

# MAHĀKASSAPA AND HIS TRADITION\*

by

Than Tun

AS A PRELIMINARY, I would like to acknowledge the help given to me by my colleagues in preparing this paper, to state why I write it, and to mention which period it belongs to. As source material I used only the lithic inscriptions and almost all the estampages of them are now kept at the Burma Historical Commission. Therefore my thanks are largely due to the Commission for allowing me to read them and to Dr Yi Yi and U Tin Hla Thaw in helping me to decipher and index some of them. The aim of the paper is to correct such statements as:

At Pinya under Tazishin Thihathu, there were very few moral, virtuous and modest monks. But there were plenty of Ari- the remnants of Pagan Ari, who went under the guise of monks. <sup>1</sup>

This means that early in Pagan these *Arañ* were suppressed only to revive again after the fall of Pagan. I disagree with this theory. Researches in the history of Pagan have shown that there were no such ascetics known as *Arañ* in the early period of the Pagan Dynasty. They appeared only in the latter half of the period and continued to thrive for quite a long time after the fall of Pagan. Their period of prosperity extended from A.D. 1200 to well over 1500. The name *Arañ*, I think, derives from *araññaka* <sup>2</sup> meaning to live in the forest and therefore the other view of deriving it from *ariya* meaning noble, does not hold good any longer. <sup>3</sup> The contemporary writers, i.e. those who engraved their records on stones, however, very seldom used the name *Arañ*. <sup>4</sup> They used instead some pure Burmese names as monks of the *taw kloñ* <sup>5</sup> or forest monastery, and *taw mlakrī* <sup>6</sup> or the Reverend Lord of the Forest. Therefore it would be incorrect to define the *Arañ* as

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1. Mahādhammasaṅkram: *Sāsanañāṅkāra cātama*: 1831. Hanthawaddy Press, Rangoon, 1956. p. 124.

2. See *JRBS*, IX, iii, 155-6 and X, ii, 82-3.

3. See *JRBS*, X, i, 28-30 and X, iii, 108-9.

4. Pl. 44 <sup>5,6</sup>, Pl. 54 <sup>3</sup> (and its duplicate Pl. 371b<sup>3</sup>), Pl. 241 <sup>5,8</sup>, Pl. 250 <sup>2</sup>, Pl. 264 <sup>8</sup>, Anein Tawgyaung Shwegu Inscription 2 <sup>4</sup>). (S. 748)

5. Pl. 44a <sup>3</sup>, Pl. 68 <sup>2</sup>, Pl. 89 <sup>1, 33</sup>, etc.

6. Pl. 208 <sup>12</sup>, Pl. 223a<sup>8</sup>.

one who has the pretensions of a monk though he has never been either disciplined or ordained. <sup>7</sup>

The reasons why such a definition is objectionable would be given in detail in this paper.

In A.D. 1216 A queen's mother built a *taw kloñ*—forest monastery, for *Skhiñ Yintaw* and left a record dedicating to it. 20 *pay* of land from *Toññi* <sup>8</sup> It is a good proof showing that this sect of "forest dwellers" received the recognition of the royalty from the first quarter of the 13th century. In A.D. 1227, an important government officer known as *Jeyyapwat* dedicated 750 *pay* of land to a forest monastery he established at Pwazaw on the east of Pagan. <sup>9</sup> Many Burmese slaves were also dedicated to it. <sup>10</sup> Another officer called *Rājahamā-maṅgalapati* built a *kū* in A.D. 1233 at a forest monastery to the east of *Prasatū* in Minnanthu, east of Pagan. <sup>11</sup> These evidences show that the sect of "forest dwellers" had established their centre quite close to the eastern side of the capital by the second quarter of the 13th century. The lands given by *Jeyyapwat* to the forest monastery were confiscated by King *Klacivā* soon after his accession but because of an objection raised by the monks, the king thought it wise to return them. <sup>12</sup> Pwazaw and Minnanthu on the east of Pagan were once known as *Sacmati* or *Thamahti* as popularly mentioned in the Chronicles. The birth-place of the "Forest-Dwellers" Movement was at Amyin, Anin and Kyaukyit of Sagaing and Monywa districts. We shall go into some details as to how they became the centre of the movement when we discuss the biography of *Mahākassapa*. In some records such phrases as "the forest monastery established by the Right Reverend *Mahākassapa*" <sup>13</sup> or "forest monastery of *Mahākassapa*" <sup>14</sup> often appear and it is suggestive that those phrases refer to the leader and his sect. It is according to an inscription of A.D. 1247 that the movement came down the Chindwin to Pagan. <sup>15</sup> To our great amazement, among the "forest dwellers" we find the mention of *bhikkhuni* in an inscription of A.D. 1281. <sup>16</sup> Her name was *Ui Chī*. <sup>17</sup> This sect of the "forest dwellers" was found to be in popular existence far beyond the Pagan

7. *Mahādhammasaṅkramā: Sāsanañāṅkāra cātam*: 1831. Hanthawaddy Press, Rangoon 1956, p. 128.

8. Pl. 44a<sup>3</sup>.

9. Pl. 90<sup>12-14</sup>.

10. Pl. 89<sup>1</sup>.

11. Pl. 68<sup>2</sup>.

12. Pl. 90<sup>15-16</sup>.

13. Pl. 140a<sup>2</sup>.

14. Pl. 143a<sup>7</sup>, Pl. 143b<sup>5</sup>.

15. Pl. 163<sup>13</sup>.

16. Pl. 268<sup>16</sup>.

17. We have ample evidence to show that there were *bhikkhuni* in the Pagan Period (Pl. 29<sup>7-19</sup>, Pl. 53<sup>7</sup>, Pl. 89<sup>27</sup>, Pl. 92<sup>14</sup>, Pl. 101<sup>20</sup>, Pl. 119a<sup>2</sup>, Pl. 134b<sup>5</sup>, Pl. 147b<sup>20-21</sup>, Pl. 200<sup>11-15</sup>, Pl. 214b<sup>9</sup>, Pl. 220<sup>9</sup>, Pl. 221<sup>27</sup>, Pl. 268<sup>16</sup>, Pl. 285<sup>25,26</sup>, Pl. 329<sup>15</sup>, Pl. 510<sup>3</sup>, Pl. 559a<sup>14</sup>, Pl. 562a<sup>8</sup>, Pl. 576a<sup>7</sup>) and that they were in existence at least until A. D. 1408 (Pl. 510<sup>3</sup>, List 834<sup>2</sup>, *Rhwe kyōñ Saṅgharājā Uim Toñ Ruiw*).

period.<sup>18</sup> But these monks of the *Araññāwasī tau kloñ*<sup>19</sup>, with the exception of a few<sup>20</sup>, never lived alone in the forest to observe the *Āraññakaṅgam* as their name suggests. They lived in great monastic establishments, owned vast estate and allowed certain lapses in the observation of *vinaya*. Their mode of life will be discussed in detail later.

As monks, they also got certain gifts of land from their lay devotees but they wanted more. They enlarged their estates through purchase. In such business transactions they usually employed a layman to act on their behalf.<sup>21</sup> Once *Saṅkrammasū*, the great grandfather of *Mahākassapa* dedicated to the Religion 89 *pay* of land at *Surokkha* of *Saṅton Kharuñ*. After *Saṅkrammasū*'s death, one of his grandsons called *Ña Rok Sañ* took those lands as part of his inherited property. Being poor, he had to sell them to the *Cakraw* who guarded the outpost at *Chiptoñ*. When *Ña Rok Sañ* died it became evident that he had no right to sell them and therefore two judges viz. *Caturāṅkapuñ* and *Acalapharac* were sent to investigate. In the *athak cārañ*—Royal Register, it was found that the lands in question were originally given to *Saṅkrammasū* by the king and that *Mahākassapa* had a better claim to inherit *Saṅkrammasū* than *Ña Rok Sañ*. Thus *Mahākassapa* got legal sanction to get back the lands. Nevertheless, in order to safeguard his cousin from being roasted in hell, the inscription says, for selling what really was religious land, *Mahākassapa* decided to buy it back at the market price. So he sent *lū sukhamin*—a wise layman, called *Dhammabhaṇḍā* with *saṅghika* (belonging to the Order) money to do the transaction. The price then was 15 ticals of silver for 1 *pay*. It was in A.D. 1244<sup>22</sup>. In the same inscription that records the above incidents, *lū sukhamin Dhammabhaṇḍā* was mentioned to have been ordered five more times to buy land<sup>23</sup>.

In such land transactions, there is one particular practice which according to a modern Burmese Buddhist conception, would be considered improper for a monk to indulge in. It was to give a grand feast to mark off the success of

18. Pl. 465a<sup>3</sup> (S. 672), Pl. 415<sup>2</sup> (S. 674), Pl. 535<sup>27,33,35,36</sup> (S. 694), Pl. 447<sup>15</sup> (S. 695), Pl. 463<sup>6,13</sup> (S. 703), Pl. 465b<sup>10</sup> (S. 703), Pl. 520a<sup>11-14</sup> (S. 720), Pl. 537b<sup>10</sup> (S. 723), Pl. 591a<sup>9</sup> (S. 724), Pl. 541a<sup>6</sup> (S. 725), Ava Nagyoda village monastery inscription<sup>5</sup> (S. 732), List 665a<sup>4,7,10</sup> (S. 736), List 682<sup>48</sup> (S. 737), List 706<sup>7</sup> (S. 742), Kyaukyit Shwepaunglaung four faces faus inscription E face<sup>11</sup> (S. 750), List 770<sup>9</sup> (S. 775), Kyaukyit Shwepaung laung two faces inscription Obverse<sup>13,16,20,23</sup> (S. 760), Ancin Kyauksa-shwekyin Inscription Obverse<sup>36</sup> (S. 769), List 866<sup>7</sup> (S. 780), Sagaing Htupayon Stone 15 Reverse<sup>1</sup> (S. 783), Sagaing Yemyak Kelapyok inscription<sup>17</sup> (S. 785), List 879a<sup>3</sup> (S. 787), Myinmu Shwepaunglaung Inscription<sup>8</sup> (S. 788), Ancin Tawgyaung Taungmingaung four faces inscription S. face<sup>8</sup> (S. 802).

