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KYAUKSE IRRIGATION—A SIDE-LIGHT ON BURMese HISTORY.

As what I have to say is based on no profundity of research but just a piecing together of information collected at haphazard, I think the best way of setting it down will be in a sort of narrative showing how in the course of an enquiry with a very restricted object new vistas unfolded themselves and how, by a roundabout route, I was led to a conclusion which, to myself at least, seems to shed light on a dark period of Burmese history.

As is pretty well known, the canals in Kyaukse district, though they have been considerably improved since the annexation, especially by the substitution of masonry headworks for the timber structures previously existing, nevertheless present a very different appearance from the Mandalay and Shwebo systems which were reconstructed without reference to the old Burmese canals. From many points of view, therefore, the Kyaukse canals afford facilities for the study of Burmese irrigation methods. The reader may be referred to Mr. J. M. B. Stuart’s interesting pamphlet,* which contains besides descriptive matter some excellent photographs. For my present purpose it is sufficient to say that the systems is extensive and complicated. From the two rivers Zawgyi and Panlaung take off four and five canals respectively, whence the names Le Khayaing and Nga Khayaing for the two irrigation subdivisions and Ko Khayaing for the irrigated part of Kyaukse district. The total area irrigated is 140,000 acres. While it would not be correct to say that a larger area was irrigated in Burmese times, it is certain that areas now permanently out of cultivation were then occasionally under wet crops. On the other hand, improvements to distributaries, etc., have brought under cultivation land which formerly received no water. The area commanded by canals would of course vary with the energy of the officials in repairing them, but in spite of such fluctuations, none of the canals was ever allowed permanently to silt up or to get completely out of control.

Most of the canals were made in the time of Anorata, 406-439 B. E.† and the last important addition to the system—the Thindwe canal—was dug by a Chinese army about 662 B. E. It seemed to me clear that canals of such magnitude could not have been made without some means of taking levels and so obtaining a suitable alignment.

According to some chronicles alignments were pointed out by crows and paddy birds. But though no doubt the flight of birds might be of

* "Old Burmese Irrigation Works."
† Hmannan I 272.
assistance in finding one’s way in trackless forests, the modern sceptical
enquirer has difficulty in crediting the paddy-bird with an understanding
of levels or trusting the crow to select suitable places for weirs. It
occurred to me that the Talaing artizans brought by Anorata from
Thaton might have included men of the requisite skill. On referring to
the list of trades at page 251, Vol. I, of the Hmannan, I failed to find any
mention of water engineers. Masons, however, appear who no doubt
would be capable of taking levels. Talking over my difficulty with the
villagers while on tour, I heard of a tradition that a sight had been
taken from Kyaukse to the top of the Kugyi of Tamok, which was so
called because it stood on a Mok* or Māl (handsbreadth) higher than
the point of observation. It was some time later that I heard from Mr. Searle,
who was also working in the district, of a similar use of the Zediila pa-
goda near Myingundaing; and later still, I heard of a series of pagodas
along the Same canal of which the spire of the lower pagoda was in each
case level with the plinth of the one above it.

Tamok Kugyi, whose tradition had been the first reward of my
enquiries, and the Tamok canal now became objects of interest in them-
selves and presently I was fortunate enough to hear of an inscription on
a mound called Lunbogon near the Ku. The stone was partially buried
in the ground but on being raised and cleaned was found to be in excel-

The author of the inscription is Sinbyushin or as the inscrip-
tion has it, Sinhutthikhin. He is to be identified with Tazishin or
Thihathu, King of Pinde and founder of Pinya, 662—686 B. E. He
mentions his two elder brothers, Athhekhyayyi and Athhekhyange.
One of the brothers is known in history by the name Athhekhyaya; the
other is usually called Razathingyan. Athhekayna reigned in Mekkaya
662—667 B. E. and Razathingyan in Myinzaing 662—674 B. E.† The
King of Pagan must be Saw Hit, 662—689 B. E. The dates appearing
in the inscription are 665, 666, 671 and 681 B. E. It will be seen that
these fit in very well within the dates above-quoted from the Hmannan.
The inscription has points of interest for the local antiquarian as well as
for the linguistic student which for the present I will not stop to examine.
It was in turning over the pages of the Ko Kyayaing Thamaing and
the Hmannan that certain facts of more general interest were noted.

(1) According to the Thamaing Anorata’s weirs were Panlaung
system—Kinda,
Nganaingzin
Pyaunghya
Kyime.
Zawgyi System—Nvadet
Kunse
Ngapyuung

* The etymology is not recommended.
† Mani Ratanabon p. 22.
(2) In the reign of Alaungsithu 474—549 B. E. it was found necessary to standardise the bushel and its fractions—the Khwe, sett, sayut, pyi khwet and sale. The sayut was 1/8 of a basket—it is a word now obsolete but occurs in the inscription as a measure of land. Alaungsithu also constructed irrigation works north of the Myitnge at Tamokso and Aungbinle.

(3) In the reign of Narapatisithu, whose dates according to the Hmannan are 536—573 B. E. was constructed the Kyaukse or stone weir from which the Tamok canal takes off. The authority for this is the Thamaing. The Hmannan merely says "He repaired many canals," and indeed is very unsatisfactory in its account of early irrigation in general, though it is true that in mentioning Anorata’s weirs it attributes the Kyaukse to Narapatisithu.

(4) About 662 B. E. the Thindwe canal was dug by the Chinese army at the instigation of the three Shan brothers.

(5) It is clear therefore that in the centuries immediately preceding the fall of Pagan, much attention was being devoted to irrigation. Just as in later years, the best way a king could reward his soldiers was to give them irrigated land and it was by gift from King Kyawzwa (648—660 B. E.) that the three Shan Brothers received their grants at Mekkaya, Myinzaiing and Pintle in the Ko Khayaing. The Hmannan has a fascinating if tragic account of the visit of Kyawzwa to the Khayaings. When he came to the throne, he began to neglect Queen Zaw who had been his wife for many years, and took no counsel with her. In revenge, she sent for the Shan brothers and after swearing them to secrecy, proposed the following plan. They were to build pagodas and monasteries at Myinzaiing, on completion of which the king was to be asked to inspect them. On a report that the buildings had been erected Queen Zaw said to the king "My lord’s ancestor founded eleven villages in the rice lands and the fields are as fair as the fields of Pegu. Let my Lord go and see them and worship at the pagoda on Pyekkaywe Hill." The king went forth with a force of all arms. When he reached the rice lands he went up to the Thalyaung pagoda and from that hill he saw the monasteries which the Shan brothers had built at Myinzaiing. The queen and ministers urged him to go and visit them and the king agreed. On arrival at Myinzaiing the three brothers seized him and put on him the yellow robe. They afterwards killed him. After Kyawzwa’s death, two kings Sawnit and Sawmun reigned in Pagan till 703 B. E. The brothers remembered the benefits they had received from Kyawzwa and left Sawnit to reign in peace. From the inscription we see that they associated him with them in their works of merit. Similarly, Sawmun was tolerated by their successors, but he was the last king of Pagan.

Certain picturesque touches in the story of Queen Zaw and the brothers suggested that Kyaukse had now become the most valuable part of the kingdom. Pegu was now lost to Pagan and the rice producing areas of Upper Burma would increase in importance. In later times four such areas were recognized;*

* My authority is Mg. Mg. Bya, Mandalay.
(1) Taungdwinyi.
(2) Ledwin, that is the Ko Khayaing or the irrigated parts of Kyaukse.
(3) Tabayindwin—along the Mu River.
(4) Chindwin.

I think there need be no hesitation in saying that of these Kyaukse was in early days by far the most important. It was pre-eminently the "Ledwin." It was accessible by land from Pagan and by water paddy boats could drop down the Panlaung and Zawgyi into the Myitnge and thence out to the Irrawaddy.

Now the King of Pagan had incautiously allowed the Shan brothers to establish themselves in this area. No doubt they cut off both revenue and rice supplies. The centre of gravity of the kingdom had shifted with the introduction of irrigation. Pagan had become unsuitable as a capital. The proper site was now somewhere in the area controlled by the brothers. If we consider the location of subsequent capitals, we shall see that all of them were near the junction of the Myitnge with the Irrawaddy—conveniently situated for control of paddy traffic from the Kyaukse rice-lands—and even after the removal to Mandalay forts commanding the Myitnge Mouth were maintained, below Sagaing on the right bank and slightly upstream on the left bank. The latter is a particularly elaborate structure whose vaulted galleries, now tenanted only by bats, are still in almost perfect repair.

I think I have shown that irrigation in Kyaukse had a certain political effect on the course of Burmese history. But I do not wish for a moment to exaggerate its importance. The shock of the great Kaan's invasion no doubt rendered it easier for Pegu to assert its independence. The loss of Pegu necessitated the reorganization of the kingdom and the removal of the capital to the Myitnge mouth was an essential part of the new scheme. The fact that it was effected through a change of dynasty matters little. The main point is that under pressure of circumstances a right decision was taken.

J. A. Stewart.
A DIVINE DESPOTISM.

BY

Major C. M. Enriquez.
(Theophilus).

A few miles north of Mandalay there is fascinating country round Taung-byon and Madaya. It requires, however, more than usual fortitude to face the railway journey, and therefore this quiet area, with its villages, pagodas and tamarind trees, is known only to the adventurous. The tiny train drawn up near the Zegyo market, sets out on its reckless run of 16 miles in 3 hours, by wallowing along the smelliest drains of Mandalay, until, beyond Obo, it passes reluctantly into clean open country, and follows the bank of a small canal. Hundreds of people use this canal in August when they go by boat to the festival at Taung-byon, and cheer the train, and bet on their chances of beating it. It is a gay and pretty scene; and the narrow canal is shaded with Htanaung Bin trees whose quaintly twisted limbs are so typical of Upper Burma. Early in the rains the white pagodas stand amidst flaming Gold-Mohur. Rice fields, and the floods of the Irrawaddy, stretch away into the distance.

The annual festival at Taung-byon is a great Nat celebration, which affords a welcome interlude of Animism in the rigors of the Buddhist Lent. Vast crowds flock to it, bent on pleasure; and the Nats themselves suddenly wake to tremendous activity, especially the brothers Shwe Byin Gyi and Shwe Byin Nge in whose honour the festival is held. Their wives, who are mediums, or Nat-kadaws, assemble from all parts of Burma.

The legend of the Brothers Shwe Byin Gyi and Shwe Byin Nge is long. The facts may, however, be briefly summarised as follows. In the time of King Manuha (eleventh century) two Indian brothers Byat Wi and Byat Ta floated to Thaton on trays, and were adopted by a priest. Having killed and eaten a fabulous beast, they became endowed with super-natural powers. Byat Wi messed about with the intended bride of King Manuha, was killed, and became the guardian spirit of Thaton. Byat Ta, however, went to Anawratta King of Pagan, and by his magic enabled Anawratta to sack Thaton (in 1057 A.D.) and carry off the sacred Buddhist books. At Pagan, Byat Ta was appointed to bring fresh flowers daily from Mount Popa for the palace; and on these expeditions he met a Belu-ma, now known as Ame Gyi (Great Mother), by whom he had two sons, Shwe Byin Gyi and Shwe Byin Nge. These are the individuals with whom we are now concerned.
A DIVINE DESPOTISM.

Their father Byat Ta being regarded with jealousy, was killed on the pretext that he was late with his flowers. Of this crime no doubt, he was guilty, since the maid of the mountain was fair. Fortunately, his two sons inherited his magic. Anawratta adopted them, and gave each a golden vase (Byin). Hence these names Shwe Byin Gyi and Shwe Byin Nge, Big and Little Golden Vase. They are now probably the most powerful Nats in Burma. Certainly their festival is the greatest, and their votaries the most numerous. In memory of their Indian origin they are still salaamed, and not shikoed.

Later on they became generals; and when Anawratta invaded China, they helped him (by their miraculous powers) to secure a sacred tooth of Buddha jealously guarded by the Chinese Emperor. Whatever elements of history there may be about these brothers, the successful invasion of China is certainly an invention. Kyanzitha, we know, sent a friendly Mission to the Emperor some years later: Anyhow, that does not matter. Nats are not historians; we must permit them considerable licence, and pass over wide discrepancies in chronology to enable them to associate themselves with the golden age of Anawratta.

The Buddha-tooth was taken first to Pagan, and then placed on a mythical beast which halted with them at Taung-byon. So at this spot it was enshrined in the Su-daung-byin (the Pagoda of the wish-fulfilled). Prince Kyanzitha, the future hero king, was responsible for building the shrine; and ordered that everyone should bring one brick. Shwe Byin Gyi and Shwe Byin Nge failed to contribute, but played at beans instead—which beans (three large slabs of stone) can still be seen, while, to this day, there are two bricks missing from the interior of the pagoda. King Anawratta, when he came and saw the gap was annoyed, and ordered the execution of the brothers. The phrases of their arrest, which at first they resisted, are immortalized in the names of several villages such as Lun Taung (Ask for Rope); Dok Yaik (Hit Stick); and Wayin Dok (Bamboo Stick).

Later they submitted, and were killed in a savage manner. When Anawratta re-embarked for Pagan, his barge was prevented from moving. Asking the reason, it was found that the Spirits of the Brothers were holding it back. Being summoned, they told the king they had become Nats; and had nowhere to live. So he assigned a place for them near the Relic Pagoda where their ‘Palace’ was built, and still stands. They are always represented as two seated figures with ‘sloped’ swords, the king further dedicated to their service the Princesses obtained in his late Chinese expedition, whose descendants, it is claimed, still attend the shrine after eight centuries.

While all kinds of women, and a few men too, become mediums, the service of these Nats is mainly hereditary. The guardians of the shrine, the musicians, the bearers who carry the images and their paraphernalia, and the attendants who hide with them in their palanquin, are all hereditary officers whose right to perform these duties has descended in their families for hundreds of years. The Nat-kadaws are outside this hierarchy, and are simply women who feel they are mediums, and
who devote themselves to one or other of the brothers, to whom they are formally married. The four chief queens, or Mi-bayas, are ladies of great importance. The lesser wives are often mere witches. As already mentioned, these women attend the festival annually from all parts of Burma. On the first evening they report their arrival by dancing with swords and flowers before the images of their spiritual husbands. The scene is curious and lavish. The status of these women gives them considerable influence. Many are wealthy, and their fingers are covered with jewels, while on their heads are tied curious shimmering baskets, full of flowers. This ceremony is a sort of seance. The mediums are violently shaken and agitated, and often appear to swoon. Their trembling resembles that of Mihlois at Kachin Nat Galaws though rather less convincing. We witness no doubt a survival of the animism which preceded the introduction of Buddhism—and it is interesting to note the apparent unbroken descent from a remote age of the hierarchy which administers at the shrine of this ancient cult. Like Confucianism in China, Bon in Tibet and Shinto in Japan, Nat worship in Burma has successfully survived centuries of contact with Buddhism. The two are cleverly harmonized to avoid rivalry. Thus we see these Nats associated with Burman’s hero king, and actively engaged in securing Buddhist books and relics. Neither religion, however, is much influenced by the other; and each, though followed by the same people, is diametrically opposed in every essential detail. To any one conversant with the spirit and policy of Buddhism, this state of affairs is not, however, very surprising. It is simply a case of live and let live, and a recognition of the fact that the lofty ethics and logic of Buddhism are really beyond the comprehension of the masses.

Later in the evening various Nats are represented by dances, which are slightly different for each. Each also has its own special music. The character of the Nats is, as far as possible, acted. The Pakan Min dance, for reasons to be explained later, is a cock-like movement. The child-nat, Ma Nemi, is shown playing with toys and flowers, and holding the corner of her scarf shyly in her teeth. Ma Nemi is the forlorn little figure of an orphan who has come down to us through the ages, since Anawratta assigned her a home in the cradles of babies. It somewhat shattered one of my favourite themes to see this part taken by an ex-butter who wore a belt made of double rows of sovereigns. His late master would, I am sure have been amazed at his butter’s antics, and not a little shocked at the fabulous value of his belt.

Next morning, to the fearful agitation of the Nat galaws, the two brothers are removed to a distance of 2 miles, first in a palanquin, and then in boats, to a certain tree, where they are washed in the Irrawaddy, and brought back.

The greatest crowds gather at the conclusion of these preliminaries. There is a fair with restaurants, flower shops, silk shops, toy shops, and all manner of side shows to charm money from the pocket. Night is devoted to the circus and the paw. The gay, bright-coloured, kindly coloured, kindly crowd is Burmese. Therefore it has four qualities——
daintiness, cheeriness, quiet speech, and a capacity for sudden gusts of
passion... In short, it is essentially human. Its mood restores one's
confidence after all this blather about politics. The Orator may
hold the Burmese stage a while with novel Indian patter, but the
Minthami will return to her own again.

In the centre of the fair, and round the Nandaw or palace of Shwe:
Byin Gyi and Shwe Byin Nge, hundreds of sheds are put up to accommo-
date the Nat-kadaws and the collections of Nat figures which they bring
together from all parts of Burma. In each shed is a row of Nats, lavish-
ly attired in jewels, tinsel, scarves and silk turbans, according to their
traits. Some are spendidly new, others antique— but all are spirited and
very human. The 37 Nats, the Thonske Hkunt Min have doubtless
lived, and have reached the peculiar honour of God-hood by reason of
their heroic or pathetic stories, and the tragic manner of deaths. The
figures here assembled give one a good general idea of the Nats of
Burmaw, their legends, and their several degrees of popularity. Little
Ma Nemi for instance, who is the only child-Nat, is one of the most
popular on account of her pathetic history. This shy little maid, who
lives in babies' cradles is often shown with a finger held coyly in the corner
of her mouth, and I doubt if there was ever a row of Nats in which she is
not represented. Myauk-pe Kadu Thekin-ma, whose child lives in her tap-
playing with its toes, is another popular deity. Women approach her
who want babies, and mothers consult her. She is generally concerned
in keeping children happy, and may be regarded as their Patron Saint.
Surely, she is successful with those who survive! No babies are more
merry and fascinating than those of Burma. Alas! that forty per cent
die young. This Nat, as her name indicates is a Kadu Nat, from Chin-
win. Her draperies are usually black; and so also are those of her neigh-
bour Ame gyi, Yo-yin-Gadaw who is much like her in appearance, but
who often rides a tiger, and carries a sword instead of a baby. She is
the Mother of the Nat-Brothers whose festival we have come to celebrate.

No collection I have ever seen is complete with all the 37 Nats, but
certain favourites are always exhibited. There are, in the sheds of Taung-
byon, scores of Ma Nemis and Pakan Mins, but only one figure of U Yin
Gyi the famous Nat of Lower Burma whose festival is held at Ma-u-bin,
and who was stolen away by nymphs by reason of his exquisite playing.
He always carries a harp, and is sometimes mounted on a crocodile.
Then Anawratta and Kyunzitta the two favourite Burmese Kings, are
deified, as also Taun Shwetay the Talaing King, but their images are
rarely seen. I have never yet found a figure of Anawratta, whose symbol
is a polo stick, though I once saw a picture of him in a Burmese book.
Other important Nats not often seen, but each popular in their own part
of Burma, are Ko-Myo-Yin of Kyaukse; Ko Po Tu on a tiger) from
the Shan country; Awa-Min-Gaung-Gyi (an elephant) a deified
Talaing Soldier-King from Ava; and Ngwe-Daung Thu from the Yaw
country.

It is worth being acquainted with a few of the favourite Nats, whose
exploits have cast a net-work of romance over the country. They are-
autocrats, relentless and exacting; but the people submit gladly to this divine despotism. These are benevolent beings so long as you pay your dues, and are polite and respectful. It would be foolish to incur their wrath. As the superstitious old lady said, when she bowed to the Devil in Church:—"Politeness costs nothing, and besides you never know."

Another very popular Nat is Maung Tint De, the Blacksmith of Tagaung. He is also known as Ain-Dawin Min-Ma-Gayi. Associated with him is his wife Shwe Nabé Thekin Ma, whose 'Belu' origin is indicated by a dragon hat. Maung Tint De's eldest sister is the Nat Shwe Mye-Hna (golden face); and his youngest sister is Thon-ban-hla (Three kinds of Beauty) who is the mother of little Ma Nemi.

Hti-byu-saung is the Hermit Nat, recognised by his rosary, yellow robe and priestly hat. He is said to have been the father of Anawratta, and to have been driven from his throne by the Kyi-20 Sockade princes and made to live in a monastery as a hermit.

In most Nat-Shrines there are two figures on horse-back, of these, one with a Burmese helmet and a sword, is Mindyu Shin the Dry-Zone Nat, whose story I have already related on page 219 of 'A Burmese Enchantment.' The other is Pakan Min also known as U Min Gyaw whose damming emblems are fighting cocks and two bottles of wine slung to his saddle. The Maha Gita informs us that Pakan Min was a son of Thein Kwin, King of Pagan, that he was exiled and built Pakan, then called Kookhan; and that he made a Canal. In proof thereof there still exists a village called Myaung Tu Ywa (Canal Dig Village). This is all very edifying; but

On the tomb-stone will be seen
Not what he was;
But what he should have been.

There is quite another version of Pakan Min's career, with a heap of evidence to support it. It is to be feared that he is our Burmese Bacchus, that he married a bar-maid Ma Bo Me, and acquired a taste for drink and gaming. Hence the symbolic bottles and cocks. These disreputable details were unearthed for me by Maung Ba Win, Assistant Superintendent of Excise, who had evidently been on Pakan Min's tracks to some purpose. It is further laid down for the guidance of Nat Kadaws that when dancing in honour of this Nat they should wear pink putsos and gaung-baungs, clap their arms, and move like fighting-cocks. Fame has evidently chosen to immortalize in Pakan Min a sportsman, and a bon viveur.
PAGAN.

BY MAJOR C. M. ENRIQUEZ.

Few places inspire the imagination so vividly as Pagan. It is saturated with old associations. History lurks amongst its ruins. The very soil is dust of brick. The greatest Kings of Burma are connected with it, and the shrines they built so lavishly rise before me, as I write on the terrace of the Gawda-Palin. I believe firmly in seizing impressions in the field, while they are still fresh; and the monuments spread thickly over the surrounding country could scarcely fail to make a deep appeal. Far away gleams the golden dome of the Shwezigon Pagoda, built by Anawratta (1041-77 A. D.), and completed by his equally great successor Kyanzittha. Kyanzittha's own masterpiece, the Ananda, lies white and dazzling in the foreground a dream pagoda: the most lovely shrine in Burma. The Gawda-palin (Buddha's Throne), upon whose upper terrace I rest, is a massive structure, higher than St. Paul's, so perfectly proportioned that from the Irrawaddy its grey and white gates and spires seem to float like a mirage above the river mist. Thatbyinnya (The Omniscient), another soaring vision, is almost as ethereal. Near it lies the Shwekugyi, built by Alaungdaw (1112-1187 A. D.). That ancient king, in the 75th year of his reign, at the age of 101, was here brutally smothered by his son. To expiate that wicked crime, yonder ruin, the Dhamma-yangyi, was raised. It is hoped shortly to restore the Dhamma-yan-gyi. Already workmen are swarming over the Tilo Minlo, for whose preservation Rs. 20,000 has been allotted. 'Tilo Minlo' means Umbrella-want Kingdom-want. The ambition of its founder is indicated by this, and by his own name Nan-taung-myaw much asking for palace. Near by an exquisite little hall, the U Pali Thein, is calld after the great theologian U Pali, a contemporary of Buddha, who expounded law to the first Council. And so on. There is something to learn of many a shrine, while the remaining three or four thousand are nameless ruins of red brick, in every stage of collapse. People say they are all the same, and so they may appear to the uninitiated. Information is not readily accessible. Visitors are left to wander aimless amidst ploughed fields and thorny and extremely treacherous lanes; and to thread a labyrinth of pagodas which have a habit of moving away and round each other in a most perplexing fashion. But all the greater ones at any rate, have a distinct character and individuality arising as much perhaps from their romances and tragedies, as from the architectural nature of their several types.

There is a great deal to be said about these types, and the influences of Thaton, Prome, Ceylon, India, and Cambodia which conspired
together in their creation. Pagan is a tremendous subject to treat in a few paragraphs, as we must treat it here. In 1914 I wrote a small booklet on the subject, * and so we must confine ourselves now strictly to generalities, and to certain new facts lately brought to light by the diligent research of Archaeologists and Epigraphists. In several directions it is necessary to modify theories which have long been accepted as true. In this connection I am indebted for information to Taw Sein Ko and Mr. Duroiselle, the distinguished authors of the Reports for 1916-1920, on the Archaeological Survey of Burma.

Pagan, we are told, was originally a Pyu settlement at a remote period when the Burmese, or Mrauma, were still scattered, insignificant communities. The amalgamation of Burmese tribes only effected by Pyinbya, the 33rd King of Pagan, in the 9th century. The Pyu were a Tibeto-Burman race whose early culture was probably derived from Southern India. Their civilization was not without effect on that of both Talaings and Burmese, into whose ranks the Pyu subsequently merged, leaving only slight traces of their existence. It is however known that their capital was at Hmawza near Prome, that they had writing at an early date, and that they have left a larger literature than was suspected. Much of this has yet to be discovered, but Pyu inscriptions, together with those of the Talaing, are already playing an important part in fixing precisely the dates of many events in the early history of Burma.

The amalgamation of the Burmese effected at Pagan by Pyinbya in the 9th century, was completed by Anawratta in 1057, when he suddenly swept down and destroyed the Pyu at Prome, and the Talaing at Thaton. The last event resulted in a tremendous impetus to religion, art, architecture, and is the immediate cause of the architectural and intellectual splendour of Pagan. But it is impossible now to maintain that the Burmese in 1057 were savages. They had before then a corrupt form of Mahayana Buddhism. They probably had writing, of which the earliest known inscriptions are however later than the Thaton campaign. In short though the Burmese received a highly developed civilization from the Talaing, it is no longer possible to ignore the earliest culture derived from the Pyu.

The greatness of Pagan however began with the fall of Thaton: and during the succeeding two and a half centuries the reputed 5,000 pagodas were built, whose ruins cover a great area, whose survivors are still magnificently preserved, and which then, and henceforth, became the wonder and admiration of every generation. Fortunately the dryness of the climate, and the absence of all jungle except cactus, have ensured the preservation of these monuments. Men and earthquakes are their only enemies: and of these, man has displayed an unbelievable perseverance in breaking into the images and relic chambers of almost every one of them.

The existence of Buddhism in Upper Burma before 1057 A. D. has

* Pagan.—Hanthawaddy Press, Rangoon.
long been disputed. The controversy is now set at rest by evidence furnished by a group of pagodas at Min-pan-thu, three miles from Pagan. The group is a considerable one, and appears to belong to a late period, from 1248 A.D. to the end of the century. Many inscribed stones are lying about, and one we examined was dated A.D. 1235, and mentioned King U-zana. A pagoda called Tayok Pyi Paya, or ‘Pagoda of flight from the Chinese,’ seems to belong to the period of the Chinese invasion (1284 A.D.) The group is further remarkable for the ruins of extensive brick monasteries, usually two storied, which contain either a spacious hall, or else a central cell with a passage all round it. The exteriors were once handsomely decorated with plaster mouldings of flowers and mythical beasts, of which traces still remain. The importance of the ruins, however, lies in the frescoes, which at that period had reached a high state of perfection. Though now dim and faded they are still beautiful after nearly 700 years. Monsieur Durisouled declares them ‘frankly Mahayanist and Tantric,’ and they have therefore assumed high archaeological importance as proving unmistakably the existence of corrupt Mahayana Buddhism, and its survival till 1248 A.D., the date (according to an inscription) in which King Narapathisithu built the Nanda-ma-nya. Both here, and in the undated Payathon-zu close by, Brahmas and Human-birds are illustrated. Some of the pictures are grossly obscene which makes them almost, if not quite, unique in Burma. They are of course Mahayana, and depict Bodhisattvas in some lustful abode. They confirm the legend of grave immorality amongst the Ari, or priests of early Pagan, before the introduction of pure Southern Buddhism.

We will now attempt to revive the personality of two or three arresting characters connected with Pagan at the height of its fame. Dead Kings are always better than live ones. The latter in war draw you forth to deserts of flies and heat, and in peace to ceremonious torture in high collars and Wellington boots. But a dead King you can make friends with. Asoka, Babar, Kyanzitta—how lovable, how intimate, they are!

Anawratta is less accessible. The material at our disposal is meagre, but in this conqueror of Thaton we have a soldier—energetic, strong, unscrupulous, but not unkind. His conquest of Thaton (1057) coincides with the Norman invasion of England (1066), and both events were fruitful in their intellectual results. Anawratta’s expeditions were frankly predatory. His descent on Arakan was a shameless attempt to possess himself of the Mahamuni image. We are not aware of any provocation on the part of the Talangs justifying the war with Thaton. Simply, Thaton was rich and dangerously strong: and Anawratta’s yearning for holy books, which was the ostensible reason for the raid, may be accepted at its face value. However, he brought Burma, perhaps for the first time, under one strong Government.

With Anawratta is associated the pathetic figure of his victim Manuha, King of Thaton, who lived many years as a captive at Pagan. Anawratta on the whole appears to have treated him generously, though at one period the unfortunate prisoner was subject to some indignity, and
PAGAN.

was, in fact, dedicated as a slave to the Shwezigon Pagoda. However in 1069 he was in a position to build two beautiful shrines at Pagan, the Manaha and Nanpaya. Both are well preserved, and the former is remarkable for the jugglery whereby no less than four stupendous images (one is 100 feet long) have been fitted into quite a small building. We witness in poor Manaha a spirit of dignity and fortitude. Dragged from his throne at the head of the highest civilization then known to Burma, he patiently devoted his hopeless captivity to works of art which by reason of their Indian style, were destined profoundly to influence the architecture of the country.

Before leaving Anawratta, we must notice another remarkable personality of his entourage—Shin Araham, the patron of religion, the apostle of Southern Buddhism to Upper Burma. He was a Talaing, and appears at Pagan shortly before the invasion of Thaton. Indeed, his presence may well have roused the seed of jealousy in the mind of Anawratta. At any rate Shin Araham was pure in heart. He taught a new and beautiful law. He strenuously exposed the vicious Ari priests, the scandal of whose lives is remembered still. His expression was sweet and calm. We can see him kneeling still in the Ananda Pagoda, with folded hands. His statue, by a contemporary artist, is one of the only two of its kind, and is no doubt a good likeness. The later acts of his life are officially recorded in many inscriptions on stone. In 1096 A. D. he assisted at the coronation of Kyanzittha. In 1090 he attended the dedication of the Ananda. He lived on into four reigns, and died full of years and honour in the days of Alaungsithu in about 1118 A.D., aged 81.

Some mystery attaches to Anawratta's death. He was killed out hunting by Nats in animal form. Modern pictures show him on his elephant fighting for his life. They say his body was never recovered.

He was succeeded by his eldest son Sawlu (1077—1084) an unworthy heir, whose foolishness soon brought him to grief, and cleared the way for the great Kyanzittha. Kyanzittha, by the way, appears to have been scrupulously loyal to Sawlu while he lived.

For centuries doubt has existed as to the legitimacy and nationality of Kyanzittha. The controversy has indeed only closed within the last two or three years with the discovery that Vesali (the home of his mother) is the Vesali of Arakan, and not of India. His mother Hti Hlaing Hpu, was an Arakanese princess obtained by Anawratta after his conquest of Arakan. The point is now settled satisfactorily, and with a certainty not often displayed by cautious archaeologists.

A man of strong personality, Kyanzittha was constantly in disgrace during the two reigns preceding his own. He was often a fugitive, and the romance of his vicissitudes survives in the names of villages to-day. On the death of Sawlu he assumed the throne in 1084, drove away the Talaing rebels who had brought Sawlu to grief, was crowned with tremendous ceremony in 1085, and entered thereafter upon a prosperous reign of 28 years, till 1112 A. D. These important dates, which in themselves help to fix others, are now established for ever and beyond dispute by the quadrilingual inscriptions on the famous Myazedi Pillar at Pagan, con-
firmed by another Talaing inscription in the Shwesandaw at Prome. The Myazedi inscription (in Talaing, Pyu, Pali and Burmese) is further a sort of Rosetta Stone, which led to the recent rediscovery, by Mr. C. O. Blagden, of the Pyu language. It was written in 1112 A.D., while Kyanzittha lay dying, by his own and only son. A warm affection seems to have existed between these two, which adds a human interest to this ancient pillar of stone.

Amongst other activities, Kyanzittha sent an embassy with tribute to China in 1106; and a mission to India with funds for the restoration of the temple at Budha Gaya. To this last event is probably due the introduction to Pagan of the sikkhara, or Hindu spire, known to archaeologists as the 'stepped curvilinear cone.' Indian architects may also have been obtained through a friendly Chola prince, who appears mysteriously on the throne of Pegu at this period. At Pagan Kyanzittha built the paltry Kyanzittha Onkmin, and the graceful Nagayou with its typical 'flame' gates. But the monuments truly worthy of his greatness are the incomparable Ananda (1090 A.D.) at Pagan, and the Shwesandaw (1093 A.D.) at Prome. Both are counted still amongst the most sacred and celebrated shrines of Burma.

We see in Kyanzittha a man of great energy and varied interests. His extraordinary personality endeared him to his people, who recall him still with pride and affection. Few kings of antiquity are remembered so vividly. His name brings brightness to any Burmese face today.

His statue, a pair to that of Shin Arahan, stands in the Ananda. We see him crowned, handsome, debonair, and every inch a King. The face is open and honest, the jaw strong, the lips full, and the expression bright and humorous. These, as far as we know, are the characteristics which distinguished Kyanzittha, and endeared him for 900 years to his people.

The Shwesandaw inscription of Prome has bequeathed us a picture of Kyanzittha which there is no reason to believe incorrect:

"Great.............pious in aims giving, possessed of armies, of immense wealth. In Majesty..............glorious in self-restraint and kingly duties diligent and discerning. ..........devotedly attached to the Three Jewels, beloved of and pleasing to the Gods. Of heart gentle..............in the strong abode, the excellent city of Pokama, called Arimaddana."
THE BOTANICAL GARDEN AT MAYMYO.

When the Chief Conservator of Forests, Mr. C. G. Rogers, and the Forest Research Officer, Mr. A. Rodger, O. B. E., invited me to take charge of a Botanical Garden not yet in existence, I objected that I knew nothing about Botany. But they insisted, and I had to admit, that I had collected plants all over Burma, knew many of them by their Burmese names in their native habitats, and that I was interested in Gardens. Most potent argument of all, they said they had secured the money but that every Forest Officer, being either on Military Service or doing two men’s work, if I did not come and help them, the money might lapse, and the prospective garden be made over to the Circumlocution Office. To this argument I succumbed. I have found the work an abiding pleasure, and if it is not well done, I can only plead that I have done all I undertook to do, my best. Now I am again faced with the same argument. It has been urged on me in several quarters that the work done should be put on record. My objections that I cannot write, that I have never tried to write anything beyond letters to my friends, are met with the reply that someone ought to write an account of the garden for general information—this I admit—and that, Mr. Rodger being on leave, not only is no one better qualified than myself to write it, but failing me no one can write any account at all. So I can only do what I did before when taking over the garden, my best.

The scheme for a Botanical Garden in Maymyo had long been discussed, and in November 1917 funds for constructing it were allotted by Government. A site was selected in the upper levels of the valley which terminates in the Maymyo Lake. It was originally proposed to make a motor road from the bund along the west edge of the lake (then under construction by convict labour) to join Thirkell Road at the top of the valley, and that the garden should consist only of the horse shoe strip of ground round the head of the lake inside the roads. We who were interested in botany rather than in motors wanted to include the whole of Kadettau Hill and the old village site. A battle ensued between motorists, who wanted to buzz round the lake, and talked scathingly of "fenced in jungles," and bird lovers and gardeners who wanted peace and quiet for a bird sanctuary, and freedom from dust and petrol fumes. Eventually the Lieutenant-Governor decided in our favour, thanks, I gratefully believe, largely to the influence of Mr. English, whose sympathy and help were of the greatest assistance to me on many occasions. This decision enlarged the area to about 150 acres, and threw into the garden a beautiful view point, many fine old trees and the flowers.
and plants of the old Shan village gardens. The new road, when it is
made will go to the west of Kadettaw Hill.

The area included a small patch of primeval forest, known as the
Kadettaw Natzin Clump, extraordinarily rich in the number of species
growing in it naturally. There was also a large space of old taungya and
scrub jungle, and a marsh, a small rivulet, a pond and a few narrow
boggy and unproductive paddy fields at the top of the valley, cultivated
by an ancient broad-hatted Shan-Danu named Maung Tun. Him we left
in peace as Durwan and caretaker on the spot until such time as his new
abode at Singaung-gale (where the Kadettaw people had been removed)
was ready. For the first two years he was invaluable. He knew and
loved all wild flowers and creatures (except the pig that rooted up his
bulbs and the leopard that killed his ducks!). He had a pretty little wife
and it was most amusing to see them watering and weeding followed by a
kitten I had given them. After two years his new farm claimed him, but
he still often comes to see me, bringing beautiful wild plants, and does
odd jobs of carting.

Since 1917 the whole valley has been laid out with paths and shelters
and a carriage drive and the whole plantable area has been divided by
Mr. Rodger into compartments representing the various Natural Orders.

The method followed was that Mr. Rodger went with me over every
inch of the garden, noting the trees and plants growing wild and
alloting the plots according to the natural order already best represented.
Thus the position of the rose garden (Rosaceae) was fixed by the fact that
there were growing in it already three crab apple trees, two cherries, five
kinds of raspberries, a wild strawberry and a potentilla. The Legumi-
nosae plot, near the East gate, was fixed because in it were two Mezal
trees (Cassia Siamea) several large climbing beans, a group of Albizzias
and innumerable other leguminosae plants both large and small. The
Meliaceae growing by the Nyaungni gate fixed that plot; the big pipuls
on the hill located the ficus family, and so on. At first it was contempl-
lated that the plants exhibited should be confined to species indigenous to
Maymyo. But I was constantly travelling all over Burma and bringing
back plants, and it seemed a pity not to include such specimens. Thus
the scheme was gradually extended to include all species representing the
indigenous flora of Burma. These limits were again found unduly
narrow. Myitkyina and Bhamo contain plants hitherto only recorded
from China: Tenasserim contains plants recorded from Siam. Then you
have those odd natural freaks by which Himalayan plants are found, not
west, but east, of the Irrawaddy, and the Arakan Hills contain specimens
recorded as typical of Borneo and Sumatra. Finally it was decided to
include all plants which will grow in the open at Maymyo without being
constantly tickled by a mali.

A great advance was made when I went home and took the opportu-
nity of visiting the Gardens in Perandinya, Kew and Dublin. To those
in authority at these gardens I introduced myself as an ignorant amateur
charged with the creation of a garden and threw myself on their mercies.
My actual words to them were "an ignorant small woman with a job six
times too big for her.” Without exception I found them most helpful with advice and practical instruction, and I must freely acknowledge their courtesy. I had already appreciated the importance of planting so as not to obstruct views; but from them I learned to appreciate more fully the difficulties of achieving this. In Kew, for example, they have had to sacrifice many rare and valuable exhibits on this account. Now I have devised a scheme by which, I hope, this difficulty may be surmounted. Having discovered points commanding good views, they are marked by a white washed post in the fence, a seat, etc., and when holes are being dug for planting, someone is stationed at each view point to see if the proposed planting will spoil the view or not. A couple of yards one way or the other may make all the difference.

Another difficulty is to build a garden without first creating a desert; it is easy enough to uproot, so difficult to plant. This is avoided by only removing unsightly plants except when more space is wanted for new species. Thus in the compartment allotted to reeds and grasses, there are many trees which belong elsewhere. But we do not remove a tree until we have a bamboo or other suitable species to take its place. Then we may remove a tree, say of the order Combretaceae, to make room for the bamboo, and plant the tree in the compartment allotted to that order; one plays a never ending game of chess with different specimens. Every compartment is labelled with the name of the order which it represents and the individual specimens are being gradually labelled by Mr. Rodger with both their Botanical and Burmese names, so that anyone quite ignorant of Botany can use the place with profit, or if he is disposed to be interested in the subject, can begin, with the help of a small Manual, to study it here. It has not been possible to keep all plants, strictly to their botanical places, owing to their habits. So that the Bog Garden, Rock garden, Natsin Clumps, Kadettaw Wood and Willow Brook will contain specimens of many orders arranged not botanically but according to the situation that suits them most,—and things that seem to grow naturally in company are left together e.g., bracken fern and pine trees. The Lily Garden grew out of an old hobby of mine in hybridising Amaryllis lilies and raising them from seed in my own garden. The soil and climate of Maymyo suit them amazingly, and many other bulbs thrive exceedingly, and only those that require real cold winters such as Crocuses, daffodils, tulips and lily of the valley refuse to flourish.

An outcrop of rock by an old irrigation channel suggested the site for the Rock Garden, which has been gradually built up with rocks cleared out of the top end of the main lake, and leaf mould formed of the burnt rubbish of the garden, weeds from the ponds, etc. Kazins of sods, laid across the bog to enable me to get from one side of the valley to the other, have grown into bunds, forming a mill pond for a water wheel and pump, and pools for water plants. The paths have gradually evolved themselves from tracks made where one wanted to go—seats were placed where one wanted to sit—and the Lily garden grew up below the hut I built myself for shelter at my favourite view point, looking down the valley and lake to the distant mountains.
Mg. Tun's paddy fields are developing into a palm garden, with willows, a brook, a fersery, and so on. A spring, with a rim of sods and a bamboo spout, used for drinking water by the Kadettaw villagers, suggested an ornamental well; it was begun for me by a party of Burma Sappers in camp under training, and finished by a Burman pagoda mason, one Ba Gyan, from Mandalay. Being in the Rosaceae plot it is covered with climbing roses, as is the arch leading down to it. A rather nice incident was that after the well was finished, one of the old cooly women knelt at my feet and sthandoing, said, "We all thank you so much, Thakin- na, for this. All who thirst can now drink of pure water."

The paths have been gravelled with soft stone from the lake bed, in "Botany Bay" as a witty visitor named the upper end of the main lake.

The Personnel of the garden has been officially, the Forest Research (or Utilization) Officer, Mr. Alec Rodger on leave; Mr. J. C. Hopwood at present. A Burman Upper Subordinate Maung Khin who is not only very keen on gardening but also knows a great deal about botany, and can survey, level, build, and carpenter, and understands machines, such as pumps, mowing machines, etc., three Burma Forest Subordinates (Mg. Hman, Mg. On Pe, Mg. Ba Pe) each with a gang of about 15 to 20 coolies; all Burmans and Shans except a couple of Uriahs for heavy earth work,—a cart man and a pair of bullocks.

Old women and girls do the weeding,—the men do jungle cutting, stumpimg, etc. For actual road making the P. W. D. lent a gang of road coolies and a roller and helped me generously in many ways.

I, of course, am merely a stop gap, until such time as an "European Gardener" is sent out from England by the Indian Government but my great hope is that when he does come, he will learn Burmese and work with the local coolies who have served me so well, and who know the indigenous plants and wild flowers as no Indian mali ever could. The coolies constantly bring me in plants from the jungle, and tell me their local names and properties. If people who travel in the jungle further afield would send in plants, they would be most gratefully received.

