတည်မင်းတရားကြီး။ (၃) အမ

သီရိစည်သူ ရပူရ ဒုတိယ နန်းတည်မင်းတို့ လက်ထက်၊ စစ်

လည်းဟူ။ ကိုင်းမြို့မြောက်လက်၊ ရွာဝေးသူကြီး၊ ဝက်မစွတ်

မြို့စား၊ ပိဋကတ် ၂၂၁ ဒုတိယနဝအေး ဖြစ်ဟန်ရှိ

သည်။

မဟာသီဟသူရ။ ငယ်မည် မောင်ရောက်ကြီး။ အမရပူရ ရွှေမြို့  
တော်ဝန် ထီးလင်းမင်းကြီး မြို့ဝန် မင်းကြီး။ ရန်  
ကုန်မင်းကြီး အမည် အမျိုးမျိုး တွင်သည်။ ၎င်း  
ဝန်ကြီး မဟာသီဟသူရသား၊ မြင်းဝန်မဟာသီ  
ဟသူရ ပင်လည်း ရတု အမျိုးမျိုး ဆိုသည်။ က  
ဗျာဗန္ဓ ၁၇၃။ ရာဇ၊ ဓမ္မ၊ လောက အကြောင်း  
၃ ပါးကို သိကြမ်း လိမ္မာသောကြောင့် ရတနာ  
ပူရ စတုတ္ထ မြို့တည် မင်းတရားကြီး လက်ထက်

မဟာစည်သူကျော် ငယ်မည် ဦးဂေါင်။ ဝန်ရှင်တော် ကင်းဝန်။  
သေနတ်ဝန် လယ်ကိုင်းမြို့စား၊ သတိုးမင်းကြီး။  
မင်းတုံးမင်းလက်ထက်။

မဟာသင်္ခယာစည် သူ။ မဟာသီရိ စည်သူ ဘွဲ့ခံ၊ ဆတောင်မ ၅ ရွာ  
ကျေး၊ ရွာဝေးရွာ ဘွား ဘိုးတော်တရား လက်  
ထက်။ ၁၁၄၄ ခုနှစ်၊ ငယ်မည်ဦးနု၊ ဒုတိယနဝ  
အေးကြည်း။

မိဖုရားရှင်မင်း။ မှာမြင်းစုဝန်ကြီးသို့ (သီရိစန္ဒာဒေဝီဘွဲ့ခံ)  
ရှင်ဖွားနှင့် အတွင်းဝန် နန္ဒကျော်ထင်ဘွဲ့ခံမောင်  
ထွန်းတို့သင့်မြတ်ရာ ရှင်မင်းကို ဘွားမြင်သည်။  
သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၃၈ ခုနှစ်တွင်၊ နန်းတက်တော်မူ  
သည့် စဉ်ကူးမင်းက ရှင်မင်းကို မဟာ ရတနာ  
စန္ဒာဒေဝီဘွဲ့နှင့် မိဖုရားခေါင်ကြီးဘွဲ့ခံရသည်။

ထိုနောက် သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၄၃ ခုနှစ်တွင်၊ စဉ်  
ကူးမင်း နန်းကျ၍ ဘိုးတော် ဦးဝိုင်း နန်းတက်  
တော်မူသော အခါ ၎င်းမိဖုရား ရှင်မင်းကို အ  
သည်ဝန်ကြီးကတော် ရှင်တလှိုင်းထံအပ်နှံထား  
သဖြင့် ဆင်းရဲ ကြီးစွာနှင့် ကံတော် ကုန်ရလေ  
သည်။

အနောက် နန်းမတော် ဟင်္သာတမြို့ အစီရင်  
မင်းပြန်ချီနှင့် မယ်အိတ်မှ၊ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၂၂ ခု  
နှစ်တွင် ဘွားမြင်သည်။ ၎င်းမြကလေးကို သာ  
ယာဝတီ ရွှေခိုလ်တုရင် မင်းမြတ်က သီရိမဟာ  
သုရတနာစန္ဒာဒေဝီဘွဲ့နှင့်၊ အနောက်နန်းတက်  
တော်မူသည်။ ။ထိုနောက် ပြည်မင်းနှင့် ကြုံရာ  
ပါဝင်သည်ဟု ဆင်တော်နှင့်နင်းသတ်စေ စီရင်  
ခြင်း ခံရသည်။ ထို အခါ သက် တော် ၃၆ နှစ်  
တည်း။ မသေမှီ ဘုရင်မင်းမြတ်ထံ သွင်းဆက်ခဲ့  
သော တေးထပ်ကား (အချိုး ၁၈ ပိုဒ်မကျ)  
လောကဓံ ဂ ပါ။ ဘုရားပဟောရာ၊ ဖြစ်ပျက်  
မြို့ဓမ္မတာ သေချာစွာ မှတ်စွဲ။ သတ္တဝါတို့ မည်  
သည်။ မတည်ကြည် တောက်ပြန်တတ်မူ။ ။  
ငါမင်းလို့ ပြုပြန်။ ခံရသူအသစ်ပ။ အဖြစ်ဖြစ် အ  
ပြန်ပြန်လွှဲသင့်လေတန်။ သင်္ခါရလမ်းမှန်ကို၊ ရွှေ  
ဉာဏ်တော်ရအိုးမှလေး။

မင်းရဲရာဇာ။ ငယ်မည် မောင်ဖျော်၊ ပုလိပ်ရွာစာ။ မောင်  
ဖျော်ကြည်း။

မင်းရည်နု။

မင်းလှရာဇကျော်ထင်။ (နံပါတ်တူ)တံဆိပ်ဝန်၊ ငယ်မည်၊ မောင်ရွှေခြည်။ ခမည်းတော်ဘုရား၊ မင်းတုံးမင်းလက်ထက်၊ ကလိဂ်မောမိပျို၊ အကိတ္တိဒေဝ ဓမ္မပျို။ စန္ဒကိန္နရီ၊ အဘိရူက မိမာန်ရတနာ ကျောင်းတော်မော်ကွန်း၊ မဟာဝေရန် ဘုံသာကျောင်းမော်ကွန်း၊ ရတုအမျိုးမျိုး ရေးသားသည်။

မင်းလှရွှေတောင်။  
မင်းသားသခံဒတ္တ။  
မယ်ခွေး။

ရွှေယင်းမာရွာစာ။  
ရတနာသိင်္ဃမိန္ဒ။ စစ်တောင်းဝန်သို့။ အမွေဝန်ဟောင်း။ မောင်စွက် မယား။ ကဗျာသင်္ဂဟ ၁၂။ ၁၂ ရာသီ အခွင်းနှစ်ထပ်၊ ၈၀ ပေါ်အံ၊ ဒလမြို့စား သေလွန်ရာဇ်ချင်း၊ ရှင်နှင်းပွင့်၊ ရှင်သဲတို့၊ သေလွန်ရာဇ်ချင်း၊ မောင်ကြီးသေလွန်ရာဇ်ချင်း၊ ကျေးစောဘုရားတိုင်ရတုအမျိုးမျိုးရေးသားသည်။

မပတ်တူး။  
မယ်ထွား။

ပင်းသာမြို့စာ။  
သုစိန္တသဘွဲ့ခံ၊ နန်းတွင်းသူသည်ကာ။ ရတနာပူရ တတိယမြို့နန်းတည် ဆင်ဖြူများရှင် လက်ထက်၊ စာဆိုတော်။

မြင်းခွါစာ။  
မောင်ကင်း။

မင်းရာဇာကြည်။  
ကျေးဇူးတော် မင်္ဂလာမော်ကွန်း၊ ဆင်ဖြူရှင်မယ်ခေလင်းများ ရေးသည်။

မောင်ညို။

အတွင်း ဝန်ထောက်၊ ရွှေဘုန်း ဆင်တော်အမာကွန်းရေးသူ။

မောင်စံတင်။  
မောင်တူ။  
မောင်တိုး။

ဗာရာဏသီမော်ကွန်းရေးသားသည်။  
တံဆိပ်စာရေး။  
အိမ်ရှေ့ ရွှေတိုက်စိုး၊ ဇေယကျော်သူ ဘွဲ့ခံ။

ရတနာ သိင်္ဃမိန္ဒ အနောက်၊ ခရီး တတိုင်ကွာ။ ဆီးတောရွာ။ ဇာတိ ၁၁၀၃ ခုတွား၊ ငယ်မည် မောင်တိုး(ခေါ်ဟာရလိနတ္ထ ၇၅-၁၀၇) ကဗျာသင်္ဂဟ မေဒနီ ၉၊ ဇာတိရင်း ဝိုင်နံသာရွာ ရဟန်းလူထွက်၊ ဆင်ဖြူရှင်လက်ထက်၊ စည်ကူးမင်းလက်ထက်၊ ရတု၊ ကဗျာ၊ သီချင်း၊ ဆောင်းပါးစာ အများရေးသည်။ ဆောင်းပါး မောင်တိုးဟုပင်တွင်သည်။ သဒ္ဒါပရမတ် ကျမ်းဂန်လည်း နှစ်စဉ်၏။ ရာမ ရကန် ပုဒ်ပေါင်း ၃၆ အင်္ဂါကိုလည်း အသွင် ၂ ပါး အမိန့်တော်ရှိ၍ ရေးသား၏။ ၎င်းကို ရေးသည့်တွင်မှ သံတော်ဆင်အရာ ရွှေတိုက်စိုးအရာ ခန့်တော် မှသည်။ မိတ္ထိလာမှ အပြန် ၁၁၅၈ ခုနှစ်၊ အသက် ၄၅ နှစ်တွင် အနိစ္စ ရောက်သည်။ ရေးသားသည်စာ စာရင်း၊ မြေးတော်စစ်ကိုင်းမင်း၊ ခေလင်း၊ မင်္ဂလာ မောင်ရွှေချီသည်။ ၁၁၄၆ ခုနှစ်၊ မယ်တော် အိမ်ရှေ့မိဘုရားက၊ ရခိုင်သို့ စစ်ချီတော် မူသော အိမ်

မောင်ထွန်းညို။

မောင်ထွား။

မောင်နဲ။

မောင်နိုး။

မောင်ပု။

မောင်ပိုး။

မောင်ပြည့်။

မောင်ဘူးကလေး။

မောင်ပိုက်။

မောင်ဖျော်။

မောင်မင်း။

မောင်မြတ်ဘွယ်။

မောင်ရာ။

မောင်ရာ။

ရွှေမင်းအား ပေးရန် ကျေးစောရာဇာ ပိုမိုစုံ ရာမရကန်၊ ယိုးဒယား စစ်ချီတွင် ကျေးစောရိုးတော်ယူ၊ ခေလင်းတိုက်ရေးသည်။

တွင်းသင်းတိုက်ဝန် မဟာစည်သူခံ၊ နံပါတ်ကြည့်။

စာဆိုပညာရှိ၊ ကဗျာဗန္ဓ ၁၇၃ ရတုအမျိုးမျိုးကိုရေးသားသည်။

ဆရာဝန်ကြီး၊ ဆင်ကြန်လက်ာ။ သုံးပါးလူဘောင် ဦးထိပ်ခေါင်ထက်၊ တထောင်နေဝန်း၊ ပြိုင်လျက်ထွန်းသူ၊ အစချီသည်။

ကုတီးကုတော် ခွါရကျော်ထင် ယောက်ဖ၊ စရေးမြို့ဇာတိ ကျမ်းဂန် တတ်မြောက် လှသော ရဟန်းလူထွက်၊ ဝန်ဆို ၁၁၂၃ ခု၊ စာပြီး၏။ ရွှေတိုက်မိ ချီမြင်းကြန်လက်ာ။ ဝေသန္တရာပျို၊ ဇနက ဘုရားကြီး သမိုင်းရှင်မာလဲပျို၊ ပဌာစာရိပျိုများရေးသည်။

ဒီပရင်းဝန်၊ အလုံမြို့စီရင်စု ခင်မွန်ရွာဇာတိ၊ ရတုအမျိုးမျိုးများကို ရေးသားသည်။

အလုံ စီရင်စု ခင်မွန်ရွာဇာတိ၊ ရာဇနီတိပျိုရေးသားသည်။

တောင်လေးလုံး ဆရာတော်တပည့်၊ စမ္မယုပျိုဟောင်း ရေးသားသည်။

ရွှေတောင်နန္ဒမိတ်ကြည်။

အမရပူရ ပဌမမြို့ နန်းတည် မင်းတရားကြီးသမီးတော်အကြီးစာရေး၊ မိတ္ထိလာကာမ မင်းသမီး ခေလင်းရေးသည်။

ပလိပ် ရွာစာ၊ ဝဏ္ဏကျမ်းမင်း လက်ထက်၊ ဦးဖျော်ခေါင်းစဉ်ကြည့် မျို့ဟတ်လက်ာ။

ဦးမင်း၊ မင်းထင်သက်ရှည်ဘွဲ့ခံကြည့်။

ဘိုးတော်မယ်ခေလင်း ၁၁၅၁ ခု၊ တပေါင်းလဆန်း ၁၄ ရက်၊ သောကြာနေ့ ရေးပြီးသည်။

စားတော် ကျမ်းရေးဂိုဏ်း၊ စည်ကူးမင်းလက်ထက်၊ နေမျိုးမင်းလှကျော်သူ ဘွဲ့နှင့်၊ မအူသူကြီးသမီး မြောက်နန်း မိဖုရား၏ အကြီးတော်ခန့်သည်။ အခွင်းအများရေး၍၊ အမောင်းယာခေါ်သည်။ ဘိုးတော်ဘုရားလက်ထက်ညီတော် ယင်းတလဲမင်း မှာတစ်ဆင့်၊ နောက် ခမည်းတော်၊ အိမ်ရှေ့ဘုရားတွင် ထမ်းရွက်၍ ၁၁၄၇ ခုနှစ်တွင်ကွယ်လွန်သည်။ (ကဗျာသင်္ဂဟ ၁၂) စာရင်း၊ မင်းနန်ပျို၊ သီရိဝိဇယရခို၊ ထူးပါရုံ ဘုရားတိုင်ရာ၊ ကုတ္တိချောင်း ဆင်တော်ဘွဲ့၊ အဲအဲများ ရေးသားသည်။

မုတ္တမမြို့ဝန်၊ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၄၃ ခုနှစ်၊ နန်းတက်သော အမရပူရ မြို့တည် နန်းတည် ဘိုး

တော် ဗဒုံမင်း လက်ထက် သူကြီး ဆရာတော်။  
 ငယ်မည်မောင်ရာ။ နောက်လူထွက်၍၊ မုတ္တမမြို့  
 ဝန်ခန့်သည်။ ဘုရားတိုင် ၁၂ ရာသီ ပိုဒ်စုံရတု  
 များရေးစီရင်သည်။

မောင်ရည်။ ဆီးသစ်ရွာစား။ အမရပူရ၊ ပဌမမြို့နန်းတည်  
 မင်းလက်ထက်။ ပြည်မင်းသံဆင့်၊ စည်ကူးမြို့ စီ  
 ရင်စု၊ ဆီးသစ် ရွာစားဆို အဝမြို့ ဘွဲ့ ၁၂ ရာသီ  
 လူးတား ရေးသားသည်။

မောင်ရေး။ ပခန်းကြီးမြို့ ဇာတိ ဟင်္သာတမင်းသမီး အ  
 ကြီးတော်ဆို၊ အပဏ္ဏကုပ္ပ၊ ဒွါဒသဒိ ပြုမျိုး  
 ရေးသားသည်။

မောင်ရွှန်း။ မဟာမင်းလွှမ်းမင်းခေါင်ကြည်။

မောင်လူ။ မြင်ဆိုင် စာဆိုတော်။ မာလာ လင်္ကာရ ပျို့  
 ရေးသားသည်။

မောင်လှ။ သံတော်ဆင့်၊ ဆင်ကြန် လင်္ကာ၊ မြင်းကြန်  
 လင်္ကာများ ရေးသားသည်။

မောင်သြ။ စိန္တ ကျော် သူ ကြည်၊ စည် ကိုင် ဘုရင်ခံ  
 တောင်ငူ ရာဇာ သံတော်ဆင့်၊ ဟံသာဝတီပါ  
 လက်ထက် စိန္တကျော်သူကြည်။

မောင်ဦးကာ။ ရတနာပူရ စတုတ္ထမြို့နန်းတည် ဘကြီးတော်  
 ဘုရားငယ်ကျွန်ရင်း၊ တေမိပျို့သစ်ရေးသည်။

မောင်စ။ တရား သူကြီး မောင်ကြည်၊ ရတနာပူရ  
 စတုတ္ထမြို့တည် နန်းတည် ဘကြီးတော် ဘုရား  
 လက်ထက် စာရေးကသည်အတွင်းဝန်၊ အသည်  
 ဝန်၊ တရားမ တရားသူကြီး ခန့်သည်။ ရုရမိပျို့  
 မင်းတရားသမီးတော် ဧချင်းများရေးသည်။

မောင်သာအောင်။ တောင်ခွင် မြို့စားဟောင်း လောက မဏိစူ  
 ဌာ စေတီမော်ကွန်း၊ သီရိတော်မော်ကွန်းများ  
 ရေးသည်။

မောင်အောင်ဖြူ။ သာချင်းဆရာ၊ အမရပူရမြို့ ပဌမမြို့တည်နန်း  
 တည်၊ ဘိုးတော်ဦးပိုင်း လက်ထက်။ ဇာတိရင်း  
 ပုဂံမြို့သား၊ ရာဇမနုက၊ ကျန်စစ်သားကြပ်ဘွဲ့၊  
 တရုတ်ပြည်စွယ်တော်တောင်း မင်းဆက်ရာဇဝင်  
 သာချင်း၊ ငှက်ကြီးသာချင်း အများနှင့် ရကန်  
 အများ ရေးသားသည်။ (ကဗျာသင်္ဂဟ ၄)  
 နှစ်ကျပ်ရှစ်ဆူ ဘုရားသာချင်းများ၊ ဟန်လင်းမြို့  
 သမိုင်းများ ရေးသားသည်။

မြတောစား။ နန္ဒကျော်ထင်ကြီးနှင့်အတူတူ။

မြတီဝန်ကြီး။ ငယ်မည် ဦးစကြည်၊ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၂၈ ခု  
 ဘွား၊ မြတီမြို့စား၊ ဝန်ရှင်တော်မင်းကြီး မဟာ  
 သီဟသူရ၊ ဝေါလိနတ္ထ ၃၂၅။

မြရွှန်းဝန်၊ ရာဇသူရိယခံ၊ ငယ်မည်၊ မောင်မြအို။

မင်းကြီးညို။ ဝါရင်းထုတ်ရွာစား။

မင်းကြီးသီရိမဟာဇေယသု။ မြောင်လှမြို့စား။ နိုင်ငံခြားဝန်ထောက်။  
 မင်းတုံးမင်းလက်ထက်၊ ငယ်မည်ဦးချိန်။

မင်းရာဇာ။ ဟံသာဝတီပါ မင်းတရားအမတ် မြင်းခွါရွာ  
 စား၊ ဟိတ ကာရိပျို့၊ ၎င်းမင်းတရား နန်းပွင့်  
 ရာဇဝင်နတ်သံ၊ မင်းခမ်း၊ မင်းနား၊ ရတုအများ  
 ရေးသားသည်။

မင်းထင်စည်သူ။ စာဆိုတော်ရတု အမျိုးမျိုးရေးသားသည်။

မင်းရဲနုရာ။

မင်းထင်ကျော်ခေါင်။ နားခံတော်။

မင်းရဲနုရာ။ ဇဗ္ဗပတိပျို့ရေးသားသည်။

မင်းရဲမင်းလှကျော်ထင်။ ဟံသာဝတီရောက်မင်းလက်ထက်၊ ဟံ  
 သာဝတီ ရောက်မင်း၏ သမီးတော်မင်း ထိပ်ဦး  
 နေချင်းကို စပ်ဆိုသည်။ မင်းထိပ်ဦးတင် ဧချင်း  
 ကိုလည်းရေးသားသည်။

မင်းရဲမင်းလှမင်းထင်။ ဟံသာဝတီမင်းလက်ထက်ဝန်ကြီးခန့်သည်။  
 ပိဋကတ် ၃ ပုံ စာတမ်းပုဒ် ၁၉၄၅ မင်းရဲတနာ  
 ဧချင်းစပ်ဆိုသည်။

ရခိုင်းစား။

ရခိုင်းဥက္ကပုံ။

ရဝေရှင်ထွေး။ အဝမြို့နန်းတွင်းသူ။ ။ရဝေကား နန်းဆို  
 လိုသည် နန်းတွင်းသူ ရှင်ထွေး ဟုလို၊ ပုဂံမင်း  
 ၅၅ ဆက်တို့၏မိဖုရားကြီးများထံ၊ စစားရသော  
 နန်းတွင်းသူတို့အထူးအမြတ်မျိုးကို အန်ချင်းဘွဲ့  
 ဆိုသည်။

ရာဇဗလ၊ ရာဇဗဟု } လှော်ကား၃၀၀ဝမှူးကြည့်၊ တဦးတည်းပင်။

ရာဇဒေဝ။

ရာဇနန္ဒ။ သံတော်ခံ။

ရာဇဗလကျော်ထင်။ အတွင်း ဝန်သက် ပန်းရွာ စား မဟာပုရိသ  
 လက္ခဏာပျို့၊ မုဒ္ဒါဘိသေကမော်ကွန်းများရေး  
 သည်။

ရာဇဝေသော်။ ရှင်မြဘုရားမော်ကွန်းရေး။

ရာဇသာရ။ ဟံသာဝတီဆင်ဖြူများရှင် ထီးတော်မတင်မီ  
 ဆက်သော ပိုဒ်စုံရတု။ ။ထွင်ခွန်းမြင့်ခေါင်။  
 လွတ်ကျွန်းတင့်ဆောင်။ ပတ်ဝန်းပွင့်ရောင်၊ အစ  
 ချီသည်။

ရာဇသူရိယဘွဲ့ခံ။ မြွေစွန်းဝန်မောင်မြအိုး ရတနာမာရ်အောင်  
 ဘုရားဗိုလ်ကာချင်းရေးသည်။

ရာဇသင်္ကြံ။ ပဲခူး။

ရန္တမိတ်စည်သူ။ တရားစာရေး။

ရန်အောင်စား။ ဘယဂါမဏိသားရှင်ရန်အောင်။

ရန်အောင်ဗလ။ သီချင်းဝန်။ အလောင်းမင်းတရားကြီးလက်  
 ထက်၊ ဟံသာဝတီပါမင်းရေးစပ်သည်။ ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်  
 ခြောက်မည်၊ ထုတ်ဆို ဆောက်တည်၊ နှုတ်ချီ

လျှောက်မည်။ အစချီသော၊ သံဝေဂပိုဒ်စုံရတု  
ကို။ ။ ခြောက်မည် ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်၊ ဆောက်တည်  
ထုပ်ဆို၊ လျှောက်မည်နှုတ်ချို။ အစချီ၍အလိုက်  
ရတုကိုရေးသည်။ ။ ၎င်းပြင် အလောင်းမင်း  
တရားကြီးသည်။ ဟံသာဝတီသို့ ရေကြောင်းချီ  
တော်မူရာ။ ၁၆ စခမ်းရောက်တွင်။ ဘောင်တော်  
ထက်သို့။ ထန်းပင်လဲပျိုကျသည်ကို။ ရုပ်ချည်းဧ  
ကပိုဒ်စပ်ဆိုရေးဆက်သည်။

ရမ္မသိရိကျော်ထင်။ ချောင်းဦး ဆယ်ရွာ စား ပိဋကတ် တိုက်စိုး  
ဆဒ္ဒါန်ပြောင်ကျော်မော်ကွန်းရေးသည်။

ရှင်ကရဝိက (သာမနေ)။ ပဌမကျော် အောင်စံထား ဆရာတော် တ  
ပည့်၊ သက္ကရာဇ် ၉၉၆ ခုနှစ်တွင်၊ နန်းတက်သော  
အဝရွှေနန်းရှင်။ သာလွန် မင်းတရားကြီးအား။  
တက်ထွန်းလျှံဝါ။ အစချီပိုဒ်စုံရတု ၃ ပုဒ်ကို တင်  
ဆက်၍ ဖြန့်ချိတင်ပြခဲ့လှ။ လူ့ဘုရားလျှင်။ လေးပါး  
တန်ခိုးနေတိုင်းတိုးလျက်ဟူ၍။ ရှင်ဘုရင်ကို၊ လူ့  
ဘုရားတော်မနာခြင်းသည် ဖြင့်ထန်းရွက်ညွန့်  
ရှည်တွင် ရေးသားဆက်သွင်းသည်ကိုဘုရင်မင်း  
မြတ်သည်အလွန်သဘောနှစ်ချိုက်၍၊ ရွှေကျည်  
ထောက်တွင် သွင်းနှံပြီးလျှင်။ ခေါင်းရင်း၌အမြဲ  
ထားရုံမက၊ နှုတ်ရအာဂုံဆောင်တော်မူ၍၎င်းအ  
လိုက်ရတု စာများကိုပင် လေ့ကျက် ရေးသား  
တော်မူကြောင်းပြောစဉ်ရှိသည်။ ရေးသားသော  
စာ၊ စာရင်း။ လောမျိုးစု၊ ပုဂံဘွဲ့သူးတား။ နရပတိ  
ရေလားမင်းလွယ်ညနုပျို။ မင်းရဲကျော်စွာလေး  
ထပ်ကျောင်းတည်မော်ကွန်းများရေးသည်။

ရှင်ကုမာရကဿပ။ အနောက်ဘက်လွန် မင်းဘုရားနန်းစံ ၃ နှစ်  
တွင်။ ပခန်းကြီးမြို့၊ ကုန်းမင်းကျောင်းတိုက်နေ၊  
၎င်းဆိုမွေရာသီပျိုမွေရသပျိုများရေးသည်။

ရှင်ဖိနာရာမ။ အဝညောင်ရမ်း ၁၀ ဆက် စနေမင်း လက်  
ထက်၊ ၎င်းရေးပါရမီခမ်းပျိုအဖြေကျမ်း။

ရှင်တေဇောသာရ။ ရှင်မဟာ ရဋ္ဌသာရ၏ တပည့်၊ ၎င်းပြုစီရင်  
သောစာများ၊ တေရဋ္ဌသုဝဏ္ဏဟံသပျို၊ ဗျာဠိ  
ဟာခန်းလင်္ကာ၊ ဗျာဠိတော်ခန်းပျို၊ ရွှေဟင်္သာ  
မင်းပျို၊ အာဒိသ မုခပျိုဟောင်း မေတ္တာစာ  
လင်္ကာအမျိုးမျိုး၊ ရတုကဗျာအများ။ (ကဗျာ  
သင်္ဂဟပိဋကတ်စာတမ်း)။

