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Monastery West of Nyaungu Minnanhu Road

Monastery at Dayinpat

Scale:

Feet

3

10

1

Section

GROUND PLAN

PLATE 1.

PLATE 2

GROUND PLAN
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 influence 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 pro-
duced 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 pe-
riod 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 char-
acter. 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 visi-
ble life to the design.

Plate 3. The third instance of this series near Upali Thein was almost similar in exterior ap-
pearance, 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 cen-
tral 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 con-
ceive 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 fulfill the needs of the school and college with its stu-
dents and probationers. In the first-named build-
ing 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 Bud-
ghist 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
ting 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 ori-
ginal 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 Tamani: scholastic wing.

- CELL
- PASSAGE
- CELL
- PASSAGE
- CELL
- PASSAGE
- CELL

GREAT HALL

OR:

COLLEGE
55 x 36

- CELL
- PASSAGE
- CELL
- PASSAGE
- CELL

SCHOOL
31 x 36

OR:

LIBRARY

- CELL
- PASSAGE
- CELL

STAIRCASE

- PORCH

PLATE 6.
Monastery: N Tamami Wing with Chapel:

Scale:  

Chief Monk's Room:

Processional corridor:

GREAT HALL:

PLATE 4 GROUND PLAN
Monastery: NE. Lemyethna: Minnantha:

Great Vaulted Hall: 44 x 20

Cell

Mezzanine

Corridor

Cell

Entrance

Great Vaulted Hall: 40 x 15

Cell

Entrance

Cell

PLATE 5. GROUND PLAN.
Monastery NW of Upali

Their

Ground Plan

Scale:

Feet 5 10 15

PLATE 3.
Monastery South of Apeyatana:

Processional Corridor

Shrine

Entrance

Cell

Cell

Great Hall

44' x 46'

Entrance

Cell

Cell

Entrance

Cell

Cell

Staircase Tower on angle

Entrance

Vestibule

Entrance

Cell

Cell

Ground 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 Apeyata 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 southeast 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 Furgusson’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.
Figs. 1 and 2. Dayinpato Monastery. See Plate 2.
Fig. 3. A Monastery N.-W. of Upali Thein.
Fig. 4. Monastery S. of Apeyatan. See Plate 7.
Fig. 5. A palm leaf pediment.
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 and partly by Professor K. M. Ward's lucid paper on Buddhism and Bergsonism, 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.

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. 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, 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 which change, while anicca 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 words as a flux. To us who cannot as yet realise this flux from within as do our stream-winners (Sotapannas) it can only be described in the form of a simile: "Like the current of a river." 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. 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 (addhāvasana). With an adult who is still suffering from hallucination of mind (citta-vippallāsa) which views stability in mobility, 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, break up the flux into a cinematographic succession of what the Hon. Bertrand Russell calls time-corpuscles, each lasting but a moment.

That is to say, philosophers view change by means of moments (khaṇṇavasana).

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

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*Contributed to the First Oriental Conference, Poona, November, 1919.
(1) The Quest (Oct. 1917).
(2) J. B. R. S. (Dec. 1918).
(3) Āp. 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; in my own frankness mitigate the debt to him for having opened my eyes. But he has not added any new thought to Buddhism.
(4) Thā gatinvattiyāṃ. Abhidhānappadīpikātāci.
(5) Aṭṭādivasena na iccaṁ. Tīkāyavya. 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 aṭṭādivasena iccaṁ (change without a soul, etc.).
(7) Nādiso vīya. Āpānā. Nādiso vīya. Āpānā.
(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). 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-saṅkhañā) in each of all the three classes of observers—the child, the adult and the philosopher—makes two marks (lakkhanas) in order to note a change. For it is the function of saṅkhañā to know, or rather note, a thing by means of the mark or marks made by itself, just as a carpenter puts chalk-marks on his pieces of wood. The external observer places these selfmade marks upon things and looks upon becoming (bhava) as disappearing after coming into being. In other words, he analyses becoming into being (atthi and bhāva) and non-being (nannatī or abbāva), growth (udaya) and decay (vaya); or, arising or generation (uppāda) and cessing or dissolution (bhanga).

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? Is it 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, 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 attaching themselves to things.

So the Buddha in the Tika Aṅguttara said:—Uppāda (arising) is apparent; and vaya (passing away) is apparent. But he added a third hypothetical state after these two terms in the form of thiti (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 thiti stage is superfluous as held by Ānanda, the author of Mūlakkā. In other words, thiti is not only a false, but a misleading, mark. The Buddha’s actual phraseology was thitassato aññathatvā, which literally means “a state (tātan) 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 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 Shweygin 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

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would have spoken of two phases or aspects or marks instead of three (tīni lakkhānāni) as he did. It seems to me that the word ‘otherwise-ness’ (aññathattam) should be understood as in the English expression ‘Changeability or otherwise-ness of things’ where it expresses the contrast of changeability and not of things.

Buddhaghosa and other writers recognise phītī 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 phītī (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 (18); and taking it as a whole (19), he is to contemplate it as changeful by reason of dissolution (20), 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 (sammasaññā), which develops time-corpuscles, handles (sammāsati), 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 (21) to other insights which follow.

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

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 udayabhaya-ñāna, now confines itself to a present, particular personality, preferably one’s own, by way of moments without further reference to causal relations. (24) 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-corpuces 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 (aniccamānāna) is liable to be mistaken for intuition (maggañña) of the real flux, and this mistake may prove a formidable obstacle (vipassanāpekkhā) 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 phītī, i.e., all traces of hallucination (vippallāsa-nimitta), viz., rigidity, fixity, staticity, stability, and so forth. Hence the word aniccamānāna (the exercise of mind on change) is synonymous with animittānāna, 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.

(18) Sappaccayaas tuhāmakasānkhāresu aṭṭādibhedabhinnasā khandhādibhaṇjanāranāra saṇkhāra. Comptn. of Phil.
(20) Khayaṭṭhena aniccā. Comptn. of Phil.
(23) Sabbe saṅkhāra aniccā. Dharmagādo.
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 Bhāṅga-nāṇa. 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 (paṭīpiḷita). 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).

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 sāṅkhārā dukkha, 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 (bhayaṛṭṭhena dukkha) 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 accustomed to 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-nāṇa.

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 Ādināvamāna-nāṇa. Thus in a discourse on Intuition in the Patisambhidā-magga, it is said: Seeing the fault of generation, the mind runs into non-generation. 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 anupāda, 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 (ādittagarassā 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-nāṇa.

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., (jālādītocchādikā viya). This intellectual desire of escape is described as maccitukasayatā-nāṇa.

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...
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 stretch 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. 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 Paññaṁkaññaṁ.

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 (cattabhāryo puñiro viyā). 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 (pariṇātabba).

The intellectual equanimity or philosophical calm is what Buddhists call Saṅkhārakacchāññaṁ. With calmness the practitioner takes a bird’s-eye view of the ocean before he flies away from it (samuddasakunī viyā).

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 (paripākaṁ) and reaches the climax of its own development (Sikkāpattā), it receives the name of ‘adaptive’ intellect (anulomaññaṁ), sometimes called sānuloma because equanimity co-exists with adaptation. It also leads to intuition. Hence the additional appellation of vaṭṭhamagāminī, the term vaṭṭhāna 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.

During the period of adaptation the intellect of equanimity not only sharpens itself gradually, but fits, equips and qualifies the practitioner for intuition. Hence it is called Saccānulomikañña in the final process of transition from intellect to intuition.

This process is described in the Āṭṭhasāliṇī as follows:

When the time for intuition is about to arrive, mind-door consciousness turns the stream of being and adverters 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 dukkham from the Buddha. See the oldest Tikā on the Compendium of Phil.

The Tikā has wrongly applied the figure of the bird and the ocean to the Paññaṁkaññaṁ in the sense of hovering over and over again. Ølárikolakassa saccaṇaḥčchādakamohassā vigamena saccaṇaḥcchādakamohassā anulomaṁ saccaṇalomaṁ. Manomāramatiśčādakamohassā.
preparatory); the second, upacāra (proximate), and the third, anuloma (31) (‘qualificatory’).

Now one or other of the four intellectuals (śāna-samponsāyuta) of the Main Type of Moral Thoughts (Mahā-kusala) described in Part I of the Compendium of Philosophy supervenes as ‘adoptive’ (gotrabhā-śāna) 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 (vipassana) 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 ‘adoptives’ are comparable to the three successive winds and ignorance, to clouds. The ‘adoptive’ is represented by the man, while Nibbana 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 ‘adoptive’ and the ‘adoptive’ may be distinguished.

The figure of the moon is also useful to indicate the difference between the Nibbana of the ‘adoptive’ and the Nibbana of the Path. If I were to point my finger at the moon, my finger is not the moon. So the Nibbana of the ‘adoptive’ intellect is but an index or a given mark (dinna-sanñāna) of the true object of the Path. In other words, the Nibbana 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 intuition. In this connection, Buddhagaha 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. (32)

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.” (33) 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 pitiful castor-wood stick, pointing indifferently to heaps of things. (34)

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 appajjhātānupassanā, 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 adoptives are spoken of as anulomas. But in the Visuddhimagga this term and saccānulomika are specifically applied to the third. The terms sīkhaṇḍatti and vuṭṭhabānāgāmini are the synonyms of all the three.

(32) Tasmā na esa ṛcassa asa abharanāna viya datṭhaḥ; itthano pansa cete yeva datṭhaḥ. Visuddhimagga.

(33) Anāññataḥ ... ... naḥsamiti. Thākyow.

(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, appanihita 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 insistently 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. We may lose 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 (vedagī) who has become established in the Dhamma after the dissolution of body can no longer be reckoned (as man, god, etc.)"

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. 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 changeful 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 intrafrutional consciousness of Nibbāna (phalassamāpatti), however busy an analytic psychologist may be in breaking up this flux into time-corpuses for our edification.

Elsewhere in my Dialogue on Nibbāna, 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. 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 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:—


(37). Dhammaṭṭho ‘ti asekhadhammesu nibbāne eva vā thito. Commentary.

(38). The J. B. R. S. (Dec. 1918). Since writing that dialogue my attention has been drawn by Bhikkhu Silācara to the Mahāyānic paradox: Sanskri is Nibbāna. I confess that I am struck with the subtilty of the Mahāyānists’ bold speculation.


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 inserts 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 the poet describes Metteyya—the last Buddha to-be in the present Kappa—as one who has attained arahatship and who has therefore Nirvāṇa in possession.

simply means “Metteyya who is to come last” the word meaning “Last” 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 Gotano.

Literally this means “The victorious sword.” which stands for is a Pāli term for “victorious.” But the compound is here used metaphorically for Arahatta or Arahatsip 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” (anāmitta), or “the Undesired” (apamihita) according as it is attained by the contemplation of things as unsubstantial, or impermanent, or evil. Hence the next expression which literally means “The three edges.” which literally means “One single handle” implies the same Arahatta, for though it has a triple name it is always regarded as one.

(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. Here (the sheath) refers to 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.

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

means “The sword belonging to the virtuous,” that is, Arahatta. It therefore conveys the same meaning as mentioned above. 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. (Pāli) means “Having relation to the virtuous.”

literally means “possessor of Nirvāṇa,” that is “one who is to attain Nirvāṇa at death, or one who has Nirvāṇa in sight or one by whom Nirvāṇa is intuited or discerned.”

This means that Metteyya Buddha seeing that the poet would at last arrive at Nirvāṇa through the practice of the Eight Aryan Path-constituents makes the (following) prediction.

means “The holy Eightfold Path” (Ariyo Aṭṭhakatho maggo). See also notes on Verse VI.

Here Nirvāṇa is referred to as “a great flourishing locality.”
SHIN UTTAMAGAYAW AND HIS TAWLA, A NATURE POEM

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 see notes on Verse I.

This refers to the prediction noted above and means that on the Island of Jambuddha the noble priest by name Shin Uttamagayaw will at some future date succeed me as One who knows “the Four Noble Truths.”

Jambuddha, so called because the Eugenia jambu or the rose-apple tree is said to grow there as its emblem. Jambuddha is one of the four great Islands in the world System of Buddhist cosmography. The remaining three Islands are Pubbavideha, Aparagaya and Upparaguru.

simply means “To call by a name;” (Pali) means “A name;” and means “To call.” is derived from the Pali which means “Making known.”

which stands for being a Pali term for “Indeed, oh, alas.” That is to say “Indeed the poet is going to become a Buddha in future.”

This is a direct speech by Metteyya and means “In my place.” stands for which is the same as and means “Place or office.” Here it implies Buddhahood.

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 which means “The poet will become enlightened in the Four Noble Truths.”

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

means “The Lord who possesses the ninefold glory.” (Cf. in Verse IV) is a common epithet of Buddha. (Cf. )

The allusion here is to Metteyya Buddha.

means “To acclaim, to applaud” and means “I myself am a Bodhisatta.” cl (I) here stands for the poet for he is speaking to himself. means “An embryo Buddha,” that is a Bodhisatta or one who is destined to attain Buddhahood. is a Pali term for Buddhahood.

 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.”

means “A verbal declaration.” For the derivation of see Verse VIII.

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.

Metteyya, the last to shine as Buddha in this age has dept 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 Fore-discerns the To-be. In due time he would announce that Shin Uttamagayaw, 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 horseshoe, 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 Mailmam 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 oc-curent 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 pros-
ppect 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 com-
panionship 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 differ-
ent footing. In the Keeling Islands he would
inevitably be cut off, for months at a stretch, from
all European companionship and from any possi-
bility 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 ex-
tracted from the Pinang Gazette, and points out
that H. M. Brig "Pelorus" which had sailed
from Maulmain in October 1837 had been insti-
tected to call at the Cocos on her way to New
South Wales, probably in response to the Memo-
rial from Capt. Ross. The date of the memo-
rial 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 pro-
tection 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 under-
taking which, at my age, (then forty years) most
probably involved the fate of all that possibly
remained with the capacity of being advanta-
geously 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 to-
wards 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 un-
important 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 con-
sequently 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 reflec-
tion he must have known no responsible Minister
was likely to grant. He had infinitely more im-
portant 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-
NOTES AND REVIEWS

politician 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 felons on the whaling ground great numbers would resort to it, for the same purposes, at once re-animated 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 coconuts 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 revolters, i.e. to 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 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 re-
solved to proceed to lay the affair before your
Excellency, as being the local chief of that de-
partment 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 my-
self 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 govern-
ment, 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 sub-
mission 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. Neverthe-
less he is an atrocious character, whose subse-
quent presence upon the Isles for any consider-
able 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 hav-
ing, 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 sub-
ject, 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 there-
fore renders probable the statement which has
been broached on the Isles by some of his coun-
trymen that the crime is, the having murder-
ed 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
treacheryous brigand as this American seems en-
titled to receive any very delicate consideration,
if in addition to his wilful and premeditated vio-
lation 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 fur-
ther presume to oppose himself to duly consti-
tuted British authority, on territory which, if not
British, is at all events not American.”