The only thing that really annoys me is when visitors do wanton damage. It is inconceivable that they should, but they do—and the question of policing the garden is a serious one. The subordinates and coolies who live in the garden in the Durwan's house and four gate lodges cannot be everywhere after working hours.

The garden has had its troubles,—Plague, small-pox, influenza, accidents; births and deaths, comedies and tragedies, but the three years I have worked in it have been the happiest of my life. It gave me a job worth doing when I felt a useless encumbrance on the earth in War time, and it will be a real grief to leave it when we retire next year under the age limit. There is so much yet to do, but other abler hands than mine will take up the work, and someday I hope the Maymyo Garden will take high rank among the beauty spots of the world.

CHARLOTTE I. WHEELER CUFFE.
LEIK-KAM-PHA-MA-WUTTU.

OR

The story of the Turtle.

In an obscure village in Arakan there once lived a man and his wife with their only daughter by name Mai Htwe Yai. I cannot tell you the names of the girl’s parents; but as it was the custom of the people in the country, even just as it is now at the present day, to avoid as much as possible the use of the real names of persons who are advanced in years, they were commonly known to the villagers as Mai Htwe Yai’s father and mother. They were simple ignorant rustics who daily earned their living by catching fish in the small stream that flowed silently past their little village. One day the worthy couple went out fishing as usual in their canoe and Mai Htwe Yai was left to look after the various household duties such as splitting firewood, filling the jars with water and pounding the necessary quantity of rice for the evening meal. Somehow on this particular ill-fated day the fishing did not prove as successful as usual. The husband got terribly annoyed, while the wife in her love and anxiety for the comfort of her daughter repeatedly kept on saying:

(1) What shall I do
For my daughter’s dinner?
How I wish
That I might win her
Lots of fish—
’T were a dainty dish
For my daughter’s dinner.

Hearing this the man fiercely replied, “You seem to be only thinking of your daughter’s dinner, but what about mine you ungrateful woman?” and forthwith he struck her with the heavy oar he carried in his hand. The blow was so severe that the poor woman died outright. But when the body was thrown into the water the man was astonished to see it suddenly transformed into a turtle.

When the man returned home alone in the evening Mai Htwe Yai questioned him about her mother. As he did not wish to grieve his daughter he tried to deceive her by saying that her mother had gone on a visit to her aunt. The next day the girl went to her aunt’s house only to find that her mother was not there at all. Then her father said that he had made a mistake for, as a matter of fact, her mother was then with her grandmother. On verification this also proved to be false. Thus for
several days by a succession of lies he managed to hide the real facts of her mother’s death from the young girl. But at last the day arrived when he could no longer think of a likely story, and for his own peace of mind he made a full confession of his guilt, adding, “So though you have no mother now she is not really dead for at the present moment she exists in the river in the form of a turtle.

For a time Mai Htwe Yai was inconsolable. Grief seemed to be her only food. She neither ate nor drank for several days. At night she hardly ever slept a wink because of her weeping for her dear mother. At length the father one day spoke to her thus:

(2) O daughter mine.
Why peak and pine?
The deed is done, and tears are vain.
To weep and wail
Will not avail
To bring your mother back again
Go, take about the village
The baskets I made yesterday.
And sell them to the villagers
As shrewdly as you may.

Now in this same village there also lived a *biluma* or ogress with her two daughters. The elder girl’s name was Kret Chi May and so very ugly that when she walked through the village the children fled from her in terror. This ogress secretly loved Mai Htwe Yai’s father but up to that time she could not think of any plan by which she could make him her husband. So when Mai Htwe Yai came to her house with a load of baskets on her head the ogress suddenly saw her. Long sought for opportunity and determined to make Mai Htwe Yai’s father come to her house and make him her husband that very day. One or two baskets having been sold to the ogress the young girl put the rest on her head to return home: but when she tried to get up she could not do so because the ogress pressed her down from the top without the girl’s knowledge. She then suggested that the load was too heavy for her and that she should call her father for assistance. Believing it to be true the girl went home as directed. In the meanwhile the ogress and her daughters hastily prepared some food and set up a pot of fermented liquor in the best room of the house. When Mai Htwe Yai and her father arrived the ogress welcomed them effusively and persuaded the man to eat and drink, for his visit was an honour done to her. Long and merrily the meal continued till night advanced apace. By the time the feast ended the man fell into a drunken sleep making it impossible for the daughter to return home alone. She was therefore easily persuaded to pass the night there also. According to a prearranged plan the ogress’s daughter got up in the dead of night and tied together the hair of the man with that of her mother who was sleeping close by. In the morning when the man and the ogress found themselves bound together in this mysterious fashion they agreed to marry and to live together in the latter’s house.
Having now accomplished her object one would have thought that the ogress would be satisfied. This was far from being the case, for the wicked woman conceived a violent dislike for her step daughter Mai Htwe. Yai whose beauty far excelled that of any other woman in the village. How much better, she thought it would be for everybody concerned if her stepdaughter's life could be taken without any suspicion being directed against her. Anyhow she determined to do her worst, hoping that before long, grief and misery would bring about that death which she feared to inflict too openly.

So poor Mai Htwe Yai was given very little to eat while at the same time she was compelled to tend cattle every day by the river side. For a time she tried to bear up her misfortune with fortitude until one day while looking after her herd she was so overcome with hunger and grief that she fell by the river and cried bitterly:

(3) O mother turtle, look at me,
Unhappy daughter thine—
Without a friend to comfort me.
All alone I pine,
Starved and treated cruelly.
And made to tend the kine.

No sooner were these words uttered than the turtle appeared on the surface of the water bearing a present of small fishes. These the girl silently took and going into a disused hut close by she carefully cooked them and ate them contentedly.

Thus under these new conditions when she was daily supplied with good fish by her mother turtle, life became more pleasant and tolerable, and she began to thrive both in health and strength. The ogress seeing the change in the appearance of her step daughter wondered much and could not find any satisfactory reason for it. So she secretly told her daughter Kret Chi May to try and find out what Mai Htwe Yai did by following her the next day in the guise of a common village dog. For the ogres were a wonderful people. Though they usually resembled human beings and lived as such, they were able also to assume any form they liked. The next day when Mai Htwe Yai went out with the cattle to her usual haunt a dog also followed her from a safe distance spying upon her every movement without her being aware of its presence. As before the girl received her allowance of fish from the turtle. She then cooked and ate them at the hut while the dog unable to resist the temptation of picking up a few bones approached quite near. "What a troublesome dog this is," said Mai Htwe Yai and gave it a vigorous kick. Whereupon the dog ran away howling and shouted out from a distance that it would tell the ogress all about her mysterious supply of fish which she received daily from the turtle.

The next day the ogress, having learnt all she wanted, pretended to be very sick. She placed dry sticks of bamboo under the mat on which she lay and groaned very loudly. When the husband returned from work he was greatly concerned about her and sent his own daughter Mai Htwe
Nai to consult an astrologer as to the best way of relieving the pain. Every

time the ogress turned on her side the dry sticks would snap and she

would yell at the top of her voice saying that her ribs were breaking.

This increased the man’s fears and he cursed his daughter for the delay.

At length when she arrived she hastily prepared the medicine she brought

with her and administered it to the patient. But instead of being relieved

the ogress yelled all the more with pain. She even accused the girl of

bringing false medicines to kill her because she hated her step mother.

She therefore sent her own daughter Kret Chi Mai to consult the astrolo-

ger. Acting under previous instruction the girl returned to say that the

only thing that could cure her mother was to give her the flesh of the

turtle which according to the astrologer was the best remedy for so serious

a disease.

The husband then made a stout bamboo coop to catch the turtle.

He first set it in the river close to the right bank. When Mai Htwe

Yai saw this she wept and said:

(4) Mother turtle, have a care!

By the right bank is set a snare.

On hearing this the turtle went to the opposite side of the river.

There was no catch that day and the man returned home disappointed.

When on the next day the coop was set close to the left bank, Mai Htwe-

Yai said:

(5) Mother turtle, have a care!

By the left bank is the snare.

On hearing this the turtle went away to the opposite side of the river

and consequently it could not be caught. For the third time the

man tried. He placed the coop in midstream and then he caught his

daughter by the wrist and beat her severely with the thorny branch of a

plum tree telling her that if he did not catch the turtle he would surely

kill her that very day. The poor girl’s body was so lacerated by the

thorns and the pain was so great that in her agony she cried out:

(6) O mother turtle, pardon me,

Though into danger guided,

For Oh! they are so hard on me,

I can no longer hide it:

Right in mid river is the coop—

Good mother, go inside it!

The turtle obeyed, and it was caught and carried home in triumph.

That very evening it was cut up into bits and carefully prepared for

dinner. As soon as the ogress ate the turtle curry she got out of her bed

and pretended to be quite well again. But since a great deal of the

curry was still left, poor Mai Htwe Yai was sent to distribute it among the

village folk. With a heavy heart she set out on her errand and as she

stepped at each house to give the curry she requested the good people to

eat the flesh but to keep the bones for her. The people invariably laughed.
and said, "What a funny request to make! since you have given us that
curry you cannot stop us from eating everything, bones and all, if we are
so minded." But an old couple taking pity on the poor thing promised to
oblige her. The next morning when she called on the kind old people
she was given two bones which they preserved for her. She then went
into a large public garden and planted the bones side by side in the
ground and uttered the following invocation, "Oh ye Nats who preside
over the four quarters of the earth give ear unto my prayer. If I be
virtuous and if I have suffered great misery undeservedly, may these two
bones which I have planted spring up into two trees, one of gold
and the other of silver. Let no man be successful in his efforts to dig them
up. May all the implements he employs be snapped in twain. But
should I so desire it let me accomplish the feat by the merest turn of my
finger nail."

Hardly were the words out of her mouth when the two trees burst
forth from the ground in all their resplendent beauty. The girl, however,
went home secure in the belief that no one could cut them down or remove
them. Soon the news of magic trees spread all over the country. Men
came to see it from all directions. The king of the country being unable
to suppress his curiosity any longer went to the spot in state because all
his previous efforts to remove them to his palace completely failed.
When he actually saw the beautiful trees he offered a handsome reward to
anyone who could dig them up and carry them away to his palace garden.
Men toiled all day in the hope of winning the prize; but all their efforts
were useless for the trees refused to be shifted from their positions. The
king then asked the people as to how the trees came to be there, and when
they informed him that a young girl called Mai Htwe Yai was responsible
for their growth he ordered her to be brought to the spot. On her arrival
the king said, "I command you to dig up the trees at once. If you are
successful I will make you my queen, but if not your life shall be the
forfeit." Hearing these words the girl sent up an inward prayer to the
Nats to assist her and in fear and trembling she touched the trees. To
the surprise of everybody the trees were easily uprooted. The king mar-
velled much but spoke no word at all. At a sign from him the ministers
placed the trees in the chariot and after mounting the girl on a richly
caparisoned horse the whole party returned to the palace. In due course
Mai Htwe Yai the poor persecuted maiden became the queen of the
country.

Some time after this event the ogress and her two daughters heard
about Mai Htwe Yai's good fortune. They could neither eat nor drink for
they were very jealous. So for many days they discussed the details of a
plan by which they hoped Mai Htwe Yai could be killed. At last the long
sought for opportunity arrived, for the ogress's husband the queen's father,
had to undertake a long journey to a foreign land. When the man departed
the ogress sent word to the palace requesting the queen to visit her
father who was very ill. "Is my father still capable of eating a little
rice and drinking a little water?" asked the queen of the messenger.
"Yes! he can still do that," replied the latter. "Then," said the queen,
you may return. I am certain that my father will not die yet."

After a few days another message was sent to the palace. This time it stated that the queen's father was on the point of death and that if she did not hurry she would be too late to speak to him. Before setting out alone from the palace the queen ordered her servants to fetch her in the evening from the house of the ogress. When the queen arrived at the house of her stepmother she found the whole household in tears around a bed on which some object was covered up by a blanket. Thinking that her father had died she went up to the bed and tried to remove the blanket from his head in order to have a last look at him who was once her parent. But the wily ogress prevented her from doing so on the plea that the face was so distored that it was unfit for any one to see. So the poor queen could do nothing else but sit with the rest and give way to tears. Presently Kret Chi Mai her elder step sister began admiring the jewels and other ornaments which the queen was then wearing, and said to her, "Dear sister you must indeed be very happy in your present condition. What magnificent jewels you have on! Can you please allow me to wear your bangles just for a moment to see what I look like?" At first the queen refused and rebuked her sister for her frivolous thoughts especially at a time when they should be in the deepest grief. But Kret Chi Mai laughed and still persisting in her request she at length got her own way.

When evening came the queen asked for the return of her bangles; but Kret Chi Mai, pretending to be terribly angry with her for worrying her so soon, threw them through a crack in the floor on to the ground beneath the house. Whereupon the ogress her mother said, "what a naughty girl you are Kret Chi Mai! Instead of being grateful for being permitted to wear the bangles even for so short a time, you have even thrown them away. Go, pick them up at once and offer an apology to your sister." "That will I never do," said the offender, "If she wants her bangles she may pick them up herself." The queen was in a hurry to get back to the palace and as she knew that her servants would be almost on their way to fetch her she did not want to waste any more time arguing the matter out. So she went down beneath the house to pick up her jewels. Just as she stooped the ogress and her daughter hastily brought a large pot of boiling water which they had previously prepared and emptied its contents on the unfortunate queen. Death was instantaneous but her body was immediately converted to that of a beautiful egret. Quickly the ogress's daughter Kret Chi Mai adored herself with the discarded clothes and jewels of the late queen and calmly awaited the coming of the palace servants.

Meanwhile Shwe Kya the young prince began to get anxious about his mother who had absented herself for hours. He went to his father the king and told him about his fears. So the father and son waited patiently strolling about in the palace grounds. As darkness came on they heard the sound of trumpeis and the trampling of many feet. The father said to the son, "I think that is your mother. Though she is certainly late I do not think you need worry yourself any more for she has assuredly returned." Shortly after this the long expected party
arrived. The pretended queen came down from her palfrey and smilingly advanced to the father and son who were watching her with unfeigned surprise. "My dear," said the king, "if you are my wife you have certainly changed a great deal in your appearance. You left the palace this morning a very beautiful woman, but you have now returned very ugly. What in heaven's name can be the reason of this remarkable transformation?" The queen then replied, "Dear husband, you know that I went to the death bed of my father. When I saw him lying dead I was so overcome with grief that I cried very much and struck my face so insistently that I have become very ugly now. But prince Shwe Kya stoutly refused to be embraced by his supposed mother for he felt sure that she was some one other than what she represented herself to be.

It so happened that when Mai Htwe Yai the real queen died she left behind an unfinished piece of cloth she was then weaving. In order to carry on the pretence completely Kret Chi Mai the supposed queen went to the loom every day and tried to continue the work of weaving. But to her chagrin she found she could not do so easily as the pattern of the cloth was too intricate for her. Whenever she found herself in a difficulty the egret, which was then living in the palace as a general pet, would go up to the loom and by means of its beak indicate what should really be done. For a time the false queen put up with it but when this interference became too frequent she became so annoyed that she struck the bird with heavy shuttle and killed it outright.

She then sent it down to the kitchen with orders to have it served up for dinner. But when the king found that his dinner consisted of the palace egret he refused to touch it and gave orders to have the curry thrown away. The servant immediately bore the dish out of the room and threw the contents close to the royal gardener's house. The next morning to the great surprise of the gardener and his wife they found a fully grown bilva tree (Bengal quince) bearing a single fruit of extraordinary size—One remarkable thing about the fruit was that whenever the old lady (gardener's wife) passed by under the tree the fruit used to touch her head, until, at last, she was so annoyed that she plucked it and kept it in a basket in the house.

One day the old lady went out to work in the garden and left her husband to look after the house. But the worthy man fell asleep, and as he did so the bilva fruit mysteriously opened and a most beautiful girl emerged out of it. Then without any hesitation whatsoever she began to bathe, dress and besmear her face with Thavetha (a paste obtained by rubbing a certain kind of bark on the smooth surface of a flat stone). After going through her toilet most carefully—I cannot explain minutely the intricate phases of a young lady's toilet—she prepared some rice and cooked some food. When this was done she passed some very severe remarks on the old man who was sleeping soundly, and then she addressed the cock that was scratching for food at the foot of their backstairs:

(7) Good Mr. Cock! I prithee tell
The old lady,  
When she comes back,  
There is no lack,  
Dinner’s ready.  
Let her eat well,  
Let her drink well,  
I prithee tell  
Her, Mr. Cock!

So sayings she entered the bilva fruit.  
When the old lady returned home she was much surprised to find  
that some one had mysteriously cooked her dinner and blamed her  
husband for sleeping instead of keeping proper watch. Just as she  
finished her scolding the cock spoke:

(8) Grand mamma!  
Look! Look!  
Dinner stands!  
But the cook  
Had unclean hands.  
Fling it afar,  
Do, grand mamma!

Now this was not exactly what the girl from the bilva fruit told  
the cock to say. But being a cunning bird who appreciated a good  
dinner as well as any one else be rightly thought that by misinforming  
the old lady she would act on his instructions. As anticipated the  
dinner was flung out with curses and the wily cock had a good feed  
thereof. This sort of thing continued for several days until the old lady  
losing her patience determined to keep watch herself. She sent her  
husband away to do some work in the garden while she lay down on her  
bed and pretended to be asleep. After a while the girl, as usual, issued  
from the fruit and in the midst of her preparations for dinner the old lady  
quietly got up and threw a large bamboo cage over her.

The old people then adopted the girl who was forbidden to  
leave the house but was only permitted to weave and spin. It so  
happened that the boys of the town, including the young prince, were in  
the habit of playing every day near this house. Whenever an opportunity  
occurred the girl would call the prince and ask him to assist her in her  
work. At last the interruptions in his play became so frequent that he  
lost every day. His father the king one day seeing his son sad and  
dejected asked him what the cause was. The boy replied that a certain  
beautiful girl living in the old couple’s house frequently made him do  
some work for her and would not allow him to play his game properly.  
It was on this account that he returned home a loser every day.

On the following morning the king rode away on a visit to the old  
people determined to see for himself who the girl was and after halting in  
front of the house he called out loudly for a cup of water. The old man  
brought him one but he refused it by flinging away the cup. Then the old
women brought him out another cup. This also he angrily flung away saying, "I have not come here to accept any hospitality from fools like you. I will only drink from the cup tendered by the young lady who is now an inmate of your house. Go and bring her out at once if you do not wish to incur my extreme displeasure." In fear and trembling the old woman complied and when the king saw the lovely girl he was at once struck by the resemblance she bore to his dear wife Ma Htwe Yai. So without saying a word he placed her on his horse and returned to the palace.

On their arrival the lady informed the king that she was no other than his real wife, the mother of the young prince and at the same time she related to him without any reservation whatsoever the story of her persecution by the wicked ogress and her elder daughter who was now living as his rightful queen. The king greatly rejoiced to hear this but being a very just monarch he summoned the imposter and asked her for an explanation. Nothing daunted the false queen indignantly repudiated the allegations against her and stated that the girl whom he had brought was none other than an adventuress trying to bring about her ruin.

The king sat down and thought very hard for a long time. But at length he resolved to allow the two claimants to settle their dispute by a personal combat. He therefore ordered two swords to be brought. The false queen quickly selected the sharper one of the two while, the other, relying upon the justness of her case, took up the blunter weapon without any murmur. Then the fight began. By some mysterious cause the assaults of the false queen made no impression whatever on her opponent. On the other hand a well directed blow from the true queen pierced the breast of the ogress's daughter and killed her outright. Thus was the king convinced that she who survived the terrible ordeal was his true wife and with due ceremony she was once again installed as his rightful queen.

When the day's festivities were over the king ordered the body of the false queen to be cut up into bits. The pieces were then preserved in a large jar of fermented liquor. After a few days the jar was sealed and then sent to the ogress with compliments from the king. When the former received it she was highly pleased and openly boasted to her neighbours on the advantages of having a king for a son-in-law. When the hour for dinner came she opened the jar and took out a piece to eat with her curry. But her observant younger daughter quickly remarked in alarm, "Oh mother! just look at it carefully. Doesn't it resemble the finger of my sister?" "Nonsense child, you must be dreaming. What absurd ideas do get into your head!" so saying she calmly went on with her dinner. When another piece was brought out the young girl again exclaimed, "Do look mother this is surely my sisters foot. I well remember the position of this is peculiar scar she had on it." Again the mother scolded her for her fancies and ordered her to be silent. On the third occasion the preserve being very tasty, a large piece was brought out. This time the girl jumped up and cried, "Oh mother this is surely my sister's head. See the arrangement of the hair and earrings she
always wore while with us." Hearing these words the ogress became dumb with astonishment. She knew it to be a human head but owing to the presence of other ingredients she could not quite distinguish the features at first. She hastily brought some water and washed the face. Then she became convinced that the face she was looking at was none other than that of Krei Chi Mai her own daughter. Need I tell what happened to the ogress after that? What does every mother feel when a beloved child of hers dies? Even so the wicked ogress felt; but in her case the grief and shock was so great that she died in a very short time. Thus was virtue rewarded while sin and wickedness met the just punishment which always pursues those who are its votaries.

San Shwe Bu,

Verse by G. H. Luce.
CHRONICLE OF THE CITY OF TAGAUNG.

We shall tell the story of Sulathambhawa and Mahathambhawa, the two sons of the Tagaung king; how the raft was made and they, taking food and clothing, were set afloat upon the raft.

THAMBAWKA.

How shall we speak? We shall say naught of the times of Kakusandha, Konagamana and Kassapa the Buddhas; we shall speak only of what happened in the era of our Buddha Gotama. At that time the city of Tagaung was known as the Kamboja kingdom, and the ruler of that kingdom was king Thambawka. He had three queens, Hlasandi, Thirizaw, and Mekara; and Hlasandi, eldest of the three queens, conceived a child. Now king Thambawka regarded not the law of truth, he heeded not nor revered the Three Gems, builded not the ten kingly duties, possessed not nor ensued nor recked he aught of virtue, piety, or holiness, scorned the practice of meditation, learning, and love. Therefore because he forgot the law of truth, his glory and dominion waned; his queen broke faith with him and took her pleasure with the Naga king, by whom she conceived. Thereafter the two princes were born twins, and the breath of the Nagas had come upon them. And because the breath of the Nagas had come upon them they were born blind of both eyes; and the king called the elder Mahathambhawa, and the younger Sulathambhawa. He caused a raft to be made and set his two sons afloat. Ere long he was only ashamed saying "If it come to the ears of the kings of divers kingdoms and cities, it were a dishonour, a disgrace". And his heart was broken and he forsook his body and departed.

HLASANDI AND THE NAGA.

When he was no more, a king called Bhavinda came to the throne. He recked not nor regarded the ten kingly duties neither builded he his words on truth. Therefore he enjoyed prosperity and the golden throne but for one month and ten days, and in warring with the Naga king Bhavinda might not conquer but the Naga struck and slew him that he died. The kings who ruled after him ruled only for one month, two months, ten days. After one month, two months, ten days they died. Thus the Naga prince Punaparanta, younger brother of Bhuridatta, minister of Datharattha king of the Nagas, came to the world of men and twisting his way into the hollow of the palace post he reigned seven years with the queen Hlasandi.

THE COMING OF THE NAGANAING.

Now while the Naga prince Punaparanta reigned, a youth from
the Brahmin village sojourned at Taxila with his teacher studying the arts. He studied full three years, and these were the arts he learned. In all one year he learned but a single word. When another year came round he learned another word; and again he studied yet another year. These were the words he studied for full three years; "Frequent questions beget answers", "Frequent goings take one far", "Sleep not nor slumber and you will live long". These three words he studied for three years, and so he left his teacher and returned.

As he journeyed by the way he entered a village and made quest and question. Thereby he learned the custom and speech of the village and country, and with this knowledge he came up the river Irrawaddy. Thus he came upstream, one day, two days, three days, four days, five days, six days, seven days, eight days; and frequent goings took him far and he reached the town Onbaung that leans on Mount Mali. In that town he tarried resting for one day, two days.

While thus he tarried resting, the people of that town and the village folk were whispering together. What were they whispering?—"In all our kingdom of Kamboja Thintawe there is none to enjoy the umbrella and the throne. None save the queen!" When thus they spake he questioned them three times saying "Hath your king of Kamboj? Thintawe gone forth into the forest? Or hath he set forth to battle Wherefore is he not here?" And the towns people and village folk replied "He is dead". Again the prince asked them "Wherefore is he dead?". They answered "Queen Hlasandi is joined in union with the Naga king' And whenever a son of man become king, the Naga king striketh and slayeth him. One for a month, one for ten days, only for seven days or eight they enjoyed prosperity on the throne. Thereafter died the man-king because the Naga king struck and slew him. Five and thirty is the tale of kings who have died. And because the Naga king struck and slew them and they died oft there is no king to enjoy the prosperity of the umbrella and the throne".

The youth thought in his heart "I will go and be king!" And he bathed his body and cleansed it; bowed down and did obeisance worshipping the Three Gems, his great grandparents, grandfather, grandmother, mother and father, the spirits who keep watch and ward over the great religion, the spirits who keep watch and ward over cities and border villages, spirits of umbrella-shaded thrones, umbrella-shaded beds; and so turning his face towards the Isle of Fruppavideha he came to the kingdom of Kamboja Thintawe.

Now on his way thither he came to a large village Konthathaungsun, whereof the coming Buddhas sported and made merry what time they were true golden sheldrakes. Entering that village the fair youth abode beneath a great banyan tree alone. While thus he tarried the young maidens of the country town all richly dight and comely in ornaments and raiment of many colours, came dancing gaily as they were going to see a festival, and lo! they were singing in concert this prophetic song: "In all our kingdom of Kamboja Thintawe is none to enjoy the prosperity of the umbrella and the throne. None save the queen!" Hearing these
words the fair youth besought them saying "Good people, when ye say that in your kingdom of Kamboja Thintawe there is no king to enjoy the prosperity of the gold umbrella and the throne, none save the queen Hlasandi, how mean ye? Hath your king of Kamboja gone forth into the forest, or hath he set forth to battle? Wherefore is there no king?" Thrice he asked, and the folk answered "He is dead." "Wherefore is he dead?" he asked again. "The queen is joined with the Naga, and whenever a man becometh king he is struck and slain by the Naga king. One for a month, one for ten days, only for seven days or eight they reigned on the throne; then they were struck and slain by the Naga king. Five and thirty are the man-kings who have died. And because they have ever died being struck and slain by the Naga king, there is no king to enjoy the prosperity of the gold umbrella and the throne." The fair prince thought in his heart "I will go and be king!"

What were the folk saying?—"White, blue, dusky, yellow—he cometh from the south—the future king, son of a good man and true. Aye may he win the victory, the victory!" So the maidens prophesied, and the prince sounded and besought them saying "O mothers, how comes it that in the kingdom of Kamboja Thintawe there is no king to enjoy the prosperity of the umbrella and the throne?" Thus he entreated them, and the village maidens said "King Thambawka, ruler of our kingdom of Kamboja Thintawe, floated alive his two blind sons in a raft on water. And he said 'It were unfruitful, unseemly, yea verily a dishonour, a disgrace for it even to come to the ears of kings of the divers kingdoms. It were a poor thing, alas! if all the kings were to hear.' And his heart broke incontinent and he forsook his body and vanished. And the kings who reigned after him enjoyed the prosperity of the golden throne only a month, ten days, seven days, and because they died oft, now only queen Hlasandi is merry with the Naga on the golden throne. Five and thirty is the tale of kings struck and slain by the Naga king. And now there is none to enjoy the prosperity of the golden throne, for they live in fear of that Naga king. Now these are the words uttered and proclaimed by the masters of white magic and black: 'The future king' they cry, 'who is able to kill the Naga king, cometh from due south on the full moon day of Tabaung.' This day is the thirteenth waxing of Tabaung. The day after tomorrow cometh the future king, even he who shall conquer the Naga and enjoy the throne." Again the villagers said "Fair youth, the day after tomorrow we also go to the city of Kamboja Thintawe to see the festival, prithee come with us." The future king made promise saying "It is well."

HE BECOMES KING.

That night Sakra came to him and said "Prince! Fair prince! Thou surely art he who shall rule and govern the kingdom of Kamboja Thintawe from tomorrow early. Early tomorrow morning" said he "prithee go with me." The prince answered "It is well." Next morning betimes Sakra came with his fairy horse and fairy raiment and went ahead with the prince in human guise. Thus the prince and Sakra reached the foot of a great banyan tree near the city of Kamboja, and there Sakra gave the
fairy raiment and horse unto the prince saying "See here, fair prince! I pray thee, take this raiment and my horse and let me go meantime where I have need. Fair prince, I will return at noon. And if I come not again, wear thou the raiment, mount the horse and go to see the festival." So he vanished.

Now as soon as noon was in the zenith the people of KomboJa shouted "Victory! Victory!" and suddenly the whole town was in an uproar. The prince hearing the shouts and outcry of the whole town put on the fairy raiment and ornaments and mounting the horse made haste and entered the city. And because it was a fairy horse he thrice circled the palace keeping it on his right, and dismounting from the fairy horse he ascended the palace. Then when they saw the prince he host of ministers and people bowed down their heads and having done obeisance they gave him in marriage to queen Hlasandi.

AND SLAYS THE NAGA.

At nightfall, when he had ended speech and counsel with the ministers, they returned each to his home and the prince lay down to sleep on the golden bed. Then Sakra came again and taking the guise of a man he said to the prince "O prince, be mindful and forget not the words thy teacher taught thee. Prince! Prince!" he said "Arise! Make quest and question. Why sleepest thou?" Thus Sakra aroused him and vanished away. And the prince rose suddenly from the bed whereon he slept all richly dight with the seven gems, and stepping down therefrom he asked queen Hlasandi "O queen, how many were the kings who reigned in this golden palace one after another?" And the queen said "The kings who reigned in this golden place were five and thirty." And she said "Those kings enjoyed the prosperity of the golden throne but for one month, ten days, seven days, eight days." Then the prince asked "O queen, five and thirty kings enjoyed the prosperity of the golden throne but for one month, ten days, seven days, eight days. Surely their time of reigning was not long. Why so? That five and thirty kings should die hath no show nor likelihood. 'Tis a dishonour, a disgrace, And none save thou, O queen, canst rede the matter." But the queen abode silent. Now the prince was fain to know what happened to those kings, and he asked the queen again and yet again. So at the last the queen made answer saying "O prince, thus it is and not otherwise. The Naga who lives in the hollow pillar of the central palaces where now thou takest solace, lord of the golden throne,—he taketh the guise of man and honoureth me and loveth me, and whenever a son of man ascendeth the throne and hath his pleasure, the Naga is jealous and he striketh and slayeth him. Thus five and thirty kings in all have died." And as she spake the prince laid it to heart thinking "Because the queen and the Naga plotted deceitfully and compassed it, these kings have died." And again he asked the queen. "O queen doth the Naga come daily or doth he come but seldom? I would know the time when he cometh." Yet again he asked her and she said "Great king, the time of the Naga's coming is this: he cometh at midnight. And when he cometh, cometh a soft breeze with a small rain. Neither cometh he every day but once only in seven days. It is now the seventh day, he will come
tary, and the prince said: 'O queen, Nagas and men are not alike in kind. Take heed and know that if other kingdoms, towns, and villages hear that man and Naga live in union it will be a disgrace, a disgrace. Howbeit, O queen, tell me how I must plan the capture of the Naga.' Thus straitly questioned the queen replied: "Great king, cut thou the trunk of a plantain tree according to thy length as thou sleepest in bed, and make it in thy likeness as if thou, my young lord, art sleeping on the bed. Cover it with three folds of white cloth, and keeping an oil-lamp burning at the head stand thou, my young lord, out of danger holding thy sword. When the Naga cometh he will strike at the figure on the bed; and when he striketh his fangs will catch in the cloth, and while thus he is entangled thou mayest cut and slay him with thy sword.

Even as the queen said, the prince, when daylight was come, wrapped a plantain trunk with white cloth so that it looked like himself sleeping on the bed, and kept an oil-lamp burning. And he abode in silence, sword in hand, under the tazung pyathad. And when the hour was come the Naga, seeing the plantain trunk in the semblance of a prince on the bed, deemed it verily the prince, and he was swollen with pride and wrath. From the likeness of a Naga he changed into that of a snake and struck. In his wrath the fangs of the Naga were caught in the white cloth spread over the plantain trunk, and while the white cloth and he were entangled the prince cut him with his sword into three parts. Thereafter he lifted up his voice and cried "I have conquered!" And all the ministers and people came running in haste every man to the palace. And the prince told them "I have conquered the Naga. And he cut the Naga into three parts and kept them in the palace; and the folk held festival and made merry for full seven days.

THE QUEEN'S RIDDLE.

Now the queen still yearned after the Naga, and she gave a thousand coins for his skin to be peeled. Again she gave an hundred coins for it to be stitched. But though she paid a thousand coins for the peeling and an hundred for the stitching, yet her heart was not loosened but aye she yearned for the Naga. Then the queen bethought her how the prince might die. She said "The prince and I will hide a riddle between us. Prince!" she cried "if thou canst solve it within seven days, slay me. If thou canst not solve it, let me slay thee." So they spake and hid a riddle between them. How hid they the riddle? "Peeled with a thousand—stitched with an hundred"—thus they hid the riddle.

The prince, though he thought to solve the riddle hidden by the queen, could not solve it. Thinking and pondering on the riddle for six days he made the circuit of his kingdom. And he said "Albeit I think and ponder I cannot find the word." And he made a solemn vow saying "If verily I shall find an answer to the riddle, may now the sword and food bundle rise straightway from the water and reach my hand!" And he dropped them into the water. Now when he dropped them they sank forthwith into the water, and tarrying thus but an instant they rose.
up to the surface a white mass. And as they rose they came upstream and entered once more into the prince's hand.

THE COMING OF THE KING'S PARENTS.

Now the prince's mother and father said: "Our son ever since he was fifteen years old hath been at Taxila, and having learnt the arts from his teacher at Taxila for full three years hath not returned home." And hearing that he had gone up country they came after from the Brahmin village, meaning to follow and make search for him. When they entered the town of Malitaungsun and heartened to the news, lo! the townsfolk were saying among themselves: "A young prince, some twenty years of age, from the Brahmin village, who hath returned from studying at Taxila, hath slain the Naga in the kingdom of Kamboja Thintawe and become king. And now the king and queen are hiding a riddle between them for a wager." When the prince's parents heard thereof they thought "Verily it is our son," and leaving the town of Malitaungsun they reached Inpauk at the foot of a mountain on the river bank below the great city of Kamboja Thintawe.

Now they were sore tired, and untying the bundle of food they had brought they ate. And as they ate, Sakra taking the guise of crows male and female abode not near nor far from the place where the old couple were eating. When they had finished their meal they divided the bundle of food into three parts and gave away one part. And the two crows ate their fill; and having eaten, the female crow said "Husband, we have eaten well today, for grandpapa and aunt have fed us. But where shall we eat tomorrow?" Then the male crow answered: "Wife, in the kingdom of Kamboja Thintawe the king and queen have spoken a wager, and the prince will lose, for he cannot solve the queen's riddle and she will slay him. Therefore we shall eat our fill". Thus he said, and his wife asked him: "Husband how have the king and queen hidden their riddle?" Said he "The riddle is this: Peeled with a thousand—stitched with an hundred. Even about the Naga's skin hath the queen twisted and hidden a riddle so cunningly that the prince cannot think of it, but the queen meaneth to slay him". Thus said the male crow to the female. After the words she spake the place is still known as Htiluga; the ancients called it Kyisokya.

As soon as they heard the crows' words the prince's mother and father tardied not a moment but came on in haste. It was even as the prince dallied among his minions at the riverport, that he met them. And seeing them he wept, for he had not met them for a long while. And his parents said: "Good son, weep not. Why dallest thou thus in the company of young people at the riverport?" "Father and mother, try as I may I cannot solve the riddle hidden betwixt me and the queen. Therefore must I even dally with young people at the riverport". His parents said: "Why art thou anxious? We will unravel the riddle ye have hid. Only return to thy golden palace". And as they said they gat them home with the prince to the golden palace.
THE SOLVING OF THE RIDDLE.

Early next morning when they had come to the palace he called the executioner with the unflinching hand together with the folk and ministers, and conferred with them in the presence of the queen saying: "It is now seven days, I will unravel the riddle hidden betwixt me and thee." "Great king," quoth she "unravel it!" "The riddle hidden by thee, O queen, is this: Peeled with a thousand—stitched with an hundred. And the interpretation is this: it is even the Naga's skin. Lo! the queen hath given a thousand for the peeling of the Naga's skin and an hundred for the stitching thereof. This is the word, and this only. Thou, my queen, hast plotted my death! She and the Naga dwelt in union together for full seventeen years. Because of her and the Naga, five and thirty kings have enjoyed the umbrella and the throne. If this is all thy doing, alas! thou must have long journeyings in *samsara*. Therefore this day have I unravelled the queen's riddle. Executioners with the unflinching hand, mete ye justice!" And they meted it.

When they cut open her womb and looked, lo! there was an embryo therein, human from head to waist, and a Naga from the waist downwards. The human part they took and kept it pressed under a log beneath a big mango tree west of Tonngê Myohaung. Hence they call it the Tonhpì Naga. The other part they put in a box and pressing it between two forks of cleft bamboo they set it afloat in water. And the people of Hkatakkon town stopped the box and saved it and when they opened it and looked inside they saw the Naga pressed within a roasting-stick; and taking it out they went round showing it to the villagers. Therefore Hkatakkon is now called Kahnyat, because of the Naga they found pressed in a roasting-stick. And Pathamaw is now known as Hingamaw. The place where the crows' talk was overheard is known as Htiluga. The kingdom of Kamboja Thintawe is known as Tagaung because there was but one Naga. The prince, because he was great in glory, might, and dominion, is known as king Zinathiri-thadotha-naganaing.

TAGAUNG.

Before he came to the throne five and thirty kings were struck and slain by the Naga king. Counting these who died and were not of bone royal, all the tale of kings in the kingdom of Kamboja Thintawe was two hundred threescore and five. Tagaung Kamboja kingdom was first built and garnished in the time of Kakusandha the Buddha. The name of the first kingdom was the great kingdom of Thanthara. It was not till later that it was known as the kingdom of Kamboja Thintawe.

THE COMING OF THE PALACE POST.

At that time Thingabatta reigned. He had three queens, Nandadevi, Sunandadevi, and Patadevi. Nandadevi queen of the south palace had one son only, prince Thuta; and because this prince was exceeding great in glory, dominion, and power, the town must needs be enlarged: one mile to the south, one to the north, two to the east, two the west. The number of gates was thirty four. The palace site had also to be changed. Then the palace post for building the palace must needs be sought in M-
Minyèkyetthun, Mt. Thrivantana; Mt. Gandappa, Mt. Upaw, and Mt. Vithagara. There were two fisheries at Mt. Gandappa. One was 500 twin wide; there were three big rocks. The fishery to the north of Taung-in was 600 by 500 twin wide and 60 cubits in depth. The post was obtained from Taung-in near the bank. It was 100 cubits in girth, 150 in height; 80 men were employed in cutting it, 130 men in preparing the way.

It was brought down to Nadaungkya stream. It tarried long on the top of the mount; only after sixteen days did it descend into the stream. Because it descended by means of a log placed beneath it, the place was known as Tonhkin. Where the timber descended a good road was made, for it made a road as it passed; because the road was good the place was called Nankauk. It was a goodly golden palace post, drawn by by 1737 men; and so the place was known as Santaung or Zettaung. While the 1737 men were dragging it, the tip of the timber trembled; therefore the place was known as Thitontaw or Sittontaw. From where the timber-tip trembled as far as Hkawlepinsi the way was known as Hkawlegwa. From Hkawlegwa it reached Chaunggyi- pytungpyan; thence it reached Tonhkan. Because they put logs for fear the palace post should fall to the ground, the place was called Tonhkan. After a month and sixteen days it arose from Tonhkan town. The palace post stayed there because it would not go. So they built a town there and settled in. It was not a town of brick but of earth. From Tonhkan they came to Nattawkyauppon. And the palace post would not follow for it desired a reward; therefore it went not but abode. The reward it desired was this; it wished to remain covered with white cloth; and it would not follow when they dragged it. Therefore they put a knot of cotton and a hank of cotton because they had no white cloth, and so the name of the village was Chihiwe. After Chihtwe village it rested six nights and seven days at the village of Wabotaung-leppansauk. Thence they came down stream along the Kyauttan stream, and thought to cross the Namaw river at the ford from Mt. Taunggyya to Nyaungbinku. But the masters of white magic and black declared that the golden palace post stopped because it desired an offering of gold and silver and a gift of the goods they had with them; for it said "I have been found at Mt. Gandabba; and now who hath brought me eastward, Nga Thawkè, son of the headman of Kyauk-o village hath not received for his solace one jot of glory nor reward." When thus they spake the king gave gifts to Nga Thawkè; for the village of Kyauk-o was great, having 1700 houses. He caused an hundred pieces of gold and an hundred pieces of silver to be offered to the golden palace post; thereafter he gave the gold and silver he had offered, to Nga Thawkè ruler of Kyauk-o. After these offerings to the royal timber, the golden palace post without a man touching it dragged itself to the village of Thwkeyauk-kansek. At first there had been 1737 men to drag it; but after the village of Thwkeyauk-kansek it went drawn only by 100 men. Only 700 men held the rope; 300 merely followed, striking and blowing instruments of music with dancing and singing. Thwkeyauk village had only 700 houses. From Thwkeyauk it was drawn to Ngayin village. Thence the golden palace post would not follow. They sought counsel of the masters of white
chronicle of the city of tagaung.

magic and black who said "O kings it is weary and would fain rest a month." So king Thuta passed one month holding a joyful festival with jewelled elephants, jewelled horses, actors, and them who strike or blow instruments of music. He offered each of the seven gems to the golden palace post. From Nyayin village they drew it to Sunthaik village where they rested till noon. When they reached Inma village near the river Irrawaddy they tarried holding festival for one whole month, and ushered not in the palace post till the full moon day of Tabaung. Then though they were minded to usher it in from the east it followed not, neither from the west, nor from the north. Only from the south-east corner would it follow them. The pit for the palace post was dug at noon on Wednesday the full moon of of Tabaung. When they began to dig the pit a rain of seven gems fell.

the queens of thamadi,

The golden palace was a year and ten months in building. The king was ninety seven years old when he changed his body. When the father died before the palace was finished, his son Thamadi became king. His queens were Suvannadevi queen of the north palace, Suvannapimba, and Padumadevi. Suvannadevi was of noble birth, her parents of ogre race. Suvannapimba was found at the foot of a sayi tree. She was born of heat and moisture, not of man; she was fulfilled with the five elements of beauty. Padumapimba was gotten from a lotus flower; she had no parents. For a hunter seeing a lotus growing in a pond looked daily upon it. One day he went to pluck it. Now it is the nature of lotuses to be in bud one day and in blossom one day; three days is the wonted time for the budding and the blossoming. But this lotus had not blossomed by the seventh day. So the hunter went and looked, and lo! the lotus flower was big—bigger than all lotus flowers and more beautiful. That lotus stalk he took to a hermit living in a hollow on Mt. Gandabba at Ninyê-kyethun, who kept it safe in a lotus jar. And the lotus faded not nor yawned. When the tenth month was come and the birth-hour ripe, the stalk of the bud bent down from the lotus jar and from the bud a babe descended, a girl descended from the lotus chamber. And the hermit took her up and nourished her. He made a solemn vow saying "Let milk flow from my forefinger and thumb." And even as he vowed milk flowed therefrom, and with the milk he suckled the child. When she was fifteen years old the hermit kept her at a fair distance from his cell, and guardian spirits of the mountain taking the forms of men kept watch over her daily, seven each night.