19. Pl. 465a<sup>3</sup> (S. 672), Kyaukyit Shwepaunglaung four faces inscription E. face<sup>11</sup> (S. 750), Pl. 583a<sup>20</sup> (S. 779), Chaung U Magyo village southern old village mound inscription<sup>9</sup> (S. 1030).

20. Amyint Minye monastery small two faces inscription Obverse<sup>5,7</sup> (S. 783). *Āñātakunṭaṅ mahāthera*.

21. Pl. 162 and Pl. 163.

22. Pl. 162.

23. The records reveal that the price of land was high in the *kharuñ* area, (1 *pay* at 20 ticals of silver or 8 viss of copper) while it was cheap in the *tuik* area, (1 *pay* at 1 tical of silver or  $\frac{1}{2}$  viss of copper). The average price is from 8 to 10 ticals of silver or 2 to 3 viss of copper per 1 *pay*.

the transaction and to gain the public recognition of the new ownership. Officials in connection with the land were given cloths of various kinds as gifts and both men and monks were invited to the feast where meat and liquor were served plentifully. The price of land, when put on record, usually included *siyphuiv sāphuiv*<sup>24</sup> — the price of liquor and the price of meat. When both parties were happy about the bargain, a *pri siy pri sã*<sup>25</sup>—finishing liquor and finishing meat, were consumed. Sometimes for the sake of brevity, all expenses of drinks, food and cloths given as gift came under the category of *cã phuiv*<sup>26</sup> —the price of food and the details would be omitted by simply stating *cã pe e*, or *cã ce so* or *cã ra e*, or *cã pe sate*<sup>27</sup>. A little more careful statement would be to say *cã sok piy ruy*<sup>28</sup> — having eaten and drunk. Now one would certainly like to know what kind of meat and liquor they enjoyed most. Contemporary writers were careful not to leave out such details. Regarding food, there were some casual mention of *thamañ hañ amai achã*<sup>29</sup>—the rice, curry, meat and ? salt. Sometimes the drinks were given pre-eminence by saying *se-thman*<sup>30</sup>—liquor rice. To denote a feast on a grand scale, the phrase *se<sup>ri</sup> sã<sup>ri</sup>*<sup>31</sup>—great liquor and great meat, was used. Some took pleasure in mentioning the details as *sã nwã 2 khu samañ 3 khu se 30*<sup>32</sup>—2 calves 3 deer 30 liquor, or *cã*

24. Pl. 224<sup>10-11</sup> (S. 630), Pl. 231a<sup>5</sup> (S. 632), Pl. 2644-6 (S. 642), Pl. 2688-9 (S. 643), Pl. 3806-7 (S. 611), Pl. 39516-18 (S. 664), Pl. 4107 (S. 670), Pl. 42333-4 (S. 679), Pl. 5329 (S. 722, *sã ñã*), Pl. 543a<sup>28</sup> (S. 726), Anein Tanzaung Laytha Kyaung-, daik Inscription Reverse<sup>14</sup> (S. 740), Kyaukyit Shwepaunglaung Inscription Reverse<sup>19-20</sup> (S. 760), Yemyak Kelapyok Inscription<sup>25</sup> (S. 785), List 922b<sup>12</sup> (S. 801), List 923<sup>12</sup> (S. 801), List 840a<sup>32</sup> (S. 801), List 840b<sup>2, 4, 6, 7, 13, 15, 17</sup> (S. 803).
25. Pl. 519c<sup>10</sup> (S. 686), Pl. 543a<sup>25</sup> (S. 726), Mandalay Palace Shed Stone 106, Obverse<sup>5</sup> (S. 770), List 840a<sup>25, 28, 42, 43, 45</sup> (S. 801), List 9235, <sup>13, 16</sup> (S. 801), List 925b<sup>5</sup> (802), List 840b<sup>3</sup> (S. 803), List 1371<sup>3</sup>.
26. Pl. 456b<sup>5</sup> (S. 698).
27. Pl. 418<sup>18</sup> (S. 67.), Pl. 474<sup>14</sup> (S. 706), Pl. 516<sup>14</sup> (S. 718), Pl. 520a<sup>18</sup> (S. 720), Pl. 536<sup>9</sup> (S. 723), Amyint Tanzaung Laytha Kyaungdaik Inscription Reverse<sup>4</sup> (S. 740), Mandalay Palace Shed Stone 106, Obverse<sup>8</sup> (S. 770), Yemyak Kelapyok d (S. 785), Sagaing Zediñla Tilokagura Gyaung West face Reverse<sup>2</sup> (S. 785).
28. ? Mandalay Palace Shed Stone 74 Reverse<sup>21, 22</sup> (S. 545), Pl. 449<sup>9, 21, 26</sup> (S. 651), List 704<sup>16</sup> (S. 701), Pl. 464a<sup>9, 10, 13</sup> (S. 703), Pl. 473b<sup>5</sup> (S. 706), Pl. 474<sup>9</sup> (S. 760), Pl. 488a<sup>21</sup> (S. 712), Pl. 587b<sup>5</sup> (S. 713), Pl. 509<sup>22, 24</sup> (S. 717), Pl. 515a<sup>11, 12, 13</sup> (S. 718), Pl. 516<sup>9, 17</sup> (S. 718), Pl. 519b<sup>7</sup> (S. 718), Pl. 528<sup>20</sup> (S. 712), Pl. 526<sup>6</sup> (S. 721), Pl. 536<sup>23, 24, 25</sup> (S. 723), Pl. 543b<sup>6</sup> (S. 726), Pakhangyi Kyaungdwin Dhammayon 4 faces inscription W. face<sup>16, 17</sup> (S. 729), E. face<sup>18-19</sup> (S. 729), List 636a<sup>17</sup> (S. 732), List 665b<sup>2</sup> (S. 734), List 671a<sup>4</sup> (S. 735) List 682<sup>27</sup> (S. 737), Amyin Tanzaung Laytha Kyaungdaik Inscription Reverse<sup>6, 14, 21</sup> (S. 740), List 704<sup>6, 8, 9</sup> (S. 742), List 847a<sup>25, 29, 31</sup> (S. 745), Hsalingyi Hkuntha Myatlezu Inscription<sup>12, 30, 31</sup> (S. 745), List 723<sup>13</sup> (S. 747), List 726b<sup>3</sup> (S. 748), List 745a<sup>19</sup> (S. 750), List 754<sup>5</sup> (S. 753), List 770<sup>27</sup> (S. 755), List 739<sup>4</sup> (S. 757), Kyaukyit Shwepaunglaung 2 faces inscription Obverse<sup>23, 24-5</sup> (S. 760), Reverse<sup>7, 19, 20</sup> (S. 760), Mandalay Palace Shed Stone 106 Obverse<sup>13</sup> (S. 770), Reverse<sup>4</sup> (S. 770), Sagaing Zediñla Lokagurugyaung Inscription Obverse<sup>17</sup> (S. 785), List 729<sup>48</sup> (S. 791), Anein Tawgyaung Taungmingaung Kyaung 4 faces inscription N. face<sup>47-8</sup> (S. 802), W. face<sup>30</sup> (S. 802), S. face<sup>6, 10, 11, 23, 45</sup> (S. 802), Myingyan Talupmyi Thonluhla Inscription<sup>13, 32</sup> (S. 815), List 981b<sup>5</sup> (S. 830).
29. List 706<sup>5, 9</sup> (S. 742), Sagaing Htupayon Stone 12 obverse<sup>13</sup> (S. 760), Kyaukyit Shwepaunglaung Inscription Reverse<sup>19, 19, 20</sup> (S. 760).
30. Pl. 536<sup>19</sup> (S. 723), Anein Tawgyaung Taungmingaung Inscription S. face<sup>6</sup> (S. 802), Myingyan Ywatha Chanthagyi Pagoda Inscription Obverse<sup>10</sup> (no date).
31. Pl. 484b<sup>13</sup> (S. 711), Wetlet Thithseingyi Pyatthathla Kyaung Inscription Obverse<sup>23</sup>, Reverse<sup>5</sup> (S. 764).
32. Pakhangyi Kyaungdwin Dhammayon 4 faces inscription Obverse<sup>18</sup>, (S. 729).

