HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN BURMA
A.D. 1000—1300

by

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### TRANSLITERATION: TABLE

1. **Consonants**

   - ka → ka
   - cha → cha
   - ga → ga
   - gha → gha
   - ṇa → ṇa

   For various forms of sa: ṭa, ṭa, ṭa, ṭa, ṭa

2. **Vowels**

   - a → a
   - ā → ā
   - i → i
   - ɨ → ɨ
   - u → u
   - ū → ū

3. **Combinations**

   - ai → ai
   - au → au
   - e → e
   - o → o
   - u → u
   - a → a
   - i → i
   - t → t
   - p → p
   - h → h

4. **Numerals**

   - 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

5. **Other signs** (frequently used for land measure)

   - khwai
   - cit
   - carwat
   - hu or phu
   - prañ
   - lamay

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1. See also *JPRS*, IV, ii, 136; *JPRS*, VI, ii, pp. 81-90 and *Ep. Birm*, I, i, pp. 6-12
INTRODUCTION

ATTEMPTS had been made to check Burmese history by means of inscriptions as early as the eighteenth century. U Kala when compiling the Great Chronicle soon after the accession of King Tainingawee (1714-33) was the first to use them and Twinthin Mahasithu followed suit. Twinthin produced the New Chronicle in the late 18th century. In 1829, a committee of scholars compiled the Glass Palace Chronicle and thirteen inscriptions are mentioned in connection with our period. Their use of epigraphic evidence, however, was so meagre that it was almost negligible. When Silavamsa wrote the Celebrated Chronicle in ? 1520, he had only a few sentences on the Pagan dynasty but U Kala wrote nearly two hundred pages on it and the Glass Palace Chronicle was almost a copy of U Kala's chronicle. Of course they used local legends known as "thamaing" and many stories from Jataka to enlarge Silavamsa's account on Pagan. Naturally these incorporated stories have little or no value as history. Perhaps, the reason for such incorporation was the desire to describe a given episode with a similar and better known story from the Jataka or the misinterpretation of the old records. For example, when a son of a junior queen was given the throne superseding the sons of senior queens, part of the Ramayana where Dasaratha appointed a junior son as heir to the throne was retold mutatis mutandis. When they misread or misinterpreted old records, they invented new stories to explain them. The name of a king Thaktaushe - Long Life was misread Chaktaushe - Long Navel Cord - and as a result the story that the king when young cried incessantly so as to cause inflammation of the navel cord and thus acquired the nickname of Long Navel Cord. As all interpreters could not agree on all points of these stories, there were many stories with various versions so that as the popular saying goes, it becomes expedient to have a big stick near at hand when discussing Pagan history; serious disputes and quarrels are bound to arise which often end in fights. Thus a new approach to medieval Burmese history is a long felt need.

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

The purpose of this thesis is to fulfil, in a small way, part of that task. The first three chapters deal with the political history where an entirely new picture of the Pagan monarchy is given. Early in his reign King Aniruddha conquered lower Burma and opened his country to a direct contact by sea with India. Mon culture was copied more or less slavishly at Pagan. Politically Mons lost their independence but culturally they were masters at Pagan. Their language was the official language at the Burmese court. Burmans must have been
Buddhists long before Aniruddha's conquest of the delta but this conquest resulted in the import of Buddhism as practised in lower Burma. It is, however, very important to bear in mind that Buddhism thus imported was not exactly the Theravāda Buddhism as popularly alleged. It was far from pure. As Buddhism has nothing comparable with Brahmanical rituals for such occasions as coronation, palace construction, etc. Burmans felt it necessary to adopt some Brahmanical rites through the Mon. Their monks tolerated this adoption. There is no truth in the story that the Order was all for orthodoxy and the king helped them by suppressing the heretics called Ari. As a matter of fact, the Ari sect appeared only in the latter half of the Pagan dynasty and it was never officially suppressed. To counteract their growing popularity, the orthodox monks allied themselves with the Sinhalese Order and strove to purify the Religion on Sinhalese lines which had naturally a very slow progress at first so that they achieved success only towards the end of the 15th century. The Ari sect was not as debased as described in the chronicles and it had nothing to do with the Tantric Buddhism. Perhaps, it is to offset the purity of orthodoxy that the Ari were depicted as black as black can be. Early in the reign of Kyãnzittha, the Mon made a futile attempt to regain independence. The wise king probably offered a compromise by marrying his daughter to a scion of the fallen Mon royal family promising to make an heir of the off-spring of that union. Somehow or other the rebellion was suppressed. After Kyãnzittha, Mon influence waned. It was partly due to the Sinhalese invasion of 1165. There was an interregnum of nine years (1165-74). Since Kyãnzittha usurpers were on the Pagan throne, So in 1174 the Aniruddha line was restored. A burmanization movement set in and by the reign of Çañā II (Narapatissithu, 1174-1211) Burmese became the official language of the country. Architectural style also changed. Pagodas of the early half of the dynasty mostly have cave-like hollows, dark and gloomy. Burmans put up wide windows, tall doors and shortened the passage leading to the interior so that the buildings had better light and sanitation. The Pagan Empire was at its zenith under Çañā II. It extended from Ngashaunggyan (near Bhamo) in the north to Tavoy in the south or even as far south as Cape Salang for sometime and from the Salween River in the east to the Chin Hills in the west. It had a well organized form of government under five ministers who had to perform both civil and military duties. Customary Laws were codified under the name of Dhammatthan and the criminal procedure was known as Amanwanc. It seems that the Mon of the south were quite contented under the Burmese rule at least until the time of Tarukpîy (Tavokyemyin). The dangers of the empire usually came from the north and therefore the chief minister himself had to look after the northern frontier. Çañā II was succeeded by Nañomya (Nandaungmya) who was definitely not the youngest son of the king as mentioned in the chronicles. Narasingha-Ucenâ (Naratheinhka) was the next king. He was placed by the chronicles about sixty years earlier than his actual reign as predecessor of Çañā II. After him, his brother Klawdâ (Kyaswa) became king. He was not a weakling as suggested in the chronicles. He made a unique attempt to suppress crime in his realm by issuing an edict against thieves, and to increase his revenue he confiscated much of the religious lands in his country. His successor Ucenâ (Uzaña) was not his son but his nephew. Ucenâ died at Dala; probably he was assassinated. His elder son and successor Man Yau (Min Yin) also met the same fate. Tarukpîy, his half-brother finally became king. When the Mongols came, he too was exiled in the hills west of Prome. Syan Dîa-prâmuk (Shin Dihapagâuk) a reverend monk was sent on a peace mission to Peking in 1285. Dîa-prâmuk was able to persuade the Great Khan to withdraw the invading
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army and so the king returned to Pagan but was killed on the way. This is the political story of Burma during 1044-1287 told in the light of epigraphic evidence.

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

HISTORY OF BURMA 1044-1174

PAGAN is the first of the Burmese capitals if we accept that Srifsetra belongs to the Pyu and Santhwng Prani or Takaung to the Saw Kansli (Thaks) peoples. Therefore it is of great importance and interest, to trace the history of its existence. The city wall of Pagan is assumed to be the oldest extant monument of Pagan and C. Duroiselle dated it at A.D. 850. He said:

... the date of this wall is about 850 A.D., the year of the foundation of Pagan; it is still clearly visible, together with the moat, on three sides of the ancient city; the fourth side, which ran along the river bank, has disappeared owing to the encroachment of the river; on this side, a kind of bastion can be seen quite near to the Circuit House, and a few traces of the wall are seen here and there. Shin Mahakassapa, a celebrated thera, in the thirty stanzas concluding his Sahassaranisi Tikâ, a commentary on the Mahabodhiyansa, which he wrote in 1174 A.D., gives a graphic description of Pagan; among other things he mentions that the walls had twelve gates, only one of these, the Sarabha gate is now extant.3

But in view of the fact that Burmans came into Burma in the 9th century A.D. it would be too early to place the foundation of Pagan at 850. Anyhow, some religious buildings were found to be in existence prior to A.D. 1044.

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

This fact is of some interest, because it confirms a supposition already formed on other and stronger grounds that Buddhist buildings existed at Pagan before the reign of Anawrata and that that monarch was responsible not for the introduction but for the development of that religion in Upper Burma.5

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

The statement that Pagan was standing two centuries before the appearance of Aniruddha depends entirely on the chronicles. No inscription in Burma has been found yet to tell of the foundation of Pagan. The Hmanann Yazawin states that King Pyinbya (A.D. 846-78) built Pagan in A.D. 8496 but King Thamoddarit settled as early as A.D. 107 at Yonhukkanj-

identified with a site, now covered with cultivation, to the south of Taywindaung hill and about twelve miles to the south east of Pagan8

1 All old Burmese words from the inscriptions are spelt in accordance with the rules of transliteration given in page ii.
4 This is the theory held by Professor G.H. Lucre.
6 Hmanann para 124, GPC, p. 55.
7 Ibid., para. 112, GPC, p. 28.
8 ASI, 1915, p. 12.
He incorporated nineteen villages in the neighbourhood into his settlement. Unfortunately, except for the village of Ngaung-u we find no mention of the names of the other eighteen villages in the inscriptions. The 16th century Celebrated Chronicle of Silavanna has a different story. According to him Burma was divided into two part, viz. (i) Sunjaparanta being lands north of the Irrawaddy and (ii) Tambya pa, south of the Irrawaddy. The Buddha in his life time visited Sunjaparanta and stayed at a sandalwood monastery for seven days. During these seven days' sojourn he succeeded in converting 84,000 people. Henceforth Buddhism flourished in Burma. The city of Sriksetra was founded in 444 B.C. and it stood for six hundred years having twenty-five kings. Then in A.D. 156, Arimaddana (Pagan) was founded and it stood for one thousand one hundred and twenty-eight years, i.e., until A.D. 1284 and it had fifty kings before the Chinese invasion and five kings after it. This story invites much criticism. The foundation of Pagan after the fall of Sriksetra in A.D. 156 is too early. The Great Shwezigon Inscription (A.D. 1186) mentions that Sriksetra was founded soon after the Lord's attainment of Nirvana and it stood until A.D. 656. Still, this date for the fall of Sriksetra and the rise of Pagan is early. According to the five-year inscription, a Vikrama dynasty was ruling at Sriksetra as late as A.D. 718 (if we assume that S.80 mentioned there is of the era that starts in A.D. 638). Three names, Sriyavikrama, Hariyikrama and Shriyikrama are mentioned successively as if to denote that they were, grandfather, father and son occupying the throne of Sriksetra in lineal descent. Unless they were local chiefs and just vassals of Pagan, as some might suggest, Pagan could not have been in existence in A.D. 718. Even as late as A.D. 801–2 a formal embassy to China via Nan-choa was sent by the Pyu king. Accordingly we may infer that whether the Pyu were by that time centred either at Hmawza or at Halingyi, they were still very important and had not been overshadowed by the Pagan kingdom. The Chinese references to the Pyu are largely about this embassy of A.D. 801–2. The Pyu capital is described in detail save one important point - that of its location. Probably this Pyu capital was not Hmawza but further north in the dry zone. This capital and kingdom was destroyed in A.D. 832 by 'Man rebel' who could be Nan-choa people themselves or some tribe under Nan-choa. There were further raids by these people into lower Burma in A.D. 835. In a list of Pyu towns and settlements (given by the Chinese) in A.D. 802, Pagan is not mentioned. Therefore it is certain that Pagan was established sometime after the Nan-choa raids of A.D. 832-5. Thus, Pagan must have been founded after A.D. 832-5 but not as immediately as A.D. 849-50 nor as remote as the middle of the 11th century. It ought to be between the two. It is possible that Pagan was known to her eastern neighbours even in those far off days. A Chinese account (Chien Hau Shu) of the first century A.D. according to Gabriel Ferrand, mentioned a place called 'Fu-kan-tu-lu' which he thinks is Pagan. He explains that 'Fu-kan' is the phonetic equivalent of the 'Pu-kan' in the later Chinese accounts like the Ling wai tai tu. The Chu fan chih and the Sung shih. But we must also bear in mind that

1. "Sunjaparanta is probably identical with Aprasanta; the Burmese, however identify it with the country on the right bank of the Irrawaddy River, near Pagan (Sisavanna. Introd. p. ix) Malahasekaras: Dictionary of Pali Proper Names. II. (1938). p. 1211
2. This north and south division is due to the fact that the Irrawaddy river, though its general course is from north to south, flows from east to west in the middle of Burma. North of the Irrawaddy apparently means the right bank of the great river, whereas the south is the left bank.
3. Silavanna: Rajawal kyun (Celebrated Chronicle) pp. 75-87
6. "Burma down to the fall of Pagan": JBRs, XXIX, iii. pp. 264-82
7. Ibid, p. 272
the text speaks of the kingdom of "Fu-kan-tu-lu" (not "Fu-kan") and that the kingdom was in contact by sea with China. On this point, Professor G. H. Luce says:

It would remove one of Ferrand's difficulties in this identification if for Fu-kan-tu-lu kingdom we read 'the kingdoms of Fu-kam and Tu-lu.' Indeed Shih-k&i's gloss seems to indicate that he regarded them as two distinct places. On the other hand the theory has against it whatever weight we choose to attribute to the Burmese chronicles, which place the founding of Pagan, by King Pyinbya in 849 A.D.2

Two Cham inscriptions, which can be safely dated anterior to A.D.1050 mention "Pukam" slaves. The Po-Nagar Inscription3 says that slaves of such nationalities as Cham, Khmer, Chinese, "Pukam" and Siamese, totalling fifty-five were dedicated to the Goddess Kânya. The first four lines of the Lomngoeu Inscription4 "refer to the donations made to a temple, viz., utensils and Chinese, Siamese and Paganese slaves."5 Border raids were frequent in those days and probably some Burmans were captured and taken away to Champa to become slaves there. This evidence tells us, at least, that even in times anterior to A.D. 1050, the name of Pagan was known to its eastern neighbours. But there are many names under which Pagan was known.

The variety of names for Pagan in the inscriptions give an interesting picture of Pagan and the lands immediately surrounding it. The classical name for Pagan is Arimaddanapura – The City of the Enemy Crusher, and early Mon and Burmese inscriptions frequently refer to the city by this name. It is also called by its native name which the Mon mentioned as Pokam6 or Pukam7 or Bukam8 The Burmese way of spelling this name is either Pukam or Pukam. The earliest mention of the name was in A.D.1093 in connection with Thythin Maän.

He shall become King of the Law in the city of Pokam that is (otherwise) named Arimaddanapur ...9

Of the land that surrounds Pagan, the Mon gave it the name of Tattadas10 - the Parched Land, which is the Dry Zone of Upper Burma or "at least the part thereof in which Pagan stands."11 This name suggests that Pagan and its neighbourhood were, just as they are today, semi desert land of thorny scrub. This rain shadow area in the middle of Burma cannot have been a wet forest land thick with undergrowth until the great temple builders appeared in the 11th and 12th centuries who completely deforested the area as their brick kilns demanded enormous supplies of firewood and turned it into a semi desert waste.12 The monk Disâpârâkâ who led the peace mission to China from Pagan in A.D.1285 called his country Tambaçipa -  Land

1. JBR5, XIV, ii, pp. 97-9, English translation of the text
2. G.H. Luce: "Fu-kan-tu-lu", JBR5, XIV, ii, p. 94
5. R.C. Majumdar: Champa Ill, p. 209
7. Ibid., III, i, IX F15, tx.19, tr.51; IX G19, tx.22, tr.54
8. Ibid., XI6, tx.71, tr.72
9. Ibid., i, ii, VI25, tx.150, tr.151
10. Ibid., i, ii, F16, tx.106, tr.125; F21, tr.125; F34, tr.125-5; G25, tr.127; H2, tr.128
11. Ibid., i, ii, p.125, n. 7
of Copper. Pagan ultimately became the core of the Burmese empire.

In the time of its power and splendour during the reign of Cañasu II (1174-1211) the empire was recorded to extend as far as the River Salween in the east, Mount Macchakiri (Chin Hills) in the west, Takoñ (Tagaung) and Nā Choñ Khyam (Ngasaunggyan) in the north and Salañ Kree (?), Sacchitani (?), etc. in the south.1 Probably the outlying districts of the empire broke away as the central government lost grip for Disāprāmuk told the Taruk king (Kublai Khan) that his country Tambadipa, was small and therefore of little importance save that Buddhism flourished there.2 It is of importance to note that the Pagan expansion started only in the 11th century.

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

Aniruddha (?1044-?1077) although he was popularly known as Anawrathaminsaw gave his regnal title in pure Sanskrit form Mahārajā Śri Aniruddha-deva.5 Seals of Aniruddha on terra-cotta votive tablets found in a wide range of area throughout Burma give a rough idea of the extent of his power. Therefore it is of no mean importance, to go into a close study of these seals here.

A great number of seals were unearthed and very roughly they fall into two categories: (i) seals having Sanskrit inscriptions without mention of Aniruddha and (ii) seals bearing the name of Aniruddha. There is a strong suggestion that group one seals were imported from India and group two seals were made locally.6 Regarding this Dr. Sten Konow's views7 are worthy of note.

Some votive tablets with a bilingual inscription in Sanskrit and Pali were also brought to light. They are evidently imitations of similar tablets deposited in Buddhist temples in India, especially in Bodh Gayā. The Burmese tablets are casts from a mould and the Sanskrit legend, which states that the tablet has been prepared by King Aniruddha must have been incised on the mould. On the lower rim of

1. P. 27127, 30 (1285)
2. Narapatisithu of the chronicles.
3. P.19a5-9 (1196). Salañ Kree probably is Cape Salang or Junk Ceylon.
4. P.27130-31 (1285)
5. P.143a16
6. The only king before Aniruddha mentioned in the stone inscriptions was Cow Rahan, who probably is Tsunhugyrim or Nyaungu Sawrahan of the Chronicles. He does not seem to have been a heretic, as he was labelled in the chronicles; he built a Sāma on Mt. Turuk. Pl. 361 (1212)
7. P.568a1-2
8. ASB, 1915, p.16, para 43
9. L. Finot however refused to accept this cow and explained the improbability of the moulds having been imported from India. Finot: "Un Nouveau Document sur le Bouddhisme Birman", JA, juillet-aout, 1912, p.130 n.1.
the tablet a Pali legend to the same effect has been incised by hand. The whole arrangement leads us to infer that the moulds have been prepared, with the Sanskrit legend, in India and that the Pali inscription has been subsequently added because Sanskrit was not understood. The tablets cannot, at any rate, be used to prove that Sanskrit was the language of the Buddhist Church in Burma before Pali was introduced. It has been urged that the form of the name Aniruddha instead of the usual Pali Anuruddha points in that direction. But supposing that the mould for the tablets was executed in India, Aniruddha would be the only possible from and the king’s name, Anawrata, which can only be derived from Anuruddha and not from Aniruddha, proves, if anything, that the knowledge of Pali had penetrated sufficiently to influence the coining of personal names.1

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

The seal has, generally a Buddha seated cross-legged with the right hand in the bhūmisparśa-mudrā and the other lying in the laps, palm upwards, on a lotus-throne under a foliated arch supported on pillars and surmounted by a hti. Some leaves, picturing the Bo-tree, may be seen on each side on the crown of the arch beneath the hti; there are also, on each side of the Buddha, two stupas with an elongated ringed finial, ... which has become the distinctive finial of Burmese pagodas for well nigh a thousand years.2

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

Eso bhagavā mahārāja Siri Aniruddhadevena kato vimūttattham sahathe nevāti.

Desiring that he may be freed from Samsāra, the Great Prosperous King Aniruddha himself made this image of the Lord.

There are also some terra-cotta votive tablets with the seal of Aniruddha and a relief figure of the Buddha flanked on either side by Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya.3 These seals, vary slightly in size and some details but all bear the name of Aniruddha. They are found in and around Pagan4 and in places as far north as Nwa-te-łę Wya-haung (a mile from Nga-o on the Shweli) of Mongmit State5 and as far south as Twante.6 They are also found at Tagaung,7 Meiktila,8 Minbu9 and Prome.10 A tablet found in the relic chamber of the Shwesandaw pagoda has an inscription in Piu in addition to the name of Aniruddha and therefore it is thought that when Pagan power spread over Lower Burma, Anirudhha removed the relics from some old pagodas of Sriksetra to be reenshrined in his new pagodas. Anyhow, the wide extent of the find-

1. Sten Konow: “Epigraphy” ; ASI, 1905-6, p. 170
3. Tablets found at Sameikha, Meiktila; ASI, 1921-2, pp. 90-1
4. ASI, 1912-3, p. 89; ASB, 1913, p.16; ASB, 1922, p. 44; ASI, 1926-7, pp. 162-3, 169; ASI,1928-9, p.111; ASI 1930-4, pp. 177, 178, 188; ASB, 1940-1, p. 32
5. ASB, 1948, pp. 8-9
6. ASB, 1915, pp. 14-7
8. ASB, 1920, pp. 23-4; ASB, 1922, p. 10; ASB, 1926-7, p. 165
9. ASB, 1905-6, p. 10; ASB, 1911, p. 27; ASB, 1912, p. 19; ASB, 1913, p. 16
10. ASI, 1907-8, pp. 36-42; ASI, 1911-2, p. 144; ASB, 1912, p.13; ASB, 1913, p. 16
spots of these seals of Aniruddha strongly supports the fact that he was a king of great imperialistic designs and his power extended from places as far north as Mongmit to the mouth of the Irrawaddy. In an inscription dated A.D. 1207, he was mentioned as Cakravarty Anuruddha\footnote{1} the Universal Monarch Anuruddha, which also shows that even in the esteem of the Burmans who lived in about a century after his death he was already a great conqueror. But his conquest of the delta is really a problem of much debate.\footnote{2}

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

In 1601 A.D. and 419 S. (A.D. 1057), King Anuruddha, the Lord of Arimaddanapura, brought a community of priests together with the Tipitaka (from Rāmaṇihadesa) and established the Religion in Arimaddanapura, otherwise called Pugama.\footnote{3} So says the Kalyani Inscription of Rāmadhipati (Dhammazedii A.D. 1480). It also gives a hint that this was possible only because the Mon king Makuta (Manohari or Manuhā)\footnote{4} was very weak at that time. Unfortunately, no contemporary record is found relating to this memorable episode. The motive of that conquest, the tradition says, was purely religious. But it is also possible that Aniruddha originally marched against some trading settlements (Indian?) in the delta and "the sack of Thaton was an after-thought."\footnote{5} Another possible reason was that the Shan Yün were constantly annoying the Mon country and the Mon had invited intervention. It seems that he had "played the role of the lion who, called to intervene between two warring jackals, solved the difficulty by devouring both."\footnote{6} After this conquest, a deliberate effort was made to transplant a culture that was Mon into the centre of a new and vigorous but somewhat raw ethnic group that was Burman. As such, the results of this conquest were momentous for the Burmans.

The introduction of Mon civilization had a long term effect. Culturally the conquerors were conquered. History affords many parallels of such happy results. A large number of inscriptions belonging to the period, immediately after Aniruddha, are in the Mon language. It is needless to say that the Burmans learnt the art of writing from the Mon.\footnote{7} In architecture too, pagodas of that time like the Patothamya, Nagayon, Abeyadana, Gubukygi, and Nanpaya are all of "Mon type".\footnote{8} Thus it will not be very far from the truth to say that after A.D. 1057, for a certain period until the time of Cañša II (A.D. 1174) or until the death of Thiluñ

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1. P. 160n\footnote{6}.
2. "The Siamese chronicles assert that he attacked Cambodia and ruled over most of what is now Siam, obtaining the Hinayana Buddhism, which he established as the official religion of Bagan from Nakorn Patom. But there would seem to be no historical basis for such assumptions." D.G.E. Hall: A History of South-East Asia, p. 124; See also H. G-Q. Wales: "Anuruddha and the Thaton Tradition", JRAS, 1947, pp. 152–6
3. Taw Sein Ko: The Kalyani Inscription, (1892), p. 49
4. P. 358\footnote{5} Professor Luce says "In old Mon inscriptions and the oldest of old Burmese, the sign for -u was usually hung from the middle vertical of k and not (as always since) from the vertical on the right. It seems that archaic -ku was later misread as -no- and king MAKUTA as king MANOHA, a name afterwards corrupted, naturally enough, into Manohari and MANUHA." See also JBRS, XXXII, i, p. 89.
5. Ep. Birm, 1, i, p. 61 C.O. Blagden suggests the existence of "flourishing Indian Settlements" in the delta. In view of the fact that there is no direct evidence to support this, it is very unlikely that there existed Indian settlements in the Irrawaddy delta. The presence of an Indian trading community in some towns is however possible.
7. Luce: "Peoples", JBRS, XLII, i, 64
8. G.H. Luce: "Burma's Debt to Pagan", JBRS, XXII, iii, p. 121, n. 3 and "Mons of the Pagan Dynasty", JBRS, XXVI, i, 17
BURMA, 1044-1174

Mañ (A.D. 1113?), allowing the time between 1113 and 1174 as the period of transition, the Burmese culture was more or less a copy of the Mon. In other words, 1057-1113 is the Mon period of Pagan culture. Apart from this Mon culture, there is another important result of this conquest of the delta by Aniruddha. It gives for the first time to the Burmans, an opportunity to have a direct overseas contact with Ceylon and possibly India.

These contacts are mentioned only in the chronicles. Desiring to have a tooth-relic to be enshrined in the Shwezigon pagoda, Aniruddha sent a mission to Ceylon to ask for it.3 The chronicles of Ceylon make no mention of this mission. But a relationship of completely another nature is mentioned in the Cūlavanasa.4 The king of Ceylon, Vijaya Bāhu (1065-1120) [Siri-singhabodhi] was engaged in a series of war with the Cola of South India and so he sent a fleet with many presents to ask for help from the king of Rāmañña. But by virtue of conquest, Aniruddha was already the lord of Rāmañña and therefore the king from whom Vijaya Bāhu expected help was Aniruddha.4 There is no mention of the date of this mission or the fulfilment of the request. But it might be sometime between 1060 and 1063 when Vijaya Bāhu was just a minor king trying to expel the Cola encroachments.5 Another mission, this time for religious purposes, was sent in 1071 when Vijaya Bāhu asked Aniruddha to send monks to carry out a religious reformation in Ceylon.6 This is worthy of notice as it opens for the first time a close religious alliance between Burma and Ceylon which was to become more important towards the end of the Pagan dynasty. King Aniruddha was succeeded by his son Mañ Lulañ i.e. Sawlu in A.D. 11077.

Sawlu of the chronicles is recorded in the inscriptions as Mañ Lulañ - the Young King. An inscription dated S. 573, Waxing 9 of Nāṁkā, Tuesday7 (21 July 1211) mentions Mañ Lulañ ordering an enquiry into a religious dedication. Another Pali inscription not dated, found at Mergui, bears the name of a king of Pagan and judging from the type of script, it belongs to the early period of Pagan. The regnal title of the donor mentioned in it is entirely different from the form of titles adopted by Thilulañ Mañ and his successors. Thus, a suggestion arises that this title Śrī Bajrahāranatribhupati - The Victorious Bear of the Thunderbolt, Lord of the Three Worlds, might belong to Mañ Lulañ. It was in the time of his reign that the Mon whom his father probably subjugated, tried for the first time but unsuccessfully to free themselves from the Burmese rule. It was probably the Nguyamankan

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1. Rājakumār (Myazedl) Inscription says that in A.B. 1628 Thilulañ Mañ became king of Pagan and after a reign of 28 years, he was 'sick unto death'. It seems that he never survived that sickness. This gives us A.B. 1656 or A.D. 1112 as the last years of his reign. But "List 73 inscription" tells differently. It says that in S. 513 Caññā I (Thilulañ Mañ's successor) was 63 years old and was on the throne for 37 years. Thus, S. 450 was the year of his birth and S. 476 (A.D. 1114) his accession or the end of his predecessor. Professor Luce splits the difference and dates his death provisionally in A.D. 1113.

2. Hmasan, para. 135a; GPC, pp. 88-91


4. ASR, 1920, p. 17, para, 34


7. Pl. 60a3. All dates in the Christian Era (Julian) are worked out from the tables by Sir A. Irvin: "The Elements of the Burmese Cālandar from A.D. 639-1752", Indian Antiquary, 1910, pp. 285-315

8. Pl. 548a1
A great deal about this great king is known from inscriptions belonging to his reign which are in the Mon language. The name Kyanzitha seems to be the modernized form of Kalanacay - the Officer Prince. But in the inscriptions he is Thiluñ Mañ - the King of Thiluin or Thiluñ Svay - The Lord of Thiluin. His regnal title is Śrī Tribhuvanādityadharmarāja - The Victorious Buddhist Monarch. The Great Shwezigon Inscription says that in A.D. 1630, Śrī Tribhuvanādityadharmarāja became king in Arimaddanapura and upheld the Buddhist religion to its utmost benefit. That great personage, before he was king at Pagan, was in a previous existence also the founder of the exalted city of Śrikṣetra. He was at that time known as Bīṣṇu (Vishnu), the sage and he received help from Gavampati, Indra, Bissukarmma and Kadakarma in building that city. In the words of Gavampati, the inscription gives a lengthy account in praise of the achievements of King Śrī Tribhuvanāditya, the reincarnated Vishnu. This is the royal propaganda, wherein we find some vague suggestions of an insurrection, its suppression, and reconstruction and rehabilitation works carried out by the king after the trouble. Probably, this is about the Nayamankan Rebellion. The Mahāthera with Sañ Arī - the Order, helped and advised the king in the administration of justice and the expropriation of heresy. But the panegyric of the king is so high that he almost becomes a mythical hero. The inscription then continues to give the promises of Bīṣṇu. He said that if ever he would become a king at Pagan, he would rule righteously, conscientiously. That king would act as the chief bull ever leading the herd to better and sweeter pastures. He would also recognise the ancient rights of all local chiefs. Here again, in the words of Bīṣṇu, we find Thiluñ Mañ promising his beloved people that he would be just and humane and he would bring prosperity to all. The Myagan Inscription gives an addition to his regnal title. It becomes Śrī Tribhuvanādityadharmarājaśaleśvarā sañānāsā - The Fortunate Buddhist King, Sun of the Three Worlds of Men, Devas, and Brahmanis, King of Law, Excellent King of Kings, Lord Supreme, Mighty Universal Monarch. This royal bombast is supported by more laudatory phrases than in the previous inscriptions. The Prome Shwezandaw Inscription (1), dated S. 455 Waxing...of Srāvan? (3 June 1093) mentions that Thiluñ Mañ belongs to the adicavana - the solar race in paternal descent. Another inscription says that "his mother (being) born of the Viśva line, his father of the Solar race." It is interesting to note that the king never thought of claiming any relationship with Aniruddha though all chronicles and one post-Pagan inscription maintain that Aniruddha was his father. Let us now discuss his acts of merit.

1. Ep. Birm. I, ii, p. 116, n. 11. It is only a vague information but as there was no instance of enemies threatening the peace of the city (Pagan) during the reigning years of Thiluin Mañ, it must have occurred before his accession.
3. List 33² (B II 903) and List 50 (A 19)
6. Ibid., pp. 131-43
7. Ibid., p. 151
8. Ibid., p. 167
9. Hledauk Inscription of Taungpyon, List 50¹, (A 19), SIP, p. 4

rebellion. This Mañ Lulun was succeeded by Thiluñ Mañ in 1084.²

BUDDHISM IN BURMA

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The Myan inscription already mentioned records the construction of a reservoir for irrigation purposes by order of Thitiin Mah'i. It shows how much the King was intent upon the welfare of his people. This record has also a vague suggestion of Thitiin Mah'i's effort to bring about a carefully copied set of the Buddhist scriptures. The Alampanga inscription\textsuperscript{1} is substantially the copy of the Myan inscription except that it records the digging of a tank by order of Thitiin Mahi. The Ayethama Hill inscription\textsuperscript{2} records the repair of a pagoda in the Mon country by order of the king. It bears the date of S. 460 waxing 13 of Vaisakha (Friday, 16 April 1098). Another inscription\textsuperscript{3} tells us many interesting things done by the king such as the erection of a religious building, the copying of the Buddhist scriptures, the sending of a mission to Bodh Gaya to effect repairs at Vajrasana—the seat of Adamant, the offer of the four necessities to the monks, his friendship with a Cola prince, his request to all his people to live in accordance with the laws of religion and his generous treatment to birds and beasts. About a decade before his death he built a new palace, undoubtedly of wood, as we can find no remains of it now.\textsuperscript{4} The king left an inscription giving full details of the construction of his palace.

The Tharaba Gate inscription or the Palace inscription\textsuperscript{5} gives precisely the time and date of planning, building and rituals in connection with the building, but no year date is given. According to Dr. Sewell:

the end of the year 1101 A.D. and the early part of 1102 best fit the particulars given.\textsuperscript{6}

Probably it extended from December of 1101 to April of 1102. Two interesting things in this account are, firstly, the great importance attached to Vaisnavite rituals at the time when Buddhism in its pure form was supposed to be on the wane; and secondly, high places of honour given to Mon notables. The Naga worship was mentioned twice.\textsuperscript{7} Another point equally interesting is the first mention on the epigraphs of the word Mirmâ (Burman)\textsuperscript{8} side by side with Remh (Mon) and Tircut (Pyu).\textsuperscript{9} Unfortunately none of these inscriptions mention the king's services as a senior officer of Anirudda and his love affairs which are quite popular with the chroniclers.

The Râjakumâr inscription\textsuperscript{10} however gives us the last scene of his Thambula story. It reveals the pathetic act of a disinherited son by his most beloved wife approaching his father's

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2. *Ibid.* pp. 143-7; see also *JBRs.* XXVIII, i, p. 92. This inscription, now in the Rangoon University Library has been traced as originally belonging to the Myatheindan Pagoda (Kyâk Talâg) at Ayethama Hill (2 ½ miles from Mayangon Station or Taungson Station on the Moulmein railway line.)
4. Pagan had a very dry climate and wooden buildings might have been the cause of many fires. Another palace was constructed in 1204 (Pl. 271). A great fire that raged the whole city to ashes occurred in 1225 (Pl. 123a2). The building of palaces in wood is not a practice confined to Burma alone. It is spread all over S.E. Asia. See C. Du Roiseulle: *Guide to the Palace at Mandalay,* (1925) p. 6.
7. *Ibid.,* IX H\textsuperscript{10} p. 56 and H\textsuperscript{15} p. 57
8. *Ibid.,* IX B\textsuperscript{4} p. 42
9. Luce: "Peoples", *JBRs.* XLII, i, 55
death-bed to report his meritorious deeds done on behalf of the father, who in reply exclaimed this ā, this ā - Well done! Well done! Prince. Rājakumār was the son of Thiluia Mañ and Thambula or Trilokavatamsikā - The Ornament of the Three Worlds. Why Rājakumār was not given the throne after his father's death is a problem indeed. The Glass Palace Chronicle gives this answer. Mañ Lulan (Sawiu) on the advice of his counsellors recalled Thiluia Mañ (Kyansitha) soon after his accession. Thiluia Mañ left Thambula who was with child, commanding her to bring him the child when born if it be a boy. Thiluia Mañ became king later and married his daughter to Sawyun, son of Mañ Lulan. A young prince was born of this union and the king made this grandson his heir. The rightful heir i.e. son of Thambula came late (two years after his accession to the throne) and therefore the king could only make him a governor. Without giving the year in which the grandson was born, the story appears quite sound. The epigraphic evidence refutes the story.

The king ascended the throne in A.D. 1084 and in A.D. 1086 his son Rājakumār who was then seven years old appeared at the court. The grandson, who was made heir, was born in A.D. 1088 according to "List 73"3 inscription. Therefore it is impossible to believe the story that Cāsikī I being made heir was accidental. It seems that political expediency required the king to do that deliberately. An inscription4 the script of which does not seem to be contemporary suggests an altogether new theory. It says that Asavatdhammā son of Sudhammayac (son of ? Makuta), planned a rebellion but King Narapaticausī appeased him by promising to marry his own daughter Rhweinsa to Nāgasman: the son of Asavatdhammā. With this marriage tie, he peacefully and wisely averted the danger of a Mon rebellion. To later inscription writers, any king of Pāgan can be Narapaticausī and therefore it is not impossible to take this king as Thiluia Mañ. He might have contracted this marriage tie between his daughter and the great grandson of Makuta (Mauha) during the Nagayannike rebellion and even promised the throne to the offspring of that union so that both Mon and Burman could accept the next king without question. If that is true, Thiluia Mañ must be considered as the most statesman-like of all the Burmese kings. But it was unpleasant for later Burman patriots to remember this and therefore they probably tried to forget it. Later Burmans also tried successfully to reverse his language policy.

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

As mentioned above, Cāsikī I probably was the son of the Mon prince Nāgasman: and the Burmese princess Rhweinsa. He was born in A.D. 10835 and ascended the
throne in A.D. 1113. His name Cāṇū is the burmanised Jayasūra - The Victorious Hero. In post-Pagan times, he is usually mentioned as Aluangsthu - The Future Buddha, The Victorious Hero. His other names were saktaurāhñ - Long Life, Rhuvūkā, Daṇvakā - Donor of the Shwegu Temple, and Śrī Tibhuvāṇādityapaparadvatādammarājā - Sun of the Three Worlds, Most Excellent King of Law. The name Sak-tawrahñ implies that he lived long but we cannot tell with certainty the year of his death. According to the chronicles he ruled until S. 529 (A.D. 1167). But the Dhammayangyi inscription tells us that his successor had finished building the Dhammayaṅyapañcā in A.D. 1165 and therefore his rule terminated one or two years earlier—probably in A.D. 1163. If so, he reigned for fifty years and died at the age of seventy five. He left a very important record.

This most interesting record of Cāṇū I's is a Pali-Sanskrit inscription of two faces set in the wall of the Shweguvi temple of Pagan (A.D. 1131). Except for the date which is written in Sanskrit, the rest of the inscription is in Pali verse of great poetical merit. Professor Pe Maung Tin says:

It is such good Pali. Some verses of the prayer remind us of the canonical Mettasutta, or the Discourse on Love.

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

Thus the writing on this stone is made by the King Śrī Tibuvāṇādityapaparadvatādammarāja, who is endowed with mindfulness, firmness, intelligence, character, who is a seeker of the constituents of Nirvana. Prosperity! The cave was begun on Sunday the 4th day of the dark half of the month of Vaśakha (when the moon was) in conjunction with the constellation Uttarāṣadgaka and (the sun was) in Leo in Śaka year 1053. This cave was completed on the 11th day of the dark half of the month of Margasira on (Thursday) at the conjunction of the sun with the constellation Vaśākha in 1053 Śaka year.

This is the one and only instance of the Śaka Era of A.D. 78 being mentioned in the Pagan inscriptions. The dates correspond to Sunday 17 May 1131 and Thursday 17 December 1131.

1. See abovc, p. 10, n. 3
2. Pl. 363a
3. Pl. 60a
4. Pl. 311b
5. Pl. 118; Pl. 241
6. GPC, p. 132
7. Pl. 4 & 5 (1165)
8. Pl. 1–2
9. JBRS, X, ii, p. 67
10. The term “cave” used here means an artificial cave and not a “cave-temple” like Ajantā of India. Perhaps, “hollow-pagoda” is a better translation for the Burmese word. See also JBRS, XXVI, i, p. 45
11. JBRS, XXII, iii, p. 151
12. In checking up the dates and rendering them into equivalents in the Christian Era, with the help of Sir Alfred Lyall’s Charts (A., 1910, pp. 289–313), I find that second Taung is used instead of second Wazo in this intercalary year of 5, 493.
The king is alleged to be a great traveller! even visiting places far beyond Burma by land and sea but we find no mention of his travels in the inscriptions. As mentioned above, he lived probably for seventy five years and died in A.D. 1163. The Mount Thetso inscription gives a list of early Pagan kings and thus we are able to tell who succeeded Cañasū I.

It records that on S. 573, waxing 9 of Namka (Tuesday 21 July 1211), the daughter of Marhak Sañ Nu Sok Sañ, the clerk of Kamikun, poured water and dedicated to the pagoda the land which was exempted from revenue as a result of a legal enquiry of Mañ Lulañ. Then it continues:

...Thiluiñ Mañ lak thak le lwat e' /Sak Taw Rhañ lak thak le lwat e'/ Im Taw Syañ lak thak le lwat e'/ Narapiti lak thak le lwat e' / ...2

It was exempted also in the reign of Thiluiñ Mañ; also exempted in the reign of Sak Taw Rhañ (Cañasū I); also exempted in the reign of Im Taw Syañ (Kalagya); and also exempted in the reign of Narapati (Cañasū I).

True to tradition Nātoṁyā after becoming king on Thursday 10 waxing of Tuṅṅaṅã (S. 573 [18 August 1211]) also granted the same exemption. Thus according to this inscription, Cañasū I was succeeded by Im Taw Syañ - The Lord of the Royal House.4 In old Burmese, a palace is called im taw and therefore the name implies that he built a new palace. In the chronicles he is Narathu or Kalagya. We find no epigraphic evidence about his deceit and cruelty as mentioned in the chronicles. We cannot also ascertain that being angry with the king, the mahāthera Panīśkā-du went over to Ceylon. But the Sinhalese chronicle Cālavatissā records charges against the King of Ramanāñ.5 It says that the two kingdoms i.e. Lañka and Ramanāñ, since they belonged to the same faith, had friendly relations for a long time. Trade between the two countries also flourished. Then suddenly the foolish king of Ramanāñ, who was then Im Taw Syañ illtreated the Sinhalese merchants and took exorbitant rates on all exports, largely elephants to Lañka. To avenge this King Parukkamabālu I (1153-1186) sent an expedition to Burma under general Adıccca. As a result the Burmese king was killed. It even claims Sinhalese suzerainty over Burma henceforth. The Devanagala inscription gives the date of this invasion as A.D. 1165.6 The Burmese chronicles say that Narathu (Im Taw Syañ) died at the hands of Indians from Pataikkhaya.7 The Dhammayangyi pagoda of Pagan is attributed to him and its inscription is dated A.D. 1165. Therefore it seems that he was king only for a short period (1163-5) during which time he built that pagoda and it was left unfinished when he was assassinated by the Sinhalese in 1165. According to the Mount Thetso inscription quoted above, he was succeeded by Cañasū II. But between Im Taw Syañ and Cañasū II, there was an interregnum of nine years. The chronicles try to fill in this blank with a fictitious king called Minyin Naratein kha.8

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1. Hmannan, para. 141; GPC, pp. 113-22
2. Pl. 60a4-5
3. This date in Pl. 60a9, S. 573, waxing . . of Tuṅṅaṅã Thursday is completed from the date given in Pl. 901
4. This name does not apply to all kings of Burma as Pharoah - the Great House, is used for all kings of ancient Egypt
5. Wijesinha: Mahāvamsa II, pp. 189-92 and Geiger: Cālavatissā II, pp. 64-70
7. Pataikkhaya is in Tippera district, north east of Chittagong. See also Harvey: Burma, pp. 326-7
8. Pl. 4 & 3 (1163) ...
9. Hmannan, para. 143; GPC, pp. 133-8
The chronicles have one Minyin Naratheinhka (1171–4) as the king before Cãnsû II. This is clearly a mistake because Narasingha Uccanā, whose regnal title was Śri Tribhavanāditaparadhammarājadhirājadānapati1 was son and successor of Nātōnmyā2 and not of Īm Taw Syañ (Kalagya). Nātōnmyā ascended the throne on Thursday, 10 waxing of Tāauslañ, S. 573 (18 August 1211)3 and reigned for about twenty years. We find in an inscription4 that in A.D. 1231, a king (his name is illegible) made a dedication and shared the merit with his younger brother Klaewā. Klaewā ascended the throne on 4 Waxing of Naṁkā, S. 587 (19 July 1235).5 Therefore, it is possible that Klaewā’s elder brother and his predecessor (Narasingha Uccanā) ruled from A.D. 1231 to A.D. 1235. A law suit recorded in an inscription dated A.D. 12596 says definitely that from Nātōnmyā to Tarukpyi there are five kings, perhaps excluding Mañ Yan whose reign was so short that his name was left out of the list. The corrected dynastic table shown below will be of much help to understand this.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KINGS OF PAGAN 1044–1287</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Aniruddha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Īm Taw Syañ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interregnum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Nātōnmyā, son of 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Narasingha Uccanā, son of 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Mañ Yan, son of 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Tarukpyi, son of 10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1. Pl. 1381 and Pl. 568b5–6
2. Pl. 1382 and Pl. 2001
3. Pl. 904
4. Pl. 672,9
5. Pl. 9014–15 and Pl. 1811
6. Pl. 1937
7. Names and dates in parenthesis are from Handbook of Oriental History, (1951), p. 131
8. The chronicles combine this king’s name with No. 11 King Mañ Yan and thus a fictitious name of King Minyin Naratheinhka appears and he is made the predecessor of Cãnsû II.
CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF BURMA 1174-1287

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

Having built a monastery, I. Uiw, Klaw Sañ, on 11 February 1199, dedicated (to the Religion) three monasteries, two complete sets of monastic robes, two robes, a padesa — wishing tree — and a cow. Wheresoever I wander in samsara I wish not misery like hell. May (the wishes) be fulfilled. I wish nirvana at the end of samsara. May all the workers (on the pagoda) share my merit. I gave a thousand oil lamps, kathina robes, forty needles, twenty cups, four cups, an almsbowl, a bell, twenty khrin nap.3 My capital is small; my wants infinite.

For the sake of comparison, an extract from a Mon inscription written in praise of Kyanzitha is given below:

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

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

A new style of architecture gradually replaced the “Mon type”. Professor Luce gives a very good picture of this change.

The Burmese, in contrast with the Talaing of those days, was an unromantic matter-of-fact person. He wrote in prose and not in poetry. He described simply, without exaggeration — very differently from Burmans of latter days. The dim religious light, dark corridors and rich lurid colouring which Mon liked in their temples he disliked. And when he borrowed their style of architecture he soon knocked out big open doorways on all sides of their murky bat-ridden temples, and let in sunlight; and his taste in colour and design was far brighter and lighter than theirs.¹

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

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

The Saw Min Hla inscription² (which is a copy made in Bodawpaya’s reign from the one made by Saw Min Hla the aproā ṭoma³ - concubine - of Cāñṣū II) definitely mentioned that “in S. 536 (1174) Cāñṣū Manikri ascended the golden mountain” i.e. the throne. Cāñṣū II had six queens and many concubines. The queens were:

1. Toñphañañh - The South Queen
2. Mañphlaññhañ - The North Queen
3. Caw Mrakan Sañ - The Queen of the Emerald Lake
4. Vaññmikā (Uchokpan) - The Ornament of the Head
5. Caw Aññwan - Queen Paragon
6. Veññvati - Queen Gift of Bamboo

¹ JBR, XXII, iii, pp. 121-2
² Copy, List 7157 (B. II. 839)
³ Aproā is the term used for lesser wives in the law books. See D. Richardson: The Damathat or the Law of Men, p. 94. Probably aproāhītesa here means “Royal Junior Wife”.

BUDDHISM IN BURMA
Queen *Toñphlañsañi*, though her name implies that she was Cañšū II’s chief queen, was actually not. Probably she had no children. Queen *Markansañi*’s son inherited the throne and therefore she stood next below *Markansañi* in position. The Mahadhi inscription (1211) gives the names of the donors listed in order of their rank and position and thus we are able to give the names and status of Cañšū II’s queens. It says that in S. 573 Waning 7 of Santu, the Mahāthera Dhammañvilāsa dedicated some ornaments, 119 slaves, 14 oxen and 100 pay of land from the Kanplañ region to the Tilomaṅguir pagoda (*Traílokñuñphbuñ* - The Great Happiness of the Three Worlds). After him the great King Cañšū II dedicated to the same pagoda 50 pay of land from Wararītu and 30 pay from Mapançara Hurañay village. Next, Nātoñmya, who was still the Crown Prince at that time, dedicated 100 pay of land from Khamnīṁhū. Next, Queen Markansañi (Nātoñmya’s mother) dedicated 50 pay of land from Mapançara lake area. Next, Queen Toñphlañ Saññi dedicated 40 pay of land from Toñplun. Next, Queen Mañsphañsañi dedicated 30 pay of land from Putak. Next, Queen Uiw Chok Pan’s three sons were dedicated as slaves to the pagoda by the great King Cañšū II and he himself redeemed them by dedicating 30 pay of land from Uiw Chok Kuiv. Then, Princess Acaw Man Lha who was the only sister of Nātoñmya, dedicated 30 pay of land from the Cañañ area, 20 from Kwś Sā, 20 from Mapançara and 10 from Sa Yōñ. The land dedicated were therefore 510 pay in total.

The Midwedaw inscription (1179) mentions that the Queen *Toñphlañsañi* dedicated her slaves and lands of *Lañ Pasi* village near Krā Puiw. Queen Mañsphañsañi, according to the Mahadhi inscription quoted above, holds a third position among the queens of Cañšū II. In old Burmese, the word *mañsphañ* or *mañsok* means the north and later it is shortened to *mlok*. Usually the north queen occupies a second position. We have another mention of her name in the Laydaungsaṅ inscription? but unfortunately, it is largely illegible except for the blessings and prayers. Queen Caw *Marakansañi*, as the mother of Nātoñmya (1211–71231) the son and successor of Cañšū II, was considered very important, although she was of humble birth. The interesting story of the king’s thriftless and her tender care of it, according to traditional accounts, has one weak point so that we feel reluctant to accept it in full. According to the story her son Nātoñmya was the youngest among the kind’s sons but in token of love, the king promised her to name him his successor. Epigraphic evidence shows that he was not the youngest son. The queen’s dedication of lands to the Mahāthera

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1. A king in Burma when giving audience faces east with his chief queen on his right side i.e. the south. Therefore the South Queen is the Chief Queen.
2. Pl. 34
3. Ink Inscription Pl. 367b. (Burmese?) and (Pali). Bāruṣi was the original builder of this pagoda. But he died in 1125 without completing it. Saṅh Tra Uñ continued the building which was completed in 1217 and he gave the name Tilomaṅguir (Traílokñuñphbuñ) to this pagoda in 1223. It is very interesting to note that the name of this pagoda sounds very much like a Mon name and that such a name was given to a pagoda at the time when burmanization was in full force. Probably, this name is corrupted into Hīlominlo.
4. Pl. 34
5. Pl. 2563,20
6. Pl. 34
7. Pl. 34
8. Hmann, para. 143; GPC, p. 141
9. Ibid., para. 143; GPC, p. 141. See also Harvey: Burma, pp. 58, 329
10. Ibid., para. 143; GPC, p. 151
11. See below pp. 19–20
3 - **BG. 144, 1000, 21–878**
Dhammarājaguru, tutor of her son (Nātoṁyā) and daughter (Acaw Mañ Lha) is recorded in the Mahadhi inscription. It seems that she died some time between 1220 and 1231 as one of her grandchildren in 1239 recorded the dedication of some lands and slaves which originally belonged to the old grandmother Queen Škhiṅ Phiwā Marakan Saṅ and had devolved through Nātoṁyā who died in 1231 to the donor of the Hsinbyushin pagoda. In 1244, when another grandchild Satyā made a dedication at the Thinganyon pagoda, he expressly prayed that Queen Marakan Saṅ may also get the merit of his good deeds:

... i suiv nā plu so koṅ mhu kā phurbhāloñ Cañśū maṅkri amiphurhā Marakan Saṅ rā cay sate...

The last mention of her name in the inscriptions is in a legal case of 1291 when her name is referred to as the original owner of the land in dispute. Queen Vāḷamāṅkā, also known as U Chok Pan - The Ornament of the Head, was fourth in position among the queens of Cañśū II. She was the younger sister of Uiv, Thak Plaṅ Saṅ, the Lady of Tuiṅ Saṅ and Sūlāphirat husband of Kroṅtau Saṅ. She had three children (or sons) who were once dedicated to the Tilomāṅgur pagoda by Cañśū II and were later redeemed. The three children were Rājaśrīra, Gaṅgāsūra and Pyamikhi who with the exception of the last, figured as the most important persons next to the king in the state, during the reigns of Nātoṁyā, Narasīṅgha Uccanā and Klaćwā. They were given high places of honour, probably because their mother Queen Vāḷamāṅkā came from a very highborn Sinhalese family. We know very little about Queen Caw Alhwan. The Dhammarājika pagoda built by Cañśū II was completed in 1198 and in 1200, Queen Caw Alhwan dedicated slaves to that pagoda. In 1231-2, the queen and her daughter Satikāmi made another dedication of slaves to the same pagoda. The last queen in our list is Veluvati, of whom the chronicles write a very lovely but quite mythical story. She was found in a giant bamboo "born of heat and moisture" and she had all the attributes of a lovely damsel except that her ears were too big and she was pot-bellied. When brought to the palace she was first offered to king Minyin Naratheinaka who refused to accept her because of her big ears and stomach. The queen-mother cut her ears to the right size, put her on a diet and gave her to Cañśū II who was then the Crown Prince.

1. Pl. 3411, Pl. 63a7
2. Pl. 63a10
3. Pl. 13326
4. Pl. 153a5-6,11
5. Pl. 27228
6. Pl. 915, 94a6, 14514 (Uchokpan)
7. Pl. 3410, (Uiv Chok Pan)
8. Pl. 143a7, Pl. 143b5, Pl. 14513
9. Pl. 14421 (father of Queen Caw), Pl. 14514,15
10. Pl. 14515
11. See above p. 17
12. Rājāśrīra - Pl. 9020, Pl. 916, Pl. 94a6,21, Pl. 10414, Pl. 37430, Pl. 3759, Pl. 3769,47. Gaṅgāsūra - Pl. 9530, Pl. 1867, Pl. 37430. Pyamikhi - Pl. 4214, Pl. 94a26, Pl. 1861
13. Pl. 369b16
14. List 16313 (A 50)
15. Hmaumun, para. 143; GPC, p. 135
“When her ear was cut aright she bore a marvellous beauty insomuch that all men seeing her were dazed and could not stand upright.” It was because of her beauty that Cañṣū II quarrelled with his brother (King Minyin Naratheinkha) and eventually the king was killed and Cañṣū II succeeded him. Unfortunately, as mentioned above, epigraphic evidence shows that there was no intermediate king between Im Taw Syaṅ and Cañṣū II. Nor can we find mention of Veluvati’s son Jayasura in the inscriptions. In the Sulamani inscription (1175), this Veluvati was mentioned as the donor of the Nadaungtap pagoda. We can trace only two names from among the king’s concubines and they were Aptoṅṭāou Cy Māṅ; Lha3 and Moṅma Khāṅ Mi Naj4 who made a dedication in 1198. In another dedication dated 1206 this Khāṅ Mi Naj was mentioned as Co Khāṅ Mi Naj. She probably was promoted then to queenship because we have many instances in the inscriptions showing that only queens and princesses used the prefix Co. Perhaps she was the king’s favourite. Cañṣū II must have had many children, of whom we know that Nātoṁmyā and Princess Acaw Manha were born of Queen Mrakan Saṅ, Rājaṅsura, Gaṅgaṅsura, and Ðyamkhi were born of Queen Vaṅamsikā and Princess Satti-kāṅi born of Queen Caw Ahwan. There were three others, namely Kramasuiṅkri (father-in-law of Santasaṅ),5 Siṅghapicaṅ and the wife of Byaggastura,7 but unfortunately we cannot trace the names of their mothers. Cañṣū was succeeded by Nātoṁmyā on 18 August 1211.8

In the inscriptions, the new king is known as Nātoṁmyā9 or Nātoṅ Skhiṅ10 —The Lord of the Ear Ornaments. The chronicles name him Nandaungmya because his mother made many entreaties to Cañṣū II that he might succeed to the throne.11 This does not hold good any longer. Nātoṁmyā, though his mother was a gardener’s daughter,12 was undoubtedly able and efficient and not the youngest son of Cañṣū II as alleged.13 He succeeded to the throne superseding the three sons of Vaṅamsikā, who by blood, seem to have had a better claim to the throne. Perhaps, Nātoṁmyā’s gentleness and affability won their superflcial submission.14 All or at least one of them, i.e. Pyamkhi, however might have been plotting against him who in their eyes was a usurper. Ultimately in alliance with Prince Siṅghapicaṅ and Prince Klaṅwā (younger son of Nātoṁmyā who later became king in 1235), Pyamkhi rebelled.15 Undoubtedly the attempt failed and most probably Pyamkhi and

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1. Hmannan, para. 143; GPC, pp. 135–6
2. List 97 (UB. I, 173)
3. List 715 (B. II, 839)
4. Pl. 292
5. Pl. 513, Pl. 832
6. Pl. 4110, Pl. 4214, Pl. 7427, Pl. 13316
7. Pl. 16215, Pl. 182a9
8. Pl. 901
9. Pl. 312-3, Pl. 346, Pl. 63a2-3, Pl. 642, Pl. 1865, Pl. 23911, Pl. 27229
10. Pl. 413, Pl. 231b1, Pl. 2731
11. Probably the chroniclers read Nāxtoṁmyā: (Nandaungmya) instead of Nātoṁmyā which is quite possible and had to fabricate a story to support their reading.
12. Hmannan, para. 143; GPC, p. 141
13. Ibid., para. 143; GPC, p. 151
14. Ibid., para. 143; GPC, pp. 150–1
15. Pl. 4214, Pl. 18611
Siṅghapicañ were executed; but the king forgave Klacwā and Pyanikhi’s son (name unknown) possibly because of their youth. It seems that, Rājasūra and Gaṅgasūra remained loyal to Nātoṃmyā henceforth. When Klacwā ascended the throne, they two together with the ministers Mahāsamanta, Amrītta Lakyā, Anantajayapikrama and Mahāsattī were appointed to form a royal commission enquiring into the authenticity of the religious lands, especially the Hōn Rami Pa-Ak lands dedicated by Jayapavattatī. If the evidence was weak, King Klacwā was intent upon confiscating them as he was very much concerned with the dwindling of the state revenue owing to the ever increasing extent of the religious lands from which he could collect nothing. When appointing the said commission, Rājasūra and Gaṅgasūra were described as mañ phathuy – the king’s father’s younger brothers i.e. Nātoṃmyā’s younger brothers.2 Thus we come to the conclusion that Nātoṃmyā was, if not the eldest, one of the senior sons and definitely not the youngest son of Cañsā II. Likewise another name of the king Htilominlo – the Choice of the White Umbrella as well as his Predecessor cannot be taken as true.3 He is also called Uccanā, a name adopted for the first time by a Pagan king. Probably, the name is Uccanātha – the High Protector – which has a close resemblance to Uccadeva a name by which Viṣhnu is sometimes known. His regnal title is Śrī Tribhavamādityāyapavārädhīmarājya – The Victorious King, Sun of the Three Worlds, Most Excellent King of Law.5 As mentioned above, he was Queen Mrakan Sañ’s son and his younger sister was Princess Acaw Mañ Lha. In his youth he was educated by a monk on whom he conferred the title of Dhammarājaguru when he became king.6 This monk was mentioned as the native of Molañ, a village to the east of Dala in Lower Burma. If he was a Mon by race, which is not unlikely, it is important to note that Mon still remained teachers and advisers at the Court of Pagan when the tendency at that time was to forget the Mon influence. We know more about the reign of this king than of his predecessors.

In the rebellion in the early years of his reign when his halfbrothers Siṅghapicañ and Pyanikhi rebelled,7 and his younger son Klacwā sided with his enemies, the king had to depend largely on the services of his five ministers to quell it. When the trouble was over, he pardoned his son and the son of Pyanikhi and to his five ministers he gave each seven hundred pay of land as ray chu – the reward for valour. They were Asaṅkhyā, Anantasū, Asawat, Rājasanikram and Čaturāṅgasañ.8 Probably, Pyanikhi’s son surrendered to Asaṅkhyā because, it was the latter who brought the rebel prince back to Pagan and it was to him that the king gave all the former slaves of that prince. The minister Anantasū was the Mahāsenāpati – Commander-in-Chief, of Nātoṃmyā. He and his wife built the Laymyakhna pagoda, Minnanthu, Pagan and left a great number of inscriptions recording their deeds of merit. One of these inscriptions9 records a law suit concerning slaves and tells us an interest-

1. Pl. 90
2. Pl. 90
3. Tentatively, the name Htilominlo is the corruption of Tilmanguir which also is possibly derived from Traiokkhañhnu (Pl. 342, Pl. 367b7). See above p. 17, n. 3
4. Pl. 364, Pl. 4216, Pl. 78b9, Pl. 901, Pl. 1233, Pl. 190a12
5. Pl. 312. Identical with the title of Cañsā I
6. Pl. 63a2-3, 13-14
7. Pl. 4214, Pl. 18611
8. Pl. 4217, Pl. 190a12
9. Pl. 78b. See also Chapter X
ing story of how slaves were bought and sold or given away to settle debts. Another of his inscriptions mentioned the procedure of an appeal court which was called Atami tryā. The appeal court judges mentioned in it were Cāṅsaphaṭi Mلات, Bacarpatī, Pataṅga and Mahāway. They were officially called sahpamag i.e. judges, as distinct from ministers and governors. The minister Asawat (?Avathāma) was in his civil duties, the akram tan so man amat2 – Royal Registrar. His wife built a kū – hollow pagoda, in 1236 to commemorate his death and dedicated slaves to it. The reverse face of the inscription recording this dedication has a detailed account of the building-costs4 which gives us comparative prices of the commodities in the Pagan period. The minister Rājasangkram5 was a prominent judge of Nātoṇmyā's reign. The chronicles regarded him as the cause of Tarukpliy being made king in 1256, superseding his elder brother.6 But we do not know how far it is true. It seems that Rājasangkram became the chief minister during the reigns of Nātoṇmyā's successors. The minister Caturāngasā was also a judge and his associate judges were Mahāsamān, Kankaphipac, Aīlaidō and Nāriṅgasā.7 Another important officer of the reign was Sanibya Jeyyapwat (Jayaspattari) who built the Zeyaput pagoda, East Pawzaw, Pagan and the inscription of that pagoda8 gives the exact dates of the accession of Nātoṇmyā and Klacwā, which were S. 573 waxing 10 of Tāausān, Thursday (18 August 1211) and S. 597 Waxing 4 of Nāhā, Thursday (19 July 1235) respectively. This inscription also gives another four associate officers of Jeyyapwat, viz. Satyā, Cāṅkray, Kramnaphat and Śrī Indrapicān. Naraśiṅgha Uccanā was Nātoṇmyā's successor.

Nātoṇmyā was succeeded in 1231 by his elder son Narasiṅgha Uccanā, whose regnal title was Śrī Tribhavanāḍityasapavaradhammarāja jadānapati – The Victorious King, Sun of the Three Worlds, Most Excellent, King of Law, King of Kings, Lord of Charity.9 Narasiṅgha Uccanā had probably two queens and they were Queen Cāw and Queen. Phwā Jaw. Queen Cāw had two sons Siṅghapati and Tryāphiyā10 and probably a daughter Aćaw Lat. The North Kūni inscription (1241) records the meritorious deed done by Queen Cāw, the wife of Narasiṅgha Uccanā and the mother of Prince Siṅghapati and Prince Tryāphiyā.11 Aćaw Lat wife of Jeyyasaḍdhiy who served as minister to the king was probably her third child. She left an inscription dated S. 623 Waxing 5 of Mlwaytā (3 August 1261) which is of immense historical value.12 Because of this inscription, we are able to say that Nātoṇmyā was succeeded by Narasiṅgha Uccanā and not by Klacwā directly as the chronicles say.13 It was written thus:

// Śrī Tribhuvanāḍityasapavaradhammarāja mañ so mān kri-sā im rhiy mañ Nāraśīṅgha

1. Pl. 79b17. See below p. 44 and Chapter III
2. Pl. 96b6
3. Pl. 97
4. See JBR, XXX, p. 327, n. 105
5. Pl. 371a5
6. Hmanan, para. 147; GPC, pp. 158-60
7. Pl. 125a2-4
8. Pl. 90b15
9. Pl. 138b1, Pl. 568b5-6
10. Tryāphiyā probably means Dhammarāja – the Lord of Law. In the post-Pagan period, it became so popular that many kings were called by that name.
11. Pl. 138b2,3
12. Pl. 200
13. Hmanan, para. 145; GPC, pp. 154-5. See also JBR, XXI, ii, pp. 100-2
Buddhism in Burma

Princes *Acaw Lat*, daughter of *Narasiṅha Uccanā* who was son and Heir Apparent of the great king *Śri Tribhuvanādityapavaradhammarāja* (i.e. *Nātoṁya*) and her husband *Jeyyasaddhiy*, the great minister - these donors husband and wife desire the boon of *sabbaṁhutatāya* - Buddhahood, which is the end of *samsara* and all the miseries like 96 diseases, 32 causes of evil and 25 calamities.