At that time according to his past karma it befell that king Thamadi ruler of the kingdom of Kamboja went for sport in the forest at the foot of Mt. Gandabba. And he saw her, and beholding her he asked: "Lady, whither are thy parents gone? Art thou alone in the forest?" Padumapuppha answered: "my mother is the lotus flower, my father is the hermit." So the king visited the hermit to enquire further; who seeing the king coming asked him: "Giver of charity, O king, whither goest thou?" The king spake into his ear "Master, I have come to visit thee".
The hermit answered "It is well". Then the king asked: "This lovely daughter in thy cell—O master, whence is she? I see not her parents. Whence is she?" The hermit answered: "A hunter came and offered me a lotus flower, and I took and kept it; and when the hour was come I heard the cry of a little girl from within the lotus bud, and when I looked therein I took up the babe and nourished her. Milk flowed from my forefinger and I gave her to drink, and so I have kept and fostered her. Doth the king, giver of charity, desire her?" And the king said "Yea". He answered: "If thou wouldst have my daughter and wilt make her queen and cherish her, then take her." And the king promised even so, and descending from the hermit's room he went to the cell where Padumapuppha abode and besought her saying "I pray thee, come with me to our kingdom." And she said "O king, if thou wouldst have me, first visit my father with the five acs of worship." Thus she spake, and king Thamadi went with her to the hermit's monastery with rare parched rice of gold and silver, golden robes, and the seven jewels; and when they had worshipped, Padumapuppha spake: "Father and lord! I must even now follow the king because thou, my father, hast given me away. If ever I am in dire need and think of thee, mayst thou come to me. If ever I long for thee, may I reach thee?" Thus she besought him and departed. So the king returned to his kingdom with the queen, and when they reached the palace he kept her even as a queen.

At that time he set Suvannadevi on his right hand and Suvannapuppha* on his left, and riding his chariot made the circuit of his realm. Now an upland farmer found a lovely babe beneath a big sāyi tree near Shwekyain, north of the kingdom; and he and his wife kept and nourished her. What time the king made the circuit of his kingdom she was of age, and lo! the chariot stopped even before the farmer's house; for such is the might of mutual prayer and karma. The farmer and his wife seeing the king exclaimed: "He is come to take our daughter!" And the fair damsel stepped not down from the house but tarried at the door gazing. And the king saw her, even Suvannapuppha, and he was filled with love for her insomuch that his hair stood on end and he stood stock-still even as the chariot swung round. Then the king called the farmer and his wife and asked them: "Got ye twain this damsel by conception in the womb, or was she given by Sakra and the spirits?" The old couple answered "We got her not by conception in the womb but of Sakra's giving". So the king entreated them saying "Give her to me. I will treat her even as a queen". They answered and said "Take her". And the king honoured them with the seven gems and departed mounting the chariot with his three queens. Suvannadevi he set in front, Padumapuppha on the right hand, Suvannapuppha on the left. Now Suvannapuppha fell ill of a pox and lost her right eye. And one day the king beholding her smiled. Therefore she was sore ashamed insomuch that her heart was broken and she changed her body.

* Padumapuppha?
THE TRAVELS OF KING SANTARIT.

Suvannadevi had one son only. When the father was no more, his son prince Santarit ascended the throne. King Santarit ministered to the great religion; to this end he sailed down country. At Myedu he dug a well and built a town. Padumapuppha had one son only; to his younger brother the king gave the name Theinthakahn Thadoyanaing. He founded Hkintha west of Myedu building forts of brick, of wood, and of earth. He entrusted his daughter to his uncle for one year nine months and three days, and returning to his kingdom of Kamboja Thintawe he reigned three years. In his desire to minister to the religion he crossed the Irrawaddy and ministered near Namaw to the east. He journeyed with a force of elephants and horses, and by this way he went.

He tarried at Palawannahth hill. Thence he arose and went by the big village of Hngettaw. From Thwekyauk village, built by Nga Kawk of Taungpohla and his wife, he levied 130 trusty men, from Hpettaung town 3,000 trusty men, from Thawkyn-o village 1,000 men each with a jar, from Chaungtha brick and walling. Thence he went by Yeshingyi and tarried at Yatha to see that place, and because he praised and extolled it saying "It is an open and pleasant spot," Yatha is still known as Pwinlan. There he built for seven days; and purposing to make brick the king demanded the bricks at Min village, Htantaw village and Kyisa, which they kept for the making of a reservoir. To his demand they answered "O king, benefactor of the religion, be pleased to take it." Having obtained the present of brick he gave them Thagara, the state-elephant he was riding. Because he gave them a good elephant Yatha Htantaw is known as Hsingaing.

He was minded to build a great gu of gold at Kan-u. And he sat pensive on the howdah; he sat pensive with his face to the north. He built and established a great golden gu and dedicated an ordination hall; he built it in the 20th year of the religion after the lord's Parinirvana. He built a gu at Yatha Htantaw also. Moreover he gave a she-elephant to Hpettaung. These are the trustees of the great gu and the boundaries of the land:

East:—Ending in the lake, Onhne hill at the foot of Mt. Sadwin.

West:—Konyo.

South:—Thayettawpaungbin.

West:—Shauppinchon Insauk.

North:—Kanhpya Leppansi.

He offered by pouring waterdrops a chapter of nine men to look after and repair the two pagodas and ordination hall. These are their names:

Nga Hpyo  Nga Pe
Nga Nyo  Nga Kaw
Nga Hua  Nga Hla
Nga Aung  Nga San

Nga Kawhla

These men king Santarit offered pouring waterdrops from a golden Kettle. All who worked or lived in the pagoda precincts, land or water,
were constrained to pay land-revenue; each must send in thirty baskets of paddy.

King Santarit roamed the kingdom and returned. Going by Namaw he moved eastward and returned. He reached Ngayintin village and thence Bawlon. Binhwé, Pansauk, Htantaw, and Thekhliit. And he forgot, and passed one night at Othot; therefore it was called Ontaik. And because he forgot and passed one night there, it was called Thekhliit. Thence he reached the country village of Thayèchìwun. After such travel the king was sore tired and laid himself down. The place where he laid himself down was known as Mintabìi. Thence he came to Indaingtha. Seeing the king come to Indaingtha the village-headman sat on the cart together with the king; because he stayed on the cart the place was known as Hèbaw. From Indaingtha he reached Pinlon village which was known as Pinhauk. When the king came from Pinhauk to Chihtwe a woman with a knot of cotton ran down from her house and fled; therefore Kyaussayit hill was called Chihtwe. After Kyaussayit hill the king slept in Kontha field at the village of Inbinhla. While thus he slept rain fell at night, and a cocoanut came floating with the hill water to Kontha field; therefore it was called Onmyaw. From Kontha field he reached the stream Ye-e; thence he reached the big village of Chaungtha. At Chaungtha he felt stiff in his limbs and stretching out his legs he rolled them from side to side and folded them; therefore was that called the stream of Zin. Measuring the water in Ye-e stream he found that Chaungtha was one ywegyi higher; and it was known as Sinywetha. After Chaungtha he stopped at Tonhkan town. Thence he went to the big village of Chaungtha; where he tarried.

Thereupon the guardian spirits of the hill and the guardian spirits of the stream might not linger but taking the form of men they went into the king’s presence. And the king thought: “I will go to Mt. Gandabba and plant on Mt. Gandabba my throne and its umbrella, my bed and its umbrella.” The spirits knowing his thought looked with eyes of spirits to see if they could stop the king. They saw that they would not be able to stop him and they knew why even because he was so great and glorious and full of dominion and power; therefore they would not bow his head to the spirits, but the spirits would have to bow their heads to him. And the spirit himself, guardian of Mt. Gandabba, took a flower-offering and assuming the form of man he spake to the king “It is too far, so many ta distant.” Village after village the chain of villages is too long.” Thus spake the guardian spirit of Mt. Gandabba, and he gave the flower-offering to the king. But the king made answer: “Man, I wish to climb Mt. Gandabba and see the stump of the palace post cut by my father. I mean to go.” When thus he spake two young spirits said: “Mt. Gandabba hath four storeys; the great Mt. Ganda on the top of Mt. Gandabba hath a great rock mat on the way. The shape of the mount is even as a mountain turned upside down, like a hollow cup. O king, chariots cannot go, nor elephants nor horses. The way is hard.” The king in answer questioned them: “Ye say so, but have ye ever been there?” They replied: “in our father’s time, when the golden palace post was cut, our
father was amongst the number. They could not have brought down the palace post, had not the guardian spirits of the mountain all joined to help them. If thou believe us not, O king, send youths to enquire.” And the king asked: “Lives any who was present what time the palace post was cut?” Then a young spirit said: “My father was there. He is even now amongst us.” “Call thy father at once.” So they caused a young spirit to take the guise of an old man. He came, and the king asked him: “Old man, how high is this mountain?” “It is high, O king. And the shape of the mountain is like a hollow cup, with three tiers. There are three great rock-mats on the way. It is a big mountain. One must needs climb life upwards. The mountain is like a hollow cup. Mt. Gandabba to the north, Mr. Gantāra to the south, the garden of forest flowers to the east, Mt. Shwe to the west. These four mountains are ten thousand miles apart. There are two fisheries also; the two fisheries are two miles apart. The post fell with its top east of the south fishery, and its base towards the south west. I myself had to cut it. The way thither is hard.” Thus he spake; to the king, and the king believed him and went not to Mt. Gandabba. Because the spirits came imploring him and giving him flowers, that stream is known as Nappan to this day.

From that stream he turned back and went to Lanku town. From Lanku he turned back to Namawna, and passing along Namawna crossed to Hpettaung town. While he tarried at Hpettaung he went to Shauttaw Ingyi and called the head man saying “Here is a village where a town should be built. The slopes are broad and pleasant. The ground also is tender and young.” Thus the king praised and extolled it and planted there the flower gracing his ear, and it was called Pannyotaung village. He dwelt at Kongyi-shauttaw, calling Nga Yi, and reigned there for three years. And when king Santarit had reigned till he was six score years of age, he departed changing his body.

THE BLIND TWINS.

His son Hpottharaja sat on the throne and reigned seventeen years, King Hpottharaja’s son was Thadosinya. Thadosinya’s son was king Thombawka; his son was Thadosintu. Thadosintu regarded not the four truths; because he lacked truth the water-Naga dwelt in union with the queen. Even after the queen had conceived two princes, she abode in union with the Naga, and the Naga’s breath passed upon the two unborn princes so that the sight of their two eyes vanished, and when the seventh day was come they were born. Thus because they were born blind the king made a raft and setting the two brothers thereon he floated them on water. So the two brothers were set afloat, and eating the food and curry made ready for them they journeyed, knowing not night nor day.

While thus they floated they were caught whirling in an eddy at the overhanging acacia tree close to Mount Minwin. The ogress dwelling in a hollow of the mountain seized the raft and kept it tied to the acacia root. Now at first when the two princes ate their food, they took no more than enough and it sufficed. But one day the ogress put in her hand and ate, and so the food sufficed them not. And the two princes bethought them;
“Brother," said the elder "each day we have had enough to eat. To-day we have not had enough. What shall we do?" And during the meal the elder brother groping after the hand of the younger asked: "Brother, is this thy hand?" "Nay" said he. Grasping therefore the ogress' hand he held it, and covering her with his sword he asked "Whose hand is this?" The ogress answered "It is mine". "Who art thou?" he asked. "I am the ogress guardian of the hill" she said. "Thou art of an hairy race". So saying he drew his sword and as he was about to kill her the ogress said "Strike me not, I pray, I will set free your raft. I will cure you, princes twain, so that ye receive your sight. Kill me not, I pray". "Tush! ogress, thou sayest this only to escape our hands. How canst thou cure us if it be the result of our karma in a former life?" Thus they spake to the ogress, but she said "O princes twain, fear ye not at all. Give me water from the sword in your hand. I will take a great oath. When thus the ogress spake the two princes uttered a great oath and dipping the sword in water they caused her to drink the water. Thereupon they asked "Shall we be free in seven days?" She answered "Not in seven days will ye be free. The cure will take three or four. And the herb is not here. I cannot apply it until the seventh day is come". When thus she said they set the young ogress free, and she untied and loosed the raft. Then straightway she went to the seven-piled mountain ranges of Thattaraban and to the seven-piled seven ridged heights of Thita, and making a cone out of a rose-apple leaf she begged Panande the Naga king of Thita for the Thita water at the foot of Mount Thurikan. He gave her only a coneful, and she brought it safely away. By this the seventh day was come and she found the two princes. Finding them she called out and asked after them. Thrice she called "O princes twain!" and they made answer. And she said "I have come. Now princes, I will cure you. Here am I". So saying she applied the medicine. The place where the medicine was first applied was known as Sagu. By Sakra's aid the raft again went upstream, and so the light first dawned on them; the place is still known as Salin. After Salin they rested a night, and when the sun rose next morning they saw the light on the raft; thereafter the place was known as Hpaungnin. Thence they reached Mobonmyeti. And the two royal brothers, now that the workings of their former karma were ended, saw with their eyes and seeing they exclaimed "The sky is not dusty, the earth is sure"; therefore the place was called Mobonmyeti.

Now that their eyes were opened the two princes were fain to walk abroad from Myeti. They stopped the raft there and landed; hence the name Yatek. And because they had not ere this set foot on dry land, they knew not how to walk fearing that the great earth, twelve score thousand yojanas thick, would crumble beneath them. Bent and bandy-kneed they seemed in their gait, thumping the ground. One day, two days, thus, the brothers walked distractedly lurching this way and that. At length they reached the hermit's cell.
THE HERMIT’S DAUGHTER.

Now there was a river behind the cell where the hermit dwelt. And the hermit bored a gourd with a pin and caused his daughter to draw water daily at the river-port. When the two princes saw the girl thus constrained to draw water they asked her: "Damsel, what is this? Is there a village hard by, that thou abidest alone in the dense forest?" "There is no village hard by, only the hermit’s cell." "Oh!" said they, "is the hermit’s cell far or near?" "Not far nor near," said Shindwe the hermit’s daughter, "it is only about 300 ta there and back." "Damsel, where live thy parents?" "My parents? I have none save the hermit." The two princes asked her again: "Thou sayest thy father is the hermit. Be it so. Thy mother is she a woman, a spirit or an ogress?" Then Shindwe, the hermit’s daughter, told them "My mother is the deer. For so it was that she drank and fed at the place where my father made water. Thus she conceived, and thus they say I am the hermit’s daughter." Thereafter the two princes said "The water-gourd wherewith thou drawest water hath no face to it; therefore the water is loth to enter." And they opened its face and gave it her; and now the gourd was easy to fill with water and she returned in haste. When she reached the cell the hermit asked her "Today thou hast had no ado in coming. Who hath cut the ear of the water-gourd?" She told him "Oh! my lord, at the watering-place two princes bore a hole with the sword and gave it me." Thus she spake in his ear. The hermit asked her "What! Hast thou met two princes?" she said "Yea." And she told her father the hermit "They have stayed behind eating food." He said: "Call them now." So his daughter Shindwe went and called them, and they followed her.

Now when they reached the hermit’s cell the two princes begged leave and ate lemons, citrons, and pomeloes. peeling them with the sword. They finished one fruit, two fruits, three fruits, yet even five fruits. And the hermit asked "Are they not sour eating? In truth the fruits are sour. "Nay," said the princes "they are not sour": for they knew not what was good to eat nor what was not good, neither the sweet nor the bitter nor the hot. And they asked the hermit "What fruits are they?" He asked them "Whence come ye, from what land or village? Ye know not sweet nor sour, the lemon nor the citron fruits! Did your parents never shew you them nor tell you? What is your home?" They told the hermit "Our home is on Mt. Sakkaingti, at the southern corner of Ozek near the river Irrawaddy. We know not even whether our parents are alive or not. Our mother’s name is queen Hasandi, our father king Thambawka. From the day of our birth we have lived seventeen years taking shelter under the shadow of the umbrella and the throne. In this present visible world we twain have been blind because we had not worked out the consequences of our former acts but still were victims of sin. We were set afloat on board a ship-raft. Therefore we know not sour fruits, citrons nor lemons; we know not sweet nor sour, hot nor salt, bitter nor parching. Now that we have worked out the consequences of our former acts, and because we have done no ill in this present life, the ogress who was our mother in a past life hath cured us, though we have
been long blind, and now we see. Therefore we know not sweet nor sour, hot nor bitter, white nor red, evil nor good." "That knife ye carry in your hands—is that the knife your father gave you?" "Yea." "It is in truth a marvellous knife" said the hermit praising it; "I will marry you to my daughter Shindwe. Ere the seventh day is come, build me a town" he said.

BUILDING OF YATHEMYO.

Even Sakra and the spirits could not forbear but with one accord they built the town saying "Verily these royal brothers are worthy of the seven bones—the bone of royalty, the bone of rule, the bone of throne—sway of having their secundines washed in a golden salver, of having the white kyaing umbrella held before them of wielding the sword and riding the chariot, and of receiving as lord the seven gems. The town was called Yathe town, and this is the manner of its building: The east face and the south face were built by Sakra and the Spirits, the north face and the west face by ogres and demons. The width of the town was 500 twin from south to north, 500 twin from east to west. There were three lines of moats; one line was encircled by the Naga, one was dug by pigs, one by ogres. Two live celestial weapons were found, a knife and a lance; a celestial chariot too was found when the building of the palace was complete. Thus the palace was built after the town.

BIRTH OF DUTTABAUNG.

After one or two years’ sojourn in the palace the elder brother Mahathambhawa lost his body. His younger brother Sulathambhawa reigned keeping his brother’s queen. He took her even as she was impregnate with his brother’s seed. After three years three days she gave birth, on the third waxing of Tabaug. Before his birth the babe cried to his mother: "Lo! I am coming out. Which way shall I come?" He issued not after the manner of men. He opened her side and was born holding the ashthata herb. At his birth the guardian spirits of that land, town, water, earth, trees, soil, and sky marvelled and proclaimed it. Taking the form of man they kept watch over him. He was a wondrous prince, and why? Men by nature have but two eyes, but he was not so; he had three eyes. When he looked up the spirits of the sky durst not linger but did obeisance. When he looked down, they came from the Naga country and did obeisance. He got four celestial things—a chariot, a lance, a knife, and an elephant. The celestial chariot was borne by the Assaka flying horses. This king, the possessor of these four celestial things, was called Dwetabaung because he was begotten by the two brothers Sulathambhawa and Mahathambhawa. Again king Dwetabaung, because he had three eyes, was called king Twattabaung.

BUILDING OF THAREHKETTARA.

When Mahathambhawa passed away after ten years at Yathe town king Dwattabaung reigned. He took an hundred hermit skins from the country of his grandfather the hermit, skins which were not split nor cut nor riddled nor torn, and cut them into a hermit-ropes therewith he made-
a circle and built a town still known as Tharehkettara. His kingdom was exceeding wide, one hundred yojanas; one hundred yojanas to the east, west, south, and north, upward and downward. Not only all men dwelling in those parts, even the lower animals, every one, might not approach without doing obeisance. The generations of its kings were thirty three; the city lived but for three hundred and thirty five years. King Twatta-baung was exceeding great in glory and dominion. When he looked up, the spirits durst not linger but needs must come bringing gifts. When he looked down, all creatures and animals living below did obeisance. But because he was so great in glory and dominion Sakra and the spirits were jealous of him, and in the guise of man offered him a foul kerchief. And when the king chanced to rub himself therewith, the eye in his forehead vanished and the heavenly spirits did not obeisance as before; they lingered and brought no gifts.

RISE OF PAGAN.

After those days the building of Paukkarama first began, after Tharehkettara. The king who built the town was Thamattarit. In his reign a great wind spoiled it, a great gourd spoiled it, a great bird spoiled it, a great boar spoiled it. It was thus spoiled because the king regarded not the Four Truths. Now Sakra was minded to destroy these unnatural creatures, that they should not endanger the world of men. Moreover the Lord uttered a prophecy; he spake of the thirty three kings of Paukkkan kingdom beginning with the boar, bird, gourd, and flying squirrel. On a day when the young spirits descended, Zanthi, daughter of Dettaratha, king of the Nagas, came to the land of men seeking a husband and espoused the sun spirit on Mount Malè. When she had conceived, the sun spirit returned to the land of spirits, and the Naga passed in the likeness of a snake as far far as Mount Mueippa, where at the mouth of a cave she laid her eggs, the fruit of her union. There were three eggs. One egg was two spans three fingers round. A hunter in the forest not knowing it to be a Naga egg, took it away hanging it on his crossbow; the mountain where he found the egg was called Mount U. This egg came to Mount Thattara, and falling from the bow it brake; and lo! the lymph it seemed, was full of blood; and the hunter left the broken egg and departed. That blood became a ruby mine. Mount Thattara being very high was known as Mount Mogok; coming from that mountain one reaches Chaunggyi-yatha. One egg burst of itself. One was taken by a hunter, and becoming man in lower Paukkarama—a man destined to slay the thorn and prick of enmity—slew enmity even as the Lord had prophesied; who spake of the five and fifty kings of Paukkkan dynasty beginning from the reign of animal kings; thirteen in Myinhsaing; thirty in Sagaing: five and twenty of the bone of kings at Pinya: five and thirty at Ava. "Thereafter the life of towns not held by kings will be this: Konbaung twice, Sagaing once, Ava in its line of victory twice. Then after a line of fifteen kings Ava will be known as Ampa—

*Lit. below.*
pure with a break of fifty-five generations. When the break of five and fifty generations has come to an end, the king of Konboung shall end the break and set up his umbrella and throne saying: "I will set up the umbrella and throne in that kingdom which is numbered among the cities prophesied. And there he shall build the Shwetaza pagoda."

THE BUDDHA'S PROPHECY.

Now the Lord, in preaching to the king Alaung at Sagaing on the ridge of Mount Minwun, prophesied that the dynasty of kings would number thirty-three. And Kakavunna king of the crows was dwelling at Sagaing at the end of Mount Minwun, and ruled five hundred crows. While thus he dwelt, our Lord came with forty myriad saints to the end of Mount Minwun and gave his prophecy. And the crow-king said: "It is the nature of Buddhæ to receive offerings"; and he and his five hundred crows took honeycombs and after the manner of birds offered the honeycombs to the great Lord and his Order of forty mysriads. And when they had offered them, all the crows shut their two wings and bowed their heads to the ground, and plunging their beaks into the ground they did obeisance. Seeing their act he smiled. And Ashin Ananda spake into his ear and asked "Why smilèst thou?" "Beloved monks; when a thousand and an hundred years of my religion are complete, that crow shall become king. And he shall set up his umbrella and throne in the kingdom of Ava, the golden kingdom. And when he is about to fall, the empire-builder shall abandon his umbrella and his throne and flee. After nineteen hundred and ninety years the city shall fall. In the year 116 Alaung the crow-king shall be king, and he shall sit on the throne for three years".

Then an ogress cut off her breast and offered it to the Lord. But the Lord all-wise, crown of the three human kinds, would not accept it, but knowing of all former lives he looked to see if former Buddhas had accepted such a gift, and seeing that they had done so, he accepted it. "When seventeen hundred years of my religion are complete one with deformed limbs shall reign as king. And when he reigneth, having a great longing for samsara, he shall leave no heir. In the time of king Aheinda the religion shall be broken and a new religion established. In the time of that king war shall punish them, war in the south-east corner of the kingdom. After his reign, when seventeen hundred years are complete, an ogress shall reign, and live to the age of eight score and ten. While the ogress reigns all four quarters of the kingdom shall be happy. The people, laymen and monks, shall give their labour to good works and have mutual love, kindness, and affection for each other. Seventeen years after that king a snake shall reign. After the snake Heinnu an ogre shall reign. After the ogre a city shall be founded in the upper region in the parts of Leppantongyi below Singu, and that kingdom shall be called Thethapadaung."

Thus the All-wise Lord prophesied to the end that we may know and distinguish and mark each several fact, omitting none, concerning human beings, animals, buffaloes, oxen, dogs, pigs, fowl, birds, tigers, cats, hogs-
CHRONICLE OF THE CITY OF TAGAUNG.

So clerks of old have taught. The nine Brahmases first came from Kamboja kingdom (the four Lords were each of several kingdoms); but because dynasties often arose therein it could not be bright nor shine. The kingdom of Tagaung Kamboja was built at the beginning of the world. It was a great kingdom. From it the cities of Yathe in the kingdom of Thathettara, Paukkan, Myinzaing, Sasaing, Panya, and Ava took their origin, also the sixteen kingdoms all, which dated even from the creation of the world; hence the many changes they endured.

Kamboja kingdom stood on the west bank of the Irrawaddy. Only in the times of Thadonaganaing after Thadosintu, was it known as Tagaung. Thadonaganaing reigned for seven years. After Thadosintu the water-Naga king an unnatural monster, reigned for seventeen years and departed his body. When the Naga became king, Thadosintu’s son Thadokyaus-she sailed away by ship. Not until eighteen years after the Naga’s death returned he home and ruled.

PAGAN SIGON.

The king of Pagan rained down precious gems, showers of gold and showers of silver insomuch that the whole realm did works of charity and merit. In those days was none who could make brick to build a *sedi* *pahto*. He caused brick to be made giving an hundred pieces of silver for an hundred bricks. Thereupon the whole town did works of merit and virtue. The good karma of his former lives was the cause that this great king who ruled Pagan rained showers of gold and silver, stone, iron, and rubies, fraught with the seven gems. Therefore the king be thought him that forsaking his palace and umbrella it were best for him to practise piety. In those days the whole realm took every man a brick and built a *sigon*. The number of bricks was 237,540. The earth that entered beneath was 106 cubits deep. The square shoe was 502 cubits on each side. The height was 1560 cubits. The *thattana* was an hundred *tia* of gold with an hundred each of stone, iron, and rubies. Images of elephants, horses buffaloes and oxen were each adorned with an hundred baskets of gold. The date of the *Sigon* was the 96th year after the Lord’s *Parinirvana*. Hearing that this great king who had built the Lord’s similitude had called ten thousand ministers and gone to Mt. Thidovadana, the people of three kingdoms from Tonngê, Tagaung, Kamboja and Pagan city together with their kings with hosts of elephants and horses and search, but he was lost. Because the guardian spirits of the mountain hid even
the king and all his followers Thaugngwek was known as Hnahkwek. Thereafter Tagaung took the city of Pagan and ruled it. In the year 99 the Pagan Sigon was dedicated. The number of people offered was 153.

THE RUIN OF TAGAUNG.

When Thadokyausshe had enjoyed the golden throne till the seventy-ninth year of his age, he departed his body. His son king Thottabingaha sat on the throne. He regarded not the law of truth. He took his stepmother to wife. He took even his mother and his younger sisters. He sinned against the wife and children of others. He followed the habit of fishermen and hunters. Because he was unrighteous the city was destroyed by water. Sakra and the spirits could not forbear but took the shapes of turtles while the river water rushed into the town. Therefore the town perished; the palace also perished.

REVOLT OF THE TWELVE VILLAGES.

Thereafter the people of the great villages of Kongyi, Hpettaung, Thwekyauk, Kyauk-o, Thawchin, Hsingaung, Kontha, Pwinlan, and Yeshin brought no more tribute nor gifts but abode hardening their hearts. They went over to Shwenanshin of Shweli and Kyainghon. Thereupon the city of Tagaung sent for them with ceasing words, but the people of the great villages would not come but abode rebellious. Shwenanshin of Shweli and Kyainghon sent an host of mighty men under two heroes to march to Thobonsaw, even to his grandson Thobonsaw. Passing by Hpettaung Kongyi he established his army on the river Shweli and sojourned there lighting a beacon. Prince Thottathingaha, son of Thadokyausshe, sojourned establishing his army at Thayettaw Chaungtha. Thatinsaw, the chief minister from Tagaung Kamboja, came to parley together with seventy men, and sojourned establishing his army at Thayettaw Chaungtha village. Parley was made, but ever the rebel's said: "Kamboja land is ours; yet the folk of the thirty two villages have not come over to us. From of old we have been servants of our father, Shwenanshin of Kyainghon, under one tract together with the people of Hpeknaw. We are his faithful servants guarding his life." But the folk of the thirty-two villages were ill content with the speech of the people of the great villages Kongyi, Hpettaung town. Thwekyauk-o, Thawchin, Yeshin, Pwinlan, Thayagon Zingala village, Pwetu, Hnegtaw, and Kontha. "True", said they "if ye are all people of the twelve great villages. But ye have taken by force a woman from among us, and we give her not. Because Thobinsaw, grandson of Shwenanshin, hath spoken words of leasing and confusion, this our woman hath come to confusion". (Because Thirizawkgyi, chief minister of Tagaung, dwelt at Thayettaw, it was called Kogyichaung Thayettaw.) When thus they spake, the people of the great villages Kongyi, Hpettaung, Kyauk-o, and Thwekauk, confessed the truth saying "It is not long that we have been governed by Kamboja. It was not until king Santarit appeared and ministered to the religion, that he exalted us and in his zeal to minister to the religion pressed us into his service. It was in the year 89-
Howbeit the limit of our border villages and tracts is even the bank of the Irrawaddy. Tagaung Kamboja even is our land”.

GONQUESTS OF SHWENANSHIN.

So saying they pursued them; and because of their pursuit Thohon on the river Shweli became Shan. But the Tagaung king said “I will not swear homage to the Shan”, and he crossed the Irrawaddy and fled from Hinthada town. Hearing of his flight Shwenanshin of Kyainghon wished to enlarge his kingdom, and with an host of ministers, elephants, horses and seventeen thousand fighting men himself descended and enlarged his kingdom with the city of Tagaung. His son Thohon beheld to guard the town and advanced to enlarge his kingdom. His eldest son accompanied him. His middle son accompanied him. His youngest son accompanied him. His grandson Thohnsaw he sent with a thousand men to bring down the governor of Kale; who knowing that they sent for him, came to meet him. Mogauung came entreating him: “Dispose of us, we pray thee”; for the line of kings was snapped. They came and did obeisance and swore homage bringing pots of gold and silver, dishes of gold and silver, desiring a king to reign over them. Mohnyin also (for the line of kings was snapped) came entreating him with a gift of golden network that their town might be his care. Moreover Kale came and did obeisance and swore homage; and he appointed a governor of the town. The Sawbwa also came and did obeisance and swore homage; also one who had been exalted to be deputy now came with gifts of as hundred knives. Kale also came offering a viss of gold and an hundred viss of silver. The king appointed his grandson Thohon viceroy. He gave Mogauung to Thohon. Mohnyin also he gave to Thohon. Molon he granted to Thomat. Mowun he granted to Thochi. Moreover the city of Tagaung he gave to Innmaung head man of the fishery, whom he appointed governor saying “Offer me each year a thousand viss of fresh fish, a thousand viss of pickled fish to eat. Offer me also a thousand viss of fish paste”. Thus Tagaung became servant to the Shan. In the year 1134 Tagaung was declared Shan country.

When his work was done Shwenanshin returned to the city of Kyainghon. He sojourned there three years and moved to the city of Taungzaung. When Shwenanshin was an hundred and forty six years old, he built a golden palace and city at Momeit. He was the first founder of the city of Momeit. In 1146 he completed the settlement of the town. He built the town after first building the central palace. In 1136 the brickwall skeleton of the town was finished. He built the central palace.

THOHON’S REBELLION.

Now Thohon was minded to seize the umbrella and the throne saying “Our father hath collected bricks and made himself king. Shall I seize the throne? We sons are worthy of succession. We will reign in our father’s stead.” So minded he came down with seven thousand men meaning to snatch the throne. He came to Mosit. The road by which
Thobon of Mogauung descended was by Hèchein, Laungbu, Hèthat Taukyapin, Kannaya, and the bank of Kaukku stream, by Mautun Hkapaungtaungpu, Myohladawgyi, and from Tawgyikèhkin to Shwebinhkontaing (cal’ed Hsinhkontaing because there the royal elephant was tethered. Because Nga Mo and Nga Hun, upland farmers, built it, it was called Pekkinma). The ruler of Mohnyin came up from the land of Mogauung. The Sawbwa’s son also came.

Mota, servant of the king, came to Hteinhstin town with an host of elephants and horses and seventeen hundred men. Hearing that the two sons were coming he abode silent, regarding them not. After tarrying thus he remembered that once they were of one mind what time their father was in the fifty third year of his reign. He entreated him therefore: “O Shwenanshin, thy two sons are come to fight thee. They have come nigh to the river Irrawaddy with an host of elephants, horses, fighting men and armour bearers. What counsel shall we take?” “What! my son, thou clairnest to be a man. Thou hadst best take counsel thyself.” His son answered “King! Royal father; give Mogauung a portion of thy territories adjoining the city of Mogauung. And to the elder brother, of Mohnyin, give likewise.” And the father said “It is well!” To the lord of Mohnyin he granted land from Myedu along the Chindwin as far as Nyaunghpyukin. To the brother, lord of Mogauung, he gave land from Katha along Pehkina to Mosit; after building a town he returned. The brother, lord of Mohnyin, also returned after building a town. The king granted Mosit to Thochi, Mohlaing to Thokat. Thus made he grant to each of his five sons, and when now Shwenanshin was full an hundred and fifty six years of age, his body ceased. For an hundred and six years he had reigned at the cities of Momeit and Taunggaing. Before he died he added and built the outer town but ere it was finished his body ceased. The two elder brothers came and built the town which was unfinished. The sons completed the building of Kale, Htilin, Theinni, and Thibaw. The year of the finishing of the outer town was 1179.

THE BAITING OF MOHLAING THOKAT

While thus the town was in building the Sawbwa-governor said “Mine elder brothers are with one accord building the city of Momeit. I must not tarry but go down and work.” So he went down with an hundred and seven thousand men and came to help. But he was too late to build the city, therefore he was fain to dig a moat. The moat he dug was from Mohnyin gate to Hsinkyon gate only; so it was called Thiatwe canal. Thence he dug again, he dug for seventeen days. And when the moat was finished after seven months and six days he returned. On his return the prince fainted by the way before dawn; thereafter the place was known as Meinmaw. He returned and tarried at Mowun. Then his two elder brothers, his younger brother, ruler of Mowun, the ruler of Kale, the son of Mohnyin, together with the Sawbwas of Kale, Htilin, and Theinni, plotted his arrest; but he suffered not himself to be seized but entered the land of the Utiwa. When thus he fled and entering reached the kingdom of the Talot Utiwa, he took him under his charge. And having taken
him he said: "This man is servant of another. It is not right to keep him. He must be sent back. He is son of another island, another realm. When they demand his surrender a great war will arise. Therefore now send him back." While they were sending him, came one from Momeit with a thousand men under command of the lord of Theinni, and demanded him of the Utibwa. And the Utibwa said "Take him, I pray," and delivered him up with many gifts; and the Taloks brought him a strong escort to Momeit.

When they arrived Sawhkan, nephew of the ruler of Kale, said "Our uncle is not from without; he is from within. It is not wise to keep him. It were well if he die: ill if he live. Should he die by poison it were well. Should he die by piercing of the neck it were well. Should he die by descending into water it were well. What? We kings intrigue even against great cities, great kingdoms, great realms, great empires. Are we frightened of death? Oh, shame! In the number of our five uncles it is not well to keep our uncle Mohlaing Kawlat". His uncles and grandfather, lord of the golden throne of Theinni, exclaimed: "Our nephew Sawhkan is no common man. He speaketh straight and to the point" and they exalted him to be their chief. And his grandfather, lord of the golden throne of Theinni, and his uncle of Mogaung and aged kinsmen spake: "Let our grandson settle the whole fate,—beginning, middle, and end—of the Sawbwa Thokat, lord of Mohlaing".

Said he: "What time my grandfather, my uncle's father, was an hundred and fifty six years old, this lord of a golden throne swore homage to him with a mighty oath. That oath of his yet sticketh in mine uncle's belly. Howbeit he came not when the old king departed his body. And yet the Sawbwas came,—yea even the very lord of the golden throne of Theinni, younger brother of the lord of nine hundred thousand men, invited the Mawtatan Shans saying 'Mine elder brother's son is mine also'—they all came from other lands and islands, other territories and kingdoms, to behold the ceremony. What was this uncle thinking, that he remained so? He is like the old fable spoken by the ancients. Once upon a time before the era of the religion the fox, the deer, the crow, the cuckoo, the crane, the edolius, the heron, the owl, and the crow-pecosant held council and conferred together: "There is none to be king among us. If there be none, then other creatures will oppress us". And they said: "The owl is wont to go in search of food at night. The golden crow-pecosant is of the colour of the Lord's robe. The golden peacock is too big in body, his neck is too long. The golden crane would suit, but his mouth is too wide. The edolius maker is too small. The edolius is too whimsical. The golden cuckoo is a doctor. The heron liveth a holy and pious life. The fox is odd, and he is unlike us by nature. The golden deer is too timid, and he also is unlike us by nature. Therefore let our friend the crow be king!" So all the birds with one accord made him king; and it was not long, yea but a month, when he began to take their eggs and eat them. Because they were void of wisdom and prudence all the birds were set at variance. Thus we know their council came to a sorry end. I think likewise. Therefore it.
is not good to keep our uncle abroad; he must be kept always at the
royal feet. It is not good to keep him at Mohlaing Thekkèpyin. There-
fore it is well to keep him within the town”.

Thus he spake to his uncles, and they kept him even as the nephew
of the ruler of Kale decided. The brother, ruler of Mohlaing Thekkèp-
yin was imprisoned in the city of Momeit. And when dispute arose
again, Heinsawkkan the Sawbwa ruler of Kale ordered “His sentence is
final”; after which order he imprisoned the Sawbwa ruler of Mohlaing
and sent him to Thonze. He kept him there for three years and sent for
him after the third year.

ANAWRAHTA OF PAGAN

In these days king Nawrahta went from Paukkan city to the Utibwa’s
kingdom with nine crores eight million men, meaning to demand the
Lord’s tooth. When it was done he granted Pinya to Thokinbwa of
Momeit. King Nawrahta said “Verily it is the land of Momeit”, and he
was fain to ask leave to pass through it, for the land was verily Momeit
land as far down as Kyauttalon. Before he reached Paukkan in the
lower country he built a town at Myinhsaing, and ere he finished it he
went to Paukkan cherishing the tooth- relics. Before he went to the Talot
kingdom he consecrated nine and ninety panlaung and nine ordination
halls. Thereafter he descended to Paukkan and built the Sigon Pagoda.
The same day that he built the Sigon the king beheld a sign, and it was
this. The golden headdress he was wearing fell from his head of its own
accord and returned thereto. The king clung to an hope that he would
ascend the summit of Mount Meru, to Sakra’s realm. He crowned the
Sigon with a hti and while blessings were being called he sojourned seven
days thereby. While thus he tarried it was told him that there was a wild
buffalo in the kingdom who chased the folk and touched them that they
died; they might not escape, Hearing the tidings his royal heart was
roused, and taking the celestial lance he mounted his jewelled elephant
crying.

Aha! These buffaloes—
They mean me ill,
Me, the Thado!
Gah! They shall meet me now.
Let karma end.
Let me meet death.

So king Nawrahta made challenge and went forth to charge on his
jewelled elephant. And seeing the elephant the buffalo rushed on him
kicking up his hoofs, and the elephant seeing him shied. The buffalo
charged home, and the elephant rolled his foot so that the king fell from
the elephant and the wild buffalo gored him that he died.

NARAPATISITHU.

After the death and passing of king Nawrahta Nga Hmankan the
Brahmin became king. After Nga Hmankan Kyanzittha became king.
After Kyanziitha Narapati became king. Thereafter Alaungminsethuthu became king. Narapatisithu had these celestial things a raft, a knife, a lance, cane, yea even an elephant. He was known as Narapatisithu. Upon his thinganek raft he went forth with nine million followers to reach Mt. Meru and climb to Sakra’s realm. And it came to pass that as he went he reached the sea and heard a loud uproar when he neared Paravanukkha. And asking what it meant, they told him it was Paravanukkha.

“If so it be,” he asked them “what rede, my masters of white magic and black?” Said they “Our rede, is flight;” The horse therefore, that he was wont to ride they killed, tied fast with a rope, and hung down at the prow of the raft. As it hung, a great fish came by and seeing it dragged it against the current and released it not for a journey of seven days. Thereat the old folk wept, the young folk laughed. The old folk wept saying “Alas! We had all but died;” The young folk laughed saying “We have been to a place none ever was in before;” And they loosed the horse and let it drop, and so they came to the foot of Mt. Meru.

And the king made as if to climb it. But Sakra knowing that he would surely climb it thought: “If he climbs even to the summit, he will not bow his head even to me, Sakra, but the spirits will be constrained to bow their heads to him.” And Sakra took the guise of man and went in a small boat before the raft. “Who are they?” said the king; “Call the old couple in the little boat in front of us.” Then Sakra came and asked him: “O king, whither goest thou?” “Old age, I go to climb Mt. Meru and have speech with Sakra.” “It is not easy to do that,” said they: “we were fifteen years old when we started and now we are an hundred and five. We came because we would not stay in the land of men. But though we go continually day and night we cannot reach it and now it is a long time surely. One can only reach the rose-apple tree at the head of the Island; one cannot reach Mt. Meru. "If it be so," he said "then show us the rose-apple tree at the head of the Island." And Sakra showed it. He took the right hand branch of the rose-apple tree and offered it; therewith the king carved an image of the Lord and worshipped it.” “If thou believe me not,” said Sakra, invite the image to partake of alms to morrow.” And he invited it to an alms-eating on the morrow, and lo! If came with the eight things needful.

Now the king was exceeding keen in faith. He carved images out of the tharekkkan also; he carved images from the five parts of the sago; he carved and grouped all the images together. Thus he wandered ministering to the religion, and returning built divers towns in the Utibwa’s kingdom and lodged the relics of the holy Lord. The buildings of his ancestors he repaired and added shrines thereto and tended them. He ministered to the great religion building the Bin-on pagoda and the rest. And for the relics—the Momeit relic, the Myataung relic, the tharekkkan Thitha forest, the Mwe-andaw at Shwepawkyn—he built shrines for many relics of the Lord’s body. When he had finished all these labours, the king departed his body in Arakan.
The tale of Paukkana kings is thirty five counting the lower animals who reigned as kings. The year of the building of Myinsaing is 273; king Narapati built it. The number of the kings of Myinsaing is thirteen. The town perished in the time of Thonkin of Momeit and Thohon of Theinni.

Translated by Mg. Tin, with the assistance of G. H. Luce.
RHYMES FROM THE MON.

Noi moik gu baw.
    Now Noy the monkey he would fly
    And to the pelican
    Who had a pair of wings to spare
    He did reveal his plan.

    Now hand upon right hand is struck
    The wings are bought and sold;
    The pelican's smile was full of guile
    As he received the gold.

    From a high hill the monkey flew
    For all the birds to see
    Ere set of sun his course was run—
    He lay among the scree.

    O monkey Noy, those wings destroy,
    They'll land you every time
    In field or fen or haunt of men
    Or oozy river-slime.