*sok pe sakā nwā puik krī ta khu/ wak toñ ta khu se suñ chay mlai* <sup>33</sup> — 1 big steer, 1 large pig 30 or more liquor were consumed. One could imagine how many people would come to a feast where one big bull, one big pig and over 30 pots of liquor were taken. Perhaps we could assume that the Burmān of 500 years ago was unlike his modern counterpart, a great consumer of liquor and meat. While giving a list of dedications, they did not think it improper to include such simple statement like *kywai sat ruy cā sok pe sate* <sup>34</sup> — a buffalo was killed and eaten. A group of people who put up boundary pillars of a religious land admit that *klok chok so le nwā ta khu lhañ ruy cā sok pe e'* <sup>35</sup> — when stone-pillars were put up an ox was felled and eaten. The monks would say *sañghika cit ta khu se thamañ nhañ may cā pe e'* <sup>36</sup> — one goat commonly owned by monks was eaten (as) meat with liquor rice. Such feastings became more elaborate and more common as time went on. By comparison, we find that a feast consuming *nwā 1khu/se khunhac lum* <sup>37</sup> — one ox and seven pots of liquor, was considered a big feast in A.D. 1249 while in A.D. 1429, i.e. about 200 years later, a feast of *nwā 8 khu wak 5 khu chit* <sup>38</sup> 10 se 30 <sup>38</sup> — 8 oxen, 5 pigs, 10 goats and 30 liquor, was fairly common.

Regarding *amai achā* <sup>39</sup> — meat and ? salt, the following details would illustrate the different varieties eaten. Beef seems to be the most popular of all the meat. One reference as *nwā kri ta khu se nā lum nhañ cā sok ra e' pri e'* <sup>40</sup> — one big ox and five (pots) of liquor were taken and finished, indicates that one ox is usually eaten in one meal. There are also references when a total of 8 <sup>41</sup>, 10 <sup>42</sup> and 15 <sup>43</sup> oxen were eaten. The difference in tenderness of meat is perhaps indicated by the mentions of *nwā nak* <sup>44</sup> — black ox, *nwā puik* <sup>45</sup> — steer, *nwāma* <sup>46</sup> — cow, *nwāla* <sup>47</sup> — bull, *lhay nwā* <sup>48</sup> — ? old ox and *sā nwā* <sup>49</sup> — calf. In the scale of preference pork comes next to beef. A feast was mentioned when 10 pigs were eaten <sup>50</sup>. The varieties were given as *sā wak* <sup>51</sup> — suckling pig, *wak ma* <sup>52</sup> — sow, *waktoñ* <sup>53</sup> — large pig and

33. Hsalingyi Hkuntha village Myatlezu Pagoda Inscription<sup>12</sup> (S. 745).

34. List 726b<sup>3</sup> (S. 748), List 793a<sup>17</sup> (S. 760 It also mentions *kywai 2khu sat ruy*).

35. List 770<sup>27</sup> (S. 755).

36. Anein Tawgyaung Taungmingaung Inscription S. face<sup>6</sup> (S. 802).

37. Pl. 380<sup>6</sup> (S. 611).

38. List 729<sup>48</sup> (S. 791).

39. Sagaing Htupayon Stone 12 Obverse<sup>13</sup> (S. 760).

40. Mandalay Palace Shed Stone 106 Obverse<sup>13</sup> (S. 770)

41. Pl. 538b<sup>16</sup> (S. 723), List 729<sup>48</sup> (S. 791).

42. Mandalay Palace Shed Stone 74 Reverse<sup>21</sup> (S. 545), Sagaing Yemyak Payangazu Inscription Obverse<sup>25</sup> (S. 737).

43. Mandalay Palace Shed Stone 106 Obverse<sup>8</sup> (S. 770).

44. List 1324<sup>16</sup> (S. 857).

45. Pl. 474<sup>19</sup> (S. 706), List 847a<sup>25</sup> (S. 745), Hsalingyi Hkuntha Myatlezu Inscription<sup>12</sup> (S. 745), List 754<sup>5</sup> (S. 753).

46. Pl. 433a<sup>10</sup> (S. 683), Pl. 473b<sup>5</sup> (S. 706).

47. Pl. 433a<sup>10</sup> (S. 683), Pl. 473b<sup>5</sup> (S. 706), Sagaing Zedihla Tilokaguru Gyaung Inscription W. face<sup>6</sup> (S. 785).

48. Sagaing Zedihla Tilokaguru Gyaung Inscription W. face<sup>8</sup> (S. 785).

49. Pl. 433b<sup>8</sup> (S. 683).

50. Anein Tawgyaung Taungmingaung Inscription W. face<sup>13</sup> (S. 802).

51. Pl. 449<sup>9</sup> (S. 651).

52. Pl. 433b<sup>8</sup> (S. 683).

*wak toñ cway thwak*<sup>54</sup>—large pig with tusks. Next in the list was the goat. There were feasts when 10 goats<sup>55</sup> or 18 goats<sup>56</sup> were eaten. It seems that buffalo was seldom eaten<sup>57</sup>. There is also the mention of *samañ*<sup>58</sup> — deer, *krak*<sup>59</sup>—fowl and *nā*<sup>60</sup>—fish, being eaten.

With food comes the drinks. A record of A.D. 1376 says:

*Mahāthañ ca so skhiñ takā tuiv takkhina than lhū ruy yañmakā  
aphyaw nhañ akwa chwam klwe e'*<sup>61</sup>

All the lords starting with the *Mahāthera* were given a donation of the Palmyra Toddy Palms and (also) given a feast together with *yañmakā aphyaw*.

Here *yañmakā aphyaw* is taken to be a sweet liquor made from the toddy juice.<sup>62</sup> *Tryāp̄hyā* III (1376-1400) or *Mañ:kri:ewācoaukai*'s inscription at *Pokmruin̄ Samārwā Kūdwe: Kyon̄:* dated A.D. 1373 has:

*ī suiv lhū tau mu ruy ra sa Cecim mlii kuiv than cuik ruy Yakhañ  
twañ kloñ plu ruy lhū kha e' || ī than kuiv na klon kā nhac cha ||  
Yakañ twañ skhiñ apoñ kā tacha || sok pā ce sate ||*<sup>63</sup>

After planting toddy palms at the *Cecim* land which is acquired through a royal dedication, (the land) is given to the monastery which is being established at *Yakhañ*. May all the lords of *Yakañ* drinks one- fold and (those of) my monastery twofold of this toddy (juice).

It evidently means that the drinking of the toddy juice by the monks was allowed and it was the king who gave the toddy garden to the monastery. In another reference we find that a curse was put on the monks who drank even a single pot of liquor which was not their own<sup>64</sup>. The following extract from the inscription dated A.D. 1373 at *Pakhankri: Kyonlim Pagoda* by *Mañrai Sankhayā* reveals another important fact that the monks drank liquor even on the religious premises. It says:

54. Mandalay Palace Shed Stone 106, Obverse<sup>5</sup> (S. 770).

55. List 729<sup>48</sup> (S. 791).

56. Pl. 520a<sup>18</sup> (S. 720).

57. Pl. 509<sup>22</sup> (S. 717), Sagaing Ywathit Phayangazu Inscription Obverse<sup>25</sup> (S. 737), List 726b<sup>3</sup> (S. 748).

58. Pakhangyi Kyaungdwin Dhammayon 4 faces inscription E. face<sup>18</sup> (S. 729).

59. List 671a<sup>4</sup> (S. 735), Anein Tawgyaung Taungmingaung Inscription W. face<sup>14</sup> (S. 802).

60. Pl. 532<sup>9</sup> (S. 722).

61. Pl. 233<sup>14</sup> (S. 738).

62. See G. H. Luce: "Economic Life of the Early Burman", *JBR*, XXX, i, p. 296.

63. List 670<sup>8</sup> (S. 735).

64. Myingyan Ywathaywa Chanthaygi Pagoda Inscription Obverse<sup>13</sup>.

*cā sok pe sañ kā || sā nwā ta khu | wak ta khu | chit ta khu | krak 8  
khu se 25 luñ | ī a kun Poñloñ Mahāthī kloñ thak lhyañ cā sok pe  
kun ruy pri e' |*<sup>65</sup>

As for the food and drinks taken, there were 1 calf, 1 pig, 1 goat, 8 fowls and 25? pots of liquor. All these were taken and finished on the monastery of *Poñloñ Mahāthera*.

It is an unheard of thing to-day to have such a feast at the residence of the chief monk. But in those days we have the following phrases in their records, viz.

- (1) *kloñ tau ū nhuik skhiñ myā tuiw le cā pe e' tryā le nā e'*<sup>66</sup>  
at the foremost room of the royal monastery, the lords (of the Order) also ate and a sermon was also heard.
- (2) *Kulā kloñ ū thak lhyañ cā sok pe so sañghā thī*<sup>67</sup>.  
the *Sañghāthera*, i.e. the Elder of the Monks, who ate and drank at the foremost room of the brick monastery.
- (3) *se sā cā pe ruy lhū e'*<sup>68</sup>  
after eating and drinking, a dedication was made.