ရှင်ထွေးနားသိန်။ စစ်လျှင်ထောင်မှူးကြည့်၊ ပြည်စုန်မော်ကွန်း  
ရှင်ထွေးညို။ ရွှေစာတိုင်ဆင်တော်မော်ကွန်းရေးသည်။

ရှင်မွေဇေ၊  
ရှင်မွေသာမိ၊  
ရှင်ဗောဇ္ဈင်္ဂ။

ရှင်ပညာသာမိ၊  
ရှင်မဟာဗုဒ္ဓကံရ။

ရှင်မဟာရဋ္ဌသာရ။

ဒုတိယမောင်းထောင်ဆရာတော်။  
ဟံသာဝတီပါမင်းသည် အိမ်ရှေ့မင်းအဖြစ်  
နှင့် ငစည့်ကူးမြို့စားစည်၊ ကန်ကုလက်လှည့်ဆ  
ရာဖြစ်သည်။ ။ စည့်ကူးမင်းချင်းရေးသည်။

ငယ်မည်ဦးမောက်၊ အဝမြို့မင်းဆက် ၈။ မိုး  
ညှင်းမင်းတရားကြီး သားတော်မင်းဆက် ၁၁။  
မဟာသီဟသူရလက်ထက်၊ သာသနာ ၂၀၁၂  
သက္ကရာဇ် ၈၃၀ အင်္ဂလိပ် ၁၄၆၈ ဝါဆိုလ  
ဗုဒ္ဓဟူးနေ့အဝမြို့လယ်ဘွားသည်။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၇၂၆ ခု၊ အဝမြို့၊ ဒုတိယ နန်း  
တည် သတိုး ဆင်ထိန်း၏သား သတိုးမင်းဖျား  
မှ။ မင်းရှင်စော၏သမီး စောဥမ္မာကား တောင်  
နန်းမတော်တည်။ စောမင်းမြို့ကားမြောက်နန်း  
စော - င်းညှိကား အလယ်နန်း။ ၎င်းစောမင်းညှိ  
၏သမီးတော်စောနန်း၏မြစ်တော်ကား ရှင်မဟာ  
ရဋ္ဌသာရတည်း။ (ရာဇဝံသ တေးကဗျာ ၂၂)  
စတုဗ္ဗသာရ ၉ ခန်းခေါ် ဟတ္ထိပါလ နိဂုံးတွင်  
သ - င်ဘုရား ထားသည် သာသနာ နှစ်ထောင်  
သာ၍ သင်္ချာအလွန်အစွန်မြတ်မှု။ ဆဲ နှစ်ခု၌ဟူ  
၍စပ်သည်။ ရှင်မဟာသီလဝံသ ပါရမီခန်းပျိုပြီး  
သောအခါ၊ ရှင်မဟာ ရဋ္ဌသာရ သည် သက်  
တော် ၂၃ နှစ်ရှိပြီ။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၈၉၁ ခုနှစ်သက်  
တော် ၆၁ နှစ်တွင် ဘဝပြောင်းတော် မူသည်။  
သက္ကရာဇ် ၈၅၆ ခု ကျမ်းပြီး ဘူရိဒတ် ဇာတ်  
ပေါင်း (ဝေါလိနတ္ထ ၂၆၂) အသက် ၁၆ နှစ်  
တွင် ဘူရိဒတ်လင်္ကာကြီး။ ၎င်းဇာတ်ပေါင်းအ  
သက် ၅၅ နှစ်မှာဟတ္ထိပါလအသက် ၆၁ ပြည့်  
မြို့သံဝေဂပုံတောင်နိုင်မော်ကွန်း၊ တံတားဦးတည်  
မော်ကွန်း။ ဝတ်ရုံကျောင်းဘွဲ့မော်ကွန်း။ ရဲရည်  
တက်မော်ကွန်း။ ရတနာပူရမြို့တည် မော်ကွန်း  
မိတ္ထိလာကန်ဘွဲ့ မော်ကွန်း ဂန္ထိသာရပျို၊ ပါဒ  
နက်သန်ကေပိတောလားများရေးသားသည်။

ရှင်မဟာသီလဝံသ။

ငယ်မည်ဦးညို၊ အဝမြို့ မင်းဆက် ၈ မိုးညှင်း  
မင်းတရားကြီး ညီတော်မင်းဆက် ၁၀ စစ်ကိုင်း  
မြို့ထူပါရုံ စေတီ ဒါယကာ၊ နရပတိကြီး လက်  
ထက်။ သာသနာ ၁၉၉၇ သက္ကရာဇ် ၈၁၅ ခု၊  
သောကြာနေ့၊ တောင်တွင်းကြီးမြို့ လှိုင်အသည်  
မျိုး၊ နတ်ကတော် ဖုဏ္ဏန်းအထုပ်သုမယ်ဇွေး၊  
မေဇင်ကြည်တို့တွင်ဘွားမြင်သည်။ တောင်တွင်း  
ကြီးမြို့အရှေ့မြောက် သီဟပတေ့ကြီးတည်သည့်  
ရတနာဗိမာန်ကျောင်းသား ရှင်မဟာရဋ္ဌသာရ  
ထက်၊ အသက် ၁၆ နှစ်ကြီးသည်။ သက္ကရာဇ်  
၈၀၂ ခုနှစ်၊ သက်တော် ၆၇ ခုနှစ် တွင် ဘဝ

ပြောင်းတော်မူသည် (ကဗျာသင်္ဂဟ) နှိုးနှိုးနန်းကြောရှင်လက်ထက်၊ သက္ကရာဇ် ၈၈၀ ပြည့်အသက် ၆၅ နှစ်တွင်ပြန်လွန်သည်ဟုပြန်၏။ ပါရမီခန်း၊ ဆုတောင်းခန်း၊ တောင်တွင်းလားဓမ္မပါလ၊ ဗုဒ္ဓပြုတ္တိ နန်းပွင့် လင်္ကာ၊ ရာဇဝဿတီလင်္ကာ၊ တံတားဦးတည် မော်ကွန်း၊ ရှိရားကန် ဘွဲ့မော်ကွန်း၊ ရွှေနန်းဘွဲ့မော်ကွန်းများရေးသားသည်။

ရှင်သံခို။

ရှင်မုနိန္ဒဂေါသ။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၉၄၀ ကြာသပတေးနေ့ ဘွား။ ၁၅ နှစ်ရွယ်က၊ တောင်တိလာဆရာတော်သာမနေငယ်ကမုနိန္ဒဂေါသခံ။

ရှင်လင်္ကာသာရ။ ၁၀၈၈ ခုဘွား ငယ်မည် ဦးထွန်းညို။ တွင်းသင်းတိုက်ဝန်။ မဟာသင်္ဃိယာ မဟာစည်သူ ၂ ဘွဲ့ခံရသည်။

ပဲခူးဟံသာဝတီဆင်ဖြူများရှင်၏သားတော် အဝဋ္ဌိဒုတိယမြို့ နန်းတည် ညောင်းရမ်းမင်းတရားကြီးမှ ၁၀ ဆက်မြောက်ဖြစ်သောထိပ်မိုးထိပ်ပန်းလောကသရဘူ စေတီတော် ၃ ဆူ၏ဒါယကာဟံသာဝတီပါမင်း (ငယ်မည်မောင်ဖြူလက်ထက်။ သက္ကရာဇ်ရှည် ၁၁၁၃ ခု၊ တန်ခူးလဆန်း ၇ ရက် အင်္ဂါနေ့ အဝပြည်ကြီးကို ပဲခူးဟံသာဝတီတလိုင်းမင်းကတိုး နှိုးနှိုးပျက်စီးတိမ်းယိမ်း၍၊ ဘုရင်မင်းကို ဟံသာဝတီသို့ ဆောင်ယူ ပါသွားသည်။

ရှင်အာဒိစ္စရံသီ

ထိုနောက်၊ ၎င်း ၁၁၁၃ ခု၊ ကဆုန်လဆန်း ၅ ရက်နေ့ (သာသနာတော်နှစ် ၂၂၉၅) တွင် ရွှေတောင်ရွာ အရှေးမြောက်၊ ရွှေခန်းကျောင်းစာပေ သ-ကြားသောအခါ၊ ရဟန်း ၅ ဝါရ၌ ရေးသား ပြီးစီးသော၊ မဟာဝိရိယ ချီသောမုဒုလက္ခဏာပျို့၊ ဧကနိပါတ်ဇာတ်၊ ဦးရေ ၆၆-၁၀ ကြောင်းရေး၊ ၂ အင်္ဂါကျော်။

ရှင်အဂ္ဂသမာဓိ။

ရှင်မြေလူး။  
ရှင်ရဲတင်။  
ရှင်ရဲတော်။  
ရှင်ရန်အောင်။

ဘယဂါမဏိသား။ ရတု အမျိုးမျိုးများရေးသားသည်။

ရှင်ဝရဓမ္မလင်္ကာရ။  
ရှင်သာသနဓဇ  
ရှင်သီလာစာရ။  
ရှင်သုဓမ္မဓဇ  
ရှင်သုဓမ္မာလင်္ကာရ။  
ရှင်သုရဲ။

ဥဒေနမင်းစောပျိုရေးသည်။  
မကျီးတောဆရာတော်ဆိုရတုရေးသည်။  
ရတုအမျိုးမျိုးများရေးသည်။  
ရတုအမျိုးမျိုးများရေးသည်။  
စလင်း သတိုးမင်းကျော် သွီး သခင်ထွေးဇချင်း၊ ထိပ်ဘွေအောင်ချာ ချီသည်။ သက္ကရာဇ်

၇၀၀ ကသည် ၁၀၀၀ အတွင်း ဖြစ်သည်။ ရတုအမျိုးမျိုးများရေးသားသည်။

လက်ဆောင်ယူမှူး သက္ကရာဇ် ၉၉၂ ခု၊ နန်းစံ ၁၈ နှစ်ဖြစ်သော အဝဋ္ဌိဒုတိယ မြို့နန်းတည်ညောင်ရမ်းမင်းတရားကြီးသားတော်၊ သာလွန်မင်းလက်ထက်။ ရတနာပြောင်မွန်ဆင်တော်ဘွဲ့မော်ကွန်းတွင်။ မင်္ဂလာနေဝန်းဟု အစခေါ်သည်မှ၊ တိရိစ္ဆာန်များစပ်ဆိုရေးသားရာ၌။ တ-ထ-ဒ-ဓ-န-အက္ခရာ ၅ လုံး နှင့်သာ အစခေါ်မြဲ ဖြစ်သည်ကိုတရားနှင့်မင်းအားအစခေါ်-ပ-ဖ-ဗ-ဘ-မ-အက္ခရာအဝင်-မ-အက္ခရာ၊ မင်္ဂလာနေဝန်းချီသဖြင့်၊ အက္ခရာဂိုဏ်းလွှဲသည်ဟု ပြောဆိုစမှတ်ပြုကြသည်။ အချို့သူတို့ကလည်း၊ ရှင်သံခိုဆိုသူသည် လူတတ်လူကောင်းဖြစ်၍ ပြောင်မွန်ဆင်တော်လည်း၊ အရှင်ရွှေစက်တော်ကိုတင်၊ ဆဋ္ဌာန်ဆင်မင်းဖြစ်၍၊ အရှင်ရွှေဘုန်းတော်ကိုအမှီပြု၍ မ-အက္ခရာနှင့်အစခေါ်သင့်ကြောင်းကို၊ အနောက်ဘက်သာလွန်မင်းတရားကြီးထံ၊ စာသွင်းသည်မှ၊ ဆုလတ်များစွာ၊ ရသည်ဟုအစည်ပြောဆိုကြကြောင်း၊ ရတနာ ပြောင်မွန် ဆင်တော် မော်ကွန်း၊ မင်းရဲဒိဌဇချင်း၊ ၎င်းဆို၊ ချင်းစု၊ အရတုများရေးသားသည်။

အလုံမြို့မှ ရွှေး ဇေတဝန်ဆရာတော်၊ ကုသပျိုသစ်၊ နာရဒပျို့၊ သီလဝ၊ အာဒါသမုခ၊ ပဉ္စာဝုဓ-ဥဒေန- နာနာဆန္ဒ- ပြဿဒိ ကျောင်း ဘွဲ့။ အာကာသစာရီ၊ ကဝိမဏ္ဍလီသတ်ပုံ၊ ပါရမီခန်းပျို့အဖြေ၊ ရာဇောဝါဒ၊ သမန္တစက္ခု၊ ဒီပနီများရေးသားသည်။

တပရင်းမြို့ အရွှေတောင်လက် ခရီး၊ ငါးရတွင်းကွာကန်ဖျားရွာဇာတိ။ ငယ်မည် မောင်ခိုး (ပိဋကတ်စာတမ်း ၂၀၄၊ ဇာဂရိယကုန်း ၂၂။) တနည်း ရှင်အဂ္ဂသမာဓိသည်။ နတ်မောက်တွင်။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၈၄၁ ခုဘွားဟု ဝေါဟာရ လိနတ္ထ ၂၀၄၄ ပြဆိုပြန်သည်။

တနည်း၊ အဝဋ္ဌိရှမ်းမင်းဇလုံလက်ထက်၊ တပရင်းမြို့ကန်ဖျားရွာဇာတိ ဘယကျော်သူအမတ်ကြီး၏သား ရှင်အဂ္ဂသမာဓိဟူ၍။ ၁၉၁၃ ခု၊ ဒီဇင်ဘာလ ၆ ရက်နေ့ ထုပ် သူရိယ သတင်းစာနံပါတ် ၆၅ စာမျက်နှာ ၁၅၊ ကဗျာလင်္ကာကို ဝါသနာ ထုံသော အချို့ မြန်မာ ဘုရင်တို့ အကြောင်း၌ညွှန်ပြ၏။



ရေးသားစီရင်သောစာများကား။— နေမိမိစိုစိုခန်း။ နေမိမိခန်း။  
နေမိမိခန်း။ သုဝဏ္ဏသာမသဌေးခန်း။ ၎င်းလေးပစ်ခန်း။

မှတ်တမ်း။ ။ နေမိမိခန်းမှာ။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၉၀၄ခု၊ တပေါင်းလ  
ကျမ်းပြီး။ အင်းဝမြို့၌ အံ့ဘောင်ခံခိုင်းမင်းပြုသောနှစ်၊ ပြည်မြို့တွင်။ ရှင်  
ရဋ္ဌသာရကျောင်းဒါယကာ။ ဘုရင်ထွေးကသား၊ နရပတိက ညီတော်  
သည်။ မင်းခေါင်ခံရှင်သရက်ကို မင်းတရားရွှေထီးလုပ်ကြံ၍ နန်းကြ  
သောနှစ်တည်း။ ရှင်သီလဝံသ ပါရမီခန်း နောက် ၅၁ နှစ် ကြာ၏။  
သုဝဏ္ဏသာမသဌေးခန်းမှာ။ လက္ခရာဇ် ၈၈၉ ကျမ်းပြီး။ ထိုနှစ်မှာအဝ  
တွင်။ ရှမ်းမင်းသိုဟန်ပွဲ။ မင်းပြု၍တနှစ်မြောက်၊ ပြည်မြို့တွင် ရှင်ရဋ္ဌသာ  
ရ ကျောင်းဒါယကာ၊ ဘုရင်ထွေးမင်းပြု၍တနှစ်မြောက်ရှိပြီ။ ရှေ့ဘတ်  
စာရေးတော်ကြီးဦးကြော့က၊ နေမြို့ရှိနိဗ္ဗာန်ထောက်မင်း ဦးကျော်ထွန်း  
ထံသို့ ပေးသောမေတ္တာစာတွင်။ သက္ကကောဇာ။ မြန်မာသက္ကရာဇ်  
၁၄၆ခုနှစ်အရောက်ဝယ်။ နတ်မောက်မြို့မည်သီး။ မြို့သူကြီး မြို့ဝန်ဟူ။  
တံခွန်ရဲရည်။ မူထမ်းဂုဏ်ကြည်သဖြင့်။ ငယ်မည်မောင်ဘွားမြူတယ  
ကျော်ထင်။ လှော်စဉ် ရွှေသား၊ ဘွဲ့သနားသည်။ သားမြဲနောင်၊ မောင်  
မြဲအောင်ဟူ။ ဂုဏ်ရောင်မှီချီး။ သားအကြီးသည်။ မြို့သူကြီးအရိုက်အ  
ရာကိုဆက်ခံ၊ စိုးမိုးလေသတတ်။ မြတ်သည်စာဂီ။ ပါရမီနှင့်။ ညီ  
မောင်မြဲအောင်ကား။ လူ့ဘောင်မှ ခွါထွက်၍၊ တဏှာကွယ်။ ကုန်  
၂ကြာင်းရှာသဖြင့်။ ရှင်အင်္ဂါသမာဓိဟူ၍ ဇမ္ဗူမသန့်။ ပျံ့နှံ့တလွှား  
ပညာပွားသည်နှင့်။ ထင်ရှားကျော်စောခြင်း ဖြစ်လေသတည်း။ ဟူ၍  
ရေးသားပါရှိလေသည်။

ရှင်အိန္ဒပဒုမ။ ၎င်းဆိုအလင်္ကာပုံစာ။— ထိုစာတွင်။ ဆင်  
ပြောင်ကိုစင်။ ကွယ်ဝှက်ချင်၍။ မမြင်စေ လှည့်  
မန်းဖုံး၏သို့၊ စပ်ဆို ပါရှိရာဝယ်။ မည်သည့်အ  
တွက်ဟုအကိုးအကားမရှိ၊ ပုံဥဒါဟရုံ။ ပုံသစ်ကြံ  
ဆ၍ဆိုသောစကားမျှသာဖြစ်သည်ဟု။ မန်း၊ ဟူ  
၍ ခေါ်ဝေါ်သော ပေါရာဏ အခြေဆရာများ  
ပြစ်တင်ကြသည်။

ရှင်ရှုဇန္တရတ္တ။ နဝရတ်ပျို့ကိုရေးစီရသည်။  
ရှင်အိန္ဒမဇ္ဈ။ ရွှေဘုံသာဘုရားမော်ကွန်းရေး။  
ရှင်ဥဂ္ဂ သမာလာ။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၇၆ခုနှစ်၊ နန်းတက်၍။ နန်းစံ  
၁၉ ရှိသော ညောင်ရမ်း ၁၀ ဆက် အဝင်။ ၈  
ဆက်မြောက်။ တလွဲဘ-မာရ်အောင်စေတီ ဒါ  
ယကာ။ စနေမင်းလက်ထက်။ ဧရာဝတီမြစ်နား၊  
ရွှေကြက်ယက် ကျောင်းတိုက်နေ။ ရွှေရင်မြော်  
ဇာတိ။ တွင်းသင်းဝန်ကြီးက၊ ပင့်ဆောင်၍ ရွှေ  
ကြက်ယက်တွင် ကျောင်းဆောက် ကိုး ကွယ်  
သည်။ ထိုဆရာကား။ ရွှေရင်မြော်ရွာသူကြီးသား  
ဖြစ်သောကြောင့်။ ပညာလုံလောက်စွာ တတ်  
မြောက်ပါလျက်။ မင်းကေရာဇ် မကိုးကွယ်သည်  
မှာ။ မင်းအားကိုးနှင့်၊ လူ ထွက်မည် စိုးသော  
ကြောင့်။ တိတ်တိတ်ခိုးကြည့်သို့လျက်။ သိုသိပ်  
တော် မူရလေသည်။ ။ ရေးသား စီရင်သော

ရှင်ဥတ္တမကျော်။

ရှင်အုန်းညို။

ရွှေ ကျောင်း ဆ ရာ ဇရစ်ရွာဇာတိ။  
တော်ဦးပု။  
ရွှေကျောင်းရဲချင်း ၎င်းဆိုစန္ဒကုမာရပျို့။— ကုသပျို့ဟောင်း။  
ဦးပု။  
ရွှေဆင်းတု။

ရွှေတောင်နန္ဒသူ။

ရွှေတောင်ရာဇ  
ကျော်

ရွှေတောင်နန္ဒမိတ်။

စာများ။ ကဝိပါသဏ္ဌာလင်္ကာ။ ဝဏ္ဏဗောနေသတ်  
ပုံ။ တောင်ငူဆိုရတုအဖြေ။

အပမ္ဘိ မင်းဆက် ၁၀။ နရပတိ ကြီး လက်  
ထက်။ သက္ကရာဇ်ရှည် ၈၁၅ခု၊ သာသနာ ၁၉၉၇  
ခုနှစ်။ တောင်တွင်းကြီးမြို့၊ မြောက်မျက်နှာ။ မြို့  
လှိုင်ရွာကြီး၌။ အမိ-မင်းဆီ၊ အဘ-ဦးသောက်  
ကြာတို့တွင် ဘွားမြင်သော၊ ငယ်မည် မောင်  
ဥက္ကာ။ ရဟန်းဘွဲ့- ရှင်ဥတ္တမကျော်။ ရှင်မဟာ  
သီလဝံသနှင့် တရွာ တည်း။ ခြောက်ရက် ငယ်  
ခြောက် ကြီး။ တကျောင်း တည်း ထွက်သည်။  
(ရှင် ဥတ္တမကျော် အံ့ထုပ္ပတ္တိ ၁၉။) ၎င်းဆို။  
လောမျိုးစု၊ ပုဂံဘွဲ့လူးတားနရပတိရေလား။—  
၁၂ ရာသီတော်လား။

တောင်တွင်းကြီး ပေတပင်၊ ရှင်တပါး အ  
ဝင်။ ရှင်မဟာသီလဝံသ၊ ရှင်ဥတ္တမကျော်။ ရှင်ခေ  
မာ။ ရှင်အုန်းညို ပင်တည်း။— ဂါထာ၆၀ ပျို့။  
ရေးစီရင်၏။

သာလွန် မင်းတရား သို့တော်။ (ဝေါဟာ  
ရတ္ထပကာသနီ ၃၃၆) ၎င်းဆို- လွယ်လွယ်ကူ  
ကူအစချီသောရတုများရေးသားသည်။

စလင်းမြို့တောင်လက်။ လက်မရွာဘွား-ဝန်  
ထောက်ရွှေတောင်နန္ဒသူ၊ ငယ်မည် မောင်တ  
ရပ်။ ။ ရေးသားသောစာများ။— မဟာသုတ  
သောမပျို့။ ငွေတောင်ရကန်သစ်။ မွေနှုန်းရတန်  
စိန္တကျော်သူမောင်ကြည်ပု။

အမရပူရမြို့နန်းတည်သည်။ ဘိုးတော်ဦးပိုင်။  
အကြီး တော်သား။ နောက် အကြီးတော် ခန့်  
သည်။ စဉ်းကူးမင်းတွင်၊ သံတော်ဆင့်လှော်ကား  
၃၀၀၀ မှူး-အတွင်းဝန်ထောက် ၃ နေရာကိုခန့်  
သည်။ ။ ဘိုးတော်ဘုရားလက်ထက်မှာကွယ်  
လွန်သည်။ ။ ၎င်းယောက်ဖကား၊ ရွှေမင်းဘုန်း  
ဆင်တော်မော်ကွန်းကိုရေးသားသော အတွင်း  
ဝန်ထောက် မောင်ညိုတည်း။ ။ (ကဗျာသင်္ဂ  
ဟ ၁၁ တွင်၊ ငယ်မည်၊ မောင်သူဟုဆိုသည်။  
ပိဋကတ် ၃ ပုံ စာတမ်း ပုတ်ရေ ၁၇၉၈-၉၉  
ဥပ္ပာဒန္တိပျို့ဟောင်းနှင့်မယ်တော်မာယာပျို့ရေး  
သူ။ နန္ဒမိတ်၊ ငယ်မည်။ မောင်ဘူးကလေးဟု ပြ  
ဆို၏။ ၎င်းစကားကိုအမှန်ယူလိုက်သည်။

၎င်းစီရင်ရေးသားသည့် စာများကား။ ။  
ဥမ္မာဒ္ဒိပျို့။ မယ်တော်မာယာပျို့။ ကုသပျို့။ စန္ဒ  
ကုမာရဇာတ်ချင်း။ အိမ်ရှေ့မိဘုရားချင်း။ သခင်  
ကြီးချင်း။ သခင်ငယ်ချင်း။ သခင်လတ်ချင်း။  
မြို့လှင်စားချင်း။ စလင်းစားမောင်ပေါင်းချောင်  
ချင်း။ မင်းရွှေနန်းချင်း။

ရွှေတောင်သစ်  
ကျော်ထင် (သိင်္ခံ)

ရွှေဗိုင်းမှု။

ရွှေလှေမှု။

လက်ဆောင်ယူမှု။

ကဗျာဗန္ဓ ၁၇၄ ၎င်းဆို၊ ရတုအမျိုးမျိုး။

၎င်း

၎င်း

ရှင်သံခိုကြည့်ပါ။

လက်ဝဲသံခြုံ။

လက်ဝဲနော်ရထာ။

လက်ဝဲဘိနံသူ။

သရေသစ်ယာ။

ဘယရန္တမိတ်။

မဟာသီဟသူရ။

တဦးတည်း။ ။ ရတနာသိင်္ခံမြို့စီရင်စု။  
မန်ကျည်းတုံရွာ ဇာတိ။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၈၉ ခု  
ဘွား။ ငယ်မည်၊ မောင်မြတ်စံ။ (ဝေါဟာရလိ  
နိတ္ထ ၃၀၄၅။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၈၅ ခုဘွား။ အ  
တွင်းဝန်မင်း လက်ဝဲ နော်ရထာ စီရင်သည့်  
နိဂုံးဖြေစာတမ်းတွင်ဆိုသည်ဟု ညွှန်ပြ၏။)

(ပုစ္ဆာ ဝိသန္ဓ နိ ၁၄၂-၄၃ တွင် ကား။ အ  
လောင်းမင်းတရားကြီးလက်ထက်။ လက်ဝဲနော်  
ရထာဘွဲ့။ သားတော်- နောင်တော်ကြီး လက်  
ထက်။ စည်သူကျော်ဘွဲ့ပေးသည်ဟုတော်ပြ၏။)