Kun tsaiing yip yip.
    Borne on the breeze of evening far and faint
    From yonder darkling grove of sugar-cane
    Calling for help and calling all in vain
    Hark to the little speckled chick's complaint.

    Heard and uprose his grandad much irate
    And smashed the pot of liquor at a biow,
    And as he watched and sparkling runnels flow,
    "'No beer," he said, "for those who stay out late.""
She has doffed her golden crown,
    Donned a village maid's attire,
Hied her back to Pegu town
    To the home of her desire.

Gatao yik.
Fair shone the moonlight in the glade
When for a wrestling bout arrayed
Came Gaffer Dut and Gaffer Bin
Each keen as any boy to win.
And sallying to the appointed place
Stood on the greensward face to face.
And eager crowds stood all about
With cash to bet or lungs to shout.

Quoth Gaffer Dut to Gaffer Bin,
"Ere we this famous fight begin,
It must be clear for all to see,
You're taller by a foot than me.
So, friend, that in respect of height
On strictly equal terms we fight,
If you agree, I'll take a bill
And lop you—at which end you will."

Quoth Bin, "Men lop and chop bamboo,
But wrestler-lobbing's something new.
You shan't lop me—I tell you plain."
And so they all went home again.

J. A. Stewart.
This report, more than five years overdue, contains two articles of particular interest to people in Burma, illustrated by fine plates. These are "The Rock-cut Temples of Powun-daung" by Mr. Duroiselle, and "The Sangyaung Monasteries of Amarapura" by Mr. Taw Sein Ko.

Powun-daung is a secluded range of hills near the Lower Chindwin, rarely visited, though visible to the tourist on the Irrawaddy. To one who knows Burmese architecture as found at Pagan, Prome, and the neighbourhood of Mandalay, these rock-cut temples will seem strangely unfamiliar. Their distinguishing marks are:—(i) they are not only excavated in the rock, but all their detail, altars, pillars, images, and other figures are carved out of the rock in situ. "This" says the writer "is the principal feature in which they differ from the other cave temples of Burma, and in which they resemble most the rock-cut temples in India." Mr. Duroiselle is not quite accurate if he means that no other caves in Burma have images carved from the native rock; such images are to be found in the Thamihwet Onhmin at Nyaung-u; as a general statement, however, it is fair enough, (ii) they contain no inscriptions; there are only local legends and a story in the Halingyi Chronicle connecting the oldest of them with the Pyus. This hint the writer develops, with characteristic skill, in a two-edged argument. Burmans always put up inscriptions in their temples. There are none here. Therefore they are not Burmese, but Pyu. Burmese inscriptions begin in the 11th century. There are none here. Therefore these temples (the oldest, at least) are pre-11th century.—The argument is ingenious, if unconvincing.

A single date—1298 A. D.—inscribed on a gryphon gives us surer evidence. If they really antedate Pagan, one wonders why they contain nothing of Pagan workmanship, which is to be found all over Upper Burma, at any rate near the Irrawaddy. The Pagan kings certainly sailed up the Chindwin; one of them, Kyiso, was killed hunting there; far above Powun-daung they built pagodas at Aion and other places, and Alaungshihu is said to have reached as far north as Kalaw. Powun-daung can be only about 50 miles, as the crow flies, from Pagan. Possibly, however, its barren country left it isolated. If so, one may assume, at least, that in those days it had no famous shrines; for the difficulty of pilgrimage never deters a Burman from a pagoda-festival.

Mr. Duroiselle is on safer ground when he has recourse to internal evidence, the style of decoration, costume of the figures etc. Here his wealth of learning is seen to advantage, ranging from Nepal to Ajanta, from Assyria to Angkor. Judging merely from the photos (which were
taken under difficulties), the present reviewer is struck by the curvilinear ornament about the doorways, usually a sign of recent date. At Pagan except in the latest temples, pilasters are carved with rectilinear ornament, V's, and usually diaper between them. In fact the transition from, strong straight lines to florid curves seems the most significant fact in the history of art in Burma. The horns of the pediments and developed cusping of the arches seem also comparatively modern. Against these must be set the lean-in of the arches, a feature (as the writer observes) essentially Indian and ancient. The chief artistic interest seems to lie in the detached figures. The Powun-daung Nat, "Mistress of the Hills" as the writer calls her, though he treats her with scant courtesy, is strangely haunting. But on the whole, though there is much oddity, there seems to be little beauty at Powun-daung. It is surprising that the Burman, though here and elsewhere he learnt to chisel stone made no better use of it.

A large part of Mr. Taw Sein Ko's article is occupied by Yule's description of the Sangyaung monasteries, known more commonly as the Medaw and Thamidaw Kyaungs. He apologises for quoting at length from a work "which is still the highest authority on Burmese architecture." But there is no need for an apology. Yule cannot be too often quoted, especially since his Mission to the Court of Ava is long out of print. He is the one Briton of undoubted literary genius who has described Burma. The more one knows of what he describes, the more one envies the description; and when one considers the short time he was in the country, his ill-health, and the Secretarial work that took up most of his time, the loving care and minuteness with which he realises the form and meaning especially of Burmese architecture, seem something superhuman. Nearly seventy years have passed, but Yule's work remains, and will remain, a classic.

By the side of Yule's description of these 19th century kyaungs, Mr. Taw Sein Ko places an interesting quotation from Hieuenc Thang describing the Nalanda monastery of 7th century India. The resemblance is certainly remarkable, as Ferguson has already noticed, and shows how widespread and permanent are the tradition and plan of Indian monastic architecture in wood. The writer concludes with a minute description of these kyaungs.

It is a pity that buildings so beautiful, short-lived, and accessible are not more often visited. If one can arrange one's journey to Maymyo or Mandalay so as to leave an hour to spare at Myohaung, one need only walk down the Amarapura line a few hundred yards in order to reach them. Possibly what deters the visitor to day is what deterred Yule in the fifties:—"My own visits to the interior of these buildings were, I confess, almost entirely barred by strong disinclination to undergo what was supposed to be the necessary ceremony of unshoeing."

The Medaw Kyaung is certainly the more splendid, as Mr. Taw Sein Ko points out; but the visitor would be wise to study more especially the outside of the Thamidaw and the inside of the Medaw Kyaungs. In the latter, glass-inlay is handled with more restraint; indeed I know of no-
other building in Burma where its use is so effective. Against the jet of thitsi is thrown the red of hinthapada and old gold leaf crusted with facets of pale glistening glass. The slope of the double lines of rafters resting on diminished columns as the roofs fall back across the aisles, is a common structural feature of these kyaungs, and one that might well be imitated to relieve the stuffy box-like character of our houses in the East. In the kyaungs the strong bands of paralleled rafters and the plain round columns throw up the luxury of detail below and save it from being oppressive, while the roof leaps and shoots upward with the jerk and lilt of a linnet’s flight.

For the rest, one may leave these plates to speak for themselves, adding merely that this is but a small fraction of the whole. Quite a different selection might be made of ornament less florid, of woodcarving bolder and more severe, of glass mosaic subtler and less obtrusive. One misses a photograph of the peaceful scenery in which these kyaungs are set, the trees and tanks and paths well swept among the ruins, and the savage moat of Amarapura; of that gigantic ruined thein near by, whose columns are the tallest I have ever seen; and of the carved “spandrels” that link post to post, “c cusped arches”, as Yule calls them, “in open filigree work of gilding, very delicate and beautiful.” Nothing can be done for these old kyaungs—the loveliest in Burma, but photograph them. That marvellous avenue, once of splendour, now of desolation, where the eighteen major kyaung-daliks, with their double circuit-walls and ghostly ramps (all that is left of nearly all of them), swept from Shanzu Station to the foot of Mandalay hill,—shows the fate that will ere long overtake the Medaw and Thamidaw kyaungs. Other smaller monasteries, as beautiful lie hid in the maze of ruins west of the Pahtodawgyi, with six-inch nails driven home through doors of priceless tracery, carved statues—finest of their kind—thrown down and lost on weed strewn pavements, great panelled ceilings, gilded and embossed, half fallen and crumbling beneath the weight of bricks and rubbish overloading them.

G. H. L.
In these numbers of the Journal of the Siam Society, extending over the last 15 years, Phra Phrason Salarak (who is also a member of the Burma Research Society) has completed a series of free translations from the Hmmanan Yazawin dealing with the relations between Burma and Siam from the first invasion by Tabin Shwehti down to the annexation of Upper Burma by the British. The translator is to be congratulated on a most valuable piece of work; we only wish he would collect the scattered papers into a compact volume accessible to the public. After each chapter he gives the corresponding passage in Phayre who, it is known, based his history mainly on the Hmmanan. Phayre is a master of the art of judicious compression, but he gives us the skeleton without the flesh and blood. The grim period of the wars, civil and foreign, when Burma seems to have forgotten that she was a Buddhist country, makes dreary reading in Phayre. Not even Bayinnaung, Napoleon though he was, can stir the reader to much enthusiasm. Beyond the fact that he was the faithful servant of a drunken King, Phayre tells us little of human interest.

When we turn to the original, there is something, if only an outline, of a human being. His wars are dreary still, actuated by motives so insufficient if not ignoble; but there are human touches. Once, at a critical moment, he entrap into an ambush his slippery foe the King of Linzin (Laos), who caught in a bamboo jungle sends a message of submission saying that with the intention of taking the oath of allegiance he had halted in his flight. And would appear before his suzerain early next morning as there was no time that evening. The King believed that the King of Linzin really meant what he said, and therefore encamped, as it was getting dark. Linzin's chief took advantage of the halt and fled in the night. The next morning seeing only crows in Linzin's camp, His Majesty gave a hearty laugh. Yet this was the King who, a few days later, killed Baya Kamani, a very Caius, for checking the brutality of his junior officers to their men; killed Baya Kamani's son for weeping over his father's corpse; killed Baya Kamani's slave for spreading a cloth over the faces of his two dead masters. Bayinnaung was often generous to a fallen foe, but his acts of clemency, dictated usually by policy, are less human than his acts of ferocity. On three occasions his best general, Binnya Dala, treacherously attempted to take his life; yet the king spared him recognizing his skill in diplomacy and
warfare as well as his bravery. But when Binnya Dala once failed in an expedition entrusted to him, he could find no room for mercy, as if he prized success more than his own life.” So Binnya Dala was disgraced and sent to die in exile on the feverish frontier of Siam. The King had unfortunately as much contempt for the lives of others as for his own. Indignant at a dacoit rising which had broken out while he was away at Zimme, he marched, himself on foot, against the rebels, “in his jewelled sandale,” and planned to hem in a bamboo cage ten thousand of them, wives, and all and burn them alive.

The valour of his generals must have been astounding. Challenges to single combat were as common as in ancient Rome. The vassal King of Ava, after his master’s return, is besieging Veinghang, far away in the depths of Laos: “forcing a breach in a wooden stockade with his elephant, a spear struck him in the right thigh, pierced it, and penetrated three inches into the elephant’s side. Yet so eager was he in his work that he did not even trouble to pull the spear out, put simply cut the handle off and left the spear-head in the wound. “Whether the thigh remained nailed to the elephant or not,” adds the translator, “is not stated.” Nor must fortitude of the men be forgotten. In the jungles beyond the Mekong they were reduced to eating thatch grass and reeds. When first they reached the Mekong, with the enemy on the further side, a hostile fleet on the river, and no means of crossing, they set to work “in a forest of Letpan trees” and built within three weeks three hundred large war-boats and two hundred royal barges “painted vermillion and gold.” When rivers were not too deep, lines of elephants served as a pontoon bridge for the army. Indeed when one considers the fearful country through which Bayinnaung led huge armies, from Sandoway to Luang Phrabang, from Manipur and the snows beyond Mogauing to Ayuthia and the wilds of Tenasserim, whatever one discounts for exaggeration, his exploits vie with those of Hannibal, if not Alexander. Yet he is not great. He never consolidated a single kingdom. Not even his own. He destroyed the civilisation of Siam and added nothing to that of Burma. His pagodas (such as remain) are of no artistic interest. The Chief and almost the only work of culture in his time was a translation of a Law-book. His chief glory was a sham tooth-relic. His wars are a reproach to Buddhism. And he started the tradition of conquest in Siam which has proved as fatal to Burma as the ambitions of the Valois in Italy were to France. In the 17th century, it is arguable that Burma was ahead of Europe in civilisation. At the beginning of the 16th, thanks to the flowering of her literature and in spite of wars and invasions, she had still a comparable culture. But with the rise of the Toungoo, and later the Konbaung dynasties, with her arts and letters crouching to a court, a court torn with intrigue or wavering between high ideals and vapid schemes of conquest, she almost lost her birthright, and still regards as heroes the warriors who were her ruin. No country that I know of has suffered more than Burma from her “great men.”
SHWE-ZET DAW.

BY MAJOR C. M. ENRIQUEZ.

In the month of Taboung (March) crowds of pilgrims from all parts of Burma gather at the Shwe-zet Daw Pagoda. Thousands more are deterred from attending the festival by the hardships of the journey, for though Shwe-zet Daw is only 32 miles from the Irrawaddy at Minbu, and 48 at Salin, and is moreover one of the most sacred shrines in Burma, the roads are so awful that many old people are afraid to travel by them. In spite of this draw-back, and though Shwe-zet Daw has no architectural beauties, and is situated in ugly country, the pilgrimage is worth making on account of its extreme importance in the eyes of the Burmese. It must, however, be confessed that for once they have made a mistake. Kyauk Badaung across the river, with its quaint pageda-crowned cliffs, and with Mt. Popa in the background, would have been a much more attractive site for a great festival.

We approached Shwe-zet Daw from Minbu, where the mail steamer cast us out on a burning bank at midday, leaving us to trudge across a mile of sand. At the end, however, we are lucky to secure a motor lorry as far as Sagu. My party was formidable. Every Burman remotely connected claimed to travel with me. Their wives and children claimed the same right: and several old mothers and attractive nieces joined uninvited en route as slow-aways. We therefore reached Minbu 21 strong, with an appalling pile of luggage. I trembled for the P. W. D. bridges as the lorry thundered over them. Our driver was the usual skilful but highly reckless Burman, who took everything at full tilt, in spite of the fact that my bicycle was tied across the bonnet of the car with twine. It is always useful to take a hike about in Burma. In summer there is usually a footpath, or at any rate a cart-rut to follow, and the terrors of such a ride are at least less vivid and prolonged than those of a bullock-cart.

Next day we travelled in a cloud of dust by what were said to be inter-village tracks. Later we reached a canal, and here the going was comparatively good as carts were confined to one side of the road by rows of posts. The canal also changed the aspect of the country which was here green and wooded; but this festival of the Dry Zone occurs at the dryest and dustiest season of the year. We now joined the main stream of pilgrims from Salin whose bullock-carts streamed onward all day and for many days.

Two exquisite birds enrich this unpromising bit of country. These are the Paradise Fly-catcher and the Small Minivet. Both are rare or at any rate extremely limited in range, but as it happened I saw each from the verandah of the rest-house, respectively at Minbu and Shwezet-Daw. The Burmese Paradise Fly-catcher is ordinarily an inconspicuous chestnut bird, with a black head. But in the breeding season the adult cock is pure silvery white, with a blue-black head, and a tracery of
The two central tail feathers are then extraordinarily lengthened and float behind the bird like white ribbons. The *Small Minivet* deserves a better name. It has a dark slate-blue head, neck and throat, whitish under-parts, and a bright scarlet breast and rump. The female is dove-grey instead of slate, and lacks red on the breast. These two birds, which I have not met elsewhere, are as lovely as any found in Burma. Amongst other interesting birds the *Stork-billed Kingfisher* and an immense *Horned Owl* occur; and where the canal overflows *White Ibis* and *White necked Storks* collected in small numbers.

The last march of 8 miles from Sedaw to Shwe-zet Daw is over low, sterile hills. At this season, only the Tanaung-bin gives a touch of green. All the other trees are leafless. The journey is divided into 'stations' such as *Yogyi Zahkau*-Stage of the Ravine. At Lok-se Chaung pilgrims search the sand for little white pebbles because here Buddha rinsed rice from his mouth. Hence the little white pebbles, and the name 'Mouth Rinsing Stream'. None of the little girls strenuously digging had found anything, and I fear most of the desirable pebbles have been removed long ago. At each of these stations there are sheds where pilgrims rest and buy refreshment. The charitable—and there are always hundreds in a Burmese crowd—buy water-jars, and pay for them to be kept filled. Over each is a slip of paper, with a notice such as: 'Thanjo-yon Quarter, of Magwe. Maung Mya, his wife, sons and daughters, dedicate this water-jar. Let Nats and Men cry "Thadu."' Water is brought from a distance in carts. At Shwe-zet Daw itself there are taps. Further, the Burmese prefer condensed milk to fresh, and for all there reasons serious epidemics seldom occur at the festival.

On this last stage the road is abominable. The dust billows up, and hangs like a fog over the slow moving carts. At last Shwe-zet Daw comes in site, a low range of hills with the principle shrine half way up, gold amongst the amber-trees. There are other shrines on the hill-top, and many covered stairways; and at a distance a white Pagoda on *Yathe Taung*-Hermit Hill. This is the best aspect of Shwe-zet Daw, for on closer inspection it is found that none of the buildings are of any artistic merit. The main shrine, which we may believe was really beautiful, was burnt down four years ago, together with many *Taungungs* around it. Every effort is being made to repair the damage, but funds are not unlimited, and the place is not likely to resume its former splendour for some time. Just now mounds of brick lie at the foot of the hill which pilgrims carry up for merit, or pay for being carried up; and the brick-heaps growing on the hill do not of course improve its beauty. But in spite of this, I thoroughly enjoyed the five days we spent here—perhaps because my Burmans were so pleased, and so touchingly expressed their gratitude at being brought on a pilgrimage of such extraordinary merit.

The chief interest in the festival lies in the people themselves, of whom ten-thousand were camped in the shingle bed of a clear stream at the foot of the hill. This stream almost encircles the shrine, and loops back three times towards it, being loath (so the Burmans say) to leave the
sacred spot. The festival continues for a whole month. Besides Burmans from all parts of the country, it is the resort of Shans and Arakanese and of Chins from the adjacent Yomas. These Chins are shy folk, dressed almost entirely in brick-red garments. Their bags and blankets are pretty. Some of the lads are of fine physique. The girls are often pretty, but many have blackened the face with tattoo marks, a disfigurement said to have been intended originally to discourage Burmans. All these crowds are housed in sheds spreading along the river bed for nearly two miles. Some of the sheds are built by the Pagoda Trustees, other by stall holders, and other by gold-leaf sellers who retail gold-leaf to the pilgrims. This temporary town is an important market, crowded by day and brilliantly lit by night; and of course there are endless stalls, eating-shops, ypes, merry-go-rounds, and other delightful amusements.

The sanctity of Shwe-zet Daw arises from the fact that the Buddha alighted here on his legendary visit to Burma. The spot is marked by a little gold pagoda in the river bed. In this ravine lived a Demon, Pananda Naga Min; and on the hill above a hunter, Thit-sa-ban-darra Mokso (the faithful). Both were converted, and besought Buddha to leave a mark (Set). The Golden Royal Marks (Shwe Set Daw) which the Buddha made are two foot prints, one in the river-bed, and the other half way up the hill. Both marks are now enshrined and thickly coated with gold leaf which pilgrims lavish upon them. Such in brief is the legend. It has many ramifications. For instance, the hunter shot a deer from the top of the hill. There is a dent in the rock where he kneelt, and you will specially marvel at this. There is a shrine to Kathapa Buddhah, and one to the Thaggya Min; and a heavy stone that—you can only lift by invoking the power of the Pagoda. If you measure a stick with your arm and rub it on a certain stone, the stick will be lengthened or shortened as desired. We found all these things perfectly correct, and indeed spent a most ingenious and happy evening on the hill. From the summit there is a fine view of the encircling river and of the booths along its banks. The ravine below is packed with gaily dressed people. Already lamps and fires glitter here and there in the dusk. The air is laden with the melody of gongs, while night lays a soft mantle upon the nakedness of the surrounding hills.

At Shwe-zet Daw I met a Nat, adopted her, and have made her my friend for life. Her name is Ma Nemi, and she was being rocked in a cradle by an old lady who kept a whole shed full of Nat image. I begged an introduction.

"Ma Nemi," said the old lady, "is a niece of Maung Tint De."
You will remember Tint De, the blacksmith of Tagaung, who was cruelly executed with his sisters, and is now enshrined on Mt. Popa. Ma Nemi is the little daughter of one of the sisters. Being left an orphan, she was called Nemi, Little Friendless. Very soon she died and became a Nat and besought King Anawratta of Pagan to provide her with a refuge. The King seeing her Loneliness, assigned her a home in the cradles of babies. This legend, as its Tagaung origin shows, is one of the oldest in Burma. From a remote age there survives the tragic figure of a forlorn
little maid playing with dolls and cradles. She still occupies cradles, and
makes the babies laugh. And when they are hungry she makes them cry.
In Nat shrines you will usually see her swinging in cradles such as are
used by babies in this country—and people offer her dolls, bangles, tiny
shoes and other toys to play with. Even in this material age none will
deny the authenticity of Ma Nemi, or question the authority of her touch-
ing legend. If you meet her, dear Reader, give her a doll, or a rupee to
buy one with, even at the risk of encouraging idolatry. Life will be
richer if you believe firmly.

MA NEMI.

There's a homely little maiden
Who has watched the babies pray
Down the never ending ages
While the World is growing grey.

A pathetic little figure,
Motherless and all alone,
Who has claimed and has adopted
Every mother for her own.

Still enchanted with her dollies:
Babies laugh with Ma Nemi,
And will share with her their cradles
In the ages yet to be.
THE LEGEND OF THE EARLY ARYAN SETTLEMENT OF ARAKAN.

Many centuries before the birth of Buddha there reigned in the country of Utara Madhûra a powerful king whose name was Ságaradeva. At the same time in the country of Asitīnjana there ruled a king of the same race whose name was Deva Kamsa. The former had two sons Ságara and Uppa Ságara. The latter had two sons Kamsa, Uppa Kmasa and a daughter named Deva Camba. When this girl was born the astrologers informed the king that her ten sons who should be born thereafter would some day destroy the whole of their grandfather's family. Whereupon the relatives, of the king advised him that the best course to follow under the circumstances was to kill the girl baby in order to prevent the fulfilment of such a dreadful prognostication.

After careful consideration the king said that it was not necessary to resort to such an extreme measure as their purpose could be quite as easily served if the girl was prevented from marrying. The family conference having unanimously agreed upon this proposal, the king ordered a very lofty palace to be erected. In the topmost room the princess was brought up under the immediate supervision of a trusty nurse named Mandigopa and her husband Anandakagopa. Moreover the palace was well fortified, and down below, surrounding the whole building, a thousand men were kept to guard it carefully day and night. No stranger was allowed to approach the building and the princess was never allowed to leave her room under any pretext.

In course of time the old king died. The elder son whose name was also Kamsa ascended the throne and the younger Uppa Kamsa became the Crown Prince. In the country of Utara Madhûra, king Ságaradeva died. His elder son Ságara became king and the younger Uppa Ságara became the Crown Prince.

Prince Uppa Ságara on account of his many virtues and accomplishments was a popular hero. Day by day his followers increased causing no small amount of uneasiness among the ministers. At last they in a body went to the king and represented to him the danger that was menacing him and urged him to take timely measures. The Crown Prince was summoned before the king and on being told about the matter he swore that there was nothing in the accusation and that the ministers had exaggerated a great deal. The king was satisfied with the explanation. But when the young prince returned home he thought to himself that if the ministers kept on accusing him of conspiracy against the throne he would surely come to great harm in the end. He therefore determined to leave the kingdom while there was yet time.

King Kamsa of Asitīnjana country was a great friend of his because they had been classmates in the university of Taxila. He thought that if he went there his friend was sure to give him the shelter and protection which he sorely needed. Secretly he collected his followers and in a
body they went over to king Kaṃsa and placed themselves under his protection. The king rejoiced very greatly to see his old friend turn up and assigned to him in perpetuity the revenues of a rich district.

One day while prince Uppa Sāgara was passing by the palace of the imprisoned princess she happened to be looking out of a window. In a moment their eyes met and love was complete. From that time forward the prince exerted all his might to get a chance of speaking to her. The maidservant Nandigopa being won over to his cause after a great deal of trouble, at length his object was accomplished.

The lovers met in secret every night till eventually the princess Deva Gamba became big with child. When the maid realised the seriousness of the crime to which she was a party she felt greatly alarmed. So in order to mitigate her own offence she informed the king of the real condition of the princess his sister. On being questioned she at first denied having any real knowledge of the affair; but when she was examined under torture she made a complete confession.

That very day the king held a council consisting of himself, the Crown Prince and the four Chief Ministers of State. The majority were in favour of punishing all the culprits in such a way that the dread prophesy might not be fulfilled. But the wise king solemnly rose up to address the council in the following terms, "Oh my brother and ministers! There are twelve kinds of people whom we should honour and who should never be punished. They are mother, father, teacher, uncle, Buddha, Piccaga Buddha, Arahat, Sangha, Rishi, Muni, one who observes the precepts and Brahmins. So far as these persons are concerned we must show our forbearance even though they be guilty of any offence. Then again there are five kinds of people for whose sake we should even risk our lives. They are, bosom friend, one who in fearing to lose his life seeks our protection, one who strives to preserve the purity of his race and family, one who is able to save the lives of other people and one who risks his life in order not to break a solemn promise. In the present case however, prince Uppa Sāgara is not only my bosom friend but he is also a fugitive who seeks our protection. How can we therefore ever think of doing him any harm?"

Then the Crown Prince in the midst of profound silence next stood up and said, "Oh king and ministers! the words which we have just heard form the essence of wisdom. Besides, there is no immediate cause for anxiety since the prophesy relates to the birth of male children only. If the princess conceives a female child there is no need to be alarmed. So let us wait and see the result."

The council unanimously agreed to this and moreover it was resolve-d that since it was too late to interfere the princess Deva Gamba should be wedded to her lover. At the same time a careful watch was set as against her approaching accouchement. When the dreaded day arrived a girl baby was born to the relief and joy of everybody. This child was named Omara Devi.

The following year the princess Deva Gamba again became enceinte; but this time her maid Nandigopa was also in the same condition.
And in the fulness of time both gave birth on the same day and at the same hour. This time the princess was delivered of a boy and the maid of a girl. Seriously alarmed at the probable fate of the child should her brother hear of it, she caused the babies to be exchanged. When the king learnt that her second child was also a girl he was very pleased and he felt sure that his astrologers were completely wrong in their calculations.

Thus being more or less convinced of the falseness of the prophesy the king and his ministers no longer paid much attention to the princess. From the time of her second confinement she was left practically alone with her own maid. So in course of time she gave birth to ten sons altogether, while her maid also begot ten daughters. But for safety's sake the boys were brought up by the maid as her own sons. Their names were Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Candadeva, Suryadeva, Aggrīdeva Ajjhata, Varuna, Rōhaneya, Ghatapandita and Angura. The eldest child Omara Devi died before long. The Youngest child was a daughter named Anjana Devi.

When these boys grew up to be young men they became very boid and fearless. They also far excelled the strength of ordinary men. They were very cruel and inconsiderate in their dealings with other people. They looted, they robbed, they murdered, and in short they were guilty of the worst forms of excesses. At first the people did not complain because they were the sons of Nandigopa the trusted servant of King Kaṁsa. But when they persisted in their evil conduct which became intolerable the people went to the king in a body and complained very bitterly. Their supposed mother was sent for and severely taken to task for allowing them to run amok in the country. She replied that they were beyond her control and requested the king to do anything he liked to check their career of crime.

King Kaṁsa then ordered the arrest of the young men but no attempt to accomplish this object seemed to have been successful; for whenever they were pursued and surrounded by the soldiers they generally became invisible, eluding every effort at capture. This made the king think, suspecting at the same time that the young men were no ordinary mortals. He sent for Anandagopa the husband of the maidservant and questioned him very closely as to the real parentage of the young men. Fearing to lose this life the servant at length made a clean breast of all the circumstances attending their birth and parentage. The maidservant was then sent for and questioned. Seeing that it was useless lying any further she corroborated her husband's statement.

When the king learnt the real facts he was filled with fear and anger. He sent for the executioners who forthwith led away the guilty couple to the place of execution. On the way they met the Crown Prince Upākarma who on enquiry found out what had happened. He ordered the men not to carry out their work until he came back again. He then went to his brother the king and said, "Oh king, you placed implicit trust in he two unfortunate servants and ordered them to attend on the princess' ourt sister. It is the duty of every servant to obey his or her immediate
master. So that in the present case in failing to give you accurate information about her sister's children they were but carrying out her wishes, for which they should not be blamed. The most that they should suffer is to undergo the same punishment as those other guards who were placed to prevent strangers from entering the palace of the princess."

The king being thoroughly satisfied with the argument cancelled the first order, letting off the culprits with a fairly light punishment. As for the princess Deva Gamba she was filled with grief because her brother the king accused her of want of love for themselves as well as for the family to which she belonged; for by her inconsiderate act her sons were destined to destroy them all.

But as parental love is greater than all thing else in this world both she and her husband prince Uppa Sāgara admitted their fault and begged the king to condone all their sons' offences. But the matter was referred to the Council which decided that under no circumstances could the young men 'be left at large for they were a real menace to the existence of the kingdom. So an order was issued for their immediate arrest.

For this purpose the whole military strength of the kingdom was employed. Three times the attempt was made on an elaborate scale but without success for on each occasion the devas of the earth and the sky gave their active support to the ten brothers. At last seeing that force would not do the king decided to resort to stratagem, hoping to accomplish his object by means of sweet words and alluring promises.

Informed of these fresh designs upon their persons the brothers ran away to the Himavanta forest where they met a very learned rishi who provided them with food and shelter. Under the instruction of this rishi they learnt the different kinds of arts and sciences and then returned to their uncle's kingdom with the object of conquering it. At the time of their entry the king and all his courtiers were assembled at a tournament. They at once got into the ring and killed the most famous of the combatants without having due regard for the formalities.

When the king saw who the intruders were he immediately got up from his seat and shouted out to the assembled people to arrest them. Whereupon the eldest brother Vasudeva rushed upon his two uncles king Kamsa and Crown Prince Uppa Kamsa and slew them with his own hands. With the death of these two persons the kingdom passed into their possession. Then after having conquered the neighbouring kingdom of Ayujjhapura they resolved to annex the kingdom of Dwarrawadā which at the time was under the rule of the king Narinda. And when this was accomplished after a great deal of hard fighting, the ten brothers with their youngest sister Anjanadevi made an equal division of all their acquired territories where each set up as an independent ruling prince. The youngest sister's portion was Dwarrawadā in Southern Arakan (modern Sandoway) which amid the new scenes of varied life her followers colonised for the first time.

SAN SHWE BU.
THE YAWYINS OR LISU.

BY

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The Lisu, or Yawyin, are a large but obscure race, whose home is in Yunnan along the upper reaches of the Salween. Small communities are also found within the northeast frontiers of Burma, where they are scattered amongst the Kachins; from whom, however, they are ethnologically distinct. Lisu villages occur at Shang Tai, Ta Shan, Hkaringmudan and Hka-khan Krung in Bhano. Further south we meet them again at Bernardmyo. They are found in Hsenwi, and on the mountain tops on the left bank of the Shweh in Kodaung. In the north there are five Yawyin villages near Sima, namely, Pajau, U-ga Kran, Pa noi Prang, U-rau Bum and Xang sa Ku. In Sadon there is a Yawyin community of some importance and they occur again in the Panwa near Htawgaw. All these, however, are quite small communities, with the exception of that in Sadon. The majority of the Yawyins live across the border in China; but in British territory they are found again in the Akyang Valley in Putao where, I am told, their numbers are considerable.

Yawyins have already been employed in our local military forces to a limited extent, and have shown marked military qualities. They did well in Mesopotamia in spite of the fierce heat, and won promotion and distinction out of all proportion to their numbers. Their enlistment might well be extended. By the end of 1920 about seventy were serving. Unfortunately the accessible colonies in British territory are limited, though unexpected immigrations occur now and then, as that into Mogok in 1907. In Mogok there now appear to be about 1,350 Yawyins. In Bhano there are four villages, in Sima five (containing 105 houses), in Sadon about twenty, and in Panwa perhaps five or six.

Physically, the Yawyins are a finer race than the Kachins. They, and their children are fitter, and the percentage of infant mortality is comparatively low. They are not stricken with goitre and deformities here, though in certain parts of Yunnan they do suffer. Their healthiness is probably due to the great elevation at which they nearly always live. They are rarely found anywhere except on the extreme mountain tops where they destroy the jungles round them for miles, leaving the ground bare and open. For this reason they are the despair of Government, though the habit is no doubt a healthy one, and is not without merit in a country smothered with jungle. Yawyin houses are also more sanitary than those of the Kachins. The buildings are always raised on stone plinths and not on posts, so that spitting through the floor is impossible,
and pigs cannot make their wallows under the dwellings as they do in Kachin villages. Further north in the Salween and Akyang Valleys, the houses are raised on posts. The southern Yawyins have been considerably influenced by the Chinese, as is evident from their manners, customs and dress.

The Yawyins have a very peculiar and attractive costume, which varies slightly both for men and women in various localities. The men often wear a white coat and gaiters, with blue turban, epaulets, belt and shorts. The general colour scheme is light-blue and white. The women wear either a large turban, or a sort of gay head-wrap, ornamented with tassels. They dress in a coat, shorts and gaiters, with a long apron plentifully decorated with patterns in green, yellow and red. The whole effect is bizarre, but pleasing. Many of the girls have an upright carriage, and are pretty. Even the old women are neat, homely and comfortable. In parts of Yunnan, and especially amongst the Black Lisu, the dress is practically the same as that of the Chinese, and even the women wear little colour.

The Yawyins are not Chinese, or even of Chinese origin, though their language has been wrongly placed in the Chinese group, and they have legends that they are the offspring of a Chinese woman and a certain forest nat, called Nat Paawang. They are believed to be a Lolo race, and are probably one of the numerous small indigenous tribes which have been driven into the highlands by the westward expansion of the Chinese. Mr. Wilson, Assistant Superintendent of Sadon, is probably right in including their language in the Burmese group. Many words are certainly similar in Yawyin and Burmese.

The various Lisu dialects vary considerably and are not mutually intelligible. Lisus from eastern and western Yunnan have to converse with each other in Chinese. Mr. Fraser of the Inland China Mission, to whose generous assistance I am much indebted, informs me that in the several dialects he finds about 60 per cent. of the words constant, and 40 per cent. different. The language is difficult. There are 6 tones, and 250 separate sounds, none of which have consonantal endings. Hence the Lisu pronounce Chinese badly. They have, however, borrowed and corrupted a large number of Chinese words.

Many Lisu claim to be of Chinese origin. They say that their ancestors come from Hunan and Kiangsi centuries ago, and turned Lisu. "This", Mr Fraser tells me, "is quite probable. We see the same process taking place still. I know several pure Chinese who have married Lisu women, and are living amongst the Lisu. Their future generations will be Lisu, not Chinese. They are in the first stage of turning Lisu." The Lisu never marry Chinese wives. A similar process of transformation occurs amongst the Gaurus, whose adopted Chinese children grow up as pure Gaurus. These facts are more extraordinary when we remember the power possessed by the Chinese of absorbing their neighbours. The children of mixed Chino-Burmese marriages in Burma are always Chinamen.*

* See A Burmese Enchantment: page 21.
THE YAWYINS OR LISU.

In the east of Yunnan, where Chinese influence is stronger, the opposite is the case. "There," says Mr Fraser, "it is usual for the Lolo and other aborogines by a gradual process to turn Chinese. I have met aborogines near Yunnanfu who are ashamed to own that they are not Chinese." Along the Burmese border, no Lisu or Kachin is ever ashamed of his nationality.

It is difficult to arrive at any definite conclusion with regard to the origin, history or migrations of the race. The Yawyins speak of themselves as Lisu, which in their language means "have come down," or "the people who have come down." Mr. Fraser tells me they are unanimous in believing that they have 'come down,' but their knowledge of geography is too vague to determine whence. Many say from the Upper Salween; some mention Hsiang Hsiang (near Hpimaw); and others speak obscurely of the Wa Ba-district in Upper Mekong. It seems more than probable that they came down from Eastern Tibet, spreading out hence fan-wise into Putao, down the N'Alai Hka, Salween and Mekong, and towards the Yangtzi in the direction of Yunnanfu. The greater part of the race is now located in China (Yünnan), west of Yünanfu. Those now found in Myitkyina, Bhamo, the Shan States and Tengyueh may be a somewhat later migration. The general tendency to migrate southwards is still distinctly noticeable, and strikingly confirms their uniform tradition that they have come from the north. They live for a generation or so in some high cold and barren spot until they have cut down all the jungle available for táungya, and then begin to cast about for new forests to devastate. Those who move into warm climates are noticeably inferior to those who live on the mountain tops.

The Chinese call these people Lisaw, except in the east and central parts of Yünan, where they give them their proper title of Lisu. Just there, perversely enough, the Lisu call themselves Lihpaw. The Maru and Lashi call them respectively Lasi, and Leur-sëuv. The Chinese call the Kachin races generally Ye-jen or Ye-ren (Savages), and the Kachins have passed the same name on to the Lisu, changing it slightly into Yawyin. The Chinese never speak of the Lisu as Ye-ren.

The Chinese make such distinctions as Pe Lisu (White Yawyins) and He Lisu (Black Yawyins), and speak of certain tribes as Hwa Lisu (Flowery Yawyins) from the prettiness of the women's dress.

The study of the Lisu is a subject of very special difficulty owing to the inaccessible of their country. The Sino-Burmese frontier is the extreme western limit of their distribution. Their main settlements are in Yünan where they occupy the Salween Valley from latitude 27°40' to about latitude 25°: that is to say, roughly from a point opposite Putao to a point opposite Myitkyina. Of these the northern ones are Black Lisu. Here, in their secluded home, protected by steep, snow-clad mountains, they are completely independent. In the same latitudes they occur also in the Mekong and Yangtse Valleys. In Yünan it is only the southern settlements which have come under Chinese influence, and even in British territory, though friendly and peaceable, they brook little interference.
The main subdivisions of the Yawyn race appear to be called Tawn Kya, Ngaw Hpa, Ngaw Hpa, Zaw Kya, Gu Hpa, Lair mair, Bya Hpa, Dze Hpa, La Hpa, Waw Hpa, (level tone), and Waw Hpa (descending tone). The words Lair mair are pronounced exactly like lat-mat, without the two is.

The relation of the clans towards each other appears to be the same as in the case of the Kachins. The word Kya means family. In correcting my notes, Mr. Fraser insisted strongly that the divisions are not tribal. The names he says are merely clan or family names, like Mackenzie or Gordon, and nothing more. "For a long time I did not even regard them as clan, but just family surnames like our own or the Chinese, and that is all they amount to in districts where they are scattered. Of course the difference between family surnames and clan names is only a matter of degree, but a clan is rather distinct from a tribe."

All however do not occur in British territory. Those which do are known to the Kachins by Kachin names, though there seems to be some inconsistency in the identification. Thus lists obtained from Kachins and Yawins at Pajau (Sima) do not agree exactly with lists obtained in Sadon.

Since we always communicate with Yawins in the Kachin language, the clans are usually known to us by their Kachin names. Thus the Tawn Kya are spoken of as Mitung in Kachin; the Ngwa Hpa and Ngaw Hpa as Marip; the Zaw Kya as Lahtaw; and the Gu Hpa and Waw Hpa (descending tone) as Lahpai. In Myitkyina the Lair-mair are known to the Kachins as X Hkum, but in Bhamo as Lasang; and at Pajau the Zaw Kya were identified most positively as Lahya. Besides their own individual names, the Yawins appear to have post-mortem names which are given to them at birth, and then not used again till death. They nearly always assume Kachin names in the Army.

The Yawin families appear to have been named after individual peculiarities, or after animals. Thus Ngwa Hpa means Fish People; Ngaw Hpa, Jeeved People; Zaw Kya, Ginger People; Gu Hpa, Owl or Night-Bird People; Bya Hpa, Bee People; Dze Hpa, Hemp People; Lair mair, Tasteless People; Waw Hpa, (level tone), Bear People; and Waw Hpa (descending tone), Mustard People.

The Yawins are far more moral than the Kachins. There is no such thing as an n la dap in their houses. They are Nat worshippers, their Nat ancestors especially being regarded with fear and respect. Like the Kachins they appear to look to some ancestral home as their post-mortem abode, and as with Kachins, the spirit is provided with money, and assisted with sacrifices on its long journey over certain well-defined mountains and rivers. It must however be remembered that little is known of these obscure people, and that nothing can yet be accepted with certainty.
There are 50 or 60 families of Lisu Christians in Myitkyina, 400 in Tengyueh, several hundred more in Szemao, and about 1,000 families near Yuanmow. Mr. Fraser has devised a simple script for the Lisu language, using Roman capitals (some inverted), and indicating tones by means of punctuations. In this way the gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke have been printed.

Mr. Fraser has worked amongst the Lisu in Tengyueh for 12 years, and is probably the best authority on them. I am greatly indebted to him, not only for supplying information, but also for patiently correcting this monograph.
A HISTORY OF LOWER BURMA.*

[The Article begins with a Biography of the Buddha and an Account of the First Three Buddhist Councils. These are omitted in the following translation.]

Buddhism came into Burma from three sources; first, by way of Sunaparanta-Tambodipa or Central Burma; secondly, by Suvannabhumi or the kingdom of Thaton; thirdly, by way of the parts called Yonaka, where the Shans live, a tract of Cambodia in Upper Burma. This is how Buddhism came to Sunaparanta. The Omniscient Buddha visited Burma in the 20th year of his Buddhahood. Surveying the whole world with his divine eyes, he looked on Vanijzagama and knew that it was a place most meet for his religion. Thither therefore he repaired flying through the sky. He alighted first on a slab of rock, the colour of emerald on the top of Mount Thitsaban, and there he slept. When he departed he left his footmarks on a greyish rock on the bank of the river Man. Here he preached the Paths and how to follow them to Sulaponna, Mahaponna, Thitsabanda, Eithidinna and other saints insomuch that the Ponnovada and Milinda-panha-atthakatha say "Fourscore and four thousand beings from divers part of Sunaparanta found delight in the Law." While thus the Buddha wandered preaching his religion, he came to Vanijzagama where the two brothers Sulabon and Mahabon built and offered him a monastery of sandalwood. There he tarried for seven days. But at night he went back to the Jetavana Monastery in Savatthi (See the Punnovada-sutta-atthakatha). Now, since Mahaponna and the other saints were there already, it appears that the Buddha had introduced ere this his faith into some parts of Burma.

One point is of interest, while the Buddha sat beneath the famous Lin-bin tree, the two brothers Taphussa and Phalika, citizens of Athitsana-pokkaravadi in the kingdom of Ramannadesa-ikkalapa, came to India with 700 cartmen. On their way a goddess, who had been their mother in a former life, placed them under enchantment and caused the carts to stop; and when they made offerings to the gods, the gods possessed them and pointed out the spot where the Buddha was. So on they drove and came into the presence of the Buddha, and made him offerings of honeyed rice, and the Buddha established them in the Dvevacika Sarana. Thereupon they asked him for some hairs to worship, and he gave them eight. These they took back with them to Burma, or Ramannapannat, the lower district, in the kingdom of Aparanta, and enshrined in a noble reliquary. That these two brothers brought these relics to Burma is plainly stated in good books such as the Mahavamsa and Ponnovada. And it seems probable that Buddhism first came to Burma in this way.