Another important queen of *Narasiṅha Uccanā* was *Phwā Jaw*. In the Minwaing inscription (1272) she called herself the daughter-in-law of *Nātoṁya* but she did not mention the name of her husband. He could have been either *Narasiṅha Uccanā* or *Klacwā*. When sharing the merit of her good deed said:

\[
// \text{I suiw lhyañ nã plu so koṁmu akliuw kã} // \text{riy mliy khapsim so askhiñ phlac tha} \\
\text{so mlat cwã so nã lañ skhiñ mañkri} // \text{ñã sã mañkri} // \text{ñã mliy mañkri} // \text{í mañkri} \\
\text{sum yok ca so noñ lã lat so mañ khapsim le nã atũ ra ciy sate} //
\]

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

Definitely, her son the king and her grandson the king were *Uccanā* and *Tarukpliy*. She mentioned *Klacwā* in her inscription but not as her husband and from other inscriptions we have the name of the queen of the *Klacwā*. She was not among them. Therefore her husband the king most probably was *Narasiṅha Uccanā*. Thus, *Narasiṅha Uccanā* was succeeded by his younger brother *Klacwā* with whom he had shared his merit on making a dedication on S. 593 Waning 1 of *Plasuiw* (11 December 1231).

*Klacwā* became king on S. 597 Waxing 4 of *Namkā*, Thursday (19 July 1235). He was also known as *Caw Kri*. We do not know the name of *Klacwā’s* mother. She died when he was very young. The *Laaymyakhna* inscription (1253) set up by his aunt says:

\[
// \text{Sakalac 597 khu} // \text{Ašin nhac} \text{ Namkā la chan àryak Krassapatty nīy} // \text{Klacwā} \\
\text{mañ rhuñ toñ tak pri} // \text{ñã mi kuīw kã íã ma si luik} // \text{ñã mīthuy muy ruy íã kri}
\]

1. Pl. 2001–6
2. Pl. 234 & 235
3. Pl. 2348
4. Pl. 23510–11
5. Pl. 23426,28,32
6. Pl. 246, Pl. 27320
7. Pl. 671–2
8. Pl. 5014–15, Pl. 1811
9. Pl. 23428,32
10. Pl. 1811–4
On 19 July 1235 Klacwā ascended the golden mountain. “I never knew my mother. My aunt brought me up and so I grew. Truly my aunt has been a mother to me.” So saying, he built a house and gave it to me to live in. He also gave me household slaves and rice fields.

This aunt, built a hollow pagoda and dedicated the slaves and lands given to her by the king to that pagoda in 1253. The house he gave was also turned into a monastery. It is a mystery still why Siṅghapati and Tryā phyā, the two sons of Narasingha Uccanā by his chief queen, were ousted from the succession by Klacwā and why the succession reverted to the older branch of the royal family on the death of Klacwā. Probably the sons of Narasingha Uccanā were too young when their father died and therefore their uncle was made king. But there must have been a sort of agreement between the two branches that after Klacwā the succession should revert to the older branch.1 It seems that there was some opposition to Klacwā’s succession. The Minwaing inscription2 records a rebellion in the year following his accession. It says:

// Sakarac 598 khu // Kruun mhae Mwaytā la chan nā ryak Tannhañkanyu niy // Siriyañhan plac sa rhaawackiut Siṅghāpi克拉m plac pā e, // atiw Skhiñ Cawkt Kwan Prok Nay nuiñ nay taw mū so Siṅghāpi克拉m mayā min e, // atiw kywan lan Pukan sā // nīy ra ciy la ciy // nā kywan // lay // uyan kā skhiñ yu ciy khyan hu min e, // min taw mū piy rakā Pukanī niy ra e, //

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

Another inscription3 mentions that two monks were involved in a rebellion against Klacwā. This is the only instance we have in the inscriptions of our period of monks getting mixed up in politics.4 The king also had some trouble with the monks in a land dispute.

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

// Sakarac 597 khu // Āsin nhac // Namkā la chan 4 ryak Krāsapatīy niy ā // maṅkri sā maṅ Klacwā rhuy toñ tak ryu // akrī y añā nuiñ te mahādān mliy khapsin yū lat te //

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

1. There was no rigid law for succession but usually the eldest son of the chief queen succeeded to the throne. There were however many exceptions.
2. Pl. 234-1-4
3. Pl. 102-24-5
4. See below Chapter VII for details.
5. Pl. 90-15-16
In the course of this measure he confiscated the Hari Ram Pa-ak lands dedicated by Sambyañ Jayapavattati to a forest monastery. The monks raised an objection and therefore he had to appoint a commission to look into the matter. The commission reported that the monks were right and therefore he had to re-dedicate the Hari Ram Pa-ak lands to the monastery. Anyhow by this confiscation many pay of land were lost to the Religion for ever. But tradition required Klaewa to make dedications of land etc. during his lifetime and therefore some would be undoubtedly restored to the Religion. Klaewa made a big dedication immediately after his accession. He even gave a hundred pay of land to the Brahmins who probably conducted his coronation. It was in his reign perhaps between 1237 and 1248 that the monks Subūticanda and Dhammasiri went over to Ceylon for educational purposes. Possibly a religious purification movement started after their return from Ceylon. The most important minister of the reign was Mahāsamanta who was the chief minister as well as the viceroy of the northern part of Burma. He was sometimes called the Viceroy of Kōcañ as he had to take charge of the Kōcañ area (near Bhamo) which was probably the northernmost part of the Burmese empire. Klaewa also tried to improve administration and ensure peace in his kingdom.

Towards the end of the reign Klaewa issued an edict against all malefactors dated 6 May 1249 and he decreed that his edict must be written on stone pillars and every village with more than fifty houses must have one erected in the village. Only eleven of these edict pillars have been discovered. Perhaps there were more than eleven but not so many as the king originally intended. The reason for this may have been that he died before the completion of his orders and that his control of outlying districts was weak. The promulgation of the edict against all malefactors is almost an admission of the general prevalence of unrest. His confiscation of the glebe lands was probably one of the causes of dissatisfaction in the country. The reconstructed text of this edict is given below.

\[
\text{\textit{Buddhism in Burma}}
\]

1. Pl. 102\textsuperscript{18}
2. See below Chapter VIII for details.
3. Pl. 85\textsuperscript{24}, Pl. 90\textsuperscript{20}, Pl. 102\textsuperscript{7}, Pl. 125a\textsuperscript{3}
4. Pl. 158\textsuperscript{20-1}
5. The date of the pillars are not all uniform. Some are dated S. 611 Waxing 9 of \textit{Kuchun} (22 April 1149), and some are dated S. 611 Waning 3 of \textit{Kuchun} (1 May 1249).
6. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 167-9, Pl. 170, Pl. 173-4, Pl. 343 and Pl. 345ab are all edict pillars and an almost complete text has been reconstructed out of them by Professor G.H. Luce. See also \textit{JBR}, XXVI, i, p. 70
7. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 167, Pl. 168-9 have chan 9; Pl. 170 has chut 3.
8. Pl. 166ab & Pl. 168-9 have hā; Pl. 170 has rhiy; Pl. 171-2 & Pl. 173 have hу rу.\]
e | apyak aci kuwv ma luv so kron | satawah takah tuwv kuiv | mimi sa kay suiw | ok miy lat ruy | kruna saif tuik lat ruy | chiuw so cak ah te | thiuv kron rakah | ruiw sly so yurn so m huy | lha ma cok nako thon huy n a ap e hui so te | asuw m huy nai ciy su nie | o, i majkir kah | mimi kuiv praana phlai kram ruy chiuw so ma hut takah | mat cwa so purah saharki | sabbahu cak kuiv | mhi ruy chiuw so cakah te | i na cak ah kuw luik mukah | i tu twan so khyamsa | tamunwan so khyamsa kuiv ma lway ra lyan so tu kah | i suiw nhac lun m huy n a ap e |

i mhy so khuiv ca kun so su tuiv sa nhay kah | khyamsa ra ani sate huy ruy khuiv ca kun so te | ayaai tuiv | khyamsa ra niuiv so sahka | suh rok so rwu su miyad suh | su utc ah apyak aci | anuhi athak no ra so kuiv khyamsa niuiv pan kyan so te | thiuv khyamsa hh2 so sahn kah | kuiv sat I (a) lam so khyamsa te | thiuv kah khyamsa te ra e lo | apyak aci kuiv te rak e3 lo | thiuv le na tuiv krani kun (ap e,)

kuiv cwa so su tuiv sah kah | mi lai so le | taniklaii lhuyiv so | raah puchiin nhaa pok so | sanikrap nhaa kaio | a au nut so | apoi alak phay so | myak chan thwac so | asah thu ruy cai piy la so | ariy chwac ruy | sa dh mAh so | thiip thwah ruy chii pu swan so | laan rhyu miup ruy thwah so | puyan cahn ruy nan ciyah so | sacepa phak ciy ruy tanisah nhac so | a(phaan ma mluk) so | laan phrat so | iy suiw so ka ca saphlii ayaan tuiv kah chiuw niray kri akok kun so te | ma so krak le | ip so | niy so | ryap so | swai so ka ca saphlii le | ta ciy sa lhyan le ayaai tuiv kah ma khyamsa cvan so te | krok lan lyak lhyan ayaai tuiv kah khant ce kun soh te | i mnuik le ma niy cwaan | niy pu miuiv rwah lhyan kyah so te | ma kuiv eah so tuiv sahn lhyan le | buhuy 1 khu ku te rak lai mukah | i tu twan lhyan niy kyanon mho le | nhanlhun kah | chiuw niray kri cwa so mat loh | khuiv cai so su tuiv sahn kah | aphony khii lip neh | yakahai ccan ca ka kuivv eah so su tuiv sahn kah ta yok tahn lhyan le lhat e hui sa nhay kah ma huy phu | kra cwa achtan kah | nhan nhac suhn nhac mruiv kah ma kra phu ma lo | iy caah kah yaku (chuiw) sah ma hut | trya twan le iy suiw min e, siy lyaw ruy kuiv cai so suh kah | niray kri prittah asrara tiritchan apay pah so sahn kah ayaan kuivw s9 im lhyan maah e, i siy lhyan rok tuii tuih le huy e, ma siy mi lhyan10 le | phai mi lhyan | suh kuivv hh ruy11 | maah nhup lat e | man le | cani ta laani | kuiw so hah amaai ma tan mui ruw | kuivw mhuo chran so suh kuivw piy e2 | thiuv suh tuiv le ciyi mih e12 | kuivw so ma hut canh mui kah | lhwat e, kuivw sa hut canh mui kah | amunwan cai kuiv phat ciy e | amunwan cah tuwah akran soh kuivv sahn | i mho so | aplac te phlac mui kah | i mho so13 tan piy te piy ap e, huh piy e, maah s suh kuivw

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1. Pl. 170 has ah scraped.
2. Pl. 166ab and Pl. 168-9 have hut.
3. Pl. 168-9 and Pl. 170 have kun.
4. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 168-9, Pl. 170 have tuik.
5. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 168-9, Pl. 170 have liu.
6. Pl. 168-9 and Pl. 170 omit kuw; Pl. 166ab has satylak.
7. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 168-9, Pl. 170 have rok e.
8. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 168-9, Pl. 170 have pi y ma lo.
9. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 168-9, Pl. 170 have sukhiw.
11. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 168-9 omits ruy.
12. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 168-9, Pl. 170 have cat ruy.
13. Pl. 170 has merely amunwan cah kuiv krahn ruy tan piy te.
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aplac nhañ ḫ̄ munwan cā kuiw nuṅ̄ kram ruy | thuiw aplac nhañ tañ ap so tan. kuiw mū e,1 // iy kā māñ ta kā amunwan hut-tā ||

khuiw sū tuiw sañ kā i lū twai le athā thũ so sat khrañ ā rok kun e // asuiw sat khrañ nhe hū mū kā ariya2 nay sam chū tap ruy khat so | achā hiy so krim lūṁ nhañ khat so | nā hi so | nāh khoñ hi so | khrīy lak phrat so || thip thwañ ruy sam pī rī ray thāo ruy | u nok kuīk 2 chū lyak siy so | khan twāñ kan phi3 ruy chimi nhi so ch(ā)ṁ yok (rā) ariya ryma ruy chaṁñ choṅ nañ phi ruy ā riy chwac pri so ā khoñ khwan khlan sañ lhañ kan nhañ khat so | laksiw puḵhum̄ | lakyā puḵhum̄ ok suiw puchac kan ariy chwac phi ruy ok so ariy kā (a)khrīy suīw khaḷ e4 | athak so ariy kā ā khoñ suiw lī lay so | ariy khapāñ chwac pri so kā atwañ riy kā apa suiw thā ruy lhwañ so | (m)iñ ṇhap nhañ ariy kuīw kaṭkṛiy nhañ ryan so so asā hiy rā | khit ruy lī so || lāk tan toñ rhiy phrat so5 | khrīy puṣhac rhyu phrat so | sañ khwā 4 khu cwap ruy twā cīy so | acoṅ i p ciy ruy nā twāñ tāmśaṅ nak so6 || khrīy 2 phak suṁ ruñ pār 2 lēiṅ so tā nhañ (n)u(p) 2 thā ruy | kuiw khapṣīn uīw khyaṅ suiw khuy bhi ruy līñ so | ariy kuīw sañ thum nhañ cat ruy | "sāmāparā cā plā reñ̄ swan so | arhaṅ lhyā kuīy (cā) cīy so | lañ phrat so | kuiw laṅ (khaṗ) aṅ amhuīc rec ruy mi phut so || i suiw so sat khrañ saṅ kun e, ||

thuiw mruwī tamunwan le | Tāpana māñ so nṛay kri n̄huiṅ le kyak kun e, ||

thuiw (nṛay kā) kuīw aluṅ lhyāṅ [atawaṇ apa (nṛay ciṭ) plāṅ lyāk] tok (tha) su te ||

ayāṅ tuīw kā mī acā phlac (tha) su te || niy kā atuṅ (chaṅ nṛay) kun (rā e, || i suiw kū(ī) (tha) sate (||) nṛay asak mlaṅ khraṅ kā nṛay asak (h)ā kā onhac ta sin te lū nhac phlaṅ twak [tunī] mūkā akutiya ta ... nhac hiy e, | khuiw ca lyak e, ma kuīw (ca yo) mū so sākhuīw khoṅ khoṅ kā | lā phlac ruy | amī wāṅ twāṅ thwak so kā | lañ ma maṅ ra mu ruñ siy so kā tāc kāmpha lhyāṅ khamī te | tāc kāmpha khamī prṛ yru | lā phlac lyāk rhaṅ tūrin so le | kuīw nkā-wāt ruṁ cā ruṁ lhyāṅ mrai | chuiw nṛay kri lhyāṅ phlac sate || uc(e)ā ra ārā tūrin le ayaṅ tuīw lāk ruvaṅ | akraṅ akhrāṅ saṅ phlaṅ (taṅ) khyaṅ so ucča saṅ | ma taṅ cim so nkā7 || lhyī mlok so || im lōn so|| ka ca sa phlaṅ phuiy nhaṅ 2 phlac8 e || khuiw ca so ayaṅ kroṅ kā | tamunwan so chuiw ārā phraṅ kri rāk bī ruy || tamunwan so kh(yaṅ sā) || i lū twaṅ so kyaṅ(sā) ra kroṅ aphay (ne ha) mu kā || akraṅ kroṅ (hū e i nā cākā) mī 2 kuw prāṅ phlaṅ kram ruy chuiw so ma hūt cwan9

........................................................................................................................................................................(cha)y

kruy chay | su khlaw saphlaṅ laṅkoṅ | su ta ... s(a) luṅ la saphlaṅ laṅkoṅ | tryā sa phlaṅ | asak (muy ap) e | i suiw kyan mukā | i lū twaṅ caṅcim khyanāsā khway wa

1. Pl. 170 omitted this sentence mañ sū khuiw ...tan kuiw mū e.,

2. Pl. 170 has surīy.

3. Pl. 168-9, Pl. 170 have kat.

4. Pl. 170 has ok so ariy ka thak so lī hiy e.

5. Pl. 170 has atwaṅ rīy, kā apa suiw thāi ruy | lhwāṅ so, ariy kuīw kat kriy nhaṅ ryan sate | asā hiy rā | khit ruy lhañ sate | lac tāntān rhwāṅ phrat so |

6. Pl. 168-9 & 170 have ruy.

7. Pl. 166ab & 170 have sate.

8. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 170 have kri sañ rok kun.

9. Pl. 166ab, Pl. 170 omitted so khyanāsā ... ma hūt cwanā.
so phlac aṅi sate / alhā le piy ap e / sataṅ le sunā ap e / .................................... ap e / thuiw suiw mu pri ā kā / tamunwan n thuik ............................................ k le / Sakrā maṅi cañcêm / ma āvay ra ām sate / tamunwan so / // i tā twañ so // cañcêm khyamsā ra aṁ so kroṅ kā / k buiw so akyāṅ / ma kyaṅ ap / koṅ so akyāṅ kā kyai ap e

i suiw nā mu koṁnu kluiv kā / niyrapan paccāṅ le phlac ciy sate / sattwā tākā le khyamsā sā ciy sate / muiw liy le koṅ le ciy sate praṅ tay le khyamsā ciy sate /

444 klokcā tuinī chok s(ā) kā niy kyan le phway / tānchoṅ plu / pītan chāṅ cwaṅ kri cut / ta rwā ma āvat chok ciy te / rwā āy cwaṅ achnāṅ kā a-im. (50) y(hu) y chok ciy te ta la ma āvat la plaṅ sataṅ niy n thuik rwā sārōk sākri rwā soañ khapān ra so tanchā chaṅ / lyak pok 2 tanchōṅ (pantoṅ) kawthā nhaṅ pucaw / caṅ pasā le ti i (suiw mū-ru) y kloṅ cā tuinī cā kuiv nā ciy kun sate chok (ā) so (purha Cawkri) cwaṅ mā ciy sate cā phat sa sā le (ryā)...tanchā chaṅ ray [phaṅ] ciy sate tuinī ma hiy so rwā āy rhok nay tuinī paṅ khaw ruy / tuinī hiy rā suiw nā pā ciy kun (e//)

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

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

Do those who live by thieving think that they gain this way? They acquire prosperity by destroying other people’s villages, wives, children, goods and chattels. Gains thus acquired will be the very cause of their own destruction in the end. Do consider whether these acts are really beneficial or not.

When caught a thief is to be punished with one or the other of these punishments. He is impaled. His berast is split open with the axe. He is roasted. His intestines are taken out. His legs and limbs are cut off. His eyes are taken out. Patches of his flesh are taken off. He is skinned and smeared with salt. His skull is split open and boiling oil poured in. He is buried in the earth up to the neck and a plough driven over him. He is skewered to the ground and trodden over by elephants. He is pined alive to a tree. He is buried alive. He is beheaded. Under such tortures he experiences great misery. Even if he goes scot-free he cannot have peace of mind while sleeping, living, standing, going, etc. He does not prosper even in the least degree. He lives in constant terror. He becomes an outlaw and thus he cannot have proper shelter from sun and rain. Even those who live peacefully at home suffer a lot when they are sick,” the misery of this home- less man when sick would be unthinkable. No thief has ever escaped punishment
until now. Perhaps, he manages to evade the law for two or three years but in the end he is caught and punished. He can never escape. According to "the Law", after death, four apāya viz. niraya, tiracchāna, peta and asura will be his abode. There can be no alternative. Before death, when caught, a thief is brought before the king who asks his judges to try him. If the verdict is not guilty, he goes free. If found guilty, amunwan -Criminal Code, are referred to. Punishment varies with the nature of the offence and he suffers according to the degree of his crime. This is the way of all kings.

The thief shall suffer various tortures such as being flogged with a leather strap with iron thorns; being beaten with a cane with thorns; having his ears and nose cut off; having his legs and limbs torn off; having his skull trepanned and molten iron poured in so that the brains boiled like porridge; having his mouth fixed open with a skewer and a lighted lamp put inside; being skinned in strips from the neck to the hips, so that the skin falls in strips round the legs; being skinned alive from the neck downwards and having each strip of skin as soon as removed tied by the hair so that these strips form a veil around him; having bits cut out of the flesh all over the body; being horse-shoed and made to walk; having the head nailed to the ground by a spike through both ear-holes and then being dragged round and round by the legs; being pounded till the whole body is as soft as a straw mattress; having the body curled into a bundle and chopped to piece; having cuts made all over the body and salt or alkali rubbed into the gashes; having bits of flesh cut off while alive and given to the dogs; being beheaded and being wrapped with rubbish and baked alive. These are the punishments that a thief has to suffer.

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

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

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

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

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

Probably Klacwā copied and translated the relevant portions of the punishments from the sacred texts such as the Majjhima Nikāya, the Anguttara Nikāya and the Milinda Paññā. Contrast this Klacwā who translated such horrifying tortures with the picture given by the chronicles of a devout king translating the Paramatthabindu. It is more likely that he had no intention of being so cruel but that he was trying to frighten them into goodness. With this threat, Klacwā intended to keep law and order in his realm. He probably died soon after this edict because we would have had more of these edict pillars if he had lived longer to execute his plan to its fullest extent. His successor Uccanā obviously did not intend to continue his good work.

Uccanā who succeeded in ?1249 was Klacwā’s nephew. He was the son of Narasiṅgha Ucchanā and Queen Phwā Jaw. His regnal title was Śrī Tribhavanodityadhammarājajayasūra. He married Sumtlūla, the daughter of Klacwā. He also married the daughter of a turner and the son of this union later became king Tarukpliy. Uccanā ruled until 1256 when:

... Uccanā mañ akriy lā kha ruy Tala lhyan pyaŋ tau mā liy kun e,7

King Uccanā came downstream and he (together with his retinue) passed away (? was massacred) at Tala.8

Therefore Uccanā was also known as Talapyanâ Mañ9 - the king who died at Dala. He was succeeded by his son Mañ Yan.

Mañ Yan’s reign was extremely short. This Mañ Yan was given precedence over Tarukpliy; probably he was Sumtlūla’s son. It seems that he was also assassinated. The Shinbinbodhi inscription10 records the gifts made by Mañ Yan to his nurse I Poñ Srā and it goes on to state that after Mañ Yan’s death his successor King Caṅsū (i.e. Tarukpliy), confirmed his elder brother’s gifts to I Poñ Srā who was his nurse too. Unfortunately, that is all we practically know of Mañ Yan. Now we come to the last king of the Pagan dynasty.

Mañ Yan was succeeded by Tarukpliy11 in 1256. The accession is recorded as follows.

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4. Hmannan, para. 145; GPC, p. 155
5. Pl. 1641–2
6. Pl. 15814
7. Pl. 15818. See also Pl. 2965
8. The word kun signifies plural and therefore he was not the only one to be killed there. The chronicles mentioned that he was killed in an elephant hunt at Dala (Hmannan, para. 146; GPC p. 158.)
9. Pl. 2961
10. Pl. 218a2. See also Pl. 219b2
11. Pl. 23311
BUDDHISM IN BURMA

// Sakaraç 617 khu Cissa nhac Tapoû l-chan 13 ryak 5 niy Talapyarn Mañ Phoû Chaû Pañ kli mîly yû tau mû rakâ ... thuû yû sa nhac akiy Tala là rê 'pyanî taw mû lîy e' sâ Panpwatsaû Mîly rhuy toû ra liy e rhuy toû ra pri Pukam rok lat te rok pri so khâ Sakaraç 618 khu Æsat nhac Nanyun la twaû râtanû suû pû rhîy nhîy ruy...!

On 8 February 1256, Talapyarn Mañ confiscated the Phoû Chaû land at Paûkli (in the Chindwin area.) In that year of confiscation, (Uccanaâ) went downstream to Tala and died there. (His) son Panpwatsaû Mîly – the grandson of the turner-received the golden mountain, he reached Pagan. After arriving there, in (May) 1256 he appeared before the Three Gems (and returned the lands to the monks).

When Uccanaâ went downstream to Dala early in 1256, he probably left Mañ Yan at the capital to look after the affairs of state and when he died, Mañ Yan became king but through some court intrigue he was removed and Panpwatsaû Mîly finally became king.2 Then he came back to Pagan. In May 1356 he was already in Pagan carrying out his kingly duties. In about November 1256, he was crowned king.3 Although he was popularly known by the name of Tarukpliy - the king who fled from the Taruk, the name that he received after the 1287 Mongol invasion, he was called Panpwatsaû - the Turner-after his maternal grandfather or Uccanaâ4 as his father was known or Cainsaû5 as most of the kings of Pagan would like to be called after their famous ancestor Cainsû.6 He built a pagoda in memory of his grandfather and therefore he was also known as Panpwatsaû tau dûyakû - the donor of the Turner’s pagoda. His aunt Ari Caw described him as:

// asariy hiy so purhâ tryâ saindhâ rataû suû pa sa nhuik // ruiv sîy mîlat 'cwâ so // cuiv sâ maûsa amûtyâ buil pû chaû phû ca so rataû khu nhac pû skhiû phûc so kîwan â kîwan thwan so niy kav suiw ahû jaw arûh awâ tok pa cwâ so asariy hiy so // Śrî Tribhuvanadityapavaradhhammarâjâ mâi so // tryâ mâi ...7

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

Apart from this panegyric we know very little about him. We are therefore neither able to support or refute what the chronicles say about his being gluttonous, vain and oppressive and about the Mon rebellion in lower Burma during his reign. It is fortunate for students of history that there is an inscription which tells us part of the story of the Mongol invasion8 during Tarukpliy’s reign.

1. Pl. 2964–7
2. The story given in the chronicles is that at Dala hunting lodge Uccanaâ was killed by a must elephant and though Panpwatsaû Mîly was a junior son of the deceased, the great minister Yiszathingyan removed the rightful heir and placed him on the throne. (Hmannan, para. 147; GPC, pp. 138-9).
3. Pl. 1868
4. Pl. 2965
5. Pl. 218a5
6. Pl. 1582–4
7. Pl. 24918–19
Evidently the minister Intapačā had chosen the wrong moment to do a meritorious deed. Before he completed building the monastery the Burmese invasion of Yunnan began and he was called away from the capital on military duty. It seems that from the time of Cañsū II (1174-1211) Ngasaunggyan was the northern limit of the empire and Kaungsin was the administrative centre for northern Burma. Intapačā must have been a worthy officer to have received the command of an important fort. Perhaps he died defending it when Mongols took it on 3 Dec. 1283. Kaungsin fell on 9 Dec. The Mongols penetrated as far as south to Tagaung which was captured in January 1284. Hence Upper Burma became a province of China called Ch’ēng-mien. Then only was the king at Pagan convinced of the Mongol strength and the vulnerability of his capital. He decided to leave it and went to Lhańkla west of Pāṇ and sent the Reverend Disāpṛāmuk on a peace mission to Peking. For the following events it is best to quote Disāpṛāmuk himself:3

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1. Pl. 19a9, Pl. 276a2, Pl. 2775, Pl. 42318-23
2. Pl. 15b20, Pl. 1861, Pl. 24811 Most probably both Ngachaunggyan and Kaungsin are on the opposite bank of Bhamo.
3. Pl. 2711-37
Honour to him, the Blessed, the Saint, the Fully Enlightened. In S. 548 (1285) Mrigaśira year, the king was staying at Lahākla west of Pān (either Prome or the capital city of Pagan). He sent Anantapićā and Mahāpuiv saying: “Find out about the movements of the Taruk”. Anantapićā and Mahāpuiv said: “This task is a very big one. There is no go-between to send. And there is no one to make the gold address” (i.e. to draft the royal letter). If only we had Śyān Dīsāprāmyuk with us, we should be able to undertake the task.” Thus they petitioned. So the king called me and entrusted this task to me.

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

As for the Mahāraja of Pagan, he made a gold address saying: “Kings should not imprison ambassadors. He is to act as our ambassador.” Thereupon they released me. We reached the Taruk kingdom. As for the Taruk king, intending to send (an expedition) to Pagan, he had despatched Prince Susutaki (with) 20,000 soldiers, the Mahāthera Puiadhamnikā, the Sārighathera Śri Dhamnikā, and (the monks of) 70 monasteries to reach the city of Sañthway (Tagaung) and caused them to stop there. He caused them to halt there in view of the fact that the monsoon was heavy at the time.

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

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

1. Yachañ is probably Yachi of Marco Polo which is today in the Lo-tz’ū district.
2. Taytu (T’ai-tu), the Great Capital, also known as Qanbaliq (the Cambulac of Marco Polo), the Khan’s city from 1267. Handbook of Oriental History, p. 212.
The Taruk king was well pleased and we exchanged words and questions, but nothing was said of state affairs. But at the end we talked of state affairs. “Pundit! these 20,000 soldiers of mine and the mahāthera, sanghathera and the monks I am sending to propagate the Religion.” I replied: “Mahārāja! All these soldiers, all these monks, will be steadfast only if there is paddy. Is not paddy the root of the prosperity of the kingdom? If these soldiers continually eat nothing but misced toddy, will they not all die of pains in the stomach? And the remaining (?) monks, also, durst not enter (?) the kingdom (or capital). And if they run away into the jungle, they are all bound to die! O King! is not your work finished? A man who plants a garden, pours water and makes the tree grow. He would never pinch the tips. Only when the tree have fruited, he eats the fruit. First pour water on the kingdom of Tampratik! Small it is, but the Religion is most excellent. O King! are you not one who prays for the boon of Buddhahood? Grant that the religion of Father Kosama be not destroyed! The Kingdoms that you, O King, have conquered are very many and very great. Tampratik kingdom is small, a mere appendage. Because there is the Religion, the Bodhisattva prefers (?) the kingdom. Let not the soldiers enter yet! As for me, I shall ... plant rice and beans. When the rice and beans are full grown, then enter!”

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

Out of gratitude to me for this, the king gave me 400 pay of land at Hanloa and 400 pay of land at Krānī, including monsoon and dry weather paddy land and nursery-land – altogether 800 pay with slaves and cattle. All these I dedicate to the Three Gems at the ceti of Panwpat rap – the Turners’ Quarter.

According to this inscription, when the Taruk came, the king did not go down to Bassein as mentioned in the chronicles but took to the hills on the west of the capital or Prome. On the suggestion of his ministers Anantapica (probably the minister who objected to the execution of the envos in 1273) and Mahāpuw, he sent Disāpramuk to Taytu who arrived there in about December 1285. The Taruk came under command of Prince Susutta (?'Hsüeh-hsieh-ti-chin) and they were twenty thousand strong. Among them there were also monks from seventy monasteries under the leadership of Mahāthera Puñnodhammika who were to propagate Buddhism at Pagan. While negotiations were in progress, the enemy was in occupation of Sainhway (Tagaung). Disāpramuk said that he was successful in persuading the Taruk king to recall his army so that the kingdom of Tampratik might revive from the devastations of the invading army and send tribute soon. Everybody concerned at that time might think that the troubles were over. Unfortunately it was only a truce. The king on his way to the capital in 1287 passed through Prome where one of his sons poisoned him and internal troubles followed in the wake of it. The Yunnan government saw opportunities of taking advantage of this internal dissension and so disregarding the imperial orders, came

1.  Hmannan, para 147; GPC. p.175.
down to Pagan with Prince Ye-sin Timur at its head and occupied the city. But they helped the royal family to re-establish itself. Thus, the next king after Tarukphry was Rhuynansyañ.1

who was anointed king on Monday, 12 Waxing of Mihwayă, S. 651 (30 May 1289). He sent his son Singhapati to receive investiture from the emperor,2 but in A. D. 1297, he became

khan ka man3 - the dethroned king, i.e. he was dethroned. Perhaps Rhuynansyan and Singhapati were put to death for being in league with the Mongols to put the country under foreign control. In an inscription dated 1302, we find mention of Taruk prañā so Taktamū

mankri4 - the great king Taktamū who went to the city of Taruk, which supports the fact that a scion of the fallen house went to Yunnan as a rival of Conac for the throne of Pagan. Perhaps this Taktamū is Kumāra Kassapa (Kou-ma-la-kia-chipa-sou-tan-pa-icho-li) of the Chinese accounts. But the king of Pagan was king only in name. Asaṅkhyā5 established himself at Myinsaing, his brother Rāja Anākkrati at Mekkaya and their youngest brother Sihasā at Pithie.6 These three were the real rulers and the king was a mere puppet in their hands. They dethroned Rhuynansyañ in 1297 and put Conac on the throne. He was mentioned as Siri Tribhavanādiyāpavaradhammarāja Mañ Lulan7 or Talasukri8 in the inscriptions. Taktamū was successful in convincing the Mongols that he was a better claimant to the throne of Pagan. So the Mongols came again in 1300. This time the objective was not Pagan but Myinsaing under Asaṅkhyā and his two brothers who perhaps played upon the nationalistic sentiments against Mongol suzerainty and had been able even to take back Singu and Male from foreign control. The brothers were driven to defensive warfare only and their town was besieged. Gold offered by them, and summer heat of the dry zone of central Burma persuaded the enemies to raise the siege and go back.9 The province of Chêng-mien was formally abolished on 4 April 1303. Whether it was gold or heat that defeated the invaders, the three brothers put it on record as being due to their military prowess.

atu mān tha so / cāc sūkri phlaic so / Siri Asaṅkhyā / Rāja / Sīhasā mān so / Taruk
cac kuiv nhip mān nutā sa / ūk akcūw 3 yok...10

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

From Aniruddha to Tarukphry there were eleven kings of the Pagan Empire which at

1. Pl. 282¹, Pl. 287α⁴, Pl. 417²
2. E. Huber “La fin de la Dynastie de Pagan” BEFEO, IX, p. 670
3. Pl. 286²
4. Pl. 396α⁴, Pl. 396b¹
5. Pl. 417²
6. These three places belong to the Eleven Villages. See Map 2
7. Pl. 290b³, Pl. 292a⁸
8. Pl. 392a⁶
9. The popular story about this is that although the commanders of the invading army took the bribe, they did one act of good turn by letting their men help on the Kyaukse irrigation works and thus the Thindwe canal was constructed. (Harvey: Burma, p. 77) Unfortunately we find the mention of Sūkhyā Merit in an inscription dated A.D. 1197 (Pl. 20aª) and therefore it is impossible to believe that the canal was only constructed in 1300 by the Chinese. If the Chinese had anything at all to do with the canal it probably was repairing it. See below p. 43, n. 2
10. Pl. 276a⁴-⁵. See below p. 40
the zenith of its power probably included the whole stretch of land:

\[ \text{Pukarh an\' No\' U ca so \( \text{Ny\'a Cho\'n Khyarh} \) tui\'n o\'h Pukarh akriy Sariypaccara\' ca sa k\( \text{a Taway tui\'n o\'h...} \] 1

from No\' U to \( \text{Ny\'a Cho\'n Khyarh} \) upstream of Pukarh and from Sariypaccara\' to Taway downstream of Pukarh.

The Salween river was the eastern boundary but in the west, although the chronicles claim that Arakan was in the empire\(^2\) we find no epigraphic evidence to prove it. Probably the lords of Arakan recognized the suzerainty of Pagan. It seems that the city of Pagan was founded in about tenth century or early eleventh century and it remained the capital city right down to the end of the thirteenth century which is a very long time for a city in Burma. The best days were during the reigns of \( \text{Ca\'n} \) II and \( \text{Na\'toj} \).\(^4\) The \( \text{Mon} \) language was the official language of Burma until the death of \( \text{Thi\'lu\'n Man} \) in A.D. 1113 and the Burmese culture was very much under the influence of \( \text{Mon} \) in those days. Some historians prefer to call this early period 'the Mon period of the Pagan dynasty'. Then there was the transition period from 1113 to 1174 where the burmanization movement set in. Therefore, it was only from 1174 that the Burmans could have there own way both politically and culturally. After \( \text{Na\'toj} \) the empire began to decline. Probably the central government had lost control over the outlying parts of the empire and bandits and robbers infested the countryside. King Kla\'c\( \)\( \text{w} \)\( \text{a} \) tried to improve the administration and check its downhill run but was not successful. The kings that followed Kla\'c\( \)\( \text{w} \)\( \text{a} \) were easy going as was wont to happen in a comparatively long dynasty. Mon whom Aniruddha conquered in A.D. 1057 made an attempt to revive their national freedom early in the reign of \( \text{Thi\'lu\'n Man} \) but the king's diplomacy averted the danger to the empire. They never tried it again until the time of Tarukpliy. The king was inefficient and so internal troubles alone could have destroyed the empire. But the final blow came from the Mongols. They wanted recognition of their overlordship which the Burmans proudly refused. Even when the capital city was occupied, the Mongols tried to help the royal family to re-establish itself but there were no more great kings to weld the empire together again. Thus the story of Pagan ends with the story of a king whose name goes down into posterity as the king who fled from the Chinese.

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1. Pl. 42222–23
2. Conquest of Arakan in A.D. 1118. See Harvey: Burma, p. 45
MAP OF KYAUKSE
DISTRICT SHOWING 'ELEVEN VILLAGES'

1. Pinle
2. Pyinmone
3. Myitkyina
4. Ywamaungyi
5. Ayingandaw
6. Pamen
7. Tuna
8. Thitbrong
9. Maukete
10. Thawiya
11. Pana

Old Burma Area (pre-1947)
Genealogical Table of the Latter Half of the Pagan Dynasty

CAṆSŪ II
A.D. 1174-1211
(mothers unknown)

Toñphlaś Sañ
MLacphlaś Sañ
Caw Mrakar Sañ
Vatamsika
Caw Alhwam
Veluvati

NATOṆMYĀ
AcawManLha
Rajjasāra
Gaṅgasāra
Prayākhī
Satthikāmi
Kraṅsuriṅkī
Singhapiṃśa
(Rebel)
W/oPhyakkaśā
W/oSamantasū

(mothers unknown)

Uttamasā
CuwMani
(Daughter)
A Son
(Reprised)

W/oCayyasadhiś

Caw+NARASĪNGHA UCCĀNA
Donor of
KLACWA
(Uccāna)
A.D. 1231-1235
(mothers unknown)

Singhapati
Tryāphya
AcawLat
AriCaw
UCCANĀ
W/o PavaLha
Singhasū
(TalaparmanMāni)
A.D. 1249-1256
Queen Mi
Royal Mother

Jayyasaddhiś

Sumilula
Turner's Daughter

TARUKPLIY
A.D. 1256-1287

?MAṆ YAN
?AjawNālumī
AcawKrwamīSkiṁ
CawPulay
CawNāCwani
A Brother
Ratānāpūlī
(mothers unknown)

Rājasā
Klacwā

A Brother
PhwāCaw
Caw of
Phwācaw

CawŪ

A Brother

MAṆ LULĀNī
(Kamūra Kassapa)
A.D. 1302
A.D. 1297-1334

Singhapati
(Murdered in 1299)

(A.D. 1288-1297)

Headman of Prañ
A Daughter
Mahāsakthiti

(mothers unknown)
CHAPTER II

BURMESE ADMINISTRATION 1044–1287

The traditional date for the foundation of Pagan which was to become the centre of the Burmese power in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries is A.D. 849. But if the theory that the Burmans came into Burma sometime after the Nanzhao raids of A.D. 832-5 is acceptable, the year A.D. 849-50 for establishing their capital at Pagan would be too soon. It might have been founded in the 10th century.1

Before Pagan became the centre of the Burmese Empire which King Aniruddha and his successors built, there were many other Burmese centres or settlements around Pagan which would have had an equal chance of becoming centres themselves as they were all under the rule of local chiefs who invariably enjoyed the title of man - the king. Subsequently the man of Pagan became manikri - the great king and was recognised as the leader of all Burmans. It seems that the Burmans when they entered Burma settled first in the fertile area called chai at rwa - eleven villages, in the Kyaukse district. These eleven settlements were Pañlay, Phañman, Macä, Ramñ, Myañkhuntuiñ, Panor, Tamut, Santiñ, Makkharñ, Taplaksä, and Khanlithi. They spread out fanwise and dominated central Burma. The inscriptions of our period mention very often these first settlements in the Kyaukse area. They used the term khruin to denote their first home and tuik and tuiñ for the nearby places where they moved into subsequently. The word mitham9 came into use only when Aniruddha and his successors were able to enlarge their power and subjugate the neighbouring more or less alien settlements extending from Koncig in the north to Taluinsare and Tawai in the south.10 Of Caññ II (1174-1211) it is mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 119611 that he ruled an empire which extended from Takoñ and Nachinghyan in the north to Salankre and Sacchitani in the south and from Macchakiri (Chin Hills) in the west to the Salwæ (River Salween) in the west. In A.D. 1292 soon after the Mongol invasion King Rhnuinsyan (Kyawzwa) claimed that his empire had Nachingwi in the north and Tawai in the south as its boundaries.13 This claim was rather than the past. But according to the above mentioned inscription of A.D. 1196 which gives the extent of the empire at the height of its power we find that the Pagan monarchy held sway over an area which is roughly the same as modern Burma with the exception of Arakan in the west, the trans-Salween area in the east and the major portion of the modern Kachin state in the north.

1. See above pp. 1-3. See also J.B.S., XLII, i, 80
2. P1. 143a16, etc.
3. P1. 10a4, P1. 19a14, etc.
4. P1. 16224-5
5. See Map 2.
6. P1. 3111 (6 khruin)
7. P1. 1215, P1. 20a12, P1. 42312
8. See J.B.S., XXX, i, p. 304, n. 14
9. P1. 19a6, P1. 276a2
10. P1. 19a9, P1. 276a2, P1. 2775, P1. 42322
11. P1. 19a
12. Salankre probably is Cape Saang.
13. P1. 276a2
The King of Pagan was an absolute monarch and his word was law. From Aniruddha down to the last days of Thibaw the idea of absolutism prevailed and therefore Sir George Scott's remark on Burmese monarchy is worth repeating here.

The King's power was absolute; his only restraint were his voluntary respect for Buddhist rules and precepts, general for all believers or particular to the kingly estate. Otherwise he was lord and master of the life and property of every one of his subjects. No hereditary rank or title existed in the kingdom except in the royal family. Outside of that the king was the source of all honours. Official position was the only sign of rank and all officials were appointed or dismissed at the king's will. Dismissal usually meant absolute ruin, a step from the court to the gaol. On the other hand, any one, not a slave or an outcast might aspire to the highest offices in the state. The country and people were entirely at the disposal of the king and the only check on misrule was the fear of insurrection.

The inscriptions of our period express similar ideas on kingship. King Aniruddha is mentioned as cakrawarti2 - the Lord of the Universe. Queen Phwa Saw when dedicating slaves and lands in A.D. 1272 described her husband King Narasingha - Ucañā as

riy niIy khapsin so askhini phlac tha so mlat cwā so ṅa lañ skhiñ manķri3

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

About her grandson King Tarukpliy she said:

/ / asariy hiy so purhā tryā soñghā ratanā suñ pā nhuik // ruw sīy mlat tha so sā tow takā e, kuwi kway rā phlac tha so // alwanī so mañΙakā nhuī ñi ŋwa tha so // chañ phli ca so ratanā apoñ aphpaw skhiñ phlac tha so // Jambudīp kwan nhuik thwan so niy kay suw akin caw arañ tok pa tha so // asariy hiy so // Sri Tribhuanādityapawara-
dhammarājā // Ucañā mañ so mañķri //4

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

King Klacwā enjoyed even greater praise as he was described as

Arimattapūra mañ so prañ nhuik // acuiw ra so alwan akay phun tan khiw kri cwā tha so Klacwā mañķri

The Great King, an exceedingly powerful Lord of Arimaddanapura.

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1. G. Scott: GUBSS, I ii, p. 469
2. P. 160a6
3. P. 23510-11
4. P. 2341-4 and P. 2472-5
5. P. 2461-2
In all these expressions the prevailing idea was that the king was the most powerful person in the state and being the lord of land and water he was also the lord of life and death as land and water were the source of all life. Practically there was no check to this kind of absolutism, except the fear of insurrection as Sir George Scott has rightly observed. But in view of the fact that Buddhism was flourishing in those days, religion had an enormous influence upon the kings. A king was always looked upon as purhā lokaḥ - a future Buddha, and thus being a Buddhāsatva he was supposed to be pious, kind and indulgent. When he was dealing with the clergy, he was wise not to offend them. The following instance will show us how a despot was held in check when he made a false step that aroused the opposition of the Order. There was an Araṇiṃavāsika sect of Buddhists getting more and more popular during the latter half of the Pagan dynasty. There are many inscriptions recording the monks of this sect as buying up land especially in the Chindwin area and thus increasing the religious land which was a disadvantage to the royal treasury as the king could get no revenue out of these lands. In addition to these, wealthy people and officials were in the habit of dedicating their lands to religious establishments. It seems that King Klacwā decided to stop this loss of revenue by confiscating the religious lands. In A.D. 1235, soon after his accession he started taking over these lands and consequently the monks raised an objection which compelled him to appoint a royal commission to look into this matter. The commission decided in favour of the monks and as a result the king had to relinquish his claims. This instance gives us two important facts. Firstly, that the kings of Burma were not always surrounded by mere sycophants and opportunists. They used wise people and followed their advice in times of crisis. Appointing a commission to settle a big problem was a usual practice except in the case of a haughty monarch like Tarukpliy who refused counsel on the eve of the Mongol invasion. In an inscription dated A.D. 1291 it is mentioned that in the king’s presence there are always saṅgīpas kalas sujātas huru smā sukhamīns—executive officers, squires, astrologers, doctors of medicine and scholars. On the strength of Kyanzitha’s Palace Inscription (A.D. 1101-2) we may venture to assume that the astrologers were Brahmanas. Another inscription tells us that immediately after his accession in A.D. 1235, King Klacwā gave a hundred pay of land to Brahman astrologers who probably conducted his coronation. Secondly, when confronted with an opposition which might prove fatal, even an ambitious king like Klacwā deemed it wise to yield.

Although the king was the most important figure in the state, he could not possibly run the government alone. As the empire grew he had to appoint ministers and officers to help him in the administration. The ministers were called by the Sanskrit name amaîya and the word wungyi for a minister, meaning one having a great responsibility, was not yet in use. Very often amaîya was shortened into amat with a suffix kri to denote the chief

1. Pl. 36, Pl. 1155, Pl. 143a, Pl. 1815, etc.
2. Pl. 268, Pl. 380, Pl. 395, Pl. 423, etc.
3. Pl. 351-16, Pl. 231B
4. Himann, para. 147; GPC, p. 173
5. Pl. 27218
7. Pl. 10218
minister. There was no distinction between civil and military offices and any minister or officer was bound to lead a military campaign when necessary. Thus when making a dedication in A.D. 1223 the donor Anantasura described himself as amattyas mahāsenāpati minister and commander-in-chief of King Nātoṇmya. Including this Anantasura, there were altogether five ministers at Nātoṇmya’s court. The remaining four were Asaṅkhyā, Anagha, Rājasonkram and Caturaṅgasū. Incidentally we have to note here that it destroys the traditional belief in Burma about the Hlutaw—the chief administrative office and its four ministers. This tradition starts with Nātoṇmya’s reign when the king, it is said, had four elder brothers who took a great interest in the administration and eventually became four ministers of the king. Epigraphic evidence gives us five ministers and unfortunately none of them are mentioned as having any blood relationship with the king. These five ministers quelled the rebellion headed by Panaṅkhi and Sīghopica, the half-brothers of the king and therefore they earned a rich reward of seven hundred pay of land each for suppressing the rebellion. This also is clear evidence that there was no sharp demarcation between civil and military duties. There was another trouble in the north (at Tagaung) during Nātoṇmya’s reign and an officer named Lakkhana Lakway was sent to settle it. He came back in triumph and was richly rewarded. Towards the end of the dynasty, the title cae sūkri was conferred upon ministers during the time when they were in active service. For example, the three Śan brothers Asaṅkhyā, Sīghasū and Rājasonkram who became popular after the Mongol invasion were usually mentioned as amatkri or sāmiyaṅ kri. But in an inscription dated A.D. 1292 they were addressed as caesūkri—generals, in the following manner:

Pukam maṅkri e tā phlac tha so / atu maṅña tha so / cae sūkri phlac so / Siri Asaṅkhyā / Rāja / Sīghasū maṅ so / Taruk cae kuw nhīp naṅ naṅ sa / nī acohīw 3 yok

equals of the great king of Pagan, incomparable (in bravery), Lords of the War, Glorious Asaṅkhyā, Rāja and Sīghasū—the three brothers who subdued the Tarukn army.

During Klauwā’s reign the chief minister was Manorāja 3 who was probably also called Manorāja 4 which names closely associate with Manor—the law giver. It is also possible that he was a noted judge of the time. He held a very important position as being Koṅcba Mahāsaman 5—the Viceroy of Kaungsin and kuimwma—who was the Commander of the Life Guard. This is also another instance of a combined responsibility for civil and military services in one person.

Next to the ministers, there were sāmiyaṅ and kalaṅ who were executive officers no
doubt but the nature of whose service is not known yet. Kalan seems to be slightly subordinate to the samipyan and sampyan is often found as a term interchangeable with the word amat (minister) in the inscriptions of the latter half of the dynasty. Even the chief minister Menorajya mentioned above, and who was also known as Mahasaman – the Viceroy – was in one instance mentioned as samipyan Mahasaman. In the like manner the Commander-in-Chief Anantasura of King Natoemya was also known as samipyan Anantasura. There were also judges addressed by the name trya samipyan. Therefore one wonders whether we should put samipyan on an equal status with amatya though the term today has lost its former importance and means only an official of inferior rank. King Thiluinya Mañ is popularly known as Kyanzittha and we assume that the name is the corruption kalan cesañ – the Officer Prince. If kalan means only a village headman as is the modern interpretation, we are doing injustice to our popular hero who was the mañ – king, of Thihlaing before he became mañkri – the great king, of Pagan. It seems that Kalan was an executive officer of a fairly high rank. Professor G. H. Lucas gives us a very useful note on these two words.

SAMPYAN; KALAN: These are probably Mon words in origin, though very common in Old Burmese, Càp sumban seems to occur as a title in the oldest Mon inscription, found at Lopburi, Siam and dating from the 2nd century (see BEFO, XXV, 186; XXX, 83–4). Sumben (or samibeñ) and Kalm occur frequently in Kyanzittha Palace Inscription (Ep. B. 1–m, III, i, IX); the former also an Old Mon terracotta plaques found at Tavoy and elsewhere (ASB., 1924, pp. 38–40).

It seems that these ministers and high officers of the court needed to have a high standard of education though in some cases a favourite might rise to a high position. In an inscription dated A.D. 1278 the educational qualification of a minister was mentioned as follows.

// pitaka sum puñt le tat cwa tha sa // sañsakrun bhakaruiñ hurñ smañ amññ le tat tha sa // caturaugabi jay mañ so // amat kri sañ phu so kloñ arap nhthuk //

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

Besides these amat, samipyan and kalan, there were other officers at the court. All of them invariably come under the general term mañkhyan – companions of the king, or

1. Pl. 27415, Pl. 28214, Pl. 29111, etc.
2. Pl. 2683
3. Pl. 78b11
4. Pl. 78b9
6. JBRS, XXX, i, 305. Mr. H. L. Shorto reasons that samipyan and kalan are not Mon in origin as the Siamese Mon inscriptions quoted; these words are rather names than official posts and although these words occur in Mon inscriptions of Pagan it does not necessarily mean that they are Mon words as Mon was used only to describe scenes in a Burmese court. It is also a possible view.
7. Pl. 2893-5
8. Pl. 2576, Pl. 26810,11,30
mañce - servants of the king, or mañhulān - youths of the king. There was also another set of courtiers called sūñayto - squires. Probably they were the king’s favourites who grew up with him. In one case sūñaytosu was mentioned together with mañchuiw - the hunters. There were also secretaries and clerks who were mentioned as atawanuy, cāmroñ, cākhīpuīw and cākhī who wrote down the orders of the king and passed them on to the executive officers. Incidentally one cākhīpuīw was a concubine of King Tarukpīly. In dispatching royal orders to the districts, the king had mrañce - mounted couriers-probably under an officer mrañ sūkri.

As judicial assistants to the king there were saniphama. An inscription dated A.D. 1218 gives a clear definition of the word saniphama. It says: rihy taw nty amu chaṅ khaṅ so saniphama tuīw - the judges of the royal court who try the legal cases. The judges and magistrates had other designations also. They were called tryā sūkri as today or simply tryā which also means a law suit or the legal code or the Dharma. In another case the name ambu cuīw was used to signify a judge possibly of civil suits in contrast to a judge of petty theft cases as khuiw sūkri. The clerk attached to a khuiw sūkri was called a khuiw tryā cākhī. There were also woman judges. As for the officers of the districts there were tuīk sūkri to look after the tuīk – province, mruig sūkri to look after the fort and rvā sūkri to look after the village and ki sūkri to look after the king’s granaries. In an inscription dated A.D. 1260 there is the mention of a woman kliy sūkri – officer who looked after the suburb of the city, and at the same time she was described as a junior queen of the king.

As revenue surveyors, there were pay tuī officers. In an inscription dated A.D. 1244 the donor is mentioned as puin sūkri Sātya or puil sūkri Sātya. We do not know which is the right spelling nor do we know the function of this office. As the rice

1. Pl. 215b
2. Pl. 290b
3. Pl. 234, Pl. 2576, Pl. 27218, Pl. 27318, Pl. 27721, Pl. 28214, Pl. 38515
4. Pl. 27416
5. Pl. 29713-16
6. Pl. 25145
7. Pl. 232-218
8. Pl. 26813
9. Pl. 232
10. Pl. 222b14
11. Pl. 234a1
12. Pl. 16b3, Pl. 25317, Pl. 598a12,22
13. Pl. 5743,6
14. Pl. 191b8
15. Pl. 5601
16. Pl. 421b17
17. Pl. 2415
18. Pl. 25913
19. Pl. 17411
20. Pl. 1215, Pl. 29817,18
21. Pl. 37023
22. Pl. 2622
23. Pl. 16224
24. Pl. 1965
25. Pl. 307b4, Pl. 574a8
26. Pl. 133a2,10
land of Kyaukse was entirely dependent upon irrigation, there must have been special officers to supervise the irrigation. Unfortunately we find very little mention of the canals in the inscriptions. In an inscription of A.D. 1220 one officer called Suwannapippa is mentioned as the officer in charge of digging a canal.1 In passing we must note that the Thindwe canal was not constructed by the Mongols in A.D. 1301 as the chronicles say because we find the mention of Saithway Mroh as early as A.D. 1198.2

To guard the frontiers troops were probably garrisoned at strategic points and these guards it seems were mostly non-Burmans. An inscription of A.D. 1248 mentions the presence of Cakraw kañ sañ3 – Sagaw guards at the Chipto (Poison Mountains) outpost, somewhere in the north of Kyaukse district. There was a group of people who used to have kumthañ or bhumma3 as prefixes to their names and they figured as important people in the sale of land, or in helping the revenue collectors. The actual nature of their duty is not known but it seems that they belonged to the landed gentry. In villages there were also sañkri and sañhväñ who were supposed to be elders of the village. Perhaps they were president and vice-president of a local sañ – an association of some sort. Generally they were males6 but sometimes we find the term being prefixed to the name of a woman like sañkri Ìuy, Si Sañ,7 but to make the matter more confused, it is also used as a prefix for some monks8 or as kloñ sañkri9 – the sañkri of the monastery. If the word sañkri is used exclusively for the monks we could understand that sañ being the short form for sañgha. The Order, sañkri must mean a chief monk. But unfortunately, it is not the case. At the present stage, all we know about this word is that it means some very respectable person or a monk and if he be a layman sañkri he had some administrative duty in his locality. There were also tuñ sañkri,10 tuñ sükri11 and tuñ sañ12 whose names were always associated with land transactions and they were employed to put up boundary pillars or inscription pillars recording the dedications. They also figured as very important persons in law suits concerning land and were often ordered by the judges to put up the boundary pillars.13

1. Pl. 3723
2. Hmannan, para. 150; Pl. 40a2; Census of India, 1931; XI, i, p. 300, n. 11; and JBRS, XXX, i, p. 304, n. 18. See also JBRS, XLII, i, 43 and 68 and, BRFSFAP. II, p. 344, n. 18
3. Pl. 1625
4. Pl. 16224, Pl. 25033
5. Pl. 2242,6, Pl. 2686,7
6. Pl. 75a45, Pl. 776, Pl. 1138, etc.
7. Pl. 539, Pl. 124a3
8. Pl. 69
9. Pl. 367a8
10. Pl. 25732
11. Pl. 25731, Pl. 578b9, Pl. 598a16,19
12. Pl. 25719
13. Pl. 3874
To do away with the pillar they set up was a serious offence. An inscription records that in A.D. 1226 a person called Byagghasura, probably an officer, dedicated five hundred and five pay of land and a samphana or judge of the royal court ordered sañkri Na Phay Dañ and sañtyañ Na Wam Sā Sañ to put up the boundary stones. Tanluñ Na Raç and party destroyed them and therefore they were fined one hundred (ticals) of nay pyan - pure silver. One can imagine how serious the offence was to be fined one hundred ticals of silver when a tical bought nearly two acres of good paddy land.

It seems that all dedications of land to the religious establishments were to be reported to the king and in one inscription it is mentioned that no less a person than the chief minister Mahāsmān recorded it in the royal register. But there must have been a special officer to do this registration. We find that Aswat one of the five ministers of Nātōrinva was described as the aklam tāñ so mañ amor. The Royal Registrar. In a law suit between Mahākassapa and Cakraw guards of Chiptoñ, the judgment was passed in favour of Mahākassapa because the dedication of the land in question was found recorded in the royal register. Usually in such cases, after the judgment was pronounced, the judge ordered it to be put on record. The regular phrase for this order is amūkwañ khat cīy. Some times the phrase cā khyup e't to fix by written words was used. One might safely presume that the rulings were written on palm leaves as pyt cā tāñ lat rakā being recorded on the palm leaves, occurs in some inscriptions. But in certain very important cases, a special record was made. For example an inscription has:

| amokwañ tāñ e’ lakpañ klyawñ 2 thap akrā than rwak cā hi e’ l/ | |

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

Anything that should go on record concerning royalty was put in a separate register. The Joyapavattati inscription says that a dedication made by Nātōrinva eight years after his accession was by his orders put on record by four officers in athak caran an upper register.

In a law suit, after the judge had pronounced his verdict, if the parties were happy about the judgement, they ate pickled tea together. That was the custom in Burma before the English came. But when it started is a moot point. We find no mention of such practice in the inscriptions dating up to A.D. 1300. There is even no mention of "thak -

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1. Pl. 57ab7-8
2. Pl. 266a3
3. Pl. 28315
4. Pl. 966
5. Pl. 1628
6. Pl. 215b12, Pl. 23537, Pl. 245b8, Pl. 266a12, Pl. 598a21
7. Pl. 27220, Pl. 27418
8. Pl. 29625
9. Pl. 4175-5
10 Pl. 905,11
pickled tea, in any inscription. Instead of this practice of eating pickled tea together, old Burmans sat down to a feast where a great quantity of meat and liquor was consumed. They did the same thing after every land transaction. Even if one party was a monk, the price of land included 

\[
siy phuiw să phuiw \; \text{the price for liquor and the price for meat. For example Mahākassapa bought one thousand pay of land from the Śāraw at the price of a tical per pay and at the end of the transaction the Śāraw were given a feast when thamaṇ phuiw sīy phuiw să phuiw}^{2} - \text{the price for cooked rice, meat and drink} - \text{amounted to fifty-four ticals. They were not satisfied with that and so they were given two and a quarter ticals again for the price of liquor. Professor G. H. Luce's note on this custom is reproduced below.}
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It seems that this custom was strongest in outlying regions and that it became increasingly common after the fall of Pagan. Very likely it was a survival of the old drunken sacrificial rites of pre-Buddhist Burma which still continue in the Chin Hills, Wa States, Karen and elsewhere.\(^3\)

A very interesting law suit in which the rival claimants quarrelled for three generations is recorded in an inscription dated A.D. 1262.\(^4\) The substance of the inscription is given below. In A.D. 1187 (i.e. during Cakū Kri’s reign) Lord Caku Kri gave some of his lands to the monastery of the Chief Monk called Na Tit Sañ. The chief monk caused a water tank to be constructed and turned the land into a paddy field. It seems that the land was wasteland before this. Lord Caku Kri expressed his wonder at this change and made a solemn vow that the land he had thus dedicated in support of the religion would not be included in his estates that his descendants would inherit when he passed away. Thus the land became dedicated permanently to the monastery where the chief monk Na Tit Sañ was head. Na Tit Sañ enjoyed the produce of the land during his life time. After Na Tit Sañ, Skhin Upacan became head of the monastery. During Skhin Upacan’s life time, a devotee called Na Ciñan Sañ planted toddy palms around the water tank. Skhin Upacan also enjoyed the produce of the land during all his life time. Then Skhin Munton became head of the monastery and it was during his tenure that one Uin Mwan Sañ the granddaughter of Lord Caku Kri claimed the land. When officers Kanñāran and Kañkabhatrā came for inspecting the villages, the case was brought to their notice. One Na Chañ Sañ who was once a monk at the said monastery and who witnessed the occasion when Lord Caku Kri made the dedication was brought before the officers. Na Chañ Sañ said, “I knew and saw Lord Caku Kri dedicate this land to the Religion. I was the very man employed to construct the reservoir and dig the well. If Uin Mwan Sañ wants to say to the contrary, let her say so in the name of Lord Buddha.” With this Uin Mwan Sañ refused to comply. Then in order to put more weight on what he had first spoken, he dhat khi ply e\(^5\) - lifted the relics of Buddha – and repeated his knowledge of the dedication. Witnesses to this act were

1. See Chapter VIII
2. Pl. 268\(^8,9\)
3. JBRS, XXX, i, p.- 324, n. 94
4. Pl. 381
5. Pl. 381\(^17\). See also Pl. 78b\(^7\) and Pl. 191b\(^11\)
the chief monk Ṛoṁ Cok, the monk Tuṇ Ma Lup and the wealthy man Ṛaṭ Rok Lway Sāñ. Thus judgement was passed in favour of the Religion. This was in the year A.D. 1220. Skhin Munton was succeeded by Sukhami Sāñ and Buddhāpa Sāñkri subsequently. Then in A.D. 1262, Ṛaṭ Phun Rok Sāñ and Ṛaṭ Pa Ṛay, grandsons of Cañsawat, seized the land. Skhin Silakumā, the then head of the monastery complained. Two officers Sumantapīcaḥ and Rājapūtah took up the case. Twentyfour villagers were summoned to bear witness. All unanimously said that they knew the land having been dedicated by Lord Čaku Kri to the monastery of Ṛa Tīt Sāñ and up to the present chief monk Silakumā, there had been six generations of chief monks enjoying the produce of the land. Thus, the officers decided in favour of the Religion again.