It is evident that Capt. Ross realised the diffi-
culty 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 eventu-
ally to restore order, but I have no means of as-
certaining this. I find that I was wrong in say-
ing that the want of the conclusion of the memo-
rial is due to my file of the “Chronicle being in-
complete.” 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 unsuc-
cessful attempts to obtain another, the Editor
regrets the necessity of suspending the publica-
tion of that paper. He is unable to form any
idea as to the length of time before the publica-
tion 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.
NOTES AND REVIEWS

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 revend gentlemen would appear to have delivered himself of this pronunciamento:—

"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
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 Devatás 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 puffes 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 occasion- nal mention in Pali literature? Has it anything to do with that seed, that element of Nibbana, which makes its presence fully known in Buddhhas and Arahans?

The piece ends with these words: “By the power of the good wishes of me, Samanta Bha dra (Küintu-bZangpo) may all sentient beings without exception attain Buddhahood in the Dharma kāya (which is the Void, Shūnyatā, and Compassion, Karana).”

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 uninstructed 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 Bud dhahood. 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 Yathāyas 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 mediated 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 Satipaṭṭhānas, the Four Sammāpadhānas, the Four Iddhipadā, the Five Indriyāni, the Five Balāni, the Seven Bojjhangā, and the Eight members of the Ariyamaṇḍa; 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 are we 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 was 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 producing 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-samdup, 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.

HE BIRTH OF WONDER.


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-
nitive 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 Talai Ang 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-
clare 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.

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**BURMESE NOVELS.**


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.


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 Penyiit 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 'Kadãram not in Burma' is a good instance. Mr. Duroiselle approves of M. Coedès's new identification of Kadãram 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 sakkaraç = 1165 A.D., Alaungsithu the grandfather is meant in the inscription, referred to. Besides, the author of the New Chronicle (Twinhin Mahasithu) tells us that in inscriptions Alaungsithu, the grandfather is called by the following names: Alaungsithu Shwegudåyåkå, Alaungsithu-Minchantha, Shwegudåyåkå-Minsithu, Alaungsithu lord of the 36 white
elephants.\(^{(1)}\) 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.\(^{(2)}\) One of his duties was to check the inscriptions in Bodawpaya's reign in the Archaeological office.\(^{(3)}\) His views on the Inscriptions are therefore entitled to special weight. Indeed, it is very probable from the number of Inscriptions which must have perished,\(^{(4)}\) 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 Alaungpaya, the grandfather is called Alaungpaya, as well as Sithu and Narapatithu 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 Avaahan Shin in an inscription, works out the building of the Nandamağa to be between 1112 and 1118. Mr. Duroiselle's conclusion is worthy of note as pointing to the building of an Ari temple in Alaungpaya'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

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 သော့တောင်းသူး သော့တောင်းသူး which we have rendered as “The blood is transitory” (last line), taking သော့တောင်း to be the blood ought to be construed as ပြောတောင်း, making သော့တောင်း (transitoriness, impermanence) the subject and သော့တောင်း the verb, to lure. We were just considering whether this meaning (of the law of impermanence luring Anantathuryia 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 Narapatithu, the grandson a greater man than Alaungpaya 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:

(1). Quoted from the Bernard Free Library MS.
(2). See our remarks on Anantathuryia'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 araṇī. 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 araṇī as the written form of the word arī. It was no slip of the pen at all, and the transcription is perfectly correct. Final ə has never been meant in pure Burmese words or in words derived from the Pali to represent a double nī, it is but a symbol for the sounds ə, e and e, 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 nīghatita, thus ə, pronounced in (not in); and they have so well understood also that ə does not stand for a double letter nī, that the custom is gradually gaining ground in educated circles and in books seriously edited, to represent this sound ə by the single nasal ə, n (pronounced in). Put shortly, ə in Burmese, has never been meant to be a double letter; it is merely a symbol used to represent the vowel sound ə, 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 ə by n. (1)

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 əə by ən and not ən; why Ed. Huber, transliterating a passage from the "New History of Pagan" (ဗိုလ်မှူးများ) in the Bulletin de l’Ecole Francaise for 1905, p. 179, renders əə by lai and not lai; əə by praν and not praν; əə by saν and not saν. Examples might easily be multiplied, but the

matter is too elementary to give it such honour. My transliteration of əə by araνī was consequently not a slip of the pen, but a rational transliteration. If we admit with the Editor that ə as it is used in Burmese represents a double nasal, there can be no reasonable objection to ə, 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; əə = ṅaν, əə = ṅa, etc. So that when Maung Tin says that "the word is written Araνī (a) in Burmese (with a double nasal) so generally that if we came across araνī we should look upon it as a careless script," by his insertion of an (a) after the supposed form araṇī, he seems merely to be begging the question and is asserting straight off that əə is derived from araṇī (အရှုံး), 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 araṇī 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 araνī (sic)=araṇī, on a passage of a history of Pagan written in Pali, which runs, “athāpi Samathitthāne (2) nissimehi micchādīthihikehi araṇīḥabhiḥkōhi saddhīḥ” etc; but what he does not tell us is that this is the only place in which araṇī (အရှုံး) is found: that throughout the whole work the author uses constantly the expressions əə or əə; 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 əə in this passage is nothing but a copyist’s mistake, who forgot to place the virama on the last letter of the word əə; that this is the case is shown by other copies which, in this very passage read əə; for in-

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

(2) Maung Tin transcribes here samathī= əəəə; but all the copies have samathī əəəə;
stance, in the copy of U Tin, Sub-Divisional Officer, Pagan, page 22, which runs—"ahāpi Samathittāhāne nisinnhehi micchādittikehi araṇī (वर्णविवेकी) bhikkhuhi" etc.; moreover, it is doubtful whether the author, instead of araṇīabhikkhū would not have preferably used the expression araṇīkā bhikkhū, which is the usual one. This copyist’s mistake, as well as the fact that  is a conventional sign to represent the sound ṯ and not a double nasal ṇ, vitiates altogether Maung Tin’s derivation, arī = araṇī = araṇīa.

Now, to show that the derivation from arīya is not impossible but rather reasonable and very probable. In words derived from the Pali, a final  always represents a final Pali—y (a),—īy (a) or—eyy (a). Examples of this change are numerous; a few will suffice here: paccaya, paccā (पिक्का); Kaccāyana, Kaccā (कच्चा—this form is found in inscriptions); tuullacayana, tuullacā (तुल्लाचा), naya, naṇī, (नाणी); vinaya, vinā (विनाः); also found as  in inscriptions); ājāṇīya, ājāna (आजाना); arimeteyya, which appears in Burmese also under the forms metteyya, mittiyā, arimeteyya, mittiyā and arimittiyā, becomes mittēn (मित्तेन) (pron. meittī); mittā (मित्ताः) and arimattā (अरिमत्ताः). Pāllīeyyaka becomes pulala (पुलाला) (पुलाला = पुलाला = पुलाला = पुलाला); upameyya, upama (उपमा); Jeyāsūra, caṇḍā (चण्डा) etc., etc. If then such words as ājāṇiya, mittiyā, arimittiyā, become in Burmese, ājānā, mittā and arimattā, why should not arīya become araṇī (वर्णविवेकी)? The process is simple: ājānīya =  because two signs ṯ and ṡ are unnecessary to represent the same vowel sound in the same syllable, and therefore one is dropped. So also, arīya =  just as  becomes  and  I have shown that the old Burmese used indifferently the sounds ṯ, ē, ē, 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 ṯ, ē, ē, and so are explained such forms, for the same word, as— in  (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,  (Prome) =  little)—;  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  was used as a symbol to represent the sound ṯ (indifferently pronounced ṯ, ē, or ē); and that in words derived from the Pali, it regularly represents a Pali final —ya, —iyya and —eyy. I have, I hope, shown, that, in deriving araṇī from arīya, 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,  (ṭ) never represents a Pali final ṇ (a).

It now remains to show that this  is not a Pali ṇ (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 ṯ in words which were then (and even now as has been shown) pronounced either ṯ, ē or ē; 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—ṇa have been adopted in Burmese, whether literary or spoken, just as they are, without clipping. For instance paṇī (पणी) remains paṇī, and so kaṇī, araṇī, daṇī, anuṇā, vaṇī, saṇī, 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: pufṇa—पुफ्ना (pron. phōn) in the word pufṇa (पुफ्ना); with this compare Talaing—puṇna; saṃṇa—साम्णा (sāman); sunṇa—सुन्ना (sun); bhunjan—भुंजन (भुंजन); with this compare also Talaing— in (_above_); there may certainly be a few others, but I think they will be very few. It will be remarked that in these

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(3) For instance, Pārājik-āṭhakathā, Burmese edition, p. 532.

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

all final nasals whether Burmese or Pali become a dental nasal; and that in such words, \( \ddot{s} \) (in) merely represents that \( i \) sound inherent in Burmese in a large number of words ending in a nasal: \( \dddot{s} \) and \( \dddot{\ddot{s}} \), pronounced abhīnyin = abhiññaña; \( \dddot{s} \) or \( \dddot{\ddot{s}} \), pron. Winyin—viññāna; \( \ddot{s} \), pron. pathuzin—pathu- jana; \( \ddot{s} \) or \( \ddot{\ddot{s}} \), pron. uñin = uyyāna; \( \ddot{s} \), pron. yin = yana. This class of words is numerous, but these few examples will suffice. The words given above in illustration, \( \dddot{s} \), \( \dddot{\ddot{s}} \), represent the oldest way of spelling them; they are found regularly written with an \( \ddot{s} \) (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 \( \ddot{s} \) to \( \dddot{s} \) in numerous words; the adoption, of which I have already spoken at the very beginning, of \( \dddot{s} \) (final) instead of \( \ddot{s} \) in, in Burmese and Pali words, and also to replace final \( \ddot{s} \) in the very few words, derived from Pali ones terminating in \( \dddot{n} \) (a).

So that now, for instance, we may see but not universally, the word \( \dddot{\ddot{s}} \) (pron. phûn) from bhûñjana written \( \dddot{s} \) but pronounced the same as \( \ddot{s} \); or \( \dddot{\ddot{s}} \) (pron. sûn) from suñña written \( \dddot{s} \) (pron. sûn). But this goes only to prove again that, in the very few cases where a Pali word ending in \( \dddot{n} \) is adopted in Burmese after clipping it, the \( \dddot{n} \) becomes a dental nasal \( n \).

To resume: \( \dddot{s} \) 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—\( \dddot{n} \) is preserved intact in borrowed words, and in the few words in which it undergoes change, it becomes the dental \( n \). The word \( \dddot{\ddot{s}} \) ari, 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 \( \dddot{n} \) is the origin of the Burmese vowel \( i \) (\( \ddot{s} \)) is disproved by facts.

Chas. Duroiselle.
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 Cooperative 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 Hmannaun Yazaawin 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. Hunter and seconded by Maung Tin.
   (iii) Maung Hla 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, Kyauksê, was referred to the Committee.

9. A proposed change in the Secretarship 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.
Professor Maung Tin.
Professor K. M. Ward.
Professor G. H. Luce.
U Hpav.
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, Kyauksê, 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, (Hon. 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:


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.*

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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.)


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


* Presented by Prof. W. G. Fraser.
LIST OF MEMBERS.

Corrected to April 1920.

Aung, Maung Ba ............................................
Aung, U Shwe Zan, B.A. .....................................
Ba, U .................................................. Life Member.
Ba-Ket, Major, I.M.S. ....................................
Ban, Maung Shwe, Bar.-at-Law ......................... Life Member.
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 ...................................... Corresponding Member.
Boedicker, F. L. F. ....................................
Bridges, J. E. ............................................ Corresponding Member.
Brown, H. A., B.A., I.C.S. ..............................
Brown, R. R., B.A., I.C.S. ...............................
Brown, G. E. R. Grant, I.C.S. ......................... Life Member.
Browne, C. E. ............................................
Bu, Maung San Shwe ......................................
Bye, U Po, K.S.M. ........................................ Life Member.
Byu, U Po ................................................
Campbell, Professor, A. .................................
Cameron, C. J. N., I.C.V.D. .............................
Cardot, Rt. Rev. Bishop A. ................................
Carr, W., I.C.S. ......................................... Life Member.
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Casson, R., B.A., I.C.S. ................................
Chan, Htoon ................................................
Chit, U Po, A.T.M. ....................................... Life Member.
Circar, Dr. ................................................
Clague, J. B.A., I.C.S. ................................
Clayton, H., M.A., I.C.S. ................................
Cochrane, R. A. ......................................... Life Member.
Collis, M. S., B.A., I.C.S. ..............................
Cooper, C. R. P., B.A., I.C.S. ..........................
Cooper, W. G. ............................................ Life Member.
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Coverton, J. G., M.A., C.I.E. ..........................
Craig, T. ...................................................
Crawford, Prof. R. N., M.A. ......................... Life Member
Cuffe, Lady ..............................................
Cummings, Rev. Dr. J. E., M.A., D.D. .................
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Dawson, L., Bar.-at-Law .................................
deSilva, Thos. P.
Dewes, Lt.-Col. F. J.
Din, U Min, t.d.m.
Do, U Tha Ka, k.s.m.
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Dun, U Kyaw, k.s.m.
Dunn, C. W., b.a., i.c.s.
DuBoiselle, 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.
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Fyffe, The Rt. Rev. Bishop R. S.
Gale, U Maung
Gilmore, Rev. D. C.
Gordon, D. M.,  
Grant, C. F., m.a., i.c.s.
Grantham, S. G., b.a., i.c.s.
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Gywe, U Tha, Bar.-at-Law.
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Hla, Maung Aung, b.a.
Hla, Maung Kyaw San
Hlaing, Maung Po  
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Jones, B. M.
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Khalak, A.
Kin, The Hon’ble Mr. Justice Maung, Bar.-at-Law.
Kin, U Thein, a.t.m., b.a., f.c.s.
Ko, Taw Sein, c.i.e.  
Kumeran, Dr. P. J.
Kun, Maung, Bar.-at-Law.
Kyaw, Maung Ba, k.s.m.
Kyui, U Po, a.t.m., k.s.m.
Lack, Major L. H. A., i.m.s.  
Leach, F. B., b.a., i.c.s.
Lewishon, F., m.a., i.c.s.
Lightfoot, S. St. C.
LIST OF MEMBERS

List, J. N.
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Mackenzie, J. C., M.A., I.C.S.
Marshall, Rev. H. I.
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Maung, Maung Thein, M.A., LL.B., Bar.-at-Law.
Maung, Maung Thein
Maung, Maung Chit
Me, U, K.S.M.
Metteyya, Bhikkhu Ananda
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O, U Kyi, B.A.
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Rodger, A.
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Rost, Lieut.-Col. E. R., I.M.S.
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Sa, U Po, I.S.O., K.S.M.
Saing, Maung Ba, Bar.-at-Law.
St. Guily, The Very Rev. Father
Salaraks, Luang Phraismom
Saunders, L. H., I.C.S.
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Scholes, W. A.
Seppings, E. H.
Set, Maung, B.A.
Sewell, Lieut.-Col. J. H.
Shaw, John
Shein, Maung Tun, B.A.
Silvanus, D. H. M.
LIST OF MEMBERS

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.
Stuart, J.
Swan, Maung Boon
Swinhoe, R.
Swithinbank, B. W., I.C.S.
Symns, J. M., M.A.
Taylor, L. F., B.A.
Teik, Saw Tun, B.A.
Temple, Sir Richard
Teong, Taw Sone
Tha, Maung Ba, B.A.
Than, Maung Po, A.T.M.
Than, Maung Aung, B.A.
Thein, Saya
Tin, Prof. Maung, M.A.
Tin, Maung Hla (1)
Tin, Maung Hla (2)
Tin U, A.T.M., K.S.M.
Tripp, L. M. G.
U, U Tun
Van Horn, Prof. C. E., M.A.
Wallace, W. V., L.C.S.
Ward, Prof. K. M., B.A.
Webb, The Hon'ble Mr. C. M.
White, Sir Herbert Thirkell
Whitniah, Prof. C. H., M.Sc.
Wilson, J. C. C.
Win, Maung Tun (1).
Wollaston, The Hon'ble Mr. C. H.
Woods, E. A.
Ya, Maung Tun, A.T.M.
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 collection 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 among 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 Htaunyung 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-kadyaw. (1)

Madaya is a wonderful garden of Betel and Coconut 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, (2) 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) *Nats* kadyaw, or mediums.