* Translated by Maung Maung. The original article, in Burmese written by Saya Shan, will appear in the December number.
At the time of the 3rd Council the great therā Mahamoggaliputta-tissa saw nine regions where the religion would prosper and sent out missionaries thereto. One of them, the therā Yonaka arrived in Burma in the month of Tazaungmon 235 A.B. when the planet Kyattika was in the ascendant, and preached a sermon like a ball of fire to the people of Sunaparanta. Seventy thousand persons gained an insight into the Four Truths and had their feet planted on the road to Nirvana. Of the seventy thousand about one thousand persons of royal birth entered the priesthood. But though the faith was established in Burma in this year, 235 A.B., it did not spread all over the country for the country was too large (see the Buddha's own account in the Satipathana Sutta and Punnovada Sutta).

Suvannabhumi, mentioned above, is one of the three parts of Lower Burma—Kusumamandala or Burma, Hanthawadimandala or Okkalapa and Suvannabhumi or Muttamandala, better known as Thaton. In the Parajikan Atthakatha there is a short account in Pali of the coming of Sona and Uttara in the year 235 A.B. "Two powerful therās. Sona and Uttara, came to Suvannabhumi or Thaton, and having vanquished the ogres preached the Brahmajala sermon". The allusion is based on the following tradition. Once Suvannabhumi was oppressed by ogres. Five hundred ogres issued from the ocean and sought to carry off and devour all infants born in the homes of ministers, townsmen and officials. The two therās, minded to expel them, created, by supernatural power, great monsters, Manussilas, with one head and two bodies, who caused the ogres to fly in panic. To save the land from further molestation the therās recited the Parittas, and preached the Brahmajala sermon, whereupon sixty thousand persons reached Attainment, and three thousand and five hundred became monks, of whom fifteen hundred were of royal birth. Henceforth the people like to give the names "Sona" and "Uttara" to their children, and to save them from the ogres they draw figures of the Manussila on palm leaves and hang them on their heads. Marble images of the two therās were placed on the summit of Ashetaung, and may be seen even to this day.

Thus we know for certain that the faith came to Thaton in Lower Burma 235 years after the death of the Buddha. Besides it is stated in the Sasanalankara that in the eighth year of his Buddhahood, he visited Thaton at the request of the therā Cavigampati and converted hosts of the people; the results of which may be read in the Sasanalankara. Thus the religion came to Lower Burma.

How did it reach Upper Burma? The Atthakatha says "The saint Maharakkhattra went on to the country of the Yonakas (Siam and Cambodia), and by means of the Kalakarama Sutta caused the Yonakas to take delight in the Law." At the end of the sermon ten thousand people were converted and many joined the priesthood, lankhs and crores it is said.

But not only did the Faith enter the country of the Yonakas at this date, 235 A.B., but also earlier in the life time of the Buddha. For once, considering where best his Faith would flourish, he becomitted him of Yonakadesa, which includes part of Upper Burma. Thither he repaired flying through the sky and alighted at the town of Lepon. And a hunter
offered him a *kyasu* fruit; and he ate, and threw the seed up into the air. The seed fell not to the ground but stayed in the air, and the Lord smiled. Ananda asked him why he smiled, and he prophesied and said: “Ananda, they will enshrine my relics hereafter in this place and worship them, and my faith will flourish.” Even as he said, a shrine was built called Labon Zedi, and it is visible to this day. Moreover, a man of Lawa race living near the Mepeng river caused his son, seven years of age, to be ordained a novice. This novice by steadfast meditation and practice of Kammathana became an Arahat; therefore the place was called Sitme, corrupted since into Zimme. Thus even in the Buddha’s lifetime Buddhism reached the country of the Yonakas. And when the Maharak-khita came in the 235th year of the religion it grew and prospered. And later missionaries from Ceylon came over and strengthened the hold of the religion on the people. When Buddhagho sa saved the records of the Tipitakas in Ceylon and brought over to Thaton, Pagan, and other places where the kings were pious. Then all the different channels coalesced, the religion triumphed, and remains to this day paramount in Burma (for further details see the Sasanalankara).

In the history of the Kings to which I now proceed I have summarised the Samanavada of the Hmannan Yazawin, omitting the Aparavada and Kecivada. I shall give the history of the kings of the various kingdoms of Burma, of the ninety-nine Shan States towards the north, of the three Taung regions—Munti' Munsa and Munnya in Ramanna towards the south and also of the Middle country.

Long long ago, before the coming of our Lord the Buddha, a quarrel arose in Majjhimadesa to the west between Pyinsalarit King of Kosala and the Sakiyans princess of Kapilavastu of the Devadhaa Koliya clan. The dispute was due to a certain princess whose hand had been asked in marriage. The Sakiyans princes were defeated, and Abhiraja the Sakiyan king came over to Burma with his army and founded a kingdom at Tagaung, then known as Sankassarattha. When he died, his two sons struggled for the throne. The ministers entreated the two brothers not to fight each other but to compete in building a large almshouse, the first to finish being entitled to the throne. The younger brother finished first and the throne became his. The elder went down the Irrawaddy with his army, then ascended the Chindwin river (also known as Thallawadi), and settled at Taung-nyo on the border of the Kale shoal, now called Yaza-gyo. There he stayed for six months, when the Pyus, Kanyans, and Thets came to him and asked for a king to rule over them. He gave them his son Muducitta and made him rule over Sunaparanta in the middle region of Burma. Leaving Yazagaha or Kale Taung-nyo, he founded the city of Kyaukpaung lying to the east of Gissapanadi river and reigned there for four years. Next he conquered Dhannavadi or Arakan. Such is the history of Karraja, elder son of Abhiraja. The younger son, Kanrajange reigned continuously at Sankassarattha or Tagaung, and was followed by Jampudiparaja and a line of kings till Bhinnakaraja thirty-third of the Tagaung dynasty.

Tagaung began to be oppressed by Chinamen from the kingdom of
Seint and was finally destroyed; the king Bhinnakaraja fled and died at
the mouth of Manle stream. The Sakiyan then broke up into three
groups; one group went eastward to Cambodia and the ninety-nine* Shan
States, and were known as Shans, the people dwelling in these states
being called Bhinnakarats. A second group went down the Irrawaddy and
came to Sunaparanta where Muducitta reigned over the Pyus, Kanyans,
and Thets. The rest of the Sakiyans were left near the Manle stream
with the chief queen Nagasein.

Later on, the Sakiyans made a second immigration into Burma. By
the time of the Buddha the descendants of Abhiraja had multiplied.
Pasenadi, king of Kosala at Savatthi, wishing to be related to the
Buddha's clan, asked of the Sakiyan princes a daughter in marriage.
A Sakiyan king Mahanama gave him his female slave Vasabhakhatiya.
Her son Vitatupa on coming of age visited his Sakiyan relatives; who,
when he left, washed with milk the place of his reception. Thereby he
knew for the first time that he was born of a slave, and deeply resenting
it swore that he would destroy the Sakiyans, not sparing even the
suckling babes. When his vengeance began, the Sakiyans fled in all
directions. A king named Dhajara, flying with his suite, founded the
kingdom which he called Moliya, and moving thence he founded the
kingdom of Thintwe Moung; thence he met the followers of Queen
Nagasein who had settled at Manle. He espoused her, and the two
founded Pagan in Upper Burma. Again they moved and reached
Sangassaraththa where formerly king Abhiraja had reigned. He named it
Pyinra Tagaung and reigned there under the title Thado-Jambudipa Raja.

In the fortieth year of the religion King Thado Maharaja came to
the throne seventeenth king of the dynasty. Having no son he appointed
Khepaduta, brother of his chief queen Kimaridevi, to the throne.
About that time a king of the Sakiyan clan named Tambula, descendant of
Muducitta, was carried away to Arakan. His chief queen therefore moved
to Thayain with her retinue. In the year 40 A.B. during the reign of
Thado Maharaja of Tagaung a huge wild boar, twelve cubits in height,
raaged the frontier tracts. Khepaduta hunted it, and it ran along the
Shan ranges till it reached a place in the south-west where it crossed the
river Irrawaddy not wetting even its belly; the place is still known as
Wetmasut. Running thence it came to a spot near Tharekkettara where
it was pierced; the place is still called Wet-ho-gyun. Having pierced the
boar the heir-apparent was in great perplexity, so he took to a hermit's
life; practising the Kammathanas diligently he attained supernatural
powers. Now a roe used to come to that place and drink his water from a
trough in the rock. Thereby she became pregnant and gave birth to a
girl, Bedari. The roe took fright and fled, and the hermit cherished the
child. He made a solemn vow and said, "If this babe is my daughter,
let milk issue from my first finger!" Milk issued, and he fed Bedari.
Every day, till she was seventeen years of age, he sent her to the river with
a gourd in which he bored a tiny hole; and thus she spent her day, on a
sandbank called Konthalin, filling the gourd with water through the

* Nineteen?
tiny hole. And at dusk she returned to the cell of the hermit, her father.

At the same time, 40 B.E., to Queen Kinnari of Tagaung were born twins, Sulathambhawa and Mahathambhawa; and they were blind. When they were nineteen years old, they were set on a raft with a store of victuals and floated down the Irrawaddy. The raft struck a large acacia tree which hung down to the water's edge and became entangled in it; the place is still known as Sitkaing or Sagaing. An ogress who lived on that tree stole the rice and curry of the two brothers which had been prepared so as not to go stale. As she ate of it each day there was not enough for the twins. As they were fumbling about one day they touched the ogress's hand and caught it. They threatened to cut off her hand with a sword but she entreated them to spare her life promising to cure them of their blindness. This at length she did; the place where she started the treatment is still known as Sagu; and the place where the brothers first saw the light is known as Ywalin (The Hmannan Yazawin is sceptical about these names). Having obtained their sight the brothers exclaimed "The earth is even as a dish, the sky as the lid thereof; therefore the place is known to this day as Mohpon-Myede. Thence descending the river they stopped their raft at Konthalin, climbed the bank, and walked until they reached the spot where the heir-apparent lived as a hermit; and behold, Bedari was drawing water on the sandbank. And they said to her "Your gourd has no hole in it, and therefore the water does not enter"; hence the proverb "Bulonna-malutwin. So they opened a hole with the sword and now water entered rapidly; and when the gourd was full Bedari took it to the hermitage. And the hermit hearing that the two brothers had enlarged the hole, sent for them and soon found out that they were his nephews, even the sons of his sister Kinnaridevi. And in the year 60 A.B. he married Bedari to the elder, Mahathambhawa.

Now the hermit was a man shrewd in the ways of royalty, and he spoke and compassed the marriage of his nephew Mahathambhawa with the chief queen of Sakiyen race, who having lost her husband Tambula, had settled at Thakya-in. So Mahathambhawa reigned with his two queens, Bedari and the Sakiyen queen and appointed his younger brother Sulathambhawa his heir. The Pyu queen of Sakiyen race gave birth to a daughter Mesandii, who died soon after. The queen Bedari conceived a male child, the future Duttabaung. Three months later Mahathambhawa died. Sulathambhawa succeeded him and also made Bedari, his sister-in-law, his consort. Now Sanbamukhi the ogress had been wife to Sulathambhawa while he was heir, and on his marriage to Bedari she was aggrieved and took Peikthano, her son by him, and retired to Popa and settled there. Mahathambhawa became king in the year 60 A.B., reigned for six years, and died. Sulathambhawa reigned for thirty-five years and died. As both had Bedari to wife, her child was called Duttabaung. Gavampati the Rishi, Sakra, Naga, Garuda, Sandi, and Paramithwa, these six celestial beings were appointed guardians of the young prince.

The city of Tharekhettara, one yojana in diameter, three yojanas in circumference, was built by these beings with a golden palace, battlements,
moats, walls, and bastions and the seven things needful for a city, in perfect likeness to the city of Sudassana in the Tavatimsa heaven. The city was built in the 101st year of the religion and was given to king Duttabaung, even as the Buddha prophesied from the summit of Po-u-daung. Sakka came and offered Duttabaung the magic lance Arindama, the Nalagiri elephant, Velahaka the Sindh horse, and other properties of a universal monarch, together with the mighty drum which, when struck, summoned one and all to pay their tributes. The Naga king gave his daughter Besandi in marriage with a dowry of golden boats of merchandise and golden racing boats. So too did Gavampati, Garuda, and the rest give divers articles of use, inasmuch that king Duttabaung was well bestead, in the 101st year of the religion to reign, not only over Tharékhetara but also the regions of Nagas, Garudas and Asuras. He worshipped three thousand Arahas and by their help compiled a book of Dhammadhats. A thousand Arahas he fed in his golden palace, and enshrined relics of the Lord and built the Hsutaungpyi pagoda and ten others. But king Duttabaung, great and glorious as he was and worthy of praise unstinted, lapsed one day from his wonted balance and did a careless and unheedful act. He demanded taxes on 5 pe of land dedicated to the church by a certain widow. This tribute thus obtained acted like a lump of poison. For the sin of taxing that plot of sacred land, his magic lance Arindama would not fly where it was cast; the big drum would not sound when it was beaten; the Nagas recalled their boats of gold; and the Unnalon mo’e, the mark of glory between his eyebrows, vanished. He had two queens, the one his half sister Sandadevi, daughter of the Sakiyan queen of the Pyus and consort of his father Mahathambhawa, the other Besandi daughter of the Naga. Besandi had no child, but Sandadevi bore him a son Duttayan. In the 171st year of the religion when Duttabaung was an hundred and five years old, he met his death, being carried off by the Nagas.

It is noteworthy that Duttabaung was such an ardent follower of the faith, ministering to three thousand Arahas. This shews that about 101 A.B. the religion made another entry into Burma. From the Sasanalankara also it is plain that about 20 years after Gotama attained Buddhahood, his religion found its way into certain parts of Burma. This is true no doubt, and the story that Buddhism came only into Burma when Shin Arahan visited Pagan, should be discredited.

Nine kings of the Tagaung dynasty reigned at Tharekhettara, beginning with Duttabaung and Duttayan and ending with Thiririt. Hence the saying:—

Duttabaung, Duttayan, Yan Paung, Yan Man,
Yakhkan, Hkanlaung, Let-hkaung and Thirihkan,
Lastly Thiririt—count the score,
And sure they are nine, not less nor more.

Thus the Tagaung dynasty ended and Ngataba reigned as king. His story is as follows. Once a man of Tharekhettara brought his young son to a bhikkhu and caused him to be ordained. Now the bhikkhu’s cock.
began to crow "who eats my head, becomes king Ngataba." It crew so loud that both the bhikkhu and the novice heard it, and the bhikkhu said "My boy, cook me this fine cock and offer it to me." And the novice cooked it, ate the head, and offered the body to the bhikkhu; who, when he knew that the young novice had eaten the head, wishing to see whether the cock's prophecy would come true, made the novice turn layman and left him in the charge of the chief general. The general took him to king Thiririt, who adopted him and made him his heir. And when he died the novice reigned over Tharekhettara as King Ngataba. Thus one of royal descent came to the throne. He reigned during the time of king Vattagamani who made records of the Tipitaka in consultation with five hundred monks in the 484th year of the religion. Ngataba's son Papiyan† succeeded him, and a line of thirteen kings ending with the youngest, Bhiija, followed him. Ngataba, Papiyan, Yanmuha, Yanthinhka, Munsalinda, Berinda, Munsala, Punna, Thakka, Thathi, Kannu, Kanter and Bhiija—these are the thirteen kings who reigned from Ngataba. When Bhiija died Thunnundari succeeded him in the 617th year of the religion and reigned for thirteen years.‡ In the year of his death Sakka took the guise of an old Brahman and annulled the era introduced by Mahakassapa and Ajatasattu when the Buddha died. Since then 624 years had elapsed, and he resided 622 and stamped the figure 2 on Lawakananda rock. Thus two eras are reckoned, the Dodorasa era marking the number of years since the Buddha's death minus two years, and also the Short era. This short era was later in its turn annulled by Popasawrahan after the lapse of 560 years.

King Thunnundari was succeeded by his son Atitra. Atitra was a wicked king; he sought to commit incest with his own mother but when he visited her, he saw the door of her chamber blocked against him. Shame overtook him, and retreating he was turned, because of his lasciviousness, into a monkey with thick hairy growth all over his body. His younger brother Supunnanagarachinna, succeeded him. A rebellion broke out among the Kanyans, and the King went thither with his army and suppressed it. On his way back he saw a great image of gold in the likeness of Metteyya Buddha. Filled with devotion he lingered before it and could not bring himself to return. So his ministers and followers melted the image down, cast the molten metal into twenty-eight images of the Buddha, and divided the residue among themselves. They offered the twenty-eight images to the King, but he was grieved and sorry. And because the folk of Tharekhettara had become so reckless and profane as to turn to common use the sacred gold taken from the great image, neither the six celestial guardians nor the King's piety and strictness might avail, but violence and corruption, lewdness, theft and rapine were rife in the

* Hmannan 450. † Hmannan seven years.

†—On page 205 of the Hmannan Yazawin it is stated that King Milinda and the monk Nagassena held their famous discussion at the town of Sagala in Majjhimeadesa during the reign of King Papiyan. On page 76 of the Sasanañakara the author, Maungdaung Mahadhammamathinggan, follows the Milinda Pathha Atthakatha and states that the discussion was held at Sagala, a town in Cambodia, the home of Shans and Yuns.
city of Tharekkhettara. A great whirlwind came and carried off a corn-sieve belonging to a certain woman; she cried "My corn sieve" (sakawpa sakawpa); but the people thought she was telling the approach of invaders (sekaw-sit-thi). Thus in confusion and dismay the great city of Tharekkhettara came to ruin. King Suppananagarachinna, who only came to the throne in the 16th year* of the short era, fell ill and died at the age of 28, the last of the thirty-five kings of Tharekkhettara from Duttabaung, who reigned in all from the 101st to the 638th year of the religion.

The people broke up into three groups, the Pyus, the Kanyans, and the Myannas. Again the Pyus and Kanyans fought each other and thus broke up still further into groups, until we find them settling at nineteen big villages. Nyaung-u, Nagabo, Nagakyit, and ruled by king Thamuddharit with his capital at Yonhlot-Kyu. The Buddha had left this prophecy about king Thamudharit: "In the 651st year after my death a King Thamuddharit will found a city to be called Arimaddana Paukkai. East of the town a great boar will rule attended by five hundred; on the south a great tiger will rule attended by five hundred; on the north a flying squirrel will rule attended by five hundred; on the west a great bird will rule attended by five hundred." Even so the king Thamuddharit founded Pagan in the year 29 (short era). For twelve whole years he fed the monsters—the boar, the tiger, the squirrel, and the bat. Daily the great boar required sixty rice pots, nine carloads of pumpkins, and nine carloads of meal. To the great bird also he was constrained to give his daughters, one each day. Moreover, the tiger and the flying squirrel must also be satisfied. When twelve years had passed, there came, according to prophecy, the great prince Pyussawhti, son of Adiccaraja, king of Tagaung. Once, after the decay of Tagaung, there was a rebellion at Mali, and the King fled and lived as a gardener in secrecy and solitude. His queen conceived, and was wont to worship the Nagas who dwelt in a cave hard by; who therefore cherished her until in due time the babe, Prince Pyussawhti, was born. Guarded by the Nagas and an old rishi who abode near by, the Prince grew up and excelled in all the eighteen arts. When he was risen to manhood the rishi called him, and bade him go south to Pagan where he was certain to be king. So he said farewell to the rishi and his parents, left Mali and came to Pagan where he was adopted by an old Pyu couple. One day he went out armed into the forest and with the bow which Sakka gave him he slew the four monsters which abode at the four quarters of the town. Hearing thereof king Thamuddharit was overjoyed, give him to wife his daughter Sandadevi and appointed him his heir.

Three years after Pyussawhti's preferment and marriage with Thiri Sandadevi King Thamuddharit died. Pyussawhti took not the throne himself but gave it to the rishi who had been his master and was of the royal house of Tagaung. Not till he died did Pyussawhti ascend the throne. Brahma, Sakka, and the Nagas guarded Pyussawhti. After his accession the Naga king gave him his daughter Irandadevi together with

* Hmansen 5th year.
Naga damsels and Naga youths to serve him as cocks, pages and minions. Sakka gave him a flying elephant, a flying horse, the magic lance Arindama, and other articles of use. While he reigned at Pagan, Pyusawthi built many monasteries, shrines, temples, pyathatts, rest houses and other works of merit. He consulted Sakka and Gavampati the rishi and revised the Dhammathat. Finally, after reigning for seventy-five years the great and good king died at the age of an hundred and ten.

His son Htiyin succeeded him, reigned for fifty-seven years, and died at the age of an hundred and seven. His son Yinpaik succeeded him. In the fourth year of his reign Hemamaha, daughter of Kumathwa, and prince Dantakumma, son of the king of Usseni, brought over to Ceylon a tooth of the Buddha. On the death of Yinpaik his son Paikthinli succeeded him; on Paikthinli's death, his son Thinlikyaung. During his reign a blacksmith's son, Maung Tin Te, and his sister, provoked the wrath of the Takaung king; who commanded that Maung Tin Te be bound to a chanpake tree and burnt in flames fanned by bellows. His sister also leapt into the flames, and thus both perished together. They became the Mahagiri nats and haunted the chanpake tree and troubled those who passed it. Therefore the tree was dug up from the roots and floated down the Irrawaddy. When it reached Pagan, the people took it out of the river, carved two figures of the nats, installed them at Mt. Popa and worshipped them. Moreover they held the yearly festival the Mahagiri Nat-pwe in their honour.

On the death of Thinlikyaung, his son Kyaung-durit ascended the throne in 315* (short Era). Fifteen years after his accession in the year 946 (long Era) of 324 (short Era) when King Mahanama was reigning in Ceylon, the great theras Buddhaghosa, of Buddhaghosa village, crossed over to Ceylon and copied on papyrus given him to that end by Sakka the inscriptions preserved by five hundred Arahat in the Aloka cave in Malayadesa from the time of king Vattagamani, these he brought over to Suvannabhumi or Thaton in Ramannadesa. Now at that time there were great theras like Anomadamari, pupils of Sona and Uttara, who where preaching the faith to the Burmans the Muns (Talaing), Arakanse, Shans, Yuns, Linzhen (Laos), and people of Thaukate who took up with zeal the study of the Pitakas. These copies were afterwards taken from king Manuha of Thaton by King Anawrahta of Pagan, whence they spread to diverse parts, Sagaing, Pinya, Ava, and places to the north.

The kings who followed Kyaungdurit were these:—

Thihan, Thaitaing, Thilikyaung, Hkanlaung, Hkanlat, Htunhtai, Htunpyit and Htunchit—nine in all.† Then Thingaraja, the preceptor of Htunchit's chief queen, reigned for a while, and Htunchit's son, Shweonthi, fled and lived in hiding. But the Mahagiri nats of Popa denied counsel to the ex-monk Thingaraja because he was a commoner; so that he made search for Shwe-onthi and gave him his daughter in marriage and made him his heir. In the second year ‡ of this ex-monk's reign the

* Hmannan 309.
† Omts Mukkamen, Thuye, Tharamanhpya and Thilipaik who are shown in the Hmann.
Hmann an 27th.
new era was again annulled; 560 years were rescinded and 2 left, the year being called the 2nd of the Pashusudra or new Era. On the king's death, his son-in-law Shwe-onthi came to the throne. He was succeeded by his younger brother Peikthon; who was succeeded by his son Peiktaung; who was succeeded by his brother Ngakwe; who was succeeded by Myinkywe, a commoner. His story is as follows. A rich villager of Kokkotaungpa sent a female servant to look after his plantation. She fell in love with an ogre roaming the forest, and their child was Myinkywe. Myinkywe "feeder of horses", served from his youth in the king's stables, and once while out in the forest with the king, he murdered him and seized his throne. Being an ogre's son he was of cruel fiendish nature, and when he died the ministers, wishing to have one of royal birth as their king, made search and found one Thintha and set him on the throne. Nine kings succeeded Thintha—Theinsun, Shwelaung, Hunhtwin, Shwehmauk, Munle,* Sawtinhnht, Hkelu, Pyinbya and Tannet. Of these, King Pyinbya rebuilt the city of Pagan. Taungdwingyi also was rebuilt and named Rammavai.

On Pyinbya's death his son Tannet became king. Tannet was very fond of his horses, and it was his wont to visit the stable every night. One night while on his way to the stable he was murdered by Sale Ngakwe. Who succeeded him in the year 268. This is the story of Ngakwe. By birth he was a grandson of King Theinsun, and so of royal birth. But as his parents were very poor they sold him to a rich man of Sale. The rich man sent him as a rower in a big boat which touched at Pagan. On the way he dreamed that his intestines circled the city of Pagan. As he was pondering on his dream and poling the boat along, some golden trays were caught on the end of the punt-pole. This did not satisfy him, but proceeding to Pagan he landed and, going to a Brahman's house, narrated his dream and asked for an interpretation. The Brahman said that one day he would be ruler of Pagan. He returned to Sale, left his master's house, and finally obtained employment in the stables of king Tannet. And one day when king Tannet visited the stable, he pushed him into the pit used for the horses' stable, and murdered him then ascending the throne he reigned nine years and died at the age of fifty-nine.

His Theinsuf succeeded him. Once while out in the forest with his groom he plucked a cucumber belonging to a Taungthu, and the Taungthu beat him that he died. The groom said to the Taungthu "He who slayeth a king becometh a king" and thus he brought him to Pagan on horseback, and after consultation with the Queen, the Taungthu was installed as King. No one—not even the chief ministers or generals—dared to deny that the Taungthu was the the real king; for if he denied it, the statues at the gate would come and beat them with their elbows. When the Taungthu succeeded Theinsu in the year 293, the people turned to heresy; Naga images were made and worshipped; and heretics of the city conspired with renegades from Tharekkheittara and Thaton and set up

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* Hmannan reads Munlat

Hmannan reads Theinhko.
images which were neither images of the Buddha nor of the Nats. So the religion declined.

Now a son had been born to Tannet’s chief queen who fled when Sale Ngakwe slew her husband. He was born at Kyaungpyu and he was called Kyaungpyu Min. At this time he was serving at the court of the Taungthu as a collector of betel leaves. Once, while going on his rounds, he rested beneath a saungohan tree, untied his bundle of food, ate it and made his offering to the Nat. Then Śakka came on a celestial horse and gave him the emblems of royalty; and Kyaungpyu Min, Kunzaw or collector of betel, mounted the horse and rode all glorious into the city. Now there was a prophecy that a new king would arise; and when the townsfolk saw the Kunzaw on his celestial horse, they hailed him as the king. The Taungthu, hearing the rumour, shouted in wrath that he was still king, but a grim fate overtook him. The statues at the palace gates arose from their place, dragged him forth, and beat him that he died. Then the ministers and people set the Kunzaw on the throne. It was in the year 326 (short Era). King Kunzaw also appointed as his queens the three sisters, queens of the Taungthu. The eldest, Taungpyinthi, had carried now nine months in her womb the babe Kyizo; the Alepyinthi had carried six months in her womb the babe Sokkate; and the Myaukpyinthi gave birth to Anawrahta by Kunzaw Min. When Kunzaw had reigned for two years and was now eighty years old, Kyizo and Sokkate besought the king to go and pour the ceremonial water at the dedication of a great monastery they had just built. And when he came, they threatened him and forced him to became a monk; and he, being now old and decrepit yielded to their threats and lived as a monk in that very monastery.

Then Kyizo reigned; while he was out hunting at Bankyi-se-ywa, a hunter, taking him for a deer, shot an arrow and slew him. His brother Sokkate succeeded him. Now Sokkate desired the mother of Anawrahta as his chief queen. One day he called Anawrahta into his presence and said “Anawrahta, my brother, and my son to be!” This Anawrahta told to Kunzaw, who exclaimed “He means to take to wife thy mother” At this Anawrahta waxed wroth and burned with rage. “I must fight Sokkate” he said, and asked Kunzaw for his flying horse and weapons. And Kunzaw gave him the magic lance Arindama and the Nawarat ring, and said: “The flying horse is running wild at Popa. Shew the Nawarat ring, and he will approach and thou mayest seize him.” Then Anawrahta sent Sokkate a challenge to single combat; so they fought, and Anawrahta pierced Sokkate with the Arindama lance, and he died near a tree.* When Anawrahta’s mother heard that her son Anawrahta had killed her nephew Sokkate, she was as one distraught and, forgetting her breast-cloth, she went about crying “son and husband! son and husband Puttalin! Puttalin!” A shrine was built at the spot and named Puttalin.

On Sokkate’s death, Anawrahta went to the monk his father and offered him the throne, but he refused. So Anawrahta appointed him chief of the monks, and ascended the throne on Monday, the 8th waxing

* Hmannan reads river.
of Pyatho, 379 Sakkaraj. While he was king Sakka visited him in a
dream; and in obedience to his behests Anawrahta built monasteries, caves,
temples, ụyaithats, gardens, lakes, canals, drains and bridges, both to
obtain merit and to propitiate the spirit of his brother Sokkate. Now
Anawrahta gave orders that another queen be brought to him beside the
mother of Sawlu; so ministers went and brought him the princess
Pyinsakalyani from Vasali in Majjhimaesa. This Pyinsakalyani, mother
of Kyansittha, was not of human birth but natural. And Anawrahta
received her in a pavilion built expressly to that end, and then departed
for the city; wherefore the place is known as Minpyantaung. When they
reached the city, the minister told him that the princess was not of royal
blood but adopted. Now this was false, but the minister desired to
conceal the fact that he had himself seduced the princess on the way,
therefore Anawrahta banished the princess to Pareinma where Kyanzittha
was born. At his birth the earth quaked and the rumour spread that a
future king would appear. Orders therefore were given to slay all women
with child. But the Nagas guarded the princess and the prince, her son,
was left over; therefore was he called Kyanzittha. Moreover, being born
at Pareinma, he was known as Pareinmazittha. He became a novice,
and while he was being given water the golden pitcher upset and the roof
of his mouth glowed. By this they knew that he was of royal birth.
Because the pitcher upset, the prince was also known as Kayalanzittha.
Moreover because of other incidents in his life he is known by many
other names. After this, King Anawrahta grew very fond of his young
son and kept him always at his side, assigning him for a retinue three
men of more than natural powers. Once hearing that there were four
celestial horses with their caparisons at a village called Let-hiot, he sent
Kyanzittha and his three horsemen to capture the horses and each caught
one. Thus Anawrahta had five celestial horses including the one given
by Sakka. When Anawrahta had been four years on the throne his father
Kyaukgyiyyu died. The date of Anawrahta's accession is 349. (For
further detail see the Hmannan Yazawin).

Though Buddhism had come to Burma before the time of Anawrahta
yet it was not established at Pugarama or Pagan. Former kings and
others of the blood royal paid reverence to the sixty thousand heretics,
descendants of the thirty schismatic monks the Ari-gyi. When they
wished to give in marriage son or daughter, they had first to give them
over for one night to these heretics. Anawrahta despised the custom, and
was praying for the true Faith when Shin Arawan arrived at the city.
Shin Arawan was an Arahat who once surveying the world in a vision, saw
that Burma, though a large country and one where Buddhism had come
to prosper, was not yet free from the yoke of heretics, the Ari-gyi.
Therefore he came to Pagan minded to expel them and took up his abode
in a large forest at some distance from the town. A hunter found him, and
thinking him some strange sort of a barbarian brought him to Anawrahta's
palace; who knowing him for an Arahat paid him reverence and gave him
many offerings. He asked him certain questions about the Buddhist
religion, and the Arahat replied in a clear illuminating manner concerning
the Buddha's life and powers, his death and the history of the religion, the distribution of the relics, the three great Councils, Buddhaghosa's journey to Ceylon, and the bringing of the Tripiṭaka thence to king Manuha at Thaton. Hearing this Anawrahta was overjoyed, and built a monastery for the Arahant wherein the Dhutanga might be practised and greatly reverenced him. He unfrocked the heretical monks and caused them to serve as menials.

Now about this time two Indian brothers entered the service of Anawrahta. Their ship had been wrecked near Thaton, and they, clinging each to a plank, had come safe to shore and going to Thaton abode there with a monk. Once while walking in the forest the monk found the dead body of a Yogi who had attained Jhana. He asked his pupils the two brothers, to bring it along with them saying that he who cooked the flesh and ate it, would become master of all the sciences, so they brought the dead body. And it was like a two months' babe and smelt as sweet as Abandhara mangoes. One day while the monk was away at the palace, the two brothers cooked the flesh and ate it, and straightway became light and lively and sportive; they gained immense strength and shifted a huge slab of rock which stood near the monastery steps. When the monk returned from the palace he noticed the strange behaviour of the two brothers and guessed that they had eaten the Yogi's flesh, but he remained silent. When Manuha King of Thaton came to know of it, he resolved to capture them. The elder brother was caught sleeping in his mistress's house; but the younger slipped away and served under king Anawrahta. Once while he was gathering flowers at Mt. Popa, he lay with an ogress; two sons, Shwepyingyi and Shwepyinnge, were born to them and they took service under Anawrahta. The elder brother's remains, on the monk's advice, were buried around the city, and thus the city became impregnable.

Now king Anawrahta had become very pious under the guidance and instruction of Shin Arahan, and he used to put questions to him. One day the Arahant told him that the Pitakas, in their pure uncorrupted form as brought over by Buddhaghosa, existed at Thaton. So Anawrahta sent an ambassador with presents to the king of Thaton and requested some share of the scripture. But the king of Thaton was angry and replied with rudeness that the scriptures were not for such as he. When Anawrahta received the massage he was enraged, and taking a large army with Kyanzittha and his three men Nga-htweyu, Ngalonlethpe, and Nyaung-u, he marched on Thaton meaning to capture it. Manuha was afraid, and closing the city gates abode within. Anawrahta sought to penetrate the city both by water and land, but in spite of the wonderful heroes assisting him he failed again and again because of the bones of the Indian youth interred around the city. It was not until he consulted the brother who had entered his service, that he knew the cause. Thereupon he removed the bones and floated them down into the ocean, and entering the city of Thaton captured Manuha together with his wife and family, elephants, horses, and retinue and brought back to Pagan the relics and the Pitakas preserved at Thaton. He made fair appeal to the
monks, inviting them to his city, and returned jubilant with all his host to Arimaddana. He set the relics in a casket of rubies and placing them at the head of his couch worshipped them. He kept the Buddhist canonical works, thirty in number, in a golden palace where saints and members of the Buddhist order were allowed to teach the Buddhist doctrines. Manuha king of Thaton and his retainers were located at Myinkaba. Tradition says that whenever Manuha spoke flashes of light would come out of his mouth and whenever he paid homage to Anawrahta the latter would be struck with awe his hairs standing on end. To deprive him of his power Anawrahta made offerings of rice to the relics of the Buddha and gave them to Manuha who, after partaking of that meal became powerless. Overwhelmed with remorse Manuha prayed! "In the course of my transmigration may I never be conquered by any one." He then built an image of the Buddha (lying on his deathbed) before the attainment of Nirvana. That Image is known as Manuha to this day. This is a short history of Lower Burma.
STUDIES IN INDO CHINESE PHILOLOGY* NO. 1.

THE DIALECTS OF BURMESE (I).

BY L. F. TAYLOR.

Introduction.

1. Sir George Grierson has placed it upon record that "most of the dialects belonging to the Burma group are all but unknown, and only the classical language of the Burmese literature, as it is spoken by educated Burmans, has been made available to philologists." This paper therefore, which is based on the comparison of nine different dialects of Burmese, opens up a new subject.

In 1918 gramaphone records were prepared by the Burma Government, at the request of Sir George Grierson, in twenty-nine of the languages and dialects found in the Province. These included eight of the dialects considered herein. In order that the pieces recorded might be properly understood, and in the absence of anything but the scantiest information concerning the dialects of Burmese, the Local Government sent me out on tour to investigate these different forms of speech in situ. The result is that we now possess (at present in manuscript) outline grammars and lengthy vocabularies of many languages which had hitherto remained uninvestigated. It is upon some of these materials that the present study is based.

Should results of any value appear in this and in subsequent papers, our thanks will be due to Mr. C. Morgan Webb, L.C.S., late Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma, who not only suggested and made possible these investigations but who has also advocated strongly the institution of a Linguistic Survey for Burma to supplement the Survey conducted by Sir George Grierson for India. For my part I owe much also to Mr. Mark Hunter, IDirector of Public Instruction, who has not only permitted me to work outside his department but has also assisted me by his advice and encouragement. For any defects in the treatment of the materials, I alone must accept responsibility.

2. A word is here necessary on the meaning of the word dialect. If we travel to any civilized part of Upper or Lower Burma between say Rangoon and Shwebo we shall find that the medium of communication is a language called Burmese. Knowing this language we can enter into conversation readily in any place. Nevertheless we shall discover slight variations in pronunciation and idiom here and there. These however are too insignificant to arrest our attention. We shall therefore be justified

*The present paper is the first of a series of studies of the dialects of some of the principal language groups of the Province. The next paper will deal with some of the more remote dialects of Burmese. This will be followed by papers on the Lolo languages and on the dialects of Karen and Shan.
in regarding this language as uniform and the local variations as of insufficient importance to be termed dialects.*

If, on the other hand, we travel to Tavoy or to Arakan, or if we should happen to stay for a while in the villages near the Uppermost Defile of the Irrawaddy we shall find ourselves considerably puzzled to know what is being said to us. In a week however, or a month or in three months as the case may be, we shall discover that we can get along quite well. The sounds which were formerly so strange will now appear to be Burmese words strangely pronounced, and the grammar will appear to be nearly the same as the grammar we have been used to. In a word, we shall recognise, and learn sufficiently well to understand it, a dialect of Burmese.

It is with dialects of Burmese, in this sense of the term, that we shall deal in this paper. Of such dialects there are perhaps eleven or twelve, but I have been able to investigate nine only, including Burmese itself.

It may be mentioned in passing that materials have been collected also from the languages of the more uncivilized peoples. Five or six of these languages, which bear no superficial resemblance to Burmese, are found on close study to be so similar to it in grammar, idiom and even in vocabulary when we have determined the phonetic laws that hold, that we must classify them also as dialectical variations. I have not sufficient time however to embody them in the present investigations and must set them aside for future occasion.

3. The dialects with which we are concerned at present are the following:—Burmese, Arakanese, Tavoyan, Intha, Danu, Yaw, Samong Ipon, Megyaw Ipun, and Taungyo. A few preliminary remarks may be made about each of them.

Burmese.—This is the lingua franca of the country. I have already referred to its uniformity above. The literary language differs somewhat from the colloquial in being more conservative and more uniform. It is the colloquial form however that I have chosen for my present purposes. The pronunciation of Burmese has changed considerably during the last thousand years if we are to judge by the spelling of the oldest stone inscriptions. There can be no doubt that Burmese, when it was first written, was written phonetically; and by a study of the old inscriptions we can measure with some accuracy, the changes that have

* Languages belonging to three different families are widely spoken in Burma: these are the Tibeto-Burman, Tai-Chinese and Mon-Khmer families. In this paper we are considering the dialects belonging to one of the subdivisions of the Tibeto-Burman family, viz., the Burma group of dialects. This group is numerically and politically, the most important group in the Province, containing Burmese which is spoken by 8 million out of the 12 million inhabitants. It is not to be supposed, however, from the manner in which I have defined the term of dialect,” that we shall be able in a short time to understand the speech of any natives whom we may encounter. I am supposing only that we are attempting to communicate with speakers of dialects belonging to the Burma group. Shan, Karen and other distinct forms of speech would have to be acquired ab initio, possessing as they do different structures, grammars and vocabularies. Danu or Taungyo or any of the other dialects of Burmese, on the other hand, can be acquired by the application of easily recognised phonetic laws to the lingua franca of the Province.
taken place. It has therefore been urged more than once that any comparison of the vocabularies of the dialects of Burmese ought to be made with the old Burmese of the Inscriptions and not with modern colloquial Burmese. This is, in the main, a right contention. It is equally true however that only by a study of the sounds of the dialects can we be really sure what the pronunciation of the oldest written Burmese really was. Seeing therefore that my present limits confine me to the comparison of dialects and exclude any investigation of old Burmese, I have chosen the Burmese colloquial speech simply as one of the nine dialects to be compared. The investigation of the sounds of Old Burmese is therefore left for a later occasion. The old spellings (which often differ considerably from the modern spellings) are being collected for me, and no work of any value can be done until this task shall have been completed.

ARAKANESE — This is the speech of the civilized peoples of Arakan. The pronunciation differs a good deal from Burmese. In many ways it is more archaic, sound and spelling being more in agreement. Tentatively we may consider the sounds of Arakanese as resembling those of Burmese when the language was first reduced to writing, about a thousand years ago. Arakanese and Burmese must have parted from one another somewhere between one and two thousand years ago.

TAVOYAN.—Tavoy is supposed to have been peopled by colonists from Arakan, and the language is said to be Arakanese which has undergone change and which has been influenced by Siamese. It does undoubtedly resemble Arakanese in many respects and popular opinion may be correct. I doubt however whether Siamese has exercised as much influence as has been supposed.

INTHA.—In Yawngwe in the Southern Shan States a strange people is to be found who live on the Inle Lake and in the neighbouring villages. They say they migrated thither from Tavoy some six hundred years ago. The language is in many respects archaic and does resemble Tavoyan. The Inthas are undoubtedly much mixed in race, but they have preserved their language in a fair degree of purity.

DANU.—The Danus live near to the Inthas. What they are racially cannot be determined. Probably they are a mixture. Their language however is most distinctly a form of old Burmese with peculiar modifications of the vowel sounds which may be due to Shan or Taungthu influence.

YAW.—The Yaws live in the Pakokku District. What they were originally has not been determined. I suspect however that they are civilized plains Chins who have adopted Burmese speech within the last four or five hundred years. Of all the dialects of Burmese, this most resembles Burmese.

HPON.—The Hpons are a small community who live on the defile of the Irawaddy between Bhamo and Myitkyina. They are referred to in Chinese History, as having been settled in South-West Yunnan some time
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before the eighth century A.D., and they came into Burma about six hundred years ago.

They claim that they lived in Burma before they went into Yunnan, and the probability of this is borne out by their language which, although it is on the very verge of extinction, is still well remembered by a few old men. It is unmistakeably a dialect of Burmese (it has now become divided into two sub-dialects the Samong and Megyaw) though very archaic in form, much more so in fact than Arakanese. Many words which occur as monosyllables in other dialects of Burmese are still to be found as disyllables in Hpon, and evidence points to this as being the older form. Hpon alone provides many of the intermediate forms of words which are essential for the successful linking up of Burmese with many other Tibeto-Burman forms of speech. Without a knowledge of Hpon, the full study of the history of the Burmese language is impossible.

TAUNGYO.—This is another primitive form of Burmese. It is spoken in the west of the Southern Shan States. It preserves many very archaic features, such as an "i" sound which corresponds to an Arakanese "r" and which in Burmese is represented by "y". On the other hand it has suffered much phonetic decay, so that a Burman will not recognise it as a form of Burmese at all. Nevertheless it has preserved a wonderful degree of purity and freedom from admixture and is a dialect of Burmese beyond all possibility of doubt. I suppose it to have branched off from the parent stem a considerable time ago and to be one of the older dialects of Burmese.