All these show that a feast also accompanies a dedication ceremony when both men and monks eat meat and drink liquor to their fill. Not excepting the monasteries, such a feast would be held in any convenient place. In A.D. 1378 an inscription says that *īm thak sok cā piy ruy*<sup>69</sup>—drinking and eating was done at the house. In another instance *mruiw lai lhyañ kanākri chok ruy cā sok pe e'*<sup>70</sup> — a big pavilion was built right in the centre of the fortress to eat and drink. Similarly *rwā lai lhyañ kanā chok ruy ... cā sok piy e'*<sup>71</sup> — a pavilion was built right in the centre of the village to eat and drink. When a field was bought and dedicated to a monastery, *thuiw lai twañ nhuik tau twañ ruy kannākri chok ruy...cā sok pe ruy*<sup>72</sup> — a clearing was made in that very field where a big pavilion was constructed to eat and drink. Thus we understand that people in those days used to put up special and temporary buildings for feasting. But an outstanding yet simple arrangement is mentioned in the *Kyokrac Rhweponloñ* inscription as

*| mañkri chryiā | tau kloñ mahāthe ca so sañghā apon cañ we ruy cā sok  
sa kā mañklañ pañ vañ nhuik te | prañcuiw rwāsukri asañ myā tuiw cā sok  
sa kā kutkuiw pañ te mañ ca so sami smak cañ we saka pok 2 pañ te |*<sup>73</sup>

65. List 671a<sup>12</sup> (S. 735).

66. Pl. 504<sup>16</sup> (S. 715).

67. Pl. 536<sup>23</sup> (S. 723).

68. Pl. 587b<sup>5</sup> (S. 723).

69. Amyint Tanzaung Lethakyaungdaik Inscription Reverse<sup>6</sup> (S. 740).

70. Pakhangyi Kyaungdwin Dhammayon 4 faces inscription E. face<sup>19</sup> (S. 729).

71. Pakhangyi Kyaungdwin Dhammayon 4 faces inscription W. face<sup>16</sup> (S. 729.).

72. List 636<sup>17</sup> (S. 732).

It was at the foot of the *Tamarindus indica* that all the monks beginning with the Royal Preceptor, the *Mahāthera* of the forest monastery, gathered to eat and drink. Under the *Albizzia Lebbeck* the rulers, headmen and owners ate and drank. Starting with the king (himself) his daughter, son-in-law, (etc.) gathered under the *Butea Frōndosa*.

At a time when the monks themselves indulged in drinking intoxicants, it is no wonder that a lady called *Im Ma Cañ* was found to be one of the guests of a feast where 7 pots of liquor, 1 ox and 5 pots of rice were consumed<sup>74</sup>. It is also not unusual for one *Cakuiñ Pitu Sañgharājā*, who in appreciation of a good drink, made a remark in A.D. 1441 as *se koñ e'*<sup>75</sup>—this liquor is good.

*Than rañ*<sup>76</sup>—the fermented toddy palm juice, and *poñ rañ*—the distilled liquor, seem to be the most popular among the drinks but the drinking of *pe rañ*<sup>77</sup> — the palmyra palm juice and *arak* the foreign liquor, was also quite considerable. Except in an inscription<sup>78a</sup> of A.D. 1248 which we do not think is an original one, the first mention of *arak* occurs in an inscription<sup>78b</sup> of A.D. 1379 when Queen Cow dedicated one *poñkan* of it.

Just as a feast was compulsory for the change of ownership in land either by purchase or by dedication, there was another custom that such a transfer was always accompanied by the gift of cloths to all important persons bearing witness to the transaction by the new owner. Minister *Lakwai* and wife built a monastery in A.D. 1337 and dedicated lands to it. The record in dealing with it says:

||ī kloñ nhuik ratanā 3 pa so ā paccañ 4 pā phlac cim ñhā lñu so mliy kā ||  
*Kansyā Tandhā U san lai 20 || Ña Cwai Sañ Mran san lai 8 pai || ī mhya*  
*so lai kā kalan sañpyañ 4 yok ca sa cakhi kun òñ kuiv phu mañkri Tryā-*  
*phyā hu Asañkhyā ka 100 mlat luiw hu dhoñ, so lhyañ roñ kun sate || piy*  
*so aphuiw kā || ñway 145 klap te || awat kā Phummasañkrañ Phummapā*  
*Phummaphattrā Phummasiñkhā Rañmapuiw Rañmasu|| 6 yok so phyañ*  
*mañ 6 thañ || Sanmrañ kā tuyañ pucwanchi ta thañ Anantasūra Cacte*  
*Uim Koñ Sañ Ña Wañ Sa Sañ Na Sok Krū Sañ Na Khyañ Ña Campa*  
*Ña Punñai 8 yok so phyañ phlū 8 dhañ Kañkai phyañ ta dhañ sā nwā 2 khu*  
*samañ 3 khu se 30 mruiv lai lhyañ kanākri chok ruy cā sok pe e' ||<sup>79</sup>*

74. List 847a<sup>31</sup> (S. 745).

75. List 840b<sup>15</sup> (S. 803).

76. List 952b<sup>8</sup> (S. 852).

77. Kyaukyit Shwepaunglaung Inscription Reverse<sup>29</sup> (S. 760).

78. List 277<sup>19</sup> (S. 610), Wetlet Thithseingyi Kyaung Inscription Obverse<sup>23</sup> (S.741),

List 718b<sup>6</sup> (S. 743), Kyaukyit Shwepaunglaung Inscription Reverse<sup>19</sup> (S. 760),

List 891<sup>5</sup> (S.791), List 902a<sup>16</sup>(S.795).

78a. List 227<sup>19</sup> (S. 670).

78b. Wetlet Thithseingyi Kyaung Inscription Obverse<sup>23</sup> (S. 741).

79. Pakkoku Pakhangyi Myaukkyang Twinywa Dhammayon 4 faces inscription E. face<sup>11-19</sup> (S. 729).



The land dedicated to this monastery so that the Four Requisites for the three Gems might be acquired, viz. 20 rain land of *Kansyā Tandhā ū*, 8 *pai* of rain land of *Ōa Cwai Sañ Mrañ*, 5 *pai* of dry land to the west of the Two Banyan Trees, were sold to gain 100 profit by all *cakhi* starting with 4 *kalan* and *saṃpyañ* in the presence of the great king *Tryāphyā*. The price given was 145 ticals of silver. *Phummasaṅkrañ*, *Phummapā*, *Phummaphatrā*, *Phummasiñkhā*, *Raṃmapuiw* and *Raṃmasu*: to them were given 6 black cloths. *Sanmrañ* got one golden *tuyañ*. *Anansūra*, *Cac the*, *Uim Koñ Sañ*. *Ōa Wañ Sa Sañ*, *Ōa Sok Krū San*, *Ōa Khyañ*, *Ōa Cāmpa* and *Ōa Puñ Ōai*, 8 of them were given 8 white cloths. *Kaṃka*;  
1. A big pavilion was built right in the centre of the fortress and 2 oxen, 3 deer and 30 liquor were consumed.

In this record, people having *phumma* prefixes to their names seem to be some kind of land officers and it was to them in particular that these black and white cloths were given. *Kaṅkasū* Monastery Inscription of *Khañmwan* village has a clearer statement:

// *mre nañ sakā Lakyaṅsaṅkrañ ta yok | Prañcuiw ta yok | Phumma-  
khyattrā ta yok | Phummasaṅkrañ ta yok cakhi le kun'ōñ Mrañcañ ca so  
Kukhan saṃpyañ klan akun pā e'* // *pe ap so | cakhi saṃpyañ kalan tuw  
kuiw | suiw | santuiñ nī | phyañ űuiw | phyañ nham | phyañ mañ | phyañ phlū;  
cā sok pe kun e* /<sup>80</sup>

Those who set foot on the land (to inspect) were *Lakyaṅsaṅkrañ*, *Prañ cuiw*, *Phummakhyattrā*, *Phummasaṅkrañ*, all *cakhi* and all *saṃpyañ* and *klan* of *Kukhan*, *Mrañcañ*, etc. Given to *cakhi*, *saṃpyañ* and *kalan* were full-sleeved gowns, red short-sleeved frocks, brown cloth, grey cloth, black cloth, and white cloth. (They then) ate and drank.

This practice of feasting and giving gifts began to appear by A.D. 1200 and it was continued beyond A.D. 1500.

The reason why these buying of lands, the eating of meat and salts, the drinking of liquor, the spreading of cloths by the monks are given in detail, is to make clear that these were the only practices where the *tawmlat kri*—the reverend lords of the forest monastery, or *Arañ*, differed from, say, the monks of to-day. They were not certainly as bad as the Chronicles make us believe. In addition to the above mentioned defections, there is one minor point to add, though the evidence is poor as it is found in the copy of a record dated A.D. 1248<sup>81</sup>. It was found near the *Nandamañā* in *Ajjagoṇa* enclosure of Minnanthu, Pagan. It says that provisions were left to prepare rice and curry for the morning and evening meals of the monks. Thus with the exception of drinking liquor, eating evening meals, and encouraging the slaughter of cattle, etc. these monks were very much the same with other monks. The following extracts, mostly from the inscriptions found at Amyint

80. List 682 25-8(S. 737).

and Anein, their stronghold in Monywa district, will show that they too had quite venerable persons among them.