In this law suit, we know how a case was considered and decided in those days. It is also interesting to note that there were two officers who took equal responsibility in deciding the case and that the witness was to lift the relics of Buddha to affirm the truth of what he said. Another important thing that we come across is that the Pagan inscriptions made no mention of the Dhammasaṭṭha – the Code of Law, or Rājasaṭṭha – the Rulings, which were in general use in post Pagan periods. Therefore it is tempting to conclude that there is no truth in the Dhammasaṭṭha of Burma claiming antiquity. For example, Dr. Forchhammer says that the date for the Dhammovilāsa Dhammasat is given as A.D. 1172.2 It is said that a Tuṇ monk called Sariputta compiled this Dhammasat and as a result he received the title of Dhammovilāsa from King Čahū II (1174–1211). The tutor of Nātoṣmyā, son and successor of Čahū II was a native of Lower Burma, born at Molañ wash village to the east of Taic3 and this monk was given the title of Dhammarājaṭhuru when Nātoṣmyā became king. But Dhammovilāsa cannot be identified with this Dhammarājaṭhuru.

King Klacwā made a unique attempt to assure the peace and tranquility of his subjects by issuing an edict against thieves.4 The edict is dated Thursday 6, May 1249. He decreed that his edict must be written on stone pillars and every village, with more than fifty houses must have one erected in the village. Only eleven of the edict pillars have been discovered. He said: “Kings of the past punished thieves by divers tortures starting with impaling. I desire no such destruction. I consider all beings as my own children and with compassion towards all, I speak these words”. Then he continued to give various kinds of tortures all of which were direct translations of the relevant portions on punishments from the Majjhima Nikāya, the Aṅguttara Nikāya and the Milanda Paññā, which were exceedingly cruel in nature. He may not have intended to use these dire punishments. It seems that he was only trying to frighten his subjects into living good lives. With this threat, he probably hoped to have law and order in his realm. There is an interesting passage in this edict, where the word amunwan is referred to as a sort of manual for the punishments. It says:

\[ \text{khuw so hut cañ mukā | amunwan cā khuw phat cly e | amunwan cā twan akrāñ sukhuw sañ | i mañ so | aplac te plac mū kā | i mañ so tan piy te piy ap e, hū piy e,} \]

1. Pp. 17414 (A.D. 1249). The king ordered four judges to consult the dhammasat in a land dispute. This is the only mention of the dhammasattha in the inscriptions of our period.
2. Dr. Forchhammer: The Jardine Prize Essay, pp. 35-6
3. Pp. 63a14
4. See above pp. 24–9
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(When a thief is caught and tried,) and found guilty, the amunwan cā is read (or referred to). In the amunwan cā, what sort of punishment would be given for what sort of crime is mentioned. Then he is punished accordingly.

Although it is difficult to explain what amunwan cā exactly means we know by inference that it was some kind of penal code.

We know very little of the revenue administration of the day. A few references however may be gleaned from inscriptions. For instance the land revenue from one hundred pay of land was one hundred pieces of loin-cloth and in another the land revenue from three thousand pay of land was one hundred viss of copper and one hundred pieces of linen or if it was in paddy, the revenue was one basket of paddy for each pay. From a fishery the revenue was ten viss of copper. Evidently glebe lands were free from taxation. In an inscription dated A.D. 1260 a case is recorded where a village headman assessed certain religious land. This was reported to the Mahāthera Samantabhadra who sent Sūkhamin's son to King Tarukpliy to inform him of the misdemeanour of one of his officers. The King ordered Mahāsman the chief minister to inform the headman that the land was exempted from all taxation in the future. An inscription pillar was set up bearing this royal order together with a curse by the Mahāthera which said that if any government official in future attempted to collect revenue from the said land may he be swallowed by the earth and cooked in the Avici hell.

Now, let us look into the story of the origin of the Hluttaw according to the chronicles. Nātoñmyō was the youngest son of King Caṅsū II, who superseding his four elder brothers became king. Taking up this story Mr. G. E. Harvey goes on to described the appearance of Hluttaw.

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

As mentioned above, Nātoñmyō had five ministers and they were not his brothers. The Jeypwat inscription however has proved that Nātoñmyō was not the youngest son. His name was Nātoñmyō, i.e. the King of Many Ear Ornaments, but it was misread Nantoñmyā meaning "many entreaties for the throne" and so a story had to be invented to explain the name and the story of the Hluttaw appears as a by-product. We find no mention of Hluttaw in the inscriptions of our period. Instead, the Pagan kings had many halls under the name of kwān where they granted audiences, and did meritorious deeds such as the giving of alms.

1. PI. 15610, PI. 195b7-6, PI. 1962-12, PI. 21220, PI. 215b9, PI. 22425, 25, PI. 24934-5, PI. 28018, PI. 39030,-1, PI. 3926  
2. PI. 3923-4  
3. PI. 39050-1  
4. PI. 3926  
5. PI. 196  
6. Harvey: Burma, p. 59  
7. PI. 9020
to the monks or dedicating land and slaves to the religious establishments. The ministers also met at such halls and carried out their various official duties. These halls were Kwan Prok 1 - the Variegated Hall, Kwan Prok Krā 2 - the Great Variegated Hall, Kwan Prok Nay 3 the Small Variegated Hall, Kwan Sāyā 4 - the Pleasant Hall, Kwan Mrañj 5 - the High Hall, Chārhu Kwan 6 - the Hall of Elephant-review and Cāñkray Kwan 7 - the Pure Hall. It seems that the Kwan Prok was the most important hall and it always had a special caretaker. Incidentally one caretaker of the Kwan Prok was referred to as siy ma sok kwan prok con 8 - a teetotaller. Probably, the king used this hall to perform his meritorious deeds. In one instance the king poured the water of libation to signify the end of his alms-giving when he was in the Kwan Prok 9. In another it is recorded that after being sealed at the top of the Kwan Prok the great king made a dedication to the most reverend Mahāthera. 10 In an inscription dated A.D. 1275 it is mentioned that all the ministers were present at the Kwan Prok 11 when the king passed an order in connection with the religious land. It suggests that the king and ministers met here daily and carried out their administrative duties. 12 While King Klaewā was in the Kwan Prok Nay he passed an order giving the Queen Dowarat Phwā-Jaw 150 slaves and 150 pay of land. 13 The same inscription records that while King Klaewā was holding audience in the Kwan Prok Nay, the wife of Siṅghāpikrān requested the king to forgive her husband who had been exiled from the capital for his part in the rebellion led by Sīriwadhanā which occurred probably soon after Klaewā's accession in A.D. 1235. 14 We know that Klaewā belonged to the junior branch of the royal family 15 and there was a certain group of princes in the court who resented his accession and rebelled. Siṅghāpikrān was one of them. The inscription tells us that he was pardoned but as the price of his pardon, the king confiscated his estates. In A.D. 1262, on the death of his Queen Ratanāpum, King Tarukopāy made a series of dedications and monks were invited to the Kwan Prok Krā to receive alms. 16 Regarding Kwan Sāyā we have an interesting story. 17 It is recorded that while Bodhiṣattva Nākoṇmyā was at Kwan Sāyā Chārhu Kwan - the Pleasant Hall, the Hall of Elephant Review—a Cambodian in his service by the name of Na Pu Tat who had once received one hundred and fifty pay of land as a reward for bravery, was knocked down by an elephant and broke his leg. Na Pu Tat subsequently sold the land to the Pagan ministers. Thus, we know that Kwan Prok – the Variegated Hall—was the place where the kings did serious business such as giving audiences and doing meritorious deeds. The Kwan Sāyā - the Pleasant Hall—was however, used for amusement only though on some unfortunate

1. Pl. 79b 9, Pl. 117a 7, Pl. 125a 2, Pl. 228b 10, Pl. 239 17, Pl. 245b 6, Pl. 266b 15, Pl. 270 5 10, Pl. 274 11, 14, 17, Pl. 384 18, Pl. 387b 2
2. Pl. 203b 10, Pl. 235 5 17, Pl. 273 13, Pl. 279 19, Pl. 282 10, Pl. 283 10, Pl. 286 2, Pl. 290a 4, Pl. 290b 2, Pl. 296 7, Pl. 297b 2
3. Pl. 234 28, 52
4. Pl. 54 7, Pl. 125a 1, Pl. 174 5, Pl. 186 5, Pl. 235 4 5, Pl. 239 11, Pl. 371b 8
5. Pl. 196 1, Pl. 364a 2
6. Pl. 186 4, Pl. 239 11
7. Pl. 234 28
8. Pl. 270 5 0
9. Pl. 274 1 4
10. Pl. 279 2 0
11. Pl. 245b 6
12. Pl. 234 28
13. Pl. 234 28, 3 0
14. See above p. 23
15. See above p. 23
16. Pl. 201 10
17. Pl. 186 6, Pl. 239 1 2
occasions as mentioned above, accidents might mar pleasure. King Cauša II once did a meritorious deed while he was in the Kwan Mrañ—the High Hall. One can well imagine that this very High Hall was profusely decorated and became the Kwan Prak—the Variegated Hall. There is also mention of Klawða passing an order giving 190 slaves to the Queen Dowager Phñwá Jaw while he was at Cankray Kwan—the Pure Hall. Probably, it was a temporary structure as this is the only reference to such a name and it implies that, as a good Buddhist, the king might have stayed there for a religious purpose alone.

It seems that the Royal Registrar had his office in a separate building because sometimes land dedications were recorded in the register kept at the Tuaskup—the Shed. There is also a mention of Tuaskup Rhañ—the Long Shed, where King Rhynaungvan (A.D.1288-98) donated some land to the Muhàthera Dhammasiri.

We have the following picture of Burmese administration in medieval times. The king was the most important personage in the realm but he had learned and wise ministers in his council who advised him on important affairs. Then he also had Brahman astrologers who calculated auspicious moments for the starting of all important works. When serious problems arose the king appointed commissions to settle them. In administration, he was helped by ministers who were more or less well versed in the Buddhist scriptures. One of them was styled gmèt kri—the chief minister. There was no distinction between civil and military duties and therefore at times the chief minister himself may have led frontier campaigns. As the northern frontier of his kingdom was very important a vicerey was stationed at Koñ Cauñ (near modern Bhamo). It seems that the chief minister was usually vicerey of these northern marches. The government was not divided into administration, judiciary and law, and therefore a minister had to undertake any administrative work which his master the king set him to do. But the presence of saniphano as special officers trying law suits shows that Burma in medieval times had a distinct judicial body although the customary law was probably not yet codified then. The word dhammasattha is mentioned only once in an inscription dated A.D.1249. Probably it refers to an Indian law book. In criminal cases the amunyan cañ was used as a sort of penal code but unfortunately we are none too sure of its meaning. Embracing the relics of Buddha and declaring that one was telling only the truth was regarded trustworthy and failure to do so was tantamount to an admission of guilt. There were many secretaries and clerks at the king’s court to take down all the orders either from the king or one of the ministers. Mounted couriers were used when messages were urgent. It seems that there were fairly good communications between the capital and the provincial administrative centres. The province, the town and the village had their own local administrative officers. At times some of the senior officers from the capital toured the districts and tried cases if necessary. There were special officers assigned to irrigation, land assessment and revenue collection. Revenue was received either in bullion or in kind and many were the royal granaries throughout the realm which stored up the revenue in kind. There were people who had kùthham and bhuma prefixed to their names and it has been supposed that they were the landed gentry. The king’s relation with the Order is an important factor in the adminis-

1. Pl.363a
2. Pl.2342v (A.D.1294)
3. Pl.28315
4. Pl.37912
5. Pl.365a
6. Pl.2342v (A.D.1294)
7. UP.I.44-100-27-8.78
tration of Burma. The Buddhist precepts always reminded the king to be just and in some cases, we find monks intervening in politics. The outstanding instance of a monk helping to save his country from ruin is clearly shown in Sven Disaprâmuk's peace mission to Tàjitu—the Mongol capital, in A.D.1285. When the king's interests clashed with those of the monks he usually gave in and this shows that the monks were quite important. In the light of the above evidence we can see very clearly that the administration in medieval Burma was a well organized one.
CHAPTER IV

SĀSANĀ

The Burmese word Sāsanā is clearly the Pali Sāsana, which means the doctrine of the Buddha, i.e. the Religion. Sāsanā in Burmese also means the year of the Religion as reckoned from the death of the Buddha which is 544 B.C.1 according to Burmese sources. The Sāsanavamsa—the History of the Buddha's Religion2—by Paññasāmi written in A.D.1861 traces the expansion of Buddhism to Burma. According to this history the Rāmaṇa country (Lower Burma) was the first to receive the Religion. Then in A.B. 225, the Soṇa and Utāra mission came to a place in the Rāmaṇa country known as Suvaṇṇabhūmi which is partly on the edge of Mt. Kelasa in Thaton district. But these are only traditions3 and Asoka's Rock Edicts4 giving the list of the countries to which missions were sent do not mention the Soṇa and Utāra mission to Suvaṇṇabhūmi. Nevertheless tradition maintains that henceforth Thaton was the centre from which the Religion spread up-country.5

The conquest of Thaton in 1057 by Aniruddha resulted, it is said, in the introduction of pure Theravāda Buddhism into Upper Burma. But unfortunately there is no known contemporary evidence in support of this famous episode. All the information we have about this event is from various chronicles which are far from reliable for the period under consideration. This is what Professor G.H. Luce said on the subject.

Already these accounts cancel themselves out: Aniruddha goes seeking the Tipiṭaka now at Thaton now at the Khmer capital Angkor. He receives an insolent refusal now at Thaton, now at Angkor. Kyanzitha the general in one case, Aniruddha the king in the other, performs feats of gymnastics 'piercing the Cambojans' (krωmpθhui): the scene is now Pegu, now Angkor. Each has magic horses that can fly so fast as to give the impression of an army. Each cows his rival with the spectre of streaks of betel-blood: but in one case it is the Khmer monarch, in the other that of Nanchao. Hero, scene and villain are alike lost in folktale and history sub-merged in the myth.6

Nevertheless, the find spot of the seals of Aniruddha, which we have discussed in a previous chapter certainly suggests that Aniruddha with his capital at Pagan expanded north and south and that Thaton was included in this general advance. There is much doubt that

1. 483 B.C. according to modern scholars. See E. J. Thomas: The Life of Buddha as Legend and History, p. 27, n.1
3. Sinhalese chronicles also mention this tradition; W. Geiger: Mahāvamsa, XII, 44, p. 86 and H. Oldenberg: Dīpavamsa (1879) VIII, 1-13, pp. 53-4 and translation pp.159-60. W. Geiger in his introduction to Mahāvamsa considers that these Sinhalese chronicles are quite trustworthy.
5. Hmausan para. 131; GPC, p. 74
6. G.H. Luce: "Mons of the Pagan Dynasty", JBR, XXXVI, i, p.9
Thaton was the home of pure Theravāda Buddhism and that it reached Pagan only after the aforesaid conquest.

It is more than possible that Buddhism has been known to the early Burmese even before the 11th century. They may have been influenced in their civilization and religion by the Pyu because as late as A.D. 1112-13 a Pagan prince called Rājakumār, the beloved son of Thidūra Mahā (1034-1113) used Pyu as one of the four languages to record a dedication that he made on behalf of his dying father. Their first capital Sriksetra, four miles to the east of Prome, was probably built in A.D. 638 and it seems that they moved to Halinjī near Shwebo in about the middle of the 8th century when the Karen came. The Pyu kingdom was ultimately destroyed in A.D. 832.

Many interesting articles have been unearthed by the excavations at Himawze. The most important was made in 1926 when twenty gold-leaf Pali manuscripts were uncovered. Altogether these leaves contain eight extracts from the Pali pitaka texts. The first extract is on Nidāna or Paricca Samuppādā; the second enumerates the seven kinds of Upasanañānā (contemplative knowledge); the third gives the thirty-seven Bodhipakkhiya (elements of enlightenment); the fourth classifies the four perfections of the Buddha; the fifth enumerates again the fourteen kinds of knowledge possessed by the Buddha, the sixth is a verse from the Dhammapada, telling the best of things in this world; the seventh describes the journey to Rājakuta by the Buddha and his disciples; and the eighth is in praise of the Buddha. The gold-leaf manuscripts together with some similar ones found in the same vicinity strongly suggest that Pali Buddhism was known to the Pyu and that their knowledge of it was by no means slight. One might even

1. See Himmara, paras. 131-2; GPC, pp. 72-7. In a supposed conversation between Arakan and Anuradha in their first interview, the king spoke as if he was utterly ignorant of Buddhism. Thus the Chroniclers advance the view that Pagan knew nothing of Buddhism until the Lord Arakan appeared there just before the 1057 conquest.
2. See the Rājakumāri inscription (P. 36 Jāb), popularly known as the Myazedi inscription, Ep. Birm. I, I.
3. JBR, XLII, i, 11.
4. JBR, XLII, i, 79.
5. ASB, 1926-7, p. 200 & Plate XLII. g. ASB, 1938-9, pp. 12-22 & Plates I Vc, Vab, and Vlb.
7. Visuddhi Magga I, p. 639. (It gives eight kinds: our text omits the pativakkhāna passaṇādhāya, Abhidhammaṃ pādoni. (It gives ten kinds: our text omits the saṃsāra-adhāya, pativakkhāna, and anālaya.)
8. Dīgha Nikāya, Ill, 102; Majjhima Nikāya, I, 245; Aṅguttara Nikāya, IV, 125-6; Udāna, 56.
12. Vinaya Piṭaka, (Mahāvagga), I, 38; Jātakaññatthakathā, I, 84.
16. "Pali as the language of Theravāda Buddhism is known and understood, and Pali canonical texts, at least the more important of them, are studied in their doctrinal and metaphysical and most abstruse aspects (c.A.D. 450-500). Early Buddhism also seems to have been more or less a familiar subject, at least in the Old Pyu capital, i.e., old Prome. This point is beyond doubt." N. Ray: Theravāda Buddhism in Burma, p. 84.
assume that the Pali Buddhism thriving in Śrīksetra spread and reached the Burmans at Pagan. It is possible that the Pyu after the destruction of their capital mixed freely "with the Burmans and were quickly absorbed by the more virile race. 1 There are three inscriptions in the Pyu script at the Pagan Museum, viz. No. 96 (Pl. 357a, from Ḫalinyi antedating Pagan), 2 No. 10 (Pl. 363a, the Rājakumār inscription dated A.D. 1113) and No. 3 (Pl. 555). The last one has two faces, one in Chinese. It probably belongs to the period between 1287 and 1298. 3 The scarcity of Pyu inscriptions during the whole of the Pagan period is best explained in this way. Though both the Pyu and Mon civilized the Burmans the Mon influence predominated probably because of their proximity—there being some colonies of Mon in the Kyaukse area. During the second decade of the 12th century a reaction against the Mon influence set in. The inscriptions of the transition period (1113–74) show the Burmans using Mon, Sanskrit, Pali, Pyu and Burmese languages 4 simply because the art of writing in Burmese was still in its infancy. Ultimately the Burmese language triumphed over its rivals.

We have seen from the gold leaf manuscripts found at Hmawza that the Pyu knowledge of Buddhism was not slight. Even if the Mon had outv 11 11 11 11 11 11 11 railed the Pyu element the latter probably was still a strong one as is shown by a Pyu face in the Rājakumār inscription. Therefore, until the contrary is proved it is possible to say that the Burmese derived some sort of Pali Buddhism from the Pyu prior to the said conquest of Thaton.

The Mon were living side by side with the Burmans in the Kyaukse area even before Aniruddha, and this certainly proves that the Mon civilization was not new to them when they expanded south and conquered the 'Mon-land'. Professor G.H. Luce thinks that the Mon were in the Kyaukse area even before the arrival of the Burmans 5 and that the infiltration of the Burmans into that area drove them south though some remnants survived in the north-western corner of it. The Burmese inscriptions between 1211 and 1262 made three references to the 'main village of the Talings' (Taluṅ ṭwā ma) 6 Probably they refer to these Mon remnants and their place is located at Khamthu or Khapu near the junction of the Samon and the Myitnge. 7 An old Mon inscription 8 'which still stands on the north-west side' 9 of the Kyaukse Hill is quoted below to show that these Mon were Buddhists.

1. We have mention of Pyu in the inscriptions until as late as 1510 (List 105070).
3. "...Stone 3 at the Pagan Museum, with two faces, Chinese and Pyu respectively, both illegible. It is not certain that the two faces belong to the same date, but if they do, the date is likely to be between 1287-98, when, following the capture of Pagan by Asik-Ènêt, Mongol-Chinese influence was paramount at the Burmese capital. If so, the use of Pyu in preference to Burmese may perhaps be attributed to the Chinese love of learned archaism". JBRs, XLII, i, 55
4. The Shwezigon inscription (Ep.Birm., III, pp.68-70) is in Mon, the Shwegugyi (Pl. 1 and 2) is in Pali and Sanskrit and the Rājakumār inscription (Ep.Birm., I, 1) is in Pali, Burmese, Mon and Pyu.
5. JBRs, XXXVI, i, 3
6. Pl.357b, Pl. 205, 205-12 and Pl. 2124
7. See Map 2.
9. JBRs, XXXVI, i, 3
I, the Chief Monk...loñ, when I came to dwell at Klok-Sa¹, I informed the Chief Monk of Bukâm, I informed the king there, that I was building a baddhasima. These (are the persons) who together with myself worked (for this temple?): the junior monk Mahâdew, his father, his mother, his (grandfather?) (...?) the mother of Na Lwoy, Ya Wân, son of Na Mrîk, Na Gan Dâ: these I dedicate to the temple, who worked together with myself. The great (donation?) of (measures of?) arable land, which the kon sambeñ dalîñ gave to me, I also give to the temple. (May?) the accumulation of merit, (offering (and) worshipping?)...........(conduct ?) for (all beings ?)..........................

This presence of a Mon mahâthera in Kyaukse district and his building of a permanent ordination hall together with the fact that he informed a mahâthera resident at Pagan of his meritorious deed clearly shows that the Burmans had close contact with the Mon in religious affairs. Unfortunately the inscription bears no date. Anyhow if we accept the theory that the Burmans took the Kyaukse area from the Mon and that “the victors sat at the feet of vanquished”², we could easily go a step further and say that the Burmese got some form of Buddhism from the Mon remnants even before the 11th century.

It is important to discover what sort of religion the Burmans practised in the early part of the Pagan dynasty which has been labelled the Mon period (1057-1113) as most of the inscriptions attributed to this era are in the Mon language. In the Great Shwezigon inscription³ of Thiluñ Mañ (1084-1113) we have the eulogy of the king who shall rule Pagan after A.B.1630 (A.D.1086)⁴. According to it the principal religion then practised was Buddhism. But there are references to other religions as well. Sri Tîbhvanâdityaadhâmañarâja (i.e. Thiluñ Mañ) the Buddhist King is considered as a reincarnation of Vishnu⁵. Evidently there is a good deal of Brahmanism in the Buddhism that they practised. This, in spite of the fact that the king had a spiritual adviser who helped him rule righteously and purify the religion.

A Lord Mahâther, who possesses virtue, who is the charioteer of the Law, King Sri Tîbhvanâdityaadhâmañarâja shall make......, shall make (him) his spiritual teacher. In the presence of the Lord Mahâther, abounding in virtue, who is the charioteer of the Law also, ‘Together with my lord will I cleanse the religion of the Lord Buddha,’ thus shall King Sri Tîbhvanâdityaadhâmañarâja say.⁶

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1. This Klok-Sa is identified as the two villages of Klok and Sayon (Pl.34¹², Pl.48³, Pl.49⁷, Pl.232⁷, Pl.272⁵²) which were later combined to form Kyaukse. See JBRs, XLII, i,64.
2. JBRs, XXXVI, i, 3
4. This is supposed to be the coronation year of Thiluñ Mañ who ascended the throne in 1084. Ep.Birm, i, ii, p.113
6. Ibid. p.117
The inscription goes on to say that Buddhism prospers well in the realm.

The city of Arimaddanaṇṇā, which is the dwelling place of King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadharmarāja shall glow (and) glitter with the Precious Gems. King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadharmarāja shall pray desiring omniscience.

All those who dwell in the city of Arimaddanaṇṇā, together with King Śrī Tribhuwanādityadharmarāja, shall delight worthily in the Precious Gems, shall worship, revere, (and) put their trust in the Lord Buddha, the Good Law and all the lords of the Church.1

It is surprising to note that orthodoxy went side by side with religious toleration.

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

We have further evidence of the King’s religious fervour in another inscription.3 It said that he built a pagoda called Jayabhūtimi (Shwezigon) to the northeast of Pagan, collected and purified the three holy Piṭaka which had become obscure, sent men, money and material to effect repairs at the holy temple of Śrī Bajrās (Bodh Gayā), offered the four necessities (i.e. shelter, robes, food and medicine) to the monks frequently and converted a ?Shan (Coli) prince to Buddhism. In spite of his religious fervour his palace inscription4 dated A.D. 1101-02 proves beyond a doubt that the Buddhism practised at the court of Pagan was far from pure. This inscription shows “a mixed ceremonal proceeding under the very eye of the mahaṭhera Arahān”.5 The whole affair was left in the hands of “the Brahman astrologers who were versed in house-building”6 except when the Buddhist monks were invited to bless the site by reciting the parītta—a Buddhist ritual formula or order of service invoking protection. Even then the water used for the occasion was drawn and carried by the Brahmans and the cōca which is supposed to be the symbol of Vishnu was used to hold the water. The following extract shows this clearly.

At sunset, godhuli (being) lagna, the sāṅkrāṇ Brahmans, who carried litters, beat the foremost drum. The Brahman astrologers went (and) drew water for the reciting of the parītta. Having brought the water, they arranged the water (in) vessels of gold, vessels of silver (and) vessels of copper (at each place where?) the blessing (was to be given?): at the great pavilion and the four cīndrow pavilions and the ablution pavilion

1. Ep.Birm., I, ii, 121
2. Ibid. p.127
3. The Shwesandaw (3) inscription, Ibid., pp.153–68
4. Ep.Birm., III, i, 1–68. This inscription was broken into many pieces and Dr C.O. Blagden has arranged the eighteen fragments in order naming them consecutively from ABC up to S. Professor G.H.Luce disagrees with this order. According to him it should be NRSOPQ, BCDA, EFGH and JKLM.
5. JBRs, XLII, i, 62
6. Ep.Birm., III, i, p.64. 06
and the *fuñ dañ* pillars. Water (in) four thousand earthenware vessels and eight conch shells they arranged at the dwellings of the four thousand lords of the Church who were to recite the *paritta* outside and throughout the palace (and as for all?) the eight lords of the Church, our lords the monks of the Church (who were to be?) the leaders in reciting the *paritta* outside, together with the four thousand monks, the dwellings of the eight leading lords of the Church, eight mats, eight (figured?) cloths (and) eight spades, water (in) a hundred and eight vessels -and a hundred and eight conch shells, they arranged (at?) the dwelling places of a hundred and eight lords of the Church, with our lord the Chief Monk Arahan, who were to recite the *paritta* within, at the dwelling place of those hundred and eight lords of the Church (they arranged) a hundred and eight mats, a hundred and eight (figured?) cloths (and) a hundred and eight spades.¹

The inscription goes on to say how the conch came into use in a Buddhist rite. It also mentions that the monks were standing during *svaranasiha* and *paritta* which would be considered unusual now-a-days in Burma.²

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

Then our lord the Chief Monk Arahan gave the *svaranasiha* and all the four thousand one hundred and eight monks remained standing within (and) without, with our lord the Chief Monk Arahan, who was the leader in reciting the *paritta* blessing.³

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

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

At three *pohir* (they) sounded the drums .......... (and) blew.... (in honour of?) the golden Buddha, the Lord Gwanmpati and all the four

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

thousand one hundred and eight lords of the Church of whom our lord the Chief Monk Arahan was the leader.1

Although the presence of 1408 monks including Mahāthera Arahan is mentioned in the inscription one gets the impression that the Brahmans were the more important. In all the eighteen known fragments of the inscription the mention of the Brahmans occurs forty nine times—they are found leading at every step of the construction. Therefore it is natural to conclude that the worship of Vishnu (Nārāyaṇa) proceeds all important ceremonies. Offerings were also made to Indra.4 Another important thing of note is that the Brahmans also performed the Nāga worship.

To the Nāgas (they) made a decoration of plantains (for?) a dwelling place, spread mats, (and set in readiness?) golden flowers (and) altar oblations. ... Then the Brahman astrologers versed in house-building offered water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, and then they worshipped the Nāgas.5

For other evidences of Brahmanical influence it is best to quote Professor G.H. Luce. In the Nānpaya of the captured Mon King (Makuṭa), the chief sculptures left are those of Brahma. Almost next door to Kyanzitha’s palace stands to this day a temple of Visṇu, the Nathaṅkaṇṭha. Shiva symbols and statues, though found at Pagan, are rare compared with Vaishnavas; but the trident is still to be seen on the old glazed plaques at the Shwezayan pagoda at Thaton.6

Even in the Burmese inscriptions belonging to the later half of the dynasty we find traces of Brahmanical influence. A village named Linsuī (Liṅga) mentioned in an inscription7 dated A.D.1235 suggests the presence of phallic worship at one time. Another village called Kulā Nārāṇa8 in an inscription of A.D.1256 also suggests that the villagers once worshipped an Indian deity. God Mahāpinnai (Mahā Vināyaka) i.e. Gaṇesha is mentioned in an inscription9 dated A.D.1279.

As regards Gaṇapati, Dr C.O. Blagden describes him as ‘the patron saint of the Mons’ and ‘the patron saint of Pagan’.10 In the Taingyut inscription11 (A.D. 1279) Gaṇapati is mentioned together with the Buddha and his two chief disciples. Regarding this Professor Pe Maung Tin says:

It is interesting to note that here the Buddha is attended not only by his

two chief disciples but also by Gavampati, the patron of the Mons.1

The Great Shwezigon inscription2 mentions Gavampati as the son (i.e. disciple) of Buddha. In this matter Dr N. Ray says:

Gavampati, who is represented in Mon records as the son of the Lord Buddha, has rightly been styled as the patron saint of the Mons as well as the patron saint of Pagan.3

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

Gavampati, the so-called patron saint of the Mons, is frequently referred to, sometimes as 'my son' by the Buddha; his statue is placed besides that of the Buddha; Anorathâ is said to have carved an image of him (List 23; 27.) but he is really a pre-Buddhist Shaivite deity, the 'Lord of Oxen', and perhaps a god of drought and wind.4

He appears to have decided that Gavampati was a pre-Buddhist Shaivite deity. The trouble, however, is that there are many Gavampati: the cow-lord, the lord of the rays, the sun, the name of Agni, the name of a snake demon and lastly but not the least the name of a Buddhist mendicant.5 Gavampati Thera6 was one of the well-known disciples of the Lord Buddha and therefore one wonders whether the Gavampati of the Pagan inscriptions was the Gavampati Thera or Gavampati—the Shaivite deity. The fact that the Buddha addressed Gavampati as 'my son'7 and that his statue is placed among the Buddhist canonical works in one case8 and in another9 together with the statues of Sâriputta and Moggallâna, suggests that the inscriptions were referring to Gavampati Thera. Be that as it may we are safe in saying that the Buddhism which the Burmans received from the Mon was far from pure even though the chronicles claim otherwise.

After the death of Thiluila Mañ (1084–1113) Mon influence gradually waned and so our inscriptions are largely in Burmese (with the exception of a few which are in Pali or Pali mixed up with Burmese.)

Ratanâ suñi pâc: is the Burmese phrase for Three Gems, i.e. Purhâ—the Lord, Tryâ—the Law, and Saighâ—the Order. They were as important to the medieval Burman as they

1. JBRs, XXVI, i, p.56
3. N.Ray: Brahmanical Gods of Burma, p.17
4. JBRs, XLI, i, 62. See also Przyluski: Le Concile de Râjaghâ, pp.239-56.
9. Pl.66
are to-day. Sāsanā—the Religion, was equally important to him and he considered himself always responsible for its maintenance. He dedicated lands, slaves, cattle, precious metals, food, and various other articles of daily use from a costly robe to a spittoon, as a means of support to them (rattanā 3 pā sa lui e' pacceñ phlac cim so ṭhā). It was then, as it is at present the popular belief that the Religion of the Lord shall last for 5000 years (sāsanā anhac 5000 mlok oḥ taḥ rac cim, so ṭhā). As there is no canonical work which supports the theory that the Religion shall last only 5000 years, the late Adiccavamsa suggested that the Religion shall stand for five thousand, six thousand, seven thousand (years) or even more without any limit.

But he put a saving clause by saying that as long as there are believers there is the Religion. Though his suggestion is extremely sound he nevertheless suffered pakāṣanīyakammina (excommunication) in 1935 for making remarks which upset popular beliefs. Thus the old Burman, just as his modern counterpart dogmatically believed that the Religion would last for only 5000 years and that it was his duty to support it. To fulfil these duties meant working for one's own salvation. The Religion taught him that nothing was permanent in this world and that wealth accumulated in this life cannot buy longevity and when he dies he leaves everything behind. The only thing that would help him in his journey through Samsāra was to spend his wealth in charity and thereby accumulate merit. The following excerpt illustrates this very well.

On 9 May 1291, the founder of Aćaw Racasi pagoda—the mother of Lord Racasi was startled at heart and she said: “My parents, my grand parents and my great grand parents have all gone, abandoning their inherited property. Now my beloved and handsome son has gone likewise abandoning his inherited property and myself—his own mother. Knowing that I too cannot take away with me (this) inherited property which they have left behind because they could not take it, I dedicate it so that it may be one of the attributes for my mother, my father, my son and all my relatives attaining nirvana”.

1. Pl.2413
2. Pl.7329, Pl.9014, Pl.1577, Pl.2059, Pl.228b8, etc.
3. See Adiccavamśa: Bhikkhunisāsanopadesa, pp.19 and 56 and also Bhikkhunī Are: Puṁ. Taw Sein Ko also observed that ‘it is idle to set bounds to the limits of eternity.’ Burmese Sketches 1 (1913) pp.60-1
4. Pl.2723-8. See also JBSR, XXVI, i, 54 and XXVI, iii, 137.
Thus giving away one’s own property in charity without limit or possibility of an equal return (asadosadāna) if possible was believed as one of the means of acquiring merit which is an attribute towards the final attainment of nirvana. After every act of merit the donor would pray, for instance,

\[\text{\textit{i}y \textit{nā koṁmā} mū so klawcā phlaṅ, kāh Mittyā purhāḥ skiṅ phurāḥ phlac sū rhaśw āḥ arahantā chu ra lutw sū te|f/2\]

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

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

We may safely assume that the Sāsanā had a great influence over the Burmans of our period. What the Sāsanā taught them, how they interpreted it and how it influenced in their daily life is best illustrated in the following inscription dated AD 1266.

...Mathi Luw miliy // mañ miyā Sirīghasū sami // phlac sa chuiw īray uiw mañ sa chuiw īray siy so chuiw īray ma khyat sa sū nhaṅ akwa nīy so chuiw īray khyat sa sū nhaṅ klīy kāṅ sa chuiw īray lutw ruy ma ra sa chuiw īray // iy suiw ka ca so ațuṅ ma si sa chuiw īray tuiw saṅ nhip cāk so khandhā kuīw cwen thā kha ruy chuiw īray khapsim kāṅ so khyamsā cvā so mlat so niyran kuīw lhaṅ nā lutw satē hū ruy khyat cvā so mlat so rhy nū ky ka ca so utcā tuiw kuīw cwen ruy pu so kloṅ twān niy so sataṅ samādhī praṅā hū so kloṅ –jū suṁ pā kuīw rha so sataṅ –cāṅ so purhā tape, sā rahan sanghā khyamsā cim so nhaṅ lay uyan khyan khapaṅ akrvaṅ may lhaṅ lhu e, // iy nā tuiw pu so koṁmhu akluw // atuṅ khapsim so kuīw aćeūv ra so riy miyā askiṅ phlac so maṅkri le ra ciy e, // iy koṁmhu ānubhaw phlaṅ praṅ tuṅ kā khapsim so nhuik nīy so lā khapsim so e, acī aphwā khyamsā kuīw rīy piy lyak sak tuaw rhaṅ cvā so nīy ruy iy koṁmhu kuīw thok paṅ ciy sate // amipurhā ca so mouṁa taw kuīw khapsim le ra ciy e, // akhaṅ khyān anyak a –i tay ciy ma hiy khyat sa myak ciy phlaṅ ru kha ra ciy e, // yakhu hi so noṅ phlac lat anī so maṅkri maṁsā anatīy ca so sū khapsim le ra ciy sate ariy aranā yū pā ciy sate // Yama mañ ca so sattawā khapsim le ra ciy sate // ara amī kuīw lutw so sū kā ara amī ra ciy e, // koṁmhu kuīw mū lī so sū kā koṁmhu kuīw mū ra ciy e, // nā le raṁmak kri sa ma rōṅ ray tat so // anyak kri so sū tāc thā kuīw āṅhan chay tat so praṅā ma hiy so muik so wantuī so apty akeñā ma hiy so // saccā ma hiy so plak tat so // miy lyaḥ so o miy ta sa kaṅ so ma phlac mū ruy raṁmak naṅ so rōṅ ray lway so // anyak naṅ so sanā tat so praṅā hiy so akroṅ kuīw si tat so wan ma tuīw so apty akeñā hiy so saccā hiy so ma plak tat so ma miy lyaḥ so ok miy ta sa hiy so // iy suiw so kloṅ –jū tuīw nhaṅ plan –jum lyak saṁsarasā nhuik kyaṅ laṅ ruy.  Mittaryā purhā maṅkmhok kaṅkā lhaṅ // 0 // mlat so aklwat taryā ra lutw sate // 0 // 3

1. PL.275
2. PL.2310. See also PL.246, PL.253b, etc.
3. PL. 2161–15
I, the grand daughter of Mathi Luiv, the daughter of Singharsū (one of King Klæwā’s sons) and the queen of King (Tarukply), wish to abandon (this) body oppressed by countless miseries—the misery of birth, old age and death, the misery of living with those one does not love and of separation from those one love, the misery of wanting a thing and not getting it. I want the bliss of Nirvana which is the end of all miseries. For the fulfilment of this desire I relinquish gold, silver and other treasures which are dear and precious to me and build a monastery for the monks—the pupils of the Lord, pure in piety and ever seeking the three graces of self-restraint, self-possession and wisdom. In order that these monks be well provided, I offer (all my) fields, gardens and slaves, excepting none. May the merit of our meritorious deed go (first) to the king, ruler of us all and lord of the land and water. By virtue of this act of merit may he live long, seeking the prosperity and happiness of all those who live in the realm and upholding this foundation. May the queens also, and all the ladies-in-waiting share it. May they look at one another with eyes of love, without one speak of anger or cloying. Starting with the present reigning king, the future kings, the princes, the ministers, may all of them also share the merit. May they uphold this foundation. May all beings beginning with King Yama also share it. May those who desire worldly prosperity get it. May those who prefer to do good deeds, do them. For myself I pray that I may never be covetous, insatiate, wrathful, bullying, ignorant, stupid, mean, uncharitable, faithless, frivolous, forgetful, nor ungrateful. But I would cross Samsāra full of these good graces—modest in my wants, easily satisfied, mild of temper, pitiful, wise, conscious of causes, generous, large-handed, faithful, earnest, unforgetful and considerate; and may I win deliverance in the very presence of the Lord Maitreya.

Whether they derived the Sāsanā from either the Mon or the Pusu or from both, the old Burmans knew well that India was the birth place of the Religion that they had adopted. King Thiluwa Man (1084-1113) sent men, money and material to repair the holy temple at Bodh Gaya. Probably, the pilgrims from Burma frequented the places in India associated with the life of Buddha. The text and translation of an inscription dated A.D.1298 will illustrate how much Burmans appreciated India as the home of the Buddha and his Religion.

/// purhā skhiṅ sāsanā 218 lvan lïy prī so akhā nhuṅk Ḍaṟiputip kхаvn kuīw acūv
śi ra so Siridhammasoka maṅ so maṅkri ceti hyat soṅ 4 thoṅ athai nhuṅk chwaṁ lau
phun phiy rā pāyāsa i than kuṅ akhā līy mantra phiy rуг ruṅ plāṅ so Skhiṅ Paṅsakū ḍri
ta yoṅ thuīw priy to khyāk phiy ḍkhyā phiy rā kā Sātiuī maṅ plu e’ thuīw pri ta khyāk
phiy khyā tuṁ raṅkā Cheṅ Phlu Skhiṅ trāy maṅkri mimi kuīw cà chīyā
Siridhammarājākuru kuīw ciy tau mu lu so akhā nhuṅk pā run so tape, sā Sirī Kāṣapā saṅ lūp an so uccā hi lyak mā lūp rā tāt raṅkā Wānawāśī Skhiṅ thera
kuīw chwaṁ khaṅ ciy raṅkā Pusāsīn maṅ hu e’ lūp ciy (m)u Skhiṅ Ḍai kuīw mlat kri
the kuīw akhwaṅ maṅ ruṅ Sakaraċ 657 kha Plasāwī l-chan 10 ruṅ 6 niy plu tūṁ e’
Sakarač 669 Tanchoṃmuṅ l-chan 8 ruṅ Tānphasisan ni luṅ ce so tānkhwaṅ kūkā
tānkhwaṅ myāt tuīw kuīw le pucaw e’ saṇput thoṅ chimi thoṅ tuīw akrin myā că
līyā phucaw e’ sā sami hu mhaṅ ruṅ suṅāi 2 yok ruṅ paṅ ḍuṅ paṅ khwaṅ puchūw

After the lapse of 218 years of the Religion (i.e. in 326 B.C.) the great king named Sridhammasoka (Asoka), who was the ruler of Jambudipa island (built) 84000 cetti among which one was on the spot where Buddha ate [the milk rice] given him by Sujata immediately before his enlightenment. Due to the march of time, it became dilapidated. One Lord Panisukula the Great repaired it. When it again became ruinous king Satuw made (repairs). When again it was dilapidated, the great just king Chañ Phlu Skhiṅ sent his teacher Sridhammarājākuru (to effect repairs) on his behalf. Because Siri Kassapa the disciple who accompanied (Sridhammarājakuru), though he had the treasures (or funds) would not do it, Wanañasi Thera had to beg alms (?seek permission from) King Pulasin (who) said "(You may) do it" to the reverend thera through Lord Rāj. On Friday, 16 December 1295 (they) did it (i.e. started repairs) On Sunday, 13 October 1298 (when the repairs were accomplished) many ṇagas and streamers were offered for dedication. One thousand almsood, (and) one thousand oil lamps were offered several times. Two children treated as (one's) own off-spring, a wish-tree for hanging gold flowers, silver flowers, trays and loan cloths were also offered. That there may be almsood at all times, land, slaves and cows were bought and dedicated. May this meritorious deed be an attribute for attaining Nirvana in the form of an arahat when Maitreya becomes the Buddha.

From what we have seen it is evident that the old Burmans were conversant with Buddhism even before Aniruddha's conquest of Lower Burma. The Pyu of Śrīkṣetra or the Mon of Kyaukse or both may have been their teachers. Whatever the chroniclers may have said the Buddhism introduced from Lower Burma was by no means pure. Buddhism practised in Pagan was a mixture of Naga worship, Vaisnava Hinduism and Buddhism. The people not only believed deeply in the Religion but practised it according to their own lights. They believed then, as at present that the Religion shall last for five millenium and that they were to support it to their utmost capacity, hence a great deal of dedications to the Religion. Allied with this belief was one which said that the gaining of merit by giving charity was the sure road to Nirvana. In conclusion they knew that India was the birthplace of Buddha and the Religion and therefore those who could afford to, made religious establishments there or repaired dilapidated ones.

1. Pl.299. See also Taw Sein Ko: Burmese Sketches 1 (1913) pp.90-3
CHAPTER V

PURHĀ

The word purhā means the Buddha himself or a pagoda where relics are enshrined. But a king is also addressed as purhā and his queen called by that name with a mi or ami prefix denoting female as mi-purhā and ami-purhā. Thus it became a title for all exalted persons. But to differentiate between the ecclesiastical and temporal lords, some scribes of old Pagan added descriptive phrases to purhā, e.g. mlat cwā so purhā—one the most exalted purhā—when they wanted to signify the Buddha and purhā rhañ2—the purhā who is living—to denote the then reigning king. The king is also mentioned as purhāloñ3—the Bodhisatva.

Dr C. O. Blagden thought that the word purhā was connected with vara. He says:

Purhā, now written (bhurā) but pronounced (phaya) and sometimes still (phra). This is the well-known Burmese expression applied to exalted personages; the Buddha is so called; the king was addressed with this word during the Burmese régime; the monks are still so styled when spoken to; nowadays, it is even used as epithet when addressing Government officials of a certain standing. The temples, pagodas and statues of the Buddha are also called (phaya). The form purhā as found in the present inscription, appears to be the oldest; it is found subsequently written Purhā, bhurā, phurā, phurā, and finally bhurā. But this word is not, as might on the face of it be thought, Burmese in its origin; it is found, under very slightly different forms, all over Indo-China, and even in Java. Opinions still differ as to its derivation; some eminent authorities would derive it from vara, a Sanskrit and Pali word meaning “excellent noble, exalted”; this is the derivation generally accepted. Some years ago, Mr. Taw Sein Ko (Burmese Sketches, I, 1913, p. 30) suggested a derivation from the Chinese Fu-ya (now pronounced Fo-yeh). The form Fo-ya does not explain the r in the second syllable of the Burmese word; for there can be but little doubt, if at all, that this letter r, though now it is pronounced y, was sounded according to its original value in old Burmese, as a comparison with the languages most closely related to it—Tibetan, Lolo, Maru, etc.—abundantly shows; the full value of r is still retained in Arakanese, which is but Burmese of an archaic type. The form vara does not seem to explain the Burmese medial vowel u in purhā; but this vowel has been frequently developed in the first syllable of dissyllabic words when that syllable begins with a labial, but is now practically never pronounced; examples are numerous in Burmese. All evidence tends to show that the Sanskrit word vara is the original of this expression, found under several forms as pola, phola, poula, purahā, phurā, pharā, phrā, prahā, phrayā, prah, prah, varah, etc. This seems to be settled by the Phimānakas Inscription, where the old Khmer
BUDDHISM IN BURMA

text has vrah, Igvara, the modern Cambodian being vrah Eisor, and vrah Mahåbodhi = prah Mahåbodhi.1

If vra is the root word for all similar words used all over South East Asia, the Mon word is an exception to it. In Old Mon “kyek”2 means any worshipful person or object as well as “a statue of Buddha.”

As we have said in Old Burmese the word purhā means any worshipful person or object. The Lord Buddha was māt cwā so purhā—the most exalted lord—the Buddha icons were purhā chaïpu—the form of the Lord, purhā ryap4—the standing Buddha, purhā thaway5—the sitting Buddha, purhā tathātip— the recumbent Buddha, purhā niyrapan7—the dead Buddha, ryapfly purhā8—images made to the donor’s height, and kuiv ryap tuǐ purhā9—image made to the donor’s measurements. Professor G.H. Luce wishes to connect chaïpu or chaïpy with the Pāy word cha:bo of the Rājakumār inscriptions where

||shau ̀bi: Bu:thā u cha: bo bradima thā tu bò se kya||

is translated as “caused this golden image in the likeness of the Buddha to be made.” The modern Burmese word for an icon is chaïpu which literally means an imitation of an appearance and we do not know why pari of chaïpu is replaced by tu and becomes chaïsu to-day. In old Burmese the word chaïpu is used for likeness made of stone or wood and also for paintings of Buddha that adorn the walls of hollow pagodas. As many as 14,619 pictures of the Buddha were painted within seventeen days (7 March to 24 March 1237)11. In another case 4000 pictures or chaïpu of the Buddha were painted on the four walls of a hollow pagoda built by Kāngapikrānt and his wife on 10 December 125312. Naturally Gotama Buddha would be painted or sculptured, but sometimes other Buddhas—the predeccessors of Gotama, were also included in the paintings or their images would be found among the image of Gotama enscribed in a pagoda. For example, an inscription12 dated A.D.1274 mentions

2. Ep. Birm. I, i, p.57. See also Hilliday: A Mon-English Dictionary, p.64, when old Mon “kyek” appears as “kyait” (koy) meaning “any object of worship, a god; also used in addressing a superior, lord.”
3. Pl.7315, Pl.8015, Pl.19212, Pl.2348, Pl.2388, Pl.24817, Pl.24922,25 and Pl.2698
4. Pl.6621, Pl.9718, Pl.1048, Pl.1105, Pl.132b8, Pl.2094, Pl.21314, Pl.2349, Pl.235b5, Pl.385a4 and Pl.39321,25
5. Pl.1304, Pl.1533, Pl.21314, Pl.22918, Pl.2349 and Pl.422b5. Unless otherwise stated purhā thaway—sitting Buddha—is always a cross-legged Buddha because the Buddha “sitting Europeanwise” is very rare in Burma.
6. Pl.617 and Pl.132b7
7. Pl.2709,13,14
8. Pl.1304,4, Pl.2094, Pl.253a9
9. Pl.2094, Pl.22917, Pl.253a6
10. Ep. Birm. I, i, p.62; Text A10, where Cha: is taken as likeness, having a close similarity to old Burmese ochda
11. Pl.1056-8
12. Pl.24816-18
13. Pl.24921-3
that images of Kakusankha, Koonagmana, Kassapa, Gotama and Majrvea were made. In a relic chamber of a pagoda near the Htilominlo at Pagan unearthed in 1928, was found an image of the Buddha Vessabhū with a two line Pali inscription (in the same script as the Old Burmese) round the pedestal. It reads:

Yo Vessabhū sari dhara ca anantabuddhi sattuttamo dasa halo...dhammo kāyo lokesacakkkhu asamo anejo vandāmitāi sāri dharaṇā atulam munindam...

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

The painted Buddhas are more or less alike and usually the only way of differentiating the one from the other is by the different backgrounds in the form of Bodhi as each Buddha had his own particular Bodhi under which he attained enlightenment. The name of the Buddha and his Bodhi would be written below the painting.2 Stories of the anterior births of Gotama Buddha known to the old Burmans sometimes as jat nā ryā3—500 birth stories, and sometimes as jat 5504—550 birth stories, are also popular themes for painting on the walls of hollow-pagodas. Actually there are only 547 stories,5 i.e. according to the Pali texts which are still used in Burma and there are numerous Burmese translations of these stories. But as mentioned above, the old Burmans rounded up this figure 547 to 500 or 550 and even to-day, the Burmans refer to these stories as nā rā ṭhā chay—five hundred and fifty. Strangely enough the Jātaka plaques at West Petleik pagoda, the construction of which goes back to the early part of the Pagan dynasty, give 550 stories. The additional three are (1) Velāma jātaka, (2) Mahāgovinda jātaka and (3) Sumedhapandita jātaka.6 There are six other pagodas belonging to this period which have these jātaka plaques and wherever the number can be ascertained, the number is 547. The six pagodas are:

1. The East Petleik Pagoda (by Aniruddha)
2. The Shwesandaw Pagoda (by Aniruddha)
3. The Shwezigon Pagoda (by Thīluṁmaī)
4. The Ananda Pagoda (by Thīluṁmaī)
5. The Dhammayazika Pagoda (by Cānsū II)
6. The Mingalazedi (by Tarukpliy)

The Ananda Pagoda has nearly 1500 jātaka plaques7 and the explanations to these are all in old Mon8. The plaques are in two categories. Firstly, each plaque is assigned to

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1. ASI, 1928-9, pp.110-11, Plate LII (d)
2. IBRS, XXX, 1, pp. 314-21, n.67, where Professor G.H. Luce gives the full list of 28 Buddhas and their respective tree* as found in the fresco-writings (in both old Mon and old Burmese) of some pagodas at Pagan. See Appendix II
3. PL 7315
4. PL 105 a 7
5. Fausboll's edition of The Jātakas (7 vols) (Trubner & Co., London, 1877-91) has also 547 stories
7. Ibid., p.91, n.1
8. These 389 plaques are edited and published: Ep.Birm. II, i & ii
represent one *jātaka* and secondly, 389 plaques on the last ten anterior lives of *Gotama Buddha*. These seem to be the most popular subjects for plaques or painting. At the Ananda Pagoda the order of arrangement for these ten stories varies slightly from the Sinhalese order in the following manner.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ananda</th>
<th>Sinhalese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>Mūgāpakkhā</em></td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>Mahājānakā</em></td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>Sāma</em></td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. <em>Nimi</em></td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. <em>Mahā-Ummagga</em></td>
<td>Khapjahāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. <em>Khapjahāla</em></td>
<td>Bhūridatta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. <em>Bhūridatta</em></td>
<td>Mahānāradakassapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. <em>Mahanāradakassapa</em></td>
<td>Vidhura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. <em>Vidhura</em></td>
<td>Mahā-Ummagga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. <em>Vessantarā</em></td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But it agrees with the modern Burmese arrangement except that in the latter Bhūridatta *jātaka* comes before Khapjahāla *jātaka*.

The Wetkyi-in Gubyaukgyi Pagoda, Pagan, has many of these tales painted on its walls. C. Duroiselle says:

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

The life history of *Gotama* especially the part when he attained enlightenment is also very popular. The Ananda Pagoda has eight stone reliefs on this episode.

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1 See also Pl. 242-7
3 In abbreviated form the order is *Te Ja Su Ne Ma Bhū Caṅ ā Nā Wi We* in which *Te* is for *Temī Jāt* or *Mūgāpakkhā*, *Ja* for *Mahājānakā*, *Su* for *Suvama Sāma*, *Ne* for *Nemi Jāt* or *Nimi*, *Ma* for *Maha Jāt* or *Mahā-Ummagga*, *Bhū* for *Bhūridatta*, *Caṅ* for *Caṅdakumārajāt* or *Khapjahāla*, *Nā* for *Mahānāradakassapa*, *Wi* for *Vidhura* and *We* for *Vessantarā*. Even to-day in Burma, it is believed that writing these ten abbreviated names by stylus on one's finger nails prevent all dangers and this sort of precaution is resorted to especially in times of epidemics like plague, cholera and smallpox.
4 Professor G.H.Luce in *JBR*, XXXII, i, 85 says that the paintings of the Gubyaukgyi at Wetkyi-in are 'the pride of the Burmese painter's art'.
5 *ASI* 1912-13, p.93 and Pl.LX, figures 57,58,59
6 C.Duroiselle believes that originally there were 547 frescos, half of which were on the northern wall and the remainder on the south. In 1899, Dr. Thomman, who worked in the interest of the Hamburg lithographical Museum, tried to take them away but was stopped. Thus, out of 547 frescos only 210 remain. Each *jātaka* measures 5½" by 6½" and the remaining portion of the paintings on the north wall measures 13½" by 3½" and on the south 6½" by 3½". They are in a very dilapidated condition.
In the niches of the Ananda are numerous Buddha icons. Roughly they fall into two types: one seated on a throne in Vyākhyāna mudrā—the act of preaching with the hands before the breast, and the other in the common Bhumisparsā mudrā—earth touching attitude. It is of note that seven of the images have no uṣṇīṣa—the accretion on the head (see illustration), and many of them have normal fingers quite distinct from the modern images with fingers of the same length. In the middle of the temple stand four colossal images placed back to back and each facing the four cardinal points. The height of the pedestal is 8 feet and each image stands 31 feet high. Starting from the north these images represent respectively the four Buddhas viz. Kakusandha, Konāgamana, Kassapa and Gotama of which only two images, those on the north and south are considered to be original and contemporary with the foundation of the pagoda. They both have their hands raised to the breast in the dharmacakra mudrā. The image on the western side i.e. of Gotama has two statues flanking its sides. These images have been identified by some authorities as those of Thāluṅ, Man and Mahāthera Arahan.

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

In the west porch there are also two Buddha-pāda—Buddha’s foot-prints—each bearing the traditional 108 marks. The Lawkananda pagoda and the Shwezigon pagoda have also similar foot-prints dating back to our period. One inscription dated A.D. 1294 mentions a Buddha-pāda being painted with various colours.

Professionals who made images of Buddha were called purhāsamā and they were paid either in cash or kind or sometimes both. In one instance a female slave was sold to pay the image-maker. The Sawhlawin inscription (1236) records that wages for the purhā samā were 30 ticals of silver, one piece of black linen and one horse for making ten purhā ṛyap—standing Buddhas.

Sometimes the height or the height and weight of a standing Buddha equalled the height or the height and weight of the donor and such a one was called a ṛyapūpinpurhā ‘or the kuiw ṛyap tuṅ purhā’ but this is not synonymous with “portrait-statues” of Khmer Cambodia where a royal personage was thus apotheosized. The following extract will show us that a standing Buddha was made equal in height to that of the kingly (?Klavew) but it was not the portrait-statue of the king apotheosized as Buddha.

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1 ASI, Memoir No. 56, Plate VII, figs. 1 & 2
2 Ibid, p.13
3 Commentaries like Anāgatavamsa-Atthakathā, Samantabaddhikā Atthakathā and Jina-lokāraṭikā have the full list.
4 PI.238\textsuperscript{10}
5 PI.975, 18, 18, 21
6 For a full discussion see U Mya: “A Note on the Buddha’s Foot-Prints in Burma”, ASI, 1930-4, Part 2, pp.320-31
7 PI.283\textsuperscript{7}
BUDDHISM IN BURMA

On 17 July 1238, seventy three slaves (from) Nä Chù of Toi Nî, given by Lord Râjasî to Lady Ùî Plàn Ùa Sañ were dedicated to look after four images of the Buddha (namely) a standing Buddha on the west made to the height of the king, a gold standing Buddha made to the height of Lady Ùî Plàn Ùa Sañ and two gold sitting Buddhas.

There are may instances of these rûpîânu purha and kuiw rûpî tuii purhâ. 'One Nä Ùuîv Sañ in A.D. 1263 made kuiw rûpî tuii purhâ—an image equal to his height—and dedicated three slaves to look after the image when he and his beloved wife passed away. In A.D. 1270 two ladies of Sëznati (near Pagan) who called themselves sukrîaw ma kri—elder rich woman—and sukrîaw mañâi—younger rich woman—made two images as tall as themselves and dedicated slaves to administer to them. The king’s mañî mañô—brother-in-law, Nä Mrya Sañ also made an image of his height and weight. In A.D. 1276 the wife of Phûi Sañ Jayabhîn dedicated slaves to an image made to her height. Nevertheless there is no indication whatever for considering these rûpî tuii purhâ as “portrait statues”. They were just the images of Buddha except for the fact that they are of the donor’s measurements. Perhaps the donor’s ambition was the boon of Buddhahood.

To consider the Buddha as God would be absurd, but to some early Burmans he was something similar. Infinite faith in Him gave, it is believed, long life and happiness. One donor called Jayusithi spent 10,000 teals of silver in A.D. 1197 in founding religious establishments leaving aside some treasures for repairs when necessary. Then he said:

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

Thus in A.D. 1190 a donor named Sûnghàsûra dedicated musicians such as cañsoñ—drummers, and pantyà—nautches, for the enjoyment of music. Old Burmans apparently thought the Buddha was a living deity. May be as a super celestial king because they endowed Him with all the earthly luxuries that a mighty potentiate has. Slaves dedicated to Him were of various professions. Such musicians as pasàsoñ—side drummers, saro sañ—violinist,

1 Pi.1301-5
2 See also JBRs, XXVI, i, p.58
3 Pi.20913
4 Pi.22912-18, 19
5 Pi.253a5
6 Pi.1859
7 Pi.10a18
8 Pi.10116, Pi.511, Pi.105a25, Pi.13810 & Pi.387a5
9 Pi.387a5
The wife of Kuṭākasū5 gave the services of such persons as panpwat—turners, panpu—sculptors, parkhi—painters, puran—masons, cāriy—secretaries, nāvāthi—cowherds, panthin—goldsmiths, ṣūvan sañ—gardeners, and kuhā sañ—launders, when she dedicated them to the Buddha in A.D. 1242. In the same year Cuiw Mañ gave to the Buddha slaves such as sniñān sañ—palanquin bearers, kuhā sañ—launders, thī sañ—umbrella bearers, and yan sañ—weavers6. In A.D. 1243, Samanta Kuṭākoñ, the uncle of King Ucçana (1249-56) dedicated an elephant called Na Khyāṭ Phuy to the Buddha and his disciples7. Such slaves as muchi rīp8—barbers, hañ sañ ihamañ sañ anay sañ9—cooks, and kwañ sañ10—servers of betel, were also dedicated to the Buddha. The following extract from an inscription (A.D. 1241) recording the offering of Cāw, the queen of Narasīṅga-Ucçana (1231-5) is a very good example of how the Buddha is served with articles of daily use.

|parikkhārā| ok purhā sañkan tāw tuyañ 1 |tankhyaft| athak purhā sañkan tāw tankyat riy 1 |rhuy salavān 1 |imrā tāw nak pūcañ tanīt |khañ tāñ mwan 1| khañ nīt uñ ocum | kwañ khyañ 1 |kriy chiñ miñ tuñ kriy pratuiw |kriy krā krī 1| khañ loñ chway so chañ krā 1 |rhuy sāpit huy sāpit kriy pway 2 khu| lañpān 2 khañpān khañ 5 up |cāloñ krī 1| naroñrā 8 khañpān nōñañ 9 khañpān khañ khañ sum chā khyā ñ chā |... |parikkhārā kā rhuy salawān kri myāñ khañ |pratuiw 1 |kriy krā |khañ kriy lañpān nhac khañpān khañ 5 up |cāloñ|11

Professor Pe Maung Tin’s remark and translation of this extract is reproduced below.

The anthropomorphism of Buddha-worship is well brought out in L.254 (Pl.138). The requisite things are for lower Buddha his wearing apparel 1 outer robe, 1 inner garment (?tankyat); for the upper Buddha his wearing apparel 1 embroidered inner garment, 1 gold couch, 1 apartment for his dwelling-place, 1 high cot complete with bed-covers and pillows, 1 betel box, copper oil lampstands, copper spittoons, 1 big copper kettle, 1 elephant-lotus from which the bell is hung, golden bowls, silver bowls, 2 pestles, 2 trays, 5 covered dishes, 1 big cooking pot-lid, 8 pieces of narañcarā, 9 of gongs, 3 cymbals, 3 castanets... The requisite things are 1 big gold couch studded with gems, spittoon, copper kettle, 2 trays with cup-legs, 5 covered dishes, cooking pot-lid. It will be noticed that the lower Buddha is not wearing his royal outer robe (the dhuay) as he is represented as being ‘at home’, just as a king with his robe off might recline on the couch in his state-room after supper, chewing his betel as he listens to the strains of music.12

1 Pl.396b18
2 Pl.85b
3 Pl.314, Pl.421b4
4 Pl.1512, Pl.314, Pl.10225, Pl.3914
5 Pl.1444.16
6 Pl.148b5.10
7 Pl.15224
8 Pl.39550
9 & 10 Pl.39550.54
11 Pl. 138 15-17, 20-21
12 JBRS, XXVI, i, p.61
Most donors prayed for nirvana with no specifications. In some inscriptions we find that the donors prayed for Buddhahood. It is interesting because it is exceptional. Only the most ambitious reached for nirvana as the Buddhas. A king (most probably of the earlier half of the Pagan dynasty) prayed for Buddhahood.

Sri Tribhuvanāditya puriṣṭhakāsi buddha-patiṣṭhita pariṣṭhātā Sri Tribhuvanādityavaḍhammarāja (dānapati)

Sri Tribhuvanaditya, the noble and righteous Lord of the Regions, made this image of the Buddha, for the attainment of omniscience. Sri Tribhuvanādityavaḍhammarāja (the Donor).

The Great Shwezigon inscription2 mentions that king Sri Tribhuvanādityavaḍhammarāja (Thilhat Maha) also prayed for omniscience. His successor King Cañsa I after the completion of Shwegugyi pagoda prayed thus:

In strong desire for Buddhahood, he cried aloud this aspiration: "As this great Being, having fulfilled the ten Perfections and attained perfect knowledge, has released beings from bondage, so also would I hereafter, fulfilling the ten Perfections and having attained perfect knowledge, release beings from bondage!"