(2) "SECRET"
PLAN A.—Shwegugyi, Pagan.

PLAN B.—Thambula Pagoda, Minnanthu.

PLAN C.—Lemyethna Pagoda, Old Prome: prototype of Pillar-and-Corridor Temple

PLAN D.—Bebe Pagoda, Old Prome: prototype of the Cella Temple.

PLATE 1.
I

Let us build today one of the smaller temples of Pagan. 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 sikhaara. Against each face we shall enthrone the Buddha touching earth. Each mass and coil 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. (1) 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 (2) 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 sikhaara—are all the same. Often instead of the sikhaara 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 College on the 27th February, 1920.

(1). The prototypes of the two main kinds of Temple here described are the Lemyethna and Bebe at Old Prome. See their groundplans (Plate I). The Pambula at Minnathu 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 unilike 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 stem line below the frieze is modestly broken by little tails of pearl.

Meantime the usual mouldings are become more complex. 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 sikha r 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 disgorge 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 outermost 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 grinning 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 pilasters and festoon friezes at Minnanthu (Plates III and IV.)
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 delightful 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 herculean 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 foliage. 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 uplifted 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 looting frank-eyed Bodhisats with wristbands and armbands 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 pyathat 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 processionable 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 yakkas. Here in an aisle of a tasaung- pytathat, 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 drooping 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 irresistible, 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 tusks; 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 A. 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 gaiting loon aquat 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 mākaras 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 mākara 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 ribands 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.\(^5\)

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 coiff, 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;\(^6\) and this is even carried so far as to create a new cela 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-ribands.

\(^{(6)}\) See the groundplan of the Shwegugyi (Plate I).
clutch daggers or wind horns, or carry clubs across their shoulders. In the centre a white how-dahed 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(7) 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 Nandamanña, though small, has great variety with a liking for the grotesque. The artist of an unnumbered little temple near the river north of Thiripyssapya 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.(8) 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 Thatbyinnyu. 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, Minnandu.

(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. Grander, 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 Itun, 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 Theinmazi is an instance, a temple which the Archaeological Department has begun to clean; the effect is extraordinary; what was almost as 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 Burmeses, 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 Danu-byu and 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 Talangs 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. Syrian 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 Talangs 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 Talaiing 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 Dravidian 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, beryl and choice cotton goods attracted foreign traders from the earliest ages. Commerce supplied the wealth required for life on civilised 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. D. 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 Talaiing 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 Talaiings belong to the Tibero-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 Talaiings. The Talaiings 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. D.: 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.¹ The oldest of these settlements was probably Criksetra or

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*Vincent Smith.

Old Prome; four others are mentioned near Rangoon viz. Pokhararavi Trihakumbha (from which Forchhammer derived the word Dagon), Asiananja 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. (2) 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


25178
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 cruelest 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 Frome, 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.

V.

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 seen to have come. Bassein lost its importance after 1790 for its governors were such that no merchant dared approach the place. 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 Talpoins, which are their Friers, 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) Sangularo.
“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 where-in 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 Kingsdome 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, amongst 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. Crawfurd 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 sea-port 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 commodions 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 Kiums 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 pongysis 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. Lansiego 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 available 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 coaster-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.(1) 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 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 Tharrawadi 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 Tharrawadi 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 Teekai Moung 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

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(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. 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 generally subsequent name of Jalālāhād) 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 "Kandawgly," so distinguished from the larger lake or "Kandawgyi," now called the Royal Lake. Kandawgly 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 Kyoongs. 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-
continued 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 golf course 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 Launmadaw 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.
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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 committed 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 Eenaes 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.]
THE ERA OF DECAY.

*Read at the Arts and Crafts Exhibition, Jubilee Hall, 24th January, 1919.*
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 dipam, 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.—امة اإرا مدا. This is more or less a facsimile of the original which in modern Burmese may be rendered وما إرا ما وات. "the gift of Ayana." The final syllable وما 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 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 Myohun 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 Nyin 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.

Sri namo buddhaya:
1. Yo kāmapaṭikagahanāṁ taritum nisamma
   Nālaṁ tilokam akhilaṁ varadhamma-
   bhāpuṁ
   Tassasanāya bhuvī māpayi sudhībuddhi
   Buddhamī name tamarasaṁ saha dhamma
   saṅghaṁ.
2. Ayāṁ hi bhaddako kappo pañcabuddha-
   virājito
   Uppannā tattha cattāro saṁbhuddhā
di-
   paduttamā.
3. Tese Gotamabuddhassa Sakyaputtassa fiā-
   nīno
   Guṇaṁ pakāsayissāmi saṅkhēpena suñā-
   tha me.
4. Bhavesu ca anekasu lokanātho mahāyaso
   Pūrītvā pāramī sabbā ṣariyāyo ca sabbathā
5. Tato pañicaricīcage sattānaṁ hitakāraṇā
   Pariccājītvā so viro anantakaranālayo;
6. Vessantarattabhāvasuṁ dhiyo sattahite
   rato
   Pāramiṁnaṁ dasannāṁ tu kūṭāṁ gaṇhitva
   nāyako.
7. Tato cavītvā Tusite pāre 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 dasāṭhānehi aṅñe deve atikkami.

8. Cakkavālasahasahesi dasah’ āγamma sabbaso
Devehi yācito santo Buddhabhāvāya sālawo.

9. Vilokanāni paṅc’eva viloketvā guṇālayo
Tato cavītvā Tusita upajjī Sākiye kule.

10. Ekānatūnasavassāni gharavāse jutindharo
Vasītvāna tato dhīro pabbajjāyābhinnikkhami.

11. Pabbajjīvāna so viro icchanto bodhimuttaññā
Padhāññā padaheṭvāna katvā dukkara-kāriyāni.

12. Ajāpālurakkhamūle nisidittvā Tathāgato
Tattha pāyāsam aggayha neraṅjaram upāgato.

13. Neraṅjarāya tiṃamhi pāyāsam ada so jino
Paṭiyattavaramaggena bodhimaṇḍam upāgami.

Caturu anhe adhiṅṭhāya nisīdī purissutamo.

15. Nissajja pallaṅkavare naraṣabho
Dumindamūle dipadānam uttamo
Na chamhati vigatabhayo va kesarī
dīsāna māraṁ saha senavāhaṇaṁ.

16. Mārakkavātaṁ bhinditvā uttāsetvā sa
Senakaṁ
Jayappatto mahāviro santacitto samāhito

17. Pubbenvivāsaññāni ca dibbacakkhuñ ca
cakkhumā
Sammasanto mahāṁaññā tayo yāme atikkami.

18. Tattha pacchimayāmasmiṁ paccayākāram
uttamaṁ
Anulomaṁpaṭilomāni manasākāsi sīrintharo

19. Sabbaṁnuṭariṁ nāpavaranī saribujjhitvā
mahāmuni
Buddho ti dhammabuddhatta samaṇṇā paṭhamāni ahu

20. Bujjhitvā sabbadhammānaṁ udānāṁ katvā
dhammakaro
Tatth’eva pallaṅkavare sattāhannā viṭṭhāmayi.

21. Samītasabbasanto patakanco aṅsavo
Udaggo sumano haṭṭho vicinteti bahum hitaṁ.

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 Sakiyān 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’s tree
And taking pulse went toward Neraṅjara;
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. Tibhuvanādi, capavara, dhammattā, ājī va ti vis-
suto
Rāja āśi mahāpāṇño saddhammasavana-
ra ta.
23. Rajjatā dhammena kārento so samena
narādhipo
Buddhuppādakhaṇṇo nāma lokasmiṁa ati-
dullahbo.
24. Manussesūpapatti ca saddhammasavanaṁ
pi ca
Cintayitvāna evan tu yoniso varaubuddhi-
ṁa.
25. Uddisetvāna Buddhassa Gotamassa mahe-
sino
Manorammasī gandhakutum paṭiṭṭhāpesi
'maṁ subhaṁ
26. Cetiyehi anekhi devaruphehi cāpitāṁ
Saḥṭhānavaṁ samena paṭhavaya uggata-
ṁa viya
27. Tāyanto lokanāthassa varapaṇñassa sat-
thuno
Paścimānmalacakkhu saṁbari vimha-
yaṁ āvahāṁ
28. Siriyā sobhamānaṁ ca dassaṁyānaṁ mano-
ramanaṁ
Sājīvaṁ Buddhassēṭṭham va kārāpesi guṇā-
layo
29. Kārāpetvā likhāpetvā Piṭakattayaṁ utta-
maṁ
Tīcivarehi 'nekehi acchādetvāṁ bhikkhavo
30. Bhogāpetvā sahaṭṭhehi vippasanno guhā-
maye
Buddhabhāvāya āsatto paṇidhānaṁ udi-
rayi ṣaṁ
31. Yathā ahaṁ mahāsatto pūritvā dasapā-
raṁ
Pāpuṇītvāna saṁbodhiṁ satte mociṁa ban-
dhanā
32. Anāgate tathāhaṁ pi pūrinto dasapārami
Pāpuṇītvāna saṁbodhiṁ satte mociṁa ban-
dhanā
33. Pattasaḥbhaṇiṭṭhāṇo dharmagambhi-
ṛatam ājī no
Nīsāmetyāna desetiṁ nirussāham upāgato
34. Cakkavālasahasasshi dasah 'gamaṁ yācito
Brahmāmarchhi nekehi sādarehi guṇākarā
35. Timsayojanikāṁ maggaṁ gaṇītvā nātula-
vikkamo

There was a king most wise, the lord of men,
Who loved the hearing of good Law; his name
Tibhuvanādi, capavara, dhamma, ājīva ti vis-
suto
Rāja āśi mahāpāṇño saddhammasavana-
ra ta.

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 ceṭiyas
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 guṇa 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
Patvesipatanaṁ rammam dijasanghanise-vitanaṁ.
36. Pañcacavigyatherānaṁ dhammacakka-pavattanaṁ
Desayivāna pāpesi brahmāmaragaṇaṁ saha.
37. Āññakoṇḍaññatherena nibbānapadam utta-
maṁ
Tathevaṁhi pi deseyyaṁ dhammacakkappavattanaṁ
38. Yamakapatihiyaññāṇaṁ ṭhatvā Tathāgato
Akkāsi buddhavisayam iddhīṁ nekavidhaṁ hi so.
39. Satthu kāya samabhūtā nila pitā ca lohitā
Odātā saha mañceṣṭhā sapabhasaranaṁ-
makā
40. Ādhavanti vidhavanti viphuranti param-
parā
Jotayanti disā sabbā chabbannā raṃsiyo
brahā
41. Buddhā mayanī ti maññante titthiyē neka-
laddhike
Saggamokkhapathā p'ete rittamuṭṭhi va
tucchake
42. Pāpente catūṛāpye gāhetvā laddhim at-
tano
Nibbāne naṭhikāte satte vaṇcetvāna anek-
 Kathā
43. Disvā dayāya sattesu samussāhitamanaśo
Cakkavālehi nekhi anetvā merupabbate
44. Iddhayā puna te sabbe ṭhapetvā paṭiṭiṭiśvā
Māpetvā maṭṭhake tesam seṭṭhanā ratana-
aṁcakamaṁ
45. Caṅkaranto tahiṁ nātho tosayantō mahā-
janīṁ
Pāṭihirāṁ nidasseśi dasseyya 'haṁ pi tam
tatthā
46. Pāṭihirāṁ nidasSETVĀ garīttvāna tidasā-
layāṁ
Pāricchattakamulaniṁ paṇḍukampalanā-
make
47. Jalanto buddharaṁsihi nisidittvā silātale
Pāyanto amatāṁ panaṁ devabrahmagane
bhū
dhammaṁ desayi devanāṁ sakkhiṁ kat-
vana mātaraṁ
48. Tathevaṁhi pi deseyyaṁ taṁ dhammam
atidullabhaṁ
49. Sinerumuddhanī Buddhō thito tattha
maḥāyasō
Lokavivaranaṁ nāma pāṭiheraṁ 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 Āññakoṇḍañña 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 Parichattaka,
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. Tathevāhaṁ tattha ṭhitu pāṭiheraṁ maha-
bbhūtaṁ
Lokavivāraṁ nāma karayaṁ taṁ anā-
gate
51. Dhammarī desiya devānaṁ tāvatiṁsā
mahātaṁ
Otaritvā pi sattānaṁ dhammarī desiya
nekatā
52. Bakādike ca brahmāno yakkhe cāḷāva-
kādike
Deve sakādāyo ceva sucilomādi rakkhasa.
53. Jānuṣoṇādike neke brahmaṇe cāpī kāk-
khāle
Cūḷodarādike nāge Dhanasphālādike gage.
54. Buddhā mayāṁ ti maññante anekā titthike
pi ca
Damesi 'nuttare dhamme bhaveyyaṁ tā-
diso ahaṁ
55. Asadhāraṇaṁhehi chahi yutto Tathāgato
Pañcakiccāṁ sādhesi bhaveyyaṁ tādiso
ahaṁ
56. Dharanī viya silena himava va samādhinaṁ
Ākaso viya paññāya asango anilo yathā.
57. Esa khipāsavo Buddhā arago tiṇṇasam-
sayo
Sabbakammakkhaṁ patto vimutto pa-
dhi saṁkhaye.
58. Danto sayāṁ dametā ca sametā nibbuto isi
Nibbāpeta ca āsatto asasātī mahājanaṁ.
59. Asayo buddhimantānaṁ puṁnakammo
sukkhesināṁ
Anāgāro mahāviro bhaveyyaṁ tādiso
ahaṁ
60. Durāsado duppasaho acalo uggato brahā
Anantānāgo asasamaso sabaṁ tamavi-
nodano,
61. Anubayaṁjasampanno batthiṁsavaralakkhaṁ
Byāmappabhāparikkhitto ketumāḷabhiṁ-
kato.
62. Upeto buddhaddhammehi aṭṭharasahi nā-
yako
Catusaccadaso nātho buddhaṇāṇehe cudda-
saṁ.
63. Rāgo doso ca moho ca visā sabbe samū-
hatā
Akatūpamo mahāviro bhaveyyaṁ tādiso
ahaṁ
64. Sukhumacchikena jālena udakaṁ yo parik-
khipe
Ye keci udake pāṇa antojāligata siyūṁ

