

RELIGION IN BURMA, A.D. 1000-1300 *

by

Than Tun

S Ā S A N Ā is a Pali loan word used by the old Burmese for religion, especially that of the Buddha and for the year of the religion reckoned from the death of the Buddha. There are traces of many other religions besides Buddhism. Of the many types of Buddhism, which existed the type which modern Burmans called the pure *Theravāda*, was the most popular. As a matter of fact, Buddhism in those days was far from pure if we still insist on using the word 'pure'. Buddhism during Buddha's lifetime would be considered in a sense pure but as time went by it was modified to suit the time and place. Burma is no exception to this rule. I would like to add another statement: Buddhism during the period under survey was not different from the Buddhism of present day Burma. It was however much more tolerant as it allowed the presence of *Bhikkhunī* - female ascetics, in the Order. According to the *Sāsanavaṃsa* of *Paññasāmi* written in 1861, it was Lower Burma known as *Rāmañña* which received the Religion first. Perhaps it dates back to the very lifetime of the Buddha. Then in A.B. 235, *Sona* and *Uttara* led a mission to *Rāmañña* known then as *Suvaṇṇabhūmi* which is partly on the southern edge of Mount *Kelāsa*.¹ Unfortunately the Rock Edicts of Asoka² do not mention this mission. Tradition, however, maintains that henceforth Thaton was the centre from which the Religion spread up country³.

The conquest of Thaton in 1057 by *Aniruddha* resulted, it is said, in the introduction of *Theravāda* Buddhism to Central Burma. Unfortunately there is no contemporary evidence to support this famous episode. The Siamese say that it was from Nakorn Pat'om (not from Thaton) that *Aniruddha* got his Buddhism⁴. Nevertheless the spread of the 'seals' of *Aniruddha* from Twante in the south to the Irrawaddy - Shweli junction in the north supports the fact that with the centre at Pagan, *Aniruddha* expanded north and south and in this general sweep Thaton was included. His attack on the southern lands was not motivated, as alleged, by religion alone. It was pure aggression. It is doubtful whether Thaton was the home of *Theravāda* Buddhism and whether it reached Pagan only after the aforesaid conquest. When the Burmans

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1. 97°6' E & 17°13' N

2. V and XIII

3. GPC, para. 131, p. 74

4. D.G.E. Hall: *A History of South-East Asia*, p. 124

came into the plains of Burma in the 9th century A.D. they first met the Mon who were Buddhists in Kyaukse district. ⁵ It is not unlikely that they converted the Burmans to Buddhism. It is also possible that the Pyu were one of their early religious preceptors. Gold leaf manuscripts ⁶ unearthed at or near the site of *Srikṣetra* strongly suggest that the Pyu's knowledge of Buddhism was by no means slight. ⁷ One might even assume that Pali Buddhism had thrived at *Srikṣetra* and that after its fall towards the close of the 8th century the centre moved north to Halingyi which again fell early in the 9th century. Thus it was left to the Burmans to foster it a century or two later. It seems that the Pyu and the Burman mixed freely until the Pyu were absorbed. Excavations at the Petlaik Pagoda, which is generally attributed to *Aniruddha* revealed some mouldings of older structure beneath. It shows that Buddhist buildings existed at Pagan before *Aniruddha* ⁸ and a considerable portion, if not all, of the Burmans were already Buddhists before the said conquest of Thaton. From the inscriptions of *Thiluin Man's* reign ⁹ we know the extent to which Buddhism was modified to fulfil the requirements of the time and how tolerant it was of the existence of other beliefs and practices.

In the great Shwezigon inscription ¹⁰ we have the eulogy of the king who shall rule Pagan after A.B. 1630 (A.D. 1086). According to it the principal religion then practised was Buddhism, but there are references to other religions as well. The king professed himself to be a Buddhist, but he allowed himself to be declared a reincarnation of Vishnu ¹¹. Evidently this is due to the influence of Brahmanism. With the help of *Mahāthera Arahan*, the king tried to restore Buddhism to its original form, that is to say, to have it conform as much as possible to the scriptures. ¹² The inscription says that Buddhism prospered ¹³ but it is surprising to note that orthodoxy went side by side with religious toleration. ¹⁴ To them 'heretical' did not mean non-Buddhistic as a modern Burman thinks, but it only means non-conformity with one's own scriptures, whether Buddhistic, Brahmanistic or otherwise. The king's religious zeal is also explained in another inscription ¹⁵. He built a pagoda called *Jayabhūmi* to the northeast of Pagan, collected and made perfect the copies of the *Piṭaka*, sent men, money and material to effect repairs at Bodh Gaya, offered the four necessities to the monks often and converted a foreign prince (Coḷa) to Buddhism. In spite of his religious zeal shown above, his palace inscription of A.D. 1101-2 ¹⁶ shows a mixed