In the Khemawara pagoda inscription, it is recorded that King Nātoñmyā made a dedication with the desire to attain Buddhahood. It says:

//Sakarac 569 khu Jitas...saññacattha na c Tankhu l-chan 1 mya 5 nīy a Sri Tribhuvanādityāpavaraṇharmarāja mañ so Nātoñmyā mañkiri saññi sabbañu phurha chu kuw luw khyañ ruy//

On 18 March 1208, the great king Nātoñmyā called Sri Tribhuvanādityāpavaraṇharmarāja, desiring the boon of omniscience—Buddhahood, (made the following dedications).

Actually all the kings of the Pagan dynasty prayed for Buddhahood and purhāloga—the future "phurhā" or purhā ṛha ṛay6—the living "phurhā", in the inscriptions of this period invariably means the then reigning king.

Apart from the kings some great ministers and learned scholars too asked for the Buddhahood in their prayers. A few extracts given below regarding this particular kind of prayer will give us a good picture of what they felt about Buddhahood. In A.D.1190, Siñghasū (Nātoñmyā’s minister) prayed thus:

sāñssarā chuiw ṛray khappāy soh kun rā phlac so sabbañu mañ so // purhā aphlac kuwi luw soh kroñ,

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1. Pl.568b
2. Ep.Birm., I, ii, ID13-17, pp.102 and 121
3. Pl.I stanzas 30-2; BBHC, I, i, 19
4. Pl.311-3
5. Pl.363, Pl.902, Pl.1155-5, Pl.1338, etc.
6. Pl.1132, Pl.11515, Pl.141a13, Pl.17414, Pl.1941, etc.
7. Pl.10a2, 4
(I made this dedication) because I want saññā, which is also called Buddhahood—
the end of all miseries in the chain of rebirths.

Knowing that such a reward will be fulfilled only in a very remote future, he took special care to ask for all good things in the intermediate lives before he attained Buddhahood. Perhaps his love of music also compelled him to ask as follows:

//purhā ma phrac so krā // pañcangatūr mañ so cañ nhyañ phlañ nhuiw tha tha so cañim laiw ra kā // cañ kri pantyā plu so // cañsāñ kō//

Meantime, before I become the Buddha, I want the fortune of being excited by the five kinds of musical instruments such as drums and trumpets. Therefore I dedicate the following players on big drums and ?naučhes. The drummers are...

As one who prays for Buddhahood should receive the prophecy of the Buddhas about his future enlightenment, he is very anxious to meet Mārīyā the next Buddha and to receive a prophecy from his very lips. In A.D. 1182 one donor prayed to this effect.

jā kā Mārīyā purhā shhiñ thana byadissa ra r(u)yi sattwā khapsiñ so: kūw sañsarā chuw iray mha kāy pi tat so phlač liuñ so te, //

May I receive from Mārīyā the prophecy (of my future Buddhahood) and become the Buddha) so that I may be able to redeem all beings from the miseries of sañsāra.

An inscription of A.D. 1198 gives us a rough idea of the means to attain Buddhahood. He said:

jčy myāñ so koñmhu akl unw phlañ // stōñ suñ so akl unw phlañ // byat-tā mū so akl unw phlañ // alu piy so akl unw phlañ // purhā chū nā rā liuñ so te //

For the benefit of this amount of merit (namely) the benefit for observing the religious precepts, the benefit for (?meditating on kindness and love) and the benefit for giving away ones property in charity, may I receive the reward of Buddhahood.

The ten pāramī must be fulfilled in order to reach the highest form of enlighten-

1. Pl.10a.14--17 See also JBRs, XXVI, iii, 135
2. Mahāvamsa (1950 Reprint) pp. 1-2; Pl. 8a6, Pl. 28324, Ep.Birm., 1, ii, Ayethama Hill inscription (now at the Rangoon University Library) V50
3. Pl. 8a5--6
4. Pl. 2117--19
5. Queen Saw in an inscription dated A.D. 1291 (Pl. 27334) mentioned that there are 10 pāramī for those who aspire for Buddhahood. They are:
   1. Da apāramī (the perfection of charity)
   2. Sīvatīpāramī (the perfection of behaviour)
   3. Nekkhamapāramī (the perfection of renunciation)
   4. Pāññāpāramī (the perfection of wisdom)
   5. Viriyapāramī (the perfection of effort)
   6. Khouipāramī (the perfection of patience)
   7. Sacchāpāramī (the perfection of truth)
   8. Abhiññāpāramī (the perfection of resolution)
   9. Met apāramī (the perfection of love)
   10. Upakhāparami (the perfection of equanimity)

But according to W.Geiger (Mahāvamsa, p. 2, n. 1) this idea of 10 pāramī is late as they are not mentioned in the four Nikāya. See also Pl. 3902, Pl. 4134
BUDDHISM IN BURMA

What is the extent of time required to fulfil there pārami? Jayaseṭṭhe (son-in-law of King Caṅsū II) said that it would require

\[ \text{liy sangheya amlat kambhā tāc sin}^1 = 4 \text{ asaṅkheyya plus 100,000 kappa.} \]

Kappa means the life of the earth and asaṅkheyya\(^2\) means incalculable.

Medieval Burmans have coined a beautiful phrase of their own for the Pali word sabbāṅnutāṇāṇa or omniscience as si cap mrañ nham—"know wide, see deep"\(^3\). Thus the Buddha knows everything and to obtain such a state of perfect knowledge certainly would require a very long time of practice and piety. Anantasūra, the Commander-in-chief of King Nāṭoṭṭyā gave the reason of his dedication as:

\[ \text{nā le si cap mrañ nham, so sabbāṅutaṅañ purhā chu kuw luw khlyān so kroñ}^4 \]

Because I also desire the boon of Buddhahood or sabbāṅnutāṇañ which is to know wide and see deep.

The famous monk Mahākassapa whom we believe to be the head of the Arañṇavāśi—foret dwelling sect, used a similar phrase when he prayed for omniscience. He said:

\[ \text{iy nā mū so koṁhmu akluiw phlaṅ kā si cap mrañ cap so sabbāṅutaṅam purhā chu kuw lhyan luw sate} \]

For the benefit of this merit (that) I made, may I get the boon of Buddhahood—sabbāṅnutāṇañ which is to know wide and see wide.

Lady Caw, the aunt of King Tarukpliy also used the same phrase when she asked for Buddhahood.

\[ \text{[Sakarac 622 khu Kratulk samwarccḥā nhac Namyūn l-chut 3 ryak Caniy niy phurhā} \]
\[ \text{rhāṅ tāw ari Caw ī lu twañ nhuik atuí̑n ma si satdhā lā rhuy plu so koṁhmu akluiw} \]
\[ \text{kā riy mliy khapsīmīm so āskhiṭṭ phlac so maṅkri ca so maṉ̃i maṅsā maṅsamī} \]
\[ \text{maṅnhama khapṣimī khaṇḍhā ca so moṁma khapsīmī amattīyā ca so puḷpā khapsimī} \]
\[ \text{ok Awiciy ca so aṭhak phwak tuiṉ ȏn atȗi cakkrāwālā ca so atȗi ma si so} \]
\[ \text{cakkrāwālā nhuik niy so lū nat sattavā khapsim akrwān may sapḷāṇ saṅsarā chaṅ} \]
\[ \text{ṇray mha thwak mlo kha ruy chaṅṭray may so nirraṇa praṅ suiw rok ciy khlyān} \]
\[ \text{so kroñ} \]
\[ \text{[nā le si cap mrañ nhamī so sabbāṅutaṅañ phurhā chu kuw luw so kroñ]} \]

1. Pl. 154-6 (A.D. 1197) See also Pl. 390\(^2\), Pl. 413\(^2\)
2. "The neuter Asaṅkheyyam is the highest of the numerals, and is equal to 10,000,000\(^2\) or 1 followed by 140 cipher." R.C. Childers: A Dictionary of the Pali Language (1875) p. 59
3. JBRS, XXII, iii, p. 126 (Know thorough, see extensive)
4. Pl. 735-8 (A.D. 1223)
5. Pl. 140b\(^2\)-5 (A.D. 1242)
6. Pl. 194\(^1\)-8
On Saturday 23 May 1260, (Lady) Caw, the aunt of the reigning king (Tarukpliy) made dedications (as she was) in this life greatly moved by faith (in the Religion). As for the benefits of this meritorious deed, may all (the Royalty) starting with the Great King, who is the lord of all water and land, all the King's brothers, all the King's sons, all the King's daughters and all the King's sisters, all the ladies—in-waiting starting with the queens, all the retinues starting with the ministers, all beings including mankind and deva living in this universe between Avici below and zenith above and in all other universes without number, be freed from the miseries of rebirth and reach the city of Nirvana where there is no misery. I also want omniscience, to know wide and see deep i.e. the boon of Buddhahood.

Minister Jeyapikrama gave another interpretation of Buddhahood. He said:

...rañ mak 1.100 mha kañ ruy saccā triyā 4 pā pwañ so sabbañutāñnan prañā ra ruy purhā lhyañ phlac luw sate/2

May I become a Buddha endowed with the wisdom of sabbañutāñna when the Law of Four Truths blossomed (within me) and I am free from the 1500 desires.

In A.D. 1276, Princess Acaw after obtaining the King's permission, built a monastery for Anantapañña on a site to the east of Āmanā (Minnanthu) and dedicated 1366 pay of land and 149 slaves to the above religious establishment that she had founded. Then she explains the reason for her donation:

//iy mhyā lok so uccā kuiw kā ṇā ma khyac ruy lhā sa kā ma hut // iy uccā kuiv khyac so thak-kā purhā phlac kuiv khyac mlat ēwā rakā ṇā lhū sate//3

I dedicate so much property not that I do not love it but that I love Buddhahood more.

In A.D. 1291 another Caw, this time a queen of Tarukpliy (probably the famous Queen Saw of the chronicles)4 prayed for Buddhahood.

| achuñ cwan so kuiv phlac nhuik-kā || Mittaryā purhā skhīñ tañ tay khrāñ suiw lhyañ tantay lyak || tā nat khapsi so kuiv || sañsārā chuiw ēray mha kayı piy lyak || niyrapan prañ kri suiw lhyañ chon piy kun || lyak || sabbañutañan purhā chū lhyañ plañ-cum khyañ ē, || 5

In my last life I want sublimity of the same nature as the sublimity of the Lord Maitreya and after helping all the men and deva out of the miseries of samsārā

1. This phrase si cap mran nham for omniscience has lost its original meaning with the passage of time and in its new form si mran nham, cap it only means resourcefulness.
2. Pl. 17527-6
3. Pl. 344b12-14
4. JBRs XXYII, i.p.81: "...the great Queen Saw (Co) of the chronicles is a medley of at least two Saws of history. Nor did she start as a farmer's daughter, with the lowly if useful function of scratching the king's back when he was itchy; she was, on the contrary, the first lady of the land, sister of the late queen of royal birth on her mother's side, of high ministerial rank on her father's."
5. Pl.27512.15

10. U.P. 144.1000.23.8.78
and taking all of them to the grand city of Nirvana, (I myself want) the fulfilment of my boon for omniscience—Buddhahood.

As mentioned above, only the very ambitious prayed for omniscience. There is an extraordinary case of a man and his wife praying for Buddhahood.1 A sukrway—wealthy man, whose name is not legible after building eight alms houses and planting some banyan trees (*ficus indica*) made a dedication of one hundred ticals of silver and ten slaves and prayed thus:

\[ \text{ñā myā nhaññ ā kā phurhā chu ma lway ra luw state} \]

May I and my wife without fail get the boon of Buddhahood.

This is very unusual, because no such express wish for both man and wife is mentioned in any other known inscriptions. Owing to the fact that the Buddha is always a male, it was thought proper for ambitious women to pray first for manhood in the coming existences and Buddhahood later. We have mentioned above that Lady Caw, the aunt of Tanukply prayed for Buddhahood. But here is an extract in which the same lady prayed for manhood when she made a dedication in A.D. 1265 at the Kutha pagoda, north of the Dhammayazika, Pagan:

\[ \text{lā nat sattwā tricehan ma krwā khopañ ū so sajsarā chuiw īray nha ū thwak mlok kha ruy ū chuiw īray may so nīyarban sutw rok ciy luw so nīhā ū lā le iy mīyā aphilac nha lwat kha ruy ū lā rwā nat rwā kuyā loā so khā stañ prāñi saecā saddhi plāñ cuñ cwā so yok-yā phlac ruy ū} \]

In order that man, deva and all beings, without excepting the animals may be freed from the miseries of rebirth and may attain nirvana where there is no misery and that I also may be freed from this womanhood and in all my wanderings (i.e. future existences) in the village of men and the village of deva, I may be a man who is endowed with piety, wisdom, truth and believe (in the Religion of Buddha)...

The last point in this prayer is important. In her next existence, she wants to be a man believing in the Religion of the Buddha because it is possible that she may be born as an unbelieving man. Only when manhood had been attained would the donor pray for Buddhahood.

In none of the inscriptions of our period we find the mention of the Anekajā ceremony which is very important nowadays. Modern Burmans when they have completed a pagoda or an image use the Anekajā without which the pagoda is just a pile of bricks and the image is just another statue none of which are considered worshipful. They must be properly consecrated. The ceremony requires the assembly of men and monks in which the monks

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1. See J.B.R.S XXVI, ii, ip. 132
2. P.I. 213 1/3 (A.D. 1260)
3. P.I. 249 6/9
recite a formula beginning with *Aneka jāti sanisārami* which is supposed to be the very first words uttered by *Gotama Buddha* on attaining enlightenment. The formula is:

\[
\text{anekajātisaṁsāramaṁ sandhāvissam anibbissam \\
gahakārami gavesanto dukkā jāti punappunanī \\
gahakāraka diṭṭhosi puna gehoṁ na kāhasi \\
sabbā te phāsukā bhaggā gahakālam viṣāṅkhitam \\
viṣāṅkhāragatam citam taṅhānaṁ khayaṁ ajaṭhāga}
\]

This occurs in the *Dhammapada* (153, 154) and a rough translation of it is:

Through worldly round of many births
I ran my course unceasingly,
Seeking the maker of the house:
Painful is birth again and again.
House-builder! I behold thee now,
Again a house thou shalt not build;
All thy rafters are broken now,
The ridge-pole also is destroyed;
The end of cravings has attained.

Perhaps the people of Pagan thought that such a ceremony was not necessary at the end of building pagodas, etc.

The evidence cited above shows that the people of Burma in the 12th and 13th centuries A.D. understood the doctrines of *Buddha* very well. They believed in the chain of rebirths, the miseries of life and they endeavoured for the final attainment of *nirvana*. It seems that the practice of charity was the most popular means of achieving merit. So great was the number of pay of land dedicated to the Religion that *King Klarwa* was forced to confiscate them all, which ultimately led to the appointment of a royal commission. As Buddhists they tolerated the existence of other religions. It is worthy of note that some considered the Buddha as God or some form of living deity and dedicated slaves of all professions and articles of everyday use so that the *Buddha* may enjoy them. The average Burman would say that he takes refuge in the Three Gems—*Purhā*—the Lord, *Trinā*—the Law, and *Saṅghā*—the Order: but *Purhā* to him was the most important of all.

1. E.J. Thomas: *The Life of Buddha av Legend and History*, p. 75
CHAPTER VI

TRYĀ

Tryā in its broadest sense means the law and it is not necessarily the law of the Buddha. It includes all laws—moral, legal or religious and thus it embraces also the customary observances or prescribed conduct for everybody either ecclesiastical or lay as the Sanskrit dharma implies. In the inscriptions of our period the word tryā means firstly the Buddhist scriptural text synonymously with the Tipitaka, secondly the preachings whereby the monk tries to explain some part of the teachings of Gotama to his congregation, thirdly a law suit, fourthly the judges themselves and lastly to describe a natural phenomenon such as death, attā may so tryā—the law of impermanence. Thus the medieval Burman used the word tryā in connection with all applications of law or discipline ranging from khuw tryā a petty theft case—to akhwat tryā—the attainment of nirvana. But the origin of this useful and comprehensive term is still an open question.

The derivation of the word tryā presents a real problem and no satisfactory solution has as yet been reached. Professor G.H. Luce suggests that it is probably the spoonerised Sanskrit riti which means law. When Buddhism was first introduced among the Burmans, their language was still in its infancy and therefore they undoubtedly were confronted with the problem of being unable to find suitable words to translate some Indian philosophical terms and thus adopted many of such terms in their entire form. If this is so they should have adopted the more familiar dharma rather than riti. The word dharma8 was used by King Thiluwin Mani (AD 1084–1113) in his Mon inscriptions. But from the reign of King Caṁsa II (AD 1174–1211) when Burmese became the language for inscriptions the combination pūrā tryā sangha9 was used for buddha dhamma sangha meaning the Lord, the Law, and the Order, and thus tryā becomes the Burmese term for dhamma with only one exception where

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1. Pl. 2710, Pl. 501, Pl. 7310, Pl. 10227, Pl. 19414, Pl. 23414, Pl. 24921, Pl. 2514, etc
2. Pl. 175, 5, 9, Pl. 224, 5, 7, Pl. 2715, (Pl. 5310), Pl. 6711, Pl. 20225, Pl. 23313, Pl. 26238, Pl. 30025, Pl. 37010, Pl. 39016, 17, Pl. 3911, Pl. 42825, and Pl. 58116
3. Pl. 7415, Pl. 79627, Pl. 117a24, 6, 9, 15, Pl. 120b17, Pl. 141a11, 16, Pl. 17415, 16, Pl. 27226, Pl. 38120
4. Pl. 141a5, Pl. 191b10, Pl. 307a1, Pl. 38127, 28, 51, 57, Pl. 3945, Pl. 560f7, 10
5. Pl. 82b10, Pl. 182b10, Pl. 23555. Other phrases used in connection with death are ngt. tryā lā—gone to the village of deva (Pl. 147a5, Pl. 42815) and pyan taw mā—the royal return—as if the devagika was one’s real abode and the life in this world of men was only a short visit (Pl. 15810, Pl. 2032) and so by death a man returns to his old place. The phrase masū which nowadays means a corpse was in those days only signified serious illness—masū so (Pl. 201a14, Pl. 27221, Pl. 27418)
6. Pl. 141a14, 14
7. (Pl. 20225), Pl. 21615, Pl. 23521, Pl. 24726
8. Old Mon: I D21, 25 (saddhanna) 55 ; I E9, 16 (saddhanna) 25, 58; I F28, I G20, 50, I H4, III C16, 21, VIII A24
9. Pl. 135, 11, 15, Pl. 253, 51, Pl. 425, 5, Pl. 44a4, Pl. 692, 10, Pl. 802, Pl. 835, Pl. 8953, Pl. 9014, Pl. 1026, Pl. 1033, Pl. 127a5, Pl. 131a8, Pl. 132a4, Pl. 1331, Pl. 143a8, 22, Pl. 1442, Pl. 147a5, Pl. 147b20, Pl. 148a6, Pl. 148b5, Pl. 1527, Pl. 17525, Pl. 1862, Pl. 190a12, Pl. 1929, Pl. 19620, Pl. 20016, Pl. 2055, 12, 22, 24, Pl. 2082, Pl. 2201, Pl. 22911, Pl. 2325, 4, Pl. 2335, Pl. 2341, 6, 44, Pl. 2355, 8, 44, Pl. 2392, Pl. 245b4, Pl. 2472, 12, Pl. 2491, 8, 5, Pl. 25012, Pl. 254a5, Pl. 25625, Pl. 2574, Pl. 266a14, Pl. 2895, Pl. 308a12
dhammasattha—the Code of Law, is retained in its original form dhammasāti up to this day. Very often this tryā has been suffixed or prefixed to maññ—the King—to form either mañtryā or tryāmaññ and this combination suggests that this tryā is the Sanskrit trā which means a protector or defender. Then the mañtryā or tryāmaññ would be translated as the King-Protector. Unfortunately these terms also happen to be the translation of dhammarāja—the just king—which appears frequently in the panegyric of King Sri Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja (Thiriñ Muni) in the early Mon inscriptions. The derivation of Tryā is thus still a mystery:

Tryā in a religious sense is the Tipiṭaka and to denote a compilation it is used together with the word apiṣṭa—the heap. The whole phrase would be piṭaka sūtī puṇi so tryā apiṣṭa le pu e,7—“three heaps of piṭaka (i.e.) the heap of law are also made.” Whereby the donor means that he has caused the whole set of the piṭaka to be copied and kept at the Library in the monastery which he had just built. In A.D. 1223 minister Anantaśūra8 made a great monastic establishment at a place called Āmanā9 and took special care to provide it with a set of piṭaka. In A.D. 1250 Princess Śāyā, also known as Ari Caw (aunt of King Tarukpliy) who built a big monastery at Śaucati10 also provided it with a set of piṭaka,11 as the

1. Pl. 17414 (A.D. 1228)
2. Pl. 14110, Pl. 597e5
3. Pl. 965, Pl. 27321, Pl. 2996, PI. 3035, 9, 10, Pl. 3906, Pl. 4137
4. Incidentally, because of this combination of maññā or tryāmaññ certain scholars have been lead to think that a king in Burma is considered as the best Buddhist on the assumption that the law in connection with the king’s name was the Buddhist law (See Kyaw Thet: Burma’s Relation with her Eastern Neighbours, 1752-1819 Ph. D. Thesis, 1949, ff. 3-5) The fact that all Burmese kings considered themselves as Budhisatva supports this idea—the position of a man is attributed to his deeds in past existences, a Burman Buddhist would consider the king as a man who had acquired a considerable amount of merit in his anterior lives but he would not rate him as the best Buddhist. The Buddhist par excellence would be Gutama Buddha himself, who renounced the world an I became an ascetic. To the average Burman the Chāvānaun—the head priest of a monastic establishment, would definitely be a better Buddhist than the King who lives with many queens and concubines. To quote a popular story, once King Mindon sent one of his junior āduna to go and find out what the Bhamo Sayadaw was doing at his forest retreat in a valley of the Saṅging Hills. The indiscriminate officer approached the Sayadaw directly and told him the nature of his visit. The Sayadaw, who was famous for his caustic tongue, replied: “Your king must take me as a rebel or perhaps he wants to instruct me in the way of the ascetics. Tell him that a man who lives between the hills does not need instructions from a man who lives between the thighs of women.” To the great displeasure of the king the officer went back and reported the reply verbatim. For this amusing story see Ḥasya Thint: U paitasamādhagirikkhamu Kyaw, II, pp. 277-8.
5. Old Mon. 1 G 5, 4, 22, III A 4, 11, 17, 24, III B 3, 29, III C 2, 8, 13, 22, 25, 27, III D 1, 16, V 50, VI 4, 25, 52 VIII B 13, 25, 24, IX F 22
6. Pl. 7318, Pl. 1165, Pl. 1645, Pl. 19414, Pl. 2054, 10, 11, 12, Pl. 2208, Pl. 225a5, PI. 2348, Pl. 2482, Pl. 24921, Pl. 2750, Pl. 2893, Pl. 39011, Pl. 39322, Old Mon. II C 13, VIIIA 3
7. Pl. 7318, Pl. 19414, Pl. 24921
8. Pl. 73
9. Minnmanthu, east of Pagan
10. Pavaza, southeast of Pagan
11. Pl. 194 (A.D. 1271)
minister mentioned above had done before her. In A.D. 1265 she gave another set probably to the same establishment. Nevertheless we should not have the impression that the monastery was the only place where religious works were kept in those days. The kings had them in their palaces too. In A.D. 1102, King Thilaul Mañ completed building his new palace in which there was a separate apartment where the statues of the Buddha and Gavañpati together with a set of Tipiñaka were kept. The king, according to the Prrome Shwesandaw Pagoda inscription, gave an order to make a careful copy of the Tipiñaka. In the Myayan inscription a similar statement is made:

He shall purify and make straight, write down and establish all the Holy Scriptures.

This may have lead Dr. C.O. Blagden to remark,

That is to say, he is to issue a revised edition of the Buddhist Canon.

As this statement occurs in a panegyric of the king, in all probability, it only meant the making of a careful copy of the Tipiñaka by order of the king for his palace. A minister called Caturangapaccaya is mentioned as a person well versed in the Tipiñaka and therefore it may be expected that such persons would have their own private sets.

The cost of a set of piñaka was extremely high. In A.D. 1248 Princess Acaukkwani mentions that the price she paid for her set of piñaka was 2027 ticals of silver. In A.D. 1273 another donor Sompyaw Lak Choñ built a monastery with a library at an expense of 2300 ticals of silver to which he gave a set of piñaka valued at 3000 ticals of silver. At a time when a tical of silver could buy one pay of land (1.75 acres) with that amount one could buy an estate of 2000 acres. This gives us a rough idea of the cost of a set of piñaka.

The Tipiñaka is divided into 84,000 dhammakhandha or sections according to subjects and a medieval Burman knew that a complete set must contain all these sections. In A.D. 1267 a daughter of King Kaeaw, said:

|| purhā heau tha so nikay 5 pā dhammakahan yyac soñ le thon thā ani so nhā rhuy...pitakaṭ sumi puni le-plu e' ||

In order to keep the the teachings of the Lord—5 nikāya, 84,000 dhammakhandha, (I made) a golden (? case).

1. P1. 249
2. Ep. Birn. III, i, pp. 37-8; (IX.A51-2)
3. Ibid., i, ii, VIII, A5
4. Ibid., I, ii, III C15-16
5. Ibid., I, ii, p. 141, n. 11
6. P1. 2895
7. P1. 16457
8. P1. 24314
9. P1. 16228,52 See Appendix I
10. P1. 2207
Buddhism in Burma

In A.D. 1245 Queen Saw, the grandmother of Tarukpliy built a brick monastery which was perhaps a separate library building in a monastic establishment. It was recorded as:

"purhā how so nikāyā ṣaṁ pāṭaṁ son liy thōn tryā pīṭakaṁ sum puṁ thā am. so nhaṁ Kūlā khoṁ le phū e, "thuiv khoṁ twāṁ rhuṣy talāḥ nhaṁ pīṭakaṁ le thā e, "1"

In order to keep the teachings of the Lord—5 nikāya, 84,000 tryā of the three heaps of pīṭaka, (1) built a brick monastery. In that monastery the (said) pīṭaka is kept in a golden case.

In A.D. 1274 a minister of Tarukpliy built a monastery at Amanā with a separate library built of bricks where the 84,000 dhammakhandha were kept in a golden cabinet. But not all pīṭaka dāyakā—donors of pīṭaka—were able to give away complete sets.

Some donors, who could not afford the whole set, gave just what was needed at the particular library to which they wanted to contribute or copies which they thought would be of the greatest use. An inscription of A.D. 1223, mentions the list of works given to a library.4 They were:

1. Vinaya—five volumes
2. Dighanākārīya—nine volumes, text and commentaries
3. Nettī (pakarana)—five volumes
4. Majjhimanākārīya—nine volumes
5. Anguttarākārīya—ten volumes
6. Vissudhimagga—two volumes
7. Khuddakanākārīya—nine volumes text and commentaries

1. Pl. 234
2. Pl. 24710
3. Pl. 2644. Pl. 464a1
4. Unfortunately this inscription (List. 187, B II 171) is only a copy made in King Bodawpaya's reign but in the absence of the original one, we are inclined to accept it as the best material and therefore it is included here.
5. The five are Pārājika, Pācittiya, Mahāvagga, Cūlavagga and Pariyāyā.
6. It forms the first book of the Suttantapiṭaka and consists of thirty-four long sutta, divided into three vāgga—the Silakkhandha, the Mahāvagga and the Pāṭheya or Pāṭikavagga. DPPN, I, p. 1082
7. An exegetical work on the pāṭika ascribed to Kaśyapa. DPPN, II, p. 85. There are fifteen texts in the Khuddakakanākārīya of the Suttantapiṭaka but in Burma four additions are made, viz., the Milindapañha, the Suttaangika, the Peṣākakapaddha and the Nettī or Nettipakarana. See M.H. Bode: "The Pali Literature of Burma," p. 5; n. 2.
8. It is the second book of the Suttantapiṭaka containing discourses of medium length. It consists of eighty bhūvāra and is divided into three sections of fifty sutta each (panṇasa), the last panṇasa containing fifty two sutta. DPPN, II, p. 418
9. It is the fourth book of the Suttantapiṭaka, consisting of eleven nipāta (sections) and 9,557 sutta. DPPN, I, p. 21
10. "Path of Purity" by Buddhaghosa—an encyclopaedia of Buddha's teachings. DPPN, II, p. 906
11. The fifth and last of the Suttantapiṭaka and it contains all the most important collections of Pali poetry. See above (note 7).
8. Milindapāňha
9. Anāgatavamsa Āṭṭhakathā
10. Mahāvāranaṁjīṣā Šīkapriyā
11. Thūpavamsa
12. Bodhivamsa—text and commentaries
13. Mahāvamśa
14. Tathāgatappatti
15. Kaccayana
16. Nyāsa Šīkapriyā
17. Mahāthera Šīkapriyā
18. Čūlasandhivisodhana
19. Sandhivisodhana Šīkapriyā
20. Mahājanaka (Jātaka)
21. (Major) Jātaka—seven volumes
22. Abhidhamma—seven volumes

This donor therefore gave an almost complete set of Piḷaka as all Vinaya and Abhidhamma and some Sutta works together with such popular Sinhalese works as Mahāvamśa, Thūpavamsa and Anāgatavamsa were included in his list.

1. The conversationis between King Milinda of Śāgala (the Baktrian king Menander) and the Buddhist Elder Nāgasena. DPPN II, pp. 636–7
2. A poem on the story of Metteyya, the future Buddha by an elder called Kassapa, an inhabitant of the Cœla country. DPPN I, p. 66
3. Grammatical commentary or gloss. In the list of 295 works given by the Governor of Taungdwin to a library in A.D. 1442 (List 934, PPA. 83–6, TN. 39–47, M.H. Bode: Op.cit., 101–9) it is No. 227, Mañjūśrīsaṁkhyāya

4. A Pali poem written by Vatacissara. It has sixteen chapters, the last eight of which contain a description of the Mahā Thīpa by Duttogāmanī at Anurādhapura. The work probably belongs to the 12th century. DPPN I, p. 1042

5. The history of the arrival of the Bodhi tree in Ceylon, written in about the 10th century probably by Upatissa. DPPN II, p. 537
6. The Great Chronicle of Ceylon up to the time of King Mahāsena, attributed to Mahānāma Thera.

8. Probably this is the same as Kaccayanasuttaniddesa, a grammatical treatise explaining the sūtra (aphorisms) of the Kaccayana. Ibid., p. 17
9. Another grammatical work also known as Mukhamattauḍipani, probably written by Mahā Vimalabuddhi of Pagan. Ibid., p. 21

10. It appears also in the inscription (List. 934) mentioned above (note 3) as No. 140
11. No. 159 of the above inscription
12. Jātaka No. 539
13. The seven being Dhammasaṅgani, Vibhaṅga, Kathavatthu, Puggalapaññati, Dhātukathā, Yamaka and Pathathā

II. U.P. 8.147. 1000-23.9.78,
Some donors only gave Vinaya texts to monastic establishments probably due to the growing demand for them as a result of the increasing number of monks or to the growing laxity in the observance of the Vinaya among the monks in general. In A.D. 1220, Sīnavānappaccayā recorded his contributions towards the library at the monastery of Skhīṇa Athapatiyā.

Out of the three piṭaka, the donor began with the very first book, i.e. the Silakkhandha of the Dīghanikāya in the Sūtantapiṭaka. Then he added two more popular books of the Suttantapiṭaka, viz. the Dhammapada and the Jātaka of the Khuddakonikāya. Of the Jātaka, he selected the most popular ten stories which formed the last anterior lives of the Buddha. As for the Vinayapiṭaka he decided to give the whole set of five as the phrase Wineñ tac pum—one heap of Vinaya implies. Lastly he gave the first book of the seven of the Abhidhammapiṭaka, i.e. the Dhammasaṅgani.

Some donors, considered the Abhidhamma works to be the most important. In A.D. 1273 a donor named Nā Lat gave only a book of the Jātaka but all the seven of the Abhidhamma. We may also include here some donors who gave only a volume of the piṭaka or gave as much as twentysix volumes but would not bother to name them. So far we have discussed jaya in terms of piṭaka and we come to the conclusion that the monasteries of our period must have had libraries with a fairly complete set of piṭaka and that the monk were able to find donors who would supply them with the more popular or important texts of the religious books so that their libraries would remain always complete with even some extra numbers of those texts in general use. This leads to the question as to who were the people who used these libraries.

We have shown already that people who could afford the exorbitant price of a set of piṭaka might have their own libraries, but most of the libraries were attached to the monasteries and therefore the monks formed the majority of people who used them. Even among the monks, there was a special group who devoted their time to pariyatti.

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1. Pl. 37242 (Note the peculiar spelling Piṭakata)
2. Unlike the western scholars who begin with the Vinayapiṭaka (Childers: Dic. of P. Lang: p. 507) Burmans count the three piṭaka as Sut Winah: Abhidhammā i.e. Sutta, Vinaya and Abhidhamma and therefore the first book the Suttantapiṭaka becomes the very first book of the piṭaka.
3. In Burma, the ten Jātaka always mean the last ten stories of the 547.
4. Pl. 24227
5. Pl. 3032 (nidāna ja le tac klām—one volume of Nidānapiṭaka) and also Pl. 20818 where the donor gave only one volume of the jātaka. In Pl. 161b5 a rich lady Un Nūñ San gave only the first three books of the piṭaka.
6. Pl. 30834
—learning—and were called casan1 — students — and some monasteries which were devoted to learning were called casan 2fik2 of casan klon3 — educational institutes. Such institutes also provided free board and lodging4 to the students and some institutes had as few as two students5 while some had as many as twenty big buildings within a compound serving as hostels for them.6 These students used pty7 — (corypha elata) umbrella palm leaves or thanwak8 — (borassus flabellifer) palmyra palm leaves and stylus for their writing material with a view to longevity. In this case they bound their finished pty with klarn9 — wooden boards — usually of Lakpari10 — bombax malabaricum and stored them up in talali11 — cases — made of wood or in cauitik12 — cabinets — which were sometimes so profusely decorated that one would cost as much as 215 ticals of silver. Sometimes they used parabu113 — a single long sheet of paper folded backwards and forwards to form a book — to be written with kamkuchan113 — (steatite) soapstone pencil — kept a in kamkataniklen113 — cylindrical case specially made for those pencils. For daily use, they had miyphlu14 — chalk, and sanphun14 — blackboard.

After building the library, the donor’s next concern was to provide it with attendants and necessary funds so that repairs to the building, preservation15 of the manuscripts and new acquisitions to the library would be possible. Such works of merit were known as trya war116 — duties towards the Law. To fulfil these purposes the donor dedicated lands,17 slaves18 (sometimes including scribes19, elephants20, palmyra—palm21 and sesame22 (to extract oil for lighting) to the Law. The duties towards the Law included also the offering of daily food in the same way as to the Lord and the Order. For example, in A.D. 1278 the
minister Caturāṇagapaccaya said:

// apaññ lay 3230 kywan 160  // i y lay khwan ra so capā twañ kā ta niy so purhā chan ta carvā 'khyak 'sañput // pitakat ta niy so to prañ khyak 'sañput // kloñ therā cā so ta la capā 30 // arññ 20 ta niy chan ta prañ twañ a prañ 20 //

The total of 3230 (pay) of land and 160 slaves (are dedicated). Out of the paddy received as rent from these lands, \( \frac{1}{2} \) basket of rice (is to be) cooked everyday (as) almsfood for the Lord, 1 prañ (\( \frac{1}{2} \) of the basket) of rice (is to be) cooked everyday (as) almsfood for the Law, 30 (baskets) of paddy are (to be set apart) every month for the chief monk of the monastery to eat and 20 prañ of rice at 1 prañ for each monk are (to be cooked) daily for 20 monks.

Another donor after dedicating 8073 pay of land said:

// i lay ndiik ra ap so capā twañ kā ceti sañput ta niy chan 1 prañ pitakat ta niy chan 3 tum purhā ryap sañput ta niy chan 1 tum purhā tanthim sañput ta niy chan 1 tum nā smi plu so kū 4 myakhnā so sañput ta niy chan 4 tum tan ciy sante?

From the (yearly) produce of paddy from these lands, 1 prañ of rice (is to be cooked) daily as almsfood for the cetiya, 3 tum of rice daily for the pitaka, 1 tum of rice daily as almsfood for the standing Buddha, 1 tum of rice daily as almsfood for the recumbent Buddha, 4 tum of rice daily as almsfood for the four sided hollow pagoda built by my daughter are to be offered.

Thus apart from this rite of offering daily food to the Law, the medieval libraries of Burma had adequate staffs and funds as its modern counterparts. But the nature of the collection was mainly religious, and a complete set of the tipitaka together with commentaries would be available there and perhaps even spare copies of some popular texts. Naturally, the majority of the readers were young monks whose ambition was to learn by heart the whole of the "three heaps of the tryā" with some of the ākañ and aṭṭhakatha of the texts.

Besides meaning tipitaka, tryā also means the preaching of the monks who try to explain some part of the teachings of Gotama to his congregation. To give such a sermon is known as tryā [¹] and to listen to it would be termed tryā nā [²] and a sort of donation called tryā chu [³] is given to the preacher by way of recompense for his pains. It is interesting to note here that the donations vary from areca-nuts [⁴] and loin-cloths [⁵] to paddy [⁶] and paddyfields [⁷]. Usually there was a weekly sermon on every satañ [⁸]—sabbath day—during the wāl [⁹]—lent. In some monasteries preaching was heard twice every sabbath, i.e., once in the

1. Pl. 289 [¹]
2. Pl. 393 [²]
3. Pl. 271 [³]
4. Pl. 175,5, 8, Pl. 224,5, 7, Pl. 2713, (Pl. 5310), Pl. 6711, Pl. 37016, 16, 17, Pl. 3921 [⁴]
5. Pl. 3625, Pl. 4291-2, Pl. 13827, Pl. 27522, Pl. 28910, Pl. 39325, Pl. 396a27
6. Pl. 3235 [⁵]
7. Pl. 27522, Pl. 39325 [⁶]
8. Pl. 13827, Pl. 28919 [⁷]
9. Pl. 4291-2, Pl. 396a27 [⁸]
10. & II. Pl. 3625, Pl. 13827, Pl. 27522, Pl. 28910 [⁹]
morning and again at night,1 Big monastic establishments generally had a separate building called the dharmasä2 or tryä im3—or tryä kloñ4—hall of the Law—where most of the preaching was done. In such a hall, a special seat called tryä pañññ5—sometimes gilded, with a golden umbrella and canopy6 above—was made for the preacher. From this seat, the preacher would address the congregation on such subjects as Dhammacakka7—the wheel of law, Pañciccasamuppàda8—the working of cause and effect, Rathavinita Sutta9—the seven acts of purity and Satipaśñña Sutta10—the four methods of meditation. The listeners thus became well acquainted with the methods of obtaining the paññ✿ambhidäm11—analytical knowledge, and the four saccä12—truths—that would ultimately result in their becoming arahat13 when Maitreya14 becomes Buddha or in other words in attaining akñwat tryä15—the knowledge that would help one to achieve nirvàna. In present day Burma, stories from the Jātaka are usually quoted by the preacher as illustration and these tales which are quite interesting, attract a considerable portion of the audience to the dharmasä. It is not unlikely that some old Burmans were also attracted to the dharmasä in the same way. The Jātaka are full of moral lessons and scenes from them were painted on the walls of some buildings16 with a dual purpose, viz. to decorate the hall and to convey some information on Buddhism in pictures. There are two interesting names in connection with these teachings. They are Mälañ and Pisamantra and in an inscription of A.D. 1201 they appear as:

|| Sakarac 563 || Mruikkasor nhac || Sañkri Nọi Up phun mà so Tankho la chan 14 rek Tannhänkunuy niy Mälañ nā e, || lapraañ Tannhänlā niy, kā Pisamantra nā e, || lap t 1 rek Añkā niy kā Dhammacakkra nā e, ||17

In A.D. 1201 Sañkri Nọi Up did the following meritorious deeds. On Sunday 19 March18 Mälañ (story) was heard; on Monday 20 March the Pisamantra (story), and on Tuesday 21 March the Dhammacakka.

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1. Pl. 275a2
2. Pl. 7510, Pl. 102a8, Pl. 105a9, Pl. 152a, Pl. 183a, Pl. 234a10, Pl. 303a, Pl. 366a10, Pl. 575a, Pl. 602a2
3. Pl. 152a, Pl. 164a7
4. Pl. 68a5
5. Pl. 105a9, Pl. 205a, Pl. 371a13
6. Pl. 73a19
7. Belongs to the Samyuttanikāya of the Suttantapiṭaka and supposed to be the first preaching of all the Buddhas. Pl. 6a8, Pl. 22a7, Pl. 202a9, Pl. 209a12, Pl. 249a14
8. Pl. 6a7
9. Twenty-fourth sutta of the M'iñjhimanikāya. Pl. 396b1
10. Tenth sutta of the M'iñjhimanikāya. Pl. 53a18
11. Pl. 197a12
12. Pl. 390a5, Pl. 413a5
13. Arahattaputhi (Arahattaputha) Pl. 235a1, Pl. 247a6, Rahanti (Arañña) Pl. 10b51, Pl. 23a11, Pl. 19a49, Pl. 14a54, Pl. 145a18, Pl. 195a15, Pl. 206a, Pl. 209a15, Pl. 233a10, Pl. 239a8, Pl. 240a12, Pl. 246a15, Pl. 249a15, Pl. 253a10, Pl. 263a11, Pl. 299a18, Pl. 422a12, Pl. 579a18
14. Pl. 23a2, Pl. 8a5, Pl. 10b56, Pl. 14a8, Pl. 23a11, Pl. 44a18, Pl. 9b50, Pl. 122a15, Pl. 152a5, Pl. 164a5, Pl. 182a28, Pl. 197a11, Pl. 202a9, Pl. 206a, Pl. 216a14, Pl. 233a15, Pl. 249a8, Pl. 275a11, Pl. 283a25, Pl. 293a4, Pl. 299a18, Pl. 331a12, Pl. 334a15, Pl. 364a5, Pl. 366a11, Pl. 384a, Pl. 558a7, Pl. 572a15
15. (Pl. 202a5), Pl. 216a15, Pl. 235a21, Pl. 247a8
16. Pl. 105a8, Pl. 248a10
17. Pl. 221-7 Pl. 308a25 has Pisamantra
Mālānī according to Professor Pe Maung Tin is.

Mālēyya, now known as Shin Māle, a Sinhalese thera whose conversation with the coming Buddha Metteyya is told in the Rasavāhinī, a non-canonical Pāli work of Ceylon. Metteyya tells Mālēyya among other things that if any one wishes to meet him when he becomes the Buddha, "he must make offerings to the present Buddha of a thousand rice-alms, a thousand sweet and sour fruits, a thousand oil-lights, water flowers, land flowers, banners, a thousand umbrellas, together with betel to chew and pickled tea-leaves appropriately conveyed in hlawya boats and listen to the law of Vessantara."  

Pīsamantra or Pīsamantrā is perhaps Vessantara (Jataka No. 547) because a later Burmese legend quoted above made an allusion to Vessantara in connection with Mālāvī-Mahādeva Thera. Although the inscription of A.D. 1201 quoted above mentions that the story-telling of Mālānī and Pīsamantra falls around the full moon day of Tanka: (19-21 March 1201), another reference connects the listening of Pīsamantra with the Lāthina6 ceremony. In present day Burma kañhna is generally held on any day between the first day of the waning moon in Sītan;kyaw to the full moon day of Tanchoinmn: (October–November). But most popularly it held on the last day, i.e. the full moon day of Tanchoinmn: and perhaps not incidentally Shyan Mālāl Pwai: also falls on that day too.  

As part of tryā we should also deal with paritta. The old Burman used parit-kri: (Mahāparittan) which is a small collection of texts gathered from the SuttantaPitaka to ward off "various evils physical and moral"8, as the modern Burmans do to-day. In A.D.1102 the Mahāthera Arahan and 4108 bhikkhu recited paritta in and around the new palace built by

2. A collection of 103 stories in Sinhalese by Rathapālī, revised and translated into Pali in about the early part of the 14th century be Vēdēha (DPPN, II, p. 718) and then translated (date unknown) into Burmese by Vajirapobhā. The Burmese version appears under the name Madhuravasahini Vatthal (Rangoon, Hamsāwati Press, 1927) and the story of Mālīya Thera appears in pp. 503-52 and his dialogue with Metteyya is given in pp. 550-1. Mahāvarāsa (tr. by W. Geiger, Colombo, Government Publication, 1950) has also references to him (xxxiii30 and 49, pp. 222-4). Mahāvīra (tr. by Ky:soi Lethpno Charāduo, Rangoon, Sudhamawatī Press, 1953) adds notes about him on pp. 320, 392 and 397.

3. JBRs, XXVI, I, p. 59 (BRSFAP, II, p. 430). The instructions by Maitreya to offer 1000 lights, etc., seems to be a Burmese modification and Professor Pe Maung Tin is quoting here a translation made from a palm-leaf MS (No. 1450 Bernand Free Library, Rangoon, now in the National Library, No. 1329) called Shyan Mālai Watthi. (Two other MSS under the same title at the National Library are Nos. 1330 & "T33L") The story was versified in 1804 by Moi Nui: and part of this Shyan Mālai Prui, appears in Kyañ Thwae: Mrrnamcā Nwan, por: Kyam: II, Anthology of Burmese Literature, Rangoon, Government Publication, 1927, pp. 328-9. The National Library, Rangoon, has a copy of the Shyan Mālai Prui, (No. 2038) but unfortunately the MS is not complete. (See also JBRs, X, pp. 130 and 145; U: Tañ Khabbanadosār Kyam: Rangoon Anuyiśa Press, p. 85, No. 128; Muiñ:Khui: Mrui:ca; Piñakah Sambhū: Rangoon, Hamsāwati Press, 1959, p. 251, No. 1816). The story of 1000 lights on a thouna: is repeated in U: Sin: Porāṇadipani Kyam: II, Rangun, Mrrnamawati Press, 1913, pp. 330-43.

4. Pl. 225
5. Pl. 308a5
6. Pl. 232, Pl. 992, Pl. 117b7, Pl. 16317, Pl. 2341, Pl. 27212, Pl. 2747, Pl. 30825, Pl. 37258
8. M.H. Bode: Pali Literature of Burma, p. 3
Thitiū Mṇā.1 In A.D. 1190 Sīngḥasūra, minister of Cāḷīṇī II, built a hollow pagoda. When the relics were enshrined in that pagoda, eight monks came and recited the parītta.2 Princess Acav Lat, daughter of King Narasīṁhā Ucchānā, on a similar occasion in A.D. 1261 had seven bhikkhu and one bhikkhuṇī to recite the parītta.3 There are eleven selections in the modern parītta4 and although nothing is known except the fact that parītta was used, it may safely be assumed that these eleven were also in vogue then.

Tryā5 also means civil and criminal law. The law court at the capital was probably known as tryā khoṇ sāya6— the Pleasant Hall of Justice. Perhaps every large village and town had law courts called buṅ tryā. The court of appeal was known as atām tryā.8 One of the criminal courts was the khoṇ tryā— the court for petty theft cases. We have quite a number of inscriptions10 mentioning law suits especially disputes on ownership of land11 and slaves.12 Sometimes, complaints were made by the clergy against the king for the confiscation of their lands by royal order.13 In such cases, a royal commission was specially appointed to deal with it and it is interesting to note that the commission always found the king guilty. The monks occasionally quarrelled among themselves for the ownership of land14 but usually it was the monk versus the descendants of the donor who claimed that part of the monastic land was their inheritance. In A.D. 1259 ṝā Mṛga and son took a certain portion of land belonging to the monastery built by ṽā Lāp Sāṇ where Gunagambhi had been the chief monk for over three years. Originally the land belonged to ṽā Čaū Khraī Sāṇ who gave it to the monastery during the reign of King Nātonīyā (1211-7 1231). Now Taṇųplī was king, and thus five kings had passed away; and during all that time the monastery enjoyed the produce of the land. Then suddenly:15

...koṅ sī phyak ruy lu ca lat sate lu piy e, ṽā Mṇa kā ṽā phuiw ṽā Caū Khraī Sāṇ, mīy, pri kā sankhā ta yok tāl liyaṅ ma cā phū lu piy, e, ṽā thuiw rhai saṇphama nhac yok cat lat so te16 ...

1. Old Mon IX A14,18,21,26,36,48,46, C7, D14, G35,56,40,42,49,44,45,46
2. Pl. 10a7
3. Pl. 2012,14 Another mention of parītta appears in Pl. 266a11 but unfortunately a large portion of the inscription is illegible.
5. Sec NBVe pl. 42 & 44-6
6. Pl. 547, Pl. 371b8
7. Pl. 79b1,27
8. Pl. 79b17,27,55
9. Pl. 141a14,14
10. Pl. 74, Pl. 78b, Pl. 79b, Pl. 90. Pl. 141a, Pl. 162, Pl. 174, Pl. 191b, Pl. 193, Pl. 231b, Pl. 272, Pl. 273 Pl. 331a, Pl. 371b, Pl. 381, Pl. 393, Pl. 421b, Pl. 560, Pl. 574b
11. Pl. 54, Pl. 90, Pl. 141, etc.
12. Pl. 74, Pl. 78b, Pl. 79b, Pl. 174, Pl. 191b
13. Pl. 90, Pl. 231b, Pl. 296
14. Pl. 54, Pl. 371b
15. Pl. 193, Pl. 381, Pl. 421b, Pl. 560f
16. Pl. 1938-12
...they destroyed the crop and (took possession of the land.) So says (Gunagambhi). Nak'Mwan (replied that) from the time his grandfather Nak Can Kray Sa'i passed away, not even a single monk has been known to enjoy (the produce of this land). Then the two judges began their investigation...

The witnesses were summoned. They probably lived in the same village where the disputing parties also lived. Nak Rok Õ, the lawka sukri—coxswain of the royal barge at Takon and Paccara representing the eW̄a sañ kri ñay—villager's old and young, testified that the land was reputed to be monastery property. Kanka, another witness, probably the oldest man in the locality confirmed the above statement. According to him, from the reign of King Nātoñmyā until then which was more than twenty five years, only the monks had enjoyed the produce of the land. Not satisfied with a mere statement, he took an oath. We must note here that taking an oath came only after making a statement, and that only the most important witness took one. This is unlike the modern procedure. The judges decided in Gunagambhi's favour. To be successful in a law suit is termed trya ou e1 and to be defeated is trya yumi e2. In criminal cases, the judges consulted the annunwan3 to determine the kind of punishment suited for the crime committed. For civil cases, the guide book was the dhammasatâ4 but we are unable to say what sort of dhammasattha was used in those days. We find only one mention in the dhammasat in the inscriptions of the period and it is in an inscription dated A.D. 1249. It is probable that the courts used the dhammasat as the Civil Code and the annunwan as the Criminal Code. In the course of the trial, the witnesses were asked to hold the relics of the Buddha5 or the book of Abhidhamma pitaka6 or to take an oath before an image of the Buddha7 swearing that they were telling nothing but the truth. After weighing all evidences, the judges pronounced their verdict which was always cā khyup e,8 — recorded, and tanchip1 — the seal of the court — was affixed to the

1. PI. 7410, (Pl. 795), PI. 117a2,4,6,9,15, PI. 1415,9,12, PI. 17415, (Pl. 331a11, Pl. 574b8)
2. PI. 17416
3. King Klañwâ's Edict against thieves. Plates 166ab, 167-9, 170, 173-4, 343 and 345ab. See above pp. 24-9
4. PI. 17414. Dhammañilasa Dhammasat and Wagaru Dhammasat are believed to be the oldest works on law in Burma. Tradition attributes them to our period; early 13th century for the former and late 13th century for the latter. Originally they were written in Pali and Mon respectively and translated later into Burmese. No originals are now available and therefore we are not in a position to ascertain their claim to antiquity. They codified the customary law and they would be modified and enlarged considerably in the Burmese translation. Probably the translations were made in the 16th century or later. The British Museum has a 1749 copy of the Dhammañilasa Dhammasat and Dr. Forchhammer used a 1707 copy of the Wagaru Dhammasat for his translation. (E. Forchhammer: King Wagaru's Manus Dhammasotham Rangoon, Government Publication, 1892) A fairly recent work on Burmese law maintains that these two are the earliest works in Burmese legal literature though it is impossible to say with certainty that they belong to the 13th century, that both were compiled within a comparatively short interval of each other; and that Dhammañilasa is slightly earlier than Wagaru. (See Shwe Baw: Origin and Development of Burmese Legal Literature, Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of London, 1955, f. 86)
5. PI. 78b7, PI. 191b11, PI. 38117,17,18,19,20
6. PI. 78b7
7. PI. 231b8
8. PI. 1964, PI. 27220, PI. 27418, PI. 27925
record. In cases where evidence was not available, the contestants had to undergo a trial by ordeal after having taken a corporal oath. The following extract relates a trial by ordeal (water) for the possession of land:

{\textit{Maṅkalapiça}nī …… tuiw nhañ, || \textit{Yañ Sañ} sā …… so || kamuy thañ ... (tuin) sükri \textit{Na Lak Cway, Sañ mho}k || (ryā ra) khrañ kroñ, riy ṅup e || \textit{Ma(a)kł apocalypse} (hūyā)ñ oh liy e || miuw ō nhac că pri mha te || \textit{Nā Mañ Ki} min lat-tuni e || riy ṅup sā kā ryā ra khran te ṅup e hu e || ryā i:1 khran kā ma ṅup phu hu plan, ruy || ryā ra khran yū lat e hu krā lat e || tanchip pon ṅup so saṁphama tuiw || acit aciy miy so || \textit{Maṅkalapiça}nī hā e || athisi rhaw riy ṅup sā kā ryā ra khran kroñ, ṅup so hut-tā || si so kā || tuin sükri \textit{Na Lak Cway Sañ} liyāñ si e hu min e || \textit{Yañ Sañ} sā \textit{Nā Mañ (Ki)} hu e || tuin sükri \textit{Na Lak Cway (Sañ)} ryā ra khran ṅup sā kā Ńā hlyāñ si so te hu amükwan khat ciy hu min ra kā || saṁphama tuiw, le ...}

\textit{Maṅkalapiça}nī ... and \textit{Yañ Sañ}’s son (contested for the ownership of a piece of land). It was in the presence of \textit{Tuin Sukri} (Land Officer) \textit{Na Lak Cway Sañ} that they underwent a water ordeal (to decide who should own) the \textit{ryā} (dry-cultivation land). \textit{Maṅkalapiça}nī won. Six \textit{miuw} (rain) had passed that he ate (the produce of the land). Then (\textit{Yañ Sañ}’s son) \textit{Nā Mañ Ki} said: “The water ordeal was done to get the \textit{ryā}. But the ordeal was never carried out. (Nevertheless he) took the \textit{ryā}”. He informed this to (the officers concerned). Saṁphama (the judges) who (?) the ‘Flower Seal’ made enquiries. \textit{Maṅkalapiça}nī said: “It is true that the water ordeal was done to get the \textit{ryā}. \textit{Na Lak Cway Sañ the \textit{Tuin Sukri knew it}.” (Then) \textit{Nā Mañ Ki}, son of \textit{Yañ Sañ}, replied. \textit{Na Lak Cway Sañ} said: “I knew that the water ordeal for the possession of land was carried out. Put that on record.” The Judges ...

Another inscription dated A.D. 1242 also said that a land dispute was settled by a water ordeal in the presence of three judges, viz., Narintasu, \textit{Mahāsman}’s son and \textit{Nā Kriuw Cā}.

\textit{Chañ thin} (mahout) one of the contestants won the case, but his rival raised an objection that he won by means of magic (\textit{chiy plu că ruy}). So the case was sent to the Criminal Court (\textit{Kriuw Tryā}). Unfortunately we do not know the rest of the proceedings as the remaining part of the inscription is now no longer legible. Perhaps such incidents led later judges to investigate whether the contestants and their supporters had secreted charms and magic about them before the trial by ordeal began.3 So far we have discussed \textit{tryā} as a law suit.

Tryā was also used to signify the judges of the court.4 But, sometimes it was prefixed or suffixed to some other word to mean a judge. For example, there are the combinations

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1. Pl. 598a1-22
2. Pl. 141a8,11
4. Pl. 7410, Pl. 79b4,8, Pl. 19321, Pl. 23511, Pl. 598a11
5. Pl. 56b9, Pl. 78b22,54, Pl. 79a17,20,24,55, Pl. 79b4, Pl. 191b10, Pl. 38127,28,51,57, Pl. 394s, Pl. 56b7,10
6. \textit{U.P. 0.144. 1000. 23 a. 78}
tryā samipyā,1 tryā saṁghama,2 and tryā sākri3 where the word tryā is prefixed to those words which generally denote 'officer' and thus we have the law officers. We do not know how they differ from one another although it is almost sure that they dealt with law cases. With tryā suffixed, we have the names like khuiv tryā,4 khuiv tryā cākhi5 and buhi tryā6 meaning the judge of petty theft cases, a clerk attached to the above and junior judge respectively. It is interesting to note that there were some women judges7 in those days. Some judges were given such titles as Manucājā8 or Manorāja9 probably because they were very good judges, as the titles suggest some connection with Manu, the law giver. Incidentally we must mention here three other names for judges which do not contain the word tryā. They are anhu curtī10 – the officer in charge of the case, saṁghama11 – the judge who administer the law (tryā chan so)12 and khuiv sākri13 – the judge of theft cases. This all we know about the word tryā.

As we have seen the word tryā is capable of many interpretations. It is the Tipiṭaka, the preaching at the hall of law, the law suit and the judge. As the Tipiṭaka, the old Burma's knowledge of the tryā was by no means slight. Although very costly they had complete sets of pitaka together with commentaries. The monasteries had well stocked libraries with ample staff, funds and fine buildings which also served as educational institutes where the youth was given free religious education. Much learning was by rote. Monastic education was considered a very important qualification for those who aspired to high offices in the civil service. As regards tryā in its aspect as religious teaching the monks considered it their duty to instruct their lay devotees in the ways to nirvana. They attempted to explain even the more difficult but important parts of Buddhist philosophy in plain words with illustrations from the jātaka. These discourses given in special buildings known as dhammasāgā were well attended. Sometimes there were two sessions, once in the morning and once in the evening on sabbath days during the lent. After thus receiving the method, it was the duty of the listener to practise and attain nirvana. Tryā in its legal aspects meant the law courts with dhammasāgā and amurwān as civil and criminal codes respectively. Kings noted for their justice would acquire the popular name of tryā mañ – the just king. Lastly, tryā meant judges themselves who were undaunted even as the idea of dealing out justice to the king himself if need be.

1. Pl. 78b9, Pl. 144a9
2. Pl. 14914
3. Pl. 54, Pl. 191b6, Pl. 371b6
4. Pl. 141a14, 14
5. Pl. 2601
6. Pl. 79b19, 27
7. Pl. 17411
8. Pl. 44b15, Pl. 2734, 6, Pl. 331b7
9. Pl. 231b9
10. Pl. 421b17
11. Pl. 7415, Pl. 79b27, Pl. 120b17, Pl. 141a16, Pl. 27226
12. Pl. 7415, Pl. 78b25, 24, Pl. 79b20, 23, 27, Pl. 161b5, Pl. 1743, 4, 6, 11, Pl. 19414
13. Pl. 2415
CHAPTER VII

SAÑGHĀ

SAÑGHĀ is the Pali loan word for the Order. It is interesting to note that in ratana suññ pā at—the phrase denoting three gems of the Buddha, dhamma and saṅgha, saṅghā is the only word of which the derivation is clear as the three gems are known to the old Burmans as purhā, tryā, saṅghā. We are still very much in the dark as to the origin of the words purhā and tryā. The old Mon used saṅghā and probably the Pyu saṅgha, which are only slight variations in spelling from the Burmese Saṅghā. The Pali saṅgha means the assembly or the multitude but the old Burmans affixed some adjectival phrases to that word and therefore we will consider here these phrases which came together with saṅghā in old Burmese in order to understand what saṅghā really meant to them.

We very often come across the phrase klo niy so saṅghā6—monks living in monasteries which is quite different from taw mlat kri,7 taw skhīn8 and taw klo ni saṅghā9—the lords dwelling in the forest—who would be otherwise known as Arahānayasī or Arahā, Skhī saṅghā,10 the reverend monk, suggests that monks occupied an exalted position. They were respected by the people in much the same way as respect was shown to those belonging to the royal family or government officers who were addressed with skhīn prefixed to their names. As Prince Rājasūra, the great minister Anantasūra and King Klacwī were called Skhī Rājāsa, Skhī Anantasū and Skhī Klacwā respectively, so the exalted lords of the Order were addressed Skhī Wineyduhar (Vinayadhara), Skhī Mahākassapo, etc.12 Even in cases where the monk is known by the lay name which is not infrequent, he is sure to get the honorific skhīn (e.g. Skhī Nga Mät Klac).13 But these skhīn of the monastery were by nature quite different from those in the royal family and executive offices as they were defined as

1. Pl. 135, 11, 15, Pl. 2415, Pl. 255, Pl. 429, 5, Pl. 431, Pl. 684, Pl. 695 10, Pl. 805, Pl. 845, Pl. 9013, Pl. 94a, 50, 52, 55, 57, 47, Pl. 94b, 31, Pl. 1027, 55, Pl. 105a, 5, Pl. 1215, Pl. 131a, 2, Pl. 140a, Pl. 140b, Pl. 143a, 5, 28, 29, Pl. 144a, 29, Pl. 145a, 5, Pl. 147b, 5, Pl. 1527, 10, 20, etc.
2. Pl. 10a, 7, 58, Pl. 13, 11, 14, Pl. 165, Pl. 175, 10, Pl. 211, Pl. 221, Pl. 26a, 18, Pl. 26b 28, Pl. 315, 19, 58, Pl. 361, Pl. 531 22, Pl. 684, Pl. 722, Pl. 94c, 18, 25, Pl. 992, Pl. 1002, Pl. 1022, etc.
3. So far there has been no satisfactory answer as to the derivation of the words prūhā and tryā though some tentatively take the Sanskrit or Pali "vara" for the first and a spencerised Sanskrit "śīrā" for the second.
5. Ibl., i, The Pyu face of the Rājakumār Inscription line 17.
6. Pl. 10a 27, Pl. 165, Pl. 28a 18, Pl. 132a 2, Pl. 216, Pl. 2912, Pl. 599b 6
7. Pl. 208 17
8. Pl. 233a 8
9. Pl. 125 16
10. Pl. 94a 16, Pl. 265, Pl. 274 26, Pl. 283 18
11. Pl. 105a 28 (Skhī Rājāsa), Pl. 79b (Skhī Anantasū) and Pl. 7425 (Skhī Klacwā)
12. Pl. 152 29 (Skhī Wineyduhar), Pl. 123 8 (Skhī Mahākassapo)
13. Pl. 385a 7
But after A.D. Xl would (riy( 

The saMjams and Hud wore manics which anyhow, tapasill Buddha Moggalina,

's. II. 10. 9. G. 4. 5. 3. 2. 1.

The word tape, freely translated means pupil, but if it is to be connected with the Pali tapassin or Sanskrit tapasvin and therefore tape, sā would be a sāvaka—the disciple. The monks were also known as arīya saṅghā and rahan saṅghā meaning the nobles and arahants. Although all the monks were not arahants, they were taken to be on the right way to nirvāṇa as the arahants were Anantastira, Commander-in-Chief of Nātoinmya in A.D.1223 defined saṅghā as:

sāsanā kuīw khyat ray, staṅ kyan, so skhiṅ ariyā tuiv,...

the noble lords, who practised self restraint for love of the Religion.