မင်းလက်ဝဲသုန္ဒြကိ၊ ဆင်ဖြူရှင် လက်ထက်။  
သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၂၈ ခုနှစ်တွင်။ မဲဇာသို့သွားရာမှ  
၄၅ ရက်ကြာတွင်။ ရတနာသိင်္ခံမြို့သို့ပြန်ရောက်  
သည် ဆိုသော အခါ၌ အသက် ၄၃ နှစ် ရှိ  
ကြောင်း တွက်စစ်၍ ရသည်။ ။ သာမိနပျို့ကို  
ရေးသည့်အခါ။ အသက် ၆၀ ရှိပြီ။ ။ ၎င်းပျို့  
နိဂုံး၌။ ။ စာစောင် ဖွင့်လှစ်။ ပေါ်ထွန်း သစ်  
ကား။ သက္ကရာဇ်တွက်ရေး ထောင်နေရာထား။  
လေးဆယ် ခြားလျက်။ နောက်ပွား ငါးချ။ ဥတု  
ဝဿ။ မိုးလင်း ဝါခေါင်။ လျှပ်ပြာ ဝန်းစက်။  
ကျော်လေးရက်၌။ ဟူ၍။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၄၅ ခု၊  
ဝါခေါင်လပြည့်ကျော် ၄ ရက်ဆိုသောကြောင့်။  
အသက် (၁၁၄၅-၁၀၈၅ နှုတ်လျှင်) ၆၀ ဟု  
သိရပါသည်။

တနည်း အားဖြင့်- အလောင်းမင်းတရား  
ကြီး လက်ထက်။ လက်ဝဲ သုန္ဒြ-နောက်လက်ဝဲ  
နော်ရထာ။ နောက်အရပ်ပူရမြို့တည် နန်းတည်။  
တိုးတော်ဦးပိုင်းလက်ထက်။ မြို့ဝန်ခန့်၍။ မဟာ  
သီဟသူရဘွဲ့ခံသည်။ နောက် တရားသူကြီး ခန့်  
သည်။

(ကဗျာသင်္ဂဟ ၁၀။ လက်ဝဲသုန္ဒြ ဘွဲ့နောက်မှ  
လျှင်။ ဘယရန္တမိတ်-ကျော်ထင်လျှံဝေ။ သရေ

သစ်ယာ-ယဉ်သာထူးကဲ။ လက်ဝဲဘိနံသူ။ ပေး  
တော်မူ၏။ ဟူ၍စပ်ဆိုကြောင်းနှင့်ပြသည်။

၎င်းရေးသားစီရင်သည့် များကား။-အာ  
ဒါသမုခပျို့သစ်။ သေနင်္ဂဗျူဟာပျို့။ သောဏပျို့။  
သာမိနပျို့။ နန္ဒီသေနပျို့။ ဗျူဟစက္ကိပျို့။ ဂုတ္တိလ  
ပျို့။ မန္တာတုစကြာပျို့။ ဝိနိစ္ဆယ လင်္ကာ။ ခါး  
စကြာရောက်ရတု။ ရတနာပူရရွှေပြည်ကြီးလာ  
မော်ထွန်း။ ပြည်တော်ဝင် မော်ကွန်း။ မဟာဝိ  
ဇယရံသီစေတီမော်ကွန်း။ မင် ကွန်းစေတီ မော်  
ထွန်း။ ယိုးဒယား နိုင် မော် ကွန်း။ ဧညာဝတီနိုင်  
မော်ကွန်း။ ဘိုးတော်မုဒ္ဒါဘိသိက်မော်ကွန်း။

လှော်ကား ၃၀၀၀ မှု။ သုံးထောင်မှူးကြည့်။

လက်ဝဲ ဇေယျ သူရ လောကမုန့်ကင်းကျောင်း၊ ရဟန်းလူထွက်  
ကြီး။ ရတုအမျိုးမျိုးရေးသည်။

လှိုင်ထိပ်ခေါင်တင်။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၉၅ ခုနှစ်တွင်။ အနောက်နန်း  
မတော်မမြဲကလေးမှဘွားမြင်သည်။ သီရိသုရတ  
နာဒေဝီဘွဲ့ခံသည်။ ၁၂၁၄ ခုနှစ်၊ နန်းတက်တော်  
မူသည်။ ပဉ္စမသင်္ဂါယနာတင်၊ မင်းတုံးမင်းလက်  
ထက်။ ညီတော်အိမ်ရှေ့မင်းနှင့်လက်ထပ်တော်မူ  
၍။ အိမ်ရှေ့မိဘုရားကြီးဖြစ်သည်။ ၁၂၃၇ ခုနှစ်။  
သက်တော် ၄၂ နှစ်တွင်။ ကံတော်ကုန်သည်။ ၎င်း  
လှိုင် ထိပ်ခေါင်တင်၏ သားတော် ထန်းတပင်  
မင်းသားမှာ။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၂၄၀ ပြည့်နှစ်။ သီပေါ  
ဘုရင်နန်းတက်၍။ ကွပ်မျက်ကွယ်လွန်သည်။

ရေးသားသောစာစာရင်းမှာ။ ။ ဣန္ဒာဝံသ  
ပြဇာတ်။ ဝိဇယကာရီပြဇာတ်။

ဝံတောင်လည်ဘုန်း သဒ္ဓမ္မဇောတိကကြည့်ပါ။

ကြီး

ဝါးရင်းတုတ်စား။

သမန္တရာဇာ။

သမန္တသူ။

သရေခေတ္တရာမြင်းခေါင်း။

သိင်္ခံသာရ။

မင်းကြီးညိုကြည့်ပါ။

ရတုအမျိုးမျိုးရေး။

တောင်တွင်းကြီးမြို့၊ သမိုင်းလင်္ကာရေး။

အမရပူရမြို့တည်နန်းတည်။ ဘိုးတော်မင်းတ  
ရားကြီးလက်ထက်။ မြို့စာရေး။ ဂရုဓမ္မပျို့ကိုရေး  
သည်။

သ ရေ စည် သူ က စစ်ကိုင်းမြို့၊ ရတုအမျိုးမျိုးရေးသားသည်။  
တော်၊

သီရိနန္ဒကျော်ထင်။ လောကချမ်းသာဘုရား ဒါယကာ မင်းတ  
ရားချင်းရေးသည်။

သီရိရွှေတောင်။

သီရိဝေဠုကျော်။ သခင်မယ်ကေး ချင်းရေးသည်။

သစ်ယာ၊ တရုတ်မြို့ မဟာဥပရာဇ ချင်း။ မင်္ဂလာညွန့်ရှင်း ဇေယျ  
စား။ ပြင်ထက်- အစချီသည်။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၇၀၀ က-

၁၀၀၀ အထိဖြစ်သည်ချင်း ၁၂ စောင်အဝင်  
ရေးသားသည်။

သီရိဇေယသု။

ငယ်မည်ဦးချိန်။ ။မန္တလေးရတနာပုံပဌ  
မမြို့တည်နန်းတည်။ ပဉ္စမ သင်္ဂါယနာ တင်မင်း  
မတုန်း။ ငယ်မည်ဦးလွင်လက်ထက်။ ရတနာ  
သိမ်ခွန်တောင်းကြီးရှာဘူး။ မြောင်လှမြို့စား။  
နိုင်ငံခြားဝန်ထောက်မင်းကြီး။ ကဝိလက္ခဏဒီ  
ပဏီ သတ်ပုံအဖြေစီရင်ရေးသားသည်။

သုံးတောင်မှူး။

(တောင်ငူလျော်ကား ၃၀၀၀ မှူးလည်းဟူ  
၏။) ကေတုမတီ တောင်ငူမြို့တည်။ မဟာသီရိ

ဇေယသု မင်းကြီးညို လက်ထက်။ ၎င်း၏သား  
တော်၊ မင်းတရားရွှေထီးချင်း။ မင်းရဲကျော်စွာ  
စုန်ချင်း။ မင်းရဲသိမ်သူချင်း ၃ စောင်ပိုမိုစုံရတူ  
၂၀ မြင်းယဉ်တက်လက်။ အဝဘုရင်သတိုးမင်း  
စောဆင်တော်၊ သန်မြန်စွာပွဲများကို ရေးစီရင်  
စာဆိုဇေယျရန္တမိတ်၏ဘခင်တည်း။ ရာဇဒေဝ၊  
ရာဇဗလ၊ ရာဇာဗာဟုပွဲ ၃ ကြိမ်ရသည်။ (က  
ဗျာသင်္ဂဟ ၅။)

မောင်နန္ဒရမဟုတ်သတ။

## A DICTIONARY OF BURMESE AUTHORS.

TRANSLATED FROM U BA THEIN'S PRIZE ARTICLE.

BY G. H. LUCE AND MAUNG BA KYA.

Shin  
Adeissa-  
yanthi.

Known as Zetawun-hsayadaw of Monywa-in-Alon township. Author of Narada-pyo; Thilawa; Adathamuhka; Pyinsawuda; Udena; Nanasanda—all *pyo*. Also of Pyatthat-Kyaungbwè; Akathasari; Kawimandani-thatpon; a commentary on Paramidaw-gan-pyo; Yazawwada; and Thaman-tasakkhudipani.

Aduminnyo.

Poet laureate of the king of Arakan. Author of Yakhaing-minthami-Egyin 794 B. E. (1432 A. D.)

Shin  
Aggatha-  
mahdi.

Born at Kanbya village, about a mile east of Tabayin. His private name was Maung No (See Pitakasadan p. 204, Zagariyakyon p. 22). In the Voharalinattha p. 204, it is said that he was born at Natmauk in 841 B. E. (1479 A. D.). In the "Sun" (6th December, 1919, No. 65, p. 15) he is called Shin Aggathamahdi, son of Baya-kyawthu, a minister born at Kanbya village.

His works are:—Nemi-pyo; Maggazogan-pyo; Nemi-mawgun: Nemi-Ngayègan—all epic poems on various portions of the Nemi Jataka; Thuwunnathamathategan; Lepyithkan; Thitsagan (on portions of the Suvan-nasama Jataka).

Atula-  
hsayadaw.  
Maung Aung  
Hpyo.

See Taungdwin-hsayadaw.

Born at Pagan, and a contemporary of Bodawhpaya (fl. A. D.

1781-1819). Author of many Thagyin, namely, Yamathagyin; Zanakthagyin; Kyansittha-kyot-hpwin-thagyin (on the opening of the casket by Kyan-sittha); Tayokpyi-swèdawdaung-thagyin (on the request made to China to give the Buddha's tooth-relic); Minset-yazawin-thagyin; Hngetkyi-thagyin; many *yagan*; Hnakeit-shitsuhpaya-thagyin (a poem on the twenty-eight Buddha's); a *thamaing* of Halingyi.

Maung Aw.  
Balanandathu.  
Bayakyawhtin.

See Seindakyawthu.

See Nawade-ngè.

Author of Yathawdaya-tangyin and many *pyo*.

See Letwèthondara.

Bayayanda-  
meit.  
Shin Bud-  
dhankura.

Author of Singu-min-egyin. Tutor to Hanthawadi-pa-mintaya (fl. 1733-1751 A. D.) when he was Crown Prince and Myosa of Singu.

Dwe Hla.

A concubine of Hanthawaddy-Hsinbyushin (Bayinnaung fl. 1551-1581 A. D.)

Maung E.

Athiwin, Atwinwun, Judge. Received as a royal grant the revenue derived from Myingon-daing town. His title was Mingyimaha-atulathihathura (See Kabyabandha p. 173.)

Maung E.  
Shin  
Eindagutta.

See Tayathugyi Maung E.

Author of Nawarat-pyo.

Shin  
Eindamyinzu.

Author of Shwebonthahpaya-mawgun.

- Shin Eindapaduma. Author of Alingabonsa, which contains a much-criticised passage.
- U Gambhira. A hsaya. (See Kabyabandha p. 174.)
- Nga Hkaing. A royal attendant (See Kabyabandha p. 174.)
- Hkingyibyaw. See Taungdwin-hsayadaw.
- Mè Hkwe. The daughter of the Sittaungwun, or governor of Sittaung, living at Shwebo, and wife of Maung Swet, formerly Amwe-wun. Her works are:—a double *egyin* on the twelve months of the year; a *ngogyin* on the death of the Myosa of Dala; a *ngogyin* on the death of Shinhè; another on the death of Shin Hnin Bwin; also many *Kyesehpayadaingyadu*.
- Maung Hla. A royal herald. Author of Hsinkyalinga, a poem on the characteristics of elephants; and of Myinkyalinga, a poem on the characteristics of horses.
- Hlainghtaik-hkaungdin 1833-1875 A. D. Daughter of Ma Mya Gale, the queen of the Middle Palace (Alèndaw). Born 1195 B. E. (1833 A. D.) She received the title Thiriyatanasandadewi. She became Crown Princess and wife of the Crown Prince, younger brother of King Mindon (fl. 1853-1878 A. D.) She died in the year 1237 B. E. (1875 A. D.) at the age of 42. Her son the prince of Tantabin was executed in 1240 B. E. (1878 A. D.) when King Thibaw ascended the throne. Author of Eindawuntha-pyazat; Wizayakayi-pyazat. See Thondaunghmu.
- Hlawga-thondaunghmu. See Hsibani-hsayadaw.
- U Hmaw. A Hpaung-wun, who wrote all kinds of *yadu*. See Kabyabontha p. 174.
- U Hpe. Wrote *yadu*. See Kabyabandha p. 174.
- U Hpo. A servant of Thalunmintaya (= Thadodhammaraja fl. 1629-1648 A. D.), the builder of the Kaunghmudaw or Rajamanicula-ceti (A. D. 1636). His original name was Maung Gyi.
- U Hpo Lin. Flourished during the reign of Mindonmin (1853-1878 A. D.)
- U Hpon. Wrote *le-gyo* or poems describing nature during the twelve months of the year.
- Maung Hpu Gale. See Shwedaung-nandameik.
- Mè Hpu. Myosa of Pintha.
- U Hpyaw. He was tutor to Singu-min, son of Hsinbyushin (fl. 1763-1767 A. D.) before he came to the Throne. Hearing that Singu-min was praising the poem "Min-yedibba-egyin" he wrote a eulogy to be chanted before the Prince, the "Shwenadawthwinegyin" (well known as the Paleiksa-egyin) beginning with the line မင်္ဂလာသီလောကီ. When Singu-min ascended the throne (fl. 1776-1781 A. D.) he was awarded the title "Minyèyaza," and received as a grant the revenue derived from Paleik, and during the reign of Bodawhpaya (1781-1819 A. D.) those of Kyauk-yin and Taungtha. He was awarded the titles Huyanyo and Thiripandait.
- Hsibani-hsayadaw 1811-1888 A. D. Named U Hmaw in childhood, U Nandadaza as a bhikkhu. He was born at Mingun on the 15th waning of Pyatho in the year 1173 B. E. (1811 A. D.) He was the son of Mahayazathinkyan, a councillor of Bodawhpaya. He became a hsayadaw and received titles from Kings Mindon and Thibaw. He died on Wednesday the 1st waning of Kason 1250 B. E. (1888 A. D.). His works are:—Kawimandabhedani; Aungyinshitpa-pyothit; Aranyakawwadalinga; Satyawwadalinga; Upathakawwadalinga.



- Hsigaing-ywaza. Born at Kyidaung village. Wrote the Natshin-mèdaw-egyin.
- Maung Hti. A poet who wrote many *yadu*. See Kabyabandha p. 173.
- Mè Htwe. A royal concubine and court-poet during the reign of Hsinbyumyashin who made the third Ava his capital (fl. 1763-1775 A. D.) Her title was Thusinta. See Sithlyinhtaungmu.
- Shin Htwe Nyo. See Mahaminhlamingaung.
- Maung Hyun. A thu-gyi, with the title Zeyya-pyanchi.
- Kandawmin-gyaung. Tutor of a princess, the aunt of King Ngazu-dayaka.
- Kandawmin-gyaunhsaya. A novice, pupil of the first Kyaw - aung sanhta - hsayadaw. Tradition says that he wrote a *paikson-yadu* on Thalunmintaya (fl. 1629-1648 A. D.) who became King of Ava in 996 B. E. (1634 A. D.). He wrote “*၄၈၆ နှစ်လွှာ။ လူတရားလွှာ။ လောပါတနိ။ နေဝိဇ္ဇာတိလျက်။*” i. e. “May the fourfold power of the King, the God of man, shaded by the “white umbrella,” increase day after day and....” This is said to have pleased the King so much that he learnt it by heart and kept it in a golden casket under his pillow. Author of *Lawmyosun*; *luda* on Pagan; *Narapatiyela*; *Min hla-yinnu-pyo*; a *marungun* on the building of a grand monastery by Minyè-kyawswa.
- Maung Kin. Author of *Kyezudawmingalamawgun* and *Hsinbyumè-egyin*.
- Kinwun-Mingyi. Or Thenatwun-mingyi. His private name was U Gaung. He was the author of:—*Nemiyagan*; *Gandhateinduka-pyo*; *Dhammawzamawgun*; *Sittupakkilethasadan* etc.
- Shin Kumara-Kassapa. A bhikkhu who lived in the Minkyaungdaik at Pahkankyi. In the third year of the reign of Anauk-hpetlun-mintaya (1608 A. D.) he wrote *Dhammarasi-pyo* and *Dhammayaza-pyo*. Myo-saye of Taung-u (See Kabyabandha p. 174). See Nandadhaza.
- U Kyi. Author of some *paikson-yadu* dealing with Yama, King of Hell, Tahe the ghost, and Shitpinnangaing. See Shin Than Hko.
- Kyigan-koyingyi. See Letwèthondara.
- U Lan. See Letwèthondara.
- Letsaungyuhmu. See Letwèthondara.
- Letwèbhinanthu. See Letwèthondara.
- Letwèna-wrahta. Born at Magyidon village in b. 1721 A. D. Yatana-thinhga (Shwebo) district in the year 1089 B. E. (1727 A. D.) His name was Maung Myat San (The Woharalinatthadipani p. 304 quotes the epilogue to a work by “Minletwènwawrahta born in 1085 B. E.” i. e. 1723 A. D.) In *Pucchavisajjanī* pp. 142-143 it is said that he won the title Letwènwawrahta during the reign of Alaunghpaya (1753-1760 A. D.) and Sithukyawhtin during that of Naungdawgyi (1760-1763 A. D.) He is said to have been 45 years old when he was sent to Mèza during the reign of Hsinbyushin (1763-1775 A. D.); he was recalled after staying there for forty-five days. He was sixty when he wrote *Thadina-pyo*. It is also said that he won the title Letwèthondara during the reign of Alaunghpaya and afterwards the title Letwènwawrahta. He was appointed Myowun by Bodawhpaya (fl. 1781-1819). In the *Kabyathingaha* it is said that, after Letwèthondara, the titles Bayayandameit, Thayethinhkaya and Letwèbhinanthu were conferred on him. His works are:—*Adatha-mukha-pyothit*; *Theningabyuha-pyo*;

Thawna-pyo; Thadina-pyo Nandithena-pyo; Byuhasakki-pyo; Guttilla-pyo; Mandatusakya-pyo; Winis-hsaya-linga; Dahsakyayaukyadu; Yadanapura-shwepyigyilamawgun; Pyidawwin-mawgun; Mahawizayayanthi - mawgun; Mingunseti-mawgun; a *mawgun* on the conquest of Siam by the Burmese; a *mawgun* on the conquest of Arakan by the Burmese; a *mawgun* on the coronation of Bodawhpaya.

See also B. R. S. J. Vol. VI Part I pp. 9-17 and Vol. III Part I pp. 45-54. Here it is stated that Letwèthondara was a writer to the royal council of Hanthawadi-pa-mintaya; that he was given a similar post by Alaunghpaya, and served successfully, except for two short breaks, under him and his successors, eventually attaining a judgeship of the supreme court; that he wrote the versified Winishsaya Pakathani Dhammathat in 1777 A.D., and that he died just before the first Burmese war. U Po Byu discusses the date of Letwèthondara's exile at Mèza and the *yadu* written there, which he places in the reign of Naungdawgyi (1760-1763 A. D.) Mèza is a village north of the old town of Shwebo.

Letwèzeyyathura.

An ex-hpongyi of Lawkahman-gin monastery. Author of many *yadu*.

Shin

See Twinthintaikwun.

Lingathara.

Maung Lu.

The bard of Myinzaing. Author of Mayalinga-pyo.

Mahadhammathinkyan.

Councillor and Ywasa of Chiba village.

Mahaminhla-mingaug.

Ywasa of Hsimigon village and Governor of Pagan. Author of Ummadandi-pyo; Mahawpyathana-pyo; Zanaka-pyo; See Kabyabandha p. 173.

Shin

Maharatthathara 1468-1529 A. D.

His private name was U Mauk. He was born on Wednesday in the month of Waso, 830 B. E. (1468 A. D.) during the reign of Mahathihathura (fl. 1468-1480 A. D.) the 11th King of the Ava dynasty and son of Mohnyin-mintaya, (fl. 1426-1439 A. D.). He was a descendant of princess Sawnan (daughter of Thadominbya who founded the 2nd Ava Dynasty in the year 726 B. E. (1364 A. D.)), and Sawminnyo the queen of the Middle palace. In the epilogue to Satudhamma-thara-kogan-pyo he says that he was 23 years old when Shin Mahathilawuntha wrote the Paramidawganpyo. He died at the age of 61 in the year 891 B. E. (1529 A. D.).

His works are:—Buridat-lin-gagyi and Buridat-zatpaung-pyo, written at the age of 16; Kogan-pyo, written at the age of 55. At the age of 61 he wrote the following works at Prome:—Pondaungnaing-mawgun; Tada-utimawgun; Wut-yonbwè-mawgun; Yèyitet-mawgun; Yadanapura-myoti-mawgun; Meiktilakanbwè-mawgun; Gambithara-pyo; and many *ekapaik-tawla*.

Mahasithu.

Wundauk. Modomingyi. Author of many *yadu*. See Kabyabandha p. 173.

Mahasithukyau.

See Kinwunmingyi.

Mahathihathura.

His name was Maung Yauk Kyi. He was *myowun* in charge of the city of Amarapura. He was known as Htilinmingyi, Myowunmingyi, Yankonmingyi (Governor of Rangoon). He was the author of Pyidawwin-pyo; Sandakinnari-pyo; Ithithinga-pyo; Udaung-min-pyo etc.

His son Mahathihathura, Myinwun or commander of the cavalry, wrote *yadu*.

Mahathiha-  
thura. See Letwèthondara.

Mahathin-  
hkayasithu. See Nawade-ngè.

Mahathiri-  
uttamasithu. See Nawade-ngè.

Mahathiri-  
uttamazeyya. See Nawade-ngè.

Mahazeyya-  
thinhkaya. His original name was U Chein.

He was a senior Herald (Thandawzingyi) during the reign of Bagyidaw (A. D. 1819-1837) and Hlethin-atwinwun during the reign of Mindon-min (A. D. 1853-1878). He was a teacher of Mingyi-mahazeyyathu, author of Kawilakkhanadipani. He wrote the Woharalinatthadipani.

Manawde-  
watayasit. Author of Guttila-pyo and Narada-pyo.

U Maung. A herald of Pagan-min (fl. 1846-1853 A. D.). He wrote a *le-gyo* commemorating the fact that marble was found at Zegyin hill near Mandalay. He was again appointed chief Herald (Thandawzin-gyi) by King Mindon. He wrote the Pyinsamathingayanadin-legyo. (See Kawimandana p. 566).

Mibaya-  
shinmin. Daughter of Maung Tun, the Atwinwun "Nandakyawhtin," and Shin Hpwa "Sandadewi," the daughter of Myinsugyiwin. She was born in 1138 B. E. (1776 A. D.). Singu-min (fl. 1775-1781) made her his chief queen with the title Maharatana Candadevi. When Singu-min was dethroned in 1143 B. E., Bodawhpaya gave her to Shintalaing, wife of Athiwungyi. She died in great misery.

U Min (the layman) He served as bard of the prince of Bassein, a son of Bodawhpaya, and received the title Mindinthetshi. He was born in the year 1136 B. E.

(1774 A. D.) At the age of 39 he received, as a grant from the King, the salt revenue derived from Hainggyi-kyun in Bassein district. Afterwards during the reign of Bagyidaw he became the King's bard and was given free quarters as well as various rewards. In company with the King's bards Maung I, Maung Ye, and Maung Talok, he wrote love-songs-*mèbwè* and *maungbwè* to be sung before the King. Afterwards, when the King made his state-entry into Amarapura (1823 A. D.) on the Pyi-gyimun raft, he wrote a eulogy and received as a reward Rs. 400/- and a barge. Before the King took possession of his newbuilt palace, he wrote an essay of research on alchemy and a eulogy beginning with the words "သုတေသန သဘာဝ" and was awarded the title Mindinthetshi; and 50 *pè* of land yielding a harvest of a thousand baskets of paddy yearly. During the King's state entry into the city of Ukkalapa (old Rangoon), after the ceremonies attending the construction of Zaung-alaw by the King (Tharrawaddy Min 1841 A. D.) he again wrote a poem in praise of the King and was awarded a sum of Rs. 300/-. The same amount, Rs. 300/-, he received as a reward for writing another eulogy during the regatta held at Dewun palace. He died during the reign of Pagan Min (fl. 1846-1853) in the year 1209 B. E. (1847 A. D.) It is said in the Mahagitathit that he died in the year 1215 B. E. on the 1st waxing of Wagaung (1853 A. D.)

U Min.