SYNTAX AND GRAMMAR.

4. On examination we find that the syntax and grammars of these dialects are almost identical with one another and with Burmese. In describing briefly, then, the structure of Burmese I shall be describing that of the eight dialects which we are investigating.

Burmese belongs to the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of the Tibeto Chinese family of languages. It is an isolating language and is usually described as being "tonal and monosyllabic". So far as "monosyllabilism" is concerned, it is safe to say that many of the monosyllables of the present day are but poorly disguised disyllables and there is now evidence that many of the undoubtedly monosyllabic words are but the result of phonetic decay acting on and disguising old words of two or more syllables.

* "In A.D. 738, the Nanchoo conqueror Imousum established the Jwan-aawa prefecture at the modern T'eng-yueh or Momein, then inhabited by three tribes called Pub, Piao and Och'ang." Parker in the China Review, vol. XX, p. 393. Quoted by Gerini.

The Och'ang are the modern Manghas or Achars who still live in S.W. Yunnan. The Pub and Piao are almost certainly the two tribes of Hpons who still pronounce "Hpon" as Hpur and Hpye respectively. They claim to have resided, whilst in China, at Meng-Ti which is the Chinese Nantien near Tengyueh.
The following are some of the characteristic features of the grammar and structure:

(i) The unit of speech is a root which does not correspond to any of our English parts of speech. According to its place in the sentence, or by addition of some formative (itself originally a root), it may fulfil the functions of noun, adjective, verb or adverb. The term root is here applied to such a unit of speech, though the unit may itself be of secondary origin, a compound or fusion of roots of an older language period. They are primary roots so far as the Dialects of Burmese are concerned though they may be but secondary products in a wider sense.

(ii) The general order of the parts of the sentence is subject, object, verb.

(iii) Gender accords with sex. The sexes are represented either by distinct words or by particles indicating sex prefixed to nouns (or pronouns) of common gender.

(iv) The plural is indicated either by collective adjectives or by a postfixed particle implying multiplicity.

(v) The nouns and pronouns are indeclinable. "Case relations" are indicated by various postfixes which have the functions of English prepositions.

(vi) The adjective may generally precede or follow the noun it qualifies. In the former case a connective particle is, in some dialects, inserted between the adjective and the noun. Some adjectives are in some dialects confined by use to one or the other position only. The genitive precedes the governing noun.

(vii) The adverb precedes the verb.

(viii) The verb is an impersonal root. The persons are indicated by the pronouns or subject. The tenses are indicated by postfixed particles. The transitive form of a verb is distinguished from the intransitive form either by the aspiration of the initial consonant or by the use of the auxiliary verb "to cause". The passive form may be distinguished from the active either by putting the subject into the objective case or by the use of the auxiliary verb "to suffer". Thus "me call" or "I suffer a calling" would be the passive forms of "I call".

(ix) In common with almost all the languages of South-East Asia we find the employment of numeral affixes in the enumeration of nouns. In such cases the noun generally comes first, the numeral next, and then follow a word descriptive of some quality of the noun. Thus for "two men", "two needles", "two eggs" or "two houses" we must say "men two beings", "needles two long things", "eggs two spherical things" or "houses two structures". The same numeral affixes are to be found
THE DIALECTS OF BURMESE.

in all the dialects of Burmese, though Hpon employs some affixes which have probably been borrowed from the Shans.

5. Another feature that our comparison brings to light is the common possession of many idioms and compounds. It is common in Burmese to find two monosyllables united to form a compound word. Such monosyllables may usually, but not always, exist alone. We find however many of the same compounds occurring in every dialect. It is evident therefore that these are of great antiquity, having been formed before the dialects separated from the parent language. Similar idioms are also found throughout, thus to listen or obey is invariably rendered by "to erect the ear". These also must be of great age.

6. The individual words too are nearly always the same. That is they are the same etymologically though phonetically they differ. The following illustrations will make my meaning plain. The English word in each case will be followed by the Burmese, Arakanese, Tavoyan, Intha, Danu, Yaw, Samong Hpoh, Megyaw Hpon and Taungyo words.

To drop:—Cha, cha, kla, cha, cha, cha, cha, kla, klaw.

Horse:—Myn, mrang, byin, hmyang, meang, myang, maw, myo, mle.

Become:—pyit, praik, pyit, pyit, pyit, pyit, pyit, platik.

Stone:—kyauk, kyauk, kla, kyok, kyok, ka-laik, ka-lok, klo.

The proportion of words in the vocabularies of the various dialects which correspond to the words in Burmese varies between 70 and 98 per cent.

7. Having shown that the dialects are similar in structure and idiom and vocabulary, it follows that the essential part of our enquiry will be a study of the phonetic changes that words undergo as they pass from dialect to dialect. We must classify the words according to their sounds and meanings and study the phonetic changes that take place. We shall find that law and order prevail and shall discover certain laws which regulate these changes.

8. We may divide words into four groups, according to their sounds. In the first group are included those words which occur as simple vowel sounds. The second group includes words which commence with a vowel and which terminate in a nasal or in a "killed consonant". The third group includes words which commence with a consonant and which end in a vowel, whilst in the fourth group are included the words of triple formation. They commence with a consonant (or combination of consonants) which is followed by a vowel (or diphthong) and they terminate in a nasal or with a killed consonant. The words in the first three groups may, for the sake of convenience, be regarded as special forms and we may represent the typical word by the definition which has been applied to the words in group four.

Since however the killed consonants are not really pronounced but constitute only modifications of the preceding vowel, and since the only real finals are k, n and ng, it follows that it will be sufficient to trace the
changes that our syllables undergo first when arranged according to their initial sounds and secondly when arranged according to their middle or vowel sounds.

9. This I have attempted to do, and the materials which I have employed are vocabularies of some eight hundred words in each of the nine dialects. For the sake of facilitating the work I have dropped out of comparison all compound words (for in these secondary changes take place) and words of Pali origin and have been left with a list of approximately five hundred monosyllables, the greater part of which are to be found in every dialect. The changes which these syllables have undergone have been tabulated and are given at the end of this paper.

10. So far I have dealt with facts In this concluding paragraph I wish to deal with something which has not yet been established but which is indicated by the materials that have been collected. I do not claim originality* for the hypothesis that I am about to express, I content myself with asserting that the new materials tend to strengthen it and encourage us to believe that some day it will be either confirmed or refuted.

If we investigate words in the Indonesian languages we find that they have a definite structure. In the first place there is a definite root, consisting generally of three sounds: a consonant, vowel and final consonant. From these roots are formed word-bases. The bare root may become a word-base, or the reduplicated root may do so, or roots may be combined and form a word base, or finally the word base may be formed from the root by formative particles which may be prefixes, infixes or postfixes. Finally, by the extension of the word base by reduplication or formative particles are formed the bulk of the words of the Indonesian dialects. All this can be demonstrated with certainty because the Indonesian words are polysyllabic and phonetic decay, though sometimes great, has not disguised the traces.

* For earlier formulations of this hypothesis see two important papers: "A contribution to Burmese Philology" by J. A. Stewart and "Burmese Philology" by C. Duroiselle in volumes II and III respectively of this Journal. Mr. Stewart states it as follows:—"(1) Groups of words whose main differentia is tone are seen to have a close similarity of meaning. (2) The members of such a group are probably derivatives or variations of one original root. (3) Such roots were probably non-tonal, that is, they might be pronounced indifferently in any tone." Mr. Duroiselle goes further than this, he says: "Words which are closely related in meaning have the same inherent vowel sound." He gives several series of words to illustrated his meaning and continues: "All the words in these series also may probably be traced back to one original root, from which the several cognate meanings have been wrung out, not so much by means of the tones, as by prefixing to the vowel-sound of the original root-word a different consonant; I am not prepared to point out which word in any series may have been the original root; this will require further research. And again: "it may possibly be affirmed that in Burmese, the paucity of the original roots was eked out, not only by means of tones, but also by the use of different initial consonants."

My own views coincide very closely with these but the process of word building has been outlined in somewhat greater detail.

Mr. Duroiselle's paper has had the effect of initiating a laborious research on the part of an old member of the Society, which has thrown further light on the structure of Burmese words but which is not yet ready for publication.
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I contend that something of the same sort has occurred in the monosyllabic languages of the Tibeto Burman group if not in all the monosyllabic languages of South-East Asia. I must however confine myself here to Burmese and its dialects.

I believe that in the history of Burmese, as in Indonesian, roots were converted into word bases, and that word bases were extended until a large vocabulary had been built up. Such words must have been poly-syllables originally and must have betrayed the nature of their origin. At a later date phonetic decay set in on an almost unprecedented scale and these poly-syllables became shortened and simplified into monosyllables. But this is the source of all our difficulties. Polysyllabic Burmese (or rather proto-Burmese) could have been analysed and studied. Mono-
syllabic Burmese however defies analysis.

Nevertheless certain indications may be pointed out.

(I) If we look through a burmese dictionary we are arrested by many words which have similar meanings and similarity in sound. For instance (i) wa, an orifice; win, a fence round an enclosure; wut, to dress or wear; wun, to be round or circular; wun, the belly; we, to overflow or distilute; we, to run round an object; wè, a whirlpool; wè to fly round an object; waik, tocurve round; waing, to encircle; etc. etc. (ii) la, to come; la, to advance; lun, to exceed or trespass; a-lun, exceedingly; lān, a road; lōw, to err or wander; hitwè, to divert, etc., or (iii) kin, to cook; chet, to cook; kyat, a word connected with cooking places, soot, etc.; kyo, to boil to a pulp; kywun, to be burnt up; kyaung, to feed, tend; kywe, to give a meal; kyet, to cook; chit, to be burnt, as food in cooking;—and so on.

I could give dozens of such groups of words, but those given already are typical of the rest. In some instances I have discovered twenty-six different words which are similar in sound and meaning.

I think we safely conclude that there is a common root submerged in every one of the words of each group. This root has in each case been extended and modified in meaning by various formative elements which have been attached to and become fused with it.

(II) That it was possible for formatives to have modified words is indicated not only by what has been said immediately above, but also by the fact that a similar thing can be seen to-day. The transitive verb is formed from the intransitive by the aspiration of the initial consonant. Thus from no, to wake, we form hno, to awaken; from nit, to be drowned, we form hnit, to drown something else; from le, to fall, we form hle to fell; from kya, to fall, we form cha to drop, etc. This illustration* does not, of course, afford us any proof, but shows that monosyllables are not unalterable and it encourages us to hope that a minute comparison of Burmese words may enable us in time to effect at least a partial analysis.

* Other examples are to be found in the modifications of the sounds of certain pronouns. For instance "his house" thu i ein becomes thu ein (ဗီးဗောင် = ဗောင်) and the objective "him," thu + go, becomes thügo ဗောင် (ဗောင် = ဗောင်)
(III) Some few words which occur as monosyllables in Burmese, occur as disyllables in Hpon. We will consider two instances.

The word for tiger in Burmese is kya, in Hpon it is kā-la. The word for stone in Burmese is kyauk, in Hpon is is kā-laук. The "ka" is a common prefix in Hpon, and many words cannot exist without it. Now the "1" in Hpon corresponds very frequently to "y" in Burmese. Thus I suppose kā- tä and kā-laук to have become kā-ya and kā-yaук. These forms would telescope at once into kya and kyauk. That "1" was the original sound contained in these words is proved conclusively by a comparison of the same words in other languages of the Tibeto-Burman family and even in the dialects of Burmese itself. Thus for tiger we get "kla" in Tavoyan and "klaw" in Taungyo. For stone we find "klaw" in Tavoyan and "klō" in Taungyo. We have therefore, in the Burmese words kya and kyauk, succeeded in proving the fusion of a prefix with a root.

All this, however, requires further investigation, and the materials that have been collected should prove of value. I hope to deal with the subject more fully at a later occasion. The illustrations given above are not all that I have been able to collect, they are just sufficient to indicate the nature of the evidence upon which our hypothesis is based. Not until we know more of the word structure, not only of the Burmese, but also of the Shan, Karen and the Mon-Khmer languages shall we be able to understand their relationships with one another. Much less shall we be able to make any fruitful comparison of this order of languages with Indonesian or with the great order of agglutinating languages which extends across Eur-Asia from Hungary to Japan.*

* Above all things in Philology let fear to be as:
   "Those learned philologues who chase
    A panting syllable through time and space,
    Start it at home, and hunt it in the dark
    To Gaul, to Greece and into Noah's Ark."
### Table IA.

Some of the changes undergone by initial consonants.

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* X is the same written ch in the German sch or Scutch sch; q represents the corresponding sonans. This note applies to the succeeding tables also.
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* The numbers in this column represent the acoustic properties of the syllables that are included in the succeeding columns. 1 represents high, stopped unstressed syllables usually distinguished in writing by the auk myit sign; 2 represents ordinary long unmarked syllables; 3 represents long stressed syllables distinguished in writing by the she pauk; 4 represents high, checked stressed syllables which, in writing, terminate in a killed consonant.

† The symbol ဗိုလ် is used to represent the vowel ဗိုလ် or any consonant or combined consonants which can be substituted for it to make words. The syllables given therefore represent types of syllables rather than actual words. Thus ဗိုလ် represents ဗိုလ် as well as words such as ကြား, ကြား, etc.
### TABLE II.B.

List of words to illustrate Table II.A.

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RATUS OR LYRICAL POEMS OF LETWE-THONDRA.

1. The undecided controversy between Mg. Tin and U Po Byu in the pages of this Journal does not preclude others from a further study of the poems in question. Mg. Tin's translation based on Saya Thein's prefatory note will be found on pages 13 and 14 of Volume VI, Part I, and Mg. Ba Han's translation based on U Po Byu's illuminating notes appeared on pages 52 and 53 of Volume VII, Part I. Readers may judge the relative merits of their translations compared with our plainest translation of the first three verses, given below. We shall discuss the next poem some other time.

2. First of all, it is necessary to discuss the readings. Read ကြီးကိုင်း for ကြီးကိုင်း. The author gave us the triple rhyme but not the uniformity of finals. In technical language it is the simple ကြီးကိုင်း but not ကြီးကိုင်း. We cannot pronounce ကြီးကိုင်း as tawzin to mean a range of forest. In the first place, it will throw out the rhyme. In the second place, it is not a usual expression. We here of ကြီးကိုင်း (a range of hills), but ကြီးကိုင်း. But if we were to read ကြီးကိုင်း as taw-si to mean a flourishing forest the author never intended to admire exuberant growths in the forest. U Po Byu is wrong in not regarding 甜 in ကြီးကိုင်း as the poetical abbreviation of သော့ corresponding to English auxiliary "will". According to him, သော့ implies fault of doing a forbidden act. သော့ really implies an accidental happening. If used in this sense, the expression would be ကြီးကိုင်း, but I do not think the author intended a metathesis here. ကြီးကိုင်း would be a better reading than ကြီးကိုင်း, so as to correspond with the meaning of ကြီး - to rise. The idea here is "nearly to reach the sky"; that is to say, "as high as the sky"; and not "as broad as the sky". If ကြီးကိုင်း has to be understood along with the various pagodas mentioned in the preceding passages, we would substitute ကြီးကိုင်း for it, in order to express the idea of flashes of light, like lightning, crossing one another from various pagodas encircling the city. ကြီး means to obstruct and နာ to paint, inlay or variegate. A recent visit to the place, however did not suggest to us the idea of the city having been obstructed by, and inlaid with, pagodas. Moreover, the word ကြီး - to cross, does not match well with ကြီး, but with ကြီး - to mingle, as in the fourth verse. On the other hand, the expression ကြီးကိုင်း is a doubtful reading. In our younger days we heard some people recite ကြီးကိုင်း "flooded by rays of emeralds". In that case ကြီးကိုင်း will have to be read with ကြီးကိုင်း referring, not to the pagodas but, to the palace. Then we would substitute ကြီး for ကြီး to express the sense of wonderful ornamentation in the way of artistic arrangements of variegated glasses, colours, etc. as in ကြီး or ကြီး.

3. In the second verse, Mg. Tin reads ကြီးကိုင်း which U Po Byu corrects into ကြီးကိုင်း. The sense of ကြီး is not explained by U Po Byu.
I am of opinion that it is an abbreviation of ကုန်း although very often ကုန်း is reduplicated or rather restored as in ကုန်းကုန်း. If ကုန်း be a correct reading, it must refer to the alluvial formation of shoals or sandbanks as in ကုန်းကုန်း—Then we would suggest ကုန်းကုန်း as an alternative reading to mean that the Meza river forms its shoals and sandbanks a new every year. ကုန်းကုန်း would be an improved reading to express the idea that the river in its onward course pushes a floating body, e.g., a log, here and strikes a fixed obstruction, e.g., a tree or rock, there. But the former alternative is more in keeping with the first sentence. We do not accept U Po Byu’s explanation of ကုန်း in the archaic sense of visibleness. Moreover, to make ကုန်း mean “to appear” is stretching a point to give us a very inappropriate idea of the Meza river appearing visibly. Read ကုန်း for ကုန်း to express the wish for the return of day-light, rather than the sun itself which gives not only light but heat as well, since heat is not an element wanted in this connection.

4. It is further necessary to discuss differences of opinion as regards sense. We do not agree with U Po Byu’s stand-point that there is a conflict between love and loyalty. It is not loyalty that bids the poet accept his punishment. Enforced absence from home during exile denotes no more loyalty in his breast than in that of a prisoner. ကုန်း does not denote the force of an irresistible feeling, but means “presently.” ကုန်း is a separate entity, and the expression is therefore not an epithet of ကုန်း as contended by U Po Byu. Saya U Saing’s plan between pages 278 and 279 of volume VII, Part III has practically disposed of this dispute. But the former is ascribed to Alaungpaya’s father and U Po Byu found in the Mahayajawindawgyi the regilding of the latter by Alaungpaya. Therefore it is clear that ကုန်း in the poem refers to Alaungpaya’s father. Even then, it was possible that the poems were written during the reign of Sinbyushin, the second son of Alaungpaya, as contended by Saya Thein. We must not however go further and ascribe ကုန်း and ကုန်း to the same personage. U Po Byu connects these with Narapatissithu of Pagan. But during our recent visit to Shwebo, people there thus connect the Shwetaza pagoda only.

5. We were taken aback by U Po Byu’s misinterpretation of ကုန်းကုန်း. He does not take ကုန်း to mean a village of Burmese opposition, but understands it in the verbal sense of reconnoitring as an advance guard. And he takes ကုန်း not to mean a hill but “South.” He fell into this error because of his misdating the poems from what he supposed to be internal evidence of the third verse. The poet’s mere reference to the annual festival of Nyaungyee which takes place in Kason in this verse does not necessarily indicate that it was written during that festival any more than his reference to the pole star indicates that the second verse was written at night. But there is a distinct indication in ကုန်းကုန်း that the 6th verse was written some time after the Lent which begins from the full moon of Wazo. If we were to suppose that all the verses were contemporaneous documents the word ကုန်း (snow) in the third verse would show that if was written not in Kason but in winter. Another consideration for coming to this conclusion is that we imagine the Meza river to
be practically dry in Kason. Sandbanks or shoals are not formed amidst flowing water either when the river is full as in the rains or when it is dry as in the hot weather. Again, dry leaves in Kason would not impart a darksome tint to the waters of Meza as in .

In all probability the author concluded his first poem of 3 verses in winter, but he could not despatch it to the Capital before he completed his second poem of another 3 verses during the Lenten period.

I think it was Saya Thaw Zin who brought it to my notice the line . Probably out of the ten villages, half the number were used as advance outposts in Burmese times. In any case there is at present a railway station named Seywa on the north of Meza, and though we did not see the Kinsan hill or village during our night's journey, we were told by the people that there is still a village named Kinsan not far from Seywa. Therefore it is clear that the wintry wind came from Kinsan on the North and the second verse was intended to express the poet's feelings during the winter night.

6. Although we take several exceptions to the two translations as not only inaccurate but also as introducing matters foreign to the poems, we will content ourselves with pointing out only a few of the errors.

Mg. Tin's introduction of the modern Admanans into a medieval poem to give a realistic effect is an anachronism which cannot be pardoned. He is further out in making the Meza river flow 'with a continuous uproar'. He seems to have fallen into this mistake by misreading  as  in the previous passage, he gets  to thunder. Mg. Ba Han, who did not follow U Po Byu's notes, is equally wrong in understanding  to mean "to cut" as in his "clear-cut Meza". By this he probably meant "clearly defined". But Meza to no more clearly defined than any other river.

The expression  did not receive attention from U Po Byu. Mg. Tin renders it "thick with dew" and Mg. Ba Han follows Mg. Tin and renders it "folded in mist". Both of them take  to be the equivalent of  We very much doubt if U Po Byu himself, who mistrad the poem as having been written in Kason, would have sanctioned this sense. But  is an archaic word for  loudly. How can snow, mist or dew be loud! Englishmen speak of "cloud colour" but we Burmese never speak of loud mist or dew. We meet with  in other passages where the idea of snow is not necessarily involved. The author of the  spells the expression as  and attempts an explanation on page 890. Some say  is the name of an animal. But he is of opinion that it means "to collect" and  denotes undistinguishable sounds of fallen leaves, chirpings of birds, sounds of animals, etc., etc., in a very thick forest, as in the expression . So the expression  means mingled and undistinguishable sounds. One thing clear is that  is an equivalent of . Moreover,  seems to be philologically connected with , as a cognate consonant is interchangeable with its corresponding nasal, the difference being only in the nasalization of the latter. Thus  Similarly we have  would, according to him, mean "silence
audible", reminding us of Milton's expression "darkness visible". But we are inclined to think that either 音 may mean 音音—to bar, or it may be taken as a variant of 音 to be still. We say 音音 音音 to express noiselessness. That is, we kill the sound to get silence. Both expressions 音音 and 音音 therefore express the same idea, but by duplication the sense is heightened. Mg. Tin renders 音音 音音 by "the gentle breath has a refreshing effect" But U Po Byu does not regard the cooling draught of his "southerly" breeze as a relief to his author's sorrow; he thinks the poet was rather complaining of the shrewdness of this cooling breeze and speaking of it as sorrow's crowning sorrow. If we are right in taking it to be a wintry wind coming from the north, it would be piercing cold and the distress would be sufficient to make the poet repeat his longings for his health and home daily (音音). The significance of the little particle 音 in this expression should not be overlooked. It means simply 'when' (音音音音) and differs from 音音音音 in the third verse. 音音音音 has the added sense of 'only' 'in only when' as pointed out by U Po Byu. The former marks the transition of a tolerable cold in the evening to a greater degree of cold at night, while the latter marks that from excessive cold in the morning to the warmth of midday heat. Hence the expression 音音 in this connection cannot mean a refreshing breeze as understood by Mg. Tin.

The first verse indicates the poet's lonely longings, probably in the afternoon, for the Golden City with his memory-pictures of numerous gilded pagodas and for the golden palace flashing emerald lights in the sun's rays.

The second verse indicates his distressed feelings on dark and silent nights wishing for the return of daylight, when the distressing wintry wind from the north makes him daily repeat his longings for his home.

The third verse indicates excessive and extreme cold in the following foggy morning when he wishes for the noonday sun to give him a little warmth after shortening the interval.

These three verses are carefully graduated in pathos. In the first, the transfer of the word 音音音音 which denotes sympathy of others, to himself marks the loneliness of a self-pitied man. The double expression 音音音音 and 音音音音 in the second was intended to indicate the chilling effects of the awful still silence on the mind of our poet. Not a sound was to be heard, even of the fellow-denizens of forests at nights! But if the sound was denied him through his ear, he was not even spared to see light through the other channel-the eye. He particularly selected the pole-star which is visible throughout the year in our clime as screened from his view by over-hanging thicketts (音音音音).

In the third verse, the pathos reaches its climax by the transference of the author's own feelings to the personified Sun to indicate the extreme and excessive cold caused by the morning fog which was as bad as a heavy shower of rains. The expression 音音音音 does not directly refer to the poet himself as explained by U Po Byu, but to the Sun.

8. We now subjoin our simple translations.
From the woods girt by the river which flows in several branches at the foot of the Meza hill, I will presently and pitiable long for the Golden City with its proud hills in the pretty Land of Victory where glory rises nearly as high as the sky. Were I to begin with the six-rayed Zambusimi and the Kugyi built by your Grand-father, I could count Shwelwinbin, Skwakyinthe, Shwezedigyi and several others. Wishing to see directly all these along with that wonderful Palace in massive gold inlaid with emeralds which flood the entire structure with its lights, I have to picture to my mind the Golden City here, the pagoda there, and the Golden Palace yonder. (I am compelled to do this) because the Golden City is afar.

The lovely sandbanks and shoals along the river in the lower region of ours will have formed delightfully amidst the ever-flowing waters. I have thought them to be as far as a distant isle. The dark, winding and flowing Meza river also forms its sandbanks anew. While the utter silence of the still forest denies me a sound, I am not even spared the sight of the pole-star (screened as it is from my view by over-hanging thickets) and I long for a glimpse of daylight (in vain) So I am wrong in guessing which is, east, west, south or 'north, making me very tired of thinking after repeated surprises (at my mistakes). (Losing my bearings in this way) I have not been able to discover which forest, which wood, and my mind reels. And I long (for my hearth and home) everyday, because a breeze from the Kinson hill, followed by long-blowing, steady winds, chills me.

When, from the valley of the sky-high Meza hill on which is situate the ever-graceful Shwegu pagoda where Meza damsels customarily pray in reverence and faith during the festival of Nyaungye-thun, the whole hill begins to be wrapped in gloom, the spreading mountain-vapour crosses over to every other hill and surrounds each and all, and when a rainless breeze causes the snow to fall with the sound of phrouk-phrouk in drops as big as raindrops in a heavy shower, even the solar orb of Thuriya’s fair chariot peeping just above the summit of Mount Yugandhara is no longer bright, and in his piercing and piteous cold, Thuriya longs to reach the neontide, as if more quickly than usual by counting hours, because it is warm only when the sun’s beams spread (through interstices in the thick foliage).

S. Z. A.
PROCEEDINGS

Minutes of the Committee Meeting held at University College on
Thursday, January 27th, 1921, at 8 a.m.

PRESENT:

M. Hunter, Esq., C.I.E. (President)
U Hpay, K.S.M., A.T.M
A. P. Morris, Esq.
G. R. T. Ross, Esq.
Maung Ba Kya.
U Po Byu.
L. F. Taylor, Esq.
G. H. Luce, Esq.

BUSINESS.

1. The Minutes of the Committee Meeting held on Tuesday, November 23rd, 1920 were confirmed.

2. The Annual Reports (1920) of the Honorary Secretary and Treasurer and the Statement of Revenue and Expenditure were read and approved for submission to the Annual General Meeting on February 4th, 1921.

3. The recommendations of the Sub-Committee based on opinions obtained by Circular to all members of the Committee, with regard to the formation of Local Branches and the affiliation of the Burmese Academy, Kyaukse were read and confirmed. (See attached sheet).

4. The revision of the Rules as drafted by the Sub-Committee was approved for submission to the next General Meeting. Resolved that it be printed, together with a covering letter, and distributed for consideration to all members of the Society.

5. A Special Sub-Committee, consisting of U May Oung (Chairman), U Po Byu, U Hpay, U Tin, and the Honorary Secretary and Editors, with power to co-opt, was appointed to open the Text Publication Fund and prepare detailed proposals for submission to the Committee.

6. U Po Sein, Deputy Inspector of Schools, was appointed member of the Society.

7. The Honorary Treasurer was instructed to invest Rs. 1,000 for one year in the National or the Chartered Bank.

8. It was resolved that advertisements of the Society be issued from time to time in the public press, and that the Honorary Secretary invite the help of Deputy Commissioners throughout Burma in extending the Society's membership.
9. Leave was granted to the Honorary Secretary to purchase books for the Society’s Library up to a maximum cost of Rs. 400.

10. Resolved in future to print 650 copies of the Journal instead of 500.

11. Resolved that the Peon’s pay be raised from Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 per mensem.

Dated the 27th January 1921.

                      G L. LUCE,
                      Honorary Secretary.

Terms of affiliation proposed between the Burma Research Society, Rangoon, and the Burmese Academy, Kyaukse.

(1) That the Burmese Academy, Kyaukse, shall be affiliated to the Burma Research Society, Rangoon.

(2) That the Burmese Academy, Kyaukse, shall pay an affiliation fee of Rs. 50, together with an annual subscription fee of Rs. 15 or Life Membership fee of Rs. 150 according to the Rules of the Burma Research Society.

(3) That the Burmese Academy, Kyaukse, may endeavour to raise funds for the Burma Research Society for particular purposes, either by voluntary donations from its fund or from the public.

(4) That the Burmese Academy, Kyaukse, shall have no liability in respect of debts or other obligations contracted by the Burma Research Society except in so far as it counts as an individual member of the Society.

(5) That the Burma Research Society shall have no control over, or responsibility for the affairs, funds, and effects of the Burmese Academy, Kyaukse.

(6) That members of the Burmese Academy, Kyaukse, shall abide by its rules or byelaws, but shall also act in strict conformity, as an individual member, with the rules and regulations framed by the Burma Research Society.

(7) That the Burmese Academy, Kyaukse, shall try to contribute at least one article a year to the Journal of the Burma Research Society.
(8) That the Burmese Academy, Kyaukse, shall supply local information and assistance to the Burma Research Society, as regards their Common objects; and vice versa.

(9) That the Burmese Academy, Kyaukse, shall undertake to promulgate the aims and objects of the Burma Research Society as widely as possible.

(10) That members of the Burma Research Society and of the Burmese Academy, Kyaukse, on application through the Honorary Librarian and President respectfully, shall be entitled to borrow books and manuscripts, from each other’s libraries, the Honorary Librarian and the President being in each case responsible for the return uninjured of all such books and manuscripts.

(11) That the President, Burmese Academy, Kyaukse, shall be ex-officio member of the Committee of the Burma Research Society.

(12) That the Burma Research Society can depute one of its members to attend and vote at General Committee Meetings of the Burmese Academy, Kyaukse.

(13) That one member of the Burmese Academy, Kyaukse duly accredited by its General Committee, may vote at any General Meetings of the Burma Research Society; and vice versa.

(14) That, outstanding obligations being settled, either party may sever connection at any time with the other party.

(15) That the Burmese Academy, Kyaukse, shall supply one copy of their Annual Report for information of the President and Committee of the Burma Research Society.

Statement about the formation of the Local Branches, passed at the Committee Meeting on January 27th 1921.

"The Committee approves the principle of the formation of Local Branches, but recognises that such branches are not likely to succeed unless they spring from the spontaneous effort of those resident on the spot. It therefore volunteers hearty encouragement and assistance to any group of upcountry members, e. g. at Mandalay or Akyab, who may wish to combine to form a Local Branch. Communication from any such groups of members is cordially invited."
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting of the Burma Research Society was held at University College on Friday, 4th 1922, at 6 p.m.

Mr. M. Hunter, C.I.E., President of the SOCIETY, was in the Chair.

The Report of the Honorary Secretary and Treasurer for the year 1920 were read. The Honorary Secretary’s Report shewed that the number of members at the beginning of the year was 185; 227 new members were enrolled during the year; 21 members resigned; 13 ordinary members became Life Members; one member died. So the number of members at the close of the year was 390.

Three General Meetings, six Committee Meetings, five Sub-Committee Meetings, and three Special Prize Sub-Committee Meetings were held during the year. Two numbers of the Journal have appeared, and the third will be out very shortly. On Prof. Maung Tin’s departure for England, Mr. L. F. Taylor and Maung Ba Kya were appointed Joint Editors.

The other activities of the SOCIETY during the year under report include:

1. A Prize Committee for contributions in Burmese on the history and literature of Burma, two prizes being awarded.

2. The issue of an Appeal for new members, resulting in the doubling of the SOCIETY’S Membership.

3. A thorough canvassing of the question of the formation of Local Branches and Affiliations, which will not, it is hoped, prove unfruitful.

4. The formation of a Text Publication Fund.

5. Preparations for a Bibliography of books on Burma.

6. A decision to undertake examination of the Hluttaw Patábaiks in the Secretariat Library.

7. A decision to prepare an index to the first ten volumes of the Journal.

8. A revision of the Rules of the SOCIETY.

10. Certain additions to the SOCIETY’S Library, notably of Siamese works presented by the Vajiravanana National Library, Bangkok.

The Honorary Treasurer's Report showed that the year opened with a balance of Rs. 8,053-3-4, with outstanding bills of nearly Rs. 2,000. The income during the year was 7,075-13-7; the expenditure Rs. 5,624-5-11, and the balance at the close of the year Rs. 9,504-11-0. Of the balance Rs. 5,000 (transferred during the year from the 5½% Indian War Bonds) are invested in the 6% Ten Years Bonds Government of India Loan; Rs. 600 in Post Office 5 years Certificates; and Rs. 3,000 invested during year in the 7½% Upper Burma Central Cooperative Bank.

These Reports were unanimously adopted. Before demitting office the President, on behalf of the Committee, laid on the table a Revision of the Rules of the SOCIETY, which has been issued for consideration to all members and will be submitted for decision at the next General Meeting. The President drew attention to the chief point; of principle involved in the draft—the creation of a double Committee, of Rangoon and upcountry members respectively, and explained its object, namely to give upcountry members (whose numbers have largely increased of late) as large a representation as possible in the working of the SOCIETY.

The meeting proceeded to the election of officers and members of the Committee for the year 1921. Mr. Hunter was re-elected President. Mr. Furnivall, U May Oung, and U Po Byu were elected Vice Presidents; Mr. Luce, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, and Mr. Taylor Maung Ba Kya, Honorary Joint Editors. The following gentlemen were elected Members of the Committee: Messrs J. A. Stewart, Taw Sein Ko, C. Duroiselle, J. J. Nolan, G. R. T. Ross, C. M. Webb, U Kyaw Dun, A. Rodger, U Hpay, A. P. Morris, A. Khalak, U Shwe Zan Aung, K. M. Ward, U Tin, U San Shwe Bu, A. Cassim, Maung Ba Han, U. Ba E, U Thain, U Chit Maung, Major C. M. Enriquez, U Po Sein, U Tun Pe, Mr. Conyers Baker, and Tha Tun Aung.

On conclusion of the above business U May Oung read a paper by Mr. J. A. Stewart, entitled "Kyaukse Irrigation: a Sidelight on Burmese History." A brief discussion followed, and the meeting adjourned with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. J. A. Stewart for his valuable paper.

G. H. LUCE,
Honorary Secretary,
Minutes of the Committee Meeting held at University College
on Thursday, February 24th 1921, at 8 a.m.

Present:
M. Hunter, Esq., C.I.E., (President).
A. Rodger, Esq.
U May Oung
U Hpay.
J. J Nolan, Esq.
A. Cassim Esq.
Conyers Baker, Esq.
U Po Sein.
Saya Tun Pe.
U Tha Tun Aung.
A. Khalak, Esq.
Maung Ba Kya and G. H. Luce, Esq.

Business:

1. The Minutes of the Committee Meeting held on Thursday, January 27th, 1921 were confirmed.

2. The following gentlemen were elected Members of the Sub-Committee: Messrs. M. Hunter, U. Po Byu, J. S. Furnivall, in addition to the Honorary Secretary and Joint Editors who are members ex-officio.

3. The Existing Members and Consulting Members of the TEXT PUBLICATION SUB-COMMITTEE were re-elected.

4. A letter from Mr. H. B. Holme, Director of Industries, Burma, was read; and it was resolved to assure him that there was no likelihood of the Museum of the BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY competing with the Provincial Museum.

5. It was resolved to take steps to incorporate the Burma RESEARCH SOCIETY as a learned Society.

6. It was resolved to accept the proposal of the Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, for exchange of publications.

7. It was resolved not to accept the proposal for exchange of publications with "knowledge" Magazine, Rangoon; but to purchase for the SOCIETY whatever issues of the Magazine contain matter of historical or literary importance.

8. The Minutes of the Meeting of the TEXT PUBLICATION SUB-COMMITTEE held on February 4th, 5th and 20th 1921 were read; and it was resolved that the SOCIETY undertake publication of Maung Kala's Yazawingyi and Warananda’s Mingala-thok-pya in the manner proposed.

9. It was resolved to hold the next General Meeting on Thursday, March 17th, 1921, to discuss and decide on the revision of the Rules, already laid before the Annual General Meeting on the 4th February 1921. In case the new Rules should be accepted, the Honorary Secretary was empowered to include, in the notice of the Meeting a clause inviting members to make offers of readiness to serve on the new Committee, supposing it should come into existence.

G. H. LUCE,
Honorary Secretary.
Minutes of the General Meeting of the SOCIETY held at University College, Rangoon, on Thursday, March 17th, 1921 at 6 p.m.

1. The President of the SOCIETY put before the Meeting for decision the draft Revision of the Rules proposed at the last General Meeting on February 4th, 1921.

The following amendments of the draft revision were unanimously passed:—

Rule 3. Add—

(e) offer advice or other assistance to members who consult it on matters relating to the SOCIETY'S objects, whether in the Journal, or by application to the Committee, the Secretary, or the Editor. Proposed by Mr. Luce, seconded by Maung Ba Kya.

Rule 9 For “Executive Committee” read “Sub-Committee”. Proposed by Mr. Taylor, Seconded by Mr. Cassim.

Rule 11 For “in Rangoon” read “in or near Rangoon”. Proposed by Mr. Luce, Seconded by Mr. Cassim.

Rule 12 For “a”, “an” read “the” (4 places). Proposed by Mr. Luce, Seconded by Mr. Taylor.

Rule 18 For “their demission” read “its demission”. Proposed by Mr. Luce, Seconded by U Po Sein.

Rule 21 For “hour” read “time”. Proposed by Mr. Taylor, Seconded by Mr. Luce.

Rule 27 For “Shall be in English” read “shall ordinarily be in “English”. Proposed by Mr. Taylor, Seconded by Mr. Luce.

2. Resolved unanimously that the revised Rules, with the above modifications, be passed, printed, and circulated to all members of the SOCIETY.

3. The President invited members present to propose names of upcountry members willing to serve on the new General Committee, on which there are five vacancies. None being proposed, it was resolved to leave the Executive Committee to co-opt them.

4. The President apologised to members for the delay in issuing the December number, pointing out that it was not the Editor’s fault but of the Press, which had received all the material by the beginning of January and had repeatedly been urged both by the Editors and the Secretary to be quick with the proofs.

5. On the conclusion of the above business Mr. L. F. Taylor read his paper on “The dialects of Burmese”. Discussion followed; and a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Taylor at the close.
Minutes of the Committee Meeting held at University College
on 11th July 1921.

Present:

M. Hunter, Esq., M.A., C.I.E., I.E.S., (President)
J. S. Furnivall, Esq., B.A., I.C.S., (Vice-President.)
U Tun Pe, M.A., M.B.A.
Maung Ba Kya, B.A., Honorary Joint Editor and Acting Honorary Secretary.

1. Minutes of the 2nd Committee Meeting held on 5th April 1921 were confirmed.

2. Mr. W. G. Fraser was elected Honorary Secretary and Treasurer in place of Mr. Luce resigned.

3. A vote of condolence on the death of U Htoon Chan, B.A., B.L., and Prof. A. E. Bellars was passed unanimously.

4. It was resolved that the election of a co-opted member of the Committee in the place of U Htoon Chan be deferred.

5. The resignation tendered by Mr. Conyers Baker of the membership of the Committee was accepted.

6. Considered U Nyun’s proposal for the co-operation of the Burmese Literary Association of Mandalay with the Text Publication Department of the Society.

   It was resolved that a reply be sent to the Mandalay Literary Association in terms drawn up by the Text Publication Sub-Committee.

7. The payment of Rs. 31-12-6 for copying MSS. for publication was sanctioned.

8. It was resolved that the Journal be printed in future at the British Burma Press.

9. It was agreed that a mutual exchange of publications with the Siam Society be effected.

10. It was resolved that Mr. Luce be authorised to buy Parker’s “Intercourse between Burma and China” for the Society Library.

11. It was agreed that the purchase of Cordier’s “Bibliography of Indo-China” be sanctioned.

Rangoon:
The 13th July 1921.

BA KYA,
Acting Honorary Secretary.
LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

Received since December 1920 (Vol. X, Part III.)


The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, Vol. VI, Parts 2, 3 and 4; Vol. VII, Parts I and II, 1921.

The Indian Antiquary, August 1920 to November 1921.


Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India—No. 3—Talamanca or Iconometry, by T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M.A.


Journal of the East India Association (New Series), Vol. XII, Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4, 1921.

Bulletin de l' Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, Vol. XI to XX (No. 3) Old Historical Ballads, edited by U May Oung.


Straits Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Nos. 57 to 83 (1911-1921).


Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, Madras, for 1917-18.

Six Sculptures from Mahoba, by K. N. Dikshit (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 8).
LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.


Epigraphia Birmanica, being lithic and other inscriptions of Burma, Vol. II, Parts 1 and 2.

Programma voor het congress van het Java Instituut (2 copies).

Catalogues van de Houtsnijwerk Tentoonstelling (Congress Java Instituut).

Thesaurus of Proverbs, Maxims and Idioms from East and West with Burmese equivalents and approximate renderings, by A. Maung Aung, 1921, Mandalay.


Wir Menschen der indonesischen Erde von Renward Brandstetter.

Rupan—an illustrated Quarterly Journal of Oriental Art, chiefly Indian, Nos. 1 to 4 1920; Nos. 1, 6, 7, 1921.


A List of Inscriptions found in Burma—Part I. The List of Inscriptions, arranged in the order of their dates.

Amended List of Ancient Monuments in Burma.

An Outline of the History of the Catholic Burmese Mission from the year 1720 to 1888 (presented by U Shwe Pon, Shwegu).


An Elementary Palaung Grammar, by Mr. Leslie Milne.


Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, Madras, for the year 1920-21.

Annual Report for the year 1920-21 of the Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy Southern Circle, Madras.

Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, Nos. 7 and 9.

Pawtugyi Yazawin (presented by Ko Toke Kyi).

The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese by R. Grant Brown (presented by the Author).
"POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE EXTRAORDINARY EVENTS WHICH LED TO THE BURMESE WAR."

By J. Stuart.

Such is the title of a curious book which has recently come into my hands. Its author was a certain Captain W. White, who served for some years on the frontier near Arakan, but who, apparently, did not serve in the war of 1824 to 1826. Any way, he says nothing of any such service, and, as the book was published in London in 1827, he being in England at the time, as he was able to add a postscript to it while it was in the press, we may fairly infer that he did not serve in the war. Nor, so far as one can judge his character from his book, was he the man who would have abstained from such incidents as he himself narrates. While still only an Ensign, he wrote to the Commander-in-Chief, offering to raise a local corps of pioneers as, in the event of an attack by the Burmese, British troops would not be able to cope with them without the aid of pioneers. The following is a copy of the reply he received.

Head-Quarters, Calcutta, March 19th, 1812.

Sir,

The Commander-in-Chief has directed me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th instant. And to add, that he is sorry he cannot comply, in the present instance, with the request which your letter contains, as it is not in contemplation to increase the present establishment of pioneers.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
ALEX. MACGREGOR MURRAY,
M. S.

Ensign White,
15th N. I.