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, brahmams, alavaka yakkhas, sprites,
Sakka, and white-haired rakkhasa, and brutes,
Bitch-knee, and other rugged brahmms, 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
tithiyā
Tithighaṇapakkhāhānā paramāsena mohi-
tā
66. Suđhena buddhaṇāṇena anāvaraṇadas-
sinā
Antojāligatā ete ṇāṇamī tassānatikkamā
67. Yena ṇāṇena pattāśi kevalāṇi bodhim
uttamaṁ
Tena ṇāṇena so nātho maddatī paratithiyā
68. Yath' aṇḍajā ca saṁsedā opapātajalāpajā
Kākādi pakkhino sabbe antaliṁkhpade-
sago
69. Ye keci pāṇabhūt'athī saṇñino vā asaṇñino
Sabbe te tassa ṇāṇamhi anto honti samo-
gadhā.
70. Mohnahakārapakkhanno ayanī loka sa-
devako
Tassa ṇāṇamhi jotante andhakārā vidhibit-
śītā
71. Yathodayanto ādicco vinodeti tamaṁ sadā
Tath' eva so Buddhaseṭṭho viddhamīseti
tamaṁ sadā
72. Yath' eva Buddhho varadammasārathi
Satthā ahu devamanussapūjito
Tath'eva'hari devamanussapūjito
Buddhho bhavēyagnī varadammasārathi
73. Dānena iminā mayhaṁ yaṁ seṭṭhaṁ
pasutaṁ mayā
Puññaṁ anupamaṁ loke sabbasattahitā-
vaṁ
74. Puññena tena vipulen' idha vā huram vā
Na devābrahmaṃsuraṃväribhūtiyo vā
Sabbā pi siddhinaraṃjaśibhūtiyo vā
Patthemi n'eva jinasāvakabhūmiyo vā
75. Saṁsārasotamī chinditvā setum kathvāna
santamū
Samantvā janain sabbaṁ pāpeyyuṁ
puram uttamaṁ
76. Tiṁo'han tāraye vāḷhaṁ danto ca damaye
sahāṁ
Assattho sāsāye bhirum suttamī Buddhho
paḥodhaye

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, Māras; 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. Ahirīnanena uppanne bhogo me bohi thāvaro
Māhu sādhāraṇo aggicorādinaṁ bhave bhave

80. Rūpe sadde rase gandhe poṭṭhabbe ca manorame
Apagacchatu me kāmacchando kusalasambhavo.

81. Lokapālā ca ye dhammā vuttā ādicca bandhunā
Hiri-ottappasamkhātā mā te chaddentu maṁ sadā

82. Yathā bhoge cajitvāna nikkhamiṁsu naruttamā
Akitti-ādayo sabbe paṇḍitā athadassino.

83. Tath’ evāharāṁ bhave sabbāṁ cajitvā bhogasampadāṁ
Sāsane upagaccheyyaṁ sikkhittayapari-ggahe.

84. Yaṁ sikkhāpadāṁ paṇīattaṁ hitakāmena satthunā
Khuddānukhuddakaṁ sabbāṁ pūreyyaṁ taṁ anāgate.

85. Yathāpi cando vimalo gacchaṁ ākāsadhātuyā
Sabbe tāragane loke ābhāya atisobhati.

86. Tath’ evāharāṁ arahato satthuno sāsane rato
Silādīgaṁasāmyutto sobheyyaṁ sāvakantare.

87. Suttābhidhammavinayamā dhāreyyaṁ sat-thuno matam
Atthabayaṁjanasampannamā navaṅgasaththu-sāsanaṁ

88. Attatharaṁ ca paratharaṁ ca sādheyyaṁ jinasāsane
Akatthabāṁ ti yaṁ vuttaṁ mā kareyyaṁ mahesinā

89. Kattaṁukatavedi ca bhaveyyaṁ sabbādā ahaṁ
Pāpamittehi saṁsaggo mā hotu satataṁ mama.

90. Divvāna jananādihi dukkhitaṁ sanarāmaṁ
Lokaṁ saṇījāta-ussāho tareyyaṁ bhavasāgarā.

91. Iminā katapuṇṇena Mettayyaṁ lokanāyakam
Battimāsakkanūpetam ketumālāvirā-jitaṁ

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
canakamanī
dhammadesānya mocentaṁ satte saim-
sārabandhanā
93. Divṣa sutvāna saddhammaṁ sasaṅgha
lokanāyakarī
Sakkaccaṁ pūjāiyāvāna paccayehi catūhi
taṁ.
94. Upeto aṭṭhadhammehi byākato tena sa-
tthunā
Majjhe devamanussānam buddhatthāya
bhāveyya 'ham
95. Gūnehi 'nekehi yathā tathāgato
Virocāti devamanussapūjito
Tath' eva' ham devamanussapūjito
Gūnehi 'nekehi virocayeyyaṁ.
96. Sāmasārabandhanā satte catuvisatsaṅkhaye
Mocento niṭṭhāpetvāna buddhakiccaṁ ase-
sato.
97. Dhammakhandhasahassāni caturāsti sab-
baso
Deitätāna hitaṭhāya sattānaṁ ca anāgato.
98. Aggikkhandho va lokasmiṁ jāleṭvāna sa-
sāvako
Sabbasankhatadhammānam pakāsento ani-
ccatari
99. Niccasanāññāṁ ca nāsento bālānam avijā-
natāṁ
Ajarari amaraṁ khemaṁ nibbānapūram
uttamām
100. Pāpunitha tathāhaṁ pi buddhakiccaṁ
samāpiya
Pāpuneeyam puraṁ taṁ va accantasukha-
dāyakiṁ ti.

Enhaioed on a rainbow pathway fair
Like Mēru 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.*
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" (အိန္ဒ), "YUN-IT" (အိန္ဒတွေ), 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 "စောင်" or "စော" (Yona or Yavana) with the final "ဦ" having been killed. The vowel "ဦ" and the syllable "ဦ" are interchangeable according to the Rule of the Pali Grammar "ဦဦဦဦ ။ ။ ။ ။ "

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 စိုက်ပျို့ (Yodya) by the Burmans and စိုက်ပျို့ (Dyodya) by the Mons or Talaings. These names are nothing but the words corrupted from Pali စိုက်ပျို့ (A-yudaya) which means unconquerable country. The Modern Oudh in India was known as A-yodhya in ancient times.

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

That part of the country which is to the North of Siam was in ancient times called စိုက်ပျို့ (Yona) or စိုက်ပျို့ (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 (စိုက်ပျို့) was a Yun Shan and the famous book called Milinda Pannhaya (စိုက်ပျို့) 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 စိုက်ပျို့) for the following reasons:

(a) The word "Yunan" is also derived probably from the Pali word "Yona," as the Pali vowels ဦ and ။ (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 (စိုက်ပျို့) the King of Zinme is called Yun King. The book says that when Shwe-si-gon pagoda had been built at Pin-Ya (စိုက်ပျို့) by King Pin-ya-
Tazi-Shin, four Kings of foreign countries, namely the Yun King of Zinme, the Gywam King of 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 (నందగిరి) Sandagiri (సండగిరి) Ratanagiri (రాతనగిరి) and Sandagiri-muni (సండగిరి-ముని) 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:

"అన్ని పాట ప్రతి కోసం అయితే నీన్న పాట ప్రతి కోసం అయితే నీన్న పాట ప్రతి కోసం అయితే నీన్న పాట ప్రతి కోసం అయితే నీన్న పాట"

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 (Chiengmai) appears to have been known by different names in different periods; for it was also called హద్యాన్ శ్రీనివాస (Haribona-za) in Shwebon-Nidan. It is also called సువాన్ బుమి (Suvanna Bumi) in the History of King Shinbyu Shin of Hanthawaddy.

2. Regarding the derivation of the Burmese word "యున్" I should say that it is derived from the Yun Shan word "Ep" (యుప). 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 "యున్" and "యున్" has been ascertained, the meaning of the Burmese words "యున్" and "యున్" 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 Chiengmai (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 కడిన-బాన (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 Mons 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 యున్ and "యున్" 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 "మాంతరా" (Pankap) as his vessel for betel. Here the word "మాంతరా" is Burmese and should not be mistaken for Hindustani word "Pan" which means betel. An ornamental word is called "మాంతరా" in Burmese. The wooden salver is a vessel of ornamental design which is done by turning on a lathe. A turner is therefore
called "ကြည်သိမ်း" (Pan-out-thama) in Burmese. The word "ကြည်" in もも (momotama), 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 "ကြည်သိမ်း" (Kwankyap) Afterwards the name Kwankyap "ကြည်သိမ်း" was changed into "ကြည်သိမ်း" Kuam Kalap. It may be noted that "ဝ" and "ဗ" are interchangeable.

A tiger is called "ကြည်" (Kya) in Burmese and オ (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 Zinne and conquered it and that the King of Zinne then became his vassal and had to send him annually as a tribute, elephants, ponies "ကြည်သိမ်း" (Kwankyap) "ကြည်သိမ်း" (Yun-bu), etc.—From this it is clear that Yun work was being manufactured at Zinne at the time.

In 926 B. E. (1564 A. D.) the king of Zinne rebelled against King Shin-byu-Shin of Hanthawaddy. The latter therefore had to march his army again to Zinne and put down the rebellion. At that time, Shin-byu-Shin took the King of Zinne and his ministers captive to Hanthawaddy and at the same time he took away from Zinne many artists, including makers of lacquer ware called "ကြည်သိမ်း" (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 Kyūp (ကြာ) a circular case of teak, which has been painted with Thitse 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 Ommandani, 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 Haukgyi 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 Haukgyi 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 Archeological 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 Sakkaraj 527=1165 A.D., but in Sakkaraj 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; 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 Alaunsgithu's reign; neither does the orthography. Shortly, this document is the recast made in A.D. 1324 or more probably after 1342, (1) of an original one dated A.D. 1165; and it is not a rigourously 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 "Alaunsgithu" 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." (2) 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. (3) 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-byu-Na-zi-shin, of Panya, who ascended the throne about 1542 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 shown by the language, the spelling, the paleography; and, in the case cited, the very way in which the name "Alaunsgithu" 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 Manyalay. 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. (4) 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 Alaungthu, since he is called there by his title of "Shwegu-Dāyagā (4)." Now, to a person somewhat acquainted with Burmese history, it is manifest that this date of 1106 is impossible. Alaungthu built the Shwegugyi temple after he had ascended the throne, and he succeeded Kyunzithā 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. (5) It is from this date only that Alaungthu 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 Mahāsīthu was a good scholar, and full of acumen. He is quite right (the Thwinthin) when he says in his history that Alaungthu 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 Alaungthu'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 "Alaungthu" were originals or recasts. My own statement that the name "Alaungthu" 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. (6) 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 Anorāt'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; (7) 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 Shweguyi 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 cognizant of a good number at Sagaing, Shwebo, Pagan, etc. But from the time Forchhammer became the first Government Arāchēologis 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); Sāsasanāvāhassasadān, pp. 94, 98 and Sāsanālankāra, pp. 127, 132.
gyi-do-anwè (ギドアんべ). It appears reasonable to suppose that, had they had no followers and no support, they could not have endured so long. No doubt, under the influence of the pure and clean form of Buddhism introduced by Anorat’a, their tenets must have sensible altered, and some must have been abandoned altogether, as for instance the jus primæ noctis. But that—if we read between the lines of the chronicles—they were, for two or three centuries after Anorat’a, still far from being crushed down, cannot be ignored. We must remember that what is written in the chronicles about the Ari, was written long after the events, at a time when Pali Buddhism was paramount, and the very idea of the degraded Northern sect of the Ari was loathsome; and it was not written without a certain 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.

CHAS. DUROISELLE.

VAJIRABUDDHI AND THE PAGAN-RAZAWIN.

On page 156 of this Journal for December 1919, the Editor, in connection with the derivation of the world “Ari,” mentions a history of Pagan written in Pāli which, he says, “is attributed to Vajirabuddhi (circa 15th century) and which is in close agreement with the Burmese Great Chronicle of Maung Kala.” As the manuscript itself bears no indication of the author’s name nor of the date of composition, this information is interesting as well as, from the literary point of view, important. However, it loses much of its value owing to the fact that the Editor does not give us any reference. We should be glad to know the source from which this information was obtained, because, if this history (1) was really written in the 15th century, it is an important document; up to now, we were sure of only one history having been written in the 15th century, that of Shin Thilavuntha. (9) There are three histories written in Pāli. The best known is that written by Shin Godhāvara and called the “Pagan Mahārājavan-pāṭh,” (3) another, referred to as Rājāvaṇ-pāṭh is mentioned at page 206 of the Kavilakkhaṇādipani as having been written by Shin Adica. These two are comparatively late compositions. The third, also referred to as Rājavana-pāṭh in the Samantacakkhudipani, 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. (4) 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, Subdivisional 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 Samantacakkhudipani; he also

(1) The title is Pokkaṅ Rājāvaṇ-pāṭh.
(2) The title is Rājāvaṇ-Kyaw.
(4) The Samntacakkh, opus. cit, has, 92959595
knows of no other. The author of the Samantacakku 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 Samantacakku 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 Samantacakkhudipani; and the desirability of his making known to workers in the field the source of his information.

Note:-We obtained the Paoukkan 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 Samantacakkhudipani, 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 ဗ (see the preceding number). We quite agree that there is a philological tendency for a Pali y (a), iy (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 ဗ to 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 ဗ from and not from Ariya. We never quarrelled with the final ဗ as a symbol for the sounds ဗ, ဗ, and ဗ. We admit that we were not as careful as Mr. Duroiselle in the use of the term "double ဗ", which we regarded as irrelevant. For whether we use a single ဗ or a double ဗ, we all know that we refer to 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: ဗ ဗ (p. 127), ဗ (p. 143), ဗ (p. 176), ဗ (p. 214), ဗ (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. (Pitakaththamaing, 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 ဗ (Pali Ariyapuggala) and ဗ (Pali Ariyasantha) 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 ဗ and ဗ (if "ari" = Ariya) and thus preserve the purity of his work of art! As a matter of fact the poet has curtailed puggala into ဗ (pron. poggō), and santha into ဗ (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 exigencies of the metre would demand such curtailment. The word Ariya in such expressions as ဗ and not ဗ 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) ဗိုလ်ဗိုလ်သုံး စီမှ စီးဗိုလ်သုံး ဗိုလ်ဗိုလ်သုံး ပြားထားသည် Twinthin's Janakapyo. ‘In the manner of hermits, Ari monks thinking, can there be people like me?’