A *hpothudaw*. Author of a *Lwangyin*, or poem describing natural scenes during the twelve months of the year. The tithe or

- revenue derived from Kangyi village was allotted to him.
- Mindin-kyawgaung. A royal "Nahkan" (auditor).
- Mindinthetshi. See U Min (the layman.)
- Minhla-shwe-daung. Ywasa of Shweyinma.
- Minhlazaya. Atwinwun.
- Minhlazaya-kyawhtin. His private name was Maung Shwe Chi. He was appointed a Tazeikwun by King Mindon (fl. 1853-1878 A. D.). His works are:—Kalingabodhi-pyo; Sandakinnari-pyo; Abhiruka-pyo; Baikman-yatana-kyaungdawkyauksa (i. e. Inscription in the royal monastery of Yatanabeikman): Mahaweran-bonthaykyaung-mawgun; many *yadu*.
- Minyèminhla-kyawhtin. Author of an *egyin* on Princess Minhtaikune, daughter of Hantawadi-pa-mintaya. (fl. 1733-1751 A. D.)
- Minyènarathu. Author of Zabupati-pyo.
- Shin. Born 940 B. E. (1578 A. D.)
- Mundigotha b. He became a novice at the age of 15 under Taunghpilabsayadaw, with the title Mundigotha.
- Ma Mya Gale. Daughter of Asiyinmin-pyanchi and Mè I of Henzada. Born in the year 1172 B. E. (1810 A. D.), Tharrawaddy Min (fl. 1837-1846 A. D.) made her Queen of the Western Palace (Anauknanmadaw). Afterwards she was suspected of having encouraged the conspiracy of the Prince of Prome, and was sentenced to be trampled to death by an elephant. She died at the age of 36.
- She wrote some *le-gyo* and *tedat* before her death to be read before the King.
- Maung Myat Hpwe. Wrote Bodawmè-egyin on Friday, the 14th waning of Tab-aung 1151 B. E. (1789 A. D.)
- Nandadhaza. The novice of Kyigan in Alon district. His original name was U Nu. Author of thirteen *gatha* or Pali verses; and Sattovadi-kammatthana in 1169 B. E. (1807 A. D.) during the reign of Bodawhpaya (1781-1819 A. D.)
- Shwèsonkyawhtin (questions and answers); Burmese maxims. See Kabyathingaha p. 18.
- Myosa of Myataw. Author of Minset-linga a chronicle in verse See Thamantasakkhudipani Vol. I.
- See Shwedaung-Nandameit. Author of many *yadu*.
- Myosaye, or secretary to a myosa. Author of two *mawgun* on the Mingun pagoda (built 1790-2 A. D.)
- Flourished during the reign of Sithukyawhtin of Ava (i. e., Sithukyawhtin of Sagaing, Narapati of Ava; deposed by Bayinnaung.)
- A bhikkhu. Author of Widura-pyo.
- He was the son of Shwe-nandi-min King of Taung-u, who was the son of Kotheinthakin-bayin-mingau, the second brother of Bayinnaung or Hantawaddy Hsinbyushin (fl. 1551-1581). He afterwards ascended the throne of Taung-u, now independent, assuming the title Mahadhammaraja (fl. 1605-1628-Anaukpetlun-mintaya, who reigned in Pegu from 1613 A. D.)
- He was the author of twenty *sapyaing*; thirty five verses on the rain *motaw* or *motaing*; twelve *kye-se* verses; three *peinhnyin-hnetme-yadu* "Odes to the King Fisher." (See Woharalinattha) Thakinhpò-egyin; Minthetshi-egyin; Wimalayaza-egyin.
- Or the first Nawade, Taung-thinhmu.
- Minkyiswa—the second son of Narapati King of Ava, the builder of Htupayon pagoda and the
- Nandakyawhtingyi.
- Nandameit. See Shwedaung-Nandameit.
- Nandameit-kyawthu. Author of many *yadu*.
- Nandathu.
- Nandwin Mi Nyo.
- Natmauk-taunghsinhpondawgyi.
- Natshin maung.
- Nawade-gyi.

tenth King of the first Ava Dynasty who became King of Ava in 804 B. E.—ascended the throne of Tharekhettara (Prome) in 897 B. E. with the title Hsinmyashin, being the fourteenth King of the Prome dynasty. Hsinmya had a son named Minyè-theinhkathu, who was the father of Min Ba Saw. Nawade-gyi was the son of Min Ba Saw's guardian. In the Kabyathingahamedani it is said that Nawade-gyi was the son of the guardian of princess Narapatimè, daughter of King Bayinhtwe of Prome. But the former account is to be preferred, since it is confirmed by the Woharalinatthadipani. Min Ba Saw married the princess Narapatimè, a sister of Narapati the 17th King of Prome. When he was put to death by King Narapati, the princess was married to Sithukyawhtin of Salin, and Nawade had to accompany her to Salin where he was known as Salinletya. When Salin was destroyed, Sithu-kyawhtin made Sagaing his capital and reigned for six years. Nawade was then appointed commander of the "Taungthin," or the Southern Corps. He was thus known as Taungthinhmu. In 913 B. E. (1551 A. D.) Sithukyawhtin, now 57 years old, became King of Ava assuming the title Narpatisithu, and Nawade had to attend the court at Ava. After reigning for three years at Ava this King was defeated in battle (March A. D. 1555) and taken prisoner by Hsinbyushin of Hanthawaddy (Bayinnaung). He was dethroned, but taken as a political prisoner to Hanthawaddy where he was allowed to hold his court. In the Woharalinatthadipani it is stated that when Ava

was captured, Nawade-gyi was given over to Thadodhammaraja, 20th King of Prome, at the latter's request; hence the saying—

At Sagaing Taungthin;  
Letya at Salin;

At Prome Nawade-min.

In the Hmannan Vol. 2 p. 459 it is said that Nawade, a contemporary of King Hsinbyushin of Hanthawaddy, wrote a poem describing the gates of the city of Hanthawaddy. From this it may be inferred that Nawade served Bayinnaung also. In the epilogue at the end of the Manawhari-pyohaung, written by Nawade in 941 B. E. (1579 A. D.) during the reign of Hanthawaddy Hsinbyushin, he says, "စစ်ကိုင်းတောင်သင်း။ မလွင်းမှန်စွာ။ လက်ျာရွှေမျှား။ မင်းများညွှင်း။ ကြည်လင်နက်လေး။ နဝဒေးဟူ။ ပေးတုံမည်သာ။ မတ်ကြီးရာလွှဲ။" which confirms the view that the title Nawade was conferred on him by King Hsinbyushin. In Nigonhpyesdan Letwénawrahta (born 1089 B. E.) says that the title was conferred on him by Hsinbyushin as a mark of his appreciation of his *yadu* on Hanthawaddy (See Woharalinatthadipani p. 304).

In 943 B. E. when Ngazudayaka (Nandabayin 1581 A. D.) succeeded his father King Hsinbyushin of Hanthawaddy, the *myosa* of Inya and the *sawbwa* of Thaungthut (Hsaungsup) revolted. Nawrahtaminsaw, governor of Zimmè, and Thadodhammaraja, governor of Prome, were sent with an army to suppress the rebellion. Nawade-gyi took part in the suppression, and wrote a verse in which he mentioned that event.

In the Kabyathingahamedani (p. 4) it is stated that the title Nawade was conferred on him



in his old age at Zimmè, but that he started writing poems (*yadu*) at the age of ten. Some say that he once wrote a poem which offended Sithukyawhtin of Sagaing, and he did not write poetry for some time; and when they asked him whether he would write again, he answered in Pali "Na Vade"—"I won't say" i. e. I won't write poems. Hence his nickname.

The Poranadipani (p. 29) mentions Manawhari-pyohaung as a work of Nawadegyí who served the Kings of Taung-u as a bard and was known at Sagaing as Taungthinhmu, at Salin as Letya, and at Prome as Nawade.

His works are:—Four hundred or more *yadu*; Manawpyohaung, Manawharipyo; Yazabyuha-pyo; an *egyin* on Yodayami-baya, a sister of the Yodaya-bayin or governor of Siam, the second son of Hanthawaddy Hsinbyushin.

Nawade-ngè  
d. 1840 A. D. Or the second Nawade. His name was Maung Nu, and he was the hereditary headman of Ywa-we, one the five villages in Sadaung circle, Sagaing township. He received the title Balanandathu (See Cetiypakasani p. 385). In the year 1158 B. E. (1796 A. D.) he wrote a *mawgun* on Meiktila reservoir during the King's visit there; the king highly appreciated it. In 1160 B. E. he wrote a *yadu-paikson* on the wedding of the Pahkan prince and the Shwegu-princess. Later he wrote several *mingalayadu*, *mawgun*, and other poems, and gained the title Nawade. During the King's stay at Mingun (1790-2 A. D.) he was made *myosa* of Wetmasut and Twinthintaikwun. He was thus admitted to the "Taw" class of officials, and

later won the title Mahathinhkayasithu and Mahathirisithu. In his old age he was awarded a staff of honour studded with jewels, and was given the privilege of driving in his chariot up to the palace-gate. The title Mingyi Uttamathiri was also conferred on him. He died in the year 1202 B. E. on the 2nd waxing of Pyatho (1840 A. D.).

His works are:—a *mawgun* on Meiktila reservoir; Ishayangumawgun; Bawari-mawgun; a *mawgun* on the Burmese conquest of Assam; Thamundrika-mawgun; Candamani-mawgun; Amarapura-myobwè-mawgun; Yedin-mawgun; Tayokthanyauk-mawgun (on the arrival of ambassadors from China); and many *yadu*.

Maung Nè

A surgeon. Author of Hsinyan-linga beginning with the lines "သုံးပါးလူတောင်၊ ခြံထိပ်ခေါ်ထက်၊ တတောင်နေဝံ့၊ မြင်လျက်ထွန်းသို့။"

Nemyokyaw-Nemyokyahtin.

Myosa of Myingín.  
Myosa of Myingín.

Nemyo-nandameit.

His original name was Maung Hpu Gale. Author of the Mèdaw Maya Pyo (an epic on the mother of prince Siddhatha) and Um-madanti-pyo.

Nemyothi-hathu.

Atwinwun during the reign of Bodawhpaya (fl. 1781-1819 A. D.). Author of Yazawutthadi-pyo.

Nemyothin-khaya.

Author of many *yadu*.

Nemyothiri-theinhka.

Kyawsin-taikwun or Governor of Kyawsin District.

Nemyozeyya-kawthi.

Myosa of Moda.

Nemyozeyya-yandameit.

A King's bard. He wrote various *yadu*.

Maung No.

At the end of the Myinkyan-linga we find these words "ကုတိုးကုတောင့်၊ ခွါရကုတောင့်ထောင့်၊"

ရေချိုးတော်၊ ကျမ်းဂန်တော်မြောက်လှသော။ ရဟန်း  
လူထွက်ငါးဆူ။ ၁၁၂၃ စာပြီး၏။”

“Here ends the work written in  
1123 B. E. (1761 A. D.) by  
Nga No, an ex-bhikkhu, a great  
literary man, born at Sayemyo,  
brother-in-law of Dwara-kyaw-  
htin of Kadokudaw village.”  
Author of Wethandaya-pyo; Za-  
nakka-pyo; Hpayagyi-Thamaing;  
Shinmalè-pyo; Padasari-pyo.

U Nu.  
Maung Nyo.

See Nawade-ngè.

Author of Hsindaw-mawgun.  
He was an Under-Secretary of  
State (Atwinwundauk).

U Ohbatha.

Wrote the Mahapanakawutthu  
(Mahājanaka-jātaka) in prose at  
Minbu during the reign of  
Bodawhpaya in 1147 B. E. (1785  
A. D.). In the prologue he men-  
tions that he wrote it at the  
Amyin, and Kama. She became  
beginning of the rainy season,  
after summer.

B. E.

Shin On Nyo.

Of Taungdwingyi, Author of a  
*pyo* comprising sixty *gatha*.

Padethayaza  
d. 1754  
A. D.

Wrote poems during the reigns  
of Sane Min, builder of Man-  
aung-yatana pagoda (1060 B. E.  
1698 A. D.) and of Tananganwe  
Min, father of Hanthawaddy-  
pa-mintaya. During the reign of  
the latter, who ascended the  
throne in 1095 B. E. (1733 A. D.)  
he was appointed Athiwungyi  
with the title Minye-minhla-kyaw-  
htin. He was named by the  
king “Sasogyi,” the great poet,  
on account of his numerous  
works. He had conferred on  
him the title Natshinnaung, Pade-  
thayit, Padethayaza, Myodwin-  
natshin (see Kabyathingahame-  
dani). In 1116 B. E. (1754 A.  
D.) he went to Hanthawaddy and  
died at Syriam in the month of  
Waso when he was over sixty  
years of age. (See Konbaungzet-  
Mahayazawindawgyi p. 103 and  
Hmannan Vol. IV p. 117.

Pahkan-  
mintha 1783-  
1810 A. D.  
1145-1172

His works are:—Minhteik-  
une-egyin; Salinmin-egyin; Nat-  
than, on the thirty-seven Nats;  
Maung San Pyan-tangyin; Kye-  
sudaw-pyo; Yodayathanyauk-pyo  
(on the arrival of ambassadors  
from Siam); Kummabaya-pyo;  
Dandathiri-pyo; Nunu-pyo; Kya-  
nakketha; Mahapatinamaw-linga;  
Thuza-pyo; Thamuddabotha;  
Tawdwet-hkan (on the Great Re-  
unciation); Manaw-pyothit (See  
Pitakathamaing p. 1008); Sanna-  
pyan-pyo; Manihket-pyo; Mani-  
hket-zatchin, an ancient song (cf.  
what he says of Seindakyawthu's  
*luda*) beginning with “ဘုန်းမိသော”

Bodawhpaya, who ascended the  
throne in 1143 B. E. (1781 A. D.)  
married a nurse of the Guardian  
who was *myosa* of Hlaing-det,  
his queen Myaukshweyesaung-mi-  
baya. Pahkan-mintha was born  
to her in the year 1145 B. E.  
(1783 A. D.) His original name  
was Maung Hpè Gyi. In 1150  
B. E. he was made *myosa* of  
Myan-aung. In 1151 B. E. the  
title Minyèkyawgaung was con-  
ferred on him, and later that of  
Mahadhammaraja. In 1155 B.  
E. he was made *myosa* of Pahkan  
instead of Myan-aung. Of the  
sixty two sons of Bodawhpaya he  
was the eldest of those born after  
the king's accession. Once he  
offended his father and was sent  
to the jungles in Upper Burma,  
Where he wrote a *pat-pyo* which  
appealed to the King so much  
that he had him recalled. He  
died in the year 1172 B. E.  
(1810 A. D.) at the age of  
twenty seven.

Maung Paik.

An Akyisaye of a daughter of  
king Bodawhpaya (fl. 1781-1819  
A. D.) His masterpiece is an  
*egyin* on the princess of Meiktila  
and Kama.

- Pèthangesa-shinmyat-hkaung. Author of the *egyin* on princess Uttamarit of Sagaing.
- Maung Po. Born at Hkinmun village in Alon (now in Sagaing) district. Author of *Yazanitipyo*.
- U Ponnya d. 1866 A. D. Was known as Ko Pot Si as a novice. He was born at Sale. During the reign of Mindon-Min he was appointed to office with the title *Minhlathinkhaya*, the revenues derived from the villages of Minywa and Siywa being allotted to him. His works are:—*Yodayanaing-mawgun* (commemorating the victory over the Siamese) *Ratanadi-mawgun*; dramas, namely *Wizaya*, *Paduma*, and *Yethèpya-zat*; *Myittasa* or letters; *tedat yadu* etc. Died 1228 B. E. (1869 A. D.)
- Maung Pu. Born at Hkinmun village in Alon (now in Sagaing) district. He became governor of Tabayin (Tabayinwun). Author of many *yadu*.
- U Pu. Author of *Shwedaung-egyin*; *Alaungsithu-luda*; *Sandakumara-pyo*; *Kutha-pyo*.
- Pyanchi-shwedaung. Author of *Ayedaw-mawgun*.
- Pyawgyihmu. *Nakhandawgyi*. Author of many *yadu*.
- Maung Pyi. Pupil of *Taunglelon-hsayadaw*. Author of *Sampeyya-pyohaung*.
- Pyimin-thandawzin. A herald, otherwise known as Maung Yi.
- Pyimyo-wuntaungli-hpondawgyi. A head monk. *Thaddham-mazawta*.
- Shin Pyin-nyathami. The 2nd Maungdaung-hsayadaw.
- Pyithadoma-hathihathura-dhammaraja 1809-1845 A. D. Prince of Prome. His original name was Maung Pe Pu. He was the son of Shwebo Min (fl. 1837-1846) by the Alenandaw queen named Ma Shwe Yi. Born in 1171 B. E. (1809 A. D.) he was executed for treason in 1207 B. E. (1845 A. D.) at the age of 36.
- Rammathirikyawhtin. King's librarian and Ywasa of the ten villages of Chaung-u Circle. Author of *Hsaddan-pyaunggyaw-mawgun*.
- U Sa 1766-1853 A. D. Nemyozeyyathura. Born on Tuesday the 10th waning of Thadingyut in 1128 B. E. (1766 A. D.) in Migyaungdat village, west of Sagaing. His father was one Paukkyaw, son of an officer of the king's cavalry of Mauktet village north of Alon. His mother was Mi Nyein Tha, grand-daughter of Byinnyagyan-daw, a minister during the reign of Thalunmintaya (fl. 1629-1648 A. D.). When he was six years old his father died. At the age of eleven he became a novice and was educated at the monastery of U Parama, the Medi Hsayadaw. After some time he turned layman, and having married Mi E, daughter of Nga Nyun ex-president of a guild of gold and silver smiths (*padeinwun*), he became a goldsmith and merchant of jewels. At the age of nineteen he lost his wife, and worked under *Letyapyanchi*, herald of the Crown Prince, son of Bodawhpaya. After writing the "*Shwebonnidan*" he was recommended by his grandfather, the private secretary to the Crown Prince (*Einshe-atwinwun*), and served the Crown Prince as a clerk. While so engaged, he translated the "*Enaungzat*" from Siamese into Burmese and wrote a drama based on it with songs adapted to music. This made him famous as a poet. In the year 1170 B. E. (1808 A. D.) the Crown Prince died after his return from Arakan bringing the Arakan image (1784-1785 A. D.), and was succeeded by his son the prince of

Sagaing, afterwards known as Bagyidaw (fl. 1819-1837). U Sa was then appointed herald of the Crown Prince, commander of the barge Pyilonyu, and later private secretary to the Crown Prince. He succeeded in suppressing the revolt of the Maharaja of Manipur (A. D. 1819) and the Mye-daingwun and Uzupara the Maharaja of Manipur. On his return he was promoted from the "Du" class to the "Taw" class, and was awarded the title Nemyo-zeyyathura. When the prince of Sagaing (Bagyidaw) ascended the throne on the death of his grandfather (Bodawhpaya d. 1819 A. D.) U Sa was appointed to the full dignity of a secretary of state (Atwin-wun) with the title Mahathirizeyyathura. During the Arakanese expedition of 1185 B. E. (1823 A. D.) he was appointed general in command of the right division and second in command to the Alonwungyi, Mingyimaha Bandula, and was awarded the title Mahathirithihathura. On his return he captured at Salin Pan-wa, commander of a division of ten thousand men, who had started a mutiny. Arriving at the king's court he was appointed a Wungyi to direct the administration of the king's domains. When Shwebomin (known as Konbaung-Min or Tharrawaddy-Min fl. A. D. 1837-1846) ascended the throne, he wrote a eulogy on the king's dynasty beginning with the line ကုန်းဘောင် ဝရဓေ ဇေယျာဘိ၊ သီရိ သီရိနန္ဒာ ဝိဇ္ဇာ။ As a reward he received the revenue of Myindin and was awarded the title Mahathirizeyyathura. He died on the 1st waxing of Wagaung in 1215 B. (1853 A. D.) during the reign of Mindonmin.

Maung San Tin.

Seindak-yawthu (1736-1771 A. D.)

His works are numerous, comprising such poems as *yadu*, *legyo*, *patpyo*, classical songs (*thachingan*) covering about fifteen *anga* (each *anga* filling twelve palm-leaves).

Author of Baranasi-mawgun.

Or Shwedaung-yazagyaw. His original name was Maung Aw; and he became Singyetaikwun. He was the son of the sister of Twinthintaikwun Mahathinkhaya Mahasithu, and while serving under the king's uncle Minyèkyawgaung he was awarded the title Shwedaung-yazagyaw at the age of thirteen. When Ava was conquered by the Talaings (1751 A. D.) and Alaunghpaya made his capital at Shwebo (Yatana-theinga), he was known by his private name. During the reign of Alaunghpaya (1752-1760 A. D.) he wrote a *hsaungba* (epistle) and was awarded the title Seindak-yawthu. He was the author of Kawilakkhanathatpon, which he wrote at the age of twenty (See Kabyathingahamedani.)

He became a novice at the age of thirteen and learnt the elementary rules for novices in the Vinaya, as well as Pali Grammar such as Kaccayanabheda etc. He is said to have been in the habit of reciting all the minor works on Pali Grammar whenever he worshipped the Buddha. He was famous for his versatility. He learnt all the minor works on Pali grammar and prosody by heart, and used to write *thanbauk* or poetical trifles in the intervals while reciting his lessons before his teacher. Shwedaungyazagyaw was so skilful in rhyming that literary men would say of him "Rhymes have to come and serve him at his bidding" (See

Maungdaung Thathanabaing's answers in Paññakkamadipani.)

His works are:—Owadahtu-pyo; Kawilakkhanathatpon; Minzetlinga; Kapilamawgun; Singumin Nadawthwin; Pindalè-mintha-egyin; a *luda* beginning with "Hponpadetha"; Yatana-theingamyo-kandawbwè Pyatthathtichethpwè (poems commemorating the construction of the royal tank, palace etc); a *yadu* on the wedding of Amyin-min (a son of Alaunghpaya, younger than Hsinbyushin but older than Bodawhpaya); an *egyin* on the Crown Princess (who became chief queen to Naungdawgyi); Namakaranithayi; and a nature poem.

N. B. Maung Ba Han in his article on "Seindakyawthu: Man and Poet" (B. R. S. J. Vol. VIII part II pp. 107-111) adds the following information: that Seindakawthu was born in 1736 A. D., the son of U Ze Ya, at Maungdaung, a village in Alon, Monywa Township; that after his noviciate he entered the service of Minyèkyawgaung, uncle and generalissimo of the last king of Ava; that Alaunghpaya made him court-poet to Prince Badon (later Bodawhpaya); that he became poet laureate of Naungdawgyi (fl. 1760-1763 A. D.); that he died at the age of 35; that he composed the Kawilakkhana-thatpon in 1751 A. D. at Minyèkyawgaung's request, when he was only 15: "It is a tour de force of great merit and promise. There are in all 1787 lines and every line is alive with a depth of meaning. Mingyi-thiri-mahazeyya has written an exposition known as Kawilakkhana-dipani. It is an octavo volume of about 500 pages and it unfolds the meaning of only 78 lines....The Awwadahtu-

pyo was published in 1760 during the time of Naungdawgyi. Its epilogue tells us that it was composed in the stray moments of the poet's crowded career. As the title indicates, it contains precepts to guide one in the pursuit of wisdom." He notes also amongst his minor poems a *luda* on Alaunghpaya's march to Siam, and the Tawla-yadu. "An interesting story sheds light on the facileness of his pen. When he had in hand his Kawilakkhana-thatpon he toured lower Burma in order to acquire an exacter knowledge of local terms. He reached Ywa-byè. There he visited the monastery. The Superior knowing the fame of the poet thought to set him an impossible task. The poet was asked to extemporise some lines on Ywabyè, the superior's village, and Aung Gyaw, his nephew: on his omnivorous appetite and his chatty temper; on his fever ridden state and his huge betel-box that hung from his hand. The poet rose to the emergency and dashed off the following:—

ကွမ်းအစ်ကြီးလက်မှာဆွဲလို့၊ ရွာမြို့ကကွယ်တော်။  
အောင်ကျော်ရွာရိုး၊ စကားတွေရာနှောင်လို့၊ ကွေ့မ  
ရှောင်ကွယ်အောင်စား၊ ဇာတ်ပုံခပ်ကြီး။

"The Tawla-yadu shows that he is quite capable of lyric outbursts. It is a nature-poem which reveals how the sights and sounds of birds and beasts in a lonesome forest pass into the poet's sensibilities." "In his poetry the craftsman is apt to succeed at the cost of the poet. It has feet to march with a stately tread, but has no wings to soar. Polished, solid, durable, it has an intellectual quality which may be termed hard brilliance."

Shwedaing-  
hmu.

Author of many *yadu*.



Shwedaung-  
hsayadaw.

Original name, U Pu. He belonged to Zayit village.

Shwedaung-  
nandameit.

His original name was Maung Hpu Gale, son of a guardian (Akyidaw) of Bodawhpaya, who afterwards appointed the son an Akyidaw also. During the reign of Singumin (1775-1781 A. D.) he was appointed a herald (Thandawzin), Under Secretary of State (Atwinwundarik), and commander of three thousand barges (Thondaung-hmu). He died during the reign of Bodawhpaya (1781-1819 A. D.) Maung Nyo, the author of Shweminhponhsindaw - mawgun, was his brother-in-law. In the Kabyathingaha he is called Maung Thu; but in the Pitakathonbonsadan he is called Maung Hpu Gale, Nandameit, and author of Ummadanti-pyohaung and Mèdawmaya-pyo; this latter view is preferable.

His works:—Ummadanti-pyo; Mèdawmaya - pyo; Kutha - pyo; Candakumara-zatchin; Einshembaya-egyin; *egyin* on Thahkingyi, Thahkinlat, and Thahkinngè; Myolalinsa; Salinsa Maung Paunggyaung; and Minshwenan.

Shwedaung-  
nandathu.

Born at Letmè village, south of Salin. His private name was Mg Ta Yok. He became a Wundauk with the title Shwedaung-nandathu. Author of Mahathuthawma-pyo; Ngwedaung-yaganthit; Mwenunyagan.

Shwedaung-  
thinkkakyaw-  
htin.

Author of many *yadu*.

Shwedaung-  
yazagyaw.

See Seindakyawthu.

Shwegyaung-  
yègyin U Pu.

Author of Candakinnari-pyo and Kuthapyohaung.

Shwe-hle-hmu.

Author of many *yadu*.

Shwe-hsindu.

Daughter of Thalunmintaya king of Ava (fl. 1628-1648 A. D.) Author of *yadu* beginning

Nga Shwe Pu.

with the words လှသံဃာတို့ and many others.

Born at Yègyin village on the river Mu. Author of the Kutha-pyo (See Woharalinattha.)

U Shwin.

A *bhikkhu* of a remote monastery, Sithagyaung, in the Sagaing hills.

Singaing-  
hsayadaw.

Author of a commentary on the Paramigan-pyo of Minzetlinga (See Thamanta-cakkhu and Egyin-sayin.)

Sit-hlyin-  
htaunghmu.

The Jailer. Named Shinh-twenyo. Author of the Pyizön-mawgun and Hsindawmawgun.

Sithu-  
kyawhtin.

See Letwenawrahta.

Sithu-  
shwedaung.

Herald of Nyaung-yan-min. Wrote various *yadu*.