Again, in 1817, we find Lieutenant White addressing a long letter to the Adjutant-General of the Army, suggesting that, as the Indian troops could not withstand the climate of Ramoo, Cox's Bazaar and other
stations on the Arakan frontier, it would be a good plan to raise a strong battalion of Mughs for the frontier defence. They would be able to stand the climate, and such a battalion would do much to prevent the constant raids into Arakan which were made from time to time by the refugees. No doubt the Mughs, being natives of Arakan, would stand the climate better than troops from the drier zones in India, but whether such a corps would really prevent raids by their compatriots, is somewhat doubtful. The letter was briefly acknowledged with the intimation that it would be laid before the Commander-in-Chief. There the matter seems to have ended. I have referred to these letters merely to show the character of the writer. Surely it is very unusual for a young Ensign or Lieutenant to write letters of this kind, offering unsolicited advice to the Chiefs of the Army. To say the least of it, his zeal outran his discretion, and he never seems to have perceived that to the Supreme authorities in India these border troubles were of comparatively little importance. They were the inevitable result of King Bodopra’s conquest of Arakan and of the drastic methods adopted by the Burmese Viceroys there.

The Arakanese, commonly called “Mughs”, in India at least, had constantly quarrelled among themselves in the days of their independence, so, when Bodopra succeeded to the Burmese throne in 1782, and in the following year sent an army into Arakan, its conquest proved an easy task. But the Burmese Viceroy’s methods with the conquered people were harsh, and thousands of them crossed the river and took refuge in British territory. If they had been content to settle down there as peaceable citizens of British India, the course of the Indian Government would have been quite clear. There was unoccupied land which they could have to cultivate, but, unfortunately, this land lay near the border of Arakan, and the result was that there were constant raids, often of large bodies of Mughs, into Arakan. Naturally the Burmese Viceroy protested, but the Indian Government was more or less helpless in the matter. Large bodies of the Mughs settled in the lower part of the province of Chittagong within constant sight of Arakan. To escape from the tyranny of the Burmese Viceroys, thousands more followed in the subsequent years. The Viceroy, naturally, did not like this, the more so as the refugees made constant raids into Arakan for plunder, and when pursued by Burmese troops, fled back into British territory. It was an impossible situation and, probably, would not have been endured so long by both sides, had it not been that both the British and the Burmese had more important matters in hand than these border troubles. The Government of India had enough on hand in the way of consolidating their power and in meeting more serious troubles nearer the centre of Government; while King Bodopra was too much engrossed over his schemes for the conquest of Siam, and also in his ambitious Pagoda building scheme, to worry much over the trouble on the Arakan border. Captain White seems to have had no perception of this, and to have worried over the matter far more than was necessary. Some of his actual experiences, however, may be interesting.
The following paragraph is curious: "The Civil Surgeon of Chittagong, Dr. McRae, happened also to be a ship builder carrying on a considerable traffic between that port and Calcutta. Dr. McRae had in his dockyard several pieces of cannon (sixteen or seventeen) the whole of which were carried off one night by a party of Mughs, who had come up from Cox's Bazaar with appropriate boats for conveying them away." The first thing that strikes a modern in reading this is the curious combination of employments in which Dr. McRae was engaged. That a Civil Surgeon should be so badly paid, or have so little to do, as to enable him to run a ship building business as well, shows that his medical duties cannot have been very onerous, though the climate was evidently very trying to many of those in it. The Mughs also carried off a very old and heavy piece of ordnance from a place called Flag-Staff-Point, where a battery and guard had formerly been stationed, this gun having been left, apparently because of the difficulty in removing it. The Mughs, however, managed the removal, but information of their doings reached Chittagong in time to enable the Commanding Officer there to despatch a detachment to rescue the gun. The Mughs, however, seem to have got away clear with the canon from Dr. McRae's dockyard. These events took place early in 1811. "After this raid by the Mughs into Arakan had resulted in failure, the Burmese Commander and the Viceroy of Arakan sent a letter to the Magistrate of Chittagong, demanding the surrender to them, not only of the leaders of the raid into Arakan, but of all who had taken part in it, and of Dr. McRae, whom they accused of having assisted the invaders. The suspicion apparently was that he had accepted a bribe to allow his dockyard to be raided. He was called on by the authorities at Calcutta to explain matters, and did so to the satisfaction of the Government, who wrote, "In justice to Dr. McRae we afforded him an opportunity of replying to the charge, although we were far from supposing it well founded." They add: "Dr. McRae's explanation, as the Government anticipated, was in every respect satisfactory." To Captain White, however, it was not so. He carp at the whole proceeding, and declares that Government should not have been satisfied with a simple denial, but should have held a regular enquiry, calling on the Burmese to produce their evidence of Dr. McRae's complicity and on him to demonstrate his innocence. The idea is absurd, but Captain White fills several pages with his condemnation of the Indian Government in this matter. He says: "The reports then current in Chittagong, and certainly believed, were that arms and ammunition had been supplied to the Mughs by some European Gentlemen Resident there; and the name of another officer, in the Civil Service, besides Dr. McRae was spoken of". One can understand that many Europeans in Chittagong did sympathise with the Mughs, as exiles driven out of their own country by the harsh Government of their conquerors, and yet living within daily sight of their old home. But that this sympathy should lead educated British gentlemen into aiding and abetting raids, which they well knew must embarrass their own Govern-
ment, is very unlikely. Captain White's attitude in this merely shows that, for some reason which we do not know, he had become embittered against the Government of India, and they could do nothing right in his eyes.

The person, however, against whom he inveighs most bitterly, is the Marquess of Hastings, who was Governor-General from 1813 to 1823. The following passage from Captain White's book may be taken as summarising his views of the Government of India in general and of Lord Hastings in particular. "It would be superfluous to point out to the reader that which must be too obvious, namely—the critical situation in which the British Government in India then stood relative to the state of Ava, in consequence of the long protracted disputes regarding the protection which had been afforded by the former to the refugees of every denomination—rebels, traitors, thieves, and assassins—from every province dependent on the Burman Empire. The Government of India stood upon a mine ready every moment to explode; and the explosion of which threatened the most disastrous results;—they had laid the train, it only remained for the enemy to set fire to it and have blown them up. Yet, nevertheless, they were perfectly unprepared to meet the explosion, which they had repeatedly declared was unavoidable sooner or later. The moment was urgent and pressing; and required the talent, foresight, energy and resolution of a great and comprehensive mind to meet it:—a man who would judge and act for himself, and not adopt the opinions of others—of those who had been a party, or instrumental in producing the then state of affairs:—a feeble, imbecile, temporizing, undecided, palliative character, would have lost for ever the British Empire in the East."

Could any diatribe be more unjust than this? Is it fair to call the Mugh refugees rebels, traitors, thieves and assassins? They merely sought to recover their own country from the Burmese. Their mode of doing so was objectionable as it was an abuse of the hospitality of the Indian Government, but the hard names Captain White gives them were not deserved. Again, the condemnation of the Indian Government in general and of Lord Hastings in particular, are equally undeserved. Lord Hastings had his hands full of far more important matters than these trumpery border raids. The first business he had to tackle on his arrival in India was the War with Nepal. This lasted for three years, and throughout he was his own commander-in-chief. He devised an excellent plan of campaign, but his generals failed to carry them out effectively, so it was not until 1816 that the war was over. Then a peace was concluded, which has never since been broken. It was for his successful conduct of this war that the Governor-General was created Marquess of Hastings in the peerage of Great Britain. Before that he had been Baron Rawdon in the peerage of Great Britain, and Earl of Moira in the peerage of Ireland. He had spent nearly eight years in America as an officer during the war of Independence, and afterwards had seen some service in Europe, but had obtained no special distinction
there. He was known specially for profuse extravagance, and was on terms of the closest and most expensive intimacy with the Prince Regent, afterwards King George IV. The following extract from the Oxford History of India admirably sums up Lord Hastings' career in India. He was then (at the time of his appointment) nearly fifty-nine years of age, and apparently much too old for a term of arduous Indian exile. His record gave no indication that he would prove himself worthy to be ranked with the greatest of the Governors-General, and that, notwithstanding his advanced age, he would be strong enough to bear the heavy burden of Civil Government combined with supreme military command for nine and a quarter years. The length of his administration was surpassed only by that of Warren Hastings. He never went to the hills, and never failed to be at his desk at four o'clock in the morning." He really did a great deal to consolidate the British power in India. Compared to what he was doing there, the troubles on the Burmese border were of little consequence. Doubtless, Lord Hastings realised that, sooner or later, a war with Burma was inevitable, but the best preparation for that was first to consolidate the power of the British Raj in India itself. This he did and did so effectually that the Burmese war when it came could be faced without undue anxiety about India. Surely this was a better way of meeting the situation than taking the border squabbles as seriously as Captain White did.

Curiously enough it happened that while Captain White's book was being published, Lord Hastings died. The former adds the following postscript which is eminently characteristic of its author. "More than one half of this volume was actually printed when the melancholy news arrived of the death of the Marquis of Hastings. I lament it—the more so as at the present moment it would have been desirable to have heard his Lordship's statement in reply to those facts affecting his administration—not that he could have denied one syllable that has been herein stated, but it is always desirable to have the defence of the accused: alteram partem, is very properly the maxim of our courts of law."

It would be interesting to know what became of Captain White after the publication of his book. He must still have been a fairly young man in 1827, so there was plenty of time for him to get over the censoriousness of his youth and to do something besides criticising other people, but we hear nothing more about him, so it is possible that he went through life as he had begun, criticising the men who did things rather than doing things himself. One curious sign of his want of ordinary perception of the fitness of things lies in his dedication of his book to "His Most Excellent Majesty George the Fourth." Seeing that in the days of their youth, the future King and Lord Moira had been close friends, it is not likely that the King would relish having the book dedicated to him, but that seems never to have occurred to Captain White.

Whatever may have been Captain White's future life we are indebted to him for an account of life on the Arakan border over a century ago, which enables us to visualise that life more clearly than many a morq
learned book would have done. The book is, unintentionally no doubt, a revelation of what the frontier life was to a somewhat unsophisticated, and, perhaps, rather a conceited young subaltern then serving on the border. For that we can be thankful to Captain White, and can hope that he ultimately came to a happier frame of mind than he seems to have had when writing the Book.

J. STUART.
THE INFLUENCE OF BENGAL ON THE MÔN
LANGUAGE OF INDO-BURMA.*

BY SHWE ZAN AUNG.

1. Môn is the language of a people who call themselves "Môn", but
are generally known as "Talaing". The true origin
of Môn is still a mystery. Some scholars at one time
or other connected the word "Môn" with "Munda" of
India. But we have gone through the eleven grammaphone records of
Munda languages, and we have not been able to trace a single pure Môn
word therein. The word "Talaing" has been, we believe, correctly
derived from "Teltingana" of Southern India. Both Môn history and
tradition seem to support this derivation. Because of South Indian
influences, we are apt to look to the South rather than to the North for the
origin of Môn. We do not, however, think that any attempt to connect
Môn with Mongols will prove successful. "Mong" of Mongols means
"brave," whereas "Môn," a variant of "Môn" means "tight".

Môn is said to be a tribe of the Môn-Khmer family of the Môn-
Anam race. But Khâma (pron- Khâme-â) is a Môn word for a Burman.
If Burmans belonged to the Tibeto-Burman stock, it is possible that
Môn belonged to the Tibeto-Môn stock. Did Môn form an earlier wave
of migration from the Môn-gyul or Môn-yul district of Tibet, before
Burmans followed them? We would ask a further question: were the
original inhabitants of the Môn-yul district in Tibet settlers from the
Monghir district of Behar? These two questions, we leave to future
scholars to answer.

2. In Part II, Volume I of Epigraphia Birmanica, Mr. C. O. Blagden,
our foremost Talaing scholar, remarked on Indian
Elements.

He referred to short Pali sentences, proper
names, and Indian loan-words especially of Sanscrit origin. He gave us
two examples Dharmma and swar (from swarga). The former is now
written dhau but pronounced tho, and the latter is written swa but
pronounced jo. In these examples we can readily understand the
dropping of the final "r", as Burmans also "kill" the sounds of their
finals in such loanwords. But it will be remarked that the vowel "a"
has the value of "o". This peculiarity has never been explained by
scholars as far as we are aware, and an attempt will be made in the course
of this article to explain it.

Mr. Blagden writes: "Whatever may have been the channel or
channels through which the Sanscrit words came in, they are present in
such numbers that the strength of the influences that introduced them
must have been considerable and probably extended over a fairly long
period."

Scholars have as yet to determine these channels.

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*A paper contributed to the Second Oriental Congress held in Calcutta in January 1922.*
3. Mr. Blagden derived the alphabet of the Môn inscriptions from some South Indian type, akin to the old Telugu-Canarese. But if the script came from South India, it is reasonable to suppose that sounds of the alphabet also accompanied the script. We have to determine what those sounds were, and how and by what other influences they have been modified in Môn. These influences need not only be concurrent or later but may be earlier.

4. Môn vowels are:

- 
  
  a ā i ī u ū e oā (as in boa)
  ow (as in cow) and ou (as in thou).

The first seven vowels are as in Sanscrit or Pali. But the last was of an unmistakeable Sanscrit origin. The vowel "oā" is peculiar to Môn. The original vowel was "ai" as in Sanscrit, as will be seen later under diphthongs and triphthongs. It is not a case of the change of "a" into "o" and of "i" into "a". But the actual process of the change consisted in the dropping of "i" and the prefixing of "o". Whence this "o"? We defer the answer to this question to a later stage in the course of this paper. But we may here observe that the prefixing of "o" to "ai" seems to have given rise to "ow".

5. The Môn anuvāra represented by an overdot is the equivalent of the final "m", but it is tacked on to "o" and not to "a" as in Sanscrit. Why?

The visarga represented by two dots (like the colon marks) and pronounced "ah", further confirms the accepted view that the origin of the Môn alphabet was Sanscrit and not Pali.

6. In the following combinations of vowels, the Môn vowel "oā" retains its original value of Sanscrit "ai":

- a + ai = aū
- u + ai = u + ī (pron. more or less like German ü)
- i + u + ai = o + e (pron. more or less like German ü)
- e + ai = e + ṝya
- o + ai = o + ē̄a...oā'

In the third example "i" changes into "e" as in Pali or Sanscrit; in the fourth, "i" changes into "y" also as in Pali or Sanscrit. In fact the vowel "oā" may be replaced by the final "y" in Môn. But in the fifth, "i" was elided as in the case of the vowel "oā"; for, in practice, the combination o + ai is hardly distinguished from the vowel "oā".

7. Consonants are tabulated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>k'a</th>
<th>kh'a</th>
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<td>ḍh'i'a</td>
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</table>
"a" is a short neutral vowel something like "a" in abide as pointed out by Mr. Blagden. "e" is French é sounded abruptly.

Linguals are, unlike Burmese, more or less distinguished in Môn from corresponding dentals. But probably because Môns could not so well distinguish them as in Sanscrit, they seem to have placed 'q' and "b" in the "a" class instead of the "e" class.

s is c is obtained by s+r
s+j or j+r = z
f is obtained by v+h or s+v.

In s+v=f, the "s" is "swallowed up" so to speak, and the inward breath in the act of swallowing up aspirates the "v". Môns have invented two other symbols "b" and "bf", which are a stumbling block in the way of foreign students. But "bf" is "b" pronounced with closed lips drawn in a little before opening.

This b as well as the visarga occurs in the so-called Pyu script of the Myazedí inscriptions. "b" represents a native sound of Môns which must have been brought along with them from their original home, although the script was introduced later. Did the Pyus, the progenitors of the present Burmese race, borrow it from their neighbours, Môns who were earlier immigrants, or did they bring it from their own home also? If the latter, Môns must have migrated from the same direction as Pyus.

8. Mr. Blagden writes: "Theoretically, the vowel a is, as in other

Indian alphabets, inherent in the consonants in general.

Inherent vowel. But the first peculiarity that would strike a student of

the Môn alphabet is the double scheme of inherent

vowels of the Môn consonants. Whence this double scheme?

Consonants are mute and require the help of some one vowel sound

even to be named. Thus the English alphabet contains 7 letters in

"i", 2 in "ø", and 2 in "e". But these vowels are too long. Indian

alphabets generally adopt "a", but Bengalees adopt "o" as in their "ko,
kho", etc.; "a" is too broad or open, and even rounded and abrupt
"o" is not neutral enough. Under these circumstances, the original

genius of a language would naturally look for the shortest and least open

vowels, such as "i" or "u" as an aid to give the least possible sound

in naming mute consonants.

Dr. S. Rama Iyer, who hails from Mysore, recited the Southern

Sanskrit alphabet to me and his recitation gave me the impression that the original inherent vowel of a consonant was not "a" as in later times, but

a short neutral vowel midway between "i" and "u", neither of which

was pronounced fully. Bengalees seem to have laid greater stress on the

"u" element of this neutral vowel and obtained their "o", while Môn

seem to have laid greater stress on the "i" element from which their

"ê" was obtained.

9. Bengal undoubtedly influenced Burmese, probably through

Arakan, as may be seen from our kl+u = ko. Môns did

Influence of Bengal.

not escape that influence, that is, if they did not origin-

ally bring their native "o" from Monghir via Mon-yul.
In the Martaban dialect of Môn, which has not been corrupted as the Peguan dialect was by Burmese influence, ki is pronounced koi (as in quoit) and ki pronounced koy (as in boy). The ‘o’ here is no doubt the remnant of Bengalee ‘o’, before Môns came in contact with South Indian influences.

The Bengalee ‘o’ sound is more or less retained in the following series of Môn combinations with finals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Written</th>
<th>Pronounced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kat</td>
<td>kôt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kap</td>
<td>kóp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kam</td>
<td>kóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kau</td>
<td>kóa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kav</td>
<td>kô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kah</td>
<td>kôh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka’a</td>
<td>kô</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘O’ is midway between ṭ and ḍ and the underdot marks the abruptness of sound. But ‘kak’ is pronounced ‘kuk’ and not ‘kôk’. Similarly ‘kaṅ’ is pronounced ‘kun’ instead of ‘kon’. Therefore, it is clear that in these two combinations the Bengalee ‘o’ as modified in Môn was lost; no doubt due to the later influence of Pali. But Môns have devised a diacritical mark of an overdot above the consonant in order to restore their lost native sound.

Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Written</th>
<th>Pronounced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kak</td>
<td>kôk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaṅ</td>
<td>kôn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Bengalee ‘o’ still tingers in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Written</th>
<th>Pronounced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kik</td>
<td>kôik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kihn</td>
<td>kôin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. In the above sketch I have attempted to advance a new theory that the original home of Môns was Monghir in Behar.

Summary. They settled first in the Mon-yul district of Tibet before they migrated into the plains of Indo-Burma. They were followed by Pyus. They afterwards came in contact with South Indian Sanscrit civilisation before Pali was introduced. They later influenced Burmese and were influenced by Burmese.

11. Contributions must reach the officer appointed before the 15th Concluding December and to-day is the 10th. I am afraid this brief remarks. paper is late. The Secretaries’ circular letter, addressed as it was to Kyauktan, Haithavaddy District where I was nearly two years ago reached me very late. I have had to think of a subject which would suit the occasion. The Second Oriental Conference is to be held in Calcutta, the Capital of Bengal, and I think I could not have chosen a better subject than that of the influence of Bengal over the culture of her neighbours.

Shwe Zan Aung.
မြန်မာစာအရေးကြီးများအတွက် ကျူးကျော်မှုအစား အရာအားဖြင့် စီမံခန့်ခွဲခြုံရေး လုပ်ငန်းများ၏ အတွက် မြန်မာနိုင်ငံတွင် အရာအားဖြင့် စီမံခန့်ခွဲခြုံရေးလုပ်ငန်းများ၏ အတွက် မြန်မာနိုင်ငံတွင် အရာအားဖြင့် စီမံခန့်ခွဲခြုံရေးလုပ်ငန်းများ၏ အတွက် မြန်မာနိုင်ငံတွင် အရာအားဖြင့် စီမံခန့်ခွဲခြုံရေးလုပ်ငန်းများ၏ အတွက် မြန်မာနိုင်ငံတွင် အရာအားဖြင့် စီမံခန့်ခွဲခြုံရေးလုပ်ငန်းများ၏ အတွက် မြန်မာနိုင်ငံတွင် အရာအားဖြင့် စီမံခန့်ခွဲခြုံရေးလုပ်ငန်းမျာุ
မြန်မာစာသင်ကြည်ရှုပ်မှုအနေဖြင့် စိတ်ဓာတ်များဖွင့်ပေးရန် အကြံပေးပြုပါစိုး။ အခြေခံအားဖြင့် စိတ်ဓာတ်များဖွင့်ပေးရန် အကြံပေးပြုပါစိုး။
စိုးရိမ်များစွာ တန်ဖိုးရှိသော အချက်များစွာနှင့် တိုးတစ်သေးသော အချက်များနှင့် စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို ရှင်းလင်းထားသည်။ မိုးသောအချက်များစွာ စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို ရှင်းလင်းထားသည်။ စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို ရှင်းလင်းထားသည်။ စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို ရှင်းလင်းထားသည်။ စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို ရှင်းလင်းထားသည်။ စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို ရှင်းလင်းထားသည်။ စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို ရှင်းလင်းထားသည်။ စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို ရှင်းလင်းထားသည်။ စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို ရှင်းလင်းထားသည်။ စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို ရှင်းလင်းထားသည်။ စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို ရှင်းလင်းထားသည်။ စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို ရှင်းလင်းထားသည်။ စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို ရှင်းလင်းထားသည်။ စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို ရှင်းလင်းထားသည်။ စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို ရှင်းလင်းထားသည်။ စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို ရှင်းလင်းထားသည်။ စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို ရှင်းလင်းထားသည်။ စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို ရှင်းလင်းထားသည်။ စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို ရှင်းလင်းထားသည်။ စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို ရှင်းလင်းထားသည်။ စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို စိုးရိမ်ရေးသူများကို ရှင်းလင်းထားသည်။
မြန်မာစာချုပ် ဖော်ပြထားသည်။
တိုင်းရိုင်းအရာကော်ငြာသွားနောက် ခေါ်သားနေသော ဗုဒ္ဓလာသော ရုပ်မှုသုံးနှုန်းစနစ်အရာကို သို့မဟုတ် ကျေးဇူးများကို လွှတ်တင်နိုင်သည်။ ခေါ်သားနေသော ဗုဒ္ဓလာသော ရုပ်မှုသုံးနှုန်းစနစ်အရာကို သို့မဟုတ် ကျေးဇူးများကို လွှတ်တင်နိုင်သည်။

မိုးရိုင်းအရာကော်ငြာသွားနောက် ခေါ်သားနေသော ဗုဒ္ဓလာသော ရုပ်မှုသုံးနှုန်းစနစ်အရာကို သို့မဟုတ် ကျေးဇူးများကို လွှတ်တင်နိုင်သည်။ ခေါ်သားနေသော ဗုဒ္ဓလာသော ရုပ်မှုသုံးနှုန်းစနစ်အရာကို သို့မဟုတ် ကျေးဇူးများကို လွှတ်တင်နိုင်သည်။

မိုးရိုင်းအရာကော်ငြာသွားနောက် ခေါ်သားနေသော ဗုဒ္ဓလာသော ရုပ်မှုသုံးနှုန်းစနစ်အရာကို သို့မဟုတ် ကျေးဇူးများကို လွှတ်တင်နိုင်သည်။ ခေါ်သားနေသော ဗုဒ္ဓလာသော ရုပ်မှုသုံးနှုန်းစနစ်အရာကို သို့မဟုတ် ကျေးဇူးများကို လွှတ်တင်နိုင်သည်။

မိုးရိုင်းအရာကော်ငြာသွားနောက် ခေါ်သားနေသော ဗုဒ္ဓလာသော ရုပ်မှုသုံးနှုန်းစနစ်အရာကို သို့မဟုတ် ကျေးဇူးများကို လွှတ်တင်နိုင်သည်။ ခေါ်သားနေသော ဗုဒ္ဓလာသော ရုပ်မှုသုံးနှုန်းစနစ်အရာကို သို့မဟုတ် ကျေးဇူးများကို လွှတ်တင်နိုင်သည်။

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ဗျူဟာကောင်းကင်းသည် ဗျူဟာအဝိုင်းအတွက် ဆိုသည်မှာ ဖော်ပြသည်။

သီးသီးအကြားတွင် ဗျူဟာအဆင့်အတွင်း အကျဉ်းသော အကြမ်းဖက်များကို ပြောပြပါမည်။

ဗျူဟာအတွက် မိမိ၏ မေးခွန်းများကို ဖော်ပြပါမည်။
ပြုလုပ်သူများကို ပြင်ဆင်လိုသော အခွံရှိသော စာရင်းများအား ဖန်တီးနိုင်သော ပြင်ဆင်မှုကို ရှာဖွေရန် လိုအပ်သည်။ အခွံရှိသော စာရင်းများအား ဖန်တီးနိုင်သော အခွံရှိသော စာရင်းများအား ဖန်တီးနိုင်သော ပြင်ဆင်မှုကို ရှာဖွေရန် လိုအပ်သည်။ အခွံရှိသော စာရင်းများအား ဖန်တီးနိုင်သော ပြင်ဆင်မှုကို ရှာဖွေရန် လိုအပ်သည်။ အခွံရှိသော စာရင်းများအား ဖန်တီးနိုင်သော ပြင်ဆင်မှုကို ရှာဖွေရန် လိုအပ်သည်။
FOLK TALES OF ARAKAN.

II.—ENFORCED GREATNESS

Once upon a time there lived a very poor middle aged couple on the outskirts of a great and magnificent city. Early in the morning the man used to set out to the city and return home in the evening with a few odd annas earned by picking up small jobs in the warehouses of wealthy merchants. One fine morning, being lazier than usual, he remained in bed with his eyes closed though fully awake, and furtively watched the proceedings of his wife during her toilette. When she was completely satisfied with her performance the man pretended to wake up as though from a deep sleep and addressed his wife, "you know, my dear, of late I have been feeling that some strange power has been granted to me by the gracious nats who preside over our destinies. To illustrate my point, you saw just now that I was fast asleep, and yet, would you believe it, I knew exactly what you were doing a little while ago from the time you rose from your bed up till the present moment," and proceed to tell her all she did at her toilette. As may be imagined, his wife was quite astonished at this feat, and womanlike, she began to see in this power the means to a profitable living.

Just about this time the kingdom became greatly distracted by a series of daring thefts which took place both by day and night. All efforts made by the authorities to capture the culprits proved useless. At length the king became seriously alarmed for the safety of his treasures, and in order to afford better protection he redoubled the guards round the palace. But in spite of all this precaution the thieves entered the palace one night and succeeded in carrying away a large quantity of gold, siver and precious stones.

On the following morning the King issued a proclamation to the effect that a thousand gold mohurs would be given as a reward to the person who could either capture the thieves or restore the stolen property. So without consulting her husband in whom she had absolute faith, she went off to the palace and informed the king that her husband was a great astrologer and that it would be quite easy for him to find the lost treasures. The king's heart was filled with gladness on receiving this information. He told the good woman that if her husband could do all that she promised, further honours and rewards would be heaped upon him.

When the woman returned home she joyfully related to her husband the details of her interview with the king. "What have you done, you silly fool?" shouted the man with mingled astonishment and alarm. "The other day when I spoke to you about my powers I was merely imposing upon you. I am neither an astrologer nor a diviner. It will be impossible for me to find the lost property. By your silly act you have not only brought disgrace upon us but you have also imperilled our lives. I don't care what happens to you; I only know that I am going to commit suicide this very day."
So saying he left the house and entered a dense forest with the intention of cutting a stout creeper with which to hang himself. After he got what he wanted he climbed up a big tree to tie one end of the creeper to a branch. But while he was engaged in this act the notorious thieves came to the foot of the very tree on which he was perched and proceeded to divide the treasures which they stole from the palace. The man on the top remained absolutely still and eagerly listened to all that was going on down below. Apparently the division was not quite satisfactory to every one, and as a result a terrible dispute arose among them. For long hours they argued and abused each other without being able to come to a settlement. At length seeing that the sun was already declining they aged to bury the treasure at the foot of the tree and to return on the morrow for a further discussion relative to their respective shares.

As soon as they left the place the poor man came down from the tree and ran home as fast as he could. "My dear wife," I know exactly where the treasures are to be found. If you make haste and come along with me I shall be able to remove the whole lot to our house." So they hastened together with baskets on their heads and reached the spot when darkness had properly set in. They then dug up the treasures as quickly as they could and conveyed them home.

On the following day they went to the palace and restored the lost treasures to the king. Greatly overjoyed at his good fortune the king praised the man and marvelled at his rare knowledge. In addition to the reward which he received, the man was forthwith appointed the chief astrologer to the King with a handsome salary which placed him beyond the dreams of avarice.

While in the enjoyment of such honours and rewards the astrologer one day thought to himself, "So far I have been fortunate. My luck has been phenomenally good. Everybody takes me to be a great man, though actually I am not. I wonder for how long my luck will hefriend me?" From that time forward his mind become uneasy. He often sat up in bed at nights dreading the future which should bring about his exposure and disgrace. Every day he spoke to his wife about his false position and the peril that threatened him. He saw that it would be utter folly and madness to make a clean breast of everything as he had already committed himself too far. So he decided to say nothing for the present but to await a favourable opportunity of extricating himself from the awkward situation.

If so happened that one day the king received a letter from the ruler of a distant country which stated that he had heard about the famous astrologer. But that somehow he did not quite believe all that was said concerning the wisdom and knowledge of the man. By way of testing his real powers would he, the king, enter into a bet? If acceptable, he said he would send him a gourd fruit by his Envoys, and if his astrologer could say how many seeds it contained, he was willing to forfeit his kingdom provided he (the former) did the same in the event of his protégé going wrong in
his calculations. Having absolute faith in his astrologer the king forthwith sent a reply to the letter accepting the bet.

For many days after this the poor astrologer thought very hard how he should act in the matter. He knew that the gourd fruit usually contained thousands of seeds and that to attempt a guess would be worse than useless. Being fully convinced that the day of reckoning had at last arrived, he determined to run away and hide himself in some obscure corner rather than face the disgrace of a public exposure. So the next thing he did was to procure a boat. He then loaded it with food for many days and quietly left the shores of the city.

The following day as he was nearing the mouth of the river, a foreign vessel came sailing up under a full spread of canvas. He saw from a distance that the sailors, having nothing particular to do, sat in a group and were engaged in pleasant conversation. As he came alongside the vessel he heard a man remark to the others, "Somehow I feel quite certain that our King will lose the bet. Don't you fellows know that this country possess an astrologer who is infallible in his calculations? He is reputed to possess the combined sight of a thousand devas. To such a one the single seed, lying hidden within this gourd we now convey with us, will not prove an obstacle of any serious difficulty. You may therefore rest assured that he will find it out in a very short time."

When the man heard these words he felt very glad and blessed his good luck for having freed him once again from a dangerous situation. Instead, therefore, of continuing his journey, he swung his boat round and made for home, happy in the possession of his freshly acquired knowledge. On his arrival he related everything to his wife who shed tears of joy on hearing the good news.

Early next day, hearing that the king was about to grant an audience to the foreign Envoys, the royal astrologer went to the palace. The courtiers were very glad to see him turn up, for so great was their confidence in him that they felt that their country was quite safe and that the chances were in favour of their acquiring a new kingdom. When the king entered the Hall of Audience he invited the astrologer to sit on his right while the others sat in front of him with their faces almost touching the floor. Then the real proceedings began.

First of all presents were exchanged and complimentary speeches were delivered on both sides. When these ceremonies were over the Chief Envoy addressed the king in the following terms, "Oh Mighty Monarch! The real object of our journey to your most beautiful country has already formed the subject of correspondence between your Majesty and my king. I will not therefore tire you by its recital all over again. My master commands me to show you this gourd and to ask you to say how many seeds exactly it contains. If what you say be correct his kingdom passes into your possession; but on the other hand should you be wrong your kingdom becomes the property of my master."

Hearing these words the king smiled and turning to the astrologer near him, said, "My dear saya, it is unnecessary for me to tell you what
you have got to do. Consult your stars and tell us how many seeds the fruit contains. You already know how generous I have been to you in the past. And now at this crisis, if you are able to assist me in winning a kingdom, my reward to you shall be such as to make you rejoice for all the remaining days of your life.’’ ‘‘You Majesty,’’ replied the astrologer, ‘‘everything I have, including my life, belongs to you. By your will I am able to live, and by your will I must also die. In the present case my calculations point to one answer only, and therefore I have no hesitation in saying that this gourd contains one seed only.’’

Accustomed to seeing gourds with thousands of seeds, the king turned pale when he heard the astrologer’s answer. But still having complete faith in him, with effort he restrained himself from further questioning him. The gourd was then placed upon a gold plate and was cut open in the presence of all those present. To the astonishment of everybody there was but a single seed as was said by the astrologer. The foreign Envoy congratulated the king on having won his bet and on the possession of so valuable a servant. He then returned home with a heavy heart bearing the news of his sovereign’s ruin and his country’s misfortune.

As to the astrologer his fame spread far and wide. All sorts of honours and rewards were heaped upon him. He was even granted the unique privilege of entering or leaving any part of the palace at all hours, just as his own inclinations directed him. Yet in spite of all these things he was not happy. He knew he was an imposter who stood in imminent danger of being found out. He was more than satisfied with the reputation he had made and the riches he had acquired. He did not desire any more of these things. His greatest ambition now was to find a graceful way of escape from his false position.

So he thus spoke to his wife one day, ‘‘My dear wife, so far I have had most wonderful luck. It has enabled me to escape two great dangers with honour to myself. But how long will this luck stand by me? Something tells me that I shall be found out on the third occasion. What I propose to do next is this. Listen carefully so that you may carry out my instructions without a hitch. Tomorrow while I am at the palace with the king you must set fire to our house. Being of thatch and bamboo it will not take long to be consumed. You must then come running to the palace to inform me about it and at the same time you must keep on repeating these words ‘the Astrological Tables are gone.’ I will then do the rest.’’

On the following day while the king was holding a grand Durbar in the Hall of Audience, a great commotion was heard outside the gates. On enquiry the king was informed that the astrologer’s wife had come to inform her husband that their house was burnt down and that everything of value, including the most precious astrological tables by which her husband made his wonderful predictions, had been consumed by the fire. Hearing these words the astrologer pretended to be terribly affected. He struck his forehead with the palm of his hand and for a long time he
remained silent and motionless with grief. Then turning to the king he
said, "May it please your Majesty I am now utterly ruined. For had it
been my riches alone that perished in the fire I should not have minded
so much. They could have been easily replaced. But now since these
precious tables are gone it is impossible to procure a similar set from
anywhere else. I hope I have served your Majesty faithfully and to your
satisfaction in the past; but I grieve to say I shall not be in a position to
give you the same service in the future. I beseech you therefore to
release me from the present responsible position, for I shall no longer
be useful to you. But in recognition of my past humble services if your
Majesty, in your great goodness of heart, can see fit to grant me a small
pension for the rest of my life I shall have cause to consider myself
exceptionally favoured."

The king was very sad to hear of his favourite's misfortune. And
as there was nothing else to be said or done in the matter he ordered a
beautiful building to be erected on the site of the house that was burnt
down. Next he filled it with a large retinue of servants and other
equipments such as horses, carriages and so forth. Then the whole
thing was made over to the astrologer with the command that for the
rest of his life he was to draw from the Royal Treasury no less a sum
than ten thousand gold mohurs a month.

As may be imagined the lucky astrologer was more than satisfied
with the arrangements and inwardly congratulated himself upon his good
fortune which once more enabled him to escape from a dangerous situa-
tion. Thus some men are born great, some achieve greatness; but
there are also others who have greatness forced upon them, and it is to
this third and last class that our hero the pretentious astrologer belongs.

SAN SHWE BU.
BANDULA—A BURMESE SOLDIER.

BY

MAJOR C. M. ENRIQUEZ,

Divisional Recruiting Officer, Burma.

The raising of Burmese units has led to much interesting speculation as to the value of the Burman as a soldier. Except on one occasion, when the Burma Sappers and Miners distinguished themselves at the Tigris crossing, the late war unfortunately affords no opportunities for judging them in the actual crisis of battle. The student of history cannot be in any doubt as to the courage and élan which for centuries have won the Burmese pre-eminence in the Indo-Chinese peninsula. But the public memory is proverbially short. It is almost forgotten that formerly the Burmese were regarded as born soldiers, that they lived in an atmosphere of constant warfare, and that they usually won. The collapse of the Army in 1884 without striking a blow, and the failure of half-hearted attempts at various times to form units, have raised doubts which the general characteristic of the race aggravate. In the past the Burman has always been a tough soldier in spite of bad pay, bad equipment and abominable leadership. Their military officers were chiefly notable for offensive arrogance and swagger; and the soldier himself appears to have left his virtues at home, and in war spread terror not only amongst the enemy, but amongst his own countrymen upon whom, in defeat, he turned as a marauder. These, however, are matters of discipline. They are the faults of all semi-civilized soldiery; and they do not necessarily reflect on the fighting qualities of the race. Let us therefore attempt to revive the personality of a great Burmese soldier whose history is now considerably obscured, but whose name is still universally remembered and cherished throughout the country.

Maung Yit, or as he is popularly called, Bandula, was born at the village of Tapayin in Lower Chindwin, a district which ever supplied Burmese Governments with their best soldiers. Of his early history we have few details. We see him plainly only at the close of his career. His reputation was already made in Assam and Arakan, nor did final disaster completely destroy it. A grateful king—and kings are not usually grateful to defeated generals—raised a pagoda in his memory. His armour is still exhibited in the Tower of London; and in 1918, ninety-three years after his death, a subscription was raised and the site of his fall marked by a stone pillar inscribed:—“Mahabandhula Min was struck by a piece of shell boon on 1st April 1825 and was mortally injured, dying almost immediately.”

At the outbreak of the first Burmese War Bandula commanded the Burmese Army in Arakan which contemplated the invasion of Bengal,
and caused no small anxiety in Calcutta. The unexpected appearance of the British force at Rangoon under Sir Archibald Campbell destroyed all hope of invasion. The position of the British, however, was critical. The rains had broken, Burmese levies attacked and invested them with unquenchable energy, and general after general came from Ava to spoil his reputation. Stores, cattle and boats were removed, and the civil population driven off with such remorseless consistency that the British lay isolated and immobilized round the Shwe Dagon Pagoda from the 10th May 1824 to the 13th February 1825, without moving out of it. The sickness amongst our troops was appalling. In the first year 3½ per cent. of the men were killed in action, and 45 per cent. perished of disease. The total losses during the war amounted to 72½ per cent. of the troops engaged. Finally, the home Government was getting distinctly peevish. *

At this juncture Bandula was transferred to command the Burmese army before Rangoon. His withdrawal from Arakan was so swift and secret that our posts watching him there were unaware of his departure. He removed all his sick and left no trace of his route. In spite of the season, his troops moved rapidly by many different roads through Hsinbyugyun and Prome to a rendezvous with Bandula at Danubyu where, with the levies already engaged with the British, he had an army of 60,000 men, of whom, it is estimated, 35,000 had muskets. Swiftness, forethought and energy marked all his measures, in sharp contrast to the leisurely methods of his astrologer-ridden predecessors. From this point we will let Major Snodgrass, Military Secretary to the Expedition, speak and record in the words of an actual eye witness the character of Burmese soldiers in general, and of Bandula in particular. † On the 30th November (1824) Bandula's army closed in on the British position round the Shwedagon Pagoda. The country was then covered with jungle, and Kemmendine was the preliminary key to the British position from which not only could the Pagoda be assaulted, but fire rafts let loose on the fleet with certainty of success. The land faces of the Pagoda were closely invested, and the river front on the Dalla side held. Thus on the 1st of December, says Major Snodgrass, "We found ourselves completely surrounded with only the limited space within our lines that we could still call our own. The line of circumvallation taken up by the enemy obviously extended a very considerable distance, and divided as it was by the river, injudiciously weakened his means of assailing us on any particular point; but as far as celerity, order and regularity are concerned, the style in which the different corps took up their stations in the line, reflected much credit on the arrangements of the Burmese commander. When this singular and presumptuous formation was completed, the soldiers of the left columns laying aside their spears and muskets, commenced operations with their entrenching tools, with such activity and good will that in the course of a couple of hours their line had wholly disappeared and could only be traced by a parapet of new earth gradually increasing in height. The moving masses, which had so very lately attracted our

* Fytche, Burma Past and Present. Pages 81 and 82.
† Narrative of the Burmese War. Snodgrass. Pages 86 to 177.
anxious attention, had sunk into the ground; and by one who had not witnessed the whole scene, the existence of these subterranean legions would not have been credited ....... and to us who had watched, it seemed the work of magic and enchantment."

The Military Secretary to the British expedition is clearly astonished at these tactics. When it is remembered that Bandula was faced with a strongly posted enemy, whose only superiority lay in its arms and artillery, the genius of the man is—to us twentieth-century beings—obvious, Bandula, who as we shall see used frightfulness and skilful propaganda, was evidently well in advance of his day. We can easily understand that Burma of those days extended from Assam and Manipur to Siam.

At this juncture, however, the British paid a visit to these excavations: "The trenches were found to be a succession of holes, capable of containing two men each, and excavated, so as to afford shelter, both from the weather and the fire of the enemy; even a shell lighting in the trench could at most but kill two men. As it is not the Burmese system to relieve their troops in making these approaches, each hole contained a sufficient supply of rice, water, and even fuel for its inmates; and under the excavated bank a bed of straw or brushwood was prepared, in which one man could sleep while his comrade watched. When one line of trench is completed, its occupiers, taking advantage of the night, push forward to where the second line is to be opened, their place being immediately taken up by fresh troops from the rear and so on progressively."

Meanwhile fierce assaults were delivered on Kemmendine again and again throughout the day. At night the Burmese attack was resumed: "Suddenly the heavens and the whole surrounding country became brilliantly illuminated by the flames of several tremendous fire-rafts, floating down the river towards Rangoon; and scarcely had the blaze appeared, than incessant rolls of musketry and peals of cannon were heard from Kemmendine. The enemy had launched their fire-rafts into the stream with the first of the ebb tide; and they were followed up by war-boats ready to take advantage of the confusion which might ensue, should any of the ships be set on fire." Our sailors immediately took to their boats and grappled with the flaming rafts, conducting them safely past. "The situation of the vessels" was however, "extremely perilous. The cruiser Teignmouth caught fire and was with difficulty extinguished."

These rafts were "made of bamboo firmly wrought together, between every two or three rows of which a line of earthen jars filled with petroleum, or earth-oil and cotton, were secured ....... The almost extinguishable fierceness of the flames proceeding from them can scarcely be imagined. Many of these rafts were 200 feet in length, and divided by long hinges, so arranged that when they caught upon the cable of any ship, the force of the current should carry the ends of the raft completely round her and envelope her in flames from the deck to her main-topmast head. With the possession of Kemmendine the enemy could have launched these rafts from a point where they must have reached our shipping."
The Burmese attack continued through the 2nd, 3rd and 4th of December. The fighting was desperate. "At Kemmendine peace was seldom maintained above two hours at any time." The Burmese were now close in round the position. On the 5th the British delivered their first telling counter-attack on the Burmese left towards Pazundaung. Bandula spent the 6th rallying his left, but on the 7th a second, final and smashing stroke, was delivered north of the Pagoda; and on the same night the force across the the river at Dalla was smitten. The Burmese, under this quick succession of blows, broke—with the inevitable consequences. "Numerous desertions, and even the dispersion of entire corps followed. On the 9th, Bandula with a remnant of 25,000 was retiring on Danubyu," where his own forethought had provided a fortified position and reinforcements. To delay pursuit, he invented an 'envoy from Ava,' who in fact never existed. With the returning population he introduced his own agents into Rangoon, who, on the 12th December, managed to burn down half the town. The magazines were only saved by luck. With a trifle of fortune Bandula might well have equalized his losses.