*bhurā mlat cwā sāsānā nhuik akyān sitān sañkhan khrañ nhañ plañjūñ cwā so alwan lokīchan ra prī klañjūkri so phummlat krī cwā Añātakuṇḍaṇḥ so mahāthe sañ kā Krañku mañ so prañ e' toñ myak nhā rwā nhañ ma kap taw e' arap sacpañ rañ nhuik samakhan khañ ruy sañ sapit kuīw rhe te lyak bhawanā mū ruy ne can lyañ tau chañ pok mrañ ruy nhāmoñ muiw lyak tau sañ rhyān ruy ple khup lat-te | mahāthe e' adhañ rok so sat añ matta sac khak khluiw ruy rhi kluīw pūjau prī so lakyā pat lañ ruy swā khai ī a kroñ kuiw taññā tuiw mrañ ruy Lesoñ sukrī Suwañṇapakrañ ā krā pa le e' amat krī le bhun mlat krī cwā athañ lā ruy mlat cwā skhiñ atī rap suiw swā añ sanhe hu me ra kā e' bhunkrī so amatkrī ī prañ nhuik mhi ruy chwañ khañ cam so hu pe ra kā sañkhañ plu pe khui* <sup>82</sup>

In the Religion of the Exalted Lord, the Reverend *Añātakuṇḍaṇḥ*, a *Mahāthera* replete with virtue, peity and restraint, possessor of the highest stage of the supernatural power, came to a place south of a city known as *Krañkū*, far away from human habitations in the forest and spread a seat under a tree. While he sat (on that seat), with his iron begging bowl set right in his front, in meditation, a young male elephant rumbling loud with a raised trunk dashed forward to strike. Approaching the *Mahāthera*, in the very moment to kill, it tore off a branch of a tree and bowed in the act of prayer and circled clockwise around the Lord and went away. Fishermen saw it and reported to *Suwañṇapakrañ*, the headman of *Lesoñ*. The great minister then came to the Reverend (*Mahāthera*) and asked where the Reverend Lord intended to go. When the Lord replied, "Oh Powerful Minister! I came to live on the food begged from this city" he built a shelter.

As a matter of fact, it was due to the personality of leaders like *Añātakuṇḍaṇḥ* that this sect of 'forest dwellers' prospered.

These 'forest dwellers' headed a movement for which we owe them much gratitude though it was not particularly of a spiritual nature. We know of course that the 'first home' of the Burmans was known as *kharuin* and the 'second home' as *tuik*, and that even in the *tuik* area much of the land had been cleared for cultivation long ago. But after the fall of Pagan, perhaps due to the shortage of man power and the disturbances in the outlying districts, much of the cultivable land of the *tuik* areas naturally lapsed into jungle again. The following extract from the inscription of A.D. 1375 shows the situation of the country then:

*na lañ (Tonñū Mañ) nat rwā lā pri Awa mañ krī cac 3 krim tak lac so rahan ṇuññā lū takā tuiw sañ mwat so khā nhuik wat krak 37 pā a*

<sup>82</sup> Amunt, Minguayung small 2 faces inscription, Obverse 5-13 (S. 733)

*cim apā 200 nā pe ra e' lū tuiw mwat ruy se so khā lū myā kuiw nā kuiw nhañ dhap tū lhyañ sanā cwā ruy lhū so thamañ kā cā pe so a khwak nā chai 2 nā nak ma prat lhū ra e' cac mak phlac so shkiñ tuiw kyan mron̄ ṣañ hi so le ma kyan ce rak paccañ 4 pā cum̄ on̄ lhū ra e' 83*

After the death of my husband (King of Taungoo), when the great king of Awa marched thrice to do battle, all men, monks and Brahmans starved. Then I gave cooked food to 37 monks and uncooked food to 200. When men died of starvation, I had a compassion on them as I had on myself, (and therefore) I had 50 *khwak* of rice cooked twice—night and day, daily and gave them away. When the Lords (of the Religion) became uncomfortable due to the wars, I made them comfortable by giving them complete sets of the four requisites.

Again in an inscription of A.D. 1386, we find:

*Mahāmatimā dhañ ā | Uccanā mañkrī sañ sañsarā chañray kuiw krok cwā so kroñ Pañkley tuik twañ cucam̄ lat ruy Sakarac 617 khu Cissa nhac Tapon̄ l-chan 13 ryak 5 ne mle 1500 Cayyasatthiy tuik twañ lhū taw mū e | akhā tapā Taruk phyak ruy tau ati phlac khai ruy | dhuw̄ mle tuiw twañ akhluw̄ ka: taw phlac khai | 84*

Great king *Uccanā*, being afraid of the miseries of the *sañsarā* made enquiries in *Pañkley tuik* and on 8 February 1256, gave 1500 (*pay*) of land from *Cayyasatthiy tuik* to *Mahāmatimā thera*. Because the *Taruk* once plundered, (the said lands) became full of jungle. In these lands some relapsed into jungle.

Either in clearing new lands for cultivation or clearing again those lands which were once under cultivation, these 'forest dwellers' took the lead. This in fact was a distinct step towards rehabilitation and reconstruction after war years and therefore their contribution towards peace and order was quite considerable. Their work was thus in agreement with the policy of the then government. The extract below gives a very good illustration of the amount of work they had done at that time.

*//phurā skhiñ sāsanā 1973 akhā nhuik piṭakat sum̄m pum̄ñ nhuik rai rañ sa paññ ā phlañ Siri Sadhammañsenapati hu thañ rhā cwā so amañ tau lañ hi tha so saddhā paññ lum̄m la ā nhañ lañ plañ cum̄ cwā tha so piṭakat 9 pum̄ e' dāyakā lañ phlac tha so thī phlū lañ choñ tha so Pitu Sañgharājā sañ | klok chok sa akhā ka ca sañ anhac 30 tuiñ tuiñ akhluw̄ ma ra hi sa to cim kuiw Samantarac kloñ ne ka si tau mū ra kā |o| ratanā sunim̄ pa e' acī aphwā phlac cim saw nhā tapeñ phlac so Aññ Ummañ chryiā tuiw kuiw thwañ ca mū ce e' | ma ra ka Sañgarājā lañ kwiw tau swā ruy ā atuiñ thwañ taw mū e' | rhañ cwā saw mron̄ krī kuiw lañ tū taw mū e' | mañ tryā hu sa*

amañ taw ā phlañ, thañ rhā cwā sa Satuiw mañkrī sañ | prañ thai e' cī phwā  
 aluiw nhā taw cim hira rā thwañ taw mū sa akhā | ī mle kuiw lañ thwañ pā  
 ari hu mlok miphurā nhañ akwa Tañklī nā nhuik ne taw mū lat teñ mahā  
 sañgharājā lañ thuiv tau lā ruy mle akhrañ kuiw chuiw ruy chwañ kham tau  
 mū e' | mañtryā lañ mlok miphurā nhañ akwa lañ taw mu ruy amat krī Rājā  
 kuiw tā ce saw 2950 ta pai khwai carwat hu nā taw lhyok e' | mañ krī mañ-  
 tryā lañ Sāñgharājā khlañ mathwañ nhuin ma thwañ pā ari hu chuiw taw mū  
 e' | Mahāsañgharājā lañ ratanā suñm pā e' watdhu pyak ta lhyañ kha ari  
 hu nā taw lhyok ruy khre taw can la lañ phuiv kuiw sūrai cā ñwe 300 chak  
 e' | tā pe so cackh? Bodhi nhañ akwa so amat krī Rājā kuiw ñwe 50 rhwe 3  
 klap pe e' tā cwai kuiw 5 klap pe e' | huñ la ā phlañ to kuiw thwañ sa  
 praññā ā phlañ mañ kuiw chwañ kham ruy apyak ce so saddhā ā phlañ  
 uccā kla ruy ratanā 3pā aci aphañ phlac so ī mle tvañ thwañ ca mū so mron  
 ū Tanchañ krī tvañ Pattamrā cātī kuiw aryā sañghā apon nhañ ñi ñwat cwā  
 mū ruy 10 lhū tau mū e' | Pitu Cañkhum m kuiw lañ 10 lhū tau mū e' |  
 Pitu phurā krī kuiw lañ 10 lhū tau mū e' | plu tau mu so piṭakat 9 puñm  
 kuiw lañ 20 lhū tau mū e' | ī mhya krwañ sa mle kuiw kā pugguiw ta cu  
 aryā 2 cu chwañ phlac ce so |<sup>85</sup>

In A.B. 1973 (A.D. 1429), it was brought to the notice of Pitu Sañgharājā popularly known as *Siri Dhammañsenāpati* for his unrivalled knowledge of the three *Piṭaka*, who was complacent, wise and diligent, who was the donor of nine *Piṭaka* and who (had the right to) use a white umbrella, and (who at the moment) was staying at the *Samantarac* Monastery, that (a certain) jungle land was left unproductive for 30 years from the time it was (acquired and the boundary) pillars put up. In order that it might be of some use to the Three Gems, he caused his disciple *Aññā Ummañ Chryiā* to clear away the jungle. When he failed, the *Sañgharājā* himself went there and put his might to clear it. A long canal was dug. The Great King *Satuiw* who was famous as being a just king, was (also) clearing 'green jungle lands' for (increasing) the prosperity of his country. Saying that he would also plough the said land, (the king) with his North Queen came and stayed at (a place called) *Tañklī*. There the *Mahāsañgharājā* went, and mentioning the extent of the land, asked permission (to work on it). The just king with his North Queen actually went about in the field and ordered the Minister *Rājā* to measure it. (It measured) 2951  $\frac{5}{8}$  *pay*. The Great and Just King said, "*Sañgharājā* alone could not clear it." The *Sañgharājā* replied that (? he alone is responsible to look after) a religious property and for (? the trouble of) marching he gave (the King) 300 silver as the money for the soilders. To the Minister *Rājā* together with *cackhī Bodhi* who measured the land were given 50 silver and 3 ticals of gold. To the person who carried about the *tā* measure was given 5 ticals. Out of this land where the jungle was cleared through hard work, the claim was (renewed) from the king through diplomacy, the cost (of reclaiming) was defrayed through faith (in the Religion),

with the consent of all the monks, 10 (*pay*) was dedicated to the Ruby Pagoda of *Tanchaṅkrī* at the beginning of the canal where the clearing of this land was started. 10 (*pay*) were also dedicated to the *Pitu Cañ-khumṃ* (Pagoda). 10 (*pay*) were also dedicated to the big pagoda of *Pitu*. 20 were given to the nine *Piṭaka* he made. As for the remaining land, may the ? chief monk enjoy onefold and the *saṅghā* twofold (of the yearly produce) for procuring (daily meals).