Sithu-  
thinkhaya.

Anaukwun wrote an *egyin* on the king who built the Lawka-chantha Pagoda.

Taungdwin-  
hsayadaw

His title was Nānābhiddhaja-saddhamma-senāpati-mahārājādhi-rājaguru. He was born at Padigon north of Taungdwingyi in 1086 B. E. (1724 A. D.). His parents were U Po Pye and Mè Kya. His original name was Maung Hpyaw (See Kingyi-hpyaw-attuppatti). At the age of 38, in the 18th year of his ordination, he became a hsayadaw, supported by Naungdawgyi, then Crown Prince, the eldest son of Alaunghpaya.

He wrote a commentary on the Paramidawgan-pyo and "Answers to the questions raised by Min Letwè-nawratha" an official of King Alaunghpaya.

Taunghpila-  
hsayadaw  
1578-1650  
A. D.?

Son of an Athi-gyi, an official of Salin. At the age of fifteen he wrote the Wethantaya-pyo, an epic on the Vessantara Jataka. In the year 956 B. E. (1594 A. D.) he received the *Upasampada* ordination, the Pyiyaning-hmu supplying him with all the requisites of a monk. In the year 972

B. E. (1610 A. D.) Minyèkyawswa built a magnificent monastery which he offered to the hsayadaw in the following year. In the year 1000 B. E. (1638 A. D.) at the age of sixty he renounced his monastery and went to Taunghpila, a hill near Sagaing, to pass his days in solitude. He died at the age of 72. The title Tipitakalankara was conferred on him by King Thalunmintaya (fl. 1629-1648 A. D.)

Taungthinmu. See Nawade-gyi.

Taungzin-hpondawgyi. Of Natmauk. Author of Widura-pyo.

Tazeiksaye. Author of Thanbula-pyo.

Maung Tin.

Shin. Pupil of Shin Maharatthathara. Tezawthara. His works are:—Dhattaratthathuwunnahantha-pyo; Pyadihaganlinga; Byadeittawgan-pyo; Shwehinhamin-pyo; Adathamukha-pyohaung; many *myittasa* or epistles, *linga*, and *yadu* (See Kabyathingahapitakatsadan).

Maung Tha Aung. Myosa of Taungkwin, he wrote *mawgun* on the pagoda of the king (Zedidaw) and the *sima* of the king (theindaw).

Thamantathu. Author of Taungdwingyimyothamaing-linga, the legendary history of Taungdwingyi in verse.

Thamantayaza. Author of many *yadu*.

Shin Than-hko. Or Lethsaungyuhmu. He wrote a *mawgun* on the royal elephant during the reign of Thalunmintaya (1629-1648 A. D.) The poem began with a labial, which is correct if a poem is about the Buddha or the king, instead of a dental, which is correct in a poem about animals. However he sent a petition to the king stating that he did so because the elephant was a royal possession, and he was amply rewarded.

His works are:—Yadana-pyaungmun - hsindawbwè - maw-

gun; Myinyèdibba - egyin; and many other *yadu* and *egyin*.

Shin. Author of Magyidaw-hsaya-daw-yadu.

Thayesi-thukadaw. Of Sagaing. Author of *yadu*.

Thayethin-hkaya. See Letwèthondara.

Thilawuntha. class at Taungdwingyi in the year 1453-1520 A. D. 815 B. E. (1453 A. D.). His mother was a spirit-medium Mè Dwe, and his father one Maung Kyi. He was born during the reign of Narapati (or Thihathu fl. 1442-1468 A. D.) the 10th King of the Ava dynasty, a younger brother of Mohnyinmintaya (fl. 1426-1439 A. D.) who built the Htupayon pagoda at Sagaing. His private name was Maung Nyo. He was 15 years senior to Shin Maharatthathara. He lived in the Yadanabeikmankyaung built by Thihapate-gyi north-east of Taungdwingyi. He died in the year 882 B. E. (1520 A. D.) at the age of 67. In the Kabyathingaha it is said that he died in 880 B. E. (1518 A. D.) at the age of 65.

His works are:—Paramigan-pyo; Hsutaunggan-pyo; Taungdwinla-pyo; Dhammapala-pyo; Buddhuppatti-nanbwin-linga; Yazawutthati-linga; Tada-u-ti-mawgun; Shwenanbwè-mawgun.

Thinhkathara. Myosaye during the reign of Bodawhpaya (1781-1819 A. D.). Author of Garudhammapyo.

Thinhkaya. Myosa of Tarokmyo. Author of Maha-upara-za-egyin, one of the twelve classical *egyin*.

Thirinandakyawhtin. Author of an *egyin* on the king who built the Lawkachantha pagoda.

Thiri-wethukyaw. Author of Thahkinmèke-egyin.

Thiri-zeyyathu. His private name was U Chein. He was born in Hkundaung village, Shwebo district, during the

reign of king Mindon (1853-1878 A. D.). He was made Myosa of Myaungghla, and Under Secretary for Foreign affairs. Author of *Kawilakkhana-dipani*.

Thondaung-hmu.

Known as *Taung-u-hlawga*; *thondaung-hmu* i. e. Commander of 3000 barges of *Taung-u*. During the reign of *Mingyi-nyo* (A. D. 1485-1530, father of *Tabin Shwehti*) he wrote *Min-taya-Shwehti-egyin*; *Minyè-kyaw-swa-egyin*; *Minyètheinhkathu-egyin*; twenty eight *paikson-yadu*; *Myinyindet-linga*; and a poem on *Thanmyinswa*, the elephant of the king of *Ava*. He was the father of *Zeyyayandameit* the poet.

Shin Thudamadaza.  
Shin Thuyè.

Or *Shin Thudamalingara*. Author of many *yadu*.

Author of an *egyin* on *Thahkin-htwe*, daughter of *Thadomingyaw*, and of many *yadu*.

Maung To  
1751-1796  
A. D.

Born at *Zidaw* village, about 2 miles from *Shwebo*, in 1113 B. E. (1751 A. D.). He became a treasurer in the household of the Crown Prince (*Einshe-Shwe-daikso*) See *Woharalinnattha-dipani* pp. 75-105. In the *Kabyathingahamedani* p. 9 he is said to have been an *ex-hpongyi* of *Saingnatha* village and author of so many *hsaung-ba* that he won the title *Saungba-Maung To* during the reign of *Hsinbyushin* (1763-1775 A. D.) and *Singumin* (1775-1781 A. D.). He was well versed in *Pali* literature and Buddhist philosophy. He wrote *Yamayagan*, comprising 36 *anga*, at the command of the king and queen; and the king so highly appreciated it that he appointed him *Treasurer* (*Shwedaikso*). He died after his return from *Meiktila* with the king in the year 1158 B. E. (1796 A. D.) at the age of 45.

His works are:—*Egyin* on the prince of *Sagaing*, the king's grandson (*Bagyidaw* fl. 1819-1837 A. D.) beginning with the words မိလ္လာမ္ပာဇ္ဇေ ”; *Kyese-yadu-paikson*, written at the command of the Crown Princess to be sent to the Crown Prince who accompanied the expedition to *Arakan* (1784 A. D.); *Yamayagan*; *Yodawyu-egyin*; a *Kyese* on the king's expedition to *Siam*. A. D.).

Maung Tu.

*Tahsaiksaye*.

Maung Tun Nyo.

See *Twinthintaikwun*.

Twinthintaikwun  
1726-1792  
A. D.

Born 1088 B. E. (1726 A. D.). His original name was *Maung Tun Nyo* (See *Thathanawuntha* p. 149). The titles *Mahathinhkaya* and *Mahasithu* were conferred on him. He was famous for sane speech and integrity. He joined the Buddhist clergy and was known by the name *Lingathara*, but in the time of *Hanthawaddi-pa-mintaya* (fl. 1733-1751) he turned layman. During the reign of *Alaunghpaya* he was tutor to *Badônmin* (afterwards *Bodawhpaya*). When *Bodawhpaya* ascended the throne (1781 A. D.) he was appointed lord of the royal granaries (*Kyi-wun*) with the title *Mahathinhkaya*. Later he was appointed *Twinthintaikwun*. On the death of *Pahkan Mingyi* he received as a reward a staff studded with jewels. He died at *Mingun* when the king was holding his court there (1790-1792 A. D.).

He was uncle, on the mother's side, of *U Aw-Seindakyawthu*. He wrote *Widurapyo* at the age of 64, *Wetthandayapyo* at 72, and *Zanakapyo* at 80. His other works are:—*Ngayanminpyo*; *Mahawkyesegan* and *Mahaw-*

umingan (both being poems on the Ummagga Jataka); Mudulakkhana; Balladiya, and Zayaditha (all *pyo*); Warathetagirasindaw-mawgun; Hsinbyumè-egyin; Twinthin-luda; Aungbinlè-kanbwè; Dahka-thonzehkuni-tetchin-luda; Amarapura-myobwè-mawgun; Mingunbwè-mawgun.

In 1751 A. D. the year of the capture of Ava by the Talaings, on the 5th waxing of Kason he had been a bhikkhu for five years and written the Mudulakkhanapyo, Ekanipatzat (over two *anga*), and 66 Jatakas.

U Uggantha  
1817-1905  
A. D.

Okpo-hsayadaw, and head of the *Dwarawadi* sect. Born on Sunday the 5th waxing of Tabaung 1179 B. E. (1817 A. D.) in Ywagale village, Tharawaw Circle. Died on Sunday the 2nd waxing of Tabaung 1267 B. E. (1905 A. D.) at the age of 88, 68 years after his ordination. Author of Swèdawshaung-yadu, Bodhishaung-yadu etc.

Shin  
Aggantha-  
mala.

Son of the Thugyi of Shweyinhmya, where he was born. During the reign of Sanemin (1698-1714 A. D.) who built the Man-aung-yatana pagoda at Balèba, he was brought to Shwegyet-yet on the Irrawaddy opposite to Sagaing, where a monastery was built for him by Twinthinwungyi. The latter did not bring him to the King's notice, it is said, because he was afraid that popularity with the court might tempt him to turn layman.

Author of Kawipathanda-linga; Wunnabodanathapon; and a commentary on the Taung-u-hso-yadu.

Maung U Ka.

A retainer of Bagyidaw (fl. 1819-1837 A. D.) Author of Temi-pyo.

Shin  
Uttamagyaw

Son of U Thaukkya and Ma I of Myolalingyi north of Taung-

b. 1453 A. D. dwingyi. He was born in the year 815 B. E. (1453 A. D.) during the reign of Narapati the 10th king of the Ava dynasty (1442-1468 A. D.) His private name was Maung Ukka. He belonged to the village in which Shin Maha-thilawuntha was born. They studied at the same monastery, and one of them was only six days older than the other.

He wrote Lawmyosu; Luda on Pagan; Narapatiyela; Tawla, on the twelve lunar months of the year.

See also U Po Byu's articles on Shin Uttamagyaw and his Tawla (translation by Maung Ba Han) in J. B. R. S. Vol. VII Part II p. 159 etc. and eight subsequent numbers. U Po Byu states that he was native of Pondawbyi village near Myolalin; that his original name was Maung Ye; that he and Shin Thilawuntha entered on the same day the Taungdwin monastic school; that Thilawuntha was expelled for writing poetry, but Shin Uttamagyaw remained for twenty years; that he then left for Ava where the ministers gave him a separate monastery; that though he was never as famous as his friend, he was invited to the palace of Duttiya Mingaung for consultation on abstruse problems of the Tipitaka; that in spite of the objections of the Hsayadaw he wrote his Tawla at Taungdwin. He composed only one poem. There are in all nine verses. Despite its brevity, in pure dignity of diction, it is a match for almost any poem of his contemporaries; while in sheer artistry of words it excels all other poems on the same subject. The distinctive feature is its spiritualization of nature. It paints in burning co-

lours a series of portraits in which the whole universe—animate and inanimate—is represented as rendering due homage to the Buddha. In the last verse he makes it no secret that he considers himself superior to his two contemporaries (Silavamsa and Ratthasara alike in sanctity of life and literary power."

Uttamathiri.  
Shin

See Nawade-ngè

Varadham-  
malingara.

Author of Udenaminsaw-pyo

Wayindoksa.

See Mingyi-nyo.

Wuntaungli-  
hpongyi.

See Thaddhamma-zawtika.

Maung Ya.

Myowun of Martaban. During the reign of Bodawhpaya (1781-1810 A. D.) he was a head monk, but afterwards he became a layman and was appointed Myowun of Martaban. He wrote *yadu* on pagodas and the twelve months of the year.

Maung Ya  
d. 1785 A. D.

He was at first a Holder of the King's betel-box (Sadaw-kunye-gaing.) During the reign of Singu-min (1775-1781 A. D.) he was appointed guardian (Akyidaw) of the Queen of the Northern Palace, daughter of the Thugyi of Ma-u village. He wrote many *è*, and so was nicknamed *è* Maung Ya. During the reign of Bodawhpaya (1781-1810 A. D.) he served under the prince of Pindalè, a younger brother of the King. Afterwards he served in the household of the Crown Prince, father of Bagyidaw, and died in the year 1147 B. E. (1785 A. D.)

His works are:—Minnan-pyo; a *yadu* on the Htupayon pagoda beginning with the words "သီလဝေ; Kukkogyaung-hsindaw-bwè; and many *è*.

Yan-aung-bala. A Thichinwun or poet laureate during the reign of Alaunghpaya

(1753-1760 A. D.) He wrote *paikson-yadu*, after the manner of that written by Hanthawadi-pa-mintaya (fl. 1733-1751 A. D.) beginning with the words—  
“ခြောက်မည်ပိုင်းလှ၊ ဆောက်တည်ထင်ဆို၊  
လျှောက်မည်နှုတ်ဆို။”

Once when Alaunghpaya was on his way by raft, with his boats accompanying him, to capture Hanthawaddy, it so happened that when the King reached the 16th stage a palm tree fell on the royal raft. Promptly Yan-aung bala wrote an *ekapaikyadu* on the event.

Yan-aungsa.

His private name was Shin Yan-aung. He was a son of Bayagamani. Author of many *yadu*.

Yantameiksi-  
thu.

Secretary to a Judge (Taya-saye.)

Yaweshinhtwe.

A maid of honour *yawe* in the palace of Ava. Author of an *angyin* on the various fashions of hair-dressing in vogue among maids of honour during the reign of the 55 Kings of Pagan.

Yazabahu.

See Hlawathondaung-hmu

Yazabala.

See Hlawgathondaung-hmu

Yazabala-  
kyawhtin.

Secretary of State (Atwinwun) and Ywasa of Thetpan. Author of Mahapurithalakkhana-pyo (on the characteristics of great men), and Muddhabitheka-mawgun.

Yazadewa.

See Hlawgathondaung-hmu.

Yazananda.

A minor herald.

Yazathara.

Author of a *yadu-paikson* read before Hanthawaddy Hsinbyu-shin (Bayinnaung fl. 1551-1581 A. D.) before the *hti* of the charge of land revenue, with the *ဇွဲခေါ်*."

Yazathinkyan.

Of Pegu.

Yazathuriya.

His private name was Maung Mya Oh. He became minister in charge of land revenue, with the title Yazathuriya.



- Author of Man-aung-yatana-hpaya-dayaka-egyin (i.e. an *egyin* on the king who built the Man-aung-yatana pagoda fl. 1698-1714 A. D.).
- Yazawethaw. Author of Shinhpyuhpaya-mawgun.
- Maung Ye. Born at Pahkangyi, he was appointed guardian (Akyidaw) of the princess of Henzada. Author of Apannaka-pyo; Dvā-satthiditthi-pyo.
- Maung Yi. Ywasa of Hsithit. He was a herald of Bodawhpaya (fl. 1781-1810 A. D.) and was made Ywasa of Hsithit village in Singu township. He wrote a poem on Ava, and a *luda* on the twelve months of the year.
- Zeyya-kyawthu. Original name, Maung To. Author of Yodawyu-egyin.
- Zeyya-kyawzwa. Received the revenue derived from Mōda as a grant from the King.
- Zeyya-pyanchi. Thu-gyi of Kandawmingyaung. Author of Hlandawsakkyamawgun.
- Zeyyayanda-meit b. 1578 A. D. Son of the Thondaunghlawga-hmu (commander of 3000 barges) of Taung-u. Born 940 B. E. (1578 A. D.) he became commander of the Kaungsitdaing regiment during the reign of Shwenandimin nephew of king Bayinnaung and son of Mingaung governor of Taung-u (See Kabyathingahanidan p. 6). In the Woharalinatthadipani it is said that he was made commander of Kaungsit boats (Kaungsithle-hmu) by Anaukpetlun-mintaya (so named because he died during his stay west of Pegu in Hanthawaddy), the conqueror of Taung-u (or Mahadhammaraja fl. 1605-1628 A. D. reigned in Pegu 1613 A. D.).
- His works are: Minyēnara or Natshinnaung (son of Shwenandimin)-egyin, beginning with the words—"မင်းဆရာတော်"; Anaukpet - lunmin - hponbwē-yadu, a eulogy on Anaukpetlun-mintaya; Hpayataingawamyobwē (See Kabyathingahamedani p. 6).
- Zeyyayanda-meik-kyawthu. Author of Salwetawtin-mawgun and Lokachanthahpaya-dayaka-egyin.
- Zeyyayanda-meikkyi. Circa 1091 B. E. (1729 A. D.) Myosa of Taungkwin.
- Zimmēbayin-htwe. Author of *yadu*. See Kabya-bandha p. 172.
- Zimmēbayin-nawrahtazaw. Author of *yadu*. See Kabya-bandha p. 172.
- Zimmē-mibaya. Author of *yadu*. See Kabya-bandha p. 172.
- Shin. Flourished during the reign of Sane-min (1698-1714 A. D.), tenth king of the third Ava dynasty. Author of a commentary on the Paramidawgan-pyo.
- Zinarama.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY.

1. Porana-sagahpyekyan, by Monywa Hsayadaw.
2. Poranakathatika-kyan, by Thithseint Hsayadaw, printed at Thudhammawadi Press.
3. Samantacakkhudipani, by Monywa Hsayadaw (Hanthawaddy Press).
4. Pucchavisajjani, by Shin Mahathilawuntha (Taya Press, Mandalay).
5. Pitakatthonsadan, by U Yan Maingkaingmyosa (Pyigyimandaing Press and Thudhammawadi Press).
6. Kabyasangahamedani, by Maung Lwin.
7. Kavimandanamedani, by Hsibani Hsayadaw (Irrawaddy Press).
8. Voharatthapakasani (Irrawaddy Press).
9. Voharalinatthadipani, by U Chein, Hlethin-atwinwun.
10. Kavilakkhanadipani.
11. Kabyabandhasara, by U Tin.
12. Mahagitathit (Sun Press, Rangoon).
13. Kawisetthumanjusa by U Aung (Zeyya-purein Press).
14. Poranadipani, by Saya Thein (Irrawaddy Press, Rangoon).

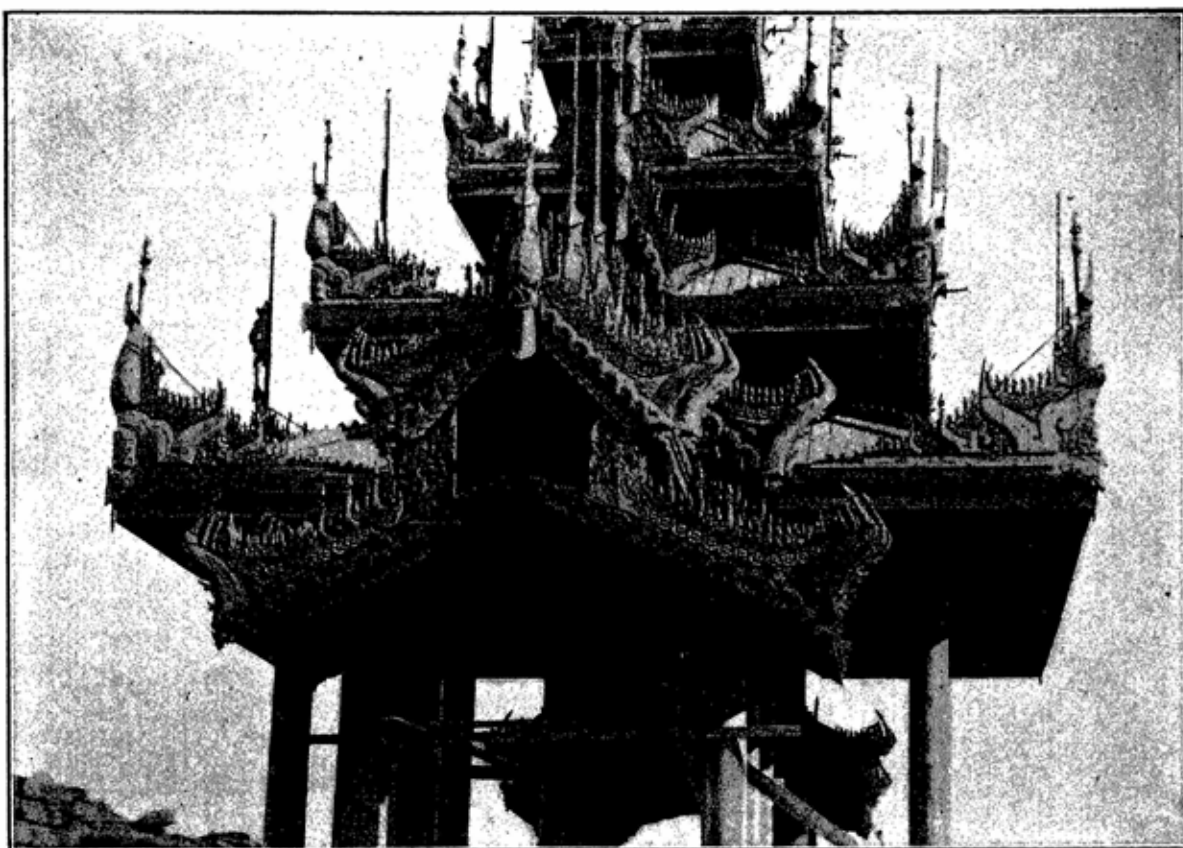


PLATE I. CARVINGS ON THE GABLES OF A PYATTHAT (BASTION) ON THE FORT WALL,  
MANDALAY (19TH CENTURY.)





PLATE II.      MAKARA IN FLAME-LIKE PEDIMENT, GODAWPALIN PAGODA, PAGAN.





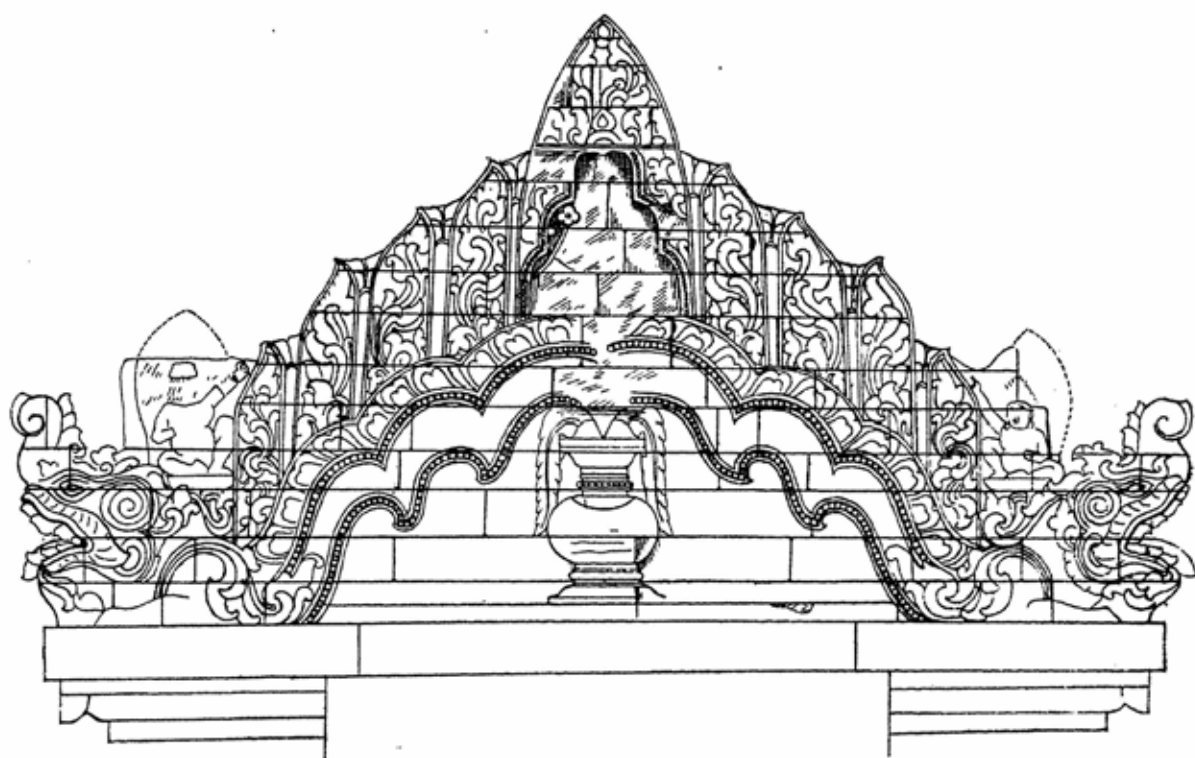


PLATE III. PEDIMENT OVER ONE OF THE WINDOWS OF THE NANPAYA TEMPLE  
(11TH CENTURY A. D.) PAGAN.



## NOTES AND REVIEWS.

### "THE MONASTERIES OF PAGAN."

#### A REVIEW.

We owe our thanks to Captain Braxton Sinclair for his very interesting article on "the Monasteries of Pagan" which is published on pages 1—4 of the last number of this Journal. It is profusely illustrated with photographs and drawings prepared by the author himself; the reproduction of the photographs is not, unfortunately, as good as one might expect.

We Burmans are very proud of our buildings at Pagan, and are greatly indebted to Government for the interest they have taken in their preservation.

Captain Sinclair is inclined to give us all the credit for originality and versatile spirit as disclosed by these buildings. Much that is beautiful in Pagan we no doubt owe to the innate artistic feeling of the Burmese. But we must not, however, forget that this credit is due also to the Mōns or Talaings and Indians. How far this credit is due to the Talaings may be gauged from the fact that even our chroniclers assert that the model of the Temples at Pagan was taken from Prome and Thaton,<sup>(1)</sup> and there can be no doubt that the architects presiding over the building of some of the old temples at Pagan were Indians. The latter assertion is corroborated by tradition and by the presence of a large community of Indians in Burma as testified to by our lithic records. Moreover, as every one of us knows, all the details at Pagan, both structural and ornamental, have an Indian origin. In this, I am not taking the arches as an exception.