(b) စီးမှ စီးဗိုလ်သုံး စီးဗိုလ်သုံး ပြားထားသည် ibid. ‘Thorough Ari resort to mountain groves, places dim, dusky and dark’.

(c) စီးဗိုလ်သုံး စီးဗိုလ်သုံး ပြားထားသည်—Thilawunthe's Paramidawgandpyo. ‘In the nature of Ari, passionless, alone, suffering hunger’.

(d) စီးဗိုလ်သုံး စီးဗိုလ်သုံး—Manli’s Magghadevapyo. ‘The thorough Ari, lonely dweller on mystic trance.’

(e) စီးဗိုလ်သုံး စီးဗိုလ်သုံး ပြားထားသည်—Raththathara’s Keganyo. ‘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 (အရañña) 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” (အရañña). Does not the copyist’s carelessness in dropping the virama show how easily the Pali arañña (အရañña) can become အရañña?

—Editor.
PROCEDINGS 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


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.


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.)

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 zyab, 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 Kyanzitha 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—Pagoda without Umbrella. Htilat received his dreadful idea from a Nat whose memory is preserved in the names of two streams, U Min Chaung (Stream of Prince U), and Nat Min Chaung (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 (Three Rivers) and he thought the whole matter over at Chin Hnaing Chaung (Thinking over stream). The deed was committed at Tha Hpauk Gon (Son Stab Hill): and the pitiful charm was laid on the ground at Pek Kin Chaung (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-
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 suplement 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 experienced 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 Shwepyi 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 Shwepyi 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 with out 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 (10) 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 (11) on the opposite bank. These names are corruptions of Hnit-hkauk and Hnit-la (12) 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 Kyanziththa in the eleventh century. At a village, now called Shagwe, (13) Nga Sin took refuge in a hollow cutch tree (Sha Bin) (14) which Kyanziththa 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; (15) and where the King got a clear view of the fugitive is called Tat Ywa (14)—Sight village. At last Kyanziththa thought he had got Nga Sin, and that place is called Sheinmage—a corruption of Shi ma ga (17) —will he be there? Finally Nga Sin was captured at Singaing (18)—Sin caught. Then followed reconciliation, and Nga Sin helped Kyanziththa 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 chooses 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 taung or pavilion, stand in a wide court, as yet unspoiled by modern frightfulness. It breathes the atmosphere of old Burma; and from the paved courtyard 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 inscribed stone—the Saint or Araham. Shin Male obtained relics from the Thagy 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 descendants of slaves dedicated to the Male Pagoda by King Alaung Sithu still occupy the
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 dedications 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 (Mall 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 Nhikut 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 Nhikut 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 Nhikut 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, Tingara 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 know) receives food offerings (without flesh) at the beginning and end of the Buddhist Lent. Burmans make their offerings in the evenings at sunset and Talangs 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-ngaing-ashing-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.

S Gaw 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 scrounged 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-yaung-chan, Hnit-yaung-chan.”

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-yaung-chan, Hnit-yaung-chan.”

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-chaung-yaung-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; thuak=drink; sa=eat.
‡ An animal intermediate between an ox and a buffalo. Probably the same as the Chin “mythum,” 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.
FOLKLORE AND LEGENDS OF BURMA

[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.]

11.

LAMENTATIONS.

PADAUNG KAREN.*

The cock crows on Mount Prasao, 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 Doroko in Loikaw. Near this mountain there once occurred a great landslip 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 boro will rise in the river and rush along, then the Kura birds (1) 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 red rice grains are beaten they appear to fly into the air and disappear, but but golden grains remain upon the log. (2) 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 däh 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 (3) 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, Doroko.

(1). The Kura bird alights on the banks of a river after the boro 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.

Ghoko 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 firewood. 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 forget 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 women 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 ဝါဝါသုံးဖိုင်း
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 Kyazintha, the son of Anawrat, 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 Kyazintha 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 Kyazintha 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 Moe 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 Yawkyakhat.

‡ 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 Fyte 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 that 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 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 pagyis 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 Cooperation 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 Cooperative Movement, which is fortunately making much headway in the Province and by compelling them responsible Government. The quotation from Goethe is excellent. It means: "Build realism on realism—you get Retgression. 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 you 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 Buddho), 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 transcendentental unknowable ego, not so very unlike the doctrine to the same effect set forth 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 Mahayavagga 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 explicitly, at least by implication, taught the existence of a transcendentental 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 transcendentental ego. As a result of his own reflection he has come to the conclusion that belief in such a transcendentental 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-Perilism, and has gathered round him quite a strong group of people from the better classes, professional men and others who are not mere fashionable diletantes, 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, thatNibhana 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 cittaḥ, which one cannot translate in any other way but as “transcendental thought or mind.” And that this Citta has as its ārammanaḥ 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 spite 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 those 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, Sila, 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.
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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 gaddened 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-thondaunghmu, otherwise known as Yazabala, or Yazzadewa, or Yazzabahu, in his Mintayashwehti-egyin.

From this egyin we gather that Mingyinyo, King of Ketumati or Taung-u the capital of the Kingdom of Zeyya-waddana, had a house built for his son and placed him under the guardianship of Mingyi-Swe Minyèthein-kathu, 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 Thakkingyi, 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 Minyèthein-kathu 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.† 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 (2) Tabin Shwehti gave himself up to the company of his favourite, a European adventurer, from whom he learnt the habit of drinking (3) (N. B. Burmans of that age used the terms “Kalame” for Indians, “Kalapyy” for Europeans in general. Thus Sasodaw

* Phayre gives 1514 A. D. as the date of Tabin Shwehti’s birth.
(1) Captured Pega 1539, Martaban 1540, Prome 1542.
(2) 1550 A. D.
(3) Nephew of the Portuguese, James Soarez.

invaded Arakan 1546 and Siam 1548 A. D.
U Min says:—“စောင်းနန်းသာယာလိုင်စင်တော်ကြီး နောင် ကြားတွင် သောကြာ တာဝန်ကို အပေါ် နေထိုင်သည်” which means: “intending to capture 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 (4) he was assassinated by Thameinsawhtut, the governor of Sittaung. (5) At the time of his death Bayinnaung was at Dala. (6) 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. (7) Chaos reigned in Hanthawaddy. Taung-u, Prome, Sagu, Salin, Baulkin and Lëgaing 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, (1) 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-nédaw, daughter of Zimmébayin 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, Nanclayawda, 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, denounced 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; coccanuts dedicated to the nats are still hung in houses. Bayinnaung gilded the Shwezigon pagoda; and Shin Khemingga, a monk of Hngetpyittaung, he recognised as the authority on the Vinaya.

Then having mustered a large army from Salin, Prome, and other places, he descended on Hanthawaddy. (4) 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 Byzimyadala 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 Minyédibba—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 antagonist, he became emperor with the title Hsinbyushin of Hanthawaddy. He conquered Burma, the Shan States, Siam (Dwarawadi), Zimmé, Yun-

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(4). In A.D. 1550.

(5). A Talaing noble of the former royal family of Pegu.

(6). Engaged in crushing the revolt of Thameinhtawrama.

(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). Thinhathu, his half-brother.

(2). 1551 A.D.
nan and Ceylon, 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, Zimmé 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, a treatise on Buddhist law, was drawn up at his command by a congress of learned ldaydaws including Shin Buddhapawtha. 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 Tazaung-mon. 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.

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(1) Conquered Ava 1555, Upper Shan States 1557, Zimmé 1538, Siam 1564 and 1569, Laos 1574, and received a tooth relic from Ceylon 1576, and was planning an invasion 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 (ဥင်ဝိဝိ) the country where the tribes swarmed, of Kantus. It is the Sanghassaraṭha, the public way of the Sakkyas.*

In the ninth century B. C., these tribes formed into the kingdom of Tagoung under the Sakkya Chief called Abbhirāja. 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 Kyaupandoung 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 Bhinnakarāja, went down the River Irrawaddy in boats and settled at Male on the right bank of it. Here Bhinnakarāja died and his followers were divided into the Shan group, the Sakkya group, and the Kantu group. The Shan group went eastward and founded the nineteen Shan States. The Sakkya group went down the Irrawaddy and joined the Sakkya settlement (ကရိယာဝစား) 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 Binnakarāja. In 549, B. C., Kappilawat, the kingdom of Sakkyas, was destroyed by Viṭṭupā, the king of Kosala, and those Sakkyas who saved their lives from the slaughter, came to Tagoung, probably without their Sakkya 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 (บริหาร) (see my paper on a Brief History of Mrun).
A DICTIONARY OF BURMESE AUTHORS

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စာကြောင်းစုစုပေါင်း
A DICTIONARY OF BURMESE AUTHORS

123
A DICTIONARY OF BURMESE AUTHORS

125

စည်ကို လူသောက်လေးလေးတွေက ဆိုခဲ့သည်။ ထို့ကြောင့် စိတ်ကူးရယူရောက်ရန် လိုသည်။ စိတ်ကူးရယူရောက်ရာ သေချာစေရန် အသေးစိုက်စေရန် လိုသည်။

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A DICTIONARY OF BURMESE AUTHORS

129
A DICTIONARY OF BURMESE AUTHORS
A DICTIONARY OF BURMESE AUTHORS

133
A DICTIONARY OF BURMESE AUTHORS.

Translated from U Ba Thein’s Prize Article.

By G. H. Luce and Maung Ba Kya.

Shin Adeissayanthi. Known as Zetawun-hsayadaw of Monywayin-Alon township. Author of Narada-pyo; Thilawa; Adathamuhka; Pyinsawuda; Udena; Nanasanda—all pyo. Also of Pyatthat-Kyaungbwè; Akathasari; Kawimandani-thatpon; a commentary on Paramidaw-ganpyo; Yazawwada; and Thamantasakkhudipani.


Shin Aggathamahdi. Born at Kanbya village, about a mile east of Tabayin. His private name was Maung No (See Pitaraksadan p. 204, Zargariyakan p. 22). In the Voharinattha 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; Maggazogun-pyo; Nemi-mawgun: Nemi-Ngyégan—all epic poems on various portions of the Nemi Jataka; Thuwunnathama-thahtegan; Lepyithkan; Thitsagan (on portions of the Suvan nasama Jataka).

See Taungdwin-hsayadaw.

Maung Aung Hpyo. Born at Pagan, and a contemporary of Bodawhpaya (fl. A.D. 1781-1819). Author of many Thagyn, namely, Yamathagyn; Zanakkathagyn; Kyansithakyon-hpwin-thagyn (on the opening of the casket by Kyansitha); Tayokpyi-swédawdaung-thagyn (on the request made to China to give the Buddha’s tooth-relic); Minset-yazawin-thagyn; Hngetkyi-thagyn; many yagan; Hnakeyit-shitshupaya-thagyn (a poem on the twenty-eight Buddha’s); a thaming of Halingyi.

Bayakyawthin. See Nawade-ngè.
Bayayandameit. Author of Yathawdaya-thagyn and many pyo.

Maung E. Shin Buddhankura. Author of Singu-min-egyn.

Tutor to Hanthawadi-pa-mintaya (fl. 1733-1751 A.D.) when he was Crown Prince and Myos of Singu.

Dwe Hla. A concubine of Hanthawaddy-Hsinbyushin (Bayinnaung fl. 1551-1581 A.D.)

Maung E. Athiwn, Atwinun, Judge. Received as a royal grant the revenue derived from Myingondaing town. His title was Min gyimaha-atulathithutha (See Kabyabandha p. 173.)

Maung E. See Tayathugyi Maung E.
Shin Eindagutta. Author of Nayarat-pyo.

Shin Eindamyinzu. Author of Shwethalhpaya-
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.)

Hkinyibyaw. See Taungdwin-hsayadaw.

Mè Hkwe. The daughter of the Sittaungwyn, 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 Shinthè; another on the death of Shin Hnin Bwin; also many Kyesehpaya-daingyadu.

Maung Hla. A royal herald. Author of Hsinkyanlinga, a poem on the characteristics of elephants; and of Myinkyanlinga, a poem on the characteristics of horses.

Hlainghtaik-hkaungdin 1833-1875 A. D. Daughter of Ma Mya Gale, the queen of the Middle Palace (Alènandaw). Born 1195 B. E. (1833 A. D.) She received the title Thiriyanasanandadewi. 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 Thondaungmu.

Hlawgathondauungmu. See Hsibani-hsayadaw.

U Hmaw. See A Hpaung-wun, who wrote all kinds of yada. See Kabyabontha p. 174.


Hpagaungmu. A servant of Thalummintayahmu. (= Thadodhammaraja fl. 1629-1648 A. D.), the builder of the Kaungmudaw or Rajamanicula-ceti (A. D. 1636). His original name was Maung Gyi.

U Hpoe Lin. Flourished during the reign of Mindonmin (1853-1878 A. D.) 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. 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 “Minyedibba-egyin” he wrote a eulogy to be chanted before the Prince, the “Shwenadawthwinegyin” (well known as the Paleiksgmyin) beginning with the line: When Singu-min ascended the throne (fl. 1776-1781 A. D.) he was awarded the title “Minyèyazà,” 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 Huyano and Thiripandeit.

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 councilor of Bodawhpaya. He became a hsayadaw and received titles from Kings Mindon and Thibaw. He died on Wednesday the 1st waning of Kasong 1250 B. E. (1888 A.D.). His works are:—Kawimanda-bhedani; Aungyinshita-pyotheit; Aranyakawwadalinga; Satyawwadalinga; Upathakawwadalinga.

Maung Hti. See Kabyabanda p. 173.

Mè Htwe. A royal concubine and court-poet during the reign of Hisinbyumyshin who made the third Ava his capital (fl. 1763-1775 A.D.) Her title was Thusinta. See Sithlyinthaungmu.

Shin Htwe Nyo. See Mahaminhinmaungaung.

Maung Hyun. A thu-gyi, with the title Zeyya-pyanchi. Tutor of a princess, the aunt of King Ngazu-dayaka.

Kandawmin-gyaung. A novice, pupil of the first Kyaw-aung santha - 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 "စိတ် မြင်စွာ ရိုက်ကြီး စိတ်ကြီး မြင်စွာ စိတ်ကြီး " 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 Lawmyouso; luda on Pagan; Narapatiyela; Mìn hla-yimmu-pyo; a mawgun on the building of a grand monastery by Minyè-kyayaw sa.

Maung Kin. Author of Kyezudawmingala-mawgun and Hisinbyumè-egyn.

Kinwun-Mingyi. Or Thenatwun-mingyi. His private name was U Gaung. He was the author of:—Nemiyagan; Gandhatienduka-pyo; Dhammawzamawgun; Sittuppakkilethasadan etc.