According to this inscription, through the effort of a leader of the 'forest dwellers', an area of over 5000 acres became cultivable and it is also very interesting to note that the then reigning king (*Muivñān Satuīw*, 1426-39) took a personal interest in reclaiming waste lands. The prosperity of the 15th century was perhaps due to the efforts of such enterprising persons together with the king's encouragement to grow more food.

It must be understood that these monks who worked hard on 'green lands' would work harder on older lands under crop for years and would spare no pains to keep these lands in their possession as long as possible. On the other hand, the king had no objection to having more land under crop but he did have a strong objection to the increase of religious lands from which he got no revenue. Thus the tendency during the Pagan times was to confiscate religious lands where the evidence was weak. We have mentioned above that *Samṃyaṅ Jeyyapwat* dedicated 750 *pay* at *Hanram paak* which he received from king *Nātoṅmyā* to the forest monastery on the east of Pagan in A.D. 1227. Soon after his accession to the throne in A.D. 1235, King *Klacwā* seized all the religious lands throughout the country including the lands of the above monastery.

|| Jeyyapwat tāau kloṅ nhuik niy so || skhiṅ saṅghā tuiw, sañ || maṅkrī ā krā luik e, || Mahārac || īy Jeyyapwat e, || Mahādān kā || taau kloṅ purhā lhyaṅ lhū kha sate hu so krā luik e, || ī suiw, krā luik ra kā || maṅkrī le prañātāw krī cwā so maṅ phlac rakā || aplac khap sim so kuiw chaṅ khraṅ ruy || nā khamaṅ piy sa le caṅ e, || Jeyyapwat purhā lhū sa le caṅ e, || thuiw mū kā purhā ra la pa ciy hu ruy te || maṅ pha thuy Rājāsū 1 yok | Kaṅkasū || amatyā kā | Mahāsīman || Amruiklakyā || Anantajayapikram || Mahāsakthit || ī mhya so sū 6 yok so kuiw || naṅ tuiw cit cat piy laṅ hu so mīntāu mu e' || thuiw suiw maṅ cit cat ciy ra kā || ī y sū 6 yok sa tuiw, (sañ) || cit cat kun sa rhaw || Jeyyapwat kuiw || maṅ krī khamaṅ piy tāw mū sa le caṅ e, || Jeyyapwat purhā lhū sa le caṅ e, hū so || ī y sū 6 yok sa tuiw sañ || mīn kun e, || nī ruy nā tāau ā plaṅ piy rakā || maṅkrī le mīntāu mū e. || Jeyyapwat kuiw nā khamaṅ mahādān piy sa le caṅ e, || Jeyyapwat sañ tāau kloṅ purhā lhū sa le caṅ e, hū mū kā purhā ra lat pā ce hu maṅ krī kā || amat taṅā mhok lhyaṅ riy caṅ tāau khla ruy lhū tum sate ||<sup>86</sup>

The lord monks living at the *Jeyyapwat* forest monastery informed the great king: “*Mahārāja*, these *mahādāna* lands of *Jeyyapwat* had been dedicated to the Lord of the forest monastery”: when thus told, the great king who was a king of great wisdom became mindful of all sins (said) “If it is true that (these lands) were given by my father (to *Jeyyapwat*) and that *Jeyyapwat* had dedicated (them) to the Lord, let the Lord get (them)”. King’s uncles *Rājasū*, and *Kaṅkasū*, Ministers *Mahāsīman*, *Amruṅklakya*, *Anantajayyapikraṇ*, and *Mahāsakthit*: these 6 were ordered to investigate. As they had the royal command to investigate, all 6 of them investigated. (Then) they said: “It is true that (these lands) were given by the king’s father (to *Jeyyapwat*) and that *Jeyyapwat* had dedicated (them) to the Lord”. This unanimous decision was conveyed to the royal ears. The great king said: “It is found correct that my father gave these *mahādāna* lands to *Jeyyapwat* and that *Jeyyapwat* had dedicated them to the Lord at the forest monastery. May the Lord get them”. (So saying) the great king poured royal pure water in the presence of all ministers and dedicated them.

The objection raised by the monks made the king appoint a Commission of six to investigate and when that commission reported that the lands in question belonged to the Religion, the king had to return them. A similar case happened to the forest monastery at Anein in A.D. 1255. *Skhiṅ Mahāmatimāthe* was the chief there. *Paccayā Phoṅcaṅ*, *Na Plaṅ Caṅ Saṅ* and *Nā Mraṅ Saṅ* dedicated 1500 *pay* of land to it. When *Uccanā* later known as *Talapyā Maṅ* confiscated the lands of *Phoṅcaṅ Paṅkli* in A.D. 1255, the above mentioned lands were included. In the same year *Uccanā* went to *Tala* and was killed there. *Panpwat Saṅ mli* who later became known as *Taruk pliy* became king and when he arrived back at Pagan *Skhiṅ Mahāmati māthe* reported it to the new king through his father-in-law *Sariy*. The king said:

*Sariy na aloṅ lhyaṅ yū so te na ma saṅ tuīw siṃ ran ṅakā asuīw hu yu aṃ sanhe sikkhaṅ tuīw ṅa lṅhū e, aluīw ra ciy e, ratanā suṃ pā so mliy kā ṅā mliy suīw chaṃ khraṅ ta tan lhyaṅ awaṅ ciy ṅā tuīw mliy kā ratanā sumpā so mliy suīw wan sakā ma thiy plaṅ skhiṅ tuīw mliy khraṅ nāṅ amray amraṅ tuīn chok pa liy hū so thuy tau ra lhyaṅ sate||<sup>87</sup>*

“*Sariy*, as I am a Bodhisattva ( myself), I should never take them. How could I confiscate them ? (If they were already seized), I dedicate them to the lords. Let them do what they like with them. Let not the land of the Three Gems enter our land: not even one width of a hair. There could be no sin if our land enters the land of the Three Gems. You put up permanent pillars to demarcate the land of the Lords”. This was the royal order.

Again the monks were able to correct the mistake done by a king. Over a century later in A.D. 1386 these *Pankli Tuik* lands became a problem again,

*dhuīw Mahāmatimātheñ ā | Uccanā mañ krī sañ saṁsarā chainray kuiw  
krok cwā so kroñ Pañkley tuik twañ cūcaṁ lat ruy Sakarac 617 khu  
Cissa nhac Tapoñ 1- chan 13 ryak 5 ne mle 1500 Cayyasatthiy tuik  
twañ lhū taw mū e' | akhā ta pā Taruk phyak ruy tau ati phlac khai  
rui | dhuīw mle tuiw twañ akhluīw ka: taw phlac khai | akhyuīw ka:  
skhiñ tuiw ā paccañ phlac e' akhā ta pā: so Siri Tittyapawaradhammarājā  
hū so Tryāphyā mañkrī e' sā caw phlac so apha rā khañ dhuik cwā ruy  
im rhuey arā mañ lhyā dhā so Tryāphyā Chañ Phlū Skhiñ sañ mlok bhak  
prañ kuiw ra lat so khā klau ok cakhī tuiw | ta khyuīw sa mle kuiw sūrai ap  
bhi ra kā | Sakarac 748 khu Tanchonmum 1- chut 9 ryak 6 ne | bhun mlal  
krī Dhamma senāpati Mahādhañ sañ | Siri Dhammā Soka mañ krī  
myā miphurā Sandhamitta kai suīw | saddhā cwā ruy rahan sañghā mhi  
tañ rā phlac so amiphurā ā ryap le ra kā | amat krī Pitarac kuiw | apha  
kroñ, Chañ Phlū Skhiñ Tryāphyā kā | Uccanā mañ krī alhū kuiw sū  
rai jā pe sa nhe | apac te lhū tun am rhañ | wat hoñ kuiw athi pā lasse  
| bhun krī asak rhañ kroñ skhiñ tuiw wat lhū pe | ami ānā achan lasse mle  
khrā tuiw, klok chok pe lasse hu ruy thwe taw khla lat so khā | saddhā  
cwā sa Chañ Phlū Skhiñ Tryāphyā le cit cac sañ-so sañghika amhat si  
lat rakā ap mi sa sūray le ta pā ajā khla le e' | wat hoñ kuiw le nā lhū e' |  
asac so le nā lhūpā e' <sup>88</sup>*

Great king *Uccanā*, being afraid of the miseries of *saṁsarā* made enquiries in *Pañ kley tuik* and on 8 February 1256, gave 1500 (*pay*) of land from *Cayyasatthiy tuik* to *Mahāmatimā thera*. Because the *Taruk* once plundered (the said lands) became full of jungle. Of these lands some relapsed into jungle and some remained in support of the lords. Once when *Tryāphyā Chañ Phlū Skhiñ*, Heir Apparent and worthy son to inherit the kingly rights from his father *Tryāphyā Mañkrī* titled *Siri Tittyapawara dhammarājā*, had subdued the North, the subordinate officers of the outlying districts gave away some of the lands to the Heroes of the War. So on 16 November 1386, the Reverend *Dhamma-senāpati Mahāthera* approached the Queen who was steeped in the faith of the Religion and became the solace of the monks as *Sandhamittā*, Queen of *Siri Dhammāsoka* had been before. (Thereupon the Queen) said to the Great Minister *Pitarac*: "Why does *Tryāphyā*, the Lord of the White Elephant, give the dedicated (land) of the Great King *Uccanā* to the Heroes to enjoy? Is sin to be expected from a good deed? An old donation should not be molested. For prosperity and long life, give land to the lords. Obey my orders. Put up stone pillars of demarcation". When the royal order was given thus, the pious *Tryāphyā*, the Lord of the White Elephant, became aware of the monks' common property which ought to be given minute care, made changes in his rewards to the Heroes and said: "Old donations are returned and new donations are bestowed".