The British, however, were in no position to follow. Bandula kept them starved and isolated. On the 13th of February the British transport crawled forth at the rate of four, five and six miles a day. "Too much credit cannot be given to Bandula and his chiefs, for the secrecy they maintained and enforced, relative to their plans, arrangements and movements at the present juncture. The state of espionage and terror under which the peasantry are kept renders them extremely circumcised. . . . The desertion of the towns and villages in our route was obviously a systematical arrangement of the Burmese chiefs. . . . . . . The prince of Sarawuddy, burning and laying waste the villages in their route, drove thousands of helpless and harmless people from their homes to the woods. . . . . Even Russia, in her memorable resistance to the armies of Napoleon, did not offer the invading host such a continued scene of desolation; neither man nor beast escaped the retiring columns; and heaps of ashes, with groups of hungry, howling dogs, alone indicated where villages had been."

The flotilla's attack on the stockades at Danubyu failed. The land column turned to it, arriving before the position on or about the 25th March. The stockade was strong, but Bandula's army was probably not more than 15,000. The bombardment began on the 1st April when by a chance shot Bandua was killed as he was inspecting the works. The soldiers could be induced to serve under no other general, and in the night melted away. The drama then shifted up the river to Prome, and so to Pagan and Yandaboo, where the Burmese court was at last obliged to sign the treaty.

Of Bandula's personality we know little. That he wielded an almost magical influence over his men is beyond dispute. His mere presence inspired confidence, and was worth a corps. At his fall the brave army he had handled so skilfully in the face of European science vanished. No doubt he was ruthless and ferocious in anger. When some gunners refused to serve their gun, he stepped down and personally
cut off their heads. Fytche* mentions that on one occasion Bandula ordered an offending general to be “sawn asunder between two planks.” By such means alone could an army like his be managed, or at least it is charitable to think so. The Burman has a streak of Tartar cruelty in his nature. On the other hand Bandula was normally generous and brave. He possessed the genius of a soldier. He was greatly beloved. His memory is cherished to this day, and recalled with pride. That the confidence he inspired was justified is obvious from the remarkable accuracy, detail and precision of his moves and dispositions. His troops reached their positions punctually, and were there supplied with such tools, engines, necessities and comforts as were possible.

Until 1824 Bandula had been uniformly successful. He was summoned to Rangoon in an hour of dire calamity. There, for the first time, he met European troops, and there seems to be little doubt but that he recognised the hopelessness of his task during that disastrous week before the Shwe Dagon. The iron of defeat and disgrace had entered his soul, though he showed once more a brave front at Danubyu.

There, it appears, he deliberately courted death. He refused to shelter from bombardment, or to lower his state umbrella. His expressed sentiments are not recorded but are said by some to have been to the effect that—“If I die, the enemy will attribute their victory to that. They cannot say our soldiers were not brave.”

C. M. Enriquez.

MY RAMBLES

among the ruins of the golden City of Myauk-u.

BY SAN BAW U.

CHAPTER I.

Myauk-u, the modern Myohaung, was the last of the ancient capitals of Arakan founded by King Swamon of Myauk-u dynasty in the year 792 B. E.—1430 A.D. Laung-gyet, situated on the Eingza Nadi, the present Lemyo River, was the capital that preceded Myauk-u. After the destruction of that city by the army of King Min-Swe of Ava in the year 768 B. E.—1405 A.D., King Swamon took refuge at the court of the Sultan of Bengal for a period of 21 years. Now after waiting and watching for that length of time, Swamon at last sought and obtained the help of the Sultan to regain Arakan. The Sultan then fitted out an army to Arakan, defeated the Pyus and replaced Swamon on the throne. Having thus regained his country and his wish fulfilled, Swamon caused a meeting of his ministers and astrologers to be held, and the question as to whether Laung-gyet should be abandoned and a new capital founded was considered. They declared that the term of life of the old capital had come to a close and that they were in favour of founding a new one. King Swamon therefore with his train of queens, ministers and army started marching towards the north in search of a new capital. The heralds who were marching ahead, brought in to the King tidings in the shape of four significant omens, namely, (1) the discovery of a jar containing half iron-powder and half brown-earth; (2) the discovery of two grey tucuos inside the hole of a dead tree; (3) that a tiger chased a deer, which ran for its life, but when it reached a certain spot where zin-canes grew, the deer turned round and chased the tiger, and that a snake chased a frog, but when the frog reached the cane-grove, it turned round and chased the snake; and (4) that a man in white waving a handkerchief disappeared, when the heralds went near. They also saw two fisherwomen, one on each bank of the Eingza Nadi River. As they were fishing, the following dialogue passed between them. The women on the side of Myauk-u asked the other on Wathe side “Oh, my sister Ma Wathe, have you caught any fish?” “No” replied the other. Ma Wathe in her turn questioned the other “Have you any?” Ma Myauk-u replied “Yes, I have caught a large fish.” The King had with him expert readers of omens, who were ordered to read and explain the four omens and offer their opinion. The omens were read and the readers declared that the place indicated was the one most suitable for establishing a Royal House. They interpreted that iron-powder represented strength and brown-earth fertility of the soil, and that the jar meant that if the capital was built at the place, the country would be impregnable against foreign invasion, and that the place would become so fertile that it would produce
luscious and delicious fruits of every variety in the days to come. The two grey tucuos meant that the future Kings that would come to rule Arakan would be influenced by justice and equity conferring contentment and prosperity. The other omens indicated the place where the city was to be built. It was then decided that a new city be founded there and be named Myauk-u. Thus Arakan happened to be ruled by 50 Kings at the city of Myauk-u, beginning from king Swamon to the last Thamada (a native of Ramree), lasting for a period of almost five centuries.

During that time the city, they say, teemed with a population of various creeds and tongues, with crystal lakes, beautiful gardens, pleasure parks, countless pōngyi Kraungs, Payas and pagodas made of Kyauk-nyo stones, and inner and outer stone-walls with huge archways; it even possessed a drainage system of expert engineering. Occasionally one still hears the inhabitants of the place repeat the verse with much pathos.

CHAPTER II.

A couple of hours’ journey by a steam launch from Akyab towards Myohaung brings a visitor to Ponnyaun, a small town on the right bank of the creek of that name; and there the first object of note that looms into one’s view is Urituaung Pagoda built in the year 953 B.E.—1591 A.D. by King Min Paluang. He was one of the sons of King Min Bin, popularly called Min Bah, who not only fought and conquered the twelve states of Bengal, but also ingeniously and successfully repelled the first Portuguese invasion of Arakan in the year 896 B.E.—1534 A.D., after having fought a naval battle at the mouth of Kaladan River (Gacchapa Nadi, as known in ancient times). To the inquisitive, the bare use of the word “ingeniously” would seem incomplete in describing the said naval battle. The prime minister Mahā Pyinnya-gyaw, a great Arakanese statesman and a naval genius, to whom the honour of the victory should be accorded, was the director of the operations. The Portuguese has a fleet of gun-boats armed with guns, and the Arakanese a fleet of boats called Kyweh-heh. The Arakanese admiral knew that his boats could be no equals to those of his enemy and was certain that an immediate battle would mean his sure defeat; and so he waited till he had the tide in his favour and the darkness to cover his operations. When darkness came and the tide began to flow down, he took the aggressive and sent down endless trains of bamboo-rafts which he had prepared long before, when he knew the superior strength of the opposing forces. The rafts were all mounted with dummy soldiers made of bamboo, and embedded in explosives attached to fuses. When the rafts got near the enemies’ ships, they were mistaken for reinforcements, and the enemy directed his fire on them. By a certain arrangement the fuses were set fire to, causing a thousand bonfires and at the same time millions of tiny explosions from the bamboo-rafts amidst the noise and din of battle. The whole river then became ablaze, and as they went
closer and closer to the Portuguese fleet, intenser became the conflagration. Some of the invaders' gunboats that came in contact with them were actually set on fire, and the crews of others caught among the blazing bamboo-rafts perished of heat. The result was that the invaders were forced to weigh anchor precipitately and beat a hasty retreat, and the Portuguese fleet disappeared into the darkness of the night. This naval battle demonstrated how a weaker power possessing human ingenuity could easily overcome brute force.

The Portuguese invaders were known as Palaungs, probably a corruption of the name "Feringhis". At that time a son was born to the king and to mark the victory, he was named Palaung by his father and later he was known as King Min Palaung.

This little town bears two names, namely, "Ponnagyun" and "Urittaung" and is the centre of an interesting little legend. In one of his previous births, Lord Godama Buddha was said to have incarnated as a ponna well-versed in the science of astrology and a renowned fortune-teller living on the right bank of the creek. In course of time the ponna died, and his remains were buried there. After other countless incarnations, he became Buddha. Being the birth-place of the ponna, the right bank therefore came to be called Ponnagyun, and the left bank Urittaung named after the pagoda known as Urittaung-paya where the Buddha's skull-relics were enshrined. This legend is derived from the discourses relating to his previous births in Arakan, delivered to Ananda and 500 rahans or disciples by Godama Buddha during his sojourn in Aakan on the hill of Sela-giri (or rock-hill) opposite the present town of Kryauktaw.

Another couple of hours journey from Ponnagyun, Aungdet (the camp of victory), the present landing place of Myanhaung, is reached; and at the same time one sees in full view Babu-daung Hill, known in the days of old as Bahula-taung, on which are perched four small-sized pagodas. This is a hill of no mean reputation—a hill at the base of which Kassapa Buddha, the immediate predecessor of Lord Godama Buddha, is said to have landed countless ages ago during his visit to Arakan; a hill at the foot of which the great monarch Asoka is similarly said to have landed 2200 years ago, when he came on a pilgrimage to Arakan to pay his homage to Mahamuni Image, the renowned image of Godama Buddha cast of nine kinds of pure metals by the orders of King Sanda Thuriya of Daññawadi dynasty.

As the visitor lands and walks along the road, a cluster of Buddha images on the right greets his eye; he passes a large tank called Mawlikan, supposed to have been dug by a eunuch or Chamberlain of the Royal Household, and also Sanga-doung Hill, on the top of which is a brick pagoda, square-shaped at the base and gradually tapering skywards; then he crosses a fine wooden bridge that spans Eingza Nadi River (the present Wathi creek), not far from an artificial passage about 30 feet high called Pago-psyu-Sewa, now known as Min-twt-se. This was cut
straight through Sanga-doung Hill by the orders of King Min Raza-gyi at the instance of his beautiful Talaing wife, Shin-nhoun, better known as Pago-pyu-mibaya of Pegu, who declined to make her triumphal entry along the route taken by commoners into the capital city of her newly married husband. The latter had won a decided victory over the combined armies of Siam and Toungoo at Pegu, when the latter attacked the kingdom of her father, the king of Pegu. Now, turning to the right, another group of Pagodas and pagodas meets one's eyes. On examination one finds a hillock on which sits cross-legged a golden image of Buddha covered by a four-tiered thein or shed, erected recently by a good Buddhist. On closer scrutiny, one discovers that the supposed hillock is not a hill at all, but only half of a ruined pagoda made of stones which lie crumbling here and there unnoticed and uncared for for ages, but which hold a tale most interesting and romantic. The pagoda was a miniature representation of the famous Shwe-maw-daw Pagoda of Pegu and was built in the year 961 B.E.-1600 A.D. by King Min Raza-gyi at the instance of his wife Mibaya Pago-pyu, who after many years residence in Arakan became home-sick and longed to do her homage to the pagodas of her native land. This feeling came to her while, one day, she was on Lundoung Hill at Nanyagon enjoying the fragrant breeze and viewing the enchanting scenery around, and hence this hill came to be called 'Lundoung' the longing hill. (Some however say that this is not its origin, and aver that its name is 'Ywandung' named after the State drum that was kept on it and beaten to announce the exit of the King to the audience chamber.) To divert her from her thoughts of home Min Raza-gyi also caused to be constructed a pleasure park called Myin-mho-daung representing Mount Meru, surrounded by four large islands, and seven circular ranges of mountains varied in heights lower and lower until the last and the lowest one reaches the edges of the five great oceans, into which the waters of the five hundred rivers flow unceasingly. To this pleasure ground the King, his queen and Royal Household often used to repair and bathed in the cool and crystal waters of its lakes. It is now in ruins and covered with thick vegetation, and is situated to the east of, and a couple of miles walk from, Myohoung.

Why and wherefore Pago-pyu-mibaya, a Talaing princess, became one of the queens of Min Raza-gyi, an Arakanese king, requires a brief elucidation. In ancient times fighting between neighbouring states was the order of the day. In the year 960 B.E.-1598 A.D., a war was waged between the ruler of Pegu on one side and that of Toungoo actively aided by Siam on the other. The King of Pegu being single-handed was unable to repel the attack of the invaders and sought Min Raza-gyi's help on the promise of the hand of his daughter, a white elephant and rich presents. In Arakan tabouns or omens were supposed to be sure indicators of any important event or events that would happen. When the delegates from Hanthawaddy came to Min Raza-gyi, the boat-song omen sang (the bayin of Pegu on a lame white elephant will seek refuge in our country) was being sung by
boy-paddlers in Biaqza Nadi River. The readers of omens interpreted that the song was good; and that, if they were to render the required help, their arms would succeed. Min Raza-gyi had therefore a force fitted out consisting of 900,000 men and 30,000 sail. These he placed under Mahā Pyinnya-gyaw as Commander-in-chief, and he in his golden Paung-daw began marching to the port of Hanthawaddy. A halt however was made at Dwayawadi (Sandoway) where a praying ceremony was performed at An-daw, Nan-daw and San-daw Pagodas for the success of his arms. When the march was about to be resumed, a remarkable omen was observed. Three birds namely a thein (hawk), a byaing (paddy bird) and a linda (vulture) were seen flying round and round above the golden Phoung-daw till at last they perched upon it at its bow, middle and stern respectively. This was taken to be a sign of great import and the march was ordered to be immediately suspended. Raza-gyi had it interpreted by a Sayadaw of the place learned in soothsaying. The Sayadaw said that the thein meaning conquest was an indication of the success of the mission, that the byaing representing the white colour indicated possession of a white elephant, and that the linda meaning a longing for a husband was indicative of his getting married to a beautiful princess. Pleased with these interpretations, a promise was made to give a golden monastery to the sayadaw, if they turned out to be true; and the king continued his march to his destination. On arriving at Pegu, he found it was closely invested by the combined armies of Toungoo and Siam, but he easily defeated them and Pegu was relieved. The king of Pegu was true to his words, and Min Raza-gyi was given the hand of his daughter, a white elephant and other rich presents. The victorious king was very much pleased with the treatment accorded him, and his joyous return voyage which otherwise would have been uneventful was marred by the death of his prime minister Mahā Pyinnya-gyaw, the shining star of his realm and the genius of his operations, at the age of 120 years. He was buried with all pomp at Cape Nagarit and over his grave was built a pagoda in proof of the high esteem and respect shewn for him, and to commemorate his successful operations in Hanthawaddy. The pagoda forms a landmark to mariners even to this day.

CHAPTER III.

The visitor continues his walk. At every turn he comes across marian trees bearing yellow fruits, squirrels here and there jumping from bough to bough; and flocks of parrots whirring overhead. He now feels he is in the heart of the town, amidst fruit-trees peculiarly indigenous to the place, breathing the air of a bygone age, as he approaches a high, square-shaped, partitioned palace site of the kings of Arakan, now known as Nanyagon. Next, he treads upon the traces of a moat on the western side that has been recently filled up at a large cost and defaced to the
sincere regret of antiquarians; and then gently he goes up the three stone staircases, one higher than another, separated by two or three hundred feet of level ground and four walls made entirely of stone. Some of the walls are unique in workmanship and display the skill of their maker. He then comes to the site of the actual throne and Audience Hall, of which the stone foundations only are seen here and there. Contiguous to this, on the north, is the site of Hlut-daw or the Hall of Justice. From the descriptions in verse of the magnificence of Raza-gyi’s palace by Mibaya Pago-pyu one gathers that the lower part of the wezayanta over the throne was of five tiers, each being ornamented by leoglyphs. Adjoining on the north was a large terrace, with a pleasant garden of choice flowering plants. For the detailed description of the palace the reader is referred to the reigns of Raza-gyi and Min Khamuang in the palm-leaf Mahā Yaza-win of Arakan. On the second terrace at the south east corner of the site, was a small pagoda built for daily worship by the royal family, called Nan-u-paya, of which only a small mound of soft rock with a tiny broken stone-image of Godama remains to tell the tale. Hard by is Lun-daung, the longing hill, which in times past, was fanned by the fragrant breeze from U-yintha, the pleasant garden on the West. A huge, wide stone staircase forms an abutment at the eastern wall; and beyond, lies Nan the-gan or the tank of the palace people, watched by two pairs of large, dreadful looking bhūtīs in sitting posture. The tank made of brick staircases right round with the bottom of large stone slabs, has a sculptured stone pillar at its south-east corner. In ancient times it was used by the kings of Arakan for the hair-washing ceremony. A few paces to the north-east stand also four smooth, round stone-pillars half buried in the ground. This is said to be the site of a smaller Wezayanta, under which the kings actually performed their hair-washing ceremony with the water from the tank. Both the tank and the Wezayanta were consecrated and are therefore held in great esteem by the people.

Behind, at a short distance, one notices three quaint stone figures about 5 feet by 2 feet, one of which still bears on its pedestal the inscription in bold letters wezayanta meaning the king of Persia. The word "Thura-tan" is often mentioned in the palm-leaf history for meh she. "Sultan" is probably meant by the Arakanese historians. No such inscription is visible on the other two figures, but perhaps they represent the kings of the Saks and of Pagan, who were constantly at war with the kings of Arakan. The science of yādayā or hidden art appears to have been believed and practised by the king of Myauk-u, and these stone figures were said to have been made by the orders of Min-Bah to damp the spirit of those foreign kings and their countries and bring them under his subjection. Two of these are now serving as sentries at the entrance of the Mytchung Police Station, and the other lies face upwards in front of the hospital compound. All are however awaiting the inauguration of a museum in Mytchung, into which they badly need admittance.
Further to the east, the Goddess of Myauk-u occupies the most conspicuous position. In previous years she was symbolically represented by two tiny nat houses of the Wezayanta type with gold and silver leaf glued on them. As one of them got accidentally damaged by fire recently, a new and larger one has been built in their stead at the expense of the townspeople and other well-wishers.

San Baw U.
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Minutes of the 4th Committee Meeting held at University College on 5th August 1921.

Present:

M. Hunter, Esq., (President)
U Tun Pe. W. G. Fraser, Esq.

1. Minutes of the Third Committee Meeting held on 11th July 1921, were confirmed.

2. It was resolved that the Honorary Secretary should write to Prof. Maung Tin with regard to the publication of the translation of the Hmannn Yazawin asking for further information including an estimate for publication of text alone.

3. It was resolved that books in the Society’s Library which Mr. Harvey requires in connection with his historical work may be forwarded to him.

4. It was resolved that amounts now on fixed deposit in the National Bank the period of which shortly expires should be reinvested for 6 months in Treasury Bills.

5. Receipt of Journals from the Royal Asiatic Society and from the Oriental School, Hanoi, and of gramophone records of dialects of Burma from the Government of Burma, was recorded. The Honorary Treasurer was authorised to pay the amount charged by the Oriental School, Hanoi. The thanks of the Society have already been communicated to the Government of Burma for gramophone records.

6. It was resolved that a copy of “MAN IN INDIA” be circulated to Messrs. J. S. Furnivall and L. F. Taylor for favour of an opinion whether it is desirable to arrange an exchange with this Society’s journal.

7. The Honorary Treasurer was authorised to pay Messrs. Probyn-thain’s account for books purchased for the Society’s Library.

Rangoon: The 8th August 1921.

W. G. FRASER,
Honorary Secretary.
Minutes of the Sixth Text Publication Sub-Committee, held at the Bernard Free Library at 8 a.m. on Sunday, the 2nd October 1921.

Present:

U Po Sein (Chairman).

U Tin.

Saya Pwa.

Ko Ba Kya.

U Po Byu.

U Saw Kywe.

U Saw Maung.

W. G. Fraser Esq.

Saya Lin.

Saya Tun Pe.

1. The Minutes of the last meeting held on Monday, the 10th July 1921 were read and confirmed.

2. Mingala-thok Pya.—Resolved that since Saya Pwa has regained his health, Mingala-thok Pya be returned to him to complete the work of edition.

3. Resolved that U San Shwe Bu's opinion in regard to the inadvisability of publishing Aung Gyaw Rhi's Myittaza at this time be accepted and that the Secretary should write to U San Shwe Bu requesting him to secure, at the expense of the Society, a copy of this Myittaza.

4. Owadahtu Pya.—(1) Resolved that a Sub-Committee consisting of U Po Sein, Saya Lin, U Tin, Saya Pwa, U Saw Maung, U Saw Kywe, U Ba Kya, U Po Byu and Saya Tun Pe meet in U Po Sein's house on the 15th October at noon to decide on the mode of spelling to be adopted in the edition of Owadahtu Pya and that Saya Lin, U Tin, and U Po Byu be asked to make a final revision.

(2) Resolved that U Po Byu and Secretary are asked to enquire into the cost of printing from different leading presses, and present the quotations before a meeting of the Text Publication Sub-Committee, to take place early in November next.

5. Resolved that re-editing of Mahajanaka Pyo and Wethandaya Pyo be postponed.

TUN PE,
Honorary Secretary,
Text Publication Sub-Committee.

Rangoon,
The 14th October 1921.

Minutes of the Seventh Text Publication Sub-Committee, held at the Bernard Free Library, at 8 a.m. on Sunday the 6th November 1921.

Present:

U May Oung, (Chairman).

U Po Byu.

Saya Pwa.

Aggamahapandita U Pye.

U Tin.

Saya Lin.

U Saw Maung.

U Saw Kywe.

U Ba Kya.

Mr. W. G. Fraser.

Mr. L. F. Taylor.

U Po Sein.

Saya Tun Pe.

1. The minutes of the last meeting held on Saturday, the 2nd October 1921 were read and confirmed.
2. Resolved that the following categories concerning orthography be recommended for adoption in the publication of Burmese Texts:

(i) It is known that the author used the old spellings. They should be retained as part of the literature. An appendix will give these spellings together with modern spellings.

(ii) It is not known how the author wrote. But the old spellings are generally in accord with the spellings of the time and the manuscripts are supposed to be good and carefully copied ones. 

Action: same as above.

If old manuscripts show many variations in spelling of time adopt customary spelling (if this be possible) and give variations in Appendix.

(iii) Works not coming into either of above categories. Modern spelling and show variations in Appendix. Footnote may be used instead of Appendix, if the number of words concerned is small. A fair degree of certainty should be established before printing a work in Categories 1 or 2.

3. Resolved that this meeting recommends to print a thousand copies of Owadahtu Pyo, in lieu of Maung Kala Yazawin and Mingalathok Pyo, at Kawi-myet-hman Press, and that the General Committee be asked to contribute a sum of Rs. 250 towards the expenditure. U May Oung and Secretary are entrusted to select the size, cover and design in printing the same.

4. Resolved that U Chit Maung be thanked for the list of the Shan MSS and that U Ba Kya and Secretary are appointed to make a selection from the list and have it copied for the Society's Library.

TUN PE,

RANGOON, Honorary Secretary,
The 22nd November 1921. Text Publication Sub-Committee.

Minutes of the Fifth Meeting of the Committee of the Burma Research Society held at University College on 12th November 1921.

PRESENT:

M. Hunter, Esq., C.I.E., (President).

Taw Sein Ko, Esq., C.I.E. | U May Oung.
L. F. Taylor Esq. | U Tin.
Prof. Ross. | U Tun Pe.
Prof. Ward. | Maung Ba Han.
Maung Ba Kya. | W. G. Fraser Esq., (Hony. Secy.)

Minutes of the Fourth Meeting of the Committee held on 5th August 1921 were confirmed.
2. The following correspondence was recorded:—

(a) Letter from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma to the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, agreeing to the recommendation of the latter that the Burma Research Society should receive two copies of each issue of Epigraphia Birmanica and of the Annual Archaeological Report.

(b) Letter dated 2nd September from Maung Ba Than, B.A., Moulmein, and Secretary's reply, dated 12th September.

(c) Letter from the American Baptist Mission Press regarding the sale of Journals.

3. The presentation to the Society's Library by U Shwe Pon, Shwegu, of a copy of "History of Burma Catholic Missions" was recorded.

4. The presentation of 12 Volumes in Siamese, a gift from the Siamese Government on the occasion of the His Royal Highness the Supreme Patriarch’s attainment of the age of 60, was recorded.

It was resolved to send these Volumes to Mr. J. A. Maung Gyi with the request that he would kindly furnish the Society with a note on their contents, the probable date of their translation into Siamese and their authorship.

5. A letter from Mr. G. E. Harvey thanking the Society for the loan of Books and stating that he may require them for longer than three months was read. The Secretary's action in replying that there would be no objection to retaining them longer if necessary was approved.

6. A letter dated 31st September from Mr. Luce was considered:

(a) The matter of publication of Prof. Maung Tin's translation of the Hmanan Yazawin was discussed. In view of the high cost of publication it was agreed that the Society unaided would be unable to publish the work except as originally proposed, i.e., in the Society's Journal. Assistance might be obtained to make possible its publication as an independent work, complete with notes, etc.

A Sub Committee was appointed with a general instruction to report to the Committee on the publication of historical works, and it was decided that Prof. Maung Tin be invited to submit the Ms. of his work to this Sub-Committee which would, after examination, make recommendations to the Committee.

The Sub-committee would consist of the following:—

U May Oung, Mr. Duroiselle, U Tin, U Tun Pe, Maung Ba Han and Maung Ba Kya.

With reference to Mr. Luce's query whether the Society approves the method adopted of translating with notes, etc. which involves slow progress, it was agreed that the method has the Society's approval.
(b) It was resolved that an extract from Mr. Luce's letter urging the importance of the formation of a Chinese library should be sent to the University of Rangoon with the Society's suggestion that such a library should be founded by the University.

c) It was resolved that the sum of £20 should be sent to Mr. Luce to enable him to purchase the more important of the French and other works he recommends for the Society's library.

(d) The Secretary was instructed to consult Mr. Duroiselle regarding two French periodical publications which deal with the art and archaeology of Indo-China and which Mr. Luce suggests the Society should obtain by exchange or otherwise, viz., "Bulletin de la Commission Archeologique de l'Indo-Chine" and "Bulletin des amis du Vieux Hué"

7. The Honorary Treasurer read a report regarding subscriptions by members. It was decided that the forthcoming issue of the Journal should be sent to all members and that the Treasurer make further efforts to recover the subscriptions which are overdue.

8. It was decided that since no paper quite suitable for being read at a General Meeting was available the holding of a General Meeting should be postponed.

9. U Tun Pe on behalf of the Text Publication Sub-Committee reported the completion of the work of editing the Owadahtu Pyo. Its publication at a cost of Rs. 250 was approved, subject to the formal approval of the edition as a University Text-book having first been obtained from the Board of Oriental Studies of the University of Rangoon.

10. It was resolved that the printing of the Catalogue of the Society's Library should be deferred. For the present it may be printed in instalments in the Society's Journal.

11. The Editor reported the causes of delay in the appearance of the Journal. Part III of 1920 will appear immediately and Parts I and II of 1921 shortly.

Rangoon, 
The 16th November 1921. 

W. G. Fraser, 
Honorary Secretary.

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Minutes of a Meeting of the Sub-Committee held at University College on 11th January 1922.

Present.
M. Hunter, Esq., C. I. E., President.
W. G. Fraser, Esq., Honorary Secretary & Treasurer.

1. The application of Rule 9 to members whose subscriptions for 1921 are still unpaid was considered,
It was resolved that those whose copy of the Journal has been returned refused or unclaimed be deemed to have resigned, provided that an explanation has been asked for and has not been forthcoming. Other members will receive a final reminder and if their subscriptions are not paid by 1st February 1922 they shall be deemed to have resigned.

2. Mr. M. Cassim, Akyab, was elected an ordinary member of the Society.

3. The date February 3rd, was provisionally fixed for the Annual General Meeting.

W. G. FRASER,
Honorary Secretary.

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Minutes of the 6th meeting of the Committee held at University College on Friday 20th January 1922.

PRESENT.

M. Hunter, Esq., C. I. E., President.

U May Oung . . . . Vice-president.

L. F. Taylor, Esq. | U Tha Tun Aung.

U Tun Pe. | Maung Ba Kya.

W. G. Fraser, Esq., Hony, Secretary.

1. The minutes of the meeting held on 12th November 1921 were confirmed.

2. It was resolved to circulate papers regarding Maung Tin’s translation of the Hmannan Yazawin to the new Committee after the Annual General Meeting.

3. The Reports of the Honorary Secretary & Treasurer were approved for submission at the Annual General Meeting which is to be held on February 10th at University College at 6 p.m.

4. It was resolved to accept the offer of the periodical “Man in India” in exchange for the Society’s Journal.

Dated

The 23rd, January 1922.

W. G. FRASER,
Honorary Secretary.
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting was held at University College on February 10th 1922, M. Hunter Esq., C. I. E., President of the Society, in the chair. The following were present:—


II. The Reports of the Honorary Secretary & Honorary Treasurer were passed. They were as follows:—

ROLL OF MEMBERS. At the end of 1920 there were 388 members. During 1921 34 members resigned or were deemed to have resigned and 5 members died. 85 new members were enrolled, of whom 3 became life members. 4 old members became life members. At the end of the year the roll included the Patron, 5 corresponding members, 53 life members, 373 ordinary members—total 434. During the year the Society suffered the loss of U Hpay, a Vice-President, who had supported the Society from its foundation.

MEETINGS. Two general meetings were held. The Annual General Meeting was held on 4th February, when a paper by Mr. J. A. Stewart, entitled "Kyauxè Irrigation: a Sidelight on Burmese History" was read. The second General Meeting was held on March 17th when Mr. L. F. Taylor read his paper on "The Dialects of Burmese". Another general meeting would have been held during the year but for lack of a suitable paper.

The Committee met six times during the year, the Sub-Committee twice, and the Text Publication Sub-Committee five times.

THE JOURNAL. During the year one number of the Journal appeared, viz., Vol. X Part III, in which members will have read the Editors' explanation of its late appearance. The work of printing the Journal has now been entrusted to another press and the Editors hope to bring publication up to date within a comparatively short period. The excellence of the number published in November has no doubt recompensed members for the delay in its appearance.

LIBRARY. Large additions have been made to the Library by purchase and by exchange of the Society's Journal for the Journals of other societies. The books purchased include a large number of Burmese works, as well as some in English. Mr. Luce has been empowered to buy some valuable works in European languages, which he reports are available in London and Paris at reasonable prices. His proposal that
a Chinese library should be established in Rangoon has been recommended to the University of Rangoon. In order that members may use the library with greater facility, a list of the books is to be published in the Journal. Among books presented to the society, are some valuable works in Siamese, the gift of the Siamese government.

**TEXT PUBLICATION SUB-COMMITTEE.** The following note has been supplied by U Tun Pe, Secretary of the Text Publication Sub-Committee:

"The Burma Research Society formed the Text Publication Fund for publishing rare Burmese and other MSS. on February 4th 1921. The efforts of the Committee have been directed to corresponding with scholars, and owners of MSS. with a view to making a list of suitable MSS. and collecting information as to where they are available. It is very gratifying that several Burmese scholars have kindly contributed during the year lists of valuable MSS. within their knowledge or possession, and these have been compiled for publication in the Journal. With tolerable success the work of selection of Burmese Texts has been undertaken and in a few instances copies taken. Maung Kala Yazawin, under the editorship of Maung Ba Kya, and Owadahtu Pyo, under U Po Sein, are ready for publication, while some six Burmese texts composed of Pyazats, Thamaings and Mawguns are being supervised by competent Burmese scholars to be edited for use as texts by the Rangoon University."

Among other activities of the year were the following:

The Revision of the Rules of the Society was completed and the Revised Rules were passed at the General Meeting held on March 17th.

The affiliation of the Burmese Academy, Kyaukse, to the Burma Research Society was accomplished.

Maung Tin and Mr. Luce have completed the first volume of their translation of Hmannan Yazawin. The manner of its publication has not yet been decided.

Throughout the year Mr. L. F. Taylor and Maung Ba Kya were Honorary Editors of the Journal. The Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. Luce, left for England in April. His work was carried on until July by the Honorary Editors.

**HONORARY TREASURER’S REPORT.**

The year opened with a balance of Rs. 9504-11 in favour of the Society. Income during the year amounted to Rs. 6425-7, of which Rs. 5620-5 consisted of members’ subscriptions for ordinary and for life membership. Expenditure during the year amounted to Rs. 3046-9-6 of which additions to the library accounted for Rs. 1258-6. The binding
of various periodicals cost Rs. 188-12. Expenditure on printing forms, on stationery and on postage stamps was unusually heavy owing to the wide distribution of appeal forms and to the postage charges on the Journal published in November, and on Journals exchanged, and owing to the increased membership. Shipping charges were incurred on account of the despatch of 30 sets of the Journal to Messrs. Probstain, London, for sale, and on account of delivery of packages of books and periodicals purchased or obtained by exchange, from outside Burma. It will be noted that charges for printing the Journal amounted only to Rs. 95-4, which was on account of a Journal issued during 1920. The Journal (Vol. X Part III) issued in November 1921 cost Rs. 1129, which was paid in January 1922 and hence does not appear in the expenditure account for 1921. The issues of the Journal for 1921, the publication of which has been delayed, are properly a charge against the income for 1921. They are being printed by a press not previously employed and the change will, I believe, be of considerable financial advantage to the Society.

III.—Officers and members of the Committee were elected for 1922 and are as follows:—

I.—EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

M. Hunter, Esq., President.

U May Oung . . .
J. S. Furnivall, Esq. } Vice-Presidents.
U Po Byu . . .

W. G. Fraser, Esq. . Honorary Secretary & Treasurer.

L. F. Taylor, Esq. }
Maung Ba Kya } Honorary Editors

M e m b e r s .

U Tin . | U Shwe Zan Aung
Prof. K. M. Ward. | A. Cassim, Esq.
Maung Ba Han, M. A. | U Po Sein.
U Tun Pe . | U Tha Tun Aung

S. G. Grantham, Esq.
II.—GENERAL COMMITTEE.

This Committee includes Executive Committee and the following:—

J. L. McCaullum, Esq.  |  U Ba E.
Major A. S. B. Roberts.  |  C. E. Browne, Esq.
Major C. M. Enriquez. |  U San Shwe Bu.
U Kyaw Dun.    |  J. A. Stewart, Esq.
Taw Sein Ko, Esq.  |  Chas. Duroiselle, Esq.

IV.—Mr. L. F. Taylor read a paper entitled "Ethnological and Philological Research in Burma and South East Asia," which will be published in the Society's Journal. The following members took part in the discussion which followed:—U May Oung, Prof. Hall, Prof. Ross, Mr. Grantham, U Ba Pe Latt. A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Taylor.

Revenue and Expenditure Account for 1921.

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The Executive Committee approved of a proposal, brought before it in the Honorary Secretary's circular of 18th February 1922, to approach the local Government with the request that are presentative of the Society might be appointed to the Governing Body which was proposed for the Bernard Free Library. The Secretary to Government in his letter of 25th March 1922 requested that a member of the Society be nominated. The President of the Burma Research Society proposed that the Honorary Secretary be nominated and his proposal was approved by the Executive Committee in the Honorary Secretary's circular dated 30th March 1922. A reply has accordingly been sent to the Secretary to Government nominating the Honorary Secretary as the Society's representative on the Governing Body of the Bernard Free Library.

LIST OF MEMBERS ELECTED BY CIRCULAR.

LIST OF RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

EXCHANGE.


Indian Antiquary, December 1921 and Index; January, February, March, April, May, June, 1922.


Bulletin de l’École Française d’ Extrème-Orient, Tome XX, No. 4 (1920)


The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, January 1922, April 1922.


Journal Asiatique, recueil de mémoires et de notices relatifs aux études Orientales. Onzième Série, Tome XVIII, Nos. 1, 2.

Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, Nos. 6 and 11.


Straits Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Nos. 84 and 85.


Bulletin des Amis du Vieux Hué, 7me Année, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4.

8me Année, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4.

PRESENTATION.


The Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese, by R. Grant Brown.


The Geographical Journal.

Vol. XLVI.—No. 6 ... ... 1915

XLVII.—Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 ... 1916

LIII.— 1, 3, 4, 5 ... 1919

LIV.— 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 ... 1919

LVII.— 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 ... 1921

LVII.— 2, 3 ... 1921
LIST OF RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY


Wien Menschen der indonesischen Erde von Renward Brandstetter.
The Padyacamari of Buddhaghosacarya. Edited by M. R. Archarya
The Kachins—Religion and Mythology, by Rev. C. Gilhodes.

SIAMESE PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED FROM THE VAJIRANANA NATIONAL LIBRARY, BANGKOK, SIAM.

A Collection of Songs accompanying Lantern-Dances
Itineraries for the use of the Siamese Troops in their Expedition against Burma in the Reign of King Rama II.
The Attitudes of Buddha.
A Sermon on the Buddhist Councils by Somdech Phra Mahaviravonga.
A Sermon from the Anupubhikkathâ by the late Patriarch Pussadeva of Vat Rajapratistha.
Sankhittovadakathâ: a Sermon composed by King Mongkut when His Majesty was still in the Priesthood.
Moral Stanzas composed by King Chulalongkorn.
A Didactic Poem on the Letters of the Siamese Alphabet.
Phra Maiethethai and the Hundred Stories of Anurâdh: Two plays, by Khun-Suwan.
Sokasallaharana Dhamma Pariyaya: A Sermon by the late Patriarch Pussadeva of Vat Rajapratistha.
The Four Holy Truths, by His Holiness Prince Pavareśvariyalankarana, Supreme Patriarch of the Kingdom during the Reign of King Chulalongkorn.
Records of Royal Dreams and the Interpretation thereof.
A Dissertation on the Religious Precepts composed by command of Prince Mahasurasinghamad, Second King of Siam.
Bhaddekaraatgâthâ—a sermon by the late Patriarch Pussadeva of Vat Rajapratistha.
A Sermon on a Chapter of the life of Vessantara in Cambodian.
A Sermon from the Lokadhammasutta by the late Patriarch Pussadeva of Vat Rajapratistha.
A Royal Speech delivered by His Majesty Rama VI, king of Siam, on May 23rd 1918.
Raden Landai—A Play, by Phra Mahamontri Sab.
The Story of Mahajambâ.
A Collection of Poetries in Praise of the late Prince Bamrab Prapaks Ramâyana: a portion of the play composed by king Mongkut.
Vyâkârâcataka. Sanskrit Text and Siamese Translation.
Records kept by the Court Astrologers.
A Collection of Boat Songs. (2nd edition.)
Pali Prayers used by the Laity on the occasion of various ceremonies.
LIST OF RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Manibijai, Part I—a play composed by H.R.H. Prince Bhuvanet- 
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A Collection of Poetries, Parts II—IV
A Poetical Adaptation of a Sermon from Bodhipakkhiyadhhamma, by the 
late Patriarch Pussadeva of Vat Rajapristiha.
Documents relating to Public Prosecution.
A Collection of Riddles.
A Relation of the Three Voyages of king Chulalongkorn to Java. 
Genealogy of the Royal Family of Siam.
The Naval Law—a collection of papers reprinted from the Journal of 
the Navy League.
A Relation of king Chulalongkorn’s Journey to Sai Yok in 1888 by 
H.R.H. Princess Sri Saowabhang.
History of the wars between Siam and Burma from 1767 to 1852 by 
H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab.
Cakradipani—an astrological treatise composed by H.R.H. Prince Para- 
manujit Jinoros.
List of Graduates in the Reign of King Chulalongkorn, Parts I & II.
The Palatine Law of Cambodia.
The Jātaka or the Stories of the Buddha’s Former Births, translated from 
Pāli into Siamese, Vols. V, XVI, XVIII.
A Collection of Travels, Parts II & III.
A Collection of Chronicles, Vol. XX—Intercourse between Japan and 
Siam translated from the English of Sir Ernest Satow by Khun 
Chinda Sahakich.
A Collection of Chronicles, Vol. XXI—Diplomatic Correspondence 
between Siam and Burma.
A Collection of Chronicles, Vol. XV—History of Muang Pathalung 
Manners & Customs, Part VIII—Propitiatory Ceremonies during the 
Reign of King Rama I.
Manners & Customs, Part IX—Reception of the First British Embassy 
during the Reign of King Rama IV.
Manners & Customs, Part X—Royal Processions.
Manners & Customs, Part XI—The Annual Festivals in the Palace of 
the Second King
A Collection of Questions proposed by King Rama I, and the Solutions 
thereof.
Poetical Relation of a Voyage to Calcutta by Phra Rajasombat.
Inao : A Play composed by King Rama II, 3 vols.
Inao : the Scenes in Form of Dialogues composed by King Chulalong- 
korn.
History of the Siamese Theatre with special reference to ‘inao’ 
by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab.
Bhikkhu:patimakkha (Pāli Text & Translation)
LIST OF RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

Letters of King Chulalongkorn to Her Majesty Queen Saowabha Pongsri during His Majesty’s Voyage in Europe in 1897.
A Treatise on the Erection of Statues of Buddha.
Records of the Relations Between Siam & Foreign Countries in the 17th Century (copied from papers preserved at the India Office) Vols. IV & V.

PURCHASE.

Rupam—a journal of Oriental art. No. 8 October 1921, No. 9 January 1922.
The Pāli Text Society’s Pāli—English Dictionary, Edited by T. W. Rhys Davids and Wm. Stede—Part I (A)
LIST OF MEMBERS.

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†Corresponding member.

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Nyo, Maung Lu, A.T.M., Sub-Engineer P. W. D., Tayoy.
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Nyun, Maung San, B.A., Township Officer, Mergui.
Oats, S. J., Thindawyo Camp, Hmawbi.
*Ogilvie, G.H., B.Sc., M.C., Dy. Conservator of Forests, Moulmein.
Oh, U Kyi, Rice Miller, Padigon (Prome.)
Ottama, Bhikkha U, Kamayut.
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Pan, Maung, R.E.O., Letpadan.
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Pe, Maung Ba, Myooy, Shwedaung.
Pe, Maung Hla, Preader, Prome.
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Pe, Maung Than, Jr. Asst. Registrar Co-operative Societies, Henzada.
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Po, Maung Ba, Township Officer, Kayan.
Po, Khoo Sain, Manager, Mergui Tin Dredging Co., Ltd., Mergui.
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Pru, Maung Saw Hla, B.A., B.L., S.D.O., Minbya.
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†Stuart, J., Ivy Bank, Liberton, Midlothian, Scotland.
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