Shin Kumara-Kassapa. A bhikkhu who lived in the Minkyangdaik at Pahkankyi. In the third year of the reign of Anauk-hpetlun-mintaya (1608 A.D.) he wrote Dhammarasi-psy and Dhammayaza-pyo.

U Kyi. Myo-saye of Taung-u (See Kabyabanda p. 174).

Kyigan-koyingyi. See Nandadhaza.

U Lan. Author of some paikson-yadu dealing with Yana, King of Hell, Tahe the ghost, and Shitpinnango.

Letsaungyu-hmu. See Shin Than Hko.

Letwëbhinhantalu. See Letwëthondara.

Letwëna-wrahta. See Letwëthondara.

Letwëthondara 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 Woharalinathadipani p. 304 quotes the epilogue to a work by "Minletwëna-wrahta born in 1085 B. E." i.e. 1723 A. D.) In Puccha-visajjani pp. 142-143 it is said that he won the title Letwëna-wrahta during the reign of Alaunghpaya (1753-1760 A.D.) and Sithukyawthin during that of Naungdawgyi (1760-1763 A.D.) He is said to have been 45 years old when he was sent to Mëza during the reign of Hisinbyushin (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 Letwëthondara during the reign of Alaunghpaya and afterwards the title Letwëna-wrahta. He was appointed Myown by Bodawpaya (fl. 1781-1819). In the Kabyathingaga it is said that, after Letwëthondara, the titles Bayayandameit, Thayethinhkaya and Letwëbhinhantlu were conferred on him.

His works are:—Adatha-mukha-pyo-thit; Theningabyuha-pyo;
Shin Maharatha-thara 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 Mohn-yin-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 Sawmin-nyo 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; Wutt-yonbwè-mawgun; Yeyiteta-mawgun; Yadanapura-myoiti-mawgun; Melktiakanbwè-mawgun; Gambithara-pyo; and many ekapaik-tawal.

Wundauk Modominygi. Author of many yadu. See Kabyabandha p. 173.

His name was Maung Yauk Kyi. He was myowun in charge of the city of Amarapura. He was known as Htilinminygi, Myowunminygi, Yankonminygi (Governor of Rangoon). He was the author of Pyidawwin-pyo; Sancakimari-pyo; Ithithinga-pyo; Udaung-min-pyo etc.

His son Mahathihathura, Myinwun or commander of the cavalry, wrote yadu.
Mahathiha-thura.

See Letwéthondara.

Mahathin-kayasithu.

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 Hethin-atwinwun during the reign of Mindon-min (A. D. 1853-1878). He was a teacher of Mingyi-mahazeyyathu, author of Kawilakkanadipani. He wrote the Woharalinathadipani.

Manawde-watayasit.

Author of Guttilla-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 Pyinsama-thingayanadin-legyo. (See Kawimandana p. 566).

Mibaya-shinmin

b. 1776 A. D.

Daughter of Maung Tun, the Atwinwun "Nandakyawthi,” and Shin Hpwa “Sandadewi,” the daughter of Myinsugyiwn. She was born in 1138 B. E. (1776 A. D.). Singu-min (fl. 1775-1781) made her his chief queen with the title Maharata Canaddevi. When Singu-min was dethroned in 1143 B. E., Bodowhpaya gave her to Shinta-laing, wife of Athiungyi. She died in great misery.

U Min

A. D. 1774-1847 (or 1853.)

U Min.

U Min.

The layman) He served as bard of the prince of Bassein, a son of Bodowhpaya, and received the title Mindinhetshi, 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 mebwè and maungbwbè to be sung before the King. Afterwards, when the King made his state-entry into Amarapura (1823 A. D.) on the Pey-gyimin 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 “kawgyaw paw” and was awarded the title Mindinhetshi; 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 Wagaun (1853 A. D.)

A hopthudaw. Author of a Lwargyin, or poem describing natural scenes during the twelve months of the year. The title or
revenue derived from Kangyi village was allotted to him. Mindin-kyawgaung. A royal "Nahkan" (auditor).
Mindintheishi. See U Min (the layman.)
Minhla-shwe-daung. Ywasa of Shweyinma.
Minhlayaza. Atwinwun.
Minhlayazakyawhti. His private name was Maung Shwe Chi. He was appointed a Tazeikwn by King Mindon (fl. 1853-1878 A.D.). His works are:—Kalingabodhi-pyo; Sandakinnari-pyo; Abhiruka-pyo; Baikman - yatana - kyaungdaw-kyauksa (i.e. Inscription in the royal monastery of Yatanabeikman): Mahaweran - bonthay- kyaung-mawgun; many yadu.

Minyeminhlayakyawhti. Author of an egyin on Princess Minhlaikune, daughter of Hanthawadi-pa-mintaya. (fl. 1733-1751 A.D.)

Minyénarathu. Author of Zabupati-pyo.
Shin. Born 940 B. E. (1578 A.D.)
Mundigotha. He became a novice at the age of 15 under Taunghpilahsayadaw, with the title Mundigotha.
1578 A.D.

Ma Mya Gale. Daughter of Asiyimmin-pyanchi and Mé 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 (Anauknamdaw). 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 Taungu 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 Bodawpya (1781-1819 A.D.) Shwèsonkyawhti (questions and answers); Burmese maxims. See Kabyathingha p. 18.

Nandakyawhtingyi. Myosa of Myataw. Author of Minset-linga a chronicle in verse See Thomantasakkhudipani Vol. I.

Nandameit. Nandameitkyawthu.
Nandathu. See Shwedaung-Nandameit. Author of many yadu.

Minyémthi. Myosaye, or secretary to a myosa. Author of two mawgun on the Mingun pagoda (built 1790-2 A.D.)

Mundigotha b. Flourished during the reign of Sithukyawhtin of Ava (i.e., Sithukyawhtin of Sagaing, Narapat of Ava; deposed by Bayinnaung.)

Natyawthitakunthaungshinhpontawgyi. Natshin maung.

Ma Mya Gale. He was the son of Shewnandi-min King of Taung-u, who was the son of Kotheinhtakin-bayan-mingaung, the second brother of Bayinnaung or Hantha-
waddy Hsinbyushin (fl. 1551-1581). He afterwards ascended the throne of Taung-u, now independent, assuming the title Maha-
dhammaraja (fl. 1605-1628-Anaukhpetlun-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 peinhyin-
htetme-yadu "Odes to the King Fisher." (See Woharalinattha) Thakinhpo-egyin; Minhetshi-
egyin; Wimalayaza-egyin.

Nawade-gyi. Or the first Nawade, Taung-
thinhu.

Minksaywa—the second son of Narapat King of Ava, the build-
er of Htupayon pagoda and the
tenth King of the first Ava Dynasty who became King of Ava in 804 B. E.—ascended the throne of Tharekhattara (Prome) in 897 B. E. with the title Hsinmyashin, being the fourteenth King of the Prome dynasty. Hsinmya had a son named Minyethenin-kathu, 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 Narapatimê, daughter of King Bayinhntwe of Prome. But the former account is to be preferred, since it is confirmed by the Woharalinatthadipani. Min Ba Saw married the princess Narapatimê, 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 Salinleya. 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 Narapatisithu, 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, “ဗိုလ်အပ်သည် မိုးမိုးသော ကုန်းသားပြောင်းအား ပြောဆိုသော မိမိ၏ လောလောင်စာ ကျောင်းသော ကာလမှာ ဗိုလ်အပ်သည် မိုးမိုးသော ကုန်းသားပြောင်း၊” which confirms the view that the title Nawade was conferred on him by King Hsinbyushin. In Nigonhpyesdan Letwênawrahta (born 1069 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 sawbrea of Thaungthut (Hsaungsup) revolted. Nawrahtaminsaw, governor of Zimmê, 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 Zimmê, but that he started writing poems (yadu) at the age of ten. Some say that he once wrote a poem which offended Sithukyawhtin of Sagoing, 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 Peranadipani (p. 29) mentions Manawhari-pyohaung as a work of Nawadegyi who served the Kings of Taung-u as a bard and was known at Sagoing as Taungthinhu, at Salin as Letya, and at Prome as Nawade.

His works are:—Four hundred or more yadu; Manawpyo- haung, Manawharipyo; Yazaby -tha-pyo; an egysin on Yodayami- baya, a sister of the Yodaya-bayin or governor of Siam, the second son of Hanthawaddy Hsinbyushin.

Maung Nè
Nemyokyaw-
Nemyokya- htit.
Nemyo- nandameit.

Or the second Nawade. His name was Maung Nu, and he was the hereditary headman of Ywa- we, one of the five villages in Sadaung circle,Sagaing township. He received the title Balananda- thu (See Cetiyapakasani 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-paiksaw 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 Mahathinhkay- asithu 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; Ishayangum- mawgun; Bawari-mawgun; a mawgun on the Burmese conquest of Assam; Thamundrika-maw- gun; Candamani-mawgun; Amar- apura-myobwê-mawgun; Yedin- mawgun; Tayokhanyauk-maw- gun (on the arrival of ambassadors from China); and many yadu.

A surgeon. Author of Hsin- kyan-linga beginning with the lines "ကျွန်း ἀδικ ὁδε ᾔ δε μηθανί καὶ ἐπί τοῦ ἔδρανον ὁ ἄρην ἀνδρόν"

Nemyothi- hathu.

Nemyothin- khaya.
Nemyothiri- theintha.
Nemyozeyakyawthu.
Nemyozeyaya- yandameit.

Maung No.

Myosa of Myingin.
Myosa of Myingin.

His original name was Maung Hpu Gale. Author of the Médaw Maya Pyo, (an epic on the mother of prince Siddhatha) and Um- madanti-pyo.

Atwinwun during the reign of Bodawhpaya (fl. 1781-1819 A. D.). Author of Yazawutthadi-pyo.

Author of many yadu.

Kyawsin-taikwun or Governor of Kyawsin District.
Myosa of Moda.

A King's bard. He wrote various yadu.

At the end of the Myinkyan- linga we find these words”
His works are:—Minhteik-une-egyin; Salinmin-egyin; Nathan, on the thirty-seven Nats; Maung San Pyan-tangyin; Kyesudaw-pyo; Yodayathanyauk-pyo (on the arrival of ambassadors from Siam); Kummabaya-pyo; Dandathiri-pyo; Nunu-pyo; Kyanakketha; Mahapatinamaw-linga; Thuza-pyo; Thamuddabotha; Tawdwt-hkan (on the Great Reconciliation); Manaw-pyothish (See Pitakathamaining p. 1008); Sannapya-pyo; Manihket-pyo; Manihket-zatchin, an ancient song (cf. what he says of Seindakyawthu’s luda) beginning with "ကြားကြား"

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-mibaya. 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 conferred 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 pta-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 Akysisaye of a daughter of king Bodawhpaya (fl. 1781-1819 A. D.) His masterpiece is an egyin on the princess of Meiktla and Kama.
Pethangesa-shinmyat-hkaung. Author of the egyn on princess Uttamarit of Sagaing.

Maung Po. Born at Hkinmun village in Alon (now in Sagaing) district. Author of Yazanitipyo.

U Pornya 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 Yethpya-zat; Myittasa or letters; tedai 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 Shwaeduang-egyn; Aungssithu-lda; Sandakumara- pyo; Kutha-pyo.

Pyanchishwedaung. Author of Ayedaw-mawgun.

Pyawgyihmu. Nakhandawgyi. Author of many yadu.

Maung Pyi. Pupil of Taunglon-hsayadaw. Author of Sampeyya-pyhaung.


Pyithadoma-hathihathuradhammaraja 1809-1845 A. D. Prince of Prome. His original name was Maung Pe Pu. He was the son of Shwedo Min (fl. 1837-1846) by the Aleanadaw 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.

King's librarian and Ywasa of the ten villages of Chaung-u Circle. Author of Hsaddanpyaunggyaw-mawgun.

Nemyozyethathura. 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 Maukket village north of Alon. His mother was Mi Nyein Tha, grand-daughter of Byinnyagan-daw, a minister during the reign of Thalumintaya (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 Letyapanych, herald of the Crown Prince, son of Bodawhaya. After writing the "Shwebonkhan" 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 "Eunazat" 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 Bagyi Daw (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 Myedaingwun 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 Nemyozeeyathura. When the prince of Sagaing (Bagyi Daw) ascended the throne on the death of his grandfatner (Bodawhpaya d. 1819 A. D.) U Sa was appointed to the full dignity of a secretary of state (Atwin-wun) with the title Mahathirizeyathura. 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, Mingymaha Bandula, and was awarded the title Mahathirihthiathura. 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 ဗီလူးစီး နိုင်ငံရေး ပြုလုပ်ခြင်း (As a reward he received the revenue of Myindin and was awarded the title Mahathirizeyathura. He died on the 1st waxing of Wagaung in 1215 B. (1853 A. D.) during the reign of Mindonmin.

Maung San Tin.
Seindakyawthu
(1736-1771
A. D.)

His works are numerous, comprising such poems as yadu, legyo, patpyo, classical songs (thachyingan) covering about fifteen anga (each anga filling twelve palm-leaves).

Author of Baranasi-mawgun.

Or Shwedaung-yazagyaw. His original name was Maung Ay; and he became Singyetaikwun. He was the son of the sister of Twinthingaiwun Mahathinkhaya Mahasiathu, and while serving under the king's uncle Minyekyawgaung he was awarded the title Shwedaung-yazagyaw at the age of thirteen. When Ava was conquered by the Talaings (1751 A. D.) and Aungpaya made his capital at Shwebo (Yatana-theinga), he was known by his private name. During the reign of Aungpaya (1752-1760 A. D.) he wrote a hsungba (epistle) and was awarded the title Seindakyawthu. 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 Vinyaya, 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 Paññakakkamadipani.

His works are:—Owadahtupyo; Kawilakkanathanatpon; Minzetlinga; Kapilamagun; Singumin Nadawthwin; Findalėmintha-egyn; a luda beginning with “Hponpadetha”; Yatanatheingamyo-kandawbwé Pyathathhtichetpwe (poems commemorating the construction of the royal tank, palace etc); a yadu on the wedding of Amyin-min (a son of A’auunghpaya, younger than Hsinbyushin but older than Bodawhpaya); an egyn on the Crown Princess (who became chief queen to Naundawgyi); Namakaranithayi; and a nature poem.

N. B. Maung Ba Han in his article on “Seindakawthu: Man and Poet” (B. R. S. J. Vol. VIII part II pp. 107-113) adds the following information: that Seindakawthu was born in 1736 A. D., the son of U Ze Ya, at Maundaueng, a village in Alon, Monywa Township; that after his noviciate he entered the service of Minyékayawgaung, uncle and generalissimo of the last king of Ava; that Aunghpaya made him court-poet to Prince Badon (later Bodawhpaya); that he became poet laureate of Naundaw-gyi (fl. 1760-1763 A. D.); that he died at the age of 35; that he composed the Kawlakhkana-thatpon in 1751 A. D. at Minyékayawgaung’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 Kawliakhkana-dipani. It is an octavo volume of about 500 pages and it unfolds the meaning of only 78 lines....The Awwadahtupyo was published in 1760 during the time of Naundawgyi. 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 Aunghpaya’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 Kawlakhkana-thatpon he toured lower Burma in order to acquire an exacter knowledge of local terms. He reached Ywa-byë. 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 Ywabyë, 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:—

“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.”