Capt. Sinclair, perhaps following Yule and Fergusson, says. 'The arch in all its forms, circular, pointed and flat was well known and constantly used, while in India the arch at this period<sup>(2)</sup> was unknown and only the circular arch was in use in Europe.' In connection with the use of arches in India before the Muhammadan invasion, I would refer the reader to the pages of E. B. Havell's "Indian Architecture and Painting" and "Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India," where the author shows in a most impressive and convincing manner that the use of arches was known in India long before the Muhammadan conquest in the 12th century A. D.; to the foot-note at page 13 of Vincent Smith's "History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon"; to plate XVII and pages 186-187 of Cunningham's "Archaeological Survey of India Reports," Vol. VIII; and to Fergusson himself at page 253 of his "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture," Vol. II, where he says that the Bengalis having nothing but brick for building materials, were of necessity forced to employ "arches in every building that had any pretensions to permanency." In the face of the weighty evidence of Fergusson against the introduction of arches into Burma from India, Mr. Taw Sein Ko was obliged to bring it from its original home in Mesopotamia to Burma round the other way, i.e. through Turkestan,<sup>(3)</sup> but there is no necessity to do so now. Further researches into the history of the architecture

(1). ၂၆၂၆: ၇၀၀၆, Vol. I, p. 252, and Mr. Chas. Duroiselle's "The Ari," p. 86 of the Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report, 1915-16.

(2). 11th—12th century A. D.

(3). Annual Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma, for the year ending 31st March 1917, pp. 32—34.

of ancient India have yielded additional proofs that ancient India did use arches for constructional purposes; and the only natural conclusion to arrive at regarding the use of arches in Burma is that it was introduced from India.

There is another point of which I would like to say something, *i.e.* about Capt. Sinclair's theory of palm leaf as the origin of the flame pediments over the door and window openings of the temples at Pagan. He is inclined to think that "the great stems of the large palm leaf were used in the construction of the building..... and the leaves were left on as a decorative feature and adorned every angle, gable and door-way with a fine bold and flame like feature." In support of his theory, he gives, in plate 8 of his note, sketches of a fresco painting in the Paya-thôn-zu temple at Minanthu and a stone sculpture in the Ananda Pagan. The former belongs to about the 12th and the latter to the close of the 11th century A. D. It is unfortunate that the author did not give photographs of their originals. At any rate, the conclusion that has been arrived at by Capt. Sinclair is neither convincing nor probable. Moreover, Captain Sinclair makes no mention whatever of the figure of the *Makara* or stylized *Makara* with which these gables are usually adorned. He dismisses it by saying simply that the scroll ornament below the palm leaf was one of the symbols of Buddhism and represents the shield of the Trident.

Captain Sinclair's stay at Pagan was, as stated in his note, too short, and this no doubt prevented him from noticing the *makara* used as a motif for decoration on practically every building. It would be impossible for him not to have seen the Nanpaya Temple at Myinpagan, built in the 11th century A. D. where the pediments over the windows are ornamented with the heads of *makaras*. They are in stone and could not have been later additions. They were there originally. The gables at the Ananda are also ornamented with the same figure, and the same may be noticed on the Thatbyinnyu, Shwegugyi, Gawdawpalin, &c. &c. as well as on the sculptures, and paintings at Pagan. That the use of the *makara* as a motif for ornamentation is not of recent date may be proved from a reference

to the temples in Java, Cambodia, Ceylon and India dating from about the eight or ninth century A. D. and some earlier still. Any well-written book on the art and architecture of any of these countries cannot but have a reference to the *makara*. For Java a reference may be made to the illustrations given in C. M. Pleyte's "Die Buddha Legende"; to the pages of B. E. F. E. O. and "Les Ruines d' Angkor" for Cambodia. Too numerous are the references for India and Ceylon to be quoted at length, but the reader may refer to James Smither's "Architectural Remains of Anuradhapura and Ceylon," and to H. Cousens' "The *makara* in Hindu Ornament" published at pages 227—231 of the Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1903—1904, where there are given in a small compass some of the important references to the use of the *makara* for decorative purposes in India. Such a universal use of the *marka* cannot certainly be ignored. Now to trace the origin of our flamboyant ornaments. We will take for our illustrations first the gables of one of the pyatthats (bastions) on the Fort Walls at Mandalay (19th. cent.) and one of the pediments over the windows of the Nanpaya Temple, Pagan. (Plates I and III). If we compare the horn-like ornament at the lower ends of the gables of the pyatthat with the *markara*-head at the springing of the pediment of the Nanpaya, it requires not much of imagination to see in the one the stylized form and in the other a delineation of the animal itself. The stylized form has all the principal parts of the *markara*-head: the up-turned trunk, the mouth and the ear. And what is a *Markara*? The answer to this question may be found at page 230 of Mr. Cousen's "The *Markara* in Hindu ornament" referred to above. For the sake of convenience to the reader. I shall quote it here at length. Mr. Cousen says, "The dictionaries define the *makara* as 'A kind of sea animal, a crocodile, a shark'.....'A kind of sea monster confounded with the crocodile, shark, dolphin, etc. (properly a fabulous animal regarded as the emblem of Kāma deva).....' Name of a mythical fish or sea monster'.....'An aquatic monster, understood usually of the alligator, crocodile, shark but, properly, a fabulous animal'.....'A marine monster, confounded usually with the crocodile and shark, but properly, a fabulous

animal—as a fish it might be conjectured to be the horned shark, or unicorn fish.”

The sea-monster-like nature of the *Makara* in our figures is shown by the dorsal fins or pikes which are represented by the flame-like ornament (Plate II). This being so, it may be said that

the whole of the flame-like ornament over doors, windows, gables and arches had no doubt its origin in the *Makara* itself, and the scroll ornament below it is only an artistic representation of the undulations of the mythical monster.

MAUNG MYA.

---



## DERIVATION OF "ARI."

It is a pleasure to see, at page 82 of this Journal for August 1920, that Maung Tin agrees to the fact that a final ဌ in Burmese represents a Pali final *y(a)*; *īy(a)* or *eyy(a)*; it is not only a tendency, but such a regular phenomenon, that it may be stated to be a well established phonetic law; similarly, the representation in Burmese by a final န of the Pali final *ñ(a)*. But Maung Tin rejects this incontrovertible evidence in favour of the word "ari" (အရိ) which he maintains is derived from *arañña* and not from *ariya*, thus making this word a solitary exception to two well established phonetic laws to which, up to now, no exception has yet been found. It is true that, in all languages, some words are here and there found which rebel against the application of phonetic laws, but these words are comparatively few, and further patient research always tends to diminish somewhat their number. "Ari," however, does not come under this category for, positively, by the law that final ဌ = final *y(a)*, *īy(a)*, it can be shown to be derived from *ariya*; and negatively, by the law that final န = final *ñ(a)* it is likewise shown not to be derived from *arañña*. Maung Tin invokes, in support of his derivation, "literary history"; the expression in this case is not quite clear, and "historical associations" would perhaps have been more to the point. His examples are not only inconclusive, but clearly prove what he endeavours to disprove. He brings forward the fact that, in Burmese poetry, the word *ariya* is used in full form without clipping, and that therefore အရိ does not mean *ariya*; but it really simply shows this, that the word *ariya* having been "burmanised" by slipping it into အရိ,

both forms are used indiscriminately in poetry according to the exigencies of the rhyme; numerous other examples of this twofold use could be given. Maung Tin does not seem to have perceived that, in the examples he quotes, the full form *ariyā* is used so that the rhyme may not be spoiled, for in each case quoted, it rhymes with *saṅghā*, with which the clipped form *arī* could not possibly rhyme; and this explains why, having to employ the full form, the poet, in two instances, prefers a five-syllabled foot to a rhymeless one, as less jarring to the ear, and more in accord with the canons of Burmese prosody. Burmese poets never sacrifice their rhyme to a foot, with the result that a five-syllabled foot is not such a rare occurrence as to have such a weight as Maung Tin ascribes to it in the derivation of *ari*. Here are a few examples taken from Manli's *Maghadevalaṅkā*, p. 263, မြိကြားရှာဘွေ၊ နောက်ပေသုစိုက်; p. 358, ဘူမိကာမ၊ ရူပအရူပ၊ ပါပကမ္မ၊ အကုသလစိုက်။ On the other hand, whenever the exigencies of rhyme require it, the derived form အရိ is used; this is seen in the examples of the word cited by Maung Tin himself.

This word *arī* is of pretty frequent occurrence in Burmese poetry and, unless specially qualified, never refers to Ari priests of Pagan who were northern Buddhists. Had Maung Tin gone a little further ahead and hunted for himself more passages where this word is found, and weighed the meaning in each passage according to the context, he would have soon perceived that အရိ does not mean *āraññaka* (forest-dweller), and that all its meanings are covered by the term *ariya* quite naturally and without straining. From more than a dozen passages (besides the

(1). All these meanings are in fact based on the tripitaka and the commentaries; compare the following note of Childers in his Pali dictionary, p. 57. "*Ariyo*, A venerable or holy man, a saint; one who has entered on the Four Paths, a converted man; one who has entered on the Four Paths, a converted man; one who has attained final sanctification, an Arahā; a Brahman; an Ārya or

Ariyan. As a technical term for one walking in the Four Paths the word *Ariya* includes Buddhas, Pacceka Buddhas, Arahās, Anāgāmins, Sakadāgāmins and Suttāpannas. These are collectively designated by the plural *Ariyā*, "The saints," "the elect," "the righteous," which includes the whole Buddhist hierarchy."

five cited by Maung Tin) it is quite clear that the အရင်း connotes the following: a man of elevated and noble character; a good man, in the sense of one who has entered the Four Paths (*setāpanna*, etc.), and hence, a Buddha, a Pacceka Buddha, an arhat, monk, an ascetic a novice, the Saṅgha, that is, a community of monks or the body of the brotherhood; the Burmese expressions used along with *ari* or deduced from the context being—သဗ္ဗဗုဒ္ဓ၊ ပစ္စကာဗုဒ္ဓ၊ ရဟန်း၊ ရသေ့၊ ဘိက္ခု၊ ရှင်၊ သူတော်ကောင်း၊ သင်္ဃာ။ In the technical tradition of the Scriptures and the commentaries all these persons come under the generic designation of *ariya*.<sup>(1)</sup> Among them, some live in the forest (*arañña*) as *āraññakā* (forest-dwellers); but the great majority did not, and at the present time do not so live; all are *ariyā* (အရင်း) but not all forest-dwellers (*āraññakā*). If then, the word *ari* is applied, as it often is, in a general sense to a monk (ဘိက္ခု၊ ရဟန်း၊ ရှင်) and to the body of the monkhood, Saṅgha, it does certainly not mean "forest-dweller," but a saintly and noble man, that is an *ariya*. In short, the word means a man imbued with a deep sense of religion, either a layman or a monk, but especially the latter, and this latter may be a simple novice, an ordinary monk, a forest-dweller, a saint or even the Buddha himself. In the five examples quoted by Maung Tin, it happens that the personages referred to live in the wilderness, hence he thought that *ari* was derived from *arañña*, but these personages were simply holy monks who chose that kind of life. Passages are not lacking in which အရင်း does not at all refer to forest-dwellers, but simply to religious. For instance, the great poet, Rattasāra, refers to himself (*Bhūri-dat-zat-paung*, p. 5) as a monk (အရင်းရှင်) who writes his poems not for fame, but for the spiritual good of the people: ကြိတ်တည်း၍၊ အရင်းရှင်မှ၊ နှလုံးမြှင့်၊ etc; it is well known Rattasāra was not an *āraññaka*, but was much at the court. There is in Manli's *Meghadeva-lankā*, p. 337, a very clear passage showing that အရင်း simply means "a monk"—ဝ။ ဝိပဿနာ၊ နှစ်ခြာရုံ၊ မလှံလတ်၊ ကိစ္စမနည်း၊ အလိုသည်း၍၊ အရင်းမပိ၊ etc. "He who, not striving after the two duties of Learning (the Scriptures)

and Meditation, is hampered with much extraneous affairs and is full of desire, he is not a true monk." The two dhuras or burdens, that is, the two obligations of learning the Scriptures and of meditation, are incumbent upon *all* monks, whether they live in villages or in the wilderness; they must take both or at least one, but cannot neglect both.<sup>(2)</sup> It is clear that here, အရင်း refers to monks in general and not to forest-dwellers only. These two examples ought to be sufficient to show that အရင်း means an *ariya* in the sense of a religious; and when it applies to a forest-dweller, it is only implication, because the forest-dweller is an *ariya*. And so have the Burmese themselves understood this word; Saya Phye, the well-known editor and savant, in his *Porāṇamūla-kathā-abhidhan*, p. 27, defines အရင်း as—ရှင်ရသေ့၊ ရဟန်း; and quotes an example from the *Porāṇa-kathā-laṅkāthit*: ရှင်ကိုအရင်း, where *shin* can in no way be understood as a forest-dweller, but simply as a religious. U Po Then, in his *Porāṇa-dīpanī* Kyan, defines အရင်း as, ရသေ့ (*rishi*) and ရဟန်း; ရဟန်း (*rahandā*) means merely a monk, a saintly monk. Finally U Tin, the learned Subdivisional Officer of Pagan, in his *History*, derives အရင်း from *ariya*; in fact, it is to him that the credit of the equation အရင်း=အရိယ is due, for I merely followed him, having assured myself that his derivation was strictly in accordance with Burmese phonetics.

But if any conclusive proof were really needed to show that အရင်း (*arī*) is derived from *ariya*, we may invoke Talaing testimony; like the Burmese, the Talaing, whenever practicable, clipped the words they adopted from foreign languages, according, in the majority of cases, to well defined rules. Thus it comes to pass that the Talaings have also a clipped form for the word *ariya*, and this is အရိ (*arī*); in this case, the final *y(a)* of the Pali is dropped, and the vowel lengthened for compensation; they, like the Burmese, often used both forms, full and clipped. Talaing အရိ=Burmese အရင်း in derivation and in meaning, as well as in pronunciation, taking into account the usual Burmese softening of *r* into *y*.

CHARLES DUROISSELLE.

(2). See *Dhammapadatthakathā*, Pali Text Society Edition, pp. 7-8.

## THE MEANING OF 'ARI.'

The 'Ari' controversy has assumed a literary phase. A forceful grasp of the value that literature attaches to 'Ari' may help settle the vexed question. I therefore take occasion to point out the significance of the word in its literary acception.

*Pawrana Katathit* which couples obsolete and obsolescent Burmese expressions with their present-day meaning mentions 'Ari' in the fourth verse.

ပိန္နဲကြောက်ငြိမ်း၊ ရှင်ကိုအရည်၊ ရတည်းပိတ်ထည်။ (line 5).

Manifestly အရည် is a Burmese archaism and ရှင် is its equivalent in Burmese of modern date. Now ရှင် is used of either a monk (ရှင်ရဟန်း) or a hermit (ရှင်ရသေ့).

Mônywe Sayadaw explains the word 'Ari' in his *Ganbiya Wineiksaya Kata Yadana Kyehmôn* which is a commentary on *Paramidawgan Pyo*. He says: အရည်းဘာသာရှိက်၊ အရည်းဟူသည်ကာ၊ ရဟန်းရသေ့ဆိုလိုသည်။ ('Ari' means 'monk' or 'hermit'). In support he brings forward a string of quotations from front-rank authors.

To clench the matter I should like to cite two classic passages. The first gives a luminous presentment of an 'Ari's' shaven head. The second, on the other hand, depicts an untunsured 'Ari'.

ဥက္ခောင်းပြည်းစည်း၊ သင်တန်းလှည်း၊ အရည်းမြတ်ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်။—Seinda Kyawthu's *Kawiletkana Thatpôn*, line 1643.

မုဆိတ်ဆံပင်၊ တမုန်မလှည်း၊ ရှင်အရည်းလည်း၊ ပြည်းစည်းမဟုတ်၊ ငုတ်တုတ်ဥသျှောင်၊ ဆံကုန်နှောင်၍၊ လူယောင်တည်းတည်း၊ အမြဲရည်းသော်၊ အရည်းဟူကာ၊ မခီလာနဲ့။—Shin Silawuntha's *Sutaunggan Pyo*, verse 80.

Is it not crystal clear that an 'Ari' is a monk or a hermit? It means no more, but it means no less.

October 1, 1920.

BA HAN.

## ANANTATHURIYA'S DEATH-SONG.

In the April number of the *Journal Maung Tin* cites U Tin's copy of the old chronicle in defence of his interpretation of သွေးသည်အနိစ္စာ in

the 4th verse of Anantathuriya's death song. To get the right meaning of သွေး it is necessary that the signification of ခန္ဓာ which occurs in the last foot of the song should be clearly understood. It is remarkable that the whole song is suffused with religious sentiments. ခန္ဓာ is used in its strict philosophical sense and it means the five elements or attributes, *viz*, ရူပက္ခန္ဓာ (form), ဓာနက္ခန္ဓာ (sensation), သညက္ခန္ဓာ (perception), သင်္ခါရက္ခန္ဓာ (discrimination) and ဝိညာဏက္ခန္ဓာ (consciousness). To take ခန္ဓာ in the sense of 'organised body' only would be a great mistake. In the Tripitakas we often come across expressions such as ပဉ္စက္ခန္ဓာအနိစ္စာ (The five *khandhas* are subject to the law of impermanence). Since ခန္ဓာ is viewed from a philosophical standpoint it would be quite out of keeping with the tenor of the verse to fasten a material meaning on သွေးသာ။ သား is simply another form of the assertive affix သည်. So သွေးသား conveys the same meaning as သွေးသည် (to lure).

Po Byu.

## KACHIN MILITARY TERMS.

This is a little hand-book whose importance is out of all proportion to its size. Its object is "to place at the disposal of officers serving with Kachin soldiers the phraseology which has developed with the employment of Kachins in the Regular Army." These new words and phrases are the more interesting for having been coined by the Kachins themselves without any suggestions from their commanders. They are made up from words in common daily use and have borrowed to a surprisingly small extent from English or Urdu.

When the Chingpaw is confronted by a new situation or by a thing which he has never seen before, or when he has to submit to a discipline which is strange to him, he proceeds to combine a few common words and produces phrases and compounds which prove his mastery over his new environment.

He is presented with a field-dressing and a spine-pad to enable him to survive the attacks of man and nature. The former at once becomes his tsi-mākai (tsi=medicine, mākai=bundle) and the latter his shing-māgap (shing=back, māgap=cover). Are not there compounds as good as our own? Then he must write and tell of these things to his friends whom he has left in his mountain home, so he procures paper and ink. But ink is another marvel that has to be described so he tells also of the laika tsi (laika=letter, tsi=medicine).

Perhaps later he sees something stranger still, a boat with horizontal sails speeding across the sky. He can master even this phenomenon and a month later his old parents gasp with astonishment as an educated villager reads out their son's impressions of the N Bung Shangpaw (N Bung=air, shangpaw=ship).

And so the language grows. There is humour as well as poetical skill shown in the progress of this sturdy race. What better term than Rai-tam-ai could be devised for a kit inspection? Rai=belongings and tam-ai=to hunt for. A kit-hunt! Poor Chingpaw Gam has lost his spare shorts and is wondering what the Inspecting Officer will say to him! But the Majat Anriquet Duwa is kind and will understand.

At present, of course, most Kachin words have a concrete significance, or at any rate a meaning which is comparatively crude. It is often said that such backward tongues are incapable of expressing abstract ideas. This may be true. But it was true of all languages at one time. Perhaps some day Chingpaw Gam's eldest son will enter the University and provide us with new metaphors as clever and appropriate as any of the phrases which his father coined in Mesopotamia. So far the Kachin soldier has remained true to his mother tongue, borrowing has not appealed to him and the proximity of Babel has left him uncontaminated.

This little book is a symbol of the times. An almost unheard of mountain race has enlisted under our banners and has fought in our wars. Just as its language has become enriched by all these terms, so its lethargy has been cast aside

and the brains of its manhood enriched by its new experiences.

It will be a sufficient compliment to the book to say that it has been compiled by Major C. M. Enriquez.

T.

## THE ATTHASĀLINĪ.

Like all ancient Oriental literature, Pali literature, in the absence of its accompanying commentaries is only half rightly to be understood. It is therefore in the fitness of things that the Pali Text Society's Translation Series, after providing some seven volumes of translations of Pali Texts, with this its eighth volume begins to make accessible to English readers a portion of the literature of comment on the texts.

The particular Commentary with which this beginning has been made, is Buddhaghosha's commentary on the leading book of the Abhidhamma Pitaka, the Dhammasangani, which latter was turned into English over twenty years ago by Mrs. Rhys Davids under the title of "Buddhist Psychological Ethics." The choice is a good one since a clear understanding of the terms used in the Dhammasangani was much to be desired by the English student, and this is what the Atthasālinī is intended to provide. In Maung Tin's translation of it, now before us, it does a little more—and Mrs. Rhys Davids by implication generously admits it—it corrects some awkwardnesses and slight misapprehensions in her English renderings of the Pali terms in the Dhammasangani, Maung Tin's new renderings bringing them more into line with the completer knowledge that twenty years further study of Abhidhamma literature has brought Mrs. Rhys Davids and other European scholars in Buddhist philosophy. This progress into fuller knowledge is in no small degree due to Mrs. Rhys Davids' own persevering labours in a somewhat thorny field; and now, after enlisting one Oriental scholar, namely Maung Shwe Zan Aung, in the good work of enlightening Occidental ignorance, or at least only half knowledge, in this domain, she has in the person of Maung Tin, brought to the help of the West another Eastern scholar, something more for which Western scholarship must be

grateful to her. It is always so much better to hear what a person has to say for himself than what somebody else says he has to say. Less enigmatically: It is vastly better to learn what the East has to tell of its own culture through an Eastern voice, than merely to learn what the West thinks that culture has to tell.

In this volume we come into such direct contact with the East through an Eastern mind that has been reared among Eastern ideas, and has at its disposal all that has been written in commentary and sub-commentary on the subject it deals with, by many different Eastern minds of recent and ancient date. The result is not only a reliable translation of the main text of the Commentary but many an illuminating note and remark the substance of which has been drawn from the informing literature at the disposal of the translator in his own native tongue. The confidence one thus is able to have in a volume of this sort by a native scholar is much akin to that we have in a geographical description of a country by one who has been there as contrasted with information merely collected by some one from books written about that country.

And the country in this instance is a difficult one to know well. There must be few Occidentals who have attempted to find a clear way for themselves through the astonishingly detailed analysis of conscious states which the Abhidhamma provides, who have not at times drawn a deep breath and wrinkled anxious brows, and wondered if ever they were being to see good daylight again. However, with guides such as Buddhaghosha, translated and annotated by scholars like Maung Tin, to help him through the trees, the traveller in the wood of Abhidhamma has no need to despair. He can be certain of not entirely losing his way; nay, at length under their M.A. edited and revised by Mrs. Rhys Davids, D. Litt., guidance may have good hope of getting a very fair idea of what the whole wood looks like.

The translator of the present volume in his preface anticipates a not very favourable reception for his work from European readers on account of the abstruseness of much of its matter. But indeed he has no need to be over apologetic. A comment by the best of commentators—and Buddhaghosha occupies that position undisputed—can only be properly appreciated along with the

Text it comments upon; that everyone takes for granted. And it is safe to say that for those who only read English and wish to understand better what "Buddhist Psychological Ethics" is all about, this translation of Buddhaghosha's commentary on the same is a simply invaluable volume. Its language is clear and readily comprehensible so far as the nature of its subject permits; which clarity and intelligibility, it is no disparagement to Maung Tin's work to say, owe something no doubt to the assistance he has received from his able editor and reviser. Only here and there have we found a few trifling ambiguities.

On page 30, for instance "*extinguish* the intoxicants" sounds a little awkward in English. Why not "dried up" or "made an end of the intoxicants," both quite permissible renderings of the Pali original? On the last line of page 90, also, the true meaning of the sentence would come out more clearly if made to read: "Abstaining from theft through contact is freedom from offence." And on page 167 the beginning of the second paragraph would be improved by making the first two words read: "That where by" and omitting the comma after "lust." The first duty of a translator is to render the *meaning* of his original clearly even if in doing so he has to use a word or two not found in that original.

It may be added that this is Maung Tin's first essay in the domain of Pali translation in this series of the Pali Text Society; and that to the benefit of the Occidental there is good prospect that it will not be the last. Every worker in this field is very welcome, more especially an Oriental who knows his own Texts as well as does Maung Tin (being able from that knowledge to correct mistakes in defective European editions of the same, as in this case), and who is also able to put his reconstructed of them into good English. The best bridge between East and West is that constructed of knowledge, the one of the other, of what is best in both; and the present volume is at least one more stone built into that bridge by a thoroughly competent workman. May there be many more of them! They are all wanted for the better speeding of the acceptable hour when East and West at length shall mix their lights and as many hope, "broaden into boundless day."

S.



## QUERIES.

I. G. E. Harvey Esq. writes:—

Editor, Burma Research Journal

Sir,

I have by me no copy of J. S. Furnivall's *Syriam Gazetteer* but seem to remember that it says that Kun Atta after vanquishing the Kalas refrained from mounting the throne till after King Wimala's death.

2. The only vernacular version of the story I have been able to get is "The History of Attamin in Talaing by U Nandathara Head of Kawge Monastery written in 1187 B.E." It merely says that King Wimala made over the throne to Kun Atta after Kun Atta had vanquished the Kalas; it says nothing to the effect that Kun Atta refrained from accepting the throne till after King Wimala's death. Obviously it misses the great point made by Mr. Furnivall, viz. Kun Atta's chivalrous restraint in waiting till King Wimala died of old age. Its wording is not inconceivably consistent with Kun Atta's eagerly grasping the throne or even clearing King Wimala out.

3. I should like to see Mr. Furnivall's version established. Will some reader establish it either by manuscript or by oral tradition?

G. E. HARVEY.

II. Another Member desires to collect information, as reliable as possible, regarding the earliest Indian settlements in Burma. Approximate dates and localities, standard of civilization, numerical strength, race and language, the later histories of such settlements and the physical and cultural efforts of them on the surrounding population are points on which enlightenment is sought.