The story so far is like this : From *Cayyasatthiy tuik of Paṅklī 10 tuik*, 1500 pay of land was given by various donors to the forest monastery at Anein where *Skhiñ Mahāmatimā*; who acted as an agent of *Mahākassapa*, was chief monk. Just before his death in A.D. 1255, King *Uccanā* confiscated these lands. *Mahāmatimā* informed this to the new king, i.e. *Tarukpli*, through the king's father-in-law called *Sariy*. The king expressed regret and returned these lands. When the country was devastated by the Mongol invaders, most of these lands relapsed into jungle. After *Tryāphyā* III (1367-1400) or *Mañkrī: cwā coau kai* had subdued the Northern part of the country, he gave away some of these lands as reward for bravery to his soldiers. At this time the Reverend *Dhammasenāpati* was the chief monk of the forest monastery of Anein. Through the Queen in A.D. 1386, he informed the king that religious lands should not be given as fief to the soldiers. So the king returned them. Thus we find that these 'forest dwellers' had the ability to keep a good hold on their lands.

In this sect of 'forest dwellers', such leaders like *Skhiñ Mahāmatimā* who were well versed in the *Piṭṭaka* came to be known as *Saṅgharājā* after the fall of Pagan. They had the power to control the monks and they exercised much influence over the kings of the Ava period. The king gave them authority to use the *Kanakkatan* White Umbrella. There were many of them according to localities. It seems that a *Saṅgharājā* who was also a royal preceptor was the most influential of them. From A.D. 1330 onwards we often find the mention of one royal preceptor called *Sethadisāprāmokkha mahā thera saṅgharājā*<sup>89</sup>. His successor as the royal preceptor was *Mahāsaṅgharājā*. In the *Tanthā Ū Rakrañ Kyoñ: Inscription of Awa Mañkhoñ krī:*, this *Mahāsaṅgharājā* is described as:

*Trya phyā mañkri e' chryiā taw mū lañ phlac tha so | kute phanan san ma ka sa aryā sanghā apoñ kuiv acuiw ra sa Mahāsañkhārā khoñ cā mū le phlac tha so | thi phlu amwan Kanakkatan piman (rhwe) ruiw pitti muiw saw koñ khuiw cī phwā tryā si prī phun taw krī sañ alwan tryā rattanā suṃpā kuiv yuñ krañ cwā so ||*<sup>90</sup>

being a preceptor of the Great King *Tryāphyā*, being the *Mahāsaṅgharājā*, the Chief ruling millions of monks, being the glorious personage who could use the best of the white umbrellas, called *Kanakkatan* with golden rod and cottoncloth spread, being the meritorious monk who has great faith in the Three Gems.

This person became famous after A.D. 1370 and remained so for the next thirty years.<sup>91</sup> He was succeeded by *Pitū Saṅgharājā* who was described as :

89. Pl. 503<sup>2,7,12,19</sup> (S. 715).

90. List 845<sup>2-4</sup> (S. 774).

91. List 697<sup>12</sup> (S. 739), List 738<sup>5</sup> (S. 749), List 845<sup>2</sup> (S. 774), Htupayon Stone 25<sup>11</sup> (S. 794), Sagaing Thawtapan Laykyunmanaung Thitsaya Inscription Reverse<sup>3</sup> (S. 891).



*piṭakat samm puṃm nhuik rai rañ sa prañña ā phlañ Siri Sadammamse-  
napat hu thañ rhā cwā so amañ tau hi tha so saddhā praññā lummla ā  
nhañ lañ plañ cum cwā tha so piṭakat 9 puṃ e' dāyakā lañ phlac tha so  
thī phlū lañ choñ tha so*<sup>92</sup>

popularly known as *Siri Dhammasenāpati* for his unrivalled knowledge of the Three *Piṭaka*, who was complacent, wise and diligent, who was the donor of the nine *Piṭaka*, and who (had the right to) use a white umbrella.

This is the very *Saṅgharājā* mentioned above, who dug a big canal and made an area of over 5000 acres which had been lying waste for 30 years cultivable again. He was a man of vast influence and according to his Sagaing Ruby Pagoda Inscription, he built 7 big monasteries, 5 hollow-pagodas, 4 solid-pagodas, and had 3 copies made of the Three *Piṭaka*<sup>93</sup>. He died in A.D. we do not know who succeeded him. There were many *Saṅgharājā* mentioned 1450, and records. Among them, we find *rhe kloñ Saṅgharājā Im Toñ Ruiw*<sup>94</sup> who in various probably was a *bhikkhunī*. Another one called *Camkā Saṅgharājā* was described as *atu ma hi so*—being unrivalled<sup>95</sup>. Perhaps he was the lord of the Seven Monasteries of *Cakā*: often quoted in the Chronicles dealing with the Pinya Period<sup>96</sup>. Because in one inscription he was mentioned as *Camkā Saṅgharājā Weluwan Mahātheñ*<sup>97</sup>—the *Mahāthera* of *Weluwan* (called) *Camkā Saṅgharājā*. Other *Saṅgharājā* were :

*Arhe Saṅgharājā*<sup>98</sup> — the East *Saṅgharājā*,  
*Anok Saṅgharājā*<sup>99</sup>—the West *Saṅgharājā*,  
*Aphuiw Saṅgharājā*<sup>100</sup> — the Grandfather *Saṅgharājā*,  
*Tanthā Ū Saṅgharājā*<sup>101</sup> — the *Saṅgharājā* of *Tanthā Ū*,  
*Toñ Saṅgharājā*<sup>102</sup>— the South *Saṅgharājā*,  
*Thūpāruṃm Saṅgharājā*<sup>103</sup>—the *Saṅgharājā* of the *Thūpāruṃm*,  
*Pañya Saṅgharājā*<sup>104</sup>— the *Saṅgharājā* of *Pañya*,  
*Rañoṃmlaṅ Saṅgharājā*<sup>105</sup> — the *Saṅgharājā* of *Rañoṃmlaṅ*  
and  
*Sinkhuiv Saṅgharājā*<sup>106</sup>— the *Saṅgharājā* of Ceylon.

92. List 891<sup>11</sup> (S. 791).

93. List 939<sup>4</sup> (S. 807). See *supra* pp. 11-12.

94. List 834<sup>2</sup> (S. 770).

95. Pinya Shwezigon Guthonlon Inscription<sup>3</sup> (S. 739).

96. List 944<sup>12</sup> (S. 808).

97. List 796<sup>9</sup> (S. 761), *Mahādhammasaṅkram: Sāsanaṅ laṅkāra Cātam*: 1831. Hantawaddy Press, Rangoon. 1956. p. 126.

98. *Chaṅkwat Rhwekūkrī* Inscription Obverse<sup>11</sup> (S. 791), Htupayon Shed Stone 252 (S. 794).

99. *Chaṅkwat Rhwekūkrī* Inscription Obverse<sup>11</sup> (S. 791).

100. List 922b<sup>28</sup> (S. 801), List 925a<sup>10</sup> (S. 802).

101. List 1073b<sup>11</sup> (S. 920).

102. List 729<sup>39</sup> (S. 791).

103. List 1293b<sup>24</sup> (S. 876).

104. *Chaṅkwat Rhwekūkrī* Inscription Obverse<sup>11</sup> (S. 791), List 949b<sup>14</sup> (S. 810), List 1053<sup>2</sup> (S. 873).

105. *Chaṅkwat Rhwekūkrī* Inscription Obverse<sup>11</sup> (S. 791).