Author of many yadu.
Shwe-daung-hsayadaaw.

Shwe-daung-nandameit.

Original name, U Pu. He belonged to Zayit village.

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 (Atwinwundaik), and commander of three thousand barges (Thondaung-hmu). He died during the reign of Bodawhpaya (1781-1819 A. D.) Maung Nyo, the author of Shweminhpoinhsindaw-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-pyo-haung and Mëdawmaya-pyo; this latter view is preferable.

His works:—Ummadanti-pyo; Mëdawmaya-pyo; Kutha-pyo; Candakumara-zatchin; Einshemibaya-egyin; egyin on Thakhgingyi. Thakhinlat, and Thakhkingi; Myolalinsa; Salinsa Maung Paungyaung; and Minshwenan.

Born at Letme village, south of Salin. His private name was Mg Ta Yok. He became a Wundauk with the title Shwe-daung-nandauk. Author of Mahathathawma-pyo; Ngwedawang-yagan-thiit; Mwenunyagin.

Author of many yado.

Nga Shwe Pu. Born at Yegyin village on the river Mu. Author of the Kuthapyo (See Woharalinate). A bhikkhu of a remote monastery, Sithgayaung, in the Sagaing hills.

Author of a commentary on the Paramiga-pyo of Minsetlinga (See Thamanta-caikkhu and Egyn-sayin.)

The Jailor. Named Shinhtwenyo. Author of the Pyizennawgun and Hsindawmawgun. See Letwenawrahta.

Herald of Nyaung-yan-min. Wrote various yadu.

Anaukwun wrote an egyin on the king who built the Lawkachanta Pagoda.

His title was Nanabhidhaja-saddhamma-senapati-maharajadhi rajaguru. He was born at Pagon north of Taungdwawgi in 1086 B. E. (1724 A. D.). His parents were U Po Pye and Më Kya. His original name was Maung Hpyaw (See Kingyi-hpyaw-attupatti). 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 Alaungpaya.

He wrote a commentary on the Paramidawgan-pyo and “Answers to the questions raised by Min Letwe-nawrathe” an official of King Alaungpaya.

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 Pyiynnanaing-hmu supplying him with all the requisites of a monk. In the year 972
B. E. (1610 A. D.) Minyékyaungswa 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 Thanlumantaya (fl. 1629-1648 A. D.)

Taungthinhmu. See Nawade-gyi.
Taungzinhpontawgyi. Of Natnauk. Author of Widura-pyo.
Tazeiksaye. Author of Thanbula-pyo.
Maung Tin. Shin

Pupil of Shin Maharathathara. His works are:—Dhattaratthathuwunnanathantha-pyo; Pyadihaganlinga; Byadeittawgan-pyo; Shwehinthamin-pyo; Adathamukhapyoahaung; many myittasa or epistles, linga, and yadu (See Kabyathingahapatikatsadan).

Maung Tha Aung. Myosa of Taungkwin, he wrote mawgun on the pagoda of the king (Zedidaw) and the sīna of the king (theindaw).

Thamantathu. Author of Taungdwingyimyo-thamaing-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 Thalumintaya (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:—Yadanapyuangmun - hsindawbwè - mawgun; Myinyëdibba - egyin; and many other yadu and egyin.

Author of Magyidaw-hsaya-daw-yadu.

Of Sagaing. Author of yadu.

See Letwéthondara.

class at Taungdwingyi in the year 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 Narapat (or Thihathu fl. 1442-1468 A. D.) the 10th King of the Ava dynasty, a younger brother of Mohnyinmin-taya (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 Maharathathara. He lived in the Yadana beikman-kyauk 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 Kabyathinga it is said that the 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; Ya-zawuthathi-linga; Tada-u-ti-mawgun; Shwenanbwè-mawgun.

Myosaye during the reign of Bodawhpaya (1781-1819 A. D.). Author of Garudhampayo.

Myosa of Tarokmyo. Author of Maha-upara-za-egyin, one of the twelve classical egyin.

Author of an egyin on the king who built the Lawkachantha pagoda.

Author of Thahkinmèke-egyin.

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 Myaunghla, and Under Secretary for Foreign affairs. Author of Kawilakkhana-dipani.

Thondaung-hmu.

Known as Taung-u-hlawga-thondaung-hmu i.e. Commander of 3,000 barges of Taung-u. During the reign of Mingyi-nyo (A.D. 1485-1530, father of Tabin Shwehti) he wrote Min-taya-Shwehti-egyin; Minyê-kyaw-swa-egyin; Minyetheinhkathu-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.

Or Shin Thudamalingara. Author of many yadu.

Shin Thudamadaa. Author of many yadu.

Shin Thuyê. Author of an egyin on Thahkin-htwe, daughter of Thadominyaw, and of many yadu.

Maung Tu

Maung Tun Nyo.

Twinthintaikwun 1726-1792 A.D.

His works are:—Egyin on the prince of Sagaing, the king’s grandson (Bagyidaw fl. 1819-1837 A.D.) beginning with the words အင်းကျင်းသား; Kyese-yadupaikson, 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; Yadawyu-egyin; a Kyese on the king’s expedition to Siam. A.D.).

Tahsaisay. See Twinthintaikwun.

Maung Tu

Maung Tun Nyo.

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 Mahathin-hkaya 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 Bodawpaya). When Bodawpaya ascended the throne (1781 A.D.) he was appointed lord of the royal granaries (Kyiwun) with the title Mahathinhkaya. Later he was appointed Twinthintaikwun. On the death of Pakhan 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; Mahawkyesegecan and Mahaw—
umingan (both being poems on the Ummagga Jataka); Mudulakkhana, Balladinya, and Zayaditha (all pyo); Warathetagirasindaw-mawgun; Hsinbyumè-egyn; Twinthin-luca; Aungbinlè-kan-bwè; Dahka-thonzechkuni-tetchin-luca; 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 Mudulakhkanapyo, Ekanipatzat (over two ange), and 66 Jatakas.

Okpo-hsayadaw, and head of the Dewarawadi sect. Born on Sunday the 5th waxing of Tabang 1179 B. E. (1817 A. D.) in Ywagale village, Tharawaw Circle. Died on Sunday the 2nd waxing of Tabang 1267 B. E. (1905 A. D.) at the age of 88, 68 years after his ordination. Author of Swèdawshaung-yadu, Bodhishaung-yadu etc.

Son of the Thugi of Shweyinhmya, where he was born. During the reign of Sanemin (1698-1714 A. D.) who built the Man-aung-yatana pagoda at Balaiba, he was brought to Shwegyet-yet on the Irrawaddy opposite to Sagaing, where a monastery was built for him by Twinthinwunyi. 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; Wunnabodanathappon: and a commentary on the Taung-uhso-yadu.

A retainer of Bagyidaw (fl. 1819-1837 A. D.) Author of Temi-pyo.

Shin Son of U Thaukkya and Ma I Uttamagyaw 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 Dutiya 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 Rathasara alike in sanctity of life and literary power.”

See Nawade-ngë
Author of Udenaminsaw-pyo

See Mingyi-nyo.
See Thaddhamma-zawtika.

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.

Yan-aungsa. His private name was Shin Yan-aung. He was a son of Bayagamani. Author of many yadu.

Secretary to a Judge (Tayasesye.)

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 Hlwathondsaung-hmu
Yazabala. See Hlwathondsaung-hmu
Yazabalakyawhtin. Secretary of State (Atwinwun)
and Ywasa of Theptap. Author of Mahapurithalakkhana-pyo (on the characteristics of great men), and Muddhabitheka-mawgun.

Yazadewa. See Hlwathondsaung-hmu.
Yazananda. A minor herald.
Yazathara. Author of a yadu-paikson read before Hnthawaddy Hsinbyushin (Bayinnaung fl. 1551-1581 A. D.) before the hii of the charge of land revenue, with the "

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 Shinhpyuhpayamawgun.

Maung Ye. Born at Pahkangyi, he was appointed guardian (Akyidaw) of the princess of Henzada. Author of Apannaka-pyo; Dvasathidiithi-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 Moda as a grant from the King.


Zeyyayandameit b. 1578 A.D. Son of the Thondaunghlawgahmu (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 Kabyathingahanid an p. 6). In the Woharalinathadipani it is said that he was made commander of Kaungsit boats (Kaungsithle-hmu) by Anaukhpetunmintaya (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: Minyenara or Natshinmaung (son of Shwe-
nandimin)-egyin, beginning with the words—“Samawsaw Saw Su”;

Anaukhpet-lummin-hpobw-yadu, an eulogy on Anaukhpetunmintaya; Hpayatinaingawamyowwe (See Kabyathingahanid an p. 6).

Zeyyayandameikkyawthu. Author of Salwetawtin-mawmeikkyawthu gun and Lokachanthahpayadayaka-egyin.


Zimmēbayinhtwe. 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 (1608-1714 A.D.), tenth king of the third Ava dynasty. Author of a commentary on the Paramidawgan-pyo.

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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 Môn or Talaingis and Indians. How far this credit is due to the Talaingis may be gauged from the fact that even our chroniclers assert that the model of the Temples at Pagan was taken from Prone and Thaton, (1) 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 (2) 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 permanancy.” 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, (3) but there is no necessity to do so now. Further researches into the history of the architecture

(2) 11th—12th century A. D.
(3) Annual Report of the Superintendent, Archeological 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-thon-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 Myin-pagan, 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, Shwesugyi, 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. Couzens’ “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 pyathats (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 pyathat 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 Makara 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 fabulons animal regarded as the emblem of Kama 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 รก in Burmese represents a Pali final ย(a); >>) or eey(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 น(a). But Maung Tin rejects this incontrovertible evidence in favour of the word “ari” (စန) which he maintains is derived from ara sadness 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 รก = final ย(a), >>) it can be shown to be derived from ariya; and negatively, by the law that final § (n) = final န(a) it is likewise shown not to be derived from ara sadness. 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 စန does not mean ariya; but it really simply shows this, that the word ariya has been “burmanised” by slipping it into စန, 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 ariya is used so that the rhyme may not be spoiled, for in each case quoted, it rhymes with saṃgha, with which the clipped form ari 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 Man-li’s Maghadivalanka, p. 263, စန စန စန; p. 358, စန စန; စန စန စန စန. On the other hand, whenever the exigencies of rhyme require it, the derived form စန is used; this is seen in the examples of the word cited by Maung Tin himself.

This word ari 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 စန does not mean ara sadness (forest-dweller), and that all its meanings are covered by the term ariya quite naturally and without strain. From more than a dozen passages (besides the

(1) All these meanings are in fact based on the tripiṭaka 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 attained final sanctification, an Araha; a Brahman; an Arya or Aryan. As a technical term for one walking in the Four Paths the word Ariya includes Buddhás, Pacceká Buddhis, Arahas, Anágámins, Sakadáámins and Sutáápáñas. These are collectively designated by the plural Ariyák, “The saints,” “the elect,” “the righteous,” which includes the whole Buddhist hierarchy.”
five cited by Maung Tin) it is quite clear that the  mango connotes the following: a man of elevated and noble character; a good man, in the sense of one who has entered the Four Paths (setāpamanna, etc.), and hence, a Buddha, a Paccéka 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—  In the technical tradition of the Scriptures and the commentaries all these persons come under the generic designation of ariya. (1) Among them, some live in the forest (araṇīna) as araṇīnakā (forest-dwellers); but the great majority did not, and at the present time do not so live; all are ariyā (ariya) but not all forest-dwellers (araṇīnaka). If then, the word ari is applied, as it often is, in a general sense to a monk (ariya) 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 araṇīna, but these personages were simply holy monks who chose that kind of life. Passages are not lacking in which  does not at all refer to forest-dwellers, but simply to religious. For instance, the great poet, Raṭṭhasāra, refers to himself (Bhūri-dat-zat-paung, p. 5) as a monk (ariya) who writes his poems not for fame, but for the spiritual good of the people; Raṭṭhasāra’s  etc; it is well known Raṭṭhasāra was not an araṇīnaka, but was much at the court. There is in Manli’s Meghadeva-lanka, p. 337, a very clear passage saying that  simply means “a monk”—  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. (2) It is clear that here,  refers to monks in general and not to forest-dwellers only. These two examples ought to be sufficient to show that  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 Poraṇamāla-kathā-abhidhan, p. 27, defines  as  and quotes an example from the Poraṇa-kathā-lankākhith:  where shin can in no way be understood as a forest-dweller, but simply as a religious. U Po Then, in his Poraṇadipani Kyan, defines  as,  (rishi) and  (rahandā) means merely a monk, a saintly monk. Finally U Tin, the learned Subdivisional Officer of Pagan, in his History, derives  from ariya; in fact, it is to him that the credit of the equation  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  (ari) 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  (ari); 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  is Burmese  in derivation and in meaning, as well as in pronunciation, taking into account the usual Burmese softening of r into y.

Charles Duroiselle.

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 acceptance.

Pauvranat Katathit which couples obsolete and obsolescent Burmese expressions with their present-day meaning mentions 'Ari' in the fourth verse.

(4) ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာကြိုးဖွယ် သေကြောင်းမှု့း (line 5). Manifestly ကြောင်း is a Burmese archaism and ကြောင်း is its equivalent in Burmese of modern date. Now ဗုဒ္ဓ is used of either a monk (ဗုဒ္ဓ) or a hermit (ဗုဒ္ဓ).

Monywe Sayadaw explains the word 'Ari' in his Ganbiya Wineksaya Kata Yadana Kyemon which is a commentary on Paramitawgyan Pyo. He says: ဗုဒ္ဓ is simply another form of the assertive prefix ဗုဒ္ဓ (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.

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 ဗုဒ္ဓ in the 4th verse of Anantathuriya's death song. To get the right meaning of ဗုဒ္ဓ it is necessary that the signification of ဗုဒ္ဓ 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. ဗုဒ္ဓ is used in its strict philosophical sense and it means the five elements of attributes, ဗုဒ္ဓ ဗုဒ္ဓ (form), ဗုဒ္ဓ ဗုဒ္ဓ (sensation), ဗုဒ္ဓ ဗုဒ္ဓ (perception), ဗုဒ္ဓ ဗုဒ္ဓ (discrimination) and ဗုဒ္ဓ ဗုဒ္ဓ (consciousness). To take ဗုဒ္ဓ in the sense of 'organised body' only would be a great mistake. In the Tripitakas we often come across expressions such as ဗုဒ္ဓ ဗုဒ္ဓ (The five khandhas are subject to the law of impermanence). Since ဗုဒ္ဓ 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 ဗုဒ္ဓ. So ဗုဒ္ဓ conveys the same meaning as ဗုဒ္ဓ (to lure).
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 these 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 gaps 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.