[Readers who can supply the information asked for in either of the queries given above are invited to send it to the Hon. Editors who will forward it to its proper destination.

The Editors will also be pleased, with the contributor's permission, to print such replies in the pages of the Journal. Queries are invited not

only from Members of the Burma Research Society but from Members of learned Societies in all parts of the world. They must, however, be confined to such subjects as the Art, Archaeology, Science, Literature, Languages and Customs of Burma and Indo-China.

JOINT EDITORS.]

## AN APPEAL ON BEHALF

OF

## THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

This Society, which is to celebrate its centenary in 1923, moved last year into new and much more roomy quarters at 74, Grosvenor Street. There is a lecture-hall, a council-room, three rooms devoted to the library, and three more to offices, besides a basement where part of the library is kept. In the Council-room, when it is not used for business, members can see periodicals dealing with Eastern countries and obtain light refreshments. One of the library rooms is set apart for students, and silence enforced. While the main object of the Society is the encouragement of learning, it is a mistake to suppose that it appeals only to scholars and experts in oriental languages and study. Both its journal and its lectures are being adapted to the needs of all who are interested in oriental subjects, while at the same time providing important original information. The Society has also funds for the publication of translations of important oriental works, the production of monographs on special subjects, and the furtherance of a knowledge of Indian history in the public schools of the United Kingdom.

In July last the Society sent representatives to a conference of Asiatic Societies in Paris, where a paper was presented on the Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese. Several articles on Burma have appeared in the Journal in recent years.

It is hoped that all those of our members who can afford to do so will join the older Society and induce as many as possible of their friends to take the same course.

THE COMMITTEE,

*Burma Research Society.*



AN APPEAL.  
**BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.**

PATRON.

Sir Reginald Craddock, K. C. S. I.,  
Lieutenant-Governor of Burma.

PRESIDENT.

M. Hunter, Esq., C. I. E.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

J. S. Furnivall, Esq., I. C. S.  
U Hpay, A. T. M., K. S. M.  
The Hon'ble U May Oung.

HONORARY SECRETARY AND TREASURER.

Professor G. H. Luce.

HONORARY EDITOR.

Professor Maung Tin.

BERNARD FREE LIBRARY,  
*Rangoon August 1920.*

DEAR SIR,

The Burma Research Society is making an appeal for new members; and I therefore venture to explain what the Society is and does, what it may do, why you should join, and how you can do so.

**What the Society is and does.** The Society was founded in 1910. It has at present 190 members and a capital of nearly Rs. 7,000. Its objects are the study and encouragement of Art, Science, History, and Literature in relation to Burma and neighbouring countries, and the promotion of sympathy thereby between members of different communities. Meetings are held periodically at Rangoon College, at which papers are read; and a library is under formation. But the Society's activities and membership are by no means confined to Rangoon; and if you

should happen to live elsewhere, I trust you will not regard that fact as in any way a bar. The principal work of the Society is the publication of a Journal, three numbers of which appear yearly. It contains articles of general interest, often illustrated; a representative list of articles that have already appeared is given overleaf. The Society has undertaken to publish a translation of the Hmannan Yazawin, and from time to time offers prizes for research to Burmese scholars. Contributions are usually in English, but those in Burmese are always welcome.

**What it may do.** It is intended to enlarge the scope of its activities and to provide its members with improved facilities. It has been proposed to encourage the study of local natural history; to found a museum and art gallery; to add largely to the library; to start local branches; and to make illustrations a more regular feature of the Journal. The most urgent need is independent headquarters in Rangoon with a reading room, library, museum, etc., which will be always open to members and will serve as a meeting place for lectures and social functions. The Society's present position at the Bernard Free Library is very cramped and admits of no development.

**Why to join.** The Society's funds are drawn entirely from the subscriptions of members, and their present number is not large enough to justify an entry upon the programme outlined above. In fact, owing to the rise in prices, it is even doubtful whether the Society can continue its present programme unless its membership is largely increased. But it is not merely for financial reasons that I address this appeal to you. The field for research in Burma is vast, and the collection of evidence must be done now or never. Work similar to that undertaken by the Society has been long in progress in Siam, Java, Ceylon and French Indo-China; we do not want Burma to be behindhand. Co-operation between a large number of members not only enlarges the scope and interest of the Society's activities, but also narrows the meshes of its net, enabling it to catch much valuable information which would otherwise escape it.

\*The Expositor (Atthasālinī) Buddhaghosha's Commentary on the Dhammasaṅgī, the first book of the Abhidhamma Pitaka. Vol. I, translated by Maung Tin,

M. A. edited and revised by Mrs. Rhys Davids, D. Litt., M. A. London, 1920. Ten Shillings net.

**How to join.** Members are required to pay a subscription (in advance) of Rs. 15 per annum, or a single subscription of Rs. 150, if they wish to become Life Members. They are entitled to receive free of cost a copy of each issue of the Journal, to attend the Society's meetings, to make use of the library, and to vote at the annual election of office bearers.

I hope that you will see fit to apply for membership, and, if so, that you will sign and send me the attached slip; in which case I will inform you in due course of your election.

Believe me,  
Yours faithfully,  
G. H. LUCE,  
Honorary Secretary.

*Signed on behalf of the Committee.*

### **Representative list of articles published in the Journal.**

The Chronology of Burma by U May Oung.  
Chinese Antiquities at Pagan by Taw Sein Ko.  
Lahoo Folklore by Rev. Ba Te.  
Climate in Burmese History by J. C. Mackenzie.  
Notes on the History of Hanthawaddy by J. S. Furnivall.  
Talaing Nissayas by C. Duroiselle.  
Burmese Astronomy by Thos. P. de Silva.  
Linguistic Survey of Burma by C. Morgan Webb.  
Translation of Burmese Songs by R. Grant Brown.  
The Origin of Kachins by Rev. O. Hanson.  
The Petroleum Wells of Yenangyat by L. Aubert.  
The Enchanted Wood by Major C. M. Enriquez.  
Burmese Ghost Stories by Prof. Maung Tin.  
Old Rangoon by Saya Thein (in Burmese).  
Excavation and Exploration in Pegu by J. A. Stewart.  
The Buddhist Philosophy of the Real by Shwe Zan Aung.  
The "Pyu" Inscriptions by C. O. Blagden.  
Shin Uttamagyaw and his Tawla by U Po Byu.  
Mahayana Buddhism by Bhikkhu Silacara.  
Mon Wedding Speeches and Ritual by R. Halliday.  
Karen Folklore by Rev. D. Gilmore.  
The Greater Temples at Pagan by G. H. Luce.  
Pottery in Burma by A. P. Morris.  
Arakan Eighty Years Ago by J. Stuart.

The Writing of Burmese History by G. E. Harvey.

Burmese Literary Art by Saya Pwa (in Burmese).

Lacquerware Industry in Burma by A. P. Morris.  
Anatta; the Doctrine of "No Ego" by K. M. Ward.

The Monasteries of Pagan by Capt. W. Braxton Sinclair.

Letwethondara, Judge and Poet by Saya Thein (in Burmese).

Name .....

Designation .....

Permanent Address.....

To

THE HONORARY SECRETARY,  
BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY,  
(Bernard Free Library), RANGOON.

DEAR SIR,

Please put up my name for election as member of the Burma Research Society at the next Sub-Committee Meeting.

Yours faithfully,

### **BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.**

*Minutes of the Meeting of the Committee held  
at Rangoon College on Friday, July 23rd,  
1920, at 8-30 a. m.*

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble U May Oung, (*in the Chair.*)  
U Hpay. W. G. Fraser, Esqr.  
U Po Byu. Prof. Maung Tin.  
L. F. Taylor, Esqr. G. H. Luce, Esqr.  
J. J. Nolan, Esqr.

BUSINESS.

1. The Minutes of the last Committee Meeting held on Tuesday, March 16th 1920 were read and confirmed.

2. The Hon'ble U May Oung was elected Vice-President in the place of Mr. J. T. Best resigned.

3. Mr. J. S. Furnivall was elected member of the Sub-Committee and also of the Special Prize Sub-Committee.

4. Messrs. D. J. Sloss, H. Martin Jones, Maung On Pe (of Moulmein) and Maung Tun Yin (of Pegu) were elected ordinary members.

5. A letter from the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute was read, proposing an exchange of publications.

Resolved: that a reply be sent in the affirmative.

6. Resolved: that in view of their services to the Society Mr. J. T. Best and Bhikkhu Silacara receive future issues of the Journal free.

7. A Minute by the Honorary Secretary and Treasurer was read dealing with the present financial condition of the Society and suggested means of increasing its membership.

Referred to the Sub-Committee with full powers to take such action as they deem proper.

8. Resolved: that in view of the change of hour at which general meetings are held refreshments should not ordinarily be provided in future, except when the Sub-Committee sees fit to do so.

9. Resolved: that His Honour the Lieut.-Governor of Burma, Patron of the Society, be invited to preside at the next ordinary meeting to be held in August.

10. Resolved: that Government be approached with a view to obtaining for the Society's Library copies of District Gazetteers and Settlement Reports.

11. Resolved: to transfer the Society's 5½% War Bonds into 6% ten year Bonds, Government of India Loan.

12. A hearty vote of thanks to the Honorary Editor, Prof. Maung Tin (expected shortly to leave for England), was recorded by the Society for his invaluable services extending over many years.

G. H. LUCE,  
Honorary Secretary.

*Dated the 24th July, 1920.*

### BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

*Minutes of the Meeting of the Committee held at Rangoon College on Thursday, August 12th, 1920, at 8 a. m.*

#### PRESENT:

J. S. Furnivall, Esqr., ( <i>in the Chair</i> ).	
W. G. Fraser, Esqr.	G. H. Luce, Esqr.
J. J. Nolan, Esqr.	A. Khalak, Esqr.
The Hon'ble U May U Po Byu.	
Oung.	Rev. J. A. Drysdale.
U Hpay.	Prof. Maung Tin.
L. F. Taylor, Esqr.	Ah Yain, Esqr.
A. P. Morris, Esqr.	

#### BUSINESS.

1. The Minutes of the last Committee Meeting held on Friday July 23rd. 1920 were read and confirmed.

2. Arrangements were made for the reception of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor when he comes to preside at the coming meeting on Thursday, August 26th 1920, and a provisional Agenda paper was drawn up for His Honour's approval.

3. The letter of appeal for new members, drafted by the Sub-Committee, was read and approved, with the statement of the Society's future intentions contained therein.

4. Resolved: that Mr. L. F. Taylor and Maung Ba Kya, B. A. be appointed Joint Editors of the Journal from the date of the appearance of the August number, in place of Prof. Maung Tin departing for England.

5. Resolved: to propose an exchange of publications with the Editors of the Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.

G. H. LUCE.  
Honorary Secretary.

*The 13th August 1920.*

### BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

*Minutes of the Committee Meeting held at Rangoon College on Thursday September 30th 1920 at 8 a. m.*

#### PRESENT.

J. S. Furnivall, Esqr. ( <i>in the Chair</i> ).	
W. G. Fraser, Esqr.	A. P. Morris, Esqr.
Maung Ba Kya.	Dr. G. R. T. Ross.
U Hpay.	G. H. Luce.

#### BUSINESS.

1. The Minutes of the last Committee Meeting held on Thursday, August 12th, 1920, were read and confirmed.

2. A Minute by the Honorary Treasurer on the future financial policy of the Society was read and accepted, the main point being the necessity of doubling the Society's investments before embarking on an expensive scheme for Head Quarters in Rangoon.

3. The Final Report and Award of the Special Prize Sub-Committee was read and confirmed.

4. A proposal by Mr. Furnivall was accepted, that slips making subscriptions payable as they fall due be printed and sent to members to send on to their bankers; also—as an alternative—slips for members to sign who consent to having the first number of the Journal published after the new year sent them V. P. P. for the amount of the subscription owing: members being quite free to refuse both alternatives if they think fit.

5. It was proposed by Mr. Fraser and accepted by the Committee that the Honorary Secretary be permitted to invite, in the name of the Committee, very eminent officials to become members of the Society, whom he believes to wish to become members but to expect to be so invited.

6. It was proposed by Mr. Furnivall and accepted that the Journal should ordinarily be confined to subjects of general interest and that articles of restricted interest be published as supplements.

7. It was proposed by the Honorary Secretary and accepted that in view of the doubling of the number of members, the salary of the Clerk be raised from Rs. 30/- to Rs. 40/- a month, and that Rs. 25/- be allotted to the Honorary Secretary to distribute among the assistants and peons who helped to issue the 6000 Letters of Appeal.

8. The purchase of a new typewriting machine was sanctioned.

9. The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society:—Rev. Father A. Darne, Military Chaplain, R. C. Cathedral, Mandalay; Mr. W. P. C. Chambers, Messrs. Steel Bros. & Co., Ltd., Pyinmana; Mr. W. Street, Deputy Commissioner, Mawlaik; Maung San Baw U, Chief Jailor, Kyaukpyu; and Maung Po Than, Town Land Thugyi, Rangoon.

10. Resolved to keep in stock 500 copies of the letter of Appeal.

11. It was proposed by the Honorary Secretary and accepted that the Sub-Committee

be asked to draft regulations for the forming of Local Branches and to report on the proposal for affiliation by the Burmese Academy, Kyaukse.

G. H. LUCE.

*Rangoon, the 1st October 1920.*

*Honorary Secretary.*

## BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

*Minutes of the Committee Meeting held at Rangoon College on Tuesday November 23rd. 1920 at 8 a. m.*

PRESENT.

M. Hunter, Esqr. C. I. E. (*President*).

U Hpay, K.S.M., A.T.M. L. F. Taylor, Esqr.  
Maung Ba Kya. A. P. Morris, Esqr.

G. H. Luce, Esqr.

BUSINESS.

1. The Minutes of the Committee Meeting, held on Thursday September 30th 1920, were read and confirmed.

2. Resolved—That Mr. L. F. Taylor, Joint Editor, undertake the preparation of a Catalogue Index of the first ten volumes of the Journal.

3. Resolved—to prepare a bibliography of books on Burma as outlined in Mr. Taylor's proposal.

4. Resolved—that a revision of the Rules of the Society be drafted by the Sub-Committee (with power to co-opt) and submitted to the Committee before the next Annual Meeting.

5. Resolved—that Maung Ba Kya, Joint Editor, examine the Hlutdaw Parabais in the Secretariat Library on behalf of the Society.

6. Resolved that the price of the old Journals be fixed as follows; (1) the complete set: to members at half price, non-members at cost price; (2) separate numbers: to members and non-members at cost price; (3) A reserve stock of 30 of each issue be maintained, and sold only by leave of, and at the price fixed by the Sub-Committee.

7. Resolved—that a set of Journals be supplied the India Office Library, and the Bernard Free Library.

8. Resolved—that a Burmese Text Publication Fund be started to publish rare Burmese Manuscripts, gentlemen being invited to lend such MSS and defray the cost of publication.

9. The proposal of Maung Ba Kya, Joint Editor, that phonograph records be taken of chanted *pyo*, *yadu*, *yagan*, etc., was generally favoured. Resolved—that details of cost etc., be submitted at the next Committee Meeting.

10. In reply to a member's question it was resolved that a Life Member is *not* entitled to receive free of cost issues of the Journal that have appeared before the year in which he becomes a Life Member.

11. Resolved—to hold the next General Meeting on Wednesday, December 15th, 1920, at 6 p. m.

G. H. LUCE,  
Honorary Secretary.

The 27th November 1920.

### INTERIM REPORT OF THE SPECIAL SUB-COMMITTEE, BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

At the Committee Meeting of the Society held at Rangoon College at 8-30 a. m. on March 16th 1920, it was resolved "to offer a prize or prizes to the value of Rs. 100/- to Burmese scholars for valuable contributions in Burmese on the history or literature of Burma, such articles becoming the property of the Society and being afterwards translated into English and published in the Journal." A Special Sub-Committee, consisting of U Po Byu, The Hon'ble U May Oung, U Hpay, U Shwe Zan Aung, Professor Maung Tin, and Professor Luce was appointed to arrange the details, and also to deal with the proposal of U Po Byu that "copies of future articles in Burmese included in the Journal be distributed gratis among prominent Burmese Scholars."

Your Special Sub-Committee met (all present) at 9, Lancaster road at 8 a. m. on March 21st 1920. We dealt first with U Po Byu's proposal, and resolved that enquiries be made as to the cost of 50 extra copies of Burmese articles with a view to their distribution gratis among Burmese scholars. It was provisionally resolved that copies be sent in future to the following Burmese Magazines:—

Knowledge	Moon of Maulmein.
Myanma Kyetthaye	Pinya-daw-set.
Myanma Byuha	Myanma Noggaha.

Thuriya.

and also to the Kyaukse Academy. Each member was moreover invited to send in a list of Burmese Scholars whom he considers suitable recipients of such copies.

Turning next to the proposed prize or prizes, we chose various subjects suitable for a prize essay, and finding that whereas the research work needed was great, the prize offered was small, various members offered to supplement it, under the auspices of the Society, out of their own pockets. As a result of our deliberations the Honorary Secretary drew up a provisional draft (subject to emendation) of Proposals and Rules to be laid before the public. It was resolved that U Po Byu undertake the translation of the draft into Burmese, and that both drafts be submitted for final revision to the Special Sub-Committee at its next meeting, on March 28th, 1920.

At 8-30 a. m. on that date your Special Sub-Committee met again at 9, Lancaster Road. U Po Byu, U Shwe Zan Aung, Professor Maung Tin and Professor G. H. Luce were present. The Secretary's Provisional Draft and U Po Byu's Burmese translation of it were read and finally amended. It was resolved to invite all the newspapers, both English and Burmese, (a list is appended) to publish the announcement gratis in the interest of Burmese Research, to issue the annexed "Proposals and Rules" in the English papers, and in the Burmese papers to add a number of "Suggestions" (a free translation in English is attached) for the guidance of Burmese contributors. The announcement should shortly appear.

Signed:

S. Z. Aung	Maung Tin
Mg. Po Byu	Maung Hpay
May Oung	G. H. Luce

The 30th March, 1920.

### PROPOSALS.

Under the auspices of the Burma Research Society, and subject to the rules below stated, six prizes, each of the value of Rs. 100/-, are offered for articles on the following subjects:—

- (i) A Critical Comparison of the works of Shin Thilawuntha and Ratathara, with a short account of their lives. In Burmese.



- Prize offered by the Burma Research Society.
- (ii) A study of Nawadegyí, his life and works. In Burmese.  
—Prize offered by U Po Byu.
- (iii) A Short historical and critical sketch of the best authors and works in Burmese literature, especial care being devoted to Chronology. In Burmese.  
—Prize offered by U Shwe Zan Aung.
- (iv) A history of Burmese legal literature. In Burmese.  
—Prize offered by U May Oung.
- (v) A Critical History of Lower Burma down to Anawrata's capture of Thaton, including an account of the introduction of Buddhism. In any language.  
—Prize offered by Professor Maung Tin.
- (vi) Essay on Burmese literature, both prose and poetry, before the reign of King Min-gaung II. In Burmese or English.  
—Prize offered by Professor G. H. Luce.

All articles sent in to become the property of the Burma Research Society until they are either published in the Society's Journal or returned to the authors by the Honorary Secretary. Thereafter authors may republish them, if they choose, with due acknowledgments to the Society. The Society has appointed a board of Judges to award the prizes, and the latter reserve the right to refuse, transfer, or divide any prize, if they think it advisable.

No restriction is laid down as to the number of subjects any one contributor may attempt. Articles should consist of not less than 25 foolscap pages, and must reach the Honorary Secretary, Burma Research Society, Bernard Free Library, Rangoon, on or before July 31st, 1920. They must be sent in under a nom-de-plume, and accompanied by a sealed envelope with the same nom-de-plume written outside, and inside the real name and address of the author.

## SUGGESTIONS FOR THE GUIDANCE OF BURMESE CONTRIBUTORS.

FREELY TRANSLATED FROM THE BURMESE OF  
U PO BYU.

Contributors should endeavour to contain the maximum of information in the minimum of

space. A list of books, inscriptions, and manuscripts consulted should be appended to each article; and contributors should always substantiate their facts by citing accurately in footnotes or the text, the sources of their information. They should weigh scrupulously the value of such information, distinguishing the credible from the incredible. Especial trouble should be taken to fix dates as nearly as possible.

## FINAL REPORT OF THE SPECIAL PRIZE SUB-COMMITTEE.

On March 30th, 1920, your Special Sub-Committee issued its Interim Report, which was circulated among members of the Committee, and is laid upon the table.

Five articles altogether, by four contributors, were sent in before the appointed time-limit on July 31st, 1920. These were circulated among the Judges, to the number of whom Mr. Furnivall was added at the Committee Meeting held on July 23rd. On August 25th, a meeting was called to discuss the award, but only four Judges could attend, and no definite conclusion was reached. Since then, owing to the absence of several of the Judges on tour, discussion has been carried on with difficulty by Circular and correspondence, and the merits of each article carefully weighed, and we felt that it would be most satisfactory if we could arrive at a unanimous decision. This has finally been reached as follows:—

To U Shan, Trader, Sadaung Village, Sakaing Township—Rs. 100/-, payable by the Society, for his "History of Lower Burma down to Anawrahta's capture of Thaton.

To U Ba Thein, Pleader, Kyaukse, a prize of Rs. 50/-, for his "Chronological Sketch of the best authors and works in Burmese literature."

Another article on the history of Lower Burma, and two articles on the history of Burmese legal literature are not thought worthy of a prize. The Society's prize, it should be noted, was originally offered for the best essay on Shin Thilawuntha and Shin Ratathara; but no entry was received on this subject, and the Judges therefore wish to transfer the prize to the essay on history mentioned above. The outstanding prizes offered by five members are held over and will be offered

again in another competition to be announced shortly. It is suspected that one reason why so few competitors entered, was that, considering the difficulty of the subjects, too little time was allowed to admit of wide research. It is proposed that the prize-winning articles should be published with summaries in English, in the coming issues of the Journal.

The following comments are added with regard to the various articles sent in:—

1. HISTORY.—The subject set was "A critical history of Lower Burma down to Anawrahta's capture of Thaton, including an account of the introduction of Buddhism."

Two entries have been received. Unfortunately the terms of the competition were liable to misunderstanding and both competitors have misunderstood them. The stream of Burmese history derives from two main sources; in Lower Burma from Suvannabhumi and Hansavati, Thaton and Pegu, and in Upper Burma from Tharekhattaya and the dynasties of Prome, Pagan, and Tagaung. Geographically and administratively Prome is in Lower Burma; historically it is part of Upper Burma. The Special Sub-Committee contemplated researches into the little known and fragmentary legends of Thaton and Pegu leaving aside the history of Prome except so far as some treatment of it might be necessary to the main narrative. Both the competitors have interpreted the subject as including Prome and have therefore found it necessary to enter on the history of the various Upper Burma dynasties. These abound in story and the quantity of material has handicapped the competitors in presenting any useful results within a reasonable space.

Of the 2 entries the Sub-Committee wish to award the full prize to that submitted by U Shan. This competitor opens his account by summarising the life of the Buddha and the spread of Buddhism. He enters Burma from Kappilawut with Abhiraza who settled in Tagaung. He then passes to Mahathambawa and Duttabaung in Prome and follows their descendants to Pagan until the foundation of the empire of Anawrahta.

Thus, even giving the most liberal interpretation to Lower Burma, it will be seen that a very considerable part of this essay falls totally outside it. However in view of the ambiguity of the terms above mentioned the expansion of the subject is not entirely illegitimate, and this entry is markedly superior in style and arrangement to the other entry which as regards its material is compiled on similar lines. The Committee therefore has no hesitation in awarding the prize to U Shan.

2. LITERATURE.—The subject set was "A short historical and critical sketch of the best authors and works in Burmese literature, special care being devoted to chronology."

Only one entry has been received, written by U Ba Thein.

This does not comply with the terms of the competition. It consists of a list of Burmese writers in alphabetical order with short biographical accounts of the better known. This kind of thing has been done before. There is the book by R. Maung Lwin and the Pitakat Thamaing. This essay however has merits of its own. Many of the writers are known by several names and here we have cross references. Also the material is compiled from 14 standard works of reference and presents in a convenient form information not otherwise readily available; although therefore it fails to comply with the terms of the competition the Sub-Committee desires that it should be awarded a prize of Rs. 50/-.

3. LAW.—Candidates for the prize were asked to trace the course of legal development. Of the articles received one is merely a summary of the provisions of customary law contained in various "Dhammathats" and the other a mere bibliography of works on law.

Signed  
MAY OUNG.  
MAUNG HPAY.  
MAUNG PO BYU.  
J. S. FURNIVALL.  
G. H. LUCE.  
SHWE ZAN AUNG.

## LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

RECEIVED SINCE AUGUST, 1920, Vol. X, Part II.

- Kachin Military Terms, by Major C. M. Enriquez.  
 Archaeological Survey of India—New Imperial Series—South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III—Miscellaneous Inscriptions from the Tamil Country, Part III.  
 The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, Vol. VI, Part I (July 1920).  
 The Indian Antiquary, a Journal of Oriental Research in archaeology, epigraphy, history, &c., edited by Sir Richard Temple and Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar—April, May and June 1920 and Index to vol. XLVII—1918.  
 Journal of the East India Association, Vol. XI, Nos. 3 and 4—July and October, 1920.  
 Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1919.  
 Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, Madras, for the year, 1919-1920.  
 Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, 1920-21, Vol. 2, Part I.  
 Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Frontier Circle, for 1919-20.  
 Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1919.

### SIAMESE PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED FROM THE VAJIRANANA LIBRARY, BANGKOK.

- A Sermon from the Kalama Sutta, by the late Patriarch Pussadeva of the Rajapatidha Monastery.  
 A Collection of Moral Stanzas compiled by H. M. Rama V. and other members of the Royal Family.  
 A Sermon from the Pavaragatha Maraovada, by the late Patriarch Pussadeva of the Rajapatidha Monastery, with a Preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab.  
 A Sermon from the Subha Sutta, by the late Patriarch Pussadeva of the Rajapatidha Monastery.  
 A Sermon from the Dhammuddesakatha, by the late Patriarch Pussadeva of the Rajapatidha Monastery.  
 A Sermon from the Daliddiya Sutta, by the late Patriarch Pussadeva of the Rajapatidha Monastery.  
 A Sermon from the Lekhapatipada, by the late Patriarch Pussadeva of the Rajapatidha Monastery.  
 A Sermon from the Namassana Gatha, by the late Patriarch Pussadeva of the Rajapatidha Monastery.  
 A Sermon on Chastity.  
 An Old Sermon on an episode of the Life of Vessantra.  
 A Sermon from the Parabhava Sutta, by the late Patriarch Pussadeva of the Rajapatidha Monastery.  
 A Sermon from the Dighajinukoliyaputta Sutta, by the late Patriarch Pussadeva of the Rajapatidha Monastery.  
 Sattariyadhanakatha; A Sermon.  
 A poem on the demise of H. M. the Second King of Siam, with a Preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab.  
 Mahavana: A Sermon on an episode of the Life of Vessantra composed in Chiangmai during the reign of H. M. Phra Narai, with a Preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab.