But the best descriptive phrase about the monks is given by a queen of Tarukpliy in A.D. 1266 as:

kloṅ twaṅ niy so sataṅ samādhi praṅā hū so klaṅjū sunī pā kuīw rhā so sataṅ caṅ so purhā tape, sā rahan saṅghā

the monks (or) the arahants—the disciple of the Lord (who) live in the monastery (and are) pure in piety (and) ever seeking the three graces of self-possession and wisdom
Thus *saṅghā* is synonymous with respectful, pious, wise and celibate. We have another reference which would be very useful if the information were complete. In a partly legible inscription dated A.D. 1198 a donor dedicated slaves and lands and said that some of the lands were for:

... cañ tat so saṅghā || talāṅ theṅ tat so saṅghā || ... tat so saṅghā ||

the monks who ..., the monks who sweep the compound and the monks who ...

From what it remains in the description, we find that there were monks who did some menial labour. But there can be no harm for a monk to sweep the compound of the monastery as keeping a religious place clean and tidy is also considered an act of merit. Some suggest that cañ tat so saṅghā is monks playing the harp. That is not possible because even a lay disciple observing *āthāṅgika upasatthā* on sabbath days is forbidden *vucca*-dancing, *gīta*-singing, and *vādīta*-playing instrumental music. In another inscription we find that the donor invested the *thera*-senior monk, with three duties:

purhā phuṅw kā therā sim ciy sate phurhā cut twāṅ ra rā phā ciy sate cañ, panyā
kuw te plu ciy sate ||2

The *thera* shall take charge of (the lands) for the pagoda and do repairs at the pagoda (with) whatever he gets (from the lands) and provide cañ (drums) and panyā (*singing*).

With regard to the last duty, it probably meant that the *thera* was to take charge of the pagoda slave musicians. Another inscription dated A.D. 1232 mentions that a slave was dedicated to the *Three Gems* to learn panyā.3 It seems that the monasteries also gave some sort of musical courses—they probably trained pagoda and monastery slaves in the art of singing and music. From the illustrations just shown, we have a clear impression of what the old Burmans meant by the word *saṅghā*. *Saṅghā* belonged to the respected Order of the Buddha, “lived in monasteries in the village or in the forest practising piety and were well on their way to *nirvāṇa*. Of course, there were some *saṅghā* who had to manage the monastery and see that slaves of the establishment carried out their duties properly, including musical entertainment and the teaching of music to some slaves. They would occasionally sweep the compound themselves as that was a way of acquiring merit. This is the picture gained by the study of the word *saṅghā* with its various adjectival phrases. But *saṅghā* is not the only word used by the old Burmans to describe their monkhood.

There were other words to signify monks. The old Mon sometimes shortened *saṁghā* into *sañ*4 or-supplement *sañ* with *arya* as *sañ ariy*.5 Very often they used their own

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1. Pl. 2111.12
2. Pl. 195a8.10
3. Pl. 94a4. See also Pl. 276b11
4. *Ep.* *Birm.*, I, ii, 1 F45
5. *Ibid.*, I E9
The old Burmans also used *sātī* for all the monks and *sānkhī* for senior monks and *sānıyān* for junior monks. A forest dwelling monk was mentioned once as *sātī araṅg* and like the old Mon, they also used the combination *sātī araṅ* 6 The word *blum:kri* for a monk was not in use then although a very similar one *phum sātī*—the possessor of merit—was sometime used as an honorific to a monk's name. But the term *phum sātī* was also applied to some lay devotees. Next to *sānıkhī*, the most popular term for a monk was *araṅ* (*ariva*) which originally meant noble and later was extended to include Buddhist monks. Sometimes the combination of *araṅ* *sātāu kon*10 is used, suggesting that to the old Burmans, *araṅ* means a holy man. Next to *araṅ*, they had *rahan*11 which is derived from *araṅ*—the person who arrives at the fourth and last stage on the way to *nirvāṇa*. But to the old Burmans the term *rahan* had no such meaning as they used *rahanā* for those who had acquired *arahattaphala* (arahattaphalaḥṭha) and therefore *rahan* simply means monk and to become one is termed *rahan mu*13. Only adults of over twenty were ordained monks or nuns.14 Deacons or novices were called *samaniyī*15 which is derived from the Pali *samaṇgera*. The word *kūrān* for a novice was not in use then and the words *syan*16 or *asyan*17 from which perhaps the word *kūrān* is derived does not

2. Pl. 405, Pl. 13917, Pl. 15710, 10, Pl. 223a, Pl. 2629, Pl. 25187, 28, Pl. 365c11, Pl. 367a8
3. Pl. 68, Pl. 222, 14, Pl. 4119, Pl. 113a, Pl. 15711, Pl. 25915, Pl. 362a2, 23, 25, 24, 25, 23, Pl. 36651, Pl. 373a8, Pl. 38156. The Mon face of the *Rājakumāra* inscription (Ep. Birm., I, i, pp. 55–6) also uses this term.
4. Pl. 1138
5. Pl. 405–6
6. Pl. 28528
7. Pl. 113b5, Pl. 12314, 15, Pl. 134a10, Pl. 134b4, Pl. 1579, 9, 10, 26, Pl. 253b3, Pl. 3294
8. Pl. 7415, 17, 20, Pl. 8a5, Pl. 18a, Pl. 212, Pl. 422, 4, 14, 16, Pl. 439, Pl. 44b9, 17, Pl. 512, 11, Pl. 56a8, 6, Pl. 740, 11, Pl. 78b8, Pl. 79b25, Pl. 122a4, Pl. 128a10, Pl. 12b85, 6, Pl. 12b82 (*phumsañī mo*), Pl. 214b11, Pl. 2522, Pl. 311b11, Pl. 335b11, Pl. 373a8, Pl. 377b4, Pl. 558a11, Pl. 559b1, Pl. 563a13, Pl. 573b9, Pl. 594a3, 17, Pl. 599d, Pl. 602a4, 10. Perhaps the term in the latter part of our period was used only for the monks and the modern *blum kri* evolves from it.
9. Pl. 1210, Pl. 2113, Pl. 738, 29, Pl. 143a24, Pl. 19825, Pl. 20312, 16, Pl. 2061, Pl. 222a11, Pl. 22921, Pl. 24215, Pl. 244a2, 20, Pl. 246a, Pl. 249d4, Pl. 257b, Pl. 25827, Pl. 27099, Pl. 27148, Pl. 27529, Pl. 2764b, 7, 10, Pl. 2806, Pl. 28321, Pl. 28526, Pl. 28621, 15, 10, Pl. 28914, Pl. 2939, Pl. 29510, Pl. 298a5, 7, Pl. 3070, Pl. 373b25, Pl. 3902, Pl. 39258, 5, 58, Pl. 39330, Pl. 39521, Pl. 396a54, Pl. 396b7, Pl. 5947
10. Pl. 2714b
11. Pl. 322, Pl. 79, Pl. 3119, 50, Pl. 44b11, Pl. 147b20, Pl. 14916, Pl. 20023, Pl. 2113, Pl. 2162, Pl. 2203, Pl. 2401, Pl. 2567, Pl. 2639, 9, 13, Pl. 302a, Pl. 30829, 53, 55, Pl. 331b5, Pl. 37614, 5, 9, 11, 14, 14, 15, 17, 19, 29, 25, 9, Pl. 38112, Pl. 600b10
12. The *cattāra maggā* or Four Paths are four stages of sanctification leading to *nirvāṇa* and they are *saddhatthā maggo*, *sokadāgāmi maggo*, *anāgārimaggo* and *arahattamaggo*.
13. Pl. 220a, Pl. 308b3, 55, Pl. 38112
15. Pl. 3085
16. Pl. 24420, Pl. 246a, Pl. 27115, 18, 29, 51, Pl. 27918, Pl. 29115, Pl. 296810, Pl. 380812, Pl. 388a11, 21, Pl. 3925a, Pl. 39521, Pl. 419b40, Pl. 4235
17. Pl. 368a2, Pl. 389b5
mean a joyous but a monk with the exception when asanä was applied to royalty as asanä mañikà:—the liege lord, the great king. Monks addressed each other as ñã asanã—my lord. They were also mentioned as pantañgi which literally means a pure flower and the spelling does not permit it to be connected with pantañga, the five attributes or the burmanised pannañ, as the modern Burman believes. Thus we find the use of sañ, sañ aryà and gunàr among the old Mobs for the monks and among the old Burmese, sañ, sanâkri, sanâyàñ, san arañ, sañ aryàñ, phun sañ, aryàñ, rahan, samanîñ, syanã, asanã and pannañ.

It will be interesting also to study the prexes to a monks name meaning "the Reverend" etc. As the Reverend, Very Reverend, Right Reverend, and Most Reverend are used before the names of the clergy, the old Burmans used such terms as phun mlat soñ or mlat soñ for senior monks, mlat cwañ sañ or mlat kriñ for the most senior monks and mlat kriñ cwañ or phun mlat kriñ cwañ for the exceptionally respected monks who were royal preceptors, etc. But such terms as theraI, sañghâ theraI and mahatheraI are equally popular. The old Burmans called their senior monks "chryàñ (acãriya)—the teacher. Very often a monk would be referred to as the teacher of a certain prominent person among his lay

1. PI. 24b, Pl. 68a2
2. PI. 271b
3. PI. 415, PI. 100b9, PL 113b3, PL 128a14, 20, PI. 149b11, PI. 202a4, PI. 207b4, PI. 210b8, 15, PI. 214a6, PI. 216b7, PI. 224b7, PI. 226b8, PI. 232b8, 9, PI. 257b18, 14, PI. 268b7, PI. 279b8, PI. 284b6, PI. 307b5, 9, PI. 308b3, PI. 329b5, PI. 335b6, PI. 367a6, PI. 370b4, PI. 372b3, PI. 373a15, 15, 14, PI. 423b9, PI. 424b9, PI. 578b10, PI. 579b12, PI. 602a15
4. The five attributes are connected with the ordination service where the perfection of the president of the chapter (to be of ten years standing as an elder monk), the perfection of the chapter (consisting of ten monks who have been ordained before without any flaw or mistake in their ordination services), the perfection of intonation during the service on the part of the president and his ten colleagues, the same on the part of the candidate and the perfection of the candidate as to his qualifications required by the service, are necessary. The qualifications of the candidate are:
1. He must not be suffering from such diseases as leprosy, boils, itch, asthma and epilepsy.
2. He must be over twenty, a male human being, with full permission from parents to become a monk.
3. He must be a free man, free from debts and from military service as well.
4. He must have the almsbowl and robes complete with him.
5. PI. 297b18, PI. 246b17, (phun mlasa), PI. 256b9, (phun mlat), PI. 296b5, PI. 365c2, PI. 395b6 (phun mlasa)
6. PI. 84a5, PI. 264b15, PI. 366a9 (mlasasa), PI. 373a14, PI. 603b4 (mllasasa)
7. PI. 261b7, PI. 578b3
8. PI. 102b9, PI. 203b, PI. 208b7 (raumlat kriñ), PI. 265b2, 5, 10, 13, 17, 21, 26, 30, 35, 39, 57, 93, 40, 41, 43, PI. 256b9, PI. 266b5, 15, 28, 39, PI. 266c1, PI. 268b7, 27, PI. 270b17, 19, 23, 35, PI. 272b4, PI. 274b5, 9, 10, 10, PI. 277b4, PI. 280b12, PI. 295b3, PI. 297b5, 9, 8, 24, 25, 28, 29b2, PI. 299b10, PI. 392b8, PI. 424b5, 9, 12, 16, 18, 19, 20, 33, 34, PI. 594b14, 20
9. PI. 120b, PI. 215b11, PI. 235b9, 41, 41, PI. 239b4, PI. 271b4, 61, PI. 384b2, PI. 419b1, PI. 423b3, 5, 53, PI. 434b12, 15, 16, 28, PI. 428b18
10. PI. 196b4, 5, 6, PI. 209b7, PI. 212b5, PI. 221b3, PI. 244b5, PI. 279b4, 5, 10, 20, 25, 35, 34, 45, 50, PI. 423b8, PI. 424b5
11. PI. 128, PI. 296b19, PI. 70b20, etc.
12. PI. 220b11, PI. 30a3, PI. 53b7, etc.
13. PI. 31b15, 24, PI. 6b, PI. 10a8, etc. Old Mon, Ep. Birm., I, ii, B43, 45; III, i, IX, A35, 55, 40, 43, 45, 53, D44 and XII1, 4
14. PI. 133, PI. 25b4, 28, PI. 36b10, PI. 67b11, PI. 83b10, PI. 82b11, 18, PI. 120b20, PI. 123b4, etc. Chryà would be used also for some people who were not monks (Pl. 205b14, 15, 15, 18). In modern times, chryà is seldom used for monks with the exception of charótañ or its shortened form chañtañ. Chorà today is a schoolteacher, physician, etc.
devotees. For example, the king's preceptor came to be popularly known as _maññ charyā_1, and the preceptor of Queen Pearl (Queen of King Klacwā) as _Caw PulayMay Charyā_2, the preceptor of a minister as _Amatki Sirivathanā Chiryā_3 and so on. As a matter of fact, even the Lord Buddha is mentioned as _lū nat takā chiryā_4—the teacher of all men and _deva_ or _sukūru_ 'charyā_5—the teacher of _Men_. _Deva_ and _Brahma_. There is an interesting reference to a monk called _Ratanāucchi_1 who was known as _Nat Charyā Mlat āvā so Skhīn Ratanāucchi_6—the Most Reverend Lord Ratanāucchi, the teacher of _deva_. _Pāminā_7— _brahman_ and _hurā_8—astrologer, would probably also be addressed as _chryā_. Another equally popular prefix to a monk's name is _sukhamin_9—the wise, although some people who were not _monks_ were also known as _sukhamin_10 too; perhaps they were exmonks who were still called by that name after they had left the Order. It is also possible that they were so known for their wisdom or scholarship. There were also terms such as _taw thwak_11 (monks or nuns who were once married) as well as _lū thwak_12 (people who were once monks and nuns). Thus terms like _mlat kri_ , _thera_ , _sanghāthera_ , _mahāthera_ , _chryā_ and _sukhamin_ were prefixes to the names of senior monks who were regarded by the people with deep reverence. As they were learned they gathered around them quite a following who looked upon them as great teachers.

Among the followers of a prominent monk, _cāsañi_—the students, formed the most important group. They devoted their time to _pariyatti_—learning. There were other monks who devoted their time to _paṭipatti_13—practice. In A.D. 1243, the Queen (of Klacwā) who was the sister of _Ṭāhakri_ , and King _Uccānā_ 's uncle _Samantakumihāni_ and wife built as many as twenty monasteries encircling a hollow-pagoda, a library, a monastery and a hall of law, and dedicated three hundred _pav_ of land, thirty slaves and fifty cattle for the students of the Most Reverend _Vinayadāhara_.14 Thus the _thera_ and his pupils could devote their time to study without troubling about food and shelter. A donor built five school-buildings for the

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1. Pl. 360<sup>10</sup>, Pl. 83<sup>1</sup>, Pl. 85<sup>8</sup>, Pl. 139<sup>5</sup>, Pl. 182<sup>2</sup>, Pl. 182<sup>b</sup>, Pl. 191<sup>a</sup>, Pl. 261<sup>a</sup>, Pl. 297<sup>4</sup>, Pl. 378<sup>b</sup>, Pl. 581<sup>a</sup><sup>17</sup>
2. Pl. 266<sup>1</sup>, Pl. 266b<sup>1</sup>, Pl. 384<sup>8</sup>, Pl. 395<sup>7</sup>
3. Pl. 244<sup>35</sup>
4. Pl. 212<sup>8</sup>
5. Pl. 388b<sup>4</sup>, Pl. 421a<sup>6</sup>, (3 _lū chryā_)
6. Pl. 365<sup>5</sup>. In another case (Pl. 228b<sup>5</sup>, 7) a monk is called _Nat thhanna ra so Skhīn Thanpā_— _Lord Thanpā_ , receiver of _Deva_ 's food.
7. Pl. 102<sup>18</sup>, Pl. 117a<sup>1</sup>, Pl. 126b<sup>1</sup>, Pl. 186<sup>6</sup>, Pl. 203<sup>7</sup>, Pl. 239<sup>9</sup>, Pl. 262<sup>4</sup>, Pl. 336b<sup>7</sup>, Pl. 417<sup>9</sup>
8. Pl. 44b<sup>18</sup>, Pl. 61<sup>5</sup>, Pl. 102<sup>18</sup>, Pl. 121b<sup>6</sup>, Pl. 133<sup>a</sup>, Pl. 186<sup>8</sup>, Pl. 212<sup>4</sup>, Pl. 263<sup>8</sup>, Pl. 272<sup>8</sup>, Pl. 289<sup>4</sup>, Pl. 366<sup>9</sup>, Pl. 428<sup>1</sup>, Pl. 567a<sup>1</sup>, Pl. 581<sup>a</sup><sup>17</sup>
9. Perhaps the Tibetan _mkt'ye-n-pa_ (to know) is prefixed with _sū_ (man) to mean "the man who knows". Pl. 123<sup>15</sup>, Pl. 132a<sup>10</sup>, Pl. 149<sup>15</sup>, Pl. 191a<sup>14</sup>, Pl. 238<sup>12</sup>, Pl. 251<sup>7</sup>, Pl. 268<sup>8</sup>, Pl. 271<sup>b</sup>, Pl. 373<sup>a</sup>, Pl. 381<sup>21</sup>
10. Pl. 162<sup>3</sup>, Pl. 17<sup>1</sup>, Pl. 17<sup>7</sup>, Pl. 163<sup>5</sup>, Pl. 186<sup>9</sup>, Pl. 196<sup>5</sup>, Pl. 342<sup>25</sup>, Pl. 261<sup>25</sup>, Pl. 272<sup>13</sup>, Pl. 273<sup>19</sup>, Pl. 329<sup>12</sup>, Pl. 370<sup>55</sup>, Pl. 574a<sup>15</sup>
11. Pl. 253, Pl. 76<sup>21</sup>, Pl. 269<sup>11</sup>, 17. Literally it means those who had renounced the world and seek solitude in the forest.
12. Pl. 579<sup>18</sup>. It means those who have gone back into the world.
13. Pl. 275<sup>28</sup>, Pl. 27
14. Pl. 152<sup>1</sup>, PL
students and a monastery for the therā, in one compound in A.D. 1236. 1 Krāsawat and wife in A.D. 1262, built within an enclosure wall with four gates, a hollow—pagoda, a great spired monastery, a brick monastery, a library, a simā, a throne of law and eight school buildings and dedicated 652 pay of land and twenty slaves to the whole establishment. 2 Queen Caw in A.D. 1299 built a big spired monastery, a simā and a school building. 3

There were also some donors who made special provisions for the students of such establishments. A donor in A.D. 1235 said that out of the fifty pay he had dedicated, twenty were for the pagoda, five for the library, ten for the therā and fifteen for the students 4 who should exclusively enjoy the produce of these fifteen pay of land. Queen Caw (of Narasiṅga-Uccanā), mother of Śinghapati and Tryāphyā, in A.D. 1241 dedicated 300 pay of land and 174 slaves to a monastic establishment which had ten school buildings. 5 On the death of Queen Ratanāpuri daughter of Sarīy (20 May 1262), King Tarukplī built a monastery for the Most Reverend Mahā Kassapa and dedicated 300 slaves and 300 pay of land of which fifty were for the students. As these illustrations show, the student population in those days was quite considerable and the people were well aware of the fact that these students should be encouraged and supported. They were given all the requisites of a monk so that they could devote their time to learning only.

There were also many lay devotees attached to the monasteries who were known as upāsakā 6 or more popularly satāra satā 7 who would sometimes dedicate lands and slaves to the monastery as the dāyakā 8 did. There were also people who looked after the comfort of the therā and they were known as kappikā 9 (kappiya). The kloṇ satā 10 however looked after the comforts of all the inmates of the monastery. These people may have been monks at one time or perhaps were unable to become monks for some reason or other. Perhaps the kappikā and kloṇ satā were the liaison officers used by the monks when dealing with the outside world. For example, in about A.D. 1248, when King Klacwā gave kaṭhina robes to monks, he also gave the Most Reverend Mahākassapa an elephant which was sent to a Kantū village on the Chindwin where it got lost. The therā sent his kappikā Na Myāi Saṅ to look for the lost elephant which was subsequently found in the hands of Na Kroṅ Saṅ and wife who were brought to the law court by the kappikā to answer for the chaṅ khiw—elephant theft. 11 When monks bought land, which they often did in spite of the fact that they were frequently given acres and acres of it, such people would be used to conduct the transaction 12. The following illustration will show us the nature of such transactions. Saṅkrammasu, great grandfather of the Most

1. PI. 105a 12  
2. PI. 2055  
3. PI. 3901 5  
4. PI. 8525  
5. PI. 13885  
6. PI. 29770  
7. PI. 94a 47 (cane satāra satā), PI. 997, PI. 20918 (slave)  
8. PI. 44b 17, PI. 10158, PI. 122a 14, PI. 12319, PI. 19721, PI. 2644, PI. 2f554, PI. 280b 5, PI. 3724,14,16,18,45, PI. 38010,28, PI. 578b8  
9. PI. 10a 39, PI. 16317, PI. 39228 (slave)  
10. PI. 2593, PI. 284b5, PI. 290b5, PI. 32915, PI. 33315, PI. 365b14,12, PI. 1935, PI. 543a23,28, PI. 574a3  
11. PI. 163  
12. PI. 167 & PI. 163  
17. [ Missing or incomplete text ]
Reverend Mahākassapa, dedicated to the Religion eightnine pay of land at Surokkha, in Sātārapākhacū. After the death of Sāṅkaramasū, one of his descendants called Nā Rok Saṅī took the land as if it were his inherited property. Adversity compelled him to sell it later to the Cakraw belonging to the frontier guard at Chipaū—the Poison Mountain. After the death of Nā Rok Saṅī it was discovered that he had no right to sell the land and so the matter was brought before two judges—Caturāṇakapulū and Acalapharakar. The royal register showed that the land originally was given by the king to Sāṅkaramasū, and probably the judges also believed that Mahākassapa had better claims on the estates of Sāṅkaramasū than Nā Rok Saṅī. Mahākassapa won the suit. Anyway Mahākassapa having compassion for his cousin Nā Rok Saṅī who had committed the grievous sin of molesting religious property and was likely to suffer in hell, ordered lu sukhamin—the lay wise man, Dhommabhāngū to buy the land at fifteen tics of silver per pay with money from saṅghika uccā—the fund of the monks. This happened in the year A.D. 1243. In the same inscription where the above story is mentioned, there are five other cases mentioned where the lay wise man Dhommabhāngū was ordered to buy lands with the monks’ money. So far we have shown Mahākassapa employing only laymen in land transactions. But we also have an instance where Mahākassapa employed monks for the purchase of land. This occurred when he bought 170 pay of land north of Chumitū great lake

... phuiw khin so sūkā Syaṅ Upa(kut) Syaṅ Paṅā Syaṅ Uttamā lu kā sukrawat Nā...

The price was weighed by Syaṅ Upakut, Syaṅ Paṅā, Syaṅ Uttamā and the rich laymen Nā...

Thus, there were such people known as upāsakā, sataṁ saṅī, dāyokā, kappikā and kloṅ saṅī who looked after the comfort of the monks and who carried out the business transactions of the monastery. The daily begging of food and preaching dharmā are about the only times that a monk usually comes into contract with the villagers.

There were also slaves who attended to the needs of a monastery. Although most of the donors mentioned simply in their inscriptions that so many slaves had been dedicated to the Śāreś Gems, some would state the number that were to serve the monks. The total might vary from a whole village7 to one or two slaves.8 Sometimes, a donor would leave the monks of a particular monastery in charge of all the slaves that he dedicated,9 perhaps giving them the right to determine how many of them should serve the monastery. The thera of the monastery then would have the final say in such cases as he was the head of all the monks in the monastery.10 We have however, one exception where the donor, the Mahāthera

1. See map of the Eleven Villages in the Kyauze District.
2. Thdhammabhāngūgārika, name given to Ananda for his skill in remembering the word of the Buddha. DPPN, I,262
3. Pl. 162
4. Pl. 1621,17,27,57,57
5. Pl. 4244
6. Pl. 7350,5, Pl. 114a7-9, Pl. 127a5, Pl. 152a4,5, etc.
7. Pl. 127a5 (Mlacā kloṅ kywan rwa) and Pl. 215b8 (wat khloak rwa)
8. Pl. 208b8
9. Pl. 112b, (Pl. 132a)
10. Pl. 143a20
SAṆGHĀ

Skuṭh Acala, the preceptor of Queen Caw (Queen of Naṭasaghū-uccāṇā) dedicated in A.D. 1241 one hundred pay of land and five slaves to the pagoda and said that after his death, only two monks—his favourite pupil Gūnasikkādaśī and his nephew Puṇarācī, were to take charge of the lands and slaves.1 Inscriptions also give us some idea of the duties of these monastery slaves. In A.D. 1255, minister Mahāsman said that the duties of the slaves were "to fetch water for the monks to wash their feet, hands and bodies and to drink; to cook the rice food; and to sweep (the compound) and remove the refuse."2 Queen Caw (younger sister of Queen Rotandspul and Queen Phwā Caw) in about A.D. 1301 mentioned the slaves of the monastery were:  

\[
\text{koṇi nhul \ lуп kluy so capā thon riṣ khap than khuy tanlāi mra \ so kywan tuin\n}
\]
	hose slaves who serve the monastery by pounding the paddy, fetching water, chopping firewood and sweeping the compound.

As most of the donors gave away land, cattle and slaves4, it is probable that most of the slaves, including those given to the monasteries were used largely as farm labourers either to look after the crop or cattle or both. Some slaves were allotted to tend the saṭṭhika (saṭṭhika) nuṭā—cattle of the monks, and the nuīw niḥat nuṭā ma6—milch cow, so that

\[
saṭṭhika so saṭṭh tuin ... nuīw sae nuīw thanīm ryak tak thawpiy thawpat arasā tá pā cā cim so ṇhā?
\]

the patient lords (of the monastery) may enjoy the five delicacies of fresh milk, sour milk, butter milk, unclarified butter and clarified butter.8

The slaves of the monasteries were sometimes so numerous that they alone formed a separate village. When only a few dozen slaves were attached to a monastery they might have had their own quarters within the monastery compound. Usually, the monks took charge of all the slaves dedicated to the Three Gems. Musical entertainment was one of their major services. Their other duties were to fetch water, chop firewood, cook food and clean the premises. A large portion of their number would be detailed to tend the crops and cattle as the monastery also owned lands and cattle. The milch cow seems to be a prized possession of the monastery as the monks enjoyed all kinds of dairy produce and therefore some slaves were turned into dairymen. This is all we know about the slaves of the monastery.

We shall now turn our attention to the lands of the monastery. As in the case of the slaves, the donors usually mentioned how much of the land dedicated to the Three Gems was for the monastery9 and some went even further and said that a certain portion was for the therā10 another for saṅghā liyakanhā11—the monks from four directions, and the rest

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1. Pl. 193
2. Pl. 186a/b. See also J.BRS, XXXVI, i, p.61.
3. Pl. 393a/b.
4. Pl. 201, 2, 7, 8, 10, Pl. 344, Pl. 83a, 7, Pl. 91a; etc.
6. Pl. 134a/b. See also Pl. 262a/b.
7. Pl. 231
9. Pl. 421, Pl. 502, Pl. 105a, 50, Pl. 164a, Pl. 182b/b, Pl. 203a, Pl. 205a, Pl. 217a, Pl. 241a, Pl. 396b.
10. Pl. 124, Pl. 83a/b, Pl. 105a, 54, Pl. 140b, Pl. 203a, 1/2, Pl. 242a, 1/1, 281b, 5, Pl. 396a, 8.
11. Pl. 162a/b. See also Pl. 120, Pl. 25a/b, Pl. 41a, 1/3, Pl. 94a, 1/3, Pl. 105a, 50, Pl. 140a, Pl. 203a, 17, Pl. 205a, Pl. 222a/b, Pl. 242a, 1/1, 281b, 1/5, Pl. 396b
for the ekañña—students. We also have many instances where monks bought lands for themselves.

These lands were purchased with the money received from their devotees and in some cases they appointed an agent to do the business transaction though we find in one instance that monks themselves were weighing the silver to pay for a land bought. Anyhow, it seems that agents were usually asked to carry out such transactions. Perhaps they did not wish to handle money themselves or they knew that they were not shrewd enough for such business which often led to disputes and law suits. For example, in A.D. 1277, one thousand pay of land, probably near Tabayin, were bought for the monastery at the price of one thousand ticals of silver. The handing over of the land was delayed for nearly four years because of disputes. In the end, when possession of the land was obtained the monastery found that it had spent 1830½ ticals of silver and 53½ viss of copper. Monastery lands were usually free from any form of taxation. When King Tarukply was informed that village headmen had taxed the lands belonging to the mahāthēra Sāmantabhadrā in A.D. 1260 by mistake he sent his chief minister Mahāmsan to stop the headmen and declared that the lands were free from taxation then and for ever afterwards. In connection with these monastic lands, we have instances where disputes over ownership arose between monks and kings or between monks and the laity or even among themselves.

A few instances of disputes were as follows. In A.D. 1235 King Klacū was and the monks disagreed as to the ownership of certain lands in the possession of the forest monastery of Jeyagowt. Again in A.D. 1245, King Klacū was doubtful as to the ownership of some pagoda land under the trust of three senior monks. In A.D. 1255, King Uccanā or Talapayani Māṇi—the king who died at Dala, confiscated all glebe lands at Pankli of Chindwin which included 1500 pay of land belonging to the Reverend Lord Mahāmatimāthē of the Kramtū Nīm forest monastery. In that very year, the king died at Dala—probably he and his retinue were murdered. Panwatt sañ mili—grandson of the turner i.e. Tarukply succeeded him. Then, Sarīy, father of three of his queens informed him of the unjustified act of Uccanā in taking the lands of Mahāmatimāthē at the audience given in Kwan Prok Kīr—the Variegated Great Hall. In all these cases investigations followed and the kings having been proved wrong the land were given back to the monks. We are greatly intrigued to find two monks as Sukri in A.D. 1272. They appeared as witnesses to a land dedication.

...Si pā sakā rwā sukri Syaṅ Upakut mlac ok rwā sukri Syaṅ Maṅkalapaṇā... those who know are rwā sūkri Syaṅ Upakut, mlac ok rwā sūkri Syaṅ Maṅkalapaṇā.

Occasionally there were disputes between monks and lay men and of this, we have two interesting cases. The monks were successful in both cases. In A.D. 1315, the teacher of

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1. PL 8385, PL 10555, PL 19566b, PL 20320.
2. PL 162, PL 163, PL 268, PL 380, PL 395, PL 423, etc.
3. PL 16224-7, PL 38219, PL 4249.
5. The dacelem of monks prohibits the handling of money.
6. PL 268, see also JBR, XXX, i, pp. 298-330; BRSPAP, II, pp. 338-40.
7. PL 196.
8. PL 3014.25.
9. PL 313b.
10. PL 296.
11. PL 42422.5.
12. PL 193 (A.D. 1259) and PL 381 (A.D. 1262).
Im Kri Sañ's monastery sued Sañkri Chan and party in a civil court for encroaching on his land. 1 Anhu cuw—the judges, decided in favour of the monk. Then Skhîn Dhammasiri investigated and gave the same verdict. In spite of these judgements, Sañkri Chan and party continued encroaching on the land and so Lord Râjasû took up the case and he affirmed the above verdicts. Note that a monk was also included in the investigations—Skhin Dhammasiri. He probably intervened only in cases where monks were concerned. As this episode occurred just on the fringe of our period, it may be possible to assume that in our period too in cases where monks were concerned, an elder or a committee of elders among the monks sometimes acted as arbitrators. Until the annexation of Upper Burma the ecclesiastical court also had legal authority. 2 We have, however an exception to this rule where a quarrel between two monks for land was decided in a civil court. In A.D. 1224 two aRNA (ârañhika)—forest dwelling monks, disputed the ownership of four pay of hill-side cultivation on the hill of Turan. Akliwih, Cattarruy, Kacca phatî and Kacca paketan—four judges heard the case and gave the land to Asa Na Caiik Sañ. 3 Thus monks individually or severally owned lands either through donations or by purchase and their appearance in law courts—both lay and ecclesiastical to claim lands was not infrequent. As these monastic lands were free from taxation and as they were continually increasing, some of the kings undoubtedly became greatly concerned at the loss of revenue. Thus where evidence was weak they confiscated them. Unfortunately, in the three cases mentioned above, the kings had to relinquish their seizure and acknowledge defeat.

Besides slaves, cattle and land, the donors also gave the monks various articles of daily use. Among the articles of daily use given to the monks, first and foremost comes food. They called it nipa 4 (nicalbattam)—the constant rice i.e. they made it their duty that they would never fail to offer some portion of their food to the monks when they came begging for it once every day. This duty is termed wañ and sanput, chimi, kwan, pan food, light, better flower, all of which came under this heading. Very often wañ itself is used in the sense of the Pali vatthu—objects of offering like almsfood, etc. Land producing food for the monastery are called wañ lay 5 or sanput lay. 6 We have also seen that sanput khyak kyan 9 or wañ khyak kyan or cä chwamathik lay khy su kyan—slaves for cooking food, were dedicated to monasteries. Detailed instructions to them would be given as to how much rice and curry was to be cooked for the theru and monks of the monastery. Two specimens of them are given below—one from an inscription dated A.D. 1241 and another from an inscription of about the end of the 12th century.

\[\text{niy tuin khyak so sanput wa: tac niy chan 3 prañ} \] // capä twak kä chan 3 prañ // hañ phuiw kwañ phuiw khapai cuni niy so capä 10 prañ // ta la so capä 18 tañ 3 cit // tac nhac so 225 tañ //} 

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1. Pl. 421b14. 21
2. During the Alaungpaya Dynasty, either the thàñhâna or a commission of eight elders had jurisdiction in cases under thàñhâna, disputes about monasteries, gardens attached thereto, etc. See G.E. Harvey: History of Burma, p. 326
3. Pl. 54 (and duplicate Pl. 371b)
4. Pl. 39234
5. Pl. 3150, 51, Pl. 4228, Pl. 55b5, Pl. 1328, 28, Pl. 245b5, Pl. 259, Pl. 270, Pl. 235, Pl. 28611, Pl. 29310, Pl. 365a4, Pl. 370b5, 60, Pl. 380, 50, Pl. 281, Pl. 383a5, 16, 19, 21, Pl. 389, Pl. 3902, 29, 392, 35, 38, Pl. 39316, Pl. 3966, Pl. 4179, Pl. 4195, 42, Pl. 421b15, 21, Pl. 4234, Pl. 5948
6. Pl. 7353
7. Pl. 3150, 51, Pl. 55b5, Pl. 245b5, Pl. 259, Pl. 370b3, 30, Pl. 412, 57, Pl. 421b15, 21, Pl. 42344
8. Pl. 6a, Pl. 115, Pl. 6b11, Pl. 102a27, Pl. 365b8
9. Pl. 5029
10. Pl. 4179
11. Pl. 27528
12. Pl. 13828, 9
As for the daily cooked-food offering, three prañ of rice are cooked daily. Paddy is to be taken out of stores enough to get 3 prañ of rice. The cost for curry and the cost for betel, all complete, in a day is 10 prañ of paddy. The monthly (total) is 18 1/2 baskets of paddy. Yearly it is 225 baskets.

...kloñ kri coñ so skhīn sañghā 1 yok kuīw kā 1 niy chan 1 prañ hañ phuiw capā 2 prañ că ciy sate 1 apa 108 yok so skhīn aryā tuiw kuīw kā 1 niy chan 1 tuñ hañ phuiw capā 1 prañ că ciy sate

As for the worshipful monk who looks after the big monastery, 1 prañ of rice and 2 prañ of paddy as the cost of curry are allowed to be consumed daily. (Each of) the remaining 108 worshipful monks may consume 1 tuñ of rice and 1 prañ of paddy as the cost of curry daily.

Rice and curry for the reverend lords is termed chwāñ. Some donors invited a large number of monks to a feast on the occasion of big dedications. Invitation of 100 monks was not a rare occurrence. Towards the end of our period the monks were served not only with rice and curry but also with yanmakā aphyaw—sweet liquor made from palmyra palm juice at some of these feasts. Palmyra palms were very often dedicated to the monastery or planted around it. Perhaps these people supplied the yanmakā aphyaw, jaggery, fans and writing material for the monks from the leaves. The people of our period made it a daily practice to share a certain portion of their food with the monks. The rich gave cultivable lands to provide food for the monastery and also slaves with full instructions to cook it.

Next to food comes chimi—oil lamps for lighting. The oil used for lighting was extracted from sesamum and a donor mentioned that 50 (measures) of sesamum yielded 20 tonak of oil. If it is probably the same donor who dedicated 750 pay of land under sesamum and millet and said:

|ra so nhañ nhañ chi kā piñakat 3 puñ so ta niy chimi 3 khwak cetī ta khwak| kloñ ā ta khwak | kloñ tawā ta khwak | phurhā ryap ta khwak | nā śmi plu so kā 4 myañkhā so chimī 4 khwak nī ciy sate

As for sesamum and oil that (the land) produces, three cups of oil lamps are to be lit daily at the tipīlaka, one cup at the cetiya, one cup at the porch of the monastery, one cup in the monastery, one cup at the standing Buddha and four cups of oil lamps at the four sided hollow-pagoda built by my daughter.

1. Pl. 39329.50
2. Pl. 7351, Pl. 2464, Pl. 27458, Pl. 27525, Pl. 27917, 22, 51, Pl. 2995.8, Pl. 39318
3. Pl. 68.9, Pl. 175.5.10, Pl. 3614
4. Pl. 100a.9, Pl. 582b.9.14
5. Pl. 23314. See also JBRs, XXX, i, pp. 321-322, n. 69; BRSFAP, II, pp. 361-2, n. 69
6. & 7. Pl. 1210. Pl. 737, Pl. 13612.14, Pl. 2027,22, Pl. 23315, Pl. 253b.8, Pl. 3726, etc.
7. Pl. 39029.50
8. Pl. 39329.4
Professor G.H. Luce remarked: "How dark their nights must be or have been!" But there were also special nights when cīmitthot—one thousand oil lamps were lit. As a matter of fact it was not necessary for the monks to have too much light. As their only duty after dusk was for the younger ones to repeat from memory what they had learnt from the cīmu during the day and for the older ones to find a secluded corner and meditate. But there were always donors to give them sesamum oil for lighting and at times even land to grow sesamum.

Next to light, a donor’s duty was to provide a monk with the betel quid or the necessary ingredients for making one. The betel leaf was called soni mihū and a donor in A.D. 1212 mentioned that he gave the monks ten saīminhū and forty bundles of areca seeds. We are not told what type of measure that ten was. Probably it was ten viss. As for the areca seeds measure, the old Burmans used kadun⁴ (kuḍ̱uva, kuḍ̱ava) a measure of three fingers square and one and a half finger deep or a handful of grains. Princess Acawkrwah in A.D. 1248 said that while building the hollow-pagoda she spent among other things 2 kadun and 1160 areca seeds and while building the spired monastery 2200 seeds. A donor gave six baskets of paddy to the monastery to cover the expenses of fruit and betel.⁵ For offering food, light and betel to the pagoda throughout the year another donor gave 117 baskets of paddy and for similar offerings to the thera and the monks 200 and 650 baskets of paddy respectively.⁶ Sometimes, betel quid was offered by the thousand,⁷ probably when the donor invited a thousand monks to a feast to commemorate a dedication. Some appurtenances of betel chewing like kwam ač and kwam khyap⁹ or kwam kap¹⁰—betel boxes, kwam khyam¹¹—nut cracker or cutter, kwam loh¹²—betel boat and thun phū¹³—phials of chunam were also given to the monasteries. Seeds of the areca palm, leaves of the betel piper vine, white shell-lime or chunam and cutch—the ingredients of making betel quids were constantly supplied together with their containers to the monastery. It suggest that chewing betel was very popular among the monks and one who did not have that habit would be a very rare exception. We find the mention of such a monk by the name of mial kri cā Kwāminacā¹⁴—the Most Reverend Don’t Eat–Betel or who may have been from Kwāmi nia cā rwa.¹⁵ There

1. *JBR*., XXX, i, p. 293; *BRSA*P, II, p. 333
2. PI. 117b⁷
3. PI. 36¹⁹, 2¹, 2⁵, PI. 495b¹², (PI. 559a¹¹) Skt, kramu—the betel nut tree.
4. PI. 16⁴⁵, ⁵⁹, M.M.-W: *Skt.-Eng. Dictionary*, p. 289; Middle Mon kloh; Late Mon koliih
5. PI. 13⁸²⁹
6. PI. 2⁵²²⁸, ²⁰
7. PI. 3⁷²⁵⁹
8. PI. 1⁵³b¹⁰ Sometimes the betel boxes were made of silver (PI. 3¹²b⁹) or gold (PI. 2⁶⁵⁷) and studded with jewels (PI. 4²¹b⁹).
9. PI. 1³⁸¹⁴
10. PI. 2⁶⁵⁷
11. PI. 3⁸b¹⁵
12. PI. 3¹²b⁸, PI. 4²¹b⁸
13. PI. 2⁶⁵⁷. A gold gourd-phial of chunam together with a gold betel box were given by the wife of Cauṣāk-khā to the Reverend Tamalin in about A.D. 1278.
14. PI. 4²²b²
15. PI. ⁷⁵a⁷
were also villages with the names of *Kwan* *rwā* and *Kwameθtuik.* As a matter of fact, this *Kwan* comes under the category of *fo* which is one of the four necessaries of a monk.5

Donors of our period were always careful to provide the Order with all of the *paccāna le pā* (catupaccaya)—four necessaries of a monk. They gave away land so that *skhūn sanghā* *tuw kaccāṇa 4 pā ca so chiy wā athok opan phlac cim so nhā* — the reverend monks get the supply of four necessaries such as medicine, and they gave away slaves so that *kuw cā paccāṇa 4 pā luw kwaith cim so nhā* — serve (the monks) with the four necessaries on their behalf. Some donors considered that to provide *chiy wā* — medicine, was very important although they made no specific mention of the sorts of medicine or medical treatment they used in those days. Perhaps the five standard medicine frequently mentioned in the *Vinaya* were considered the best for the monks because we find the mention of *thawpiy* — unclarified butter, *thawpat* — clarified butter, *chi* — oil, *pyā* — honey and *taŋlā* — molasses, in the inscriptions and the *Jātaka* plaques of our period in connection with the monks. We have references which said that certain *monasteries* had *thawpat kā* — storehouse for clarified butter. Regarding the provision of medicines, in A.D. 1291, *Queen Caw* said:

\[ \text{|| āā kloā twan niy so skhūn tuw saī phyā nā so le || chiy wā || su nā nhār ap so paccāṇa kā ra ciyw kum 'sate || khandhā lhyā phyok so le than phuiw || lhyā phuiw || ma khon kra ciyw cwaṁt te ||} \]

If the monks who dwell in my monastery fell ill, may they get medicine and things proper for the sick. When the body disappears (in case of death) may there be no anxiety for the cost of fire-wood and the cost of *lhyā* 10

Incidentally, note that the monks cremated their dead and the people took care of the funeral as is still the practice in Burma today. Thus monks were well supplied with medicines and they did not have to worry about the funeral of their fellows either.

The clothing of the monks is also one of the four necessaries. *Sanākan* is the old Burmese word for the robe of a monk and it is derived from the Pali *sanghāti* — the outer.
garment but it also means all the three robes of the monks. Moreover, we find the 
mention of sakkhamṭ or khruy khamṭ as inner garments for the upper part of the body and 
saṭpuṅṭ for the nether part. Tuyāṇ and tankyaṭ are the monastic robes but unfortunately 
we are unable to identify them. Perhaps they are outer robe and inner garment respectively 
as Professor Pe Maung Tin suggests. Kawṭhā is another kind of monastic robe which we 
are also unable to identify. Paṁsaṅkāṭ (paṁsaṅkuṭ) the dusty robe was also given to the monks. 
Perhaps it comes from the original theory that the dress of a Buddhist monk should be made 
of dirty rags taken from a cemetery or a refuse pit and pieced together. But it was never 
strictly enforced and there were only a few monks who insisted on using only such type of 
robes. Such monks came to be popularly known as Skhīṅ Paṁsaṅkāṭ. As it is mentioned in 
the inscriptions that paṁsaṅkāṭ was given to the monks, we gather that the original idea of 
monks taking for themselves the dusty rags discarded by the people was already modified 
and it may mean only an indirect giving of the robe by the donor to the monk by leaving it 
in the path of the monks. In the month immediately after Wū the Lent, the monks are 
given kathīṇ robe which must be received only by a chapter of five monks. Of these only 
the one who is in sore need of a robe may have it. Although the time permitted for this 
particular type of offering is one whole month, the first day of it, i.e. the fullmoon day of Saṅaṅ: 
kyawt or the last day of it, i.e. the full moon day of Tanchoomun: are the most popular days 
for such an offer. In the inscriptions of our period we find the mention of this offer once on 
the first day and thrice on the last day of the period. Sometimes various other articles of 
daily use were also given together with the kathīṇ robe and such articles were usually hung on 
an artificial tree know as pateṅśa paṅ. But the following example shows that giving a robe 
is not confined only to the end of the Lent.

1. The three are Saṅghāti-outer garment, Uttarasaṅgā-upper garment and Antaravaṅsaka-lower garment, which 
are in modern Burmese called dukut, kulvar and suṅe puṭtī respectively. While using the robes, a monk 
is expected to bear in mind that “In wisdom I put on the robes as a protection against cold, as a 
protection against heat, as a protection against gadflies and mosquitoes, wind and sun and the touch of 
serpents and to cover nakedness, i.e. I wear them in all humility, for use only and not for ornament or 
show.” (JRAS, VII, new series, 1875, p. 7)

2. PL. 362
3. PL. 212
4. PL. 393
5. PL. 138, 13, 14
6. JRAS, XXVI, i, p. 61
7. PL. 372
8. PL. 233, PL. 372
9. Paṁsaṅkāṭa-one who wears clothes made of rags taken from a dust heap. PL. 2994, PL. 4282. See also 
Hirunnaṇ para 142; GPC, p. 132.

10. In modern Burma, not only a monastic robe but any object, e.g. coins, umbrellas, hats, etc., are left on 
highways in the dead of night so that the earliest passer-by may get them. This kind of charity is known 
as “throwing paṁsaṅkāṭ”. If an article is specially meant for monks, it is left in or around the monastery. 
Even then the first finder, be he lay or monk, has the right to possess it.

11. The Lent begins after the full moon day of Wāchū (late in July) and ends on the full moon day of Saṅaṅ: 
kyawt (late in October). PL. 138 1, 13, 27, PL. 17521, PL. 28919 (wā sunila); PL. 30824, PL. 3721, 12
12. PL. 232, PL. 117b 7, PL. 30825, PL. 372
13. PL. 274
14. PL. 992, PL. 2351, PL. 272
15. PL. 117b
BUDDHISM IN BURMA

khrañhay sañ kā khrañ wañ ruy yan sañ kā puchuiv rak ruy wächuiiv sañkan 1 chū wākkoi sañkan 1 chū wā kwat sañkan 1 chu skhiin therā kut kap ciy sate[...]/ skhiin 108 tuiv kā wächiuiv sañkan 1 yok 1 chu phlac-ciy sate[...]/

Let the spinners spin the thread and the weavers weave the loincloth and give the lord therā one set of monastic robes at the beginning of Lent, one set of monastic robes in the middle of Lent and one set of monastic robes at the end of Lent... Let it come to pass that each of the 108 lords (also get) one set of monastic robes at the beginning of Lent.

Perhaps the donor was very generous and not content with giving kaṭhina robes which meant that only one monk in five may have a robe. He wanted all monks to receive a robe each. Hence he used this method. Thus the three kinds of garment which made a set of monastic robes was given to the monks whenever they were in need of it or at the end of Lent. For the few who insisted on adhering to the old idea of wearing only the rags salvaged from refuse pits, the considerate donor would leave the robe at a place quite close to his dwelling so that he might soon find a so-called discarded rag practically at his very door steps. In fact the robe is one of eight articles that monks are entitled to possess.

The eight requisites of a monk are known as parikkharā yhaç pā2 and usually a would be monk must bring all these eight with him to the ordination service and the orthodox view is that these were all that a monk may have as personal possessions. But the people of our period had vastly extended the parikkharā so that it even included sanryañ9-palanquin, jhiy4-boat, and chait5 - elephants, for the monks as means of transport. The following extract gives us a rough idea of such additional parikkharā.

|| kloñ sanhika watthu kā/salwan 2 chu/sanryañ 3 chū/sanphū mwani hiy, 10/ shañ [... 3 sañ 1/ atham 3 cañ| pu chin 3 cañ tarwan 3 cañ 1/ mikhāñ 3 cañ| kriy sanhukñ 3 cañ| I Tha Nāy puchuiv lhi 3 cañ| chok 3 cañ| i mya so kā 1/ kloñ sanhika watthi leñ/6

The articles exclusively for the monks7 of the monastery are, two couches, three palanquins, ten very good mats, three...cloths, three porter’s yokes, three axes, three spades, three flints, three copper razors, three cutters of loincloth (?scissors) of I Tha Nāy, three chisels. These are the articles exclusively for the monks of the monastery.

Such articles as mvakkharā8-broom, chañ lañ9-bell, khhwak tac pway 10-a set of dishes, cākhwak11-cup for eating, sanñiy12-bowl, cāloñ13-pot cover, etc. were also included in the requisites for

1. Pl. 3932.5
2. Aṭṭha parikkharā consists of patto - almsbow; tiñəwarañ—three robes, kāyabhandanañ—girdle, vāsī—razor, soṣṭ—needle and parissasavanañ—water strainer. Pl. 39015, Pl. 42254, Pl. 42311
3. Pl. 253a7, (Pl. 421b8)
4. Pl. 2352
5. Pl. 4211
6. Pl. 373b 14.16
7. Sanhika. Pl. 11325, Pl. 1629, 11, 17, 57, Pl. 1634, Pl. 20222, Pl. 373b 14, 16, Pl. 3757, Pl. 38210, Pl. 39826, 32, Pl. 424b, Pl. 559b6
8. Pl. 15820
9. Pl. 182a11
10. Pl. 372a6
11. 12 & 13 Pl. 262 22.5
the monks. A donor gives a long list of vegetables grown in his garden donated to the monastery and he added a long list of articles (partly illegible) given to the monks. The list includes uiv—pots, yap-fan, nhonhan—couch, klokpyan—grinding stone, puxin-axe, chuif-mortar, klipwe—pestle, riy mhu—water dipper, tanchoi—chandelier, lanpan—tray, raniwhan—streamer, ip rag—bedding, bratuw—spittoon, karai—jug, chimikhwa—oil lamp, mily phlu—chalk, saipun—blackboard, parabuit—paper folded backwards and forwards for writing, kanikuchar SOAPSTONE pencil and kanikutanike—cylindrical case for the soapstone pencils.1 Of sapir2—the almsbowl, we have a record of a donor giving as many as one thousand.3 Probably most of these bowls were earthen or lacquer ware but we also have references to those made of copper,4 gold5 and silver.6 Thus pariikkharā includes all the eight requisites of a monk plus various other things of everyday use in those days.

Another important item in the four necessities of a monk is senasanain—bedding or lodging, and in its broadest sense the old Burmese took it as providing the monks with shelter from heat and cold. Ari Caw in A.D. 1260 said:

|| skhim aryā pū so khyanā so paipan so uthim cinn so nhā sañ takā alay so skhīn thera nhañ akwa so aryā tuiw niy cinn so nhā kloñ le plu e|| thuim kūn kloñ kā asan aran thup lyok akhrai amuiw khapan so kuin le tañ tay cīw so achan akray ciy than haisapatā tuim pluim le riy e|| thuy kyaktanuiw le tap e|| athok pitan kā rhuy krā nhañ nhañ tañ tay cīw arañ awā le tok pa ciy e||

In order to relieve the lord ariyā from heat, cold and fatigue (and) in order to provide (a place) to live in for the Lord thera who is the central person of the Order and all the monks, (I) also build a monastery. As for this kulakloñ—brick monastery, all of the asāñ—posts, aram—railing, thup—crossbeams, lyok—pieces supporting the rafters, akhrai—rafters, and amuiw—roof, are painted beautifully and wonderfully with chiythañ—yellow orpiment and hanisapata—vermilion. Kyaktanuiw8 made of gold is also fixed (? to the ceiling) The upper pitan-canopy, is completely (covered with) golden lotus (pattern) so that its radiant colours would shine beautifully.

What a magnificent monastery it must have been! Another queen made an equally magnificent monastery and the description of it runs as follows :

|| satan samāthi koñ so akyañ nhañ plañ cuñ so ariyā puckuñ kiuñ roñ te rā rā || pā nhuik ni ñwat cīw so ariy sāyā so mwam kloñ ta cwañ so kri cīw so śrīñ le plu tāau mu e! rhu phway nhañ hi so athā 2 chan kray so ciy le riy e ||

1. Pl. 310ab
2. Pl. 117b9, Pl. 3055
3. Pl. 37229
4. Pl. 158, Pl. 182a20
5. Pl. 65b4, Pl. 138115
6. Pl. 138115
7. Pl. 19414,16
8. See Pl. 7315, Pl. 9715, Pl. 19417, Pl. 30825 and Pl. 37244. See also JBR5, XX11, iii, 124, n.3.
9. Pl. 39011,15
With intention (to provide shelter) for the noble lords who are replete with
good practices (of) self-restraint and self-possession, (I) build a very big, fine
and high roofed monastery (so that it would give a pleasant shade agreeable in
all three seasons. (I) also let it be painted with various wonderful and admirable
(designs).

No doubt every kloñ tāyakāñ—donor of a monastery wanted to build such a grand one but
some had to be content with building only a sac ṅay muiw kloñ—thatch roof monastery.
Anyway, most of them endeavoured to construct tan tay ewā so kloñ—the godly monastery,
or sāyā ewā so kloñ—the pleasant monastery. Some donors even converted their houses
into monasteries. King Klacwā’s aunt desirious to turn her house which was given by Klacwā
into a monastery, said:

"My exalted Lord, the house you built and gave your servant is really very
pleasant. But thinking that it would be excellent for monks to live there
rather than for us, your servants, I built a hollow pagoda and intended (to turn) the
house (into) a monastery. The household slaves and lands that you gave
your servant, I dedicated". When I told this (to the King) he said: “Let my
aunt place there a worthy monk.”

There were also such buildings as tankloñ—forest monasteries and kulā kloñ—brick monasteries,
which we will discuss later.

Although Pagan is noted for many pagodas we find that the inscriptions of our period
contain more material on the construction of monasteries than of pagodas. Perhaps this
was so because the people believed that to build a monastery was one of the most meritorious
deeds a man could achieve as the following extracts will show. In A.D. 1273, Saniprañ
akchoñ built a monastery at a place called Ananā and dedicated 295 pāy of land and
voluntary slaves to that monastery and wished that all those who supported his establishmen
tight also share the merits of (building) the monastery (which are) so vast that (even) the
knowledge of the Lord could not put a limit to them.

Incess Acawpataññā, after building a monastery for the Reverend Anantapaññā in the same
mansion of Ananā also expressed her wish that the supporters of her establishment may share

1. 2315, Pl. 1012, Pl. 280b5, Pl. 578b5
2. Pl. 428d9
3. Pl. 128, Pl. 295b
4. Pl. 6915, Pl. 733a, Pl. 220a
5. We must bear in mind that not all the kloñ built by the old Burmans were for the Order. There were also
   purhā kloñ (Pl. 6621, Pl. 389b3) shrines and trjā kloñ (Pl. 685, 24710) Hall of Law.
6. (Pl. 143a6, 6, Pl. 14421, Pl. 14510, (Pl. 147a7, 6, 8, Pl. 183a4)
7. Pl. 131a.8, See JARS, XXVI, iii, p. 133
8. Pl. 24310,15
However vast and inexplicable the merits were, the monks would often be requested to give it to the monastery, (which are so vast that) even the Lord cannot express them (in full).

The merits of (building) the monastery (which are so vast that) even the Lord cannot express them (in full).

Two donor[s] had finished that kind of good deed. Thus, the old Burmans built monasteries or turned their houses into monasteries, in the belief that they were providing the monks with one of their four necessities and although this orginally meant just a shelter from heat and cold, their enthusiasm to acquire more and more merit naturally led them to beautify it so that it would look grand and magnificent. Perhaps the donors usually spent more on building these monasteries than they had estimated. We have evidence where a donor had to sell his horses so that he might continue building the monastery with the proceeds of the sale. Perhaps one of the reasons for this enthusiasm was that they believed they were going to get an unlimited amount of merit from the act. The various types of monasteries they built and the cost of construction will be described in detail later. Incidentally, we must mention here that in an inscription dated A.D. 1232 we find mention of the monastery of the monks who take sabbath on Saturday. We do not know what sort of religious belief they had and why they had fixed their sabbath on Saturdays. Even after a monastery was built, the donor felt that his duty was not over. He must maintain it.

To maintain a monastic establishment he had just founded, a donor usually dedicated lands and slaves to it. Indirectly, it meant that the monks living in the monastery could utilise them with the assumption that when the buildings needed repairs, they would look after them as well. But some donors were more explicit. The wife of Sūpharac in A.D. 1245 left thirty pay of land out of 683 mainly for the purpose of repairs at her monastery. Two donors in A.D. 1263 bought fifty pay of land and dedicated it to the monastery of Krunā Skhīu saying:

\[
\text{kloī nhuiw niy so skhīu tuiw nī riy ċā kra ciy sate kloī pyak ci so le ni ruy plu kra ciy sate} \text{ ma plu piy mukā phun ma kri asak ma rhaṅ ķaray khānī ciy sate} /\]

May the monks living in the monastery in unison enjoy the produce of the land and in unison do the repairs when the monastery is ruined. If they neglect repairs they may not enjoy glory or long life (but) suffer the miseries of hell.

It is a rare example where the donor puts a curse on the monks if they neglect the repairs of the monastery. Another donor in A.D. 1269 dedicated slaves to the monastery and among the slaves he included three carpenters and three blacksmiths to do the repairs when the

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1. Pl. 254b18-17
2. Pl. 23315
3. Probably the monks used stories from Vimūna Vatthu to illustrate their speech like their modern counterparts. Vimūna Vatthu give examples where just a word of appreciation for others' work of merit was rewarded enormously, not to speak of the benefits reaped from doing the deed oneself. A lay devotee said a word of appreciation when Visākha had finished building a monastery and result of it, after her death, she was reborn a devī and had "a great mansion that could travel through the sky, beautified with many pinnacles, with pīṅkha-lotus-pond and the like, 16 yojanas in length and breadth and height, diffusing light for a hundred yojanas by its own radiance." (The Minor Aithologies of the Pali Canon, Part IV. Translation by J. Kennedy & H. S. Gehman, p. 76.)
4. Pl. 27019
5. Pl. 94a47
6. See Pl. 26225, Pl. 39318, 39, Pl. 39518
7. Pl. 15613
8. Pl. 22444.16
monastery needed them.1 Thus, there were some donors who thought it necessary to leave behind certain instructions to effect repairs at their buildings whenever necessary. Some went further and dedicated skillful artisans to the monastery so that they were permanently employed to look after the building. Perhaps the most effective provision for repairs was to put a curse on the monks if they neglected it. Another type of building given to the monks was called sīma—the ordination hall.

Sīma is the old Burmese word for Sīma—the ordination hall. In a Mon inscription of probably the early 12th century, a Mon mhaṭhera in Kyaukse district is mentioned as the founder of buddhasimā—a permanent ordination hall.2 But the earliest mention of it in Burmese is in an inscription dated A.D. 1212. It runs:

||Turañ toñ thak Cawrahan sim pyak kha rakā Moñma Nhutchak anay[U]i, Pan Ū Soañ cōhipuhjī 2 krā rakālpurhā lōn man ācina manākāi rhu toñ tak e, (1) nhac so krā rakājmanāi plu eiy hu rakājīy sim chok so kā Sakarac 574[khu] Krauik nhac Namyun la chan 12 Tammhaikuniy niy Anruitta Sut Sīṅkhā lak akhā ||nam nāk ta pahui, ā chok sateljīy sim kloq samūi sakājīn chāryā Dhammasiri samūi sateljup ra so kā Mittrabicañ 7 Pokpo Ramam 1 Asak Lhwat 1 Pisūkā Nā Khyan Soñ |||

As the sīma of Cawrahan on Mt. Turañ fell into ruin, concubine Nhutchak and mother Uï, Pan Ū Soañ, the chief clerk, these two heard of it. One year after the great king Ācina (Nāṭojmya) the Bodhisattva had ascended the golden mountain, the great king commanded (the above two) to do the repairs. The building started at the first stroke (of the clock) in the morning when the lagna was in Leo of the amruitta cut on Sunday, 13 May 1212. The person who put the stone (boundary pillars) was the Reverend Dhammasiri, the teacher of the king. The persons who built it were Mittrabicañ, Pokpo Ramam, Asak Lhwat and the architect Nā Khyan Soñ.

The consecration of a sīma and putting the limits to it required a ceremonial as prescribed in the second Khandhaka of the Mahāvagga, Vinayaīṭaka.4 Unfortunately, nothing of this is mentioned in the inscriptions. Sīma is also a place where the monks meet twice a month to do the uposatha ceremony and once a year after the Lent to do the pavāraṇā ceremony which is in short meetings where monks made declarations if they had committed an offence mentioned in the Pātimokka. In an inscription dated A.D. 1388 we have a definition of sīma as

||skhīṅ saṅghā tuw āpattukat ca so aphlac phriy rā sīma

Sīma where the reverend monks make absolution for such offences like āppatti in so far as the inscriptions of our period inform us, we know that sīma were built for the monks though not as frequently as the monasteries and a senior monk like the king’s teacher

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1. Pi. 2617.ª, 245.5
2. Ep. Birm., III, i, pp. 70-3
3. Pi. 361-15
5. Pi. 39014
6. Pi. 364, Pi. 2054, Pi. 214a, Pi. 26414, Pi. 276b5, 5, Pi. 280b4, Pi. 3701, Pi. 39014, Pi. 5792 and old Mon X11 (Ep. Birm., III, i, pp. 70-3.)
SAÑGHĀ

would be called upon to put the limits to the sim. Land,1 slaves2 and palmyra palms3 were also dedicated to the sim in as much the same way as they were dedicated to a pagoda or a monastery. It was also the building where monks confessed and sought absolution. Perhaps it will not be out of place here to mention other buildings that the people built for their monks in those days. When building monasteries some donors made it a point to build also a kappiyakuti4–storehouse attached to the monastery. It was defined as alhū paccañi thā cīm so ṇhā kappiyakuti5–the storehouse for keeping the gifts received. As the monasteries owned land, cattle and toddy palms, these store houses were also used probably to store butter and jaggery. We have mentioned before that some monasteries had separate store houses for clarified butter. Some donors dug wells and made reservoirs in the monastic compound.5 The following extract from an inscription dated A.D. 1223 gives a good example of it.

// sākhīn ariyā tuś, riy khyañi sā cīm, so ṇhā ut-ṭi phway, so riya tuś le tū e, // ut-ṭi phway, so a thoñi, kān le tū e, // arihyi plān kā kankri le 2 cān tū e, // riya wən cīm, so ṇhā plīwan nhān, tałā le atān atūy plu e, // riya kān apā wankyañ kā uyan le cūk kā, //

In order that the lords might be at ease for water, a well also was dug and built of bricks. A square tank built of bricks was also dug. To the east a large tank also was dug, with two levels. That the water might enter, pipes and basins also were beautifully made. All around the tank, a garden was planted.