106. List 1048.4.5 (S. 871).

It seems that after A.D. 1500, these *Saṅgharājā* did not enjoy the power and prestige of their predecessors. Because there appeared some monks who challenged their authority. We find that in A.D. 1558 one *Waraguṇakitti* was ordered by the *Tanthā Ū Saṅgharājā* to quit a monastery at *Tampak chwai*. The reason given by the *Saṅgharājā* was that he was virtually the owner as he had to look after it when the country was disturbed by the Shans. Now he wanted to turn it into a *Sīma*. *Waraguṇakitti* refused to comply with the order and so the case was brought up to the Elders who after consulting the *Vinaya* decided in favour of *Waraguṇakitti*. It goes on record as:

*asak khrok chai khrok nhac hi so Tanthā Ū Saṅgharājā phunkrī cwā  
kuiw | asak nā chai kuiw nhac hi so Tampak chwai Chañ Phlū Shyañ  
Chriā Waraguṇakitti dheñ Vinañ toau lā S atuiñ nuiñ le R*<sup>107</sup>  
In accordance with the *Vinaya*, the *Saṅgharājā* of *Tanthā Ū*, aged 66  
was won by *Waraguṇakitti*, aged 59 of *Tampak chwai*, the Preceptor of  
*Chañ Phlū Shyañ*

The leader of this important sect of 'forest dwellers' which prospered for centuries, was *Shyañ Mahākassapa*. An inscription found at his native place dated A.D. 1388 has his *Jātā* engraved on top of the inscribed part and it mentions that his original name was *Nā Poñ Loñ Sañ* born A.D. 1169<sup>108</sup>. His birth place was *Parimma* in Myaung township, Sagaing district<sup>109</sup>. His educational qualification is mentioned as *Nā Poñ, Loñ, Sañ Mahākassapa ka: Piṭakat kuiw ahwan tat ruy*<sup>110</sup>—*Nā Poñ, Loñ, Sañ Mahākassapa* was extremely well versed in the knowledge of the *Piṭaka*. As for his conduct he was considered an equal of the Great *Mahākassapa* of Gotama's time.<sup>111</sup> His legend is well kept in the Kyaukyit Shwepaunglaung inscription of A.D. 1388. It says:

*purhā mlat lha Kotama e' khre tau rañ, nhuik ruiw se klui nwan byātit  
khañ 6 purhā loñ ta kip 6 tvañ akrwañm wañ 6 Na Poñ Loñ Sañ Mahā-  
kassapa kā Palalañ mañ 6 chañ aphlac mañ phlac phu khai ruy || ...||  
arhañ tau purhā skhiñ kuiw phu mrañ ra mrik kroñ hit nhañ akwa rahan  
aphrac koñ sa klañju nhan plañcum tha 6 Mahākassapa sañ kā ||.....||  
mla ssa rahan aphlac rhe rhū lyak taw kri thwak ruy || bhummalakṣan  
kran lhyañ sañ, 6 mle akhyak 9 acn rhā ruy || sāsana koñ mhu arap  
plu e' || sabbañutañ ñan purhā chu 9 luiw khyañ cwa ruy arhañ tau  
rupthu rhuy chañpu ati plu e' || mwe sa miphwā ayū mhā ruy ahi  
tarichan nwāma aphlac 2 pā lhā 6 Krokrac rwā nhuik ā || arañawāsī  
tau kloñ sañmuik purhā tañ 6 ||.....|| Sarkkac 577 khu || ... || ī nhuik  
ā lhyañ Cañsu mañ kri ā bhilū ñhan chai ruy 3 krin cañ lhyañ pañ, lat*

107. List 1073b<sup>30-2</sup> (S. 920).

108. Sagaing district, Myaung township, Kyaukyit village, Shwepaunglaung Pagoda  
4 faces inscription E. face<sup>9</sup> (S. 750).

109. Pl. 4747 (S. 706).

110. Anein Tawgyvaung Shwegu Stone 2<sup>3</sup> (S. 748).

*raka luik pa le e' // Mahākassapa Pukam prañ rok-ka lhyañ Cañsū mañkri kā bhilū bhe mha khyam sã-ra ruy // thī phlū Kanakkatan-hañ akwa mañ mlok tanchā 5 pã // Mahākassapa 9 pu cau bhi e' // bhunmlat kri cwā Mahākassapa 4// mle alhū chwam kham e' //*<sup>112</sup>

*Nā Pon Loñ Sañ Mahākassapa*, who was one of the ten bodhisatta to receive respectfully the *pātihāra* (as to the time when they would become Buddha themselves) at the foot of the most exalted Lord *Gotama*, was once an elephant king called *Palalañ...* (This) *Mahākassapa*, who for being (fortunate) to see the living Lord Buddha, became a monk replete with many virtues... With a mind to seek solitude in the forest (he) went about to look for an auspicious land (? monastery) for the good of the Religion. Being desirous of attaining Buddha-hood he had an image of the Lord cast entirely of gold. At *Krokrac* where his mother for having a false belief became a cow, he established an *araññavāsī* forest monastery and built a pagoda... In A.D. 1215...the Great King *Cañsū* suffered an illness caused by a *bhilū* and sent (for him) three times. He went. On *Mahākassapa's* arrival at *Pukam*, the Great King *Cañsū* was spared of the *bhilū's* disturbance. *Mahākassapa* was offered the 5 regalia together with the *Kanakkatan* White Umbrella. The Reverend *Mahākassapa* (then) asked for land.

According to this inscription *Mahākassapa* was born in A.D. 1169 at *Parim* and established a forest monastery at *Krokrac*. He was requested repeatedly to come to Pagan to cure the king's illness. He went there in A.D. 1215 and after having successfully cured the king's illness, he asked for land in support of his growing monastic establishments.

Checking with the contemporary records, we find that the above statement is possible. His name first appeared in a Pagan inscription in A.D. 1225 when *Nātonmyā* and sister *Mañ Lha* made some dedications.<sup>113</sup> He started his forest monasteries first at *Krokrac*, *Parim*, *Amrañ* and *Anim*. We have mentioned above that on the east of Pagan a forest monastery was established in A.D. 1236 at Phwazaw. Next *Mahākassapa* was mentioned together with other famous monks of the capital at a dedication ceremony in A.D. 1237 of the most important minister of the time known as *Mahā Sman*.<sup>114</sup> The other names mentioned together with him on that occasion were *Dhammasiri* and *Subhūticanda* who were most probably his rivals. They went on an educational mission to Ceylon between A.D. 1237 and 1248 with perhaps the chief object of soliciting Sinhalese help to stop the growth of this sect of 'forest dwellers'.<sup>115</sup> *Mahākassapa* was found to be very active while his rivals were away at Ceylon. First he worked hard to get the royal patronage. When *Nā Blañ Sañ*,

112. Kyaukyit Shwepaunglaung Obverse<sup>3-17</sup>(S. 750).

113. Pl. 123<sup>5,6,7,12</sup>(S. 587).

114. Pl. 102<sup>8</sup>(S. 596).

115. Pl. 302.

son of *Ratanā Payyasu* and Headman of *Leson* dedicated  $405\frac{1}{16}$  pay of land in A.D. 1242 to the Reverend Lord of *Kramū*, who was one of his lieutenants, he went to see King *Klacwā* and got the royal consent of pouring water in recognition of that dedication. Then he put it on record as *ī kā mañ piy mañ lhū te* <sup>116</sup> this is verily the king's gift. After having thus acquired the royal patronage, he tried to extend his influence east towards the rich rice lands *Kyaukse*. <sup>117</sup> At the capital he had the support of such influential person as *Kaṅkasū* the King's brother. When *Kaṅkasū* died his widow put up many buildings in his memory at the *Mahākassapa* establishment, Minnanthu. <sup>118</sup> In *Puil Sukri Sattyā*'s inscription of A.D. 1244, *Mahākassapa*'s monastery is located at a place close to *arhiy prañ takhā* <sup>119</sup>—the Eastern Gate of the capital, i.e. Pagan. In this establishment, he used to reside at the building made for him by Princess *Mañ Lhā*. <sup>120</sup> While staying in that residence in A.D. 1244 he brought an action against the *Cakraw* Guards of *Chip Ton* on the north west of *Kyaukse* district, for the ownership of land at *Saṅton kharuin*. <sup>121</sup> The land in question was originally the king's gift to *Saṅkrammasī* who was *Mahākassapa*'s grandfather. This incidentally shows that he came from a family of government officers. By A.D. 1248, he started buying big estates at the *Shwebo Chindwin* area <sup>122</sup>. We do not exactly know when he died, but it ought to be between A.D. 1272 and 1278. Because inscriptions put up after 1272 mention only *Mahākassapa*'s establishment <sup>123</sup> and by 1278 a new *thera*, name unknown, was residing at that establishment <sup>124</sup>. If this inference is permissible we may assume that *Mahākassapa* also known as *Nā Poñ Loñ Sañ*, the leader of the sect of *araññawāsi* forest dwellers or in short the *Arañ*, died either at the age of 103 or 109. The sect he led lasted well over A.D. 1500.

There is a local legend that *Mahākassapa* went to the *Yaw* area to propagate the Religion and in the course of his travels, he died where *Pontaung*, *Ponnya* and *Mahu* rangers meet, i.e. at a place about 60 miles to the north east of *Monywa*. His remains are believed to be buried at that place and pilgrims still wend their way there <sup>125</sup>.

116. Pl. 297<sup>8</sup> (S. 662). In this record *mañ krī nhañ*, *Cow thuy le Mahābodhi twaṅ ca riy piy so lhyañ mlat krī lak riy cañ taw khla ruy, lhū sate|| ī kā mañ piy mañ lhū te ||* there is a mention of *Mahābodhi*. Perhaps king *Klacwā* and *Cawthuy* were at a temporary residence called *Mahābodhi* when *Mahākassapa* sought audience.

117. Pl. 140a<sup>2</sup> (S. 604).

118. Pl. 143a<sup>6-7</sup>, Pl. 145<sup>10</sup>, Pl. 147a<sup>7</sup> (S. 604).

119. Pl. 153a<sup>2-3</sup> (S. 606).

120. Pl. 162<sup>2</sup> (S. 694).

121. Pl. 165<sup>5-10</sup> (S. 610).

122. Pl. 163, Pl. 424

123. Pl. 203<sup>2</sup>, Pl. 224<sup>12</sup>, Pl. 277<sup>2</sup>.

124. Pl. 277<sup>2</sup>.

125. ဦးဘိုးကျား / အလောင်းတော်ဝန်ထံပ / ကိုယ်လှူဝတ္ထု အမှတ် ၆ / မြန်မာ့ဂုဏ်ရည် ပုံနှိပ်တိုက်၊ ရန်ကုန်၊ ၁၉၃၈၊ ၁၁မှတ်နှာ ၃၃၀။