Pali and Siamese Stanzas recited during the Visakhapuja festival Sasana-yupakkhakatha: A Sermon.

A Treatise on Medical Property of various herbs, by the H. R. H. Prince Krom Luang Wongsu.

Poem on the names of the boats conveying lamps and offerings down the River during the "Loi Krathong Pradip" festival, with a Preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab.

Ancient Songs from the time of Ayuddhya.

The story of Inao Stanzas Improvised during the reign of H. M. Rama III.

A poetical record of the journey of Phya Mahanubhab to China in B. E. 2324, with a Preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab.

A poem on the names of H. M. Rama IV's children by H. M. King Chulalongkorn.

A Record of the journey of H. M. Rama IV to the Malay Peninsula in B.E. 2402.

Fragments of the Siamese Ramayana.

Prologue for the Royal Theatre composed by H. M. Rama IV.

On the style of royal letters by H. M. Rama IV.

Nang Manora and Sangkh Thong: Two Ancient Plays from the time of Ayuddhya.

Poetical Record of a Journey to India.

A poem in praise of H. M. Rama III.

Manibijai: a play by H. R. H. Prince Bhuvanetr Narindr Riddhi.

Manibijai: a play by H. R. H. Prince Bhuvanetr Riddhi.

Abu Hassan: a poem composed by order of H. M. Rama V.

Ancient Cambodian Laws on Slavery.

Genealogy of the Family of Bang Chang.

A Collection of Riddles, composed during the reign of H. M. King Rama V.

A Treatise on Ceremonial composed by H. M. Rama V.

Royal Degrees appointing Chao Phyas since the foundation of Bangkok, compiled by H. R. H. Prince Sommot Amarabandhu.

A History of Vat Mahadhatu, by H. R. H. Prince Danrong Rajanubhab.

Dhananjai Chieng Mieng, the Siamese Eulenspiegel according to the version current in the Northern Provinces.

A Sermon from the Akankhoyya sutta by the late Patriarch Pussadeva of the Rajapatidha Monastery.

Panhadhamavinichaya: explanations on various points of religious doctrine.

Collection of Poems, composed by their Majesties the Second King of Siam.

Royal Proclamations conferring titles upon members of the Royal Family during the present reign.

Milinda Panha—the Questions of King Milinda translated for the first time from the Pali into Siamese, 2 vols.

Sermon on the Life of Vessantara composed by H. M. Rama IV.

History of Chinese Porcelain, by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab.

A collection of letters by H. M. King Rama IV printed for the first time by H. R. H. Prince Nares.

Raja Nitisastra—Pali text with the Siamese version.

A Sermon from the Sanghavatthu and Devatabali by the late Patriarch Pussadeva of the Rajapatidha Monastery.

Culayuddhakaravamsa: Siamese Chronicle composed by Somdet Phra Vanaratu during the reign of H. M. Rama I. Pali Text with Siamese version.

A Collection Plays for Marionettes.

Desana Mahajati: a sermon being a translation of the Vessantrajataka.

Moral Precepts of Krishna, by H. R. H. Prince Paramanujit Jinoros.

Genealogy of some old Siamese Families, by H. E. Phya Ratanakul Atulyabhakt.

A collection of poetical works engraved on stone-slabs in Vat Phra Jetubon.

A collection of poems formerly printed in the "Nariramyā," a periodical for women.

Records of the Siamese Embassy to London in 1857 during the reign of H. H. Rama IV by Mom Rajodai.

History of the Reign of H. M. Rama II, by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab.

The Languages and Dialects spoken in Siam, by H. E. Phya Prajakich Korachakr.

**History of the wars between Siam and Burma during the XVth, XVII and XVIIIth Centuries**, by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab.

**Manners and Customs**, Parts, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII.

**A Collection of Chronicles**, Vols. IX, X, XI, XII, XIV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX.

**The Jataka**, Book I, Vol. I (Second edition), and Book III (Part 2).

**A Collection of Travels**, Part II—to Europe, to Burma, to Ceylon and to Turkey.

**The Romance of Khun Ch'ang Khun Phen: a poem of recitation**, Vol. III.

**A list of Royal Names and Titles**, Vol. II. Officials in the service of H. M. The Second King.

**Solasapanha**, Parts V and VI, translated from the Pali into Siamese by the late Patriarch Pussadeva of the Rajapatidha Monastery.

**Mahavamsa**, translated into Siamese, Vol. III.

---



## LIST OF MEMBERS.

*Corrected to 26th March, 1921.*

Abreu, W. B.				
Adamson, Sir Harvey ..	..	..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Ahmed, K. U.				
Ainley, Prof. C. W., M.A.				
Aung, Maung Lun.				
Aung, Maung Tun.				
Aung, Maung Tha Tun.				
Aung, U Shwe Zan, B.A., A.T.M.				
Ba, Maung, A.T.M. ..	..	..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Ba, U (4), B.A.				
Ba, Saya, B.A.				
Bah, Maung.				
Baing, Maung.				
Baker, Conyers.				
Ban, Maung Shway ..	..	..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Barretto, Miss E.				
Barretto, William L., B.A.				
Barton, C. S.				
Baw, U Hla, K.S.M.				
Baw, U Tun.				
Bell, E. L.				
Bellars, Prof. A. E., M.A.				
Best, J. T., M.A.				
Bhymeah, H. M. E.				
Bigg-Wither, Lieut.-Col. F.				
Bishop, F.				
Blagden, C. Otto ..	..	..	..	<i>Corresponding Member.</i>
Blyth, Rev. E. W.				
Bo, Maung (2).				
Bodeker, F. W. T.				
Boedicker, F. L. F.				
Bon, Maung Gun.				
Bridges, J. E. ..	..	..	..	<i>Corresponding Member.</i>
Brough, Joseph.				
Brown, G. E. R. Grant, I.C.S. ..	..	..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Brown, H. A., B.A., I.C.S.				
Brown, R. R., I.C.S.				
Browne, C. E.				
Bu, Maung Mya. <i>Bar.-at-Law.</i>				
Bu, Maung San Shwe				
Bwa, Maung Ba.				

Byaw, Maung Tha.				
Bye, The Hon'ble U Po, K.S.M., A.T.M.	..			.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Byu, U Po.				
Calogreedy, S. G.				
Calvert, Capt. F. E. R.				
Campbell, Prof. A., M.A., M.C.				
Cardot, Right Rev. Bishop A.				
Carr, W., I.C.S.	..	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Carroll, E. W.	..	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Cassim, A., B.A.				
Casson, R., B.A., I.C.S.				
Chambers, W. P. C.				
Chan, Htoon, B.A., B.L.				
Chit, U Po, A.T.M.	..	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Chye, Chin Khay.				
Clague, J. B.A., I.C.S.				
Clayton, H., M.A., I.C.S.				
Cleburne, J. St. H.				
Cochrane, R. A.	..	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Collis, M. S., B.A., I.C.S.				
Cooper, C. R. P., B.A., I.C.S.				
Couper, T., M.A., I.C.S.	..	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Craddock, The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Henry, K.C.S.I., I.C.S.				.. <i>Patron.</i>
Crawford, Prof. R. N., M.A.				
Cuffe, Lady	..	..	..	.. <i>Life Member</i>
Cummings, Rev. Dr. J. E., M.A., D.D.				
Darlington, A. E.				
Darne, Rev. Father A.				
Darwood, J. W.				
Davis, C. K.				
Dawson, L.				
Dawson, A. T.				
Delmege, C. H.				
deSilva, Thos. P.				
Devas, C. S.				
Dewes, Lieut.-Col. F. J., I.M.S.				
Din, U Min, K.S.M., A.T.M.				
Dixon, R. Thrope.				
Do, U Tha Ka, K.S.M.				
Doe, U Ah, <i>Bar.-at-Law.</i>				
Dok, Teik Tin.				
Douglas, Prof. W., M.A., B.Ph., B.D.				
Drysdale, Rev. J. A., M.A.				
Dun, U Kyaw, K.S.M.				
Dun, U Tha.				
Dunn, C. W., B.A., I.C.S.				
Duroiselle, Ch., M.R.A.S.				
E, U Ba, B.A., A.T.M.				
Edmonds, Rev. F. R.				
Edwards, A. A.				

Ellis, G.				
Enriquez, Major C. M. D.	..	..	..	
Ewing, Capt. R. R., I.A.				
Fraser, W. G., M.A.				
Furnivall, J. S., I.C.S.	..	..	..	Life Member.
Fyffe, The Right Rev. R. S., M.A.				
Gale, U Maung (6)				
Gale, Maung Maung,				
Gerrard, W. M.				
Gilmore, Rev. D. C., M.A.				
Ginwala, P. P., Bar.-at-Law.				
Gôn, Maung Ba.				
Gordon, D. M.,	..	..	..	Life Member.
Grantham, S. G., B.A., I.C.S.	..	..	..	Life Member.
Green, Capt. J. H., I.A.				
Guffar, Abdul.				
Gyaw, U Hla, T.P.S.				
Gyee, J. A. Maung, Bar.-at-Law.				
Gyi, Moun.				
Gyi, Maung (1).				
Gyi, Maung Maung.				
Gyi Maung Maung.				
Gywe, U Tha, Bar.-at-Law.				
Halliday, Rev. R.	..	..	..	Corresponding Member.
Han, Maung Ba, M.A.				
Han, U Kyin, T.D.M.				
Hardy, R. H.				
Harvey, G. E., M.A., I.C.S.				
Heath, C. J.				
Hertz, W. A., C.S.I., F.R.G.S.				
Hla, Maung, B.A.				
Hla, Maung Aung, (1), B.A.				
Hla, Maung Ba.				
Hla, Maung Kyaw San				
Hlaing, Maung Ba.				
Hlaing, Maung Kan.				
Hlaing, U Po.				
Hlaing, Maung Po	..	..	..	Life Member.
Hlaing, Maung Tun.				
Hlaw, U Chin.				
Hman, Maung Gon.				
Hman, Saya Shwe.				
Hnin, Maung Thet.				
Holme. H. B., B.A., I.C.S.				
Homer, C. J.				
Houldey, J. C., B.A., I.C.S.				
Htoon, Maung Tha.				
Hunter, M., M.A., C.I.E.				
Hunter, The Hon'ble Mr. Mark, M.A.				
I, Maung.				

I, Maung.			
Iyer, S. P. S.			
Jamal, Sir A. K. A. S., Kf., C.I.E.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Jan, M.A.			
Jones, B. M.			
Jones, H. Martin.			
Joseph, Alex, J.			
Joseph, A. V.			
Josif, Rev. Geo. D.			
Jury, Gordon S.			
Ka, Maung.			
Ka, Maung Saw,			
Kan, Maung, (2).			
Kay, R. G.			
Keith, A. D., B.A., M.R.A.S., <i>Bar.-at-Law.</i>			
Keith, W. J., M.A., I.C.S., C.I.E.			
Khalak, A.			
Khan, Kalu.			
Khin, Capt. H. Aung.			
Khine, U Kyaw.			
Kho, U Po.			
Khoo Soo Ee.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Kin, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Maung.			
Kin, Maung.			
Kin, U Tha.			
Kin, U Thein, A.T.M., B.A., F.C.S.			
Ko, Taw Sein, C.I.E.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Kumeran, Dr. P. J.			
Kya, Maung Ba, B.A.			
Kyaw, Maung Ba (2), K.S.M., F.R.G.S., <i>Bar.-at-Law.</i>			
Kyaw, U, <i>Bar.-at-Law.</i>			
Kyè, U Po.			
Kyin, Maung Ba.			
Kyu, U Po, A.T.M., K.S.M.			
Kyu, U Shwe.			
Kywe, Maung, (1)			
Lack, Major L. H. A., I.M.S.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Lat, Maung.			
Latt, U Ba Pe.			
Leach, F. B., B.A., I.C.S.			
Lewishon, F., M.A., I.C.S.			
Lightfoot, S. St. C.			
Lin, U San.			
Lin, U We, B.A., I.E.S.			
List, J. N.			
Llay, The Hon'ble U Shwe, M.L.C.			
Lloyd, I. G., B.A., I.C.S.			
Luce, Prof. G. H., B.A.			
Lwai, W. A.			
McCallum, J. L., I.C.S.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>

- McDowall, R. G., M.A., I.C.S.  
 MacKenna, The Hon'ble Mr. J.  
 McPhedran, Arch.  
 Mariano, V. J.  
 Marshall, J. B., M.A., B.Sc., I.C.S.  
 Marshall, Rev. H. I., B.A., M.R.A.S.  
 Martin, F. W.  
 Martin, Maung.  
 Martini, Mrs.  
 Massink, W.  
 Mathew, H. M.  
 Maung, Maung.  
 Maung, Maung, B.A.  
 Maung, U Maung.  
 Maung, Maung Chit  
 Maung, Maung Chit.  
 Maung, Maung E.  
 Maung, Maung Kin (2).  
 Maung, Matung Kin  
 Maung, U Sein.  
 Maung, Maung Thein (2).  
 Maung, Maung Thein .. .. .. *.. Life Member.*  
 Maung, Maung Thein, M.A., LL.B., *Bar.-at-Law.*  
 Maung, Maung Tun (2) B.A.  
 Maung, Sir Sao, K.C.I.E., K.S.M., M.L.C.  
 Me, U, K.S.M. .. .. .. *.. Life Member.*  
 Mellor, R. W.  
 Metteyya, Bhikkhu Ananda  
 Michie, J. K.  
 Milner, C. E.  
 Mission Research Library, New York.  
 Moolla, Mohamed Ebrahim.  
 Moore, H. C., B.A., I.C.S.  
 Morris, A. P., B.Sc., A.M. Inst., C.E.  
 Morris, A. R., B.A., I.C.S.  
 Mukerjee, H. C., B.E.  
 Musaji, M.  
 Mya, Maung.  
 Myint, Maung.  
 Myint, Maung Aung.  
 Neild, Ralph, B.A., I.C.S.  
 Nepean, N. St. V.  
 Nicholas, A. A.  
 Nixon, A. B.  
 Nolan, J. J.  
 Nolan, Lieut. M. C.  
 Nyein, Maung (1) A.T.M.  
 Nyein, U Tun, I.S.O. .. .. .. *.. Life Member*  
 Nyo, U Ba.  
 Nyo, Maung Lu.

Nyun, Maung.				
Nyun, Maung San, B.A.				
Nyun, U San.	..	..	..	.. <i>Life Member</i>
O, U Kyi, B.A.				
Oates, S. J.				
Ogilvie, G. H.	..	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Ommanney, J. L.				
On, Maung Ba.				
Ormiston, Lieut.-Col. T. L., M.A., <i>Bar.-at-Law</i> , I.A.				
Ottama, Rev. Bhikkhu U.				
Oung, Mrs. Hla.				
Oung, Chan Htwan.				
Oung, The Hon'ble U May, M.A., LL.B., <i>Bar.-at-Law</i> .				
Owen, Prof. L. G., B.A.				
Owens, Lieut.-Col. F. C., I.A.				
Page, A. J., B.A., I.C.S.	..	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Paik, Maung.				
Pe, Maung.				
Pe, Maung (2).				
Pe, Maung Hla.				
Pe, Maung On.	..	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Pe, Maung Tun, M.A., M.R.A.S.				
Pe, U Po, K.S.M., A.T.M.				
Pe, Maung San.				
Pe, Maung Than.				
Pe, Maung Thaung, (1), B.A.				
Pe, U Zaw, B.A.				
Pedley, Dr. T. F., M.D., V.D.				
Pelly, Capt. H. R., I.A.				
Pennell, C. S., M.A., I.C.S.	..	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Perroy, The Very Rev. Father				
Pillay, T. Coopposawmy.				
Po, Maung Ba.				
Po, Khoo Sain.				
Prasad, Lieut.-Col. K., I.M.S.				
Pridmore, Col. W. G., I.M.S.				
Pru, Zai Ya.				
Pu, Maung, (1), A.T.M.				
Pu, Maung.				
Pu, Maung Ba.				
Pughe, Capt. D. L.				
Pullar, E. J.				
Rahim, A.				
Rahim, Abdul.				
Rees, O. M., I.C.S.				
Reddiar, Rao Sahib S. Ramanatha	..	..	..	.. <i>Life Member</i>
Rego Simon, J.				
Reynell, C. A.				
Reynolds, J. T. C.				



Rice, The Hon'ble Mr. W. F., C.S.I., I.C.S.				
Robbin, Maung.				
Roberts, Major A. B.	..	..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Robertson, L. C.				
Rodger, A., O.B.E.				
Ross, Dr. G. R. T., M.A., D.PHIL.				
Roy, K. K.				
Rutledge, The Hon'ble Mr. J. G., M.A., <i>Bar.-at-Law.</i>				
Sa, U Po, I.S.O., K.S.M.				
Sa, U Po, B.A.				
St. Guily, The Very Rev. Father				
Saing, Maung Po, T.D.M., A.T.M.				
Saing, U.				
Salaraks, Luang Phraisom				
San, Maung.				
Samson, P.				
Saunders, J. St. C., I.C.S.				
Saung, U Po.				
Saw, H. Po, B.A.				
Saw, Maung Po.				
Scott, G. E.				
Searle, H. F., B.A., I.C.S.				
Sein, U Po, T.S.P.	..	..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Sein, U Po.				
Seng, O. Kim.				
Seppings, E. H.	..	..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Set, U, B.A.	..	..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Sewell, Lieut.-Col. J. H.				
Shaw, John				
Shein, Maung Ba.				
Shwe, San, M.A., <i>Bar.-at-Law.</i>				
Shwe, U San, F.R.G.S.				
Silvanus, D. H. M., I.F.S.				
Singh, Rai Sahib Attar.				
Sin, Maung Po, (2)				
Sisman, L.				
Sit, U Po.				
Sitzler, E. A.				
Sloss, Prof. D. J.				
Smith, J. R. Baird.				
Smith, D. Colquhoun.				
Smith, H.	..	..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Smyth, W. J., B.A., I.C.S.				
Snow, C. A., M.A.	..	..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
So, Maung Ba, B.A.				
Stewart, J. A. M.A., I.C.S.	..	..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Street, W. A.				
Stuart, J.	..	..	..	<i>Corresponding Member.</i>
Su, U, <i>Bar.-at-Law.</i>				
Sutherland, C.				

Swan, Maung Boon ..	..	..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Swinhoe, R.				
Swithinbank, B. W., I.C.S.	..	..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Swe, Maung Ba, (2), B.A.				
Swe, Maung Chit.				
Symns, J. M., M.A. ..	..	..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Taw, Maung.				
Taylor, L. F., B.A. ..	..	..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Te, Rev. Ba.				
Teik, Saw Tun, B.A.				
Temple, Sir Richard, Bt., C.B., C.I.E., F.S.R.				<i>Corresponding Member.</i>
Teong, Taw Sone, B.A., B.A.Q.				
Tesmoo, Saw.				
Tha, Maung Ba, B.A.				
Tha, U Shwe, K.I.H.				
Tha, U Shwe, (2), K.S.M.				
Than, Maung.				
Than, Maung Aung, B.A.				
Than, Maung Ba, B.A.				
Than, Maung Po.				
Than, Maung Po, (1), A.T.M.				
Thè, U Po.				
Thet, Maung Ba.				
Thein, Saya ..	..	..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Thi, Maung Ba.				
Thin, Maung Po.				
Thin, Maung Ba.				
Thin, Maung Ba.				
Thin, Maung Myat.				
Thin, U Po.				
Thine, Maung Hpo.				
Thompstone, E., B.Sc.				
Thoo, Maung San.				
Thwin, J. B., R.A.				
Tin, Prof. Maung, M.A. ..	..	..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Tin, Maung (2).				
Tin, Maung, (5).				
Tin, Maung Hla (1)				
Tin, Maung Hla (2)				
Tin, Maung On.				
Tin U, A.T.M., K.S.M. ..	..	..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
To, Maung Saw Po.				
Tripp, L. M. G.				
Tsain, U, Bar.-at-Law. ..	..	..	..	<i>Life Member.</i>
Tun, Maung Ba.				
Tun, Maung Po.				
Tun, Maung Tha.				
Tway, Maung Chit.				
U, Maung San Baw.				
U, U Tun				

U, U Kyaw Zan.			
Van Horn, Prof. C. E., M.A.			
Vardon, S. D.			
Verhage, A.			
Wallace, W. V.			
Ward, Prof. K. M.			
Watkins, Geo. H.			
Webb, The Hon'ble Mr. C. M., I.C.S.			
White, Sir Herbert Thirkell	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Whitnah, Prof. C. H., M.Sc.			
Wilkie, H. G., I.C.S.			
Williamson, A., M.A., I.C.S.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Wilson, L. D.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Wilson, H. S.			
Win, Maung Ba.			
Win, Maung Po (2).			
Win, Maung Tun (1).			
Wollaston, C. H.			
Wood, Frank.			
Woods, E. A.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Ya, Maung Tun.			
Yah, U Kyaw.			
Yain, L. A., <i>Bar.-at-Law.</i>			
Yee, U Po.	..	..	.. <i>Life Member.</i>
Yi, Maung Ba (3) B.A.			
Yin, Maung Ba.			
Yin, Maung Tun.			
Yin, Maung Tun.			
Yin, Maung Tun.			
Zan, Maung Ba.			
Thè U Po.			
Zan, U Kyaw.			
Zan, Abraham Shwe.			



	PAGE.
Smaller Temples of Pagan. By Prof. G. H. Luce .. ..	41
Sociology. A study in Burmese—By Taw Sein Ko, C.I.E. ..	104
Thrice named city, kingdom of the Shans, Kantus and Sakkyas. By	
Chan Htwan Oung .. .. .	119
Trials of an Empire Builder. By J. Stuart .. ..	15
Vajirabuddhi and the Pagan Razawin. By Chas. Duroiselle ..	81

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

"Atthasalini." Vol. I. English Translation by Prof. Maung Tin ..	161
Archaeological Survey of Burma. Report of the Superintendent	
for 1919 .. .. .	26
Burmese Novels.	
12. "Maung Ba Shwe and Ma Hla May of Kyaiklat by	
Maung San Thein .. .. .	25
13. "Maung Mya Din and Ma Mè Yu," by Maung Po Ye ..	25
14. "Maung Shwe Taung Wutthu," by Saya Thin ..	25
15. "Maung Cherry and Ma Myat Le," by T. Ba Thwin ..	25
16. "Maung Hlaing, the Pemyit seller." Part I, by Maung	
Tha Zan .. .. .	26
"Kachin Military Terms," by Major C. M. Enriquez, I. A. ..	160
"Primitive Ritual and Belief. An Anthropological Essay," by Rev.	
E. O. James .. .. .	23
Tantrik Texts. Vol. II. The Shrichakrasambhara Tantra. Ed. by	
Kazi Dawa-samdup .. .. .	20

## PROCEEDINGS ETC.

Appeal for increase of Membership .. ..	164
Appeal on behalf the Royal Asiatic Society .. ..	163
List of Publications received .. ..	35, 86 and 171
List of Members .. ..	37 and 174
Proceedings .. ..	31, 84 and 165

# INDEX OF AUTHORS

Vol. X, 1920.

	PAGE.
Ba Han. The meaning of "Ari" .. ..	160
Translation of Shin Uttamagyaw's Tawla ..	13
Ba Kya. Translations into English of three Burmese Articles..	
Dictionary of Burmese Authors, jointly with Prof. G. H.	
Luce .. ..	137
Era of Decay .. ..	61
Life of Bayin-Naung .. ..	116
Ba Thein. A Dictionary of Burmese Authors. In Burmese ..	120
Chan Htwan Oung. The thrice named city, kingdom of the Shans,	
Kantus and Sakkyas .. ..	119
Collis, M. S. History of Old Myaungmya .. ..	77
Duroiselle, Chas. Alaungsithu vs. Narapatisithu ..	79
The Derivation of "Ari." ..	28 and 158
Vajirabuddhi and the Pagan Razawin ..	81
Enriquez, Major C. M. Beyond Mandalay .. ..	88
Fraser, Prof. W. G. Old Rangoon .. ..	49
Furnivall, J. S. Review entitled "The birth of wonder." ..	23
Kyaw Dun. Lacquerware called "Yun." .. ..	75
Luce, Prof. G. H. The Smaller Temples of Pagan ..	41
Verse translation of Shwegugyi Inscription ..	67
Translation of "Dictionary of Burmese Authors"	
jointly with Mg. Ba Kya .. ..	137
Lun, Saya. Life of Bayin-Naung or Hanthawaddy ..	112
Hsin Byu Shin. In Burmese	
Mya, Maung.. The Monasteries of Pagan .. ..	155
Pi Saya—The Era of Decay. In Burmese .. ..	62
Po Byu. Anantathuriya's Death-Song .. ..	160
Shin Uttamagyaw and his Tawla .. ..	13
San Shwé Bu. Brass Figure-Lamp found at Old Wesali, Arakan ..	65
Shwe Zan Aung. The Buddhist Philosophy of Change ..	5



	PAGE.
Silacara, Bhikkhu—Buddhism in Europe. (A review of the Atthasalini)	161
Sinclair, Capt. W. Braxton—The Monasteries of Pagan ..	.. 1
Stuart, J. The Trials of an Empire Builder ..	.. 15
Taw Sein Ko. A study in Burmese Sociology ..	.. 104
Taylor, L. F. Folklore and Legends of Burma ..	.. 93
Tin, Prof. Maung—Anantathuriya's Death-Song ..	.. 27
Derivation of Ari ..	.. 82
Review of Archaeological Report for 1919 ..	.. 26
The Shwegugyi Pagoda Inscription ..	.. 67



(68)

7



21

*"A book that is shut is but a block"*

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY  
GOVT. OF INDIA  
Department of Archaeology  
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book  
clean and moving.