In the same monastic compound, some donors built cārap7–almshouses, tanchōn8–rest houses and satañi taṅkup9–sheds to be used on sabbath days for the lay devotees who frequented the monasteries. Thus we have a rough idea of what a monastic establishment contains. There is the house for the chief monk, houses for his follower monks with lecture halls for the monk students, rest houses for the lay devotees, store houses, wells and tanks within the same compound. We will now consider the ceremonies made in connection with the dedications—the ceremony where the transfer of property from the hands of the donor into the hands of the monk was effected.

The following extract where a donor gave away a certain portion of his property to the Religion, gives a fairly good example of the period. In A.D. 1207 Nātojmyā (four years before his accession to the throne) copied a set of Tipiṭaka, built a monastery and dedicated 1050 palmyra palms and 10,000 pay. of land to that monastery and the ceremony of this dedication is recorded as:

// ceñ kharā tī ruśi puśpā amatryā rahan saṃghā ṇhān akwa re cañ taw khla e //

1. Pl. 709, Pl. 1135, Pl. 126b4, Pl. 134a15, 19, 20, 24, Pl. 22a10, Pl. 2485, Pl. 2642, 12, Pl. 26545, 44, Pl. 287a2, 10, Pl. 370b9, 19, Pl. 38021, 22, 25, 27, 29, Pl. 5754, 4
2. Pl. 134b15, Pl. 190b5, Pl. 21216
3. Pl. 20210
4. Pl. 7327, Pl. 23410, Pl. 24712
5. Pl. 153a5, Pl. 24924, Pl. 3034
6. Pl. 7322.5
7. Pl. 213a16, Pl. 24222, 22, Pl. 3035, Pl. 37241, Pl. 42810
8. Pl. 7323, etc.
9. Pl. 3729, 40
10. Pl. 3115.21
The drums and the fifes are played and together with the retinue, the ministers and the venerable monks, the royal water of purity was poured. All those princes, ministers, and the rich people who heard and knew it called (aloud) the antrodanā.

In the case of common folk, the crowd that gathered for such an occasion would be different, that is to say there would be no courtiers but the process would be very much the same. Inscriptions often give lists of witnesses to these occasions; they always begin with the names of the monks according to seniority, then the village notables and lastly the villagers. Needless to say, the monks always must be there to receive the dedication and to recite the prātita in order to solemnize the occasion. Pouring the water onto the ground to mark the end of dedication was the general practice and we notice one instance where the water jug used then was broken when the ceremony was over. In another instance when pouring water, the donors invoked the Great Earth to witness their good act. Kañkasū's wife in A.D. 1242 said:

\[ \text{mily \ kri Asuntariy hya}n\,\text{saksiy mū lat} \text{ ruy alhā riy svāni e,} \text{ } \{4 \}
\]

I poured the water of dedication calling upon the Great Earth Asuntariy to bear witness.

This is the only reference to Vasundharā in the old Burmese inscriptions that we have seen and therefore it may possibly be said that calling upon her to bear witness as Gotama did when Mara attacked him, is exceptional. This leads us to question - what did they pray for after these dedications.

All the donors prayed for nirvāṇa although we have observed before that only the very ambitious wanted to become Buddhhas before the attainment of nirvāṇa. Nirvāṇa as understood by some of them is slightly different from that described in the scriptures and the monks who taught them the elements of Buddhism should be held responsible for it. Nirvāṇa means annihilation and the end but some of the old Burmans took it as a place of great peace and enjoyment. The typical phrase would be "May I reach nippam praṇī—the city of nirvāṇa" or nirvāṇa would be defined as nippam maṇi so ma syi praṇī—the city of no death called nirvāṇa. But this is not universal. There were also those who recognised nirvāṇa as annihilation because they used such phrases as rup nōn khlup rā—the annihilation of body and soul; amuik amyak rānī mak kun ruy—the end of stupidity, anger, and greed; and saṅsāra aćumī—the end of samsāra. Perhaps, these various ideas on nirvāṇa were due to the different ways that the monks preached. Some would mention nirvāṇa as some form

1. Pl. 10a7, Pl. 20012, 14, Pl. 266a11
2. Pl. 27055
3. Pl. 284a12
4. Pl. 1429
5. For the strange legend of the Goddess peculiar to South East Asia, see C. Duroiselle: "Wathundaye, the Earth Goddess of Burma", ASI, 1921-2, pp. 144-6.
6. See also G.H. Luce: "Prayers of Ancient Burma", JQRS, XXVI, iii, pp. 131-3
7. Pl. 124, Pl. 735, Pl. 143a29, Pl. 18417, Pl. 1943, Pl. 19682, Pl. 20228, Pl. 2067, Pl. 23514, Pl. 2368
8. Pl. 27514
9. Pl. 20228, Pl. 2067
10. Pl. 6937
11. Pl. 23315
12. Pl. 11783
of prosperity such as one would enjoy in the world of men or deva as "cañīm nat cañīm nirabban cañīm" - the enjoyments of mankind, the enjoyments of devolaka and the enjoyments of nirvana. To attain this very great reward, the people believed that nothing was too great to sacrifice in support of the Religion and due to these good acts there are many pagodas, monasteries and other buildings in Burma. There were many important personalities among the monks of our period which will be dealt with in the next chapter.
CHAPTER VIII

SAÑGHĀ (Continued)

Of the important personalities among the monks of our period, the foremost is the Mahāthera Arahan who was reputed to have introduced the pure form of Buddhism into Upper Burma. We do not know how much truth there is in the statement that he brought Theravāda Buddhism to Pagan nor how great was his influence over Aniruddha, who eventually conquered Lower Burma in A.D. 1057 simply because he wanted a few of the thirty sets of Tipitaka which Arahan assured him the King of Thaton had. According to the inscriptions of our period, he was the king’s teacher throughout the reign of Thiluinn Mahā. The great Shwezigon inscription mentions that the king had a mahāthera as an adviser. It said:

A Lord Mahāthera, who possesses virtue, who is the charioteer, of the Law, King Sīri Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja shall make (his) right-hand man, shall make (him) his spiritual teacher. In the presence of the Lord Mahāthera, abounding in virtue, who is the charioteer of the Law also, ‘Togethers with my lord I cleanse the religion of the Lord Buddha’, thus shall King Sīri Tribhuvanādityadhammarāja say.

The palace inscription identifies this mahāthera of King Thiluinn Mahā as Arahan who had a following of 4108 monks. It is possible that this Arahan was the same as the Shin Arahan of the Chronicles. Through the initiative of Prince Rājkumār, the king made a death-bed gift in about A.D. 1113 and a mahāthera and six other dignitaries of the Order were present to witness it. If this mahāthera was our Arahan he would have been over seventy seven years old then. The chronicles maintain that he died after Caṅkū I had suppressed a rebellion at Tenasserim but unfortunately we cannot fix the date for it. Anyhow it is certain

1. Hmannan paras. 131 & 133
3. Ibid., I B 42.7
4. Ibid., III, xi A 8, 22, 55, 45, D44, G51, 55, 41, 45
7. If we take A.D. 1056 as the year of his arrival at Pagan he would have been there for fifty seven years in A.D. 1113 and as no monk could be ordained under twenty, he was at least seventy seven years old then.
8. Hmannan para 141. How Dr N. Ray reaches the conclusion that Arahan died in about A.D. 1115 at the ripe age of eighty is a puzzle. (N. Ray: Theravāda Buddhism in Burma, p. 106). The reference he gives is no where to be found. Perhaps he takes the hint from Mr C. Duroiselle who says that in List 227 inscription it is mentioned that “Narapatisithi, otherwise known as Alaungsithu, who ascended the throne in 1112, urged one of his ministers to build (the Nandamānī) temple and the monastery close by; and that he, the king, sent Shin Arahan, the Talaing apostle of Pagan to Tenasserim to collect relics to be enshrined in the new temple. Mr C. Duroiselle comments on this as follows: “Now, Shin Arahan began his work of evangelization in 1057; supposing him to have then been, at the lowest estimate, twenty years of age, he would, at that date of accession of Alaungsithu (1112), have been already seventyfive. So his mission to Tenasserim, an arduous journey at that time, cannot have been long after that. Hence the foundation of the Nandamānī can be placed somewhere between 1112 and 1130 at the latest, allowing the venerable monk a span of life of about ninety-five years.” Unfortunately the inscription quoted is dated A.D. 1248 and it clearly mentions that the mission under Arahan to Tenasserim was sent soon after 1248. Narapatisithu cannot be identified with Alaungsithu (Cañka I) as many kings of Pagan were mentioned by that name in inscriptions and therefore it is highly objectionable to connect the Arahan of this inscription with our Arahan because even if he lived a very long life, we cannot expect him to live for over two hundred years. Nor can we deduce from that inscription that the Nandamānī was built between A.D. 1112-30 although it was found near that pagoda. Even if we venture to attach the stone to the pagoda, all we can say is that the pagoda might have been built after A.D. 1248.
that one mahāthera called Arahan was the king's teacher during the reign of Thitaw Muni. But we know nothing about him from the preceding reign except for the story in the chronicles that it was he who brought the pure form of Buddhism to Pagan in Aniruddha's time and that he died during Cañā 1's reign after that monarch had subdued the Tenasserim rebellion. According to the Mīnman; Rājawalī, the king appointed the elder son of Cintānak Muni to succeed Arahan as Sasanāpuṣṭa—the chief of the Religion. Is the office of Sasanāpuṣṭa of our period the same as that of the Konbaung dynasty?

In order to find out whether the office of Sasanāpuṣṭa or any other office similar to it existed we must scrutinise all mention of mahāthera, saṅghāthera and therā in our inscriptions because there is no mention of sasanāpuṣṭa in all the available inscriptions of our period, although the Mīnman; Rājawalī asserts that Cañā 1 appointed an elder as Sasanāpuṣṭa to succeed Arahan. Undoubtedly there were mañchārya3 or rājaguru4—the teachers of the king but to be the king's teacher does not necessarily mean that such an elder was the head of the Order as Sasanāpuṣṭa was understood during the Konbaung dynasty. We find that the king's teacher would sometimes be addressed as mahāthera,5 therā6 or skhin7 but in matters of discipline among the Order, any elder well versed in the Vinaya-pitaka would be approached to intervene even though the king might have greatly desired that his teacher alone should have the final say. Even in the time of the Konbaung kings, some therā ridiculed the idea of appointing a Sasanāpuṣṭa or a commission of eight Sadhamma Charātou to have jurisdiction in cases under vinaya.8 Although the king meant well, the monks did not need a king's sanction to enforce vinaya among themselves as it was by consent that they kept it.9 As mentioned above the King's teacher would be called a mahāthera but not all the mahāthera were king's teachers nor was there only one mahāthera or royal preceptor at a time. An old Mon inscription believed to be of Thitaw Muni's reign mentions the existence of two mahāthera, one at Pagan and another at Klok Sayoh and the latter informed the former of his good deeds done at his place of residence.10 In one instance the term mahāthera was applied to all the elders who lived in a monastery.11 An inscription dated A.D. 1242 mentions two mahāthera and they were differentiated by the locality wherein they lived as Muchaiwpyu Mahāthi and Cañhlan Mahāthi.12 In a list of witnesses to a dedication made by Nu Tu Hpa

1. Jīmman para. 141; GPC. p. 119
3. Pl. 3610, Pl. 8310, Pl. 853, Pl. 1395, 24, Pl. 182a2, Pl. 182b2, Pl. 191a8, 8, Pl. 2615, 54, Pl. 29724, Pl. 378b, 10, Pl. 581a17
4. Pl. 31, Pl. 632, Pl. 191a9, Pl. 245a7, Pl. 27215, Pl. 27410, Pl. 27920, Pl. 2996
5. Pl. 632, Pl. 1395, 24, Pl. 245a7, Pl. 2615, 54
6. Pl. 29724, 27
7. Pl. 3610, Pl. 8310, Pl. 1395, 24, Pl. 182a2, Pl. 2615, 54, Pl. 27215
9. At the end of the ordination service the ordainand was instructed in the rudiments of the vinaya by the chairman of the assembly and an upajjhāya—tutor, was appointed to teach him the details later.
10. Ep. Birm, III, i. xi
11. Pl. 19a20
12. Pl. 14910
Sān and wife in A.D. 1258 we find two monks who were both referred to as the king's teacher. As a general rule these lists give the names in order of importance and it is interesting to note that these two teachers of the king are preceded by a mahāthera. The list is as follows:

|| krā pa sakā mlat so Mahāthi Uttamamati 1 yok|| mañ chryā Dhammracā 1 yok|| mañ chryā Pawaradhammarājaguru 1 yok|| Skhiṅ Lhakanakkabram Chryā 1 yok|| Skhiṅ Na Suriṅ Saṅ Chryā 1 yok|| Bidarāc 1 yok|| Kantasmin 1 yok|| Sukhamuin Moggalān 1 yok|| sukrywaī Na Tuiṅ Bāṅ Saṅ sā Na Paṅgīt 1 yok|| ni Na Pa Nay 1 yok|| Na Can Sai 1 yok || 

Those who hear (and see this act of merit) are the Reverend Mahāthera Uttamamati, King's Teacher Dhammracā, King's Teacher Pawaradhammarājaguru, Teacher of Lord Lhakanakkabram, Teacher of Lord Na Suriṅ Saṅ, Bidarac, Kantasmin, Moggalān the Wise, Na Paṅgīt son of Na Tuiṅ Bāṅ Saṅ the Rich, younger brother Na Pa Nay and Na Can Saṅ. May these reverend lords take care of (my dedications). May they also bear witness to (my good deeds).

It was the same with the saṅghāṭera² and the thera³ who were mostly heads of monasteries but they did not possess any official status as in a hierarchy. Thus, there were many mahāthera, saṅghāṭera, thera and rajaguru at any one time and none of them had the same status as the Sāsanāpuu in later days. We have seen above⁴ that in disputes where both parties were not exclusively monks, the verdict of the lay court prevailed although a senior monk may express his view before the final judgement. But for cases which purely concerned the monks, an expert in the Vinayaśīkā would be approached. A monk who is versed in the Vinayaśīkā is popularly known as Vinyadhara or in its Burmanised form as Wīneñduir. There was one Wīneñduir whose name appeared fairly frequently in the inscriptions of the 13th century.

It seems that the Reverend Wīneñduir was the head of a great monastic establishment and had a great following. Members of the royal family and ministers were among his lay devotees. Asanākyā the great minister of King Nātoṁyā was one of them. He received from the king 700 pay of land as a reward for quelling a rebellion that broke out soon after the king's accession in A.D. 1211. From the 700 pay Asanākyā gave 150 pay to the monastery of Skhiṅ Wīneñduir in A.D. 1216.⁵ This is the first mention we find of this reverend monk in the inscriptions of our period. Next he was mentioned as one of the witnesses to the dedication of 200 pay of land made by Lakkhana Lakway, the hero of the Takon battle in A.D. 1228.⁶ A queen, probably Phwā Jaw, Queen of Narasingha Uccanā, and her brother

1. Pl. 191a⁸,¹³
2. Pl. 221, Pl. 30a, Pl. 537, Pl. 60a¹², Pl. 79b⁹, Pl. 113⁵, Pl. 121b⁸, Pl. 127b⁹, Pl. 271¹⁵, ²², Pl. 280b¹², Pl. 329⁴, Pl. 373c⁶, Pl. 373d⁵, Pl. 381¹², ², ⁵, ⁴, ⁴, ⁸, ¹⁷, ⁵⁰, Pl. 563a⁶, Pl. 59⁴⁷
3. Pl. 12⁹, Pl. 29⁹, ¹⁰, Pl. 73²⁰, Pl. 8⁵²⁵, Pl. 9⁴a¹⁴, Pl. 10²²⁰, Pl. 10⁵a⁵⁴, ⁵⁵, Pl. 12⁶b⁵, etc.
4. Pl. 4²¹b⁸,¹⁸
5. Pl. 4²², Pl. 190a¹, ⁶, ²⁴, ²⁵, ⁵⁰
6. Pl. 2³¹b⁵
Samantakumāthānī also known as the maternal uncle of King Uccanā, were also devoted to the Reverend Wineśāhuïr. They in A.D. 1243 made a large addition of buildings to the monastery of the reverend monk, and among these new buildings were included a library, a lecture hall and twenty ōttā klošh—probably residential quarters for the students. This fact alone shows us that the monastic establishment of Skhīh Wineśāhuïr was a sort of university where hundreds of young monks flocked to learn; most probably the Vinayapiṭaka on which he was considered an authority. In order that the monks of the establishment might get "the four necessities" with ease, the good donors gave 384 pay of cultivable land, 187 slaves, a garden, one hundred cattle and an elephant. As a seat of learning would have required many copies of the Tipitaka, extra copies were often added to the library of his monastery. An officer Krañ ṣaṅ in A.D. 1221 gave him a copy of the Tipitaka, ten slaves for the library staff and twenty pay of land for the maintenance of the library. The same inscription which records the above dedication also gives the names of two more donors who gave lands and slaves to his establishment. In 1234 Ṛā Ṛoṭa Saṅ gave fifty pay of land and in 1253 Koṇgapikram gave 400 pay of land and ten slaves. Princess Acow Lāt, the wife of the minister Jayya-sadhiy and the half-sister of King Uccanā was also devoted to the reverend monk. In A.D. 1261 she built a hollow-pagoda and Skhīh Wineśāhua headed the list of the eight names mentioned as reciters of the parītta when relics were enshrined in that pagoda. Four hundred and thirty five pay of land were also dedicated. In the light of the above evidence we come to the conclusion that Skhīh Wineśāhua was a much respected therā who devoted his time to learning and as his name implies, advocated orthodoxy, i.e., living strictly according to the rules of the Vinaya. He was already a famous therā with many devoted followers in A.D. 1216 and he was still a leading monk in A.D. 1261. In view of the fact that libraries, lecture halls and residential buildings for students were frequently added to his monastery and he was given lands and slaves for the maintenance of his establishment within this half century, we might credit him with being the leader of the orthodox group who tried to adhere strictly to the Vinaya and who maintained close contact with Ceylon. This leads us to consider in some detail the purification of the Order on Sinhalese lines which is said to have begun in about A.D. 1180. Pagan's dealings with Ceylon is as follows.

As regards contact with Sinkhuῖh or Laṅkā (Ceylon), we will first mention all we know about it from the inscriptions of our period. The first reference made to Ceylon was in the Dhammarājika pagoda inscription which mentions that in A.D. 1197, King Cunspū of Ceylon received four relics of the Lord Buddha from the king of Sinkhuῖh who had thirty. The king enshrined

1. Pl. 1521, 6
2. Pl. 1522b, 9
3. Pl. 2481, 6
4. Ibid 6, 10
5. Ibid 11, 21
6. Pl. 2001
7. Pl. 20020
8. Pl. 201a7
9. Pl. 19b1, 2, Pl. 87, 15, Pl. 223a, 12, Pl. 25020, Pl. 26520, Pl. 3738, 10, 10, Pl. 39055, Pl. 431a7
10. Pl. 226, Pl. 3020, 14, 15, 18
them the next year in the Dhammarājika pagoda at West Pwazaw, Pagan. As we have seen above Burma and Ceylon had had peaceful relations since the time of Aniruddha though they were broken off for a short while probably during the time of Imaîw Syun (711-25). He was also known as Kalakya—the king who fell at the hands of the Indians. His assassins came from Ceylon. Nevertheless, King Caṇšū II must have successfully reestablished friendly relations with Ceylon as the gift of relics evidently bears witness to that effect. The Kalyāṇi inscription (1480) gives an account of a mission from Pagan to Ceylon in A.D. 1170. The leader of the mission was said to be the king's teacher. Although it is not a contemporary account, it supports the statement that King Caṇšū II tried to open relations with Ceylon and that he was successful. It also seems quite reasonable to think that the king's motives were largely religious in this affair. As we have seen above, there was Skhiri Wimāñhair with a large following at Pagan who advocated orthodoxy and purification of the Order on Sinhalese lines. Naturally these orthodox monks must have persuaded the king to send students to study in Ceylon and to invite Sinhalese teachers to come over and reside in Pagan. The Kalyāṇi inscription mentions that a monk named Chapala studied in Ceylon for ten years and came back to Pagan in A.D. 1180 with four learned Sinhalese monks. This is not impossible. An inscription dated A.D. 1233 mentions the presence of a teacher from Ceylon called Buddharamī who was then the head of a monastic establishment to which the donor gave land and slaves. Another inscription dated A.D. 1248 mentions educational mission to Ceylon probably between 1237 and 1248 under the leadership of Dhammasiri and Subhātīcanda. In an inscription dated A.D. 1268, a donor claimed that his deeds of merit were witnessed by all the Sinhalese monks. This evidently shows that not only teachers but also a considerable number of monks from Ceylon were settled in Central Burma. Arī Cow in A.D. 1274 narrated the story of the coming of Buddhism which shows good relationship with Ceylon and the people of Pagan were well acquainted with the Sinhalese chronicle Mahāvanisa. In A.D. 1278, Dipānkārā sent from Ceylon relics of the Lord to Reverend Tamalin who was the head of a big monastery supported by such important persons as Queen Sunimula's daughter Princess Acu and her uncle Lord Singasū. Probably he was also a teacher who came from Ceylon. He was one of the popular theras of King Tarukāliy's reign. Thus briefly relations with Ceylon began with the reign of Aniruddha, were interrupted for short period during Imaîw Syun's reign and were reestablished from Caṇšū II's time until the fall of the dynasty. During this second

1. Pl. 19b1-2
3. The four were Sivali, Tamalinda, Ananda and Rāhula.
4. Pl. 373b9, 10, 11
5. The date of the mission is uncertain. But as these two monks were very popular at Pagan as Dhammasiri was mancchaptis, the teacher of the king (Pl.361) and mahāthera (Pl.29712), their names appeared frequently in the list of witnesses to dedications made at Pagan; and the name Dhammasiri being absent from the inscriptions after A.D. 1237 until A.D. 1248 suggests that he was abroad. Thus tentatively this mission to Ceylon is dated between 1237 and 1248.
6. Pl. 302
7. Pl. 233a8
8. Pl. 250a9
9. Pl. 265b0 (See also Pl. 22721, Pl.366a5, Pl. 266b15, 50, 58, 45)
period religious missions were sent to Ceylon from Pagan which were most probably of the same nature as the mission of A.D. 1476 sent by King Dhammaceti of Pegu. Chronicles mention a mission from Pagan in A.D. 1170. In the inscriptions we find mention of a mission sent between 1237 and 1248 under the leadership of the King's Teacher Dhammasiri and Subhūticanda. Probably such missions took with them young monks to remain in Ceylon for study and brought back some learned theras from Ceylon to reside at Pagan. As a result, the monks educated in Ceylon, monks who received education from Sinhalese theras at Pagan and theras of Pagan who agreed with the Sinhalese advocated purification of the Order on Sinhalese lines. Nevertheless, we must bear in mind that there was also another group of monks who were not so eager for reforms. They were known as 'forest-dwellers'.

Monks of the taw kloñ-forest monasteries, belonged to the group who were not so eager for reforms, or in other words who allowed certain lapses in the observance of the Vinaya. The Vinaya requires these Araiñavāsī to observe three restrictions, viz., that a forest dweller must enter a village "properly clad"; that he must keep in his abode drinking water, fire, firewood and walking staff; that he must learn the positions of the lunar mansions and must become skilled in the quarters (i.e. in the four parts of the day). As the practice of araiñakangamā is one of the thirteen Dhammagamā, it is not a compulsory practice for all the monks, but it seems that from the time of Nāṇāmāya until the fall of the empire, this practice became very popular so that many donors began to build taw kloñ or araiñavāsī taw kloñ and the dwellers in such places became almost a different sect of the Order. Originally a monk went out alone into the forest withdrawing himself from the communal life of the monks in a monastery to practice araiñakangamā but this original idea of a lonely monk as a forest recluse was much modified. Big monastic establishments called taw kloñ appeared with hundreds of monks living in them under taw mlat kri'4 - the Most Reverend Lords of the Forest. In an inscription dated A.D. 1216, a queen's mother built a forest monastery at the Reverend Yañav's establishment and dedicated seventy pay of land and twenty slaves. Rūjanadhāmānākālayati built a hollow pagoda at the forest monastery to the east of Prasata (at Minnathu) in A.D. 1233. Jeyyaputat established a forest monastery (at Pwazaw) in A.D. and dedicated a large number of Burmese slaves and in the next year he again dedicated 750 pay of land. We have seen how the monks had protested and won against King Klacunā when he took the above lands as a sequel to his confiscation of religious lands after his accession. Minnathu and Pwazaw to the east of Pagan and Myinnmu and Anein in Shinawra district were the centres of these forest monasteries. They were not confined to the above areas alone. Some of them appeared even in the capital city of Pagan. As mentioned

2. Pl. 40a5, Pl. 68r, Pl. 891, 155, Pl. 90, 11, 12, 25, 26, Pl. 12313, 16, Pl. 132a, Pl. 140a2, Pl. 143a7, Pl. 143b5, Pl. 14510, 25, Pl. 147a8, Pl. 147b7, Pl. 153b4, 8, Pl. 160b5, Pl. 16315, 15, Pl. 215a5, Pl. 2267, Pl. 24a15, Pl. 26818, Pl. 2962, Pl. 29725, 52, Pl. 41722, Pl. 567a1, Pl. 582a2
3. Pl. 465c3
4. Pl. 26817, Pl. 223a9
5. Pl. 34a5, 12
6. Pl. 38a9
7. Pl. 39h
8. Pl. 9612, 14
9. Pl. 682, Pl. 132a2 (Capalhin), Pl. 16315 (Krak Añi). This Minnathu is the same as Saematt or Thanathit, the stronghold of the Ari mentioned in the chronicles.
10. Pl. 39, Pl. 90
11. Pl. 12316
12. Pl. 296, Pl. 297 *
13. Pl. 163
above, we find that these so-called forest-dwellers were not practising āraññakaṇgamī as their name suggests. They lived in big monasteries and had big estates in support of their establishments. The way they enlarged their estates and their connivance at the drinking of intoxicants were by no means in keeping with the Vinaya.

The forest monasteries, like other monasteries received enormous gifts of land from lay devotees, but they added to it by purchase. An inscription dated A.D. 1248 gives a series of such purchases for the forest monastery of Mahākassapo. In A.D. 1242, 330 paya at Ririunw añī were purchased in A.D. 1242 for 700 ticals of silver, i.e. a little over two ticals per paya. Two years later, 332 paya at Phistonw (Shwebo district) belonging to the Saw Kantā people were bought at a tical per paya. Another 1010 paya from the same people were also bought at the same price. A hundred viss of copper was the price for another 500 paya. In A.D. 1248, 1000 paya at Plaŋgka were bought at two ticals per paya. This inscription also records that the monastery received many more thousands of paya from various donors. When the Reverend Cantimā bought some land (the exact acreage is not given) in A.D. 1249 the price was:

"khwak 50 nawa la te phag sā nwa ta khujse khamhac lānīnh, was phya sa lha lhwañ lhow ainti sate,"

fifty (viss of) copper, (only) one (from a pair of) yoke bullocks, one ox (for) beef, seven pots of liquor and five pieces of cloth.

It seems that both parties to the transaction or at least the buyers of the land sat down to a feast when the business was over. The feast for which one whole ox and seven pots of liquor were reserved must have been a fairly big one. Probably the feast was in proportion to the importance of the transaction; because when two monks of Mahākassapo’s establishment bought fifty paya of land, they spent only five and a half viss of copper for sīy phuw: sā phuw 5 – the price of liquor and the price of meat. This practise of feasting at the end of a transaction became popular from the middle of the 13th century onwards. It became increasingly so after the fall of Pagan until about A.D. 1500. For example, in A.D. 1269 when Narasākram bought lands from Pyanikla ṇa Luṅg Saṅ, Guṇasiddhi and ṇa Yoṅ Saṅ it was recorded at the end of the transaction as:

"|| i suv Phyanikla tuw kuive nīy phuw pip so akhā le samipyaan kalun sa khaṣa sa tuw kuive thyañ aṣi anrañā hū ruy it tulā ka pon phuñ thok nwa ṇa soñ 1 koñ sīy uwa khon 10 ca sok pil e,|| thiux rhaw akhā ca sek so sa kā Prañ Khwan 1 yok || Na Canti 1 yok || Na Canti sā Na Khan Pha 1 yok || Na Krati Saṅ sā akri anai cum Saw akri anai alun hi kun, ef"8

When Pyanikla and party were given the price of the land, all the hearing and seeing (i.e. witnessing) samipyaan and kalun (were given a feast) by the side of the brick trough of the reservoir where a gilded bull and ten pots of liquor were eaten and drunk. Among those who ate and drunk were present Prañ Khwan, ṇa Canti, Na Khan Pha son of Na Canti, both elder and younger sons of Na Krati Saṅ and all Saw old and young.

1. Pl. 162–3
2. Prices of land in khāruṅ areas, i.e. in Kyaukse district, were as high as 20 ticals of silver or 8 viss of copper per paya. In taṅk areas, i.e. outlying districts like Shwebo and Chinikhan, the price was as low as 1 tical of silver or 2 viss of copper per paya. The average was about 8 to 10 ticals of silver or 3 to 5 viss of copper per paya.
3. Pl. 380e.7
4. Pl. 22410.11
5. See Than Tun: “Mahākassapo and his Tradition”, JBR, XLII, ii, 99–118
6. Pl. 39510.10
Even when a pay of land was bought (in A.D. 1270), the price included a pot of liquor and money for meat. In A.D. 1277, the trustees of the Minnanthu monastery dedicated by Minwaing Phuā Jāaw, queen-grandmother of Tarukpīly bought one thousand pay of land from the Saw (Sāaw). Expenses incurred including thamon phiuw sīy phiuw sā phiuw – the price of cooked rice, the price of liquor, the price of meat given in a feast to the Sāaw was fifty four ticals of silver. Thus, the "forest dwellers" enlarged their estates by buying up land especially in Shwebo district where the prices were low. To mark the successful end of their transactions, they gave feasts where intoxicating drinks were amply served. This sort of feast became fairly widespread towards the end of the dynasty. Among these forest-dwellers the most frequently mentioned thera was Mahākassapa who perhaps was the leader of this new group in the Order.

Mahākassapa was first mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 1225 when he received the dedication of land, slaves and cattle made by King Nātoimiya and his sister Maṅ Lha. Mahākassapa was then already a famous thera at Myinmu in Monywa district. Perhaps Myinmu was then the centre of these "forest-dwellers" and Mahākassapa was their leader on account of whose venerableness they received much support from important people of the period. Mahākassapa's attempt to open a branch of his monastery at the capital city of Pagan, was successful because in A.D. 1233 a forest monastery was built at Minnanthu, and another in A.D. 1236 at Pwagay, both on the eastern side of Pagan. By A.D. 1237, Mahākassapa's name was mentioned side by side with two other prominent theras of the city as witnesses to a dedication by Mahāsamun, an important minister of the time. The two theras were Dhammasiri and Subhältinda who were probably away in Ceylon between 1237 and 1248. As these two theras undoubtedly desired the purification of the Order on Sinhalese lines, it is most probable that they were much alarmed at the appearance of Mahākassapa and his new school at the capital and so hastened to Ceylon for inspiration and help. An inscription dated A.D. 1242 found among the old pagodas south of Kumā in Kyaukse district contains evidence of further activities of Mahākassapa. It said that he established a monastery there. Perhaps he was able to extend his influence to the most prosperous area of the Pagan empire while his two rivals were away in Ceylon. In the meanwhile, he was able to enlist the support of Prince Kaṅkasū, half brother of Nātoimiya. On the death of the prince his wife added a building in memory of her beloved husband to his establishment at Minnanthu. According to Puḷ sukṛi (? General) Sattiyā's inscription (A.D. 1244) which records the construction of a monastery, a hollow pagoda and a sitting image of the Buddha four cubits high, the Mahākassapa establishment was located just outside arhiy praṅ takhā – the Eastern Gate of the City. In that establishment, the Most Reverend Mahākassapa used the monastery built by Princess Maṅ Lha as his residence. It
was in that year A.D. 1244 that Mahākassapa had a land dispute with the Cakraw of the Frontier Guard at Chipon 2 (on the north east of Kyaukse district). The land originally belonged to Sankrammasū, the grandfather of Mahākassapa. We have shown above that from A.D. 1248, Mahākassapa began to buy thousands of pay of land mostly in Shwebo and Chindwin districts. His organization was new and therefore he probably must have felt that it needed the support of a landed interest although he received many gifts of land during the years A.D. 1247-83 and A.D. 1272.4 It seems that he died between A.D. 1272 and A.D. 1278.

After 1272 the name Mahākassapa was used only to denote his establishment and in 1278 there was a new therā at his establishment although his name is not mentioned. Thus the life of Mahākassapa from the time when he was already a famous therā in the tuuk – outlying districts of Chindwin in about A.D. 1225 to his growing popularity in kharuin – the central districts of Kyaukse, Myingyan and Münbu in about A.D. 1235-40 till his death between A.D. 1272-8, clearly shows us how the forest-dwellers grew in number and popularity to such dimensions as to be considered a major force almost equal in strength to the orthodox group who at that time fervently tried to maintain their ground with help from Ceylon. It took two more centuries to have a clear cut answer in favour of orthodoxy. Although the evidence is meagre it is possible to connect these araṇhavāsi or forest-dwellers under Mahākassapa who bought land in outlying districts to strengthen their position and who accepted for themselves yanimaka apṣaya 1 - a sweet liquor from palm juice, and allowed their devotees to indulge in grand feasts where liquor and meat were plentiful, with Araṇ or Ari of whom the chronicles thought poorly.

We will first of all deal with the epigraphic evidence concerning Araṇ. In an inscription dated A.D. 1213 a donor records his deeds of merit as follows:

[[ṣapit 100 ṭaṇh, ṭuy, ṭhōṅ ṭhāk plāṅ ṭhaṅ, ṭuy, Araṇā ṭhū e,]jīuy purhā le saṇ ā Araṇā tūi, ṭhiy, khuiw ṭiṅ ṭu ṭyū ṭiṅ ṭuk e, [jī ṭiṅ twāṅ i khū ṭhī e, [jī kuṅ ṭū e, [jī kathōṅ paṅ e, [jī paṅsakū ṭæchū 10 ṭiṅ e,]jī saṅ ṭahan mū ṭaṅṣa ṭaṅyā ṭi ṭaṅ e].]]

One hundred almāṅs was filled with cooked rice full to the brim were given to the Araṇā. A silver image of the Lord was also given to the reverend Araṇā to worship. One well was (dug). One tank was (made). Kathina (robe) was given. Ten paṅsakū (robes) were also (given). My son was ordained a monk. We listened to the First Sermon (Dhammasakko).

This is the earliest mention of the Araṇā in the inscriptions and unfortunately this extract gives no information as to their beliefs and practices. Another inscription mentions that two Araṇ called Na Cuṅ Saṅ and Na Caṅ Saṅ quarrelled for ownership of land in A.D.
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122. That some five pay of land at Myingontaing in Kyaukse district were bought with the permission of an Arañ who was also a judge of theft cases is recorded in an inscription dated A.D. 1773.2 We also find one Arañ to be the father of a Pagan slave in an inscription dated A.D. 12753 and that Arañ Pica's brother-in-law was a headman in Shwebo district in another inscription of A.D. 1280.4 This is all we know about the Arañ. Anyhow it supports the theory that the Arañ or Arañavāsī raou klon5 monks appeared in the early decades of the 13th century in such places as Pagan and Shwebo and Kyaukse districts. Burma was not alone in having these Arañavāsī monks during the 13th and 14th centuries. Inscriptions of Rāma Gamheñ (A.D. 1298) and Vat Pā Tēn (A.D. 1406) bear witness to the existence of arañavāsī monks during those centuries at Sukhodaya (Siam) too.6

According to the chronicles, the Ari were in existence in the 10th and 11th centuries at Pagan and were non-Buddhists. Various theories have been proposed as to their origin. Some connected Them with Tantric Buddhism7 on the strength of finding some wall paintings at Abhayaratanā temple (Myinjīgānā)8; Bhurā: sunčhū and Nandamañhā temples (Minnanthu) and held that “the character of all these paintings tallies exactly with oral tradition...about the Ari practices.” Professor C. Duroiselle uses an inscription9 found near Nandamañhya temple to illustrate the above statement. The inscription is dated A.D. 1248 and it mentions that the mones were provided with fermented spirits and morning and evening meals. On this evidence alone we are more inclined to say that the Ari existed not in the 11th but in the 13th century. Although these Ari allowed certain lapses in the Vinaya, they were definitely not as debased as the chronicles allege. We find no evidence of anything unusual in their practices that the orthodox monks would not have done in those days except that they allowed some drinks at their feasts. Therefore it is very doubtful that the wall paintings mentioned above have anything to do with the Ari and “it seems unnecessary to search in India for the explanation of young Burman hersy.”10 The derivation of the word Ari offers another problem. Pagan U Tin connected Ari with arīya and therefore is of opinion that Ari is the general name for all monks and C. Duroiselle adopted this view.11 Dr Ba Han supported them.12 Professor P. M. Tin contradicted them by connecting Ari with arañika (forest-dweller).13 As we have noticed above, old Burmans used arīya in its complete form and therefore Ari is not the short form of arīya. It is more likely that it has been shortened from arañika. But old Burmans were

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1. PI. 548 (and duplicate PI. 371b5)
2. PI. 241a, 8
3. PI. 2502
4. PI. 2549
5. PI. 465a9
6. See G. Coeuïs: Recueil de Inscriptions du Siam I, (Inscriptions de Sukhodaya), (Bangkok, 1924) pp. 46, 131-3. Professor G. H. Luce & P. M. Tin call attention to the point that the Vat Pā Tēn inscription uses Cuhāsakakaraja (which is the same as the Burmans used) from 705 (A.D. 1343) to 768 (A.D. 1406) and this corrects the view taken by M. A. R. Ward in A History of Siam, p. 127 that Cuhāsakakaraja was introduced by the Burmese after the fall of Ayuthia in 1569 and that the legend of it being used from time of Ran Kamkeung is unworthy of serious consideration.
9. List 277, PPA, 250, TY, 114-16: see also G. E. Harvey: Burma, p. 69
11. JBRS, X, i, pp. 28-30 & ii, pp. 158-9
12. JBRS, X, iii, p. 160
13. JBRS, IX, III, pp. 155-6, X, ii, pp. 82-3
in favour of using *taw klon* than *araḥ* to signify forest-dwellers. We consider that the *Ari* of the chronicles are the *araḥhavasi* or *taw klon* monks of the 13th century and therefore misplaced by the chroniclers in the 10th century. They were by no means depraved. We have followed the rise and spread of this new group of the Order through out the life of *Mahākassapa* who seems to have been their leader and possibly the founder. Another aspect of the Order which is quite different from the Order in modern Burma, is the presence of *bhikkhuni*.

The Order in Burma to-day allows no woman in it and tradition says that this began from A.D.456 but the inscriptions of our period yield some *evidence* on the strength of which it is possible to revise the above tradition. Female ascetics in the Order were called *bhikkhuni* and we find the mention of *bhikkhuni* among the lists of slaves in two inscriptions dated A.D.1236.1 The only reason for their presence among the slaves must have been because they were born of slave parents and though their masters had been kind enough to allow them to be *ordained* they would become slaves again if and when they left the Order. Very often, we find monks called by their lay names. If it is a *bhikkhuni* she would in some cases be called by her lay name with a prefix *Uiw* or its variants *Ui*, *Uim*, *Ui* and *I*. In an inscription dated A.D. 1196 among the names of five church dignitaries as witnesses to a dedication we find the name of the Reverend *Uiw Panī* – the *bhikkhuni* which comes second.2 One inscription from Pin Sekkalampa, near Yenangyaung, Magwe district, mentions that a *Sāṅghathera Uiw*, *Krami San* dedicated some slaves to the pagoda in A.D. 1215.3 As an elder among the monks would be addressed *phun mlat so* – the most reverend, so we find a *bhikkhuni* addressed as *phun mlat so Ui Tān San*.4 There was also *phun mlat so Uiw Chi Tāw*5 who must have been quite a popular *bhikkhuni*. When Princess *Acau Lai* in A.D.1261 built a hollow pagoda and enshrined relics in it eight church dignitaries were present to recite the *paritta* and *Ui*, *Chi Tāw* was among them.6 Perhaps it was this *Ui Chi Tāw* who was mentioned in A.D.1279 as the head of a monastery where a certain land transaction was made.7 Such names a *Luniphani* and *Rahmacari* as two witnesses to a dedication in A.D.1266 also suggests that they were *bhikkhuni*.8 Another interesting piece of evidence is that in an inscription dated A.D.1267, a female donor mentions certain lands as

\[ \text{"na pha Klacwā maṅkri ña kuw rahan mū pe so akhā nuik pe so lay"} \]

These lands were given to me by my father the great king Klacwā when he (allowed me to enter) the Order.

This donor perhaps quitted the Order and got married after which she made a series of dedications including the above lands. On the reverse face of the inscription she said: “After havin[gp painted the hollow pagoda my lañ mañsā – husband the Prince,
dedicated the following slaves." This strongly suggests that the donor was a daughter of King Klacwā who was once a bhikkhuni. Thus although the tradition says that there were no bhikkhuni since A.D. 456, we have evidences of their presence even in the latter half of the 13th century. It is a pity that modern Burmese are not as liberal minded as their ancestors of Pagan. The last important personality among the monks of our period is Sāṇā Disāprāmuk who went to China on a peace mission in A.D. 1275.

When we discussed the Mongol invasion of the 13th century, we mentioned that Disāprāmuk rendered his king and country important service by going over to Peking as an ambassador from Tarukpīli̊y and successfully persuading the Great Khan to withdraw his forces from Burma. In token of gratitude the king gave him eight hundred pay of land (four hundred at Hanλ̂h and another four hundred at Kramātū) together with slaves and cattle. All these lands, slaves and cattle, Disāprāmuk dedicated to Panppatrap ce11-the pagoda at the Turner’s Quarter (Mingalazedì). Then he built a great archway to the shrine. He also built a cāsātuwk-school building, which was left unfinished, probably due to the growing political troubles of the time. But the good monk was optimistic. He said that his relatives might be able to finish it with the timber he had got from the queen and other miscellaneous gifts from various donors. As regards his mission to China, it is the first known instance of a Buddhist monk in Burma taking a serious interest in politics. The general attitude was to remain aloof from the political sphere. But as his intervention was in the name of peace, to avert unnecessary bloodshed, and to put a stop to a war, it is possible that his colleagues did not have any serious objection to his “meddling” in politics, which was not the business of a monk. His mission was a diplomatic success although short-lived, as further negotiations with China broke down on the assassination of Tarukpīli̊y. Later kings of Burma often sent monks on peace missions, but we must remember that Disāprāmuk was one of the very first in this field.

In conclusion, we have seen that the Order in our period was divided into two camps, and that they existed side by side in peace. There were also bhikkhuni right down to the end of the empire. Of the aforesaid two camps the first was for orthodoxy and wanted the purification of the Order on Sinhalese lines, the second was that of the araññavasi who allowed certain lapses in the Vinaya. In spite of the first group’s endeavour to counteract the growing popularity of the latter, by sending missions and study groups to Ceylon, and bringing back Sinhalese theru and monks to Pagan, we find that the araññavasi had a great deal of popular support. Perhaps it was so because they represented indigenous thought appealing direct to Burmese nationalism or perhaps their tenets were easier to follow.

1. P. 23127
2. See Adiocavatīsa: Bhikkhunīsūscnopadesa (A Treatise on Why the Order of Bhikkhuni should be Revived.) The author was excommunicated for advocating the cause of the bhikkhuni in 1935.
CHAPTER IX

RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

THE OLD BURMANS were zealous supporters of the Religion who spent lavishly on the construction and maintenance of various types of religious edifices. When these buildings were completed money, land, cattle and slaves were given for their support. Many interesting accounts of Pagan architecture have been written1, so our primary concern here is to give the story of these constructions.

A suitable site was selected and the first measure was to put up tantuñ— an enclosure wall. A donor in A.D. 1192 selected a site just beside a reservoir at Amana and enclosed it with ut i'i plu so tantuñ—a wall entirely of bricks, for the construction of a big and pleasant monastery. Another donor spent 10,000 ticals of silver on building a monastery, a hollow pagoda and a wall around them5. An inscription of A.D. 1248 mentions that the wall alone cost a total of 432½ ticals of silver.4 It must have been a fairly large enclosure wall as the establishment contained two monasteries, a library and a hollow-pagoda with four entrances. Some of the enclosure walls were circular but usually they were rectangular or square as they are referred to as tantuñ 4 myakphant—four sided walls, complete with tuikha minh doors and gateways6. These enclosures were necessary not only to distinguish the holy place from its surroundings but also to protect the buildings from fire. A donor in A.D. 1263 called his enclosure tantuñ minh— a fire-proof wall. Perhaps this was because he saw the whole city of Pagan burnt to ashes in A.D. 1225.8. Therefore when he founded an establishment he felt that it ought to have adequate protection from fire. Some donors built tantuñ nhap shap— double enclosures. The inner one was for shrines and the outer one was usually for monasteries. In one case as much as twenty houses were built for students.10 Sometimes a banyan tree grown from a seed imported from Bodh Gaya would also be enclosed by a magnificent wall.11 There were also walls made of stone12.

2. Pl. 125, Pl. 737, Pl. 1947, Pl. 2200, Pl. 2325, Pl. 2344, Pl. 2474, Pl. 24914, Pl. 3999
3. Pl. 181-3
4. Pl. 1642-45
5. Pl. 697
6. Pl. 3908, Pl. 4239
7. Pl. 2059
8. Pl. 122a2
9. Pl. 734, Pl. 1525, Pl. 1944, Pl. 2836, Pl. 39014.12
10. Pl. 1525
11. Pl. 2325
12. Pl. 39015
Within the wall *cañkramī* — a platform, was made. Most often it was the foundation of a hollow — or solid-pagoda although there were exceptions when it was merely a promenade adjoining a monastery. Walking seems to be the only form of physical exercise befitting a gentle monk. In A.D. 1236 when *Asawat*'s wife made a platform adjoining her monastery, she enumerated the cost as follows: bricks from two kilns of 60 ticals of silver, cartage 22 ticals, bringing in the timber, probably for the roofing, 6 ticals. We have seven instances where it is mentioned that the platform of the hollow-pagoda was made in the shape of a *kalasā* pot. Perhaps this refers to the plinth at the base of the platform.

*A kū* was built on such a platform. The word *kū* is clearly from Pali *guha* — a cave and therefore it is a hollow-pagoda made in imitation of a natural cave. Some *kū* had four gateways and thus acquired the name of *kū d myu kha*. Inside a four sided *kū* there were always four images of the Lord placed back to back in the centre, representing the four Buddhas of this present *kappa*. The centre block around which the images were placed was the relic chamber where *sārīradhātu* — the bodily relics, were enshrined. The walls of the *kū* would be painted either with *khlyu pan* — floral designs or *chatpu* — pictures of the Lord. In one case as many as 14219 were painted. Some had scenes from the *Jātaka*. A *kū* thus painted would be known as *kū prok* — variegated cave. *Athwat* — the spires of these *kū*, were usually made of copper weighing from about forty viss to one hundred and thirty and were gilded. Above the *athwat* there was the *hi* — umbrella, sometimes made of gold and studded with precious gems.

*Ceti* is another type of pagoda but unlike the *kū* it is solid in structure. To build a *ceti* firstly a platform had to be made in much the same manner as for erecting a *kū*. One had the plinth in the form of a *kalasa* pot. The following extract from an inscription dated A.D. 1227 gives us a rough idea of what sort of relics were enshrined in a *Ceti*.

---

1. Pl. 73, etc.
2. Pl. 97, Pl. 102, Pl. 126, Pl. 152
3. Pl. 97, Pl. 98.
4. Pl. 73, Pl. 80, Pl. 194, Pl. 220, Pl. 234, Pl. 247, Pl. 249. See also Daw Mya Mu: "The Kalasa Pot," *JBR*, XXII, ii, pp. 97-8
5. Pl. 507.
6. Pl. 275, Pl. 423, 29, 49
7. Pl. 179, Pl. 196, Pl. 73, Pl. 78, Pl. 301, Pl. 191, Pl. 194, Pl. 249, Pl. 265, Pl. 279, Pl. 308, Pl. 361, 29, 249, 390
8. Pl. 221
9. Pl. 73, Pl. 80, Pl. 194, Pl. 238, Pl. 364
10. Pl. 105a
11. Pl. 194, Pl. 248
12. Pl. 218
13. Pl. 80, Pl. 97, etc.
14. Pl. 73, Pl. 801
15. Pl. 194
16. Pl. 105a, Pl. 194, Pl. 249
17. Pl. 73
18. Pl. 80
On Wednesday 22 Dec. 1227, (the following) are enshrined in the cetiya: the bodily relics of the Lord; the image of the Lord made from the branch of the sacred banyan tree;—the image of the Lord cast in silver; the image of the Lord made of crystal; the image of the Lord made of ivory bezoar; and the image of the Lord made of sandal-wood. (Underneath) all these relics and images are spread gold cushions and silver cushions and images are topped with gold umbrellas and silver umbrellas. Perched rice of gold, parched rice of silver, gold chandeliers and silver chandeliers are also offered. When these gems are enshrined, the (relic chamber) is closed with bricks. After this wonderful and magnificent figures of deva and various beings are made with stucco.

Another form of pagoda is putthuiv. From such information as we have from the inscriptions, it is very difficult to state the difference in shape or style between ceti and putthuiv. It was also a solid pagoda with the same form of spire as kā. The term putthuiv is also used for miniature pagodas for enshrinement, made of gold, silver, ivory, sandalwood, etc. We also find mention of putthuiv ni4 — the red pagoda and putthuiv prok5 — the variegated pagoda. These names imply that these pagodas were painted either in one colour or in many colours. They were not entirely white or gold as a modern pagoda.

The houses for the monks were called kloan and if it was built of brick it was known as kutā kloan6 — the Indian monastery. Most of the monasteries however were built of wood with sac āy nuvlo7 — thatch roof or mwansloan ta cwan8 — high and grand roof. In some cases the monastery would be profusely decorated and painted so that it would be known by the name of kloan prok9 — the variegated monastery or panpu kloan10 — monastery with wood
curvings. The kulā kloñ were usually adorned with such decorations and extension as color1 – "flame pendants" over doorways and windows, prasaï2 – multiple roofs, chañ wai3 – "elephant entrance" i.e. porch, uchañk4 – front extension, tuiñk5 (Old Mon: dirle, dirle) – assembly hall and pwat tuiñ6 – polished pillars. Buildings such as sim (sima) – the ordination hall, piñaka tuiñ – library, dhammasñ – preaching hall, tanchoñ – rest house, carap – alms house, kappiyakulī – store house, etc. were built near the monasteries.

For the details of such constructions it would not be superfluous to give a contemporary account. The establishment described below was founded by the great minister Anantasñra and his wife and was completed on 17 Dec. 1223.

[Text from the document]

1. Pl. 61, Pl. 153a, Pl. 164, Pl. 205, Pl. 213b, 16, Pl. 246a, Pl. 283c, Pl. 285, Pl. 288a, Pl. 307c, 4
2. Pl. 85a, Pl. 165b, Pl. 234b, 16, Pl. 282d, Pl. 283c, 16, Pl. 285, 10, Pl. 288a, Pl. 2917, Pl. 313a, 5, Pl. 382c, Pl. 429, 5
3. Pl. 64b, Pl. 246a
4. Pl. 64b, 55, Pl. 234b (utwak), Pl. 283c (utwak)
5. Pl. 28s, 56
6. Pl. 147s, 11
RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

2. Above the spire (we) wrapped the whole miniature pagoda up to the spire with seven folds of cloth and on the cloth was stamped the gold seals of Kyaṅkaññui. There was a gold image of the Lord cast of thirty (ticals) of gold, a silver image of the Lord cast of fifty (ticals) of silver and a gilt image of the Lord made of marble. Over these also (we) spread gold and silver umbrellas. (We) enshrined all these various things. In the (chamber) of the hollow - pagoda, (we) made four images of the Lord placed back to back and thus each facing a cardinal point and (also) made them shine wondrously with gems. Many (more) images were placed (around) the walls. (On the walls) were beautifully painted the (scenes from) five hundred jātaka. For adorning the spire of the hollow - pagoda with an ornament (we) weighed and cut off into the hands of the coppersmith forty seven viss, eight buik and four ticals of copper; seven viss and nine ticals were lost in the course

1. Pl. 73a. See also JBR5, XXVI, i, pp. 55-6.
2. Later donors in their zeal white washed the walls so the paintings are now no more.

1. To-day there is no intermediate measure between tical and viss. The meaning of the word buik or buiy is unknown. According to this inscription 10 ticals made 1 buik and probably 10 buik made 1 viss. According to the Talmud the word comes from pala. According to the Talmud of Pala. According to R.C. Temple: "Notes on the Development of Currency in the Far East " IA, XXVII, 102-10, 5 ticals made 1 bōh.
of the work) and the net (weight of the spire) was forty viss, seven buiy and five ticals. The amount of sterling gold included was thirty nine ticals and three quarters and of liquid quick silver one hundred and fifty nine ticals. With all these precious things (we) caused the spire of the hollow - pagoda to shine. (We) also made (a copy) of the Three Pitâkâ - the accumulation of the Law. Where the congregation of those who would listen to the Law might assemble, (we) made a pleasant hall of the Law built of stone bricks. At the place for preaching the Law, (we) made a gold throne. Above the throne, (we) set up a gold umbrella and above it also (we) made a canopy. A large and pleasant monastery -the residence of our Lord the Eider also was made, where all good people desiring nirvâna might receive instruction. In the surrounding place outside the inner wall (we) also made a row of monasteries where our Lords practising piety out of love for the Religion might abide. That our noble Lords might be at ease for water, a well also was dug and built of bricks. A square tank built of bricks was also (made). To the east a large tank also was (made) with two levels. That the water might enter, pipes and troughs also were beautifully made. All around the tank, a garden was created. Outside the monastery within a fine enclosure (we) made a large and pleasant tanchön - rest house, magnificently (decorated) with all sorts of figures, where all good people coming from the four quarters might be at liberty to stay, to sleep or to stand. West of it (we) also made a permanent carap - alms house, of brick where good people wishing to give alms might give their alms. On the outskirts of the city (we) also made a store house built solidly of brick. For the comfort of the Lord, the Law and the Order who are in this monastery (we) have left there many attendants. In order that all the people coming from the four quarters might fulfil their wants, (we) also dug a well solidly built of brick. In order that all these good deeds made by (us) - the loving couple, may last through out the 5000 years of the Religion, (we) made many arrangements. In order that repairs be continuously done on our behalf, that (the premises) may be cleansed, that regular offerings of food, oil-lights, betel and flowers be always made to the Lord and the Law and the rice alms be given to the patient noble Lords, (we) - the loving couple, dedicated the following (slaves).

The establishment as seen to-day looks like the plan shown on the next page.

Princess Acawkrwan, daughter of King Uccanâ and Queen Sumlûla founded an establishment in A.D. 1248 at Minnathu, Pagan, and left an interesting account of the expenditure on that work. The establishment consisted of a hollow - pagoda with four images of the Lord, a library with a complete set of the pitaka, a preaching hall, a big monastery with multiple roofs, a big brick monastery with front extension and an enclosure wall all around them. The expenditure was as follows:

// apoñ krî kû phway, so kla so ñuy kâ 1747 pay 3 lum // apoñ krî khwak kâ 74 pisâ // apoñ krî puchuiw kâ 113 thañ // apoñ krî kû thwat lin so rhuy 23 klyap // apoñ krî pratû 92 klyap // apoñ krî capâ 1867½ // apoñ krî kwamisî 2 kañûn

1. The author is indebted to U Swe and his team of the Burma Historical Commission for this plan.
nhan, 1160 lumi || apoñ kri ṅrut $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{32}$ || apoñ kri chā $7 \frac{1}{2}$ || apoñ kri kū thwat khus so kriy kā $66$ bisā || 0 || piṭakat plu so kla so nyu kā apoñ kri $2027$ || apoñ kri chan $504 \frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{16}$ || apoñ kri capa $2309 \frac{1}{2}$ || apoñ kri chā $110 \frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{16}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{16}$ $\frac{1}{32}$ || apoñ kri kwansī $10$ kāṭu nhan, $4870$ || apoñ kri calac kloñ hoñ plu so kla so nyu kā $758 \frac{1}{4}$ lumi || apoñ kri khwak $8$ bisā || apoñ kri puchui $68$ thañ || apoñ kri capā $504$ tañ apoñ kri kwansī $2200$ || apoñ kri catuik plu so kla so nyu kā $215$ klyap || 0 || apoñ kri Kūlā kloñ kri uchak plu so kla so khwak kā $306$ bisā || nyu kā $392 \frac{1}{2}$ || puchuiw kā $45$ thañ || 0 || apoñ kri tantuñ plu so kla so nyu kā $432 \frac{1}{2}$ || khwak kā apoñ kri bisā $20$ || apoñ kri thañ kha khwak $53$ pisā || apoñ kri puchui $12$ thañ || apoñ kri capā $182$ tañ || || apoñ kri Cuḷamani plu so kla so nyu kā $44 \frac{1}{2}$ || rhuy $3$ lumi khra || apoñ kri khwak $13$ bisā kriy $30$ || || apoñ kri Tanmahwam Kūlā kloñ plu so kla so nyu kā $215$ klyap || apoñ kri khwak kā $9$ bisā ||

On the construction of the hollow – pagoda:

- Grand total of silver: 1747 (ticals) 3 pay
- Grand total of khwak: 74 viss
- Grand total of loincloths: 113 pieces
- Grand total of gold (for the spire of the hollow-pagoda): 23 ticals
- Grand total of quick silver: 92 ticals
- Grand total of paddy: 1867$\frac{1}{2}$ (baskets)

1. Pl. 16454-45. See also JBRG, XXVI, i. p. 57 and BRSFAP, II, pp. 369-70, n. 105.
Grand total of areca nuts: $2 \text{ ka} \text{fu} + 1160$

Grand total of black pepper: $\frac{7}{32} \text{ (viss)}$

Grand total of salt: $7\frac{1}{4} \text{ (viss)}$

Grand total of copper (for the spire of the hollow-pagoda): 66 viss

On the (copying) of the Piṭaka:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of silver</td>
<td>2037 (ticals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of paddy</td>
<td>$\frac{9}{16} \text{ (baskets)}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of salt</td>
<td>110 (viss)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of black pepper</td>
<td>$\frac{23}{32} \text{ (viss)}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of areca nuts</td>
<td>10 kafu + 4870</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the repairing of the old monastery with "flame pediments":

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of silver</td>
<td>$758\frac{1}{2} \text{ ticals} 4 \text{ lumī}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of khwak</td>
<td>8 viss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of loincloths</td>
<td>68 pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of paddy</td>
<td>504 baskets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of areca nuts</td>
<td>2200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the building of the library:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of silver</td>
<td>215 ticals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the building of the big brick monastery with front extension:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of khwak</td>
<td>306 viss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of silver</td>
<td>392\frac{1}{2} (ticals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of loincloths</td>
<td>45 pieces</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the erection of an enclosure wall:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of silver</td>
<td>$432\frac{1}{2} \text{ (ticals)}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of khwak</td>
<td>20 viss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of khwak on cart hire</td>
<td>53 viss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of loincloths</td>
<td>12 pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of paddy</td>
<td>182 baskets</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the construction of the Culāmani (pagoda):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of silver</td>
<td>$44\frac{3}{4} \text{ (ticals)}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of gold</td>
<td>3 lumī khra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total of khwak</td>
<td>13 viss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of copper</td>
<td>30 viss</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On the building of the Tanmhwam brick monastery:

Grand total of silver 215 ticals
Grand total of khwak 9 viss

One cannot help noticing that making a copy of the Piṭaka was more costly than erecting a hollow-pagoda. In fact for less than one and a half the cost of the Piṭaka a big monastery with “flame pediments” could be built. The enclosure walls cost nearly as much as the monastery itself. As rice, salt, pepper, areca nuts and loincloths are mentioned in the cost, it seems that workers were given free food and clothing during the construction of the establishment. Another inscription (A.D. 1236) gives a detailed account of wages and expenses.

Given to the blacksmiths 4 ticals (of silver)
Given to the painters who painted the kā 7 (ticals of silver)
Gives to the painters who painted the kloň 120 (ticals of silver)
For the purchase of rafters 7 ticals (of silver)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Given to the wood-carvers</td>
<td>30 (ticals of silver)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Given to the image-makers</td>
<td>20 (ticals of silver)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For painting the walls</td>
<td>2 ticals (of silver)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For painting the ? shrine</td>
<td>2 ticals of gold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of wood for the ? out-house</td>
<td>10 (ticals of silver)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of a monolith</td>
<td>3½ ticals (of silver)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of plasters for doors and archways of the kū and the kloñ</td>
<td>13 (ticals of silver)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For 5 cattle</td>
<td>20 (ticals of silver)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the purchase of powder</td>
<td>5 ticals (of silver)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For trays</td>
<td>5 ticals of silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of 22 tanak of honey</td>
<td>77 ticals (of silver)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of 248 tanak of milk</td>
<td>25 ticals (of silver)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of mortar</td>
<td>320 (baskets of paddy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For 300 stone bricks</td>
<td>30 (baskets of ? store – paddy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Given to the pounders for crushing the plaster</td>
<td>120 (baskets of ? store – paddy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the masons</td>
<td>140 (baskets of ? store – paddy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the painters</td>
<td>54 (baskets of ? store – paddy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the ? adzers and wood-carvers</td>
<td>20 (baskets of ? store – paddy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of paddy – 4 baskets at</td>
<td>1 tical (of silver)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For bringing in the...</td>
<td>38 ticals (of silver)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the spire of the kū copper 1½ viss at</td>
<td>3 ticals (of silver)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1½ (ticals) of gold</td>
<td>12 ticals of silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ticals of quick silver</td>
<td>2 ticals of silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages for the spire of the ku</td>
<td>10 (ticals of silver)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of iron</td>
<td>10 (ticals of silver)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the purchase of rafters, crossbeams and eaves-boards for the kloñ</td>
<td>20 (ticals of silver)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cart hire for dragging timber</td>
<td>10 (ticals of silver)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of orpiment, vermilion, mlnium chalk, kyangtanaui, gum-lac and plumbago altogether</td>
<td>50 (ticals of silver)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Given to the image-makers for 10 standing Buddhas</td>
<td>10 (ticals of silver)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Given to the painters</td>
<td>20 (ticals of silver)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Given to the workers in quick silver</td>
<td>1 lower garment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Given to the image-makers</td>
<td>1 fine black cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Given to the workers in quick silver</td>
<td>1 waist band</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BUDDHISM IN BURMA
The painters, carvers and image-makers who decorated the finished building were equally as important as the masons, carpenters and blacksmiths who built it. It would be interesting to know why the master mason and image-maker were given horses. As we have seen, the workers seem to enjoy free food and clothing during their work on the establishment. Inscriptions of the later period also show that the workers enjoyed free food, etc. and that the master architects were given oxen, horses and elephants. For the sake of comparison a rough rendering into English of the relevant portion of an inscription (lines 27-49) dated A.D. 1520 of Nigyawdā village near Tada-U is given below:

On Saturday 17 August 1504 just after midnight the plan of the building was laid and the foundation area was dug up. The building was to be

- 41½ feet wide
- 44 feet long
- 44½ feet high and
- 7½ feet thick.
In the morning some gold and silver bricks were laid to mark the auspicious beginning of the establishment to be known as Nigroda (The Banyan Grove) Monastery. The following were given as the price of various building materials and as the wages of workers, etc.