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 translated 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 concious 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 Buddhaghosa, 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 Buddhaghosa 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 Buddhaghosa'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: "Absenting 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."
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 Attagin 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.

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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 Hmannar 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.

AN APPEAL

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.
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.
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.
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.

Resolved: 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., (in the Chair).
W. G. Fraser, Esqr. G. H. Luce, Esqr.
The Hon'ble U May U Po Byu.
U Hpay. Prof. Maung Tin.
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. (in the Chair).
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).
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 Parabaiks 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
Myanma Kyetthaye
Myanma Byuha

Moon of Maulmein.
Pinya-daw-set.
Myanma Noggaha.

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
Mg. Po Byu
May Oung

Maung Tin
Maung Hpay
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 Thilawunha and Ratathara, with a short account of their lives. In Burmese.
—Prize offered by the Burma Research Society.

(ii) A study of Nawadegyi, 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.

—Prize offered by U May Oung.

(v) A Critical History of Lower Burma down to Anawratha’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. Special 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, Sagmaing 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 Suvaññabhumi and Hansavati, Thaton and Pegu, and in Upper Burma from Tharekheittaya 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


Kachin Military Terms, by Major C. M. Enriquez.
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.
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.
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 Dhammuuddesakatha, 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 Lekhaapatinada, 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.
LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

Pali and Siamese Stanzas recited during the Visakhapuja festival Sasana-yupakkhatkha: A Sermon.
A Treatise on Medical Property of various herbs, by the H. R. H. Prince Krom Luang Wongsia.

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 Mahanubh 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.

A Fragment 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.

A 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 Bhuwanetr 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 Amarahandhu.


Dhananjai Chiang Mleng, 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, Rajapatiña Monastery.

Panhadhammavinciplehaya: 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.

Serenon on the Life of Vessantara composed by H. M. Rama IV.


A collections of letters by H. M. King Rama IV printed for the first time by H. R. H. Prince Nares.

Raja Nilisatra—Pali text with the Siamese version.

A Sermon from the Sangahavatthu and Devatabali by the late Patriarch Pussadeva of the Rajapatiña Monastery.

Culayuddhakaravansa: Siamese Chronicle composed by Somdet Phra Vanarat 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.


Genealogy of some old Siamese Families, by H. E. Phya Ratankul Atulyabhatt.

A collection of poetical works engraved on stone-slabs in Vat Phra Jetubon.

A collection of poems formerly printed in the “Nariramya,” a periodical for women.

Records of the Siamese Embassy to London in 1857 during the reign of H. H. Rama IV by Mom Rajodai.


The Languages and Dialects spoken in Siam, by E. E. Phya Prajakieh Korachakr.
LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

History of the wars between Siam and Burma during the XVIth, 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.
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 ..
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. ..
Ba, U (4), B.A.
Ba, Saya, B.A.
Bah, Maung.
Baing, Maung.
Baker, Conyers.
Ban, Maung Shway ..
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.
Bhymeh, H. M. E.
Bigg-Wither, Lieut.-Col. F.
Bishop, F.
Blagden, C. Otto. ..
Blyth, Rev. E. W.
Bo, Maung (2).
Bodeker, F. W. T.
Boedicker, F. L. F.
Bon, Maung Gun.
Bridges, J. E. ..
Brough, Joseph.
Brown, G. E. R. Gränt, I.C.S.
Brown, H. A., B.A., I.C.S.
Brown, R. R., I.C.S.
Browne, C. E.
Bu, Maung Mya. Bar.-at-Law.
Bu, Maung San Shwe
Bwa, Maung Ba.

.. Life Member.
.. Life Member.
.. Life Member.
.. Corresponding Member.
.. Corresponding Member.
.. Life Member.
LIST OF MEMBERS

Byaw, Maung Tha.
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., T.C.S. .. .. .. Life Member.
Carroll, E. W. .. .. .. Life Member.
Cassim, A., B.A.
Casson, R., B.A., I.C.S.
Chambers, W. P. C.
Chan, Htoo, B.A., B.L.
Chit, U Po, A.T.M. .. .. .. Life Member.
Chye, Chin Khay.
Clague, J. B.A., I.C.S.
Clayton, H., M.A., I.C.S.
Clbourne, J. St. H.
Cochrane, R. A. .. .. .. Life Member.
Collis, M. S., B.A., I.C.S.
Cooper, C. R. P., B.A., I.C.S.
Couper, T., M.A., I.C.S. .. .. .. Life Member.
Crawford, Prof. R. N., M.A.
Cuffe, Lady .. .. .. Life Member
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, Bar-at-Law.
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.B.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.
Fyffé, 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.
Grantham, S. G., b.a., i.c.s.
Green, Capt. J. H., i.a.
Guffar, Abdul.
Gyaw, U Hla, t.p.s.
Gyee, J. A. Maung, Bar.-at-Law.
Gyi, Moung.
Gyi, Maung (1).
Gyi, Maung Maung.
Gyi Maung Maung.
Gywe, U Tha, Bar.-at-Law.
Halliday, Rev. R.
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
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.
LIST OF MEMBERS

I, Maung.
Iyer, S. P. S.
Jamal, Sir A. K. A. S., Kf., C.I.E. .. .. Life Member.
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).
Key, R. G.
Keith, W. J., M.A., I.C.S., C.I.E.
Khalak, A.
Khan, Kalu.
Khin, Capt. H. Aung.
Khiine, U Kyaw.
Kho, U Po.
Khoo Soo Ee. .. .. Life Member.
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. .. .. Life Member.
Kumeran, Dr. P. J.
Kya, Maung Ba, B.A.
Kyaw, U, Bar.-at-Law.
Kyê, U Po.
Kyin, Maung Ba.
Kyu, U Po, A.T.M., K.S.M.
Kyû, U Shwe.
Kywe, Maung, (1)
Lack, Major L. H. A., I.M.S. .. .. Life Member.
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. .. .. Life Member.
McDowall, R. G., M.A., L.C.S.
MacKenna, The Hon’ble Mr. J.
McPhedran, Arch.
Mariano, V. J.
Marshall, J. B., M.A., B.Sc., L.C.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, Maung Kin
Maung, U Sein.
Maung, Maung Thein (2).
Maung, Maung Thein
Maung, Maung Thein, M.A., LL.B., Bar.-at-Law.
Maung, Maung Tum (2) B.A.
Me, U, K.S.M.
Mellor, R. W.
Metteyya, Bhikkhu Ananda
Michie, J. K.
Milner, C. E.
Moolla, Mohamed Ebrahim.
Moore, H. C., B.A., L.C.S.
Morris, A. P., B.Sc., A.M. Inst., C.E.
Morris, A. R., B.A., L.C.S.
Murkerjee, H. C., B.E.
Musaji, M.
Mya, Maung.
Myint, Maung.
Myint, Maung Aung.
Neilid, Ralph, B.A., L.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.
Nyo, U Ba.
Nyo, Maung Lu.
Nyun, Maung.
Nyun, Maung San, b.a.
Nyun, U San.
O, U Kyi, b.a.
Oates, S. J.
Ogilvie, G. H.
Ommanney, J. L.
On, Maung Ba.
Ormiston, Lieut.-Col. T. L., M.A., Bar.-at-Law, I.A.
Ottama, Rev. Bhikkhu U.
Oung, Mrs. Hla.
Oung, Chan Htwan.
Owen, Prof. L. G., b.a.
Owens, Lieut.-Col. F. C., I.A.
Page, A. J., B.A., I.C.S.
Paik, Maung.
Pe, Maung.
Pe, Maung (2).
Pe, Maung Hla.
Pe, Maung On.
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.
Perroy, The Very Rev. Father
Pillay, T. Coopoosawmy.
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
Rego Simon, J.
Reynell, C. A.
Reynolds, J. T. C.
LIST OF MEMBERS

Rice, The Hon'ble Mr. W. F., C.S.I., I.C.S
Robbin, Maung.
Roberts, Major A. B. ... ... ... Life Member.
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., Bar.-at-Law.
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 Phraison
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. ... ... ... Life Member.
Sein, U Po.
Seng, O. Kim.
Seppings, E. H. ... ... ... Life Member.
Set, U, B.A.
Sewell, Lieut.-Col. J. H.
Shaw, John
Shein, Maung Ba.
Shwe, San, M.A., Bar.-at-Law.
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.
Smyth, W. J., B.A., I.C.S.
Snow, C. A., M.A. ... ... ... Life Member.
So, Maung Ba, B.A.
Stewart, J. A., M.A., I.C.S.
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Swan, Maung Boon ....... Life Member.
Swinhoe, R.
Swithinbank, B. W., I.C.S. Life Member.
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Swe, Maung Chit.
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Teik, Saw Tun, B.A.
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Teong, Taw Sone, B.A., B.AQ.
Teso, 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 Life Member.
Thein, Maung Ba.
Thin, Maung Po.
Thin, Maung Ba.
Thin, Maung Ba.
Thin, Maung Myat.
Thin, U Po.
Thine, Maung Hpo.
Thompson, E., B.Sc.
Thoo, Maung San.
Thwin, J. B., B.A.
Tin, Prof. Maung, M.A. Life Member.
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. Life Member.
To, Maung Saw Po.
Tripp, L. M. G.
Tsain, U, Bar.-at-Law. Life Member.
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., l.c.s.
White, Sir Herbert Thirkell .. .. .. Life Member.
Whitnah, Prof. C. H., M.Sc.
Wilkie, H. G., I.C.S.
Williamson, A., M.A., I.C.S. .. .. Life Member.
Wilson, L. D. .. .. Life Member.
Wilson, H. S.
Win, Maung Ba.
Win, Maung Po (2).
Win, Maung Tun (1).
Wollaston, C. H.
Wood, Frank.
Woods, E. A. .. .. .. Life Member.
Ya, Maung Tun.
Yah, U Kyaw.
Yee, U Po. .. .. Life Member.
Yi, Maung Ba (3) B.A.
Yin, Maung Ba.
Yin, Maung Tun.
Yin, Maung Tun.
Yin, Maung Tun.
Zan, Maung Ba.
The U Po.
Zan, U Kyaw.
Zan, Abraham Shwe.
INDEX OF SUBJECTS


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alaungsithu vs. Narapatissithu. By Chas. Duroiselle</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anantathuriya’s Death—Song. Note by Prof. Maung Tin</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note by U Po Byu</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arî. Derivation of—By Chas. Duroiselle</td>
<td>28 and 158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Prof. Maung Tin</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning of—By Mg. Ba Han</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayin-Naung. Life of—In Burmese. By Saya Lun</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Translation by Mg. Ba Kya</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beyond Mandalay. By Major C. M. Enriquez, I. A.</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass Figure-Lamp found at Old Wessali, Arakan. By San Shwe Bu</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhism in Europe. By Bhikkhu Silacara</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhist Philosophy of Change. By Shwe Zan Aung</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dictionary of Burmese Authors. In Burmese. By U Ba Thein</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Translation by Mg. Ba Kya and Prof. G. H. Luce</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Era of Decay. In Burmese. By Saya Pi</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Translation by Mg. Ba Kya</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folklore and Legends of Burma. By L. F. Taylor</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanthawaddy Hsin Byu Shin, Life of. See Bayin Naung, Life of—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of Old Myaungmya. By M. S. Collis</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lacquerware called “Yun.” By Kyaw Dun</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monasteries of Pagan. By Capt. W. Braxton Sinclair</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Maung Mya</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes and Comments. By the Joint Editors</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Rangoon. By Prof. W. G. Fraser</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queries</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shin Uttamagyaw and his Tawla. A nature poem. By U Po Byu</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Translation of Tawla by B. H.</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shwegugyi Pagoda Inscription, Pagan 1141 A.D. Transliterated and translated by Prof. Maung Tin</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English translation into blank verse by G. H. Luce</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

183
184

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Smaller Temples of Pagan. By Prof. G. H. Luce</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology. A study in Burmese—By Taw Sein Ko, C.I.E.</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thrice named city, kingdom of the Shans, Kantus and Sakkyas. By</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chan Htwan Oung</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trials of an Empire Builder. By J. Stuart</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vajirabuddhi and the Pagan Razawin. By Chas. Duroiselle</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

REVIEW OF BOOKS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Atthasalini.&quot; Vol. I. English Translation by Prof. Maung Tin</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archaeological Survey of Burma. Report of the Superintendent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for 1919</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burmese Novels.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. &quot;Maung Ba Shwe and Ma Hla May of Kyaiklat by Maung San Thein</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. &quot;Maung Mya Din and Ma Mè Yu,&quot; by Maung Po Ye</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. &quot;Maung Cherry and Ma Myat Le,&quot; by T. Ba Thwin</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. &quot;Maung Hlaing, the Pemyit seller.&quot; Part I, by Maung Tha Zan</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Kachin Military Terms,&quot; by Major C. M. Enriquez, I. A.</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PROCEEDINGS ETC.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appeal for increase of Membership</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appeal on behalf the Royal Asiatic Society</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Publications received</td>
<td>35, 86 and 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Members</td>
<td>37 and 174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proceedings</td>
<td>31, 84 and 165</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## INDEX OF AUTHORS


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ba Han</td>
<td>The meaning of “Ari”</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Translation of Shin Uttamagyaw’s Tawla</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ba Kya</td>
<td>Translations into English of three Burmese Articles.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dictionary of Burmese Authors, jointly with Prof. G. H.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Luce</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Era of Decay</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Life of Bayin-Naung</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ba Thein</td>
<td>A Dictionary of Burmese Authors. In Burmese</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chan Htwan Oung</td>
<td>The thrice named city, kingdom of the Shans, Kantus and Sakkyas</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Collis, M. S. History of Old Myaungmya</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Duroiselle, Chas. Auaungsitthu vs. Narapatisithu</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Derivation of “Ari”</td>
<td>28, 158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vajirabuddhi and the Pagan Razawin</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enriquez, Major C. M.</td>
<td>Beyond Mandalay</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fraser, Prof. W. G.</td>
<td>Old Rangoon</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyaw Dun</td>
<td>Lacquerware called “Yun.”</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luce, Prof. G. H.</td>
<td>The Smaller Temples of Pagan</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verse translation of Shwegugyi Inscription</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Translation of “Dictionary of Burmese Authors”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jointly with Mg. Ba Kya</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lun, Saya</td>
<td>Life of Bayin-Naung or Hanthawaddy</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hsin Byu Shin. In Burmese</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mya, Maung.</td>
<td>The Monasteries of Pagan</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pi Saya—The Era of Decay.</td>
<td>In Burmese</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Po Byu. Arantathuriya’s Death-Song</td>
<td>Shin Uttamagyaw and his Tawla</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>San Shwé Bu. Brass Figure-Lamp found at Old Wesali, Arakan</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shwe Zan Aung.</td>
<td>The Buddhist Philosophy of Change</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author/Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silacara, Bhikkhu—Buddhism in Europe. (A review of the Atthasalini)</td>
<td>161</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derivation of Ani</td>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Review of Archaeological Report for 1919</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>The Shwegugyi Pagoda Inscription</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
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