For bricks

- 9 naraka horses
- 4 oxen
- 1 silver tray
- 1 silver bowl
- 10 viss of silver
- 39 bronze trays
- 1 bolt of cotton
- 10 pieces of cloth
- 47 turbans
- 18 bundles of tea

Firewood

- 650 viss of copper

Another consignment of bricks

- 120 viss of copper

The doorsteps

- 11 viss of copper

To masons

- 480 baskets of paddy

The site of the Monastery

- 200 viss of copper
- 800 basket of paddy

Varnish

- 150 viss of copper
- 50 viss of copper

Molasses and buffalo hide

- 80 baskets of paddy

To masons who made the maraphan and top decorations.

- 10 ticals of silver

Makers of plaster

- 370 ticals of silver

For other wages

- 7740 ticals of silver
- 5060 baskets of paddy

On Sunday 23 July 1509 the planing of wood began. On Monday 28 August 1509 the wooden portion of the building began.

1 cross beam

- 10½ ft. long

1 wall plate

- 27 ft. long

4 Central posts

- 45 ft. long each

These six were put under a white umbrella and were raised in place simultaneously to the accompaniment of drums, horns and bugles.

For timber

- 2 naraka elephants
- 14 horses
## RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>8 oxen</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>28 pieces of cloth</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>197 pieces of loin cloth</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>130 bundles of tea</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2784 baskets of paddy</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4 silver trays</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2 silver bowls</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>27 copper trays</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1000 viss of copper</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1466(\frac{3}{2}) ticals of silver</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>17(\frac{1}{4}) viss of copper</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>43 pieces loin cloth</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4321 baskets of paddy</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Carvers of stone</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Enclosure wall</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Maraphani partition</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Canopy</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nohnan, prañ</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Painters</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sawyers</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wood-carvers</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>To hewers of stone</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>To gild the top extension</strong></td>
<td><strong>715 ticals of gold</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Painting the main building</strong></td>
<td><strong>300 ticals of silver</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Copying a set of tipitaka in 130 works</strong></td>
<td><strong>3333 ticals of silver</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3333 baskets of paddy</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total cost of the main building and its top extension were paid in both silver and copper but in terms of silver it was 13644 ticals of silver. The provisions given amounted to 90381 baskets of paddy.
Now we find that the cost of a fairly big brick building with wooden decorations in the early 16th century was 13,644 ticals of silver and the cost of gilding and painting was 715 ticals of gold and 300 ticals of silver. It took nearly five years to complete the building. The copying of a set of pitaka was 3333 ticals of silver and 3333 baskets of paddy. We have mentioned above that in the middle of the 13th century, a big monastery could be built with one third of the price of the pitaka. In the 16th century the monastery cost nearly five times the price of the pitaka. Perhaps it was because scribe's fee had been reduced greatly as more people knew the art of writing than in the Pagan period. It is a pity that we do not know the length of time taken to complete these establishments. But from the evidence in the Shwegu inscription we know that a fairly big hollow-pagoda could be completed within seven months. The building of Shwegu started on Sunday 17 May 1131 and everything was completed on Thursday 17 Dec. 1131. Another donor gave an interesting list of dates as follows.

// Sakarac 598 khu Kratuik nhac // Plasuiw la chut 3 ryak // Tannhañlā niy, tak 9 phlwā khway puthuiw kū thapanae, // 28 ryak. lhyan pri e, // kū thapanae so niy, lhyan riy twan tu e, // Tapuiwithway la chut 13 ryak Sokrā niy lhyan tantuý tañ e, // Tapon la plañ tantuín pri e, // kū rhyu thwet kā Tapon la chut 7 ryak. Tannhañlā niy tak 9 phlwā khway tañ e, // kū chiy riy sa kā Tankhā la chan 10 ryak Sukra niy kū purhā 14619 yok // jāt 550 // 12 ryak Tannhañlā niy pri e, // klon le pri e, // dhammasā pri e, // tryā panlañ pri e, // khoñoñ kriy apisā 106 pisā khway e, swan e, // kū thwet kā kriy 55 pisā khway kū thwet līm so rhyu 46 klyap hiy e, // purhā līyymaykhā so līn so rhyu 20 // cēsañ 5 khu plu e, // mlac ok kū nay le chiy riy e, klon twan puihuw purhā chuwiw plu e, // jōn 3 pāñ cuik e, // riy im 3 pāñ plu e, // samuruw le chok e, pitakat le pri e, // Namyun la chan 7 ryak Tannhañlā niy kā pan e, // Nattaw la chut 9 ryak Sukrā niy kā lhwat e, kū kā Plasuiw la chut 3 ryak Tannhañlā niy thāmanā e, // 0 // Sakarac 599 khu Myakkasuih nhac Kunhun la chut 4 ryak Tannhañlā niy mañ mat Nānapicañ kā lhwat e, lhwat so lhū so purhā kywan... 2

When the rising sun cast nine and a half footsteps (of shadow) on Monday 16 Dec. 1236, the hollow-pagoda was enshrined. It was finished after (the lapse of) twenty eight days (i.e. on 13 Jan. 1237). On the day the hollow-pagoda was enshrined a well was dug. On Friday, 25 Jan. (1237), the enclosure wall was built. It was completed on 10 Feb. (1237). The golden spire of the hollow-pagoda was set up when the rising sun cast nine and a half footsteps (of shadow) on Monday 17 Feb. (1237). (On the walls of) the hollow-pagoda were painted 14,619 Buddhas and scenes from 550 Jātaka. The painting was started on Friday, 7 March (1237) and completed on Monday, (? 24 March 1237). The monastery

1. Pl. 1 and 2
2. Pl. 105a1.20. See also JBR5, XXXVI, i, pp. 56-7.
was also finished. The Hall of the Law was finished. The throne of the Law was finished. A bell was cast of 106½ viss of copper. The spire of the hollow-pagoda (weighed) 55½ viss of copper and was coated with 46 ticals of gold. The gold for coating four images of the Lord placed back to back was 20 (ticals). Five hostels for the students were constructed. The small hollow-pagoda on the north was also painted. A ruined solid-pagoda within (the enclosure of) the monastery was repaired. Three banyan trees were planted. Three water closets were made. A samaruiw 1 was also built. The Piṭaka was also finished. An application (? to the king) was, made on Monday 13 April (1236). The dedication was made on Friday 25 Nov. (1236). The hollow-pagoda was enshrined on Monday 16 Dec. (1236). On Monday 14 May 1237, the minister Naṇapaccaya dedicated slaves ...

The donor who was a minister, probably had to apply to the king for a grant of land for his intended religious establishment. It was a little over a year from the date of the application to the date when he gave land and slaves to the finished establishment.

Thus from the illustrations given above we find that a fairly big religious establishment enclosed by a brick wall and consisting of a pagoda, many monasteries and other religious buildings could be completed in a year under normal conditions. Abnormal times however delayed buildings. We find that a building started on the eve of the Mongol invasion was left unfinished for fifteen years. 2 Usually the enclosure wall was constructed first. Sometimes double enclosures were made—the inner compound was reserved for the Lord and the Law and the outer area for the Order. The donors took great care to transform such enclosed areas into delightful gardens with reservoirs and palm trees. Then within the inner wall, not necessarily in the centre, they built the pagoda either solid or hollow in structure. Hollow-pagodas seemed to be more popular as they provided four walls on which the scenes from the Jātaka could be painted as decorations. Moreover, the paintings were the most striking and effective means of convincing the common folk of the merit of giving alms and of meditation. Right in the centre of the hollow-pagoda, was the relic chamber. The relics were encased and four images of the Lord were placed back to back around that encasement so that pilgrims coming to the shrine from four directions might find a semblance of the Lord who showed them the way to nirvana. Mostly the images were gilt, thus glimmering in the poor light of the oil-lamps against the background of the dark cave-like construction of the shrine. In the vicinity of the shrine a depository for the Law written on palm leaves was built. A preaching hall and an ordination hall would also be added to the premises. The chief monk of the establishment would probably get a separate building within the inner wall. In the outer compound were the buildings for the monks, the lay devotees, store houses and accommodations for the slaves of the establishment. In fact many of these establishments served as educational institutes and as such they have remained until the present day in Burma.

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1. Professor Pe Maung Tin connects this word with ဝါ which Halliday's Mon-English Dictionary, p. 444 gives as "putridity" and therefore it would mean "lavatory." See JBRs, XXVI, i, p. 56. Professor G. H. Luce suggests a "staircase." See BRSEAP, II, p. 370, n. 110. But Pl. 310b inscription mentions that 36 posts of samaruiw are given to the monastery. This nullifies both lavatory and staircase. See also Pl. 185, Pl. 105a, Pl. 163b, Pl. 271b. 9

2. Pl. 2771.
Some Important Pagodas of Pagan  (Map III)

I.  Nyaung-u East Circle
1. Sudaungbye
2. Paungdaw-u
3. Chaukphala
4. Shwethabeik
5. Thetkyamuni
6. Kyaukku Onhmin
7. Yatsauk
8. Hnasingu
9. Thamihwet Onhmin
10. Hmyathat Onhmin
11. Hngetpyittaung
12. Gawdama
13. Gawdama Zedi
14. Paunglé Onhmin
15. Shweminwun

II.  Nyaung-u West Circle
1. Shwezigôn
2. Shinbinnyaaza
3. Thhahtaygu
4. Shwe Zedi
5. Ngamyethna
6. Nyaung-u Theinmazi
7. Myatheindan
8. Theinmathu
9. Lawkahmangin
10. Shitmyethna
11. Shinmathi
12. Shinbinnan
13. Shwegu
14. Letpyagu
15. Chedawya

III.  Wetkyi-In Circle
1. Payani
2. Mohnyinshwekyauung
3. Oktamagyaw Okkyauung
4. Bidagat
5. Kyanzitha Onhmin
6. Tazaungkyauung
7. Gubyaukgyi
8. Khemawaya

IV.  Taungbiâlya Circle
1. Shwewkungya
2. Shwethabeik

III.  Wetkyi-In Circle
1. Sudaungbye
2. Paungdaw-u
3. Chaukphala
4. Shwethabeik
5. Thetkyamuni
6. Kyaukku Onhmin
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7. Gubyaukgyi
8. Khemawaya

IV.  Taungbiâlya Circle
1. Shwewkungya
2. Shwethabeik

V.  Pagan Myoma Circle
1. Myazigôn
2. Upalitheim
3. Hitolimno
4. Einyaygaung
5. Eindapyitsaya
6. Shwekyauung-u
7. Kyin
8. Bidagat Taik
9. Minhmyawyaza
10. Min-o-chantha
11. Hnakeyikshitsu
12. Ledatkyuang
13. Ananda

VI.  Nattha Circle
1. Maungyöngu
2. Izzagawna
3. Winido
4. Asawlat
5. Hnasingu
6. Nandamyinnya
7. Dayinpahto
8. Thambauá
9. Minwaing
10. Tatkele
11. Tsyókpye
12. Amana
13. Lebathmauk
14. Malabyit
15. Malónbyit
16. Letputkan
17. Sulamani
18. Damayangyi
19. Sinbyushin
20. Sawhlawun
21. Sabwêhmauk
22. Lemyatha
23. Anaakhêlu
24. Myaukhêlu
25. Anaukzanthi
26. Ashezanthi

VII.  Pwazaw Circle
1. Thamuti
2. Kutha
3. Peinê
4. Damayazika
5. Thein
6. Thitmahti
7. Thitsawadi
8. Minmayê
9. Sudaungbyê
10. Thanbyazwâr
11. Zeyaput
12. Kazun-o

VIII.  Twinywa Circle
1. Thayawade
2. Bochomi
3. Kyaunggyi Nyi-ama
4. Sêdana
CHAPTER X

THE SLAVES OF MEDIEVAL BURMA

A careful study of the position of slaves gleaned from contemporary inscriptions reveals to us the astounding fact that there was no obvious difference in the social life of a slave from other common people. He was always attached to a piece of land. Most of them were agriculturalists but there were others with vocations such as blacksmiths, carpenters, musicians, dancers, etc. As these slaves were of different races we have reference to Mon slaves, Indian slaves and so on. Sometimes they were even classified as widows, family-heads, literates, sucklings, etc. Thus from a close study of the slaves we derive a fairly good picture of the social life of the Pagan period.

*Kywan* is the Burmese word for slave. From the evidence of the medieval Burmese inscriptions, we know that Buddhism exercised a great deal of influence on the Burmese way of life and thought. The average person understood that life is full of miseries and that everybody is enslaved by greed, anger and bewilderment i.e. *lobha, dosa* and *moha* until the time when he is able to free himself from such bondage and attain *nirvana*. Thus in a sense everybody is a slave and will always remain so until *nirvana* is reached. Therefore *Singhasūra*, a minister of King *Cañasū II*, in A.D. 1190 made a dedication in the belief that would help towards his salvation and said:

*rani mak kywan aphiac mha teñ taw ihan luw rakā*

which Professor G.H. Lucas translates: “I want to rebel against this world of slavery to appetite.”2 Although the word “rebel” is used here, what the minister had in mind was a spiritual revolution which involves a series of self-denials of worldly pleasure. Anyway, for the time being he recognized himself as a slave of all enjoyments.

It would not be improper here to point out that although the word “kywan” is generally translated as “slave” and implies menial service by a person to another, a Burmese of the medieval times understood it not in the same way as it is now commonly understood when the mention of slavery recalls to the mind the American plantations. If slavery to him was what the early 19th century humanitarians understood and did their utmost to abolish as being one of the most undesirable institutions of mankind, he would not have voluntarily turned himself into a slave as the following illustration3 will show:

```
// sañkrī Ray Kheñ mliy sañkrī Nā Cway Sañ sā// sañkrī Satyā tū /// sañkrī Ābhīnantasū // amañ kā Nā Krī kuw le lhū e.// sañkrī Pān Rēñ sā sañlyan sami mīva kuw le lhū e, // sami krī kuw le lhū e, sami nāy moñma kuw le lhū e, // kuw mīyā sā nhac yok apon 4 yol pur-hā lhū ruy e, ///
```

1. Pl. 10a
2. *JBRs*, XXVI, iii, p. 135
3. Pl. 610.13
I, Ṛkṣi, (also) known as Saṅkṛi Abhīnantasā, son of Saṅkṛi Nā Cyay Saṅ, nephew of Saṅkṛi Satyā and grandson of Saṅkṛi Ray Kheṅ dedicate myself. My wife, the daughter of Saṅlyān the son of Saṅkṛi Pān Rān, (I) dedicate. My elder daughter and my younger daughter the moźma are all dedicated. Thus after dedicating (as slaves) to the pagoda myself, my wife and my two children, altogether four, I write this inscription.

A minister of Tarukpliy called Gangabijan made images of the Lord in silver, bronze and marble, mainature stupas of gold, silver, sandalwood, ivory, etc. and enshrined them in a hollow-pagoda. He gave twenty six works on piṅaka and built two big monasteries and three sheds for the monks. He also performed the kathina ceremony. To these meritorious deeds he added:

// sā yokkyā sā niyana 2 yok kuw le skhin lak e, 3 phan thu tūmi e, ///

I gave three times into the hands of the Lord my two (children)—son and daughter.

Another illustration of this type is found in an inscription dated A.D. 1248. Princess Acaw Krwam Skhīn daughter of King Uccana and Queen Sum̃ūla said after dedicating 3,779 pay of land and 1,250 slaves:

...ayañ tuiw, mruiw, nā le rutana 3 pā so, kywān te ///|/// iy mya so ratanā sum̃ pā kā nā asak hīy sa yhuy kā nā lup klawā sate nā kantā pyāk kha ruy asak achum̃ nhuik te rok kha mū kā /// iy nā lup /// klawā e, suiw nā sā nhac yok klawā ciy sate ///

...Besides these (slaves), I also am the slave of the three gems (i.e. the Lord, the Law, the Order)...As regards these three gems, as long as I live I serve. At the end of my life when this body of mine is destroyed, may my two children serve them as I have served.

Another donor Nā Kram Lhok Saṅ dedicated in A.D. 1244 two slaves and thirty toddy palms to the pagoda and said:

// i than 30 sa kā ṅa asak hi sa yhuy nā klawā sate /// nā te atañ may mu kā /// i nū miyā nhañ sā 2 yok /// na kuw cā purhā nhañ kloñ â klawā rac ciy sate///

With these thirty toddy palm trees, I feed while I am alive. After my death, may my wife and two children carry on serving the pagoda and the monastery on my behalf.
King Caṅsū II once dedicated as slaves his three children by Queen Uiw Chok Pan to the pagoda built by his teacher Mahāthera Dhammavilāsa but later he redeemed them by dedicating thirty pay of land in their stead. Another king Putaśir Mān whom unfortunately we cannot identify sent men and money from Burma to effect repairs of the religious buildings at Budh Gaya in India and left an inscription in Burmese recording that the repairs were finished on Sunday, 13 October 1298 and that “two children as one’s own off-spring” were dedicated as slaves there. If a king could turn his children or children whom he regarded as his own into slaves, it evidently means that becoming a pagoda slave in those days was not a degradation in the social status. Apart from this evidence of king’s children dedicated as slaves, we have had three examples—firstly an executive officer and a minister, secondly a princess and thirdly a commoner who dedicated themselves and their families as pagoda slaves which prove that slavery to those old Burmans did not mean the cruel thing we know. It savoured neither of the slave raids in Africa nor the licentiousness of an organised slave trade where well trained slaves were sold as luxury goods nor the degradation in social status of modern Burmese pagoda slave who in almost the same way as the untouchables of India are considered social outcasts. Broadly speaking, there are five causes for slavery—firstly, birth i.e. hereditary; secondly, sale of children by their free parents and insolvent debtors; thirdly, captives of war; fourthly, piracy and kidnapping; and fifthly, commerce, i.e. systematic slave trade. Now in the light of the above evidence we have just discussed, we should add another cause—voluntary.

For hereditary slaves we have ample evidence. In almost every inscription where the list of slaves appears, we have the mention of family groups. Sometimes a phrase like lān miṣa sā cum—in a line or a chain, is added to make it clear that their descendants will also be considered slaves. Sometimes a list of names is ended with this phrase t y kā achuy kywān teś to signify that the persons mentioned above are all related to each other. Some other phrases that occur frequently in the inscriptions to deduce that the whole group belongs to a slave family and indirectly that their descendants will also be counted as slaves are apsa sā t up7 (father and children one group), amisa ta up8 (mother and children one group) amisa9 (mother and child), sā apsa 210 (child and father together two), sā amī 211 (child and mother together two) and im thoṅ12 (the family group). Sometimes im thoṅ13 simply means domestic servants but mostly when this phrase occurs it means the whole family of slaves. For example,

1. Pl. 3410
2. Pl. 2999.14
3. Pl. 41710
4. & 5. Pl. 16451.52
6. Pl. 1495
7. Pl. 181
8. Pl. 153b11
9. Pl. 153a22, Pl. 16428
10. Pl. 2777
11. Pl. 2271
12. Pl. 73 (passim), Pl. 190a (passim), Pl. 2004.23,28, Pl. 2564, Pl. 3762, Pl. 557b5, Pl. 598b (passim)
13. Pl. 151b,7.10.

9. U.P. Q.144 - 190a - 23.97
Thus a slave community appeared and every new child born into that community was considered a slave. Perhaps they used the word *sapat* for a person born of slave parents. Eventually slave villages came into existence as *kyon rwá lum* – the whole village of slaves in an inscription dated A.D. 1223; *kloŋ kywan rwá* – the village of monastery slaves in an inscription dated A.D. 1235, *Nhak Pluiyaw Tuin kywan rwá akun* – the whole slave village of *Nhak Pluiyaw Tuin* in an inscription dated A.D. 1242; simply *kyan rwá* – the slave village in a dedication of Lord *Kanšas*’s wife in A.D. 1242; *wat khak rwá* – the rice cooking village meaning that the villagers were all slaves to the nearby monastery, and that they served it as cooks. This appears in the dedication of one of the queens of *Turukpliy* made in A.D. 1266 and lastly the famous *Gubyaʊkgyi* inscription of Prince *Rajakumār* mentioned the three slave villages of *Sakmunafo, Rapay* and *Henbuiw*.

Naturally owners considered slaves as part of their estates that could be handed down from father to son, or could be bought or sold or used in settling of debts which often led to disputes and law suits for ownership. Perhaps to avoid disputes at a later date, judges were called upon to witness the transfer of ownership which was duly registered, signed and sealed. *Amuy kywan* – the inherited slaves is the term used by *Nh Ā Luyon* to describe eleven slaves whom he inherited from his aunt *Yaptaw saň Khyat Ma*, the concubine of King *Caňsa I*. When Prince *Gaňgāśu ra* the son of King *Caňsa (I)* by Queen *Vatanisikā* or

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1. Pl. 190a5-8
2. Pl. 182a21, Pl. 19322-3, Pl. 543a50, Pl. 597c5,11
3. Pl. 51
4. Pl. 127a3,4
5. Pl. 140b9
6. Pl. 145a
7. Pl. 215b18
8. The *Rajakumār* Inscription. Pl. 36250-2
9. Pl. 39315 (*Samb Nay* handed over four slaves to the donor in settlement of a debt.)
10. Pl. 74a10, Pl. 78b, Pl. 79ab
11. Pl. 56b6,8
12. Pl. 77a10
13. Pl. 75a, Pl. 39226
Chokpan died, perhaps without any children to inherit his property, his elder brother Prince Rājasūra took a portion of his estate, undoubtedly leaving the major portion in the hands of the widow, the daughter of Non Kam Kri. The widow, recorded in A.D. 1242 that

\[ \text{Itauw skhin man Kāṅkāśa pyan tā mā pri so amuy hu skhin noñ man Rājāsū yā liy so Mrān ki kywan...10 kip} /1 \]

When our lord Prince Gāṅgāsūra died, by inheritance, our lord, the senior brother Prince Rājasūra took ... 10 slaves of Mrānki.2

We have quite a number of cases where the inheritance is in the descending order. For example, we have the following descriptive phrases about the slaves: ami mha lā so kywan kā° as for the slaves from mother; apha mha lā so kywan kā4 as for the slaves from father; aphuw kā la so kywan5 – slaves from grandfather; ṇā mi ṇā ā con ma kywan ā piy so6 – slaves given by my mother to help me; āri ṇā ā piy so7 – slaves given by my father’s sister and ṇā mi ṇā pha ka lā so kywan8 – slaves from my mother and my father. But we have also records where the persons concerned were very anxious to make known to the outside world that the slaves in their possession were not inherited. It will not be uninteresting at this point to consider a few examples where explicit mention is made that the slaves in question were not part of the inherited property but that the owner had earned them by sheer hard work.

A lady called Ul Plaṅ Cūṁ Saṅ making a dedication in AD. 1233 said:

\[ īy kywan 7 yok sā kā ami lā so kywān le ma hut apha lā so kywan le ma hut ṇā laṅ Na Kōṅ Saṅ nhaṅ ṇā ti si mi ruy ra so kywan te9 \]

These seven slaves are not the slaves from mother nor from father. My husband ṇā Kōṅ Saṅ and I got them as the fruit of (our work).

Nā Maṅ Saṅ and wife said in A.D. 1238:

\[ īy kywan kā ami apha amuy mahut cwanī ē laṅ myā (dharani) mū ruy, ra so kywan te/10 \]

These slaves are not inherited from our parents. We, the husband and wife got them by bring them up.

In A.D. 1242, a rich man ṇā Mihok Saṅ said:

\[ ē na phuw ka na phiy ka lā so ṇā mi ṇā pha ka lā so kywen le ma hut ṇā chuw ṇray to si mū ruy, ra so//kywen te11 \]

These slaves are not from my great grandfather, my grandfather, my mother or my father. I underwent hardships to get them.

1. Pl. 14417. 18
2. This exercise of the right of inheritance by an elder brother would not be welcomed in Burma to-day, for when a Burman Buddhist dies without children, the widow inherits the whole estate. This incidence of an elder brother inheriting some of the slaves of his younger should be regarded as an exceptional case.
3. 2125 a
4. Pl. 2128, 12 Pl. 1504
5. Pl. 884
6. Pl. 120a. 5
7. Pl. 120b. 5
8. Pl. 1502
9. Pl. 706. 8
10. Pl. 1297. 8
11. Pl. 141b5. 7
A rich lady Ու, Քրանթ Քհան Սահ and husband dedicated eleven slaves to the image at the hollow-pagoda that they built in A.D. 1231 and said:

// ի անհակ լան միյա ռի ռույ, թա սո կիգան կա ռի տիւի ամի ափա ամու կիգան ե մա հուտ // ռի տիւի ամլյւիւ 7 չաք մա ռա սո ամու կիգան ե մա հուտ անհակ լան միյա չուիւ ռույ լա ռույ, ար սո կիգան նհան նհան ռույ ե մա //

These slaves that we-the loving couple, have agreed to dedicate are not the inheritance begotten from our parents nor from our ancestors of seven generations. They are entirely the produce of our labour.

Slaves of another loving couple are described as:

մու նհան նհակ յոկ չուիւ ռույ պան մու ռույ ռա սո կիգան2

Slaves begotten through hardship and toil by the loving husband and wife.

Another rich lady in A.D. 1248 said about her slaves:

// ամի ափա մհա ռա սո կիգան ե մա հուտ // ռի չուիւ ռույ ռան ռա մու ռույ ռա սո կիգան ռույ ե մա //3

(These) slaves are not from mother or father. I got them through hardship and endevour.

Different from the above mentioned examples is the man who received four slaves on his father’s death but was made answerable for his father’s debts. So he declared:

// ի չո յոկ սո կիգան սան-կա ափա կիգան հա ռույ ախլան ռի լուան պիա ռռա ռսա ռսսա ռույ ռա սառ ռա //4

As for these four slaves, they are not given over to me for nothing just because they are my father’s slaves. I got them after repaying all my father’s debts.

A gentleman went even to the extent of claiming that he got his slaves by virtue of his merit by saying ռի առա ռան, ռա սառ ռույ ռույ ռա, ե, սո կիգան ռույ ե մա //5

Except for monks and religious establishments who receive their slaves as donations, slaves owned were either part of their inherited property, or acquisitions through buying or settling a debt or from success in a lawsuit. If buying slaves was possible, there must have been same form of a recognised slave trade, which we will discuss later.

As for the insolvent debtor who has to give himself up as a slave to his creditor, we have the following illustration. There was a պյսմա (palmleaf maker) called Նա Թան, Սահ (Mr. Upright). Perhaps he was a master palmleaf maker with many assistants and slaves. As fate would have it, he went bankrupt in A.D. 1227. In order to appease his many creditors he went to Anantasūra, one of the ministers of King Nātoñmya (1211-31) with the following terms:

1. Pl. 15716.19
2. Pl. 16065.5
3. Pl. 161b10.12
4. Pl. 204a6.9
5. Pl. 572a24.5
Thus the bankrupt master palmleaf maker made his family and his slaves the slaves of the minister Anantavāra.

We have no direct evidence for war captive slaves nor for slave raids. But we have three examples which we may connect slavery with war. In the Great Shwezigon inscription in old Mon, we find that the enemies of Pagan who were presumably the Mon of lower Burma took some of its citizens downstream as captive. But they were later freed and restored to Pagan through the might of Thilin Māṇi probably just before he took the Pagan throne in A.D. 1084.² In another instance we find that Asankhya, a minister of King Nātoimya, described some of his slaves in A.D. 1216 as:

// iy kywon (13 sa kā) mani Sīnkhāpicaṇī phlañ so Pyamkhi sa phlañ pā ruy Taway lyac so // Pukam rok khyla(n hū ruy ra) so Calañ kywon te // Phun Sañ Asankhya mañ pan rakā Pyamkhi sā le Pukam rok e, // Pukam rok (so) Phun Sañ Asankhya Pyamkhi sā kywon ra sate //³

As for these thirteen slaves they are Calaṅ slaves of the son of (Prince) Pyamkhi who joined in the sin (i.e. rebellion) of Prince Sīnkhāpicaṇī and (? fled) to Taway. (As he) wanted to return to Pukamı the honourable Asankhya asked pardon from the king. Pyamkhi’s son therefore came back to Pukamı. On reaching Pukamı the slaves of Pyamkhi’s son were handed over to the honourable Asankhya.

With this information it is possible to reconstruct the scene as follows. Nātoimya the son and successor of Caṅsū II was born of a lesser queen. Therefore he would have had less claim to the throne than his half brothers born of royal mothers. Perhaps Caṅsū II made him his successor because of some outstanding ability superseding other sons of more princely blood. This probably caused a great deal of resentment because soon after Nātoimya’s accession many rebellions broke out which he suppressed with the aid of his five ministers. ⁴

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1. Pl. 79a¹-15, Pl. 79b¹²
3. Pl. 4215.¹⁰
one of whom was Asaṅkhyā. When peace was restored Nātoñmyā rewarded his ministers handsomely for their services. As his share Asaṅkhyā received the estates of Pyanōkhi's son who was implicated in Sīnkhipikā's rebellion and had fled to Taway. Owing to Asaṅkhyā's intervention the King pardoned him and allowed him to return to Pagan. But his estate was confiscated and as we have said bestowed on Asaṅkhyā.

We have a similar story when King Klaewā (1235–49) succeeded his brother to the throne. Perhaps his nephews (the late king's sons) disputed the succession. Two brothers Sīnkhipikām and Sirivadhānā rebelled and were defeated but they escaped. On Sunday, 8 June 1236, when King Klaewā was giving an audience at Kwan Prok Nāy – the Small Variegated Hall, Sīnkhipikām's wife requested the king to forgive her husband and allow him to return to Pagan. The king forgave the prince but confiscated his "slaves, fields and gardens" and gave them to Queen Cavā, very possibly the queen of his predecessor and brother King Narasīṅgha-Uccanā (71231–5).

From the above we gather that the king confiscated slaves of rebels and gave them away to whomsoever he pleased and therefore these slaves cannot be classed as war captives turned into slaves, but they may safely be termed spoils of war.

There are a few direct evidences of the slave trade in our period. The donors, making dedication of slaves to religious establishments very often mentioned the prices they paid for the slaves. Nā Khyat Sāṅ Myak Mān bought eleven slaves in A.D. 1214 and gave the details as

... kywan yokya krī 7 yok // yokā ray 4 yok apoŋ kywan 11 yok aphiuw ūny 330
khin piy e, \[1\]

(For the price of) seven adult male slaves (and) four young male slaves altogether 11 slaves three hundred and thirty of silver are weighed and given.

This gives us an average price of thirty ticals of silver for a male slave. In A.D. 1223 the same gentleman bought another four slaves at the price of 120 ticals of silver 4, and one at 35 ticalis of silver.\[5\] Then he made a real bargain when he bought seven slaves for 140 ticals. It was recorded as:

Toñplun hi so panthyan, ni så ta up so kuìw aphuiw ūny 140 piy so \[6\]

the whole group of brothers and sons of the goldsmith living at Toñplun at the price of 140 silver.

In exchange for his boat Kramā\[7\] he received from the Sukhamīn, the Saṅkri of Saċchim the slave Nā Khyam.\[8\] Lastly he bought nineteen slaves at 570, i.e. 30 ticals each.\[9\]
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Paddy and copper were also used as mediums of exchange in addition to silver in those days. Thus when in A.D. 1226 Anantasuy's wife bought twenty slaves she said:

\[ \text{kywan 20 so aphuw} \text{ nuy khin piy so nuy kā} \text{ na kran kriy phā} \text{ 300 nuy pyān 200} \text{ apoñ 500 khin piy e,} \text{ } ]^1

(For the) price of twenty slaves 300 of na kran white copper and 200 of pure copper, together 500 are weighed and given.

In A.D. 1301 Queen Caw bought a potter Nā Čhān and a gardener Nā Koñ at thirty ticals of silver and twenty viss of copper respectively. As kappikā - personal attendant, to the most reverend Mlat Kri Nhakpactan she bought Na Kumkay paying twenty baskets of paddy and three viss of copper for him. We also find that sometimes slaves were given away in exchange of elephants and horses. In A.D. 1164 a gentleman Krañ Cañ gave sixty six Indian slaves in exchange for an elephant and forty for a horse. It must have been an exceptionally good horse to have cost forty slaves. In A.D. 1230, the wife of Supharac gave fifty domestic slaves for an elephant. In A.D. 1249, minister Jeveyapikram recorded that he exchanged areca palm trees for some slaves at the rate of ten palms per slave. A concubine from Marhk once (A.D. 1243) dedicated her slaves to a pagoda and after reflection she dedicated one hundred ticals of pure silver to the pagoda as the price of a slave woman whom she had already dedicated and then wanted to set free. But we cannot say that one hundred ticals of silver is the standard rate of redemption. The pious lady was buying the slave from the pagoda and it is almost certain that she was being very generous and charitable. When the slave Nā Oñ Cañ who was fortunate enough to save money and redeemed himself, he paid his master Nā Muni Saiñ five viss of copper and became a free man in A.D. 1253. As it is not unusual even to-day in Burma a donor Rammané Sāñ in his zeal to amass merit spent beyond his means and found himself unable to pay the wages of the sculptor who made the image of Buddha. Thus he had to sell one of his slave women in A.D. 1272. It went on record as:

\[ \text{Iw Lat kuiw purhā plu so purhā samā kuiw} \text{ lakha acā asok} \text{ nā roñ ruy pły sate} \]

I sell Iw Lat in order to give food and drink and wages to this image maker.

So a slave would cost approximately from twenty to thirty five ticals in silver or five to twenty viss in copper or twenty baskets of paddy plus three viss of copper, while fifty to sixty six slaves are exchanged with an elephant, forty with a horse and one with a boat. A slave could redeem himself for a little as five viss of copper but the price for redeeming a

1. Pl. 774.
2. Pl. 392\(1\), 12
3. Pl. 39250
4. Pl. 94b15, 14
5. Pl. 1565.4
6. Pl. 175\(1\), 17
7. Pl. 15118
8. Pl. 182\(1\), 19
9. Pl. 23819
pagoda slave varied enormously. It depended upon the generosity of the redeemer. Though there is no direct evidence of large scale sale of slaves there must have been such instances because we find certain donors dedicating as many as 500 Burmese slaves, 500 Indian slaves, 116 Indian weavers, 850 Mani Sak slaves, etc.¹

We have some instances of runaway slaves. Na Khya Sal whom we have mentioned above, said in one place that he originally intended a dozen slaves for the pagoda but unfortunately one escaped and therefore only eleven were left.² But when his dedication was put on record he stated the grand total dedicated to the pagoda as twelve. Perhaps he was hopeful of recapturing the slave or may be he thought that his intention of dedicating the slave amounted to a fact. In A.D. 1222, when Anantasira and wife dedicated their garden at the port (sañhadwewip) of Yanpiuiw together with Indian slaves to the pagoda, they summed up thus.

\[ \text{apoh úvan hi so Kula kri nāy cuñ 28 ply so 2 || apoh 30 hi e, ||3} \]

All Indian slaves both old and young at the garden numbered 28; two (had) escaped. Total 30.

The fact that runaway slaves were recorded in the total of slaves dedicated would suggest that whenever and wherever they were found out they would have to be returned to the establishment to which they belonged.

The lot of slaves does not seem to have been too hard and coupled with it was their probable reluctance to move away from their localities. Slaves were never taken away from their native places and were allowed to follow their own trade or profession. We have no evidence of transferring slaves from place to place. Usually they were attached to the land in their locality⁴ or in the case of professionals, people of the same vocation were grouped together.⁵ Cowherds remained with their cows in their usual pastures⁶. It was only ownership that changed. Towards the end of the dynasty, in A.D. 1266 a whole group of Indian slaves at Yanpiuiw was recorded as having escaped.⁷ Yanpiuiw was a port and therefore perhaps was within easy reach of the sea. This proximity to the sea may have tempted them to escape and an uneasy political situation at that time must also have been an added cause. We find mention of two more slaves escaping and in both cases, strange to say the runaways were widows.⁸ A mother also escaped with three daughters.⁹

Merciful owners is one of the outstanding feature of Pagan slavery. When a donor¹⁰ in A.D. 1198 dedicated 567½ pay of land and 228 slaves to the pagoda the majority of these

¹. See Pl. 19b⁸, Pl. 164²¹, etc.
². Pl. 75b⁸⁸
³. Pl. 76³⁰
⁴. Pl. 216 (passim)
⁵. Pl. 144²², ²²
⁶. Pl. 138²¹, ²⁰
⁷. Pl. 216³³
⁸. Pl. 376³¹, ³¹
⁹. Pl. 148a¹⁰
¹⁰. Pl. 19b⁹, ¹¹
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worked on the lands and served the pagoda with the produce of the said land, but there were also slaves who were skilled artists. They were the leader of the group who was the general supervisor, the firewood cutter, the granary keeper, the dancer or singer and the drummer who in their own skilled ways served the pagoda. To prevent them from going hungry and probably to keep them from the ill usage of the majority, the donor made special provisions for them. Out of the 567½ pay of land dedicated ten were for the supervisors, five for the granary keeper, five for the singer and three for the drummer.

In A.D. 1241 Queen Caw mother of Singhapatj and Tvyâphâ dedicated 260 pay of land, two gardens and 178 slaves to the pagoda. She left detailed instructions regarding the food supply for slaves who were not connected with the land - the four night-watchmen of the hollow-pagoda and some musicians. They were provided with 135 baskets of paddy annually and thus each got roughly three quarters of a basket except for an old cañasâ (drummer) and an old pantyâ (? nautch) who got two baskets each. This shows the donor's kindness and care for details.

The wife of Prince Gaņāsūra, making a dedication of 511½ pay of land in A.D. 1242 mentioned that 15 pay were for the slaves. Another Queen Caw, mother of Prince Kâjasûra dedicated slaves to the monastery in A.D. 1291 and said:

|| câ chwan nhuik lup kluy so kywan tuiw le phyâ nâ uiw mañ kha so kâ skhiâ aryâ tuiw si muan ciy sate ||

When any slave who cooks the daily food for the monks become sick or ill or (feeble with) old age, the monks must know and see (i.e. give proper treatment.) This is the best security a man could desire against his old age and inability and the Pagan slaves had that security.

There is another piece of evidence showing the liberal mindedness of the slave owners of our period. Very often we find rahâna (monk), pancañ (a person who is proficient in the five requisite qualifications) and bhikkhûni (a female ascetic) mentioned among lists of slaves. The only explanation we can think of with regard to their presence in the lists of slaves is that they were born of slave parents. The Buddhist Order recognized no class distinction and therefore they could not be slaves as well as members of the Order at the same time. They must have had the permission of their masters first before joining the Order perhaps with the understanding that if and when they left the Order they become slaves again. May be that is why their names were included in the slave lists so that in case they left the Order, they would not be able to deny their birth. Minister Gaṅgâbijâna allowed two adults and twenty children of his slaves to become monks and novices and set free ten debtor slaves.

1. PI. 13850.6
2. PI. 147b21
3. PI. 27526.9
4. PI. 70, PI. 17455, PI. 20022, PI. 2115, PI. 2567, PI. 30855, PI. 376 (passim), etc.
5. PI. 1465, PI. 22613, PI. 2328, 8, 9
6. PI. 8927, PI. 9214
7. PI. 30851.5
8. 20. U.P. 0.144.1009.23.8.78
There were also equally broadminded slave owners who set their slaves free out of sheer kindness. In A.D. 1258 a rich man Na Tuñ Pauñ Sañ dedicated nine slaves to the pagoda first and then said:

Tawli 1 yok // Sarabhî 1 yok // Ya Krwac 1 y kywan 3 yok kā alwat lhyan ṇā lhwar kha sate // 1

I release from all bonds these three slaves (viz.) Tawli, Sarabhî and Ya Krwo (Miss Casket).

Princess Acaj Lat, daughter of King Narasingha-Uccanâ and wife of minister Jeyyasaddhiy built a hollow-pagoda in A.D. 1261 and dedicated sixty eight slaves to it. But she also gave another list of fifteen slaves and said:

...i'y mhyâ sā kywan kā phurkâ trya sañkhâ tuiw kuix le ma īhâ lañ sā achuy amlyuiv tuiw kuiv le ma piy ṇā asak hi sa rhuy kā lup ciy so ṇā ma hi mu kā mrak nu riy krañ hi rā lā ciy sate // ... // i' nā lhwar so kywan tuiv kuiv le lai 1000 piy e // 2

These slaves—I do not dedicate them to the Lord, the Law and the Order. Nor do (I) give them to (my) husband, children, relatives and friends. May they serve me while I am alive. After my death, they are allowed to go where there is tender grass and clear water 3 ... To these slaves whom I had given liberty, I give one thousand pay of land.

One cannot help feeling that the princess was exceptionally kind and considerate as she not only freed her slaves but also provided for them. In A.D. 1238, Na Puk Sañ and wife in the presence of notables of the village poured the water of libation and allowed a person 'to seek tender grass and clear water.'4 Trya Mwan's wife in A.D. 1267 used the same phrase, and set free 190 slaves.5 A donor after dedicating eight slaves to a pagoda in A.D. 1294 said to the slaves:

noñ khyanî sā nuiw ka niy ma khyan sā nuiw ka mrak nu riy krañ, hi ra rā la 9

(After a while) if you still hope of comfort by remaining like this (i.e. as pagoda slaves), stay. If you lose hope of comfort seek tender grass and clear water.

So saying he left the matter entirely in the hands of the slaves. They could seek freedom whenever they wished. With ample funds provided by the rich donor and only an image

1. Pl. 191a 15, 16
2. Pl. 201a 8, 11, 14
3. The use of the phrase mrak nu riy krañ meaning to seek places where there is tender grass and clear water suggests rather vaguely that the phrase was a relic of the nomadic past.
4. Pl. 210a 5
5. Pl. 217a 10, 28, Pl. 218a 1
6. Pl. 280a 8, 11
to look after, they decided, perhaps, to remain slaves for ever. That way of life was comparatively easy. Another interesting point that we have noticed in this connection is in an inscription found at the Kyaukgu Onhmin and dated A.D. 1188 in which we read:

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// Utamapharac nhañ mañ miya Utin Ñay Cw dan kuîw khwañ ruy mlañ tañ kupa
khyañ thuy taw khla e manâki min e klok cã twañ amâñ hui so purhã kywañ kã sã
mliy acañ khapañ iwat ciy sate //
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Utamapharac and Utin Ñay Cwan the concubine, are summoned (into the royal presence) at mlay tankup- the earth pavilion, and the royal order is passed. The great king said “Pagoda slaves mentioned by name in the stone inscription and their children, grandchildren and posterity, are all released.”

This is a royal order to set free pagoda slaves dedicated by others.

From the above evidence we are under the impression that the lives of pagoda slaves were not unbearable but it is necessary to study their duties before coming to a definite conclusion. Therefore let us now turn our attention to the duties of slaves who were dedicated to pagodas or monasteries. In A.D. 1197, Jeyyaset hiy dedicated 141 slaves to a pagoda and a monastery, in order that samput wat // chiñi wi ma prat cim, so nhã — rice food and oil lamps be served without intermission. Slaves whose special duty was to cook rice or food at the monasteries were known as samput khyak kywan5 or watt khyak kywan.6 In A.D. 1223 minister Anantasañã and his wife made a religious establishment and desired that it should remain for all the five thousand years of the Religion. Therefore slaves were dedicated that

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// anhac kuîwca akha mañ, miy phu pha rac cim, so nhã // tanhã lhañ cim so nhã //
purhã treyã nhuik samput // chiñi kwon pan // ma prat tañ rac cim, so nhã // sañ
khara so skhiñ arîyã tuwa, kuîw chwañ pan lup kwañ rac cim' so nhã // 7
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they may go on forever doing the necessary repairs (at the establishment); to sweep the compound; to go on serving the Lord and the Law without intermission with rice food, oil lamps, betel and flowers; to go on serving the patient reverend monks with the flowers of rice food on behalf of the loving couple.

As seen in the above quotation when slaves were dedicated to the pagoda, the donors expressed the desire that they serve the Lord on their behalf by using the phrase nã kuîw cã or mimi kuîw cã. Minister Mahãsman in A.D. 1255 defined the duties of the slaves of a monastery as:

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1. There are many pagoda slaves especially of the Pagan area, who not without reason believed themselves to be the descendents of the pagoda slaves from the period under discussion and elected to remain so when the British came and brought with them the abolition of slavery.
2. Pl. 228b14-15
3. Incidentally, one of the first measures taken by the President of the Union of the Republic of Burma in 1948 immediately after independence was to declare all pagoda slaves free.” See “Address by His Excellency Sao Shwe Thaike, President of the Union of Burma, to the Members of the Burma Parliament on 4 January 1948”, Burma Independence Celebrations, Department of Information and Broadcasting, Government of the Union of Burma, 1948, pp. 15-17.
4. Pl. 164.5
5. Pl. 5022
6. Pl. 1869, Pl. 22921, Pl. 2308, Pl. 4178
7. Pl. 7320, 31. See also Pl. 8021,2, Pl. 1648.8, Pl. 1977, Pl. 2157.3
8. Pl. 999.10, Pl. 1224, Pl. 16459, Pl. 1261a, 10, Pl. 2389, 2, Pl. 24811
I y mhy a sa ky an kā aryā saṅghā tuiw kuiw khrīy (chiv riy) lak chiv riy khlīw riy (sok) riy khapsim so nhā wat khyay cim so tanmyak. khlīy kumī ci ni so nhā lūa sate

These slaves are to fetch water for the monks to wash their feet, hands and bodies and water to drink. They are (also) to cook the rice food, and to sweep and remove the refuse.

In A.D. 1262, a donor dedicated a laksamā² – carpenter and another a panphay³ – blacksmith, to repair a ruined monastery. Another donor dedicated eleven slaves in the same year so that they may be useful when repairs were needed at his religious establishment. The duties might vary slightly in detail between the slaves who were attached to the pagoda, the Law, the Order, and the sīma. Some of the slaves were personal attendants to the head of the monastery.⁹

Apart from the slaves of the religious establishments, we also find the mention of domestic helps who were variously termed as im kyawan ¹⁰, im thon kyawen ¹¹ and im nīy.¹² Slaves of the royal household are called either kywan taw ¹³ or mān im kri sah.¹⁴ The mention of a slave wife is very rare and we find it only twice as kuiw lus¹⁵ and kuiw lus kyaw niyma.¹⁶

Another interesting thing about the slaves in the inscriptions is the terms used to describe them. When giving a list of slaves, whenever it is necessary short descriptions appear such as im thon for the head of the family, kamay ¹⁷ for a widow, Ya¹⁸ as prefix for woman of Mon extraction, pucu¹⁹ for young people, nuiw, cuiw,²⁰ for sucklings, cūtar²¹ for literates and sāmi apluwa niya²² for a young unmarried daughter. There are some terms used as prefixes to the names of both sexes and unfortunately we are still unable to give the right interpretation. They are mhura²³, mrakra²⁴, phut²⁵, and uiy, phukhi.²⁶ Tentatively, we consider them as overseers or foremen of working groups as mhura and mrakra suggest that they were employed for some work.
Regarding literacy among slaves, let us take three inscriptions dated A.D. 1227, 12352 and 12403 where the mention of cait (literates) appears more frequently than in any other inscriptions. In the first inscription we find 78 slaves among whom 9 were literate (five boys and four girls). In the second, there were 116 slaves of whom 8 were literate (only boys). In the third, there were 140 slave of whom 17 were literate (13 boys and 4 girls). Therefore very roughly we should say that 9 per cent of the slaves were literate in those days. It is interesting to note that there were girls among the literates of which they formed a quarter. It is likely that the percentage of literacy increased towards the fall of the Pagan empire.

Slaves were of various nationalities. Naturally most of the slave population consisted of Burmans4. Sometimes slaves mentioned as of other nationalities had Burmese names. Next to the Burmans comes the Indian slaves.5 A donor in A.D. 1198 dedicated to the pagoda as many as five hundred Indian slaves. A slave called Kulaphit6 — white Indian, appears once. One hundred and twenty eight Kamirlam7 slaves were dedicated in A.D. 1223. But Kamam here may not possibly be the name of a people. Thus we are not certain that kamirlam here has been used in the ethnic sense. In a list of slaves recorded in an inscription of A.D. 1242 there were thirty one Cakraw8 slaves from Caku. Perhaps they were the ancestors of modern Sagaw Karens. There were also Sak people who still survive in Akyab district. A whole village of Sak called Munalon was dedicated in A.D. 1113 according to the Rajakumar inscription9 and eight hundred and fifty Sak slaves were mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 1248.10 Thirty Chin11 slaves are dedicated to a pagoda in A.D. 1266 and perhaps there is a link between this Chin and the Chinese. Slaves called Na Toi Su12 (Mr. Hillman) appear frequently but Toi Sai13 slaves are only mentioned twice. Na Rakhuu14 (Mr. Arakanese) is a popular name among the slaves. A Syami15 slave is mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 1301. Pyu appears often but we find only one instance of a Pyu woodcutter16 as slave in an inscription. Kantu17 is also popular as a personal name mostly among woman slaves but it does not appear in its ethnic sense. Ya is a Mon prefix denoting a Mon woman's name and there are some names beginning with Ya. They seem to be Mon slaves. The last in our list are the Kramam18—thought to be Cambodians. It mostly appears as a personal name

1. Pl. 73
2. Pl. 181
3. Pl. 376
4. Pl. 19b8, Pl. 65b2, Pl. 891, Pl. 147b11, Pl. 16421, Pl. 368b5, etc.
5. Pl. 1019, 20, Pl. 1512, Pl. 19b6, Pl. 5012, Pl. 65b2, 5, 14, Pl. 68b22, Pl. 764, 10, Pl. 811, 12, etc.
6. Pl. 4312
7. Pl. 94a9; see Luce: "Peoples of Burma", JBRs, XLII, i, 73.
8. Pl. 147b15; see Luce: "Introduction to the Comparative Study of Karen Languages", JBRs, XLII, i, 1 & 11.
9. Pl. 362a30
10. Pl. 16421
11. Pl. 2185
12. Pl. 416, Pl. 218, Pl. 7714, Pl. 13014, Pl. 23212, Pl. 378b4
13. Pl. 39217, Pl. 39315
14. Pl. 1527, Pl. 4210, Pl. 438, Pl. 117a6, Pl. 231b14
15. Pl. 39228
16. Pl. 3935
17. Pl. 294, Pl. 14413, Pl. 148b8, Pl. 39219, 28, 51
18. Pl. 10a24, Pl. 2910, Pl. 55a7, Pl. 21635, 58
except in inscriptions dated A.D. 1241 and A.D. 1266. Thus the slave population of our period had Burmese, Cambodian, Chinese, Indian, Kadu, Kanyan, Karen, Mon, Pyu, Shan, Taungthu and Thet but the Burmese and Indian slaves formed the majority.

The survey of the slaves of medieval Burma will not be complete without a study of their vocations. Undoubtedly land, cattle and slaves went together. For example King Tarukpliy gave mluy 1000 // kywan 1000 // nwâ 1000⁴ – one thousand (pay of) land, one thousand slaves and one thousand cattle to his wet nurse Uñ Poñ Sañ soon after his accession to the throne. The vast majority of the slaves would be employed on san lay – wet cultivation fields, muryan lay – dry cultivation fields, ryā – hill-side cultivations, kuîn – kitchen gardens and uyân – gardens. But there were also slaves with vocations and these throw some light on the social life of the period. Their professions roughly fall into five categories. Firstly, there are agriculturalists – cultivators, cowherds, etc.; secondly, food suppliers such as cooks; thirdly, craftsmen; fourthly, musicians; and finally, miscellaneous.

In the first category of agriculturalists, lay sañ⁵ or lay su⁶ – cultivators, tops the list. Then there are lay uyân conî, kywan⁷ – slaves watching fields and gardens, capâ cuiî kywan⁸ – slaves to plant paddy and uyân sañ⁹ – gardeners. Next comes slaves who look after cattle and poultry and for convenience sake we include here herders of other animals as well. They are nwâ thin,¹⁰ kilway thin,¹² chit thin,¹³ chañ thin,¹⁴ and warnpîay thin.¹⁵ Queen Caw in A.D. 1299 proudly mentioned that among the slaves dedicated to the pagoda was a nwâ kloî cwamî¹⁶ – expert cowherd, called Nû Lyôn. The mention of nwâ kloî taken in conjunction with other references to thawpiy, thawpat, thawpat kî, nwâ nuîw sañ, nuîw ñhat nwâ mû, nuîw sac and nuîw thamîn¹⁷ would strongly suggest that dairy farming was a fairly important industry of the day.

In the second category, there were food suppliers such as cooks, butchers, milkmen, etc. Old Burmans used separate people for cooking rice and for cooking curry and thus they had

1. Pl. 138¹⁹
2. Pl. 216⁵⁶
3. Pl. 20a¹,⁵,⁶,⁷,⁸,¹⁰, Pl. 34⁴, Pl. 8³⁸-⁷, Pl. 9¹⁴, Pl. 10⁴⁷, Pl. 11⁰⁵-⁶, Pl. 11⁵⁸, Pl. 12³⁵, etc.
4. Pl. 21⁸a⁴,⁷, Pl. 21⁸b⁴,⁷
5. Pl. 19³²⁸
6. Pl. 11⁰⁷
7. Pl. 7⁵a⁴³
8. Pl. 7⁵a⁴⁵, Pl. 17⁵², Pl. 2⁰⁳²¹,²⁷
9. Pl. 7⁶²¹⁰, Pl. 1⁸¹²⁰, Pl. 2³⁵¹⁴, Pl. 3⁹²¹¹
10. Pl. 1³⁸¹⁹,²⁰, Pl. 1⁴⁴¹¹, Pl. 1⁵²³², Pl. 2⁰³¹⁰⁴, Pl. 3⁸⁸a¹², Pl. 4²³⁵⁹
11. Pl. 7³⁴⁷
12. Pl. 1⁵³a¹⁶, Pl. 1⁵³b⁰, Pl. 3⁹⁴⁴, Pl. 5⁸²b⁵⁵
13. Pl. 7⁶²⁵,²⁵,²⁴,²⁸, Pl. 2¹⁷²⁴, Pl. 2⁵⁷²¹
14. Pl. 1⁸³a¹²
15. Pl. 3⁹⁰⁵⁵
16. Pl. 3⁶¹⁰, Pl. 9⁴a³⁵, Pl. 1³⁴a⁴, Pl. 2³⁵⁰, Pl. 3⁷⁶⁵⁴, etc.
SLAVES

thamañ sañ1 – rice cooks and hañ sañ2 – curry cooks. Perhaps; these slaves were attached to big monastic establishments so that cooking rice alone required an army of slaves. For the domestic cook they had im thamañ khyak.3 To supply meat they had amay sañ4 or may sañ5 – butchers, sčeuĩw6 – keepers of game and muchuiw7 – hunters. Puĩk sañ8 or kwan sañ9 – net men supplied fish. For sweetmeats, there were nwã nuĩw, sañ10 – the milkmen and yana, pyñsan11 – the honey men. Chewing betel was a regular practice and perhaps demanded specialized service.12 They had kwani sañ13, kwani tau sañ14, kwani si tañ15 and kwani mwan taw sañ16 as servers of kwani yañ17 – betel quids.

The third category included craftsmen who were builders and decorators of the beautiful Pagan architecture. They were laksmã18 – carpenters, tacañ sañ19 – plane men puran20 – masons, as builders; panpu21 – woodcarvers, pankhi22 – painters, panpwat23 – wood-turners, tankyat sañ24 – ? canopy makers as decorators; ut sañ25 – brickmakers to supply bricks; panphay26 – blacksmiths to supply things made of iron and athu sañ27 or purhã sañ28 – image makers to supply the images of the Lord. Thi sañ29 – umbrella makers manufactured golden umbrellas to spread over the images, etc. These builders, suppliers of building

1. Pl. 36¹⁸, Pl. 391⁵¹,⁵², Pl. 41⁷¹²
2. Pl. 36¹⁸, Pl. 391⁵⁰,⁵¹
3. Pl. 11⁰⁶
4. Pl. 391⁵⁵,⁵⁶
5. Pl. 15³⁶,²², Pl. 15³⁷,¹⁰
6. Pl. 3⁶¹⁹
7. Pl. 7¹⁷, Pl. 1⁴⁸,¹⁴
8. Pl. ⁷⁹
9. Pl. 2⁶⁷⁴
10. Pl. 3⁶¹⁸
11. Pl. 3⁶¹⁸
13. Pl. 3⁹¹⁵⁵,⁵⁴
14. Pl. 4⁷⁶,¹⁵
15. Pl. 2²⁹,¹⁸
16. Pl. 7⁴²⁸
17. Pl. 1³⁹¹¹
18. Pl. 8¹¹,², Pl. 2⁶¹⁷
19. Pl. 1⁰²,¹⁴, Pl. 3⁹¹⁵⁵, Pl. ³⁹²²⁴
20. Pl. 6⁸²⁹, Pl. 8¹³², Pl. 1⁴⁴, ¹⁴⁷⁷,¹⁹
21. Pl. 6⁸²², Pl. 8¹⁸, Pl. 1⁴⁴⁵
22. Pl. ⁶⁸²², Pl. 1⁴⁴⁵
23. Pl. 1⁴⁴³,¹², Pl. 3⁹²¹⁸, Pl. ⁵⁷⁵³,¹¹
24. Pl. 1⁹⁴²⁷
25. Pl. 5⁹⁴¹⁵
26. Pl. 6⁸²², Pl. ⁷⁸, Pl. 1⁰²,¹⁴, Pl. 1⁵³,¹¹, Pl. 2⁶¹²⁵, Pl. 4¹³¹⁰,¹¹
27. Pl. 3⁹²¹¹
28. Pl. 3⁹¹⁵
29. Pl. 1⁴⁸,¹⁹,⁸,⁹
materials and decorators must have been very busy as the period under survey is sometimes called the period of temple-builders. There were also panthìn¹ — goldsmiths to make jewellery as well as the spires of temples and pagodas where precious metals and stones were used.

Some artisans made articles of daily use. For pots and pans, there were uiw thin² — potters, kara sañ³ — jug makers and lañpūansañ⁴ — tray makers. For making clothes, there were khrā sañ⁵ and khrā hāy sañ⁶ — spinners, pukhrañ sañ⁷ — loincloth makers, and yansañë weavers. They wove such as kawthā, khañhtã, khruykham, tankyat, tanmi prok, tuyãh, pukhrañ, puchuiw, sakham, sañkan, sañpuñiñ, etc.⁹ There were also sāñaphway¹⁰ which Professor G. H. Luce suggests were chairmakers. Chairs being not in popular use until European influences were felt in Burma, perhaps it meant cushion makers.

In the third category of musicians, which included players of various musical instruments, the drummers seems to be the most common. Singing and dancing to the drum could have been the most popular musical entertainment that the old Burmans resorted to because there were more slaves employed as cañ sañ¹¹ — drummers and panyã¹² — nautches (singers or dancers or both) than any other musician. For singing alone, they had sikhrā sañ¹³ — the singers and for dancing alone, they had kakhiy sañ¹⁴ — the dancers. Other musicians were kharā sañ¹⁵ — trumpeters, khwakkkhañ sañ¹⁶ — cymbal players, candra sañ¹⁷ — dulcimer players, coñ sañ¹⁸ — harpists, nhañ sañ¹⁹ — another group of trumpeters together with those who blew tapuiw²⁰ — horns and narañ crã²¹ — some sort of wind instruments, noñnañ sañ²² — bell players, pasañ sañ²³ — side drummers and saro sañ²⁴ — violinists.

1. Pl. 73a⁴⁰, Pl. 144¹², Pl. 387a⁶, Pl. 393⁵
2. Pl. 392¹
3. Pl. 216⁴⁰
4. Pl. 164²⁵,²⁹
5. Pl. 391⁵⁶
6. Pl. 391²⁴, Pl. 393²⁸
7. Pl. 392²⁰
8. Pl. 148b¹⁶, Pl. 164⁴¹, Pl. 194¹⁶, Pl. 216²³, Pl. 217¹⁹,²⁵, Pl. 25⁰, Pl. 390²⁴, Pl. 391¹³,²², Pl. 393⁶,²⁸
9. Pl. 28a¹⁷, Pl. 28b²⁹, Pl. 36²⁵, Pl. 73¹⁵, Pl. 79a²⁰,²¹, Pl. 97¹⁰,¹³,²⁰,²², Pl. 138¹³,¹⁴, Pl. 21²¹⁴, Pl. 30⁹⁴, Pl. 37²¹, Pl. 39³⁰,²⁶
10. Pl. 10³⁵a²⁴, See JBR, XLII, i, p. 72
11. Pl. 9⁹, Pl. 10a¹⁷,²⁰,²², P., 15¹¹, etc.
12. Pl. 5⁸,¹⁰,¹⁵, Pl. 9⁶, Pl. 10a¹⁸,²¹, etc.
13. Pl. 3¹⁸, Pl. 85⁹, Pl. 4²¹⁴
14. Pl. 15¹², Pl. 3¹⁴, Pl. 39¹⁴
15. Pl. 6²²
16. Pl. 10a¹⁹, Pl. 17¹⁸, Pl. 13⁸¹⁰,⁵⁸, etc.
17. Pl. 8⁵⁹, See U Po Lat: “Union Culture: Its Sources and Contacts,” Burma, III, i, October 19⁵¹, pp. 4-⁵.
18. Pl. 2⁶⁵⁵⁵
19. Pl. 8¹₂¹, Pl. 3⁹⁶b¹⁸
20. Pl. 3⁶⁷a⁵
21. Pl. 1³⁸⁰,¹³,¹⁵
22. Pl. 1⁷¹⁹, Pl. 3⁶⁷a⁵
23. Pl. 1⁰a¹⁸, Pl. 1⁷²⁰, Pl. 73⁵⁸, etc.
24. Pl. 3⁸⁷a⁵
SLAVES

Lastly, there were slaves of various other vocations. They were alay sañ1 - ?brokers, uphay sañ2 - coiffeurs, ka sañ3 - harness makers, kuhã sañ4 - launderers, cãkiñ5 or cãriñ6 - clerks, ci con7 - keepers of the granary, chã sañ8 - salt makers, chañ chum sañ9 - oil producers, than sañ10 - wood cutters, nagã krañ sañ11 - (?) armourers, pi sañ12 - (?) salted fish makers, phaidã sañ13 or bhanã rañ14 - (?) stewards, muchit rip15 - barbers, mlon mily sañ16 - (?) canals, rakann sañ17 - (?) poets, riya sañ18 - water carriers, lak sañ19 - midwives, lak sañ thuñ20 - manucurists, hãañ sañ21 - cartmen, lhawka sañ22 - boat men, sañkõk sañ23 - blacksmiths, and sañrýañ sañ24 - palanquin bearers.

Slavery in medieval Burma is different from the modern concept of slavery. Slaves of those times must have found their lot tolerably comfortable. The presence of voluntary slaves explains this. In addition to these voluntary slaves, there were hereditary slaves, debtor slaves and war captive slaves. We have however, no evidence to show the presence of slave raids, piracy and kidnapping. The slave community was considerable and therefore there were slave villages with their own administrative officers as sãkãñ25 - headmen to control the village, kumthañ26 - to supervise cultivation and sãkriñ27 and sãlhyañ28 as village elders. Ownership of slaves often changed but generally the slaves were allowed to remain in their own locality. Perhaps this was one of the causes why runaway slaves were rare. To gain liberty a slave could redeem himself or run away. There is no mention of cruel laws in connection with runaway slaves. The slaves appear to have been quite contented with their lot and the masters were merciful. Some owners set them free and even gave them land.
to cultivate so that they may not be without a livelihood. Some owners even made special provisions for old or sick slaves. Slaves were allowed to become monks and nuns. The mention of a slave wife is very rare. Perhaps taking slave wife was unpopular. Slaves were also taught to read and write and very roughly we find that about nine per cent of them were literate. Various nationalities were found among slaves but Burmans and Indians were most numerous. The majority of the slaves were used for cultivation but there were also many who were employed in various other ways. There were domestic slaves, pagoda slaves and monastery slaves but this differentiation is not of status but of ownership. It is only in modern times that the pagoda slaves were considered as social outcasts.
APPENDIX I

THE LAND MEASURE

In the inscriptions of our period, with the exception of a few cases where namuñ1 or tamuñ2 are used we find that pay is the standard land measure. We do not know the area of a pay in the Pagan period but we do know the area of the Konbaung pay which is mentioned in the literature of the day.3 The Manu Kyay Dhammasat4 says that a pay is twenty tā square where one tā is seven cubits long. Another source says that it is twentyfive tā square.5 Kri:sai Lethap Charātoau says that there are two kinds of pay, viz. mani: pay – the king’s land measure and chan: raisā: pay – the poor man’s land measure (also known as pakati pay – the normal measure) and that the first is twice the latter.6 King Bodawpaya left an inscription of about A.D. 17917 in Amarapura, together with two squares of masonry as a guide for land measures. They are about half a mile south east of the Arakan pagoda, Mandalay. According to Sir George Scott the tōn – cubit engraved on the stone measures 19.05 inches.8 Thus the pakati pay which is 25 tā square would be 1.77 acres. It is very likely that the pay used in our period is the same as the pakati pay of Bodawpaya’s time.

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1. Pl. 242 (passim), Pl. 557b2. Perhaps it is a spoonrised Mon word bhañ meaning ridges in a paddy field like the Burmese kansañ:
2. Pl. 380b,11
3. References mentioned here are kindly furnished by the Burmese Dictionary Department, School of Oriental and African Studies for which I am deeply grateful.
4. The Dhammathat or the Laws of Menoo, (Moulmein 1847) English Translation by D. Richardson, pp. 153-4; Manu Kyay, Rangoon, Hanthawaddy Press, 1903, Part VI, Para xi, p.156
7. List 1261, B, I. pp. 1-2. See also G. Scott: GUBSS, I, ii, 167-8. Hmawbi Saya Thein Gyi suggests A.D. 1791 was the date of the inscription. Payat Rajawatu (The By-ways of Burmese History), Rangoon, 1938 Reprint, p. 286
8. G. Scott: GUBSS, I, ii, 168
APPENDIX II

VOTIVE TABLETS OF BURMA

Votive tablets are a prolific source of the early history of Burma and as such serve as a complement to the material gained from epigraphs. Votive tablets have been found throughout Burma from as far north as Nwatale Ywazo near the confluence of the Irrawaddy and Shweli Rivers to as far south as Mergui. But until a large number of such tablets had been collected and a description of them together with facsimile reproductions were published a historical study based on them was not possible. Thus material from the votive tablets was not available at the time of writing or revising this book. But when this book was about halfway through the press Thiripyanchi U Mya, Officer on Special Duty, Archaeological Survey of Burma, published a book – Votive Tablets of Burma in two parts with the aid of the Asia Foundation.¹ Part I deals with the tablets of the Pagan period (118 illustrations) covering the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries A.D. and Part II with tablets of the Pyu (90 illustrations) from about the 5th to the 11th centuries A.D. U Mya’s reason for this reversal of the chronological order is that a knowledge of the Pagan tablets are necessary for the more difficult study of the Pyu ones.

Cetiya means a sepulchral monument but with its extended meaning it includes sārīrīka (bodily relics of the Buddha), parībhoga cetiya (a thing used by the Buddha), uddissana (a thing made sacred by dedication) and dhāmma cetiya (a memorial in honour of the Law). Uddissana again is of many varieties – the images of the Buddha made in various postures as suggested by his life stories form the major kind of uddissana and so too are the votive tablets.

Clay tablets of the Buddha or Bodhisattva in relief made by means of moulds² are usually baked.⁵ These moulds were either imported from India or made locally.⁴ These tablets⁸ probably originated from the pilgrims bringing back mementos from such places as Kapilavatthu,⁶ Bodh Gaya,⁷ Banaras,⁸ Kusinagara⁹ or any other place associated with the life of the Buddha. These souvenirs inspired the people of Buddhist lands outside India to make votive tablets locally as a means of acquiring merit. Most donors cannot cast bronze images or carve wooden or stone statues themselves with their own hands but they could make thousands of tablets by just pressing down the stamp on lumps of potter’s clay and

1. Rangoon University Press, September and December 1961
2. Some of these moulds are shown in U Mya: Votive Tablets of Burma, I, Figs. 114, 115, 116, 117 and 118.
3. In Thailand the tablets were not always baked. See G. Coëdès. “Siamese Votive Tablets”, (Tr. by W. A. Graham), SSFACP, I, (pp. 150-87) p. 156.
4. ASI, 1905-06, p. 170
5. Myepōnpaya and Okkhwak in Burmese and Brah Bimb in Thai
6. The original home of the Buddha
7. The place of Enlightenment
8. The place where the first sermon was preached
9. The place of the great decease
write their names on the reverse together with the boon they craved as a result of these meritorious acts. The act of pressing clay tablets perhaps gave them a great deal of personal satisfaction because they have done something directly for the Buddha—a satisfaction which they may not have had by just building a pagoda, monastery, etc. which was done by the hands of artisans. A Burmese record of Bodawpaya’s time (1781-1819) mentions that the King made as many as 512,028 tablets to be enshrined in the relic chambers of four pagodas built at the four corners of the new royal city of Amarapura.

Professor G. Coedès was of the opinion that the practice of making clay votive tablets was confined only to the Buddhists. But seals and moulds of Brahmanical deities and symbols have been found—

Mahākāli from Nālandā of the late Gupta period (6th century A.D.),
Śiva from Kālanjara in Bundelkhand,
Śiva in the Bhadresvara aspect also from Kālanjara,
Ganesa from Nālandā,
Garuda from Nālandā of the reign of Kumāra Gupta I (c. 415-54) and Mahiṣāsura-mardini cast from a mould belonging to the early Chalukya dynasty (550-642) found at Peshwar.

The above mentioned finds prove that clay tablets were also used by devotees of Hinduism. Usually these tablets have some sort of writing on them.

The writing embossed on the obverse below the Buddha’s throne is mostly in a south Indian script on the 5th century A.D. or later. It is almost invariably the famous stanza uttered by Assaji when he told Sāriputta the keynote of the Buddha’s teaching. It runs:

ye dhammā hetuppabhava tresam āha āha tathāgata ca yo nirodho, evanirvādi Mahāsamaṇo.

The conditions which arise from a cause, of these the Tathāgata has stated the cause, also the way of suppressing these same: this is the teaching of the Great Ascetic.

In this stanza we have the essence of Buddhism which had the power of converting Sāriputta to Buddhism. Perhaps this is the reason why it is used in propagating the Religion. The style of writing the letters in this stanza varied with the times and this coupled with the style of writing on the reverse mentioning the name of the donor helps one to ascertain the date of the tablet.

The Burma votive tablets belongs from the 5th to the 15th centuries A.D. Their find spots are shown in the accompanying map. The size and shape of these tablets vary very

1. Améth : a p h r e (M o h : t h o n’ s A n s w e r s t o t h e K i n g ’ s Q u e r i e s ) . M á n d alay, J a m b ī , m i t c h w e P i t k a P r e s s , 1 9 6 1 , p . 4 3
3. J i t e n d r a N a t h B a n e r j e a : T h e D e v e l o p m e n t o f H i n d u I c o n o g r a p h y , U n i v e r s i t y o f C a l c u t t a , 1 9 5 6 S e c o n d E d i t i o n p . 1 8 7 a n d P l . X I , n o . 1 1
4. I b i d . , p . 1 8 3 a n d P l . X I , n o . 1 0
5. I b i d . , p . 1 8 4 a n d P l . X I , n o . 9
6. I b i d . , p . 1 8 7 a n d P l . X , n o . 1 2
7. I b i d . , p . 5 3 2 a n d P l . X X V I I I , n o . 1
8. I b i d . , p . 5 0 0 a n d P l . X L I I , n o . 1
9. D P P N , I , 2 2 4
10. S S F A C P , I , 1 5 4
MAP IV

much. They range from 1½" in diameter to 1' 5" × 2' 7" × 6". There are about seventeen different shapes of which the most common is either the fig leaf (No. 3) or the arched window (No. 10). The seventeen are as follows:

![Diagram of shapes]

Out of 160 tablets surveyed 44 are of shape No. 3 (fig leaf) and 57 of shape No. 10 (arched window). No. 3 seems to have been very popular during Pyu times from the 5th to the 9th century and No. 10 in the Pagan period from the 10th to the 13th century. The third and fourth shapes in frequency (Nos. 1 and 2) are almost confined to the Pyu times. We find only one each from the later period. In size, Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are much smaller than No. 10 which is about three times bigger. This indicates that people of the later periods preferred larger tablets. They even had some which were 1'5" × 2'7" × 6".

The central figure of the tablet is usually the Buddha and the earliest known one is the relief on a silver reliquary with bodhi mandala i.e. made in the shape of a bodhi tree standing on a circular mound, which has four sitting figures of the Buddha in the bhūmisparka mudrā (earth touching attitude) and four standing monks – one Buddha between two monks. The upper rim of the reliquary has an inscription in the south Indian script of the 5th century and therefore it is taken to be of a relic of the 5th century. But the reliquary is similar to those of Kanishka and Bimaśāra of the 2nd century A.D. though the folds of the robe are not as clearly visible on the Buddha of the Pyu casket as in the Kanishka one. The icon on the Pyu casket has a round face with plump cheeks, short neck and a massive body with only a slight protuberance for the ushnīsa (hairknot) and snail shells for the hair. The facial expression is quite different from those of the Pagan period.

1. 2" × 3½" VTB, I, 53
2. 5" × 7½" VTB, I, 50
3. VTB, I, 12ab
4. VTB, II, 1
5. VTB, I, p. 12
VOTIVE TABLETS

In contrast to the image of the Pyu period, a Buddha of the Pagan period and the tamkai (backpart of the seat) are described in detail by U Mya as follows. The Buddha sits on a lotus seat in dyānasana – cross-legged with both soles turned up and in bhūmipāra mudrā – the earth touching attitude calling upon the Earth to bear witness or bhay tan ra khyā – the left arm folded with the right arm hanging down. The almond shape eyes look straight ahead. The nose is quite prominent but the stern expression of the face is softened by the smiling lips. The right arm extends downward with a slight bend at the elbow. The fingers touching earth have varying lengths as those of an ordinary man. The palm of the left hand is spread between the two heels with a pleated end of the robe falling over it. Urṇā (the whorl of hair on the brow) is just a dot. Uṣṇīša (the protuberance on the head) tapers into a lotus bud. The protrusion however does not begin from the middle but from the back part of the head. In addition to this, the uṣṇīša is small for the body. The ear lobes do not touch the shoulders. The forehead is high and the neck is slender. The torso is probably of the Lion Type which is explained as “the chest is massive and corpulent, the waist slim”. The ekaccika sanghāti (the upper garment) covers only the left shoulder and the pleated end of the robe on this shoulder which usually stops just above the nipple is not shown in this figure at all. The robe is so thin that the navel is quite discernable. There are no longer any folds in the robe as in the figures of the Pyu period. The Padmāsana or krā pallāṇ (Lotus Throne), stands out in high relief. The halo has beads around it suggesting spreading rays. A horizontal line runs at the level of the shoulder and its ends curl up into the horns of a makara (sea monster). Two kāmaśā (geese) sit on this line and their spreading tails merge into the beads of the halo. Beads also go round the Buddha in a beautiful curve. The calac (pediment) stands on two pwat tuin (polished pillars) with a semi-circular double rimmed top and three tiers. The kwaimšo (Śikha – pinnacle) is like a drum with floral decorations. It is in three layers. The āmalaka (emblc myrobalan) tops the drum. These are crowned with a small cetiya from which two streamers fly in graceful curves. The whole top which is known as the Śikha looks like the Mahābhodi stupa of Budh Gaya. (Fig. 2) On each side of the Śikha grow bodhi trees and two lotus buds hang from the pillars that stand on either side of the Buddha.

There is a beaded border and the whole scene depicts the Enlightenment of the Buddha. Immediately below the lotus seat are two lines of embossed Nāgarī letters giving the famous stanza of ye dharma. The reverse has King Aniruddha’s name and prayer (Fig. 3) written in a cursive hand perhaps at the time when the tablet was made. It says:

1. VTB, 1, 1
2. VTB, 1. pp. 3-5
4. Ibid., p. 32
5. VTR. II 12
Eso bhagavā Mahārāja Siri Aniruddhadevena kato vimuttatham sahatthe ne vāti.

Desiring that he may be freed from samsāra, the Great Prosperous King Aniruddha himself made this image of the Lord.

In another tablet of Aniruddha, we have eso lokanātha (VTB, I, 3, p. 9) instead of eso bhagavā. This indicates Mahāyānism. But his prayer which is given below is in conformity with Hinayanism as he only wanted nirvāṇa when Maitreya becomes the Buddha.

mayā Niruddhadevena kirtani sugata sañjakani, tena Meaitreya manivodho labhe yan nirvartto padanī. (VTB, I, 5, p. 11)

He was not ambitious to become the Buddha himself like Thiluśa Mañ. (VTB, I, 41, p. 29) Another king who followed suit was Vajrāharaṇa (? 1077-89) (VTB, I, 37, p. 27). Queen Trilokavatāmsakā also prayed for nirvāṇa. (VTB, I, 42, pp. 30-1).

The Buddha images are made in various mudrā (hand positions) and āsana (feet positions). Ten hand positions have been observed in the figures varying from the Buddha and Bodhisattva to the disciples and devotees. They are:

1. *Abhaya* mudrā—the attitude of protection or the blessing of fearlessness, where a slightly bent right arm is raised to the breast level with all fingers extended and the palm showing outward (Fig. 4) (*VTB*, I, 63; *VTB*, II, 54, 77)

2. *Ālingana* mudrā — attitude of embrace (*VTB*, II, 31, 32)

3. *Añjali* mudrā — salutation, with both arms stretched upward above the head. Some scholars take it to be a prayer attitude with clasped hands (Fig. 5) (*VTB*, II, 41)

4. *Bhūmiśparsa* mudrā — witness or earhtouching attitude, which is in fact calling upon the Earth to bear witness when Māra came to attack the Buddha immediately after the Enlightenment. The right arm is pendant over the right knee with the palm turned inward and all fingers touching the *Padmāsana* (Lotus Throne). (Fig. 6)

5. *Dharmacakra* mudrā (*Vyākhyaṇa* mudrā) — preaching or turning the wheel of Law with both hands against the breast, the left covering the right hand (Fig. 7)

6. *Dhyānā* mudrā (*Samādhi* mudrā) — meditation, where both hands (right on left) lie in the lap with all fingers extended and palms up (Fig. 8) (*VTB*, I, 89; *VTB*, II, 2, 8)

1. *Mahākāruṇika* mudrā—compassion, with left hand pressed against the breast (Fig. 9) (*VTB*, I, 63, 104)
8. **Namaskāra mudrā** — prayer, with both hands at the breast in an attitude of prayer (Fig. 10) (*VTB*, I, 63,74,108; *VTB*, II, 19, 40)

9. **Varada mudrā** (Vara mudrā) — charity or gift bestowing, where the arm is pendant with all fingers extended downward and the palm turned outward (Fig. 11) (*VTB*, I, 50,51; *VTB*, II, 24,28)

10. **Vitarka mudrā** — argument, where the arm is bent with all fingers extended except the index finger which touches the thumb (Fig. 12) (*VTB*, I, 93; *VTB*, II, 3,49)

During the Pyu period a number of mudrā were used — bhāmiśparśa mudrā was the most popular, then dharmacakra, dhyānā, varada, namaskāra, abhaya, ālijana, aṭṭhai and vitarka but none of mahākāruṇika and mahāparinivāna. In Pagan times the bhāmiśparśa was still the most popular, next comes the dharmacakra, mahāparinivāna, varada and namaskāra. There were very few of abhaya, dhyānā, mahākāruṇika and vitarka.

Regarding āsana (feet positions), we find eight varieties in the votive tablets of Burma. They are:

1. **Ālighāsana** — standing in the attitude of drawing the bow, with the left foot forward and the leg slightly bent and the right leg straight. It signifies heroism.

2. **Bhadrtiśāsana** — sitting with both legs pendant (Fig. 13) (*VTB*, I, 13,45; *VTB*, II, 8,53)

3. **Dhyānāsana** — meditative pose, with legs closely locked and soles of both feet visible. It signifies meditation and introspection (Fig 14) (*VTB*, I,1,4; *VTB*, II, 10,11)

4. **Lalitāsana** — sitting in ease, with one leg pendant, sometimes supported by a lotus flower (Fig. 15) (*VTB*, I, 2,6; *VTB*, II, 34,64)

5. **Paryankasana** — sitting cross legged, with the left leg above the right. It signifies serenity (Fig. 16) (*VTB*, I, 86,105; *VTB*, II, 1,2)

6. **Pratyālighāsana** — standing, with the left leg straight and right leg slightly forward and bent. It signifies displeasure.

7. **Rājaliśāsana** — royal ease with the right knee raised and left leg folded loosely. (Fig. 17) (*VTB*, II, 16,40)

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8. *Virāsana*—one knee raised and the foot locked in the bend of the other. It usually goes together with the *namaskāra mudrā* where the palms of the hands are joined in the prayer attitude. (Fig. 18) *(VTB, II, 28,83)*

*Paryankasana* was the most popular āsana in the Pyu times. The next in frequency was *dhyānāsana* followed by *bhadrāsana*, *lalitāsana*, *rājalilāsana* and *virāsana*. In the Pagan period the most popular was *dhyānāsana*, then *bhadrāsana*, *lalitāsana* and lastly *paryankasana*. It was quite evident that *bhadrāsana* was not as scarce in *Burma* as most people seemed to have
believed. Here a word of caution is necessary. The standing Buddhas are not exactly in the ālīghāsana (stepping left) or in the prayāli̊ghāsana (stepping right). The Buddha stands either straight or slightly bent in a gracefull tribhanga.

The thrones are of four types, viz. Padmāsana (Lotus Throne) *(VTB, I, 2, VTB, II, 1, 14)* Simhāsana (Lion Throne) *(VTB, II, 8, 75, 76)*, Vajrāsana (Diamond Throne) *(VTB, I, 67, 75, VTB, II, 2, 3)* and a mixed one of Padmāsana and Vajrāsana. What U Mya calls Pro,pallān or Khuan: Khyui: pallan is perhaps the Vajrāsana of many sides’ studded with precious gems and decorated with floral designs. A standing figure like Īpiṣaṅkarā or the Buddha performing yamakā prātiḥārya (the Great Miracle at Sravasti)1 also stands on the Padmāsana. As a matter of fact the Buddha or Bodhisattva is supposed to be sitting directly on the lotus or lion as shown in Figures 19 and 20 but the artists have stylized the seats so that the Lotus or the lion appear only as a part of the decorative motif.

![Fig. 19 Padmāsana](image)

The Padmāsana was the most popular of the thrones in Pyu and Pagan times. But the Pagan Burman was more partial to the double throne — Padmā-vajrāsana *(VTB, I, 6, 11, VTB, II, 10, 11)* then the Pyu. In Burma today, Vajrāsana is used almost exclusively. It will be very interesting to know when it started to gain popularity. For the periods under survey, Padmāsana tops the list.

Some tablets have many Buddhas sitting in the same posture. The number of figures ranges from three *(VTB, I, 6, 42)* to one hundred *(VTB, I, 43, 46)* and even more *(VTB, I, 109)* Tablets depicting the Great Miracle at Sravasti (where many Buddhas are shown sitting and standing in various mudrā) are common to the Pyu and Pagan periods while the tablets each having many sitting Buddhas belong exclusively to the latter. We find tablets with three, five, ten, twentyeight, thirty, fifty, eighty-six *(VTB, II, 57)*, one hundred and one hundred and two Buddhas.

In performing the twin miracles (yamaka prāthīrya), the Buddha is shown repeating himself in many images reaching up to the heavens in order to confound the heretics. But the Burma tablets showing this, have only three (VTB, II, 28, 77; VTB, I, 63, 88, 104) or six (VTB, II, 53, 54) Buddhas on each tablet. The tablet described by U Mya as the tablet of the Palace scene (VTB, II, 56) probably is another tablet of the miracle. A tablet with seventeen figures of the Buddha (VTB, I, 113) is perhaps another tablet of this category but we will deal with it later. According to George Coedes, the Great Miracle is the most popular subject of the votive tablets of Thailand and the oldest specimen dates back to the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. The Great Miracle tablets in Burma seem to owe their origin to peoples living to the east of Burma. The Cammadēvīvamsa written in the 15th century by Bodhiratna says that as a result of the epidemic that broke out at Haribhūja in the 11th century some of its people took refuge at Pegu. The Kalyāṇī inscription says that some Cambodian war captives were given quarters at Lakkiyapura (near Dala). Therefore U Mya suggests that these tablets of the great miracle were either imported from Thailand or were made locally by people who had some connection with Thailand. Thai influenced tablets have been found at Tadagale,7 Rangoon (VTB, I, 88), Pegu (VTB, I, 89, 93, 94, 95), Kawgun,8 Pha-an (VTB, I, 90, 91, 92), and Hmawza, Prome (VTB, II, 53, 54).

Fig. 20 Sīhiđasana

2. See SSFACP, I, 174, Pl. II top right and R. C. Temple: Notes on Antiquities in Rāmaññadesa, Bombay, Education Society’s Steam Press, 1894, Pl. XVI, top right.
3. SSFACP, I, p. 156
4. VTB, I, p. 62
5. The Kalyāṇī Inscription, Ed. by Taw Sein Ko, Rangoon, Government Printing, 1892, p. 57 (Reverse face of the first stone); Ed. by Lu Pe Win, Rangoon, Ministry of Union Culture, 1958, p. 57; Ep. Birm., III, i, 196-7, and JBR altitude, XII, i, 39-45 (Cambodian Invasion).
6. VTB, I, p. 62
7. See SSFACP, I, p. 177, Pl. Vb for a tablet of Thailand similar to the Tadagale tablet.
8. See R.C.T.: NAR, pp. 34-5, Pl. XV & 90, XVI.
We find six tablets giving the major scenes from the Buddha's life. All these tablets are from the 11th to 14th century. It is amazing that no such tablets have yet been found among the Pyu: perhaps the subject was not popular then. *Āṭṭhamahāṭhāna*—the eight major scenes, according to the tablet of *Śrī Mahā Śālinī* (VTB, I, 13) who was probably a contemporary of *Aniruddha*² are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Great Decease</th>
<th>The Subjugation of <em>Nālāgiri</em></th>
<th>The Descent from <em>Tāvatīṁśa</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The First Sermon</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Great Miracle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The enlightenment scene is usually in the centre. The Buddha looking straight ahead sits in *bhūmisparśa mudrā* and *dhyānāsana* on a double throne with a smile on his lips. A *śikhaṇḍa* rises above him. The whole is an exquisite piece of work. A similar tablet of *Ānandā* (VTB, I, 45) has three points of note. The craftsmanship equals that of *Śālinī's* tablet and therefore it possibly belongs to *Aniruddha's* time. But in place of the famous stanza *yedharmā* which usually appears in old *Nāgarī* is a line in the Mon-Burmese script of *Thiluṅ Mañ's* time mentioning that the donor was an officer (*kalan*) known as *Puwa*. On the reverse is another line in the script of *Caṅsū* I's time (1113-762) which says that the donor is *Mahāthera Ānandā*. A possible explanation is that *Ānandā* of *Caṅsū's* time used the mould belonging to *Puwa* of *Thiluṅ Mañ's* reign (1084-1113) who had changed the name written on the mould originally made during the time of *Aniruddha* (?1044-777). A tablet (VTB, I, 50) of nine scenes probably from Shahtut Pagoda, west of Somingyi on the south of Myinkaba gives the following scenes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Great Decease</th>
<th>The Descent from <em>Tāvatīṁśa</em></th>
<th>The Subjugation of <em>Nālāgiri</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Enlightenment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The First Sermon</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Great Miracle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Milk Rice</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Nativity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Honey Rice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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2. This supposition is based on the fact that the *yedharmā* stanza of this tablet and those of *Aniruddha's* are in the *yadana* script. *VTB*, I, p. 17
The **yedharmā** inscription at the base is in **Nāgari** of the 12th century script. Another tablet (*VTB*, I, 51) of eight scenes from an unspecified place in Pagan has a different arrangement. The bottom left shows **Māyā**'s dream. **Māyā** is sitting in **bhadraśana** holding a ball-like thing in her hand while the white elephant tries to enter her womb. The nativity is at the bottom right. Between the two scenes are six lines in Mon (illegible except for a few words in the style of the 12th century). In the second row are the first sermon, enlightenment and great miracle scenes. Above these are the subjugation of **Nālāgiri** and the descent from **Tāvatimśa**. On the top is the recumbent Buddha under a spreading umbrella and surrounded by a group of mourning disciples.

**The Great Decease**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Subjugation of <strong>Nālāgiri</strong></th>
<th>The Descent from <strong>Tāvatimśa</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**The Enlightenment**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The First Sermon</th>
<th>The Great Miracle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Dream of <strong>Māyā</strong></td>
<td>The Nativity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another tablet (*VTB*, I, 77) of eight major scenes comes from Bassein. It has an inscription in Mon of the 14th century script saying that the image was made by a great minister. The arrangement of scenes are similar to that of **Sālāni**'s tablet. The last one (*VTB*, I, 113) to be described in this category has seventeen Buddhas — one recumbent, four sitting **bhadraśana**, five standing and seven sitting **dhyānāśana**. As the tablet is badly preserved we cannot see the details clearly. The top figure is the **Mahāparinirvāṇa**. Perhaps it is similar to the sandstone relief from **Sārnāth** (5th century A.D.) which has:

**The Great Decease**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The First Sermon</th>
<th>The Great Miracle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Māra</strong>'s Attack and <strong>Enlightenment</strong></td>
<td>One Sitting and Five Standing Buddhas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The First Bath and The Nativity</td>
<td>The Great Miracle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another sandstone relief from **Sārnāth** has eight sitting and six standing figures of the Buddha depicting the scene of the Great Miracle at **Srāvastī**. **U Mya** says that up till now no other such tablet has ever been discovered in Burma.

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1. See *W of B*, p. 28, Ill. No. 3 and *L of B*, Pl. 95
2. *W of B*, p. 94, Ill. No. 30 and *L of B*, Pl. 94
3. *UPQ* 144, 1000-23.8.78
Although I have mentioned above that the Pyu did not produce tablets of eight major scenes, they did produce tablets depicting one scene alone on each tablet. But so far only tablets of the great miracle (VTB; II, 28, 53, 54, 56) and the turning of the wheel of Law (VTB, II, 55, 77) have been discovered. The Hmawza tablet of the miracle (VTB, II, 53) is very similar to the one which R. C. Temple reported had been discovered at Amherst and to another tablet of Khao Ok Dalu, Badalung, mentioned by G. Coëdès in his paper on the votive tablets of Thailand. U Mya therefore suggests that Śrīkṣetra and Devārāvati must have had some intercourse in the period from the 5th to the 7th century A.D. The tablet showing the first sermon (VTB, II, 55) has the Buddha in the dharmacakra mudrā and dhyānāsana. The sun and moon shines above his head level and he is flanked by five disciples on the left and five deva on the right. There is a wheel immediately below the padmāsana (Lotus Throne). The bottom row has deer and flowers. In the 5th century sculpture of Sārnāth showing the same scene, the Buddha sits in dharmacakra mudrā and dhyānāsana. The halo has an elaborately curved floral design. Two flying deva guard the top left and right corners. A pair of vyāla and makara are seen on both sides of the Buddhā. On the pedestal is carved the side view of the dharmacakra which is flanked by three disciples on the right and two disciples, one lady and a child on the left. They are all in namaskāra mudrā. The disciples are the pañcavaggiya, but we do not know who the lady and child are and why they appear there. The Pyu tablet has five disciples and five deva and the front view of the dharmacakra together with deer and flowers which the Sārnāth statue omits. The dharmacakra carved on stone in the 1st century B.C. on the middle architrave, West Gate, Stupa I, Sārnāth, has 32 spokes whereas the wheel of the Pyu tablet has only the four major ones.

In about a fifth of the 160 tablets under survey, we find the figure of the Buddha or Bodhisattavā flanked by Śrāvaka (disciples) (VTB, I, 49,66,108; VTB, II, 1,58,81) Sakiti (consort) (VTB, II, 19,28) or dāyaka (devotee) (VTB, II, 8). But in the Pagan period we find only two varieties, i.e. the Buddha flanked by Śrāvaka (VTB, I, 49,66,108) and by a Bodhisatīva (VTB, I, 6,10,42,105,106).

Here one would certainly notice the presence of the Mahāyāna deities such as Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara, Tarā and Saravatī. This is undeniable proof that Mahāyāna and Hinayāna Buddhism had devotees in both the Pyu and Pagan periods and it is interesting to note that King Aniruddha himself and Trilokavatamisakā (Queen of Thilinu Man) left votive tablets of the Buddha flanked by Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya (VTB, I, 6, 10, 105, 106 by Aniruddha and 42 by Triloka). In passing it must be mentioned here that there are also tablets where Avalokiteśvara (VTB, II, 29, 34, 40; VTB, I, 2, 69) or Tarā (VTB, II, 24) appears as the central figure.

As part of the decoration around the central figure of the tablet, there are stupas of various shapes. The number varies from one to fifty two(VTB, I,111). It seems that this kind of

1. R.C.T. : NAR, Pl. XVI, top right
2. S.S.F.A.C.P., I, 174, Pl. II, top right
3. W of B, p. 83, Ill. No. 10 and L of B, Pl. 83
4. W of B, p. 83, Ill. No. 9
5. U Mya suggests that the figure on the tablet found at Hpaunglin village, Minbu (VTB, I, 69, p. 52) is Jambala and one of the flanking figures on the tablets from a mound south of Ngashinkan at Mahtaw village near Hmawza, Prome (VTB, II, 19, p. 18) is Hayagrīva. See B.B. : JIB, pp. 237-8 and Figs. 116-9 on pp. 286-8 for Jambala and p. 165 and figs. 128-9 on pp. 266-7 for Hayagrīva.
decoration became more popular in the Pagan period. In one tablet of the 7th or 8th century (VTB, II, 44) we find the *kalaśa* pot (which U Mya calls *krā swat ui*: *VTB*, I, p. 54) on each side of the Buddha and it is not unlikely that a certain type of stupa evolved from the *kalaśa* pot. (Fig. 21) As we find steatite pots used as reliquaries at Piprava in the Basti district of Uttar Pradesh, India (4th century B.C.) and at Sañchī (2nd century B.C.), it is quite possible that the pot had been used as a model for building stupas. In another tablet of the 6th or 7th century (VTB, II, 14), we find a relic casket set on the upraised elephant trunk holding a lotus on each side of the Buddha. This suggests that another type of stupas evolved from the relic caskets. (Fig 22) The Bawbawgyi pagoda at Hmawza, Prome, belongs to this casket type and it dates back to the 6th or 7th century A.D.

The back part of the Buddha’s throne is the *takai* which includes various objects as part of the decoration. Generally it looks like a beautiful pediment under which the Buddha sits sometimes alone or sometimes with two disciples or devotees. Various objects of decoration include balls, banners, bead, Bodhi trees, crowns, dancing figures, deer, elephants, floral designs, *gamum*: (species of Kaempferia), halo, *hamśa, kalasa* pot, *khyāyā*: (kind of *Minusops*), *kirttimukha, makara*, offerings on trays, *śikhara*, sun and moon, *swastika*, umbrellas, *utpala* (blue lotus), *vyāla* and wheels. We find that balls, dancing figures, *makara*, sun and moon, *vyāla* and wheels were used only by the Pyu. We do not find them in the Pagan period. On the other hand, things like *hamśa* and *śikhara* were introduced during the Pagan period. The banners, beads, bodhi trees and umbrellas became more popular during this later period. As a matter of fact the introduction of the *śikhara* in the Pagan period changed the entire look of the tablet—leaving no room for the *vyāla* and *makara*. It is a pity that the use of such beatiful figures was discontinued. Although they

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**Fig. 21 Stupas evolving from the *kalaśa* pot**

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1. *W of B*, p. 127, Ill. No. 9
2. *W of B*, p. 138, Ill. No. 27
3. *VTB*, II, p. 21
4. See the stone sculpture of the Fist Sermon, Śārnāth, 5th century A.D. (*W of B*, p. 83, Ill. No. 10)
5. Fig. 21 a (*VTB*, II, 44), b (*VTB*, II, 44), c (*VTB*, I, 75, *VTB*, II, 36, 38, 51), d (*VTB*, II, 22)
BUDDHISM IN BURMA

Fig. 22 Stupas evolving from the relic casket

1. Fig. 22 a (VTB, II, 14), b (VTB, II, 17, 27, 61), c (VTB, II, 39), d (VTB, I, 12) e (VTB, I, 18), f (VTB, I, 4), g (VTB, I, 11), h (VTB, I, 65)
disappeared from the votive tablets it does not mean that the Pagan artist had lost the art of making them. They were often depicted on the walls of the religious edifices at Pagan until the fall of the empire. (Fig. 23)

Fig. 23 Animals used as part of the decoration (a. from Sārnāth1, 5th century A.D., b. from a Hmawza tablet2, 7th-10th century A.D., c. from the Koṅārka Temple3, c. 1250 and d. from a wall painting at the Nandamānna pagoda4, Pagan, c. 1280

1. W of B, p. 83, Ill. No. 10
2. VTB, II, 12
4. From the copies of wall paintings at the Archaeological Survey, Burma.
The donors of these tablets used to write their names either on the obverse below the Buddha's throne or on the reverse of the tablet and these names happen to be those of kings, queens, monks and common people. We now have a considerable number of these new names to be added to the early history of Burma. The urn inscriptions of Hmawza have such names as Sūriya-vikrama, Harivikrama and Sīhavikrama who were supposed to be kings of Śrīśêṭra in the 7th century A.D. The silver reliquary has the name of Śrī Prabhuvaman and Śrī Prabhudevi. From another inscription on the four sides of a stone image we have the names of Guhadipa, Jayacandrarman and Harivikrama who probably were the contemporary rulers of Vishnu City (near Taungdwingyi) and Śrīśêṭra respectively. An inscription from Hanlin mentions Tda: ba; Vîkhnô Śrîku and Mahâdevi Śrî Jandra which U Mya suggests, are probably Vishnû Śrî Gupta and Mahâdevi Śrî Candra. Thus kings having Vikrama, Varmana and Guptâ as part of their names must have ruled in the three Pyu centres of Hmawza, Peikthanomyo and Hanlin respectively during the period from the 7th to 9th centuries: Other new names are Bā: Carke (Lord Carke), Bā: Tra U, Śrî Ba: Cho8, Bā: Sga:9 Bā: Ra:10 Bā Dd:10 and Bā Dehi.11 On the reverse of another tablet is the name which according to U Mya might be read as Śrî Nâlandâya.12 If that is the correct reading he suggests that it might mean some sort of link between Nâlandâ and Śrīśêṭra.

The tablets of the Pagan period have inscriptions mentioning such names as Anirudhâ13 (King? 1044-?77), Ananta-jayabikrama14 (Sampyâ), Ananda15 (Thera), I Taimila16, Na Gon17, Na Chûm,18 Na Pay Pwam,19 Cipe20 (Chief Queen), Če Thoy No,21 Candumâh22 (Sampyâ).


1. PI. 354c, a, b
2. VTB, II, 1
3. ASI, 1927-8, pp. 128 & 145, PI. LIV g, h
4. BRSFAP, II, 311
5. VTB, II, p. 9
6. VTB, II, 17
7. VTB, II, 60a
8. VTB, II, 60b
9. VTB, II, 60d
10. VTB, II, 61a
11. VTB, II, 62
12. VTB, II, 85b
13. VTB, I, 1,3,5,7,8,9,10,11,12,68,71
14. VTB, I, 78
15. VTB, I, 45c, p. 41
16. VTB, I, 98, p. 66
17. VTB, I, 70
18. VTB, I, 98, p. 66
19. VTB, I, 71
20. VTB, I, 32,34,35
21. VTB, I, 97
22. VTB, I, 22 (Pl. 606 t w)
Tiras, 1 Trāyyaṃ 2 (Saṃpyāṇ), Tribhuvanādityadhhammarājā 3 (King Thiluṇ Maṇ 1084-1113), Tribhuvanādityapavaradhammarājā 4 (King Caṇḍu I, 1174-1211), Tribhuvanādityavaramadhammarājā 5 (King Caṇḍu I, 1113-62), Triyā 6 (Saṃpyāṇ), Trilokāvatamsakāmahādevī 7 (Chief Queen of Thiluṇ Maṇ), Divācariyena 8 (Thera), Dhammarājapaṇḍita 9 (Thera), Pī 10 (Kalan), Pūwa 11 (Kalan), Pīntī 12 (Saṃpyāṇ), Pwoṇ 13 (Kalan), Baṇa 14 (Saṃpyāṇ), May Khray, 15 May Pā 16 Muggaliputta 17 (Thera), Moṇ Uṇ 18, Moṇ Keh Soa 19, Moṇ Khat, 20 Yassa 21 (Saṃpyāṇ), Yāsosphadharā 22, Yikhī 23, Lāṇ Yān Len 24, Vajrāharaṇadēva 25 (King 71077-84), Visannarāc 26 (Saṃpyāṇ), Sudhammā 27 (Thera), Sumedha 28 (Thera) and Sri Mahā Sālinī 28 (? Queen). Among these names, Aniruddha was King of Arimaddanapura in the 11th century. Cipe of the same period claimed to be the Chief Queen (Mahesi). Perhaps she was Aniruddha's queen. Sri Mahā Sālinī probably was of the royal family of Aniruddha as the prefixes Śri Mahā to her name suggest. Divācariyena and Sudhammā were the names of two senior monks of that time. As officers or ministers of Aniruddha there were Saṃpyāṇ Candumā, Saṃpyāṇ Baṇāṇa, Saṃpyāṇ Trāyyaṃ, Saṃpyāṇ Yassa, Saṃpyāṇ Visannarāc and Kalan Na Goṇ. The next King was Vajrāharaṇa (? 1077-84) followed by Tribhuvanādityadhhammarājā who reigned as King of Pagan from 1084 to 1113. Trilokāvatamsaka was his Chief Queen. Saṃpyāṇ Anantajaya-bhikraṇi and Saṃpyāṇ Yi Ki were his governors for Tavoy. Junior ministers were Kalan Puwa and Kalan Pwoṇ. The notable thera of the reign were Muggaliputta and Sumedha. Tribhuvanādityavaradhammarājā ruled from 1113 to 1162 and Saṃpyāṇ Pīntī and Saṃpyāṇ  

1. VTB, I, p. 65  
2. VTB, I, 17  
3. VTB, I, 40,41,78 (Pl. 364a 4)  
4. VTB, I, 46 (Pl. 10a 1, A.D. 1190)  
5. VTB, I, 43 (Pl. 110-110, Pl. 241, Pl. 568b)  
6. VTB, I, 44  
7. VTB, I, 42 (Pl. 364a 8)  
8. VTB, I, 15b  
9. VTB, I, 47 (Pl. 10a 9, A.D. 1190)  
10. VTB, I, 75  
11. VTB, I, 45b  
12. VTB, I, p. 33  
13. VTB, I, p. 58  
14. VTB, I, 30  
15. VTB, I, 70  
16. VTB, I, 98, p. 67  
17. VTB, I, 48, 49 (Pl. 364a 23)  
18. VTB, I, p. 70  
19. VTB, I, 53  
20. VTB, I, 71  
21. VTB, I, 14ab, 20, 799  
22. VTB, I, 27 (Pl. 606 sx)  
23. VTB, I, p. 60  
24. VTB, I, 98, p. 66  
25. VTB, I, 36,37,38,39  
26. VTB, I, 19,23,14,25,26 (Pl. 606 abjklmnopquv)  
27. VTB, I, 28  
28. VTB, I, 61 (Pl. 365a 24, 5)  
29. VTB, I, p. 13
The ministers. Ananda was the noted therā of the reign. Tribhuvanadityapavaranadhammarāja became king in 1174 and ruled until 1211. Dhammarājapanaññita was probably the King's Preceptor. Kalan Pī served in his reign. These are almost all the names that we can get out of the inscriptions on the tablets under survey and the names of queens and ministers of Aniruddha's time are quite new to us. Yassa, the minister of Aniruddha described himself as Dānapati Śrī Rājavallabha. Yasa nāma (in the old Nāgāri script) and Sambeṇ Mañ Yassa nāma rājavallabhaṇe dānapati (in the old Mon-Burmese script) which means that the donor is Sampyañ Mañ Yassa, an intimate of the king. In addition to this, a Pali inscription written in a reverse form in the Mon-Burmese script on the obverse reads:

Imani Buddhabinmam Sambeṇ Mañ Yassa nāma rājavallabhaṇe dānapati sabbañna taṇaṇa varam pathantena katam sade vako loko jānātūti.2

Desining Buddhahood, the king's favourite, known by the name of Sampyañ Mañ Yassa, made this image of the Buddha with the thought "May the world including the deva know this."

Here U May refers to an inscription from Saw Hla Wun (Pagan Museum Stone No. 44) dated A.D. 1236 where Asawat, minister of Nāloñnyā (1211-71) was mentioned by his widow as:

amaco rājavallabho ... akhwani wañ so mañ amat te //4

The minister was an intimate of the king.

This is an important point with regard to Burmese political thought and practice. To be one of the King's intimates seem to be an attribute of a good administrative officer. Perhaps these intimates of the King became athwañ-wan i.e. privy councillors in later times.

There are also many tablets in Burma which had nothing to do with the Religion. Most of them were found at Hmawza, Prome (VTB, II, 7, 31, 32, 41, 42, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71) and at Kyontu, Waw Township, Pegu District (VTB, I, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85). They were probably part of the decorative motif of the walls which surround the religious buildings and they contain many beautiful floral designs and interesting fighting or hunting scenes. Although most of the tablets discussed in U Ma's book belong to a period from the 7th to 12th century, he also includes one tablet (VTB, I, 86) found in the relic chamber of the Botataung Pagoda, Rangoon, which has an incision in one of the Brāhmi script of the Buddhaghosa Dhammapāla period (5th century A.D.), four tablets from Sameikshe (Thazi), Binji Cave (Thaton), Shwezayan (Thaton) and an unknown place (VTB, I, 72, 75, 76 and 108) which are of the 13th century, one tablet (VTB, I, 73) also from Sameikshe (Thazi) of the 14th century and two tablets from the Htupayon (Sagaing) and Akyab (Arakan) of the

1. VTB, I, p. 17 It is on the border of tablet
2. VTB, I, p. 18
3. PI. 96; List 235a, SIP (G.H.L. & P.M.T.) 49; SIP (E.M.) 95; U.B, I, 195-6
4. PI. 962, VTB, I, p. 18
5. A. L. Basham: The Wonder that was India, London, 1954, p. 266
15th century (VTB, I, 74, 96). He also includes in the illustrations, one tablet that looks like a product of some Chinese workmanship (VTB, I, 33) and another tablet made of iron (VTB, I, 106) found at Myinkaba, Pagan.

With regard to the script U Mya observes that the Nāgarī letters of the Pyu tablets were quite different from those written on the tablets of Pagan and that the writing on Aniruddha's (VTB, I, 9) and Yassa’s tablets (VTB, I, 14b) were of the earliest known writings in the Mon-Burmese script. The names of fruits and vegetables written on the reverse of the tablets (VTB, I, 53) found at a hillock in Maung Chit Sa’s field to the east of the Ananda Pagoda, Pagan give us some of the earliest examples of written Burmese. The donors of these tablets are Ananda Thera, Moñ Keh Soau, etc. and the tablets belong either to the reign of Cañša I (1113–? 62) or Cañša II (1174-1211). From these tablets U Mya gets the names of 52 kinds of fruit, etc. They are ip mhūy (Lagerstroemia Flos reginae, modern pyaīma, Embrella robusta), ūrec (Aegle marmelus), ūn wai (coconut), onmañiv (Clitoria ternatea), katiw (? musk), külápāy (Cicer arietinum), kampôn (soap acacia), kankhyow, kleñphû-rum (the white gourd-melon, Benincasa celt/era), klimyari, klii (Coix lac/charmae jobis), kra (Nymphaeae), kra (a kind of coffee-sweet), kra, klū (the chebula tree, Terminalia chebula), kramran (sugar cane juice), kwam si (areca-nuts), khirhtipwan (Acanthus illicifolius), nhākpyow (banana), cari (a kind of medicinal herb), cimukri (Nigella sativa), cimukri (gingerwort), chiphū (husked

1. VTB, I, pp. 24 and VTB, II, p. 24
2. See also Pl. 568a.
3. VTB, I, pp. 14 and 19
4. Pl. 604, Pl. 605; BRSPAP, II, 352-61
5. VTB, I, p. 41
6. VTB, I, pp. 43-5 ; Pl. 604, Pl. 605 together give only 35 names.
7. VTB, I, p. 44, n. 21, Pl. 604j
8. 66, Pl. 386a
9. 64, Pl. 605b
10. 13, Pl. 604p
11. 6, 45, 58, Pl. 604l
12. 25, Pl. 605l
13. 2
14. 59, 62
15. 54, Pl. 604g
16. 60
17. 50, 51
18. 1, 22, Pl. 605o
19. 37, Pl. 604e
20. 40
21. 35, Pl. 605a
22. 7, Pl. 604d
23. 56, 57, Pl. 604o
24. 14
25. 33, Pl. 604r
26. 29
27. 65, Pl. 604n
28. 68, Pl. 604k
29. 4

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rice), chapswā¹ (Pandanus furcatus), ūhiwān,² tāleñ³ (pomegranate), tūsi⁴ (?? Diospyros Burmanica), tancikī⁵ (sandalwood, santalum album), tān cu lynn⁶ thānryak⁷ (palmyra jaggery), nham⁸ (sesamum), pānpo²y⁹ (Careya arborea), pāy kri²² (Dolichos lablab var.IGNeous), pāy lwam¹¹ (Vigna Catjang) pyā noy¹² (?? nwegyo, Thunbergia laurifolia), phalā¹³ (the cardamom plant), phitkhyan¹⁴ (Piper cubeba), bhittiky¹⁵ (?? pictaka, the papaya, Carica papaya), mathunsarii¹⁶ (?? grape), muṉṉaïn¹⁷ (black mustard, Brassica nigra), mūriw  pwaïn¹⁸ (?? the mudar plant), yasakleñ¹⁹ (Sesbania aegyptiaca), raṅmā²⁰ (Chickrassia tabularic, Chittagong wood), rāyriw²¹ (Morinda citrifolia or angustifolia), rhokpwiin²² (citrus blossom), laktuth²³ (?? Wrightia tomentosa), sāniwhūy²⁴ (kaṅkāw, Mesua ironwood), sikhwā²⁵ (cucumber, Cucumis sativus), sitwot²⁶ (Fiscus hispida), siryak²⁷ (mango), secchi²⁸ (secchi, the Terminalia belerica myrobalan) and hinkiw²⁹ (asafoetida or ?? the papaya as the Tavoyans call it). From other epigraphic sources we can add thirteen more, viz. khapon (Strychnos), kheñ (?? ginger), cāmkā (Michelia champaca, champac), punñak (Caloplyllum), pīy (corypha palm), mancλañ (the tamarind), mun (? pinnai, Artocarpus integrifolia, the Jack fruit tree), mhān rwañ, sipriy (the Rose apple tree), siphan (the sycamore-fig), sitūy (Karen potato), sanpoñ and sanparā (the lime).³⁰ Thus we have about 65 names of fruits, flower, trees, plants, climbers, etc. belonging to the 12th century Pagan.

1. VTB. Í, p. 44, n. 27, Pl. 605f
2. 36, Pl. 605h
3. 39, 53, Pl. 605q
4. 61
5. 10
6. 46
7. 9, Pl. 605c
8. 20, Pl. 604c
9. 11, 12, 15, Pl. 605e
10. 32, Pl. 605j
11. 31, Pl. 605k
12. 49
13. 5, 18, 38
14. 28, 43, 44
15. 63
16. 42, Pl. 604 m
17. 17, Pl. 605 i
18. 3
19. 19, 26, Pl. 605 m
20. 23, Pl. 605 d
21. 30, Pl. 604, b
22. 47, 48, Pl. 605 m
23. 8, Pl. 605 g
24. 55, Pl. 604 q
25. 24, 34, Pl. 604 f, h
26. 52, Pl. 605 r
27. 16, Pl. 604 i
28. 67
29. 41
30. See BRSEAF, II, 352-61
There are six kinds of prayers written on these tablets. They are:

1. A simple prayer for just the boon of nirvāṇa, prayed by Aniruddha, Vajrābharaṇa, Trilokāvatamisakā, Dhammarājapamāṇī, Ce Thoy No, Tiras, and Lān Yān

2. A prayer wishing to be freed from all miseries.

3. A prayer to become the foremost person in both the worlds of man and deva before nirvāṇa is attained finally.

4. A prayer by two Governors of Tavoy viz. Anantayabhikrū and Yi Khi who wanted to become śrāvaka when their lord the king (Thiluvi Mahā) becomes the Buddha.

5. A prayer to attain nirvāṇa when Maitreya becomes the Buddha, prayed by Aniruddha and Bañño.

6. A prayer for Buddhahood prayed by Yassa, Visannaro, Yāsohddharā, Tribhavanādityadhammarāja (Thiluvi Mahā), Tribhuvanādityavaradhammarāja, (Caṇā I), Triyā, Puwa, Ananda, Sumedha and Pi.

This shows that only the most ambitious prayed for Buddhahood and it is interesting to note that Aniruddha and Vajrābharaṇa are not in that group. Aniruddha only mentioned that he wished for nirvāṇa when he meets Maitreya, the next Buddha. So it seems that among the Pagan kings it was Thiluvi Mahā – an interloper, whose regnal title was Tribhavanādityadhammarāja was the first to pray for Buddhahood.

1. VTB, I, pp. 9, 14
2. VTB, I, p. 27
3. VTB, I, p. 31
4. VTB, I, p. 37
5. VTB, I, p. 64
6. VTB, I, p. 65
7. VTB, I, p. 67
8. VTB, I, p. 66
9. VTB, I, p. 46
10. VTB, I, 59
11. VTB, I, p. 60
12. VTB, I, p. 11
13. VTB, I, p. 24
14. VTB, I, p. 18
15. VTB, I, p. 20
16. VTB, I, p. 23
17. VTB, I, p. 29
18. VTB, I, p. 31
19. VTB, I, p. 33
20. VTB, I, p. 34
21. VTB, I, p. 34
22. VTB, I, p. 48
23. VTB, I, p. 55
The presence of either the Buddha or the Bodhisattva and his Sakti as central figures in some votive tablets show us that both the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna Buddhisms had devotees among both the rulers and the ruled. The use of Brāhmī and Nāgari scripts, is evidence of Burma’s cultural affinity with India. There may have been links between Śrīksetra and Nalanda and China. This intercourse probably explains the presence of northern Buddhism in Burma. In workmanship the Pyu tablets are definitely finer than the Pagan ones. Tablets of the latter half of the Pagan period are of better craftsman than those of the earlier half, but they still fall short of the Pyu standard. In depicting the Buddha, the Pyu used many mudrā (hand positions) and āsana (feet positions) while the people of Pagan mostly used the bhūmiśparśa mudrā and dhyānāsana. The bhadrāsana was quite popular and not as scarce as previously assumed. The padmāsana was the most common throne. A close study of the stupas used in the decorations around the Buddha on the tablets give us a fairly complete picture of how the stupas had evolved from the kalaśa pot and relic caskets. In the decorative motifs, the disappearance of the vyāla and makara is a sad thing though it is in some ways compensated by the introduction of the hamsa and śikhara. We find in the list of donors kings, ministers of Aniruddha and Thilwaṅ Maṅ, and a queen who claims to be the chief among queens (mahesi). All this information is new to history. We have a list of fruits and flowers which give us an idea of the flora and fauna of the day.
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1 Epigraphy

BURMA is richly endowed with inscriptions. In this respect it is the richest country in Southeast Asia, but "this richness applies only to number and not to age" as only a few inscriptions antedating the 11th century have been discovered. Śrīksetra yielded a stone fragment containing an extract from Viśhaṅga, gold-leaf Pali manuscripts, and "five-urn-inscriptions" in Pyu, all of which could be dated to the 8th century or earlier. Seven Sanskrit inscriptions were found in Arakan and they belong to the 6th-8th century.1 This is about all that is known the period A.D. 1044-1287. In our period the earliest inscriptions yet discovered are the seals of Aniruddha. They are all on terra-cotta votive tablets and bear the name of Aniruddha in Sanskrit or Pali (Anuruđha in the latter case). Their find spots range from Mongmit in the north to Tenasserim in the south.2 After these we have the Mon inscriptions of Thiluiṅ Maṅ (A.D. 1084-1113) which have been edited by C.O. Blagden3 and published in the Epigraphia Birmanica. The Ananda Temple built by the same king has hundreds of glazed plaques depicting scenes from the Jātaka with Mon legends. As a matter of fact Mon language was almost exclusively used for inscriptions of the early part of our period. There are also many votive tablets4, bearing the names of some fruits and trees, found in Taungbi village, east of Ananda, Pagan. Judging by the script and spelling, they are considered to be the earliest writings in Burmese. Probably they belong to the early 12th century when Burmans started writing their own language. The presence of inscriptions written in Pali, Mon and even Pyu in the early 12th century suggests that the art of writing among the Burmans was still in its infancy so that scribes in other languages than the Burmese were easily procurable. But from A.D. 1174 onwards Burmese alone became the language of the inscriptions with the exception of a few lines of Pali prayer added in some cases. The Tatkal Pagoda Inscription5 (A.D. 1192) gives us a fairly good example of the script, spelling and style of old Burmese. The script shows some affinity with the scripts of South India and has a surprisingly close resemblance to the old Brāhmī script in many of its characters.6 Some scholars are of the opinion that the Burmans got their art of writing from the Mon who borrowed it from Pallava (Conjeeveram).7

During the latter half of the Pagan dynasty, lithic inscriptions became more numerous. In addition to these, there were also "ink inscriptions" written on the walls of the hollow-pagodas, some of which are duplicates of the stone inscriptions. We have the greatest

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2. See Map IV
4. Pl. 604, Pl, 605, Pl. 606; *VTB*, I & II. See Appendix II.
5. Pl. 12
difficulty in deciphering those engraved on Webu (mica-schist) stones which were used more frequently in the later period. These are soft stones which cannot withstand the weathering effect of long exposure. This defect was also an asset as its very softness made it a suitable material for the engraving of floral designs with which the 13th century Burman decorated the borders of his inscriptions.

At first rubbings were taken by inking the stone itself and pressing down paper on it. Thus a negative copy of the inscription was made. Therefore the rubbing had to be read through a mirror. This method was improved later: thus a positive copy was obtained.

King Bodawpaya issued an order on 24 July 1793 to make a collection of all available lithic inscriptions because he wished to know the amount of land dedicated to the Religion. He wanted to know the extent of cultivable land in his kingdom which did not yield revenue. Inscription stones were transferred to his capital where they were copied in extenso (chañ, thui) or summarised (cap thui). But this was not done scientifically. It is fortunate that the search for stones was not thorough and thus "the stones left in situ far exceed in number those collected". Only the smaller stones were removed probably because of transport difficulties. The presence of many fragments at Amarapura suggests that a considerable number of stones were broken in transit. Oral history says that "accidents" during transportation destroyed some big stones because workers employed in their removal did not relish heavy loads. Nevertheless some six hundred stones reached the capital. The king commissioned a few scholars to study them. Among them Twañ:sañ: Mahä Cañśū was the most notable. It seems that these scholars did not really attempt to read Mon, Pyu and old Burmese inscriptions correctly. Thus some errors in names and dates went into the chronicle they compiled. In about 1790 Twañ:sañ produced the Räjawänąc at the king's request. Although U Kala (early 18th. century) had incorporated a few inscriptions in his Räja-wañkri: before this Twañ:sañ: was the first to use epigraphic material as a historical source. When King Bagyidaw appointed a committee in 1829 to compile a chronicle of the Burmese kings, the committee was aware of the desirability of using inscriptions and it occasionally mentioned discrepancies in dates or details between the old chronicles and some inscriptions but they had not the time, the means, or (I am afraid) the courage to collect all the inscriptions, to perfect readings and interpretations, and then demolish the jerry-built structure of the chronicles which they had helped to set up.2

After the British annexation of Lower Burma, in 1891 Dr Emil Forchhammer was appointed Government Archaeologist and he started collecting, this time, the rubbings of inscriptions. As mentioned above, these first rubbings were in negative and therefore had to be read through a mirror. Perhaps this difficult method is accountable for many omissions and mistakes made in the transcription of these first rubbings. Another serious mistake was the modernisation of the spellings in some cases in the process of the transcription. Dr E. Forchhammer died in 1890 and Taw Sein Ko his successor published the following "six enormous volumes of the elephant size, numbering altogether 2,802 pages".

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2. JBR5, XXXII, i, 82
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These six volumes contain about half of the inscriptions hitherto discovered. A rough translation of volume one by U Tun Nyein appeared in 1899. As the inscriptions were grouped geographically in the above collection, Dr C. Duroiselle, successor to Taw Sein Ko in 1919, gave a chronological list—A List of Inscriptions Found in Burma, in 1921 (after Taw Sein Ko: Index Inscriptionum Birmanicarum, I, 1900). Old and middle Mon inscriptions were published (with fascimile, transcription, translation and notes) in the series known as Epigraphia Birmanica between 1919 and 1936. Except for the Ananda plaques (Volume II by C. Duroiselle) the entire work was done by Professor C.O. Blagden—"A Sherlock Holmes in Epigraphy" who also deciphered some Pyu inscriptions.

After the end of the First World War, the University of Rangoon was founded and its Department of Oriental Studies started to make an independent collection of the rubbings of inscriptions with a view to publishing collotype reproductions first and transcription with translation and notes on them later. Professors Pe Maung Tin and G.H. Luce were the leading personalities in the movement. Over a hundred new inscriptions were further discovered before the outbreak of the Second World War and their collection was said to be much better than that of the Department of the Archaeological Survey of Burma. As a result of their joint effort a transcription in Burmese of fifty-four inscriptions of Pagan entitled Selections from the Inscriptions of Pagan appeared in 1928. The rubbings in their collection are correlated with Duroiselle's List wherever possible so that they could be linked with the six "elephant" volumes. They were arranged chronologically after a very severe selection so as to omit all copies (i.e. copies made from stones which are now untraceable) and the publishing of fascimiles started in 1933. Five volumes have been published so far. They are:

Portfolio I Inscriptions of Burma, A.D. 1131–A.D. 1237
Portfolio II Inscriptions of Burma, A.D. 1238–A.D. 1268
Portfolio III Inscriptions of Burma, A.D. 1269–A.D. 1300 and undated, doubtfully dated and fragments believed to be of the period A.D. 1131–A.D. 1300
Portfolio IV Inscriptions of Burma, A.D. 1301–A.D. 1340 and some more inscriptions prior to A.D. 1300 whose dates were determined only after the first three portfolios were sent to press.
Portfolio V Inscriptions of Burma, A.D. 1341–A.D. 1365

There are 610 plates in these five portfolios. Some of these inscriptions belong to the post-Pagan period, and some are entirely useless as they are either too fragmentary or illegible. Therefore for the purpose of this thesis Professor G. H. Luce made me a selection of about five hundred for which I am extremely grateful. Owing to such faults as omissions,
careless readings and modernization of spelling, the use of the six "elephant" volumes is avoided as much as possible in this thesis.

The Archaeological Survey and the Burma Historical Commission (estb. 1955) are making rubblings of inscriptions and many new inscriptions were discovered by both. During the last few years some books on epigraphy were published. They are:

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| 21   | 5–6  | The minister Aswat     | The minister Asawat Asvaltima was mentioned as  
|      |      | (?Asvat†ma) was in his civil duties the  | an intimate of the King.  
|      |      | *aklan† tan so mañ amat* | —Royal Register.  
| 23   | 28–30| Another inscription 3  | Another inscription 3 mentions that Kroñ Sinhã,  
|      |      | ...mixed up in politics.4 | Randhip and Bhummabuñ rebelled. Through the inter- 
|      |      |                         | cession of Mahãsman and  
|      |      |                         | the pleading of Nakkabuñ,  
|      |      |                         | they were pardoned by  
|      |      |                         | King Klacwã. For this they  
|      |      |                         | gave Mahãsman a generous  
|      |      |                         | gift of 1500 pay at Dhipe-  
|      |      |                         | syañ.  
| 23   |      | delete footnote 4       |  
| 24   | 5    | coñiscation             | confiscation            |
| 29   | 29   | Chammers                | Chalmers                |
| 32   | 9    | Chieng-mien             | Chiêng-mien              |
| 34   | 16   | Bodhisvatva             | Bodhisattva             |
| 34   | 28   | to                      | to                      |
| 34   | 41   | government              | government              |
| 35   | 5    | nan kla mañ             | nan kla mañ             |
| 35   | 23   | Cheng-mien              | Cheng-mien              |
| 36   | 2    | Noñ U                   | Noñ U                   |
| 36   | 4    | Noñ U                   | Noñ U                   |
| 37   | 18   | kharuin                 | kharuin                 |
| 37   | 18   | tuik7 and tuik8         | tuik7 and tuin8         |
| 40   | 1    | distinction             | distinction             |
| 40   | 20   | sampyan kri.1           | sampyan kri.3           |
| 40   | 25   | 3 yok2                  | 3 yok6                  |
| 40   | 29   | Manorãja13              | Manorãja7               |
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| 40   | 32   | Mahãsman5               | Mahãsman9               |
| 40   | 32   | kulwmhu6                | kulwmhu10               |
| 41   | 37   | as the                  | as in the               |
| 41   | 38   | official                | official                |
| 44   | 11–12| delete the sentence — We find that...Registrar. |
| 44   | 34   | delete footnote 4       |                         |
| 45   | 24   | NavLink SarI          | NavLink SarI            |
| 48   | 24   | Tarukplîay             | Tarukplîy               |
52 45 discovered  discovered
55 25 Buddhist  Buddhist
57 23 dynasty  dynasty
64 10 ryapiuih  ryapiuih
65 14 painting  painting
65 17 paigkeit  painting
65 37 delete—See Appendix II
66 20 architectural  architectural
67 3 Bhūmisparśa mudrā  bhūmisparśa mudrā
67 4-5 delete—(see illustration)
70 13 Buddahood  Buddahood
71 1 sabaññu  sabaññu
72 14 forest  forest
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81 32 Nāṇagambhīra  Nāṇagambhīra
81 35 Vimalabuddhi  Vimalabuddhi
84 1 said  said:
84 29 tryā3  tryā haw3
86 36 Kyoan Thwan:  Kyoau Thwan:
86 39 Kabvābandasāra  Kabvābandasāra
89 2 ordea  ordeal
94 10 arahā  araha
94 43 kammavāsā  kammavācā
95 6 sañiyan  sañiyanī
97 9 Narasiṅga  Narasiṅga
98 2 Sañton  Sañton
99 24 quarters  quarters
99 35 directions  directions
100 3 purchased  purchased
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101 26 betel flower,  betel, flower,
103 2 lams  lamps
103 22 nut cracker  nut cracker,
103 25 manastery  manastery
104 37 naranīta  naranīta
104 45 idia  idea
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