5. Pl. 38b6, Pl. 205¹²⁻¹⁷, Pl. 212⁴ and
Ep. Birm. III, i, pp. 70-3

6. *Ep. Ind.* V, 101-2; *ASB* 1938-9,
17-22

7. N. Ray: *Therāvada Buddhism in
Burma*, 84

8. *ASI*, 1906-7, 38-9

9. A.D. 1084-1113

10. *Ep. Birm.* I, ii, pp 90-130

11. *Ibid.* A /46, 114

12. *Ibid.* 117

13. *Ibid.* 121

14. *Ibid.* 127

15. *Ibid.* 153-68

16. *Ep. Birm.* III, i, G/35,41,43

ceremony under the very eye of the *Mahāthera Arahan* ¹⁷. The whole affair was left in the hands of the Brahman astrologers who were versed in house-building. ¹⁸ The Buddhist monks were invited only to bless the site by reciting the *Paritta* - a Buddhist ritual formula or order of service invoking protection. Even when the water used for the occasion was drawn and carried by the Brahmans and the conch which is the attribute of Vishnu was used to hold the water. Although the presence of 4108 monks is mentioned in the inscription, one gets the impression that the Brahmans were the more important. They were found leading in every step of the construction. Therefore it is natural to assume that the worship of Vishnu ¹⁹ preceded all important ceremonies. Offerings are also made to *Indra* ²⁰. The *Nāga* worship was also performed ²¹. *Gavaṃpati*-a Shaivaite deity, was placed side by side with the image of Buddha ²². There are also other vestiges of Brahmanic influence at Pagan. The chief icon in the Nanpaya built by *Makuṭa* is Brahma. A temple of Vishnu known today as Nathlaungkyaung stands next door to Pahtothamya. Even in the Burmese inscriptions belonging to the later half of the dynasty, we find traces of Brahmanic influence. A village named *Lintuiñ* (*Liṅga*) mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 1235 ²³ suggests the presence of phallic worship at one time. Another village called *Kulā Nat* ²⁴ in an inscription of A.D. 1256 also suggests that the villagers once worshipped an Indian deity. God *Mahāpinnai*, (*Mahāvināyaka* or *Gaṇeśa*) is mentioned in an inscription dated A.D. 1279 ²⁵. *Gavaṃpati* is mentioned together with the Buddha and his two chief disciples in an inscription of A.D. 1179 ²⁶. These facts enable us to say that Buddhism in the 11th century was very much a mixture or at least it had to tolerate the popular existence of Vishnavism. After *Thiluiñ Mañ*, the Mon influence receded. Perhaps the Brahmanic influence also receded though such a thing as the *Kalāśa* pot was retained ²⁷ in architectural designs, perhaps until the end of the dynasty.

The three Gems called *Ratnatrey* ²⁸ in *Thiluiñ Mañ*'s time became *ratanā suñ pā* ²⁹ in the later period. They were *Purhā*-the Lord, *Tryā*-the Law and *Saṅghā*-the Order and *Sāsānā*-the Religion of the Lord, should last for 5000 years ³⁰. But to a man like Lord *Cakukri*-much advanced in thinking than common, the life span of the Religion would equal that of the earth itself.³¹ Princess *Acawkrwam* also expected that it might stand for a period of

17. G. H. Luce: "Note on the Peoples of Burma, 12-13 century AD", *JBR*, XLII, i, 62

18. *Ep. Birm.* III, i, p. 64

19. *Ibid.* P/8, B/37, C/35, F/30, G/3, H/10, J/14

20. *Ibid.* D/29

21. *Ibid.* H/10, H/15

22. *Ep. Birm.* I, ii, A/32, 114, *Ep. Birm.* III, i, A/28-35

23. Pl. 128a/10, from Hsingut village,

Shwebo

24. Pl. 388a/10

25. Pl. 262/4,6

26. Pl. 6/6

27. Pl. 73/7, Pl. 80/7, Pl. 194/7, Pl.

220/6, Pl. 234/6, Pl. 247/8, Pl. 249/16

28. *Ep. Birm.* I, ii, D/15,22

29. Pl. 24/13

30. Pl. 73/29 etc.

31. Pl. 381/5

one hundred *asaṅkheyya* (10,000,000²⁰)³². Even today in Burma, with the exception of a few, people believe that the Religion would last for only 5000 years and no more. An old Burman, just as his modern counterpart, blindly believed that the Religion would last for only 5000 years and that it was his duty to support it to the end. To fulfil these duties meant working for one's own salvation. The Religion taught him that nothing in this world is permanent and that even though one accumulates wealth in this lifetime one cannot buy longevity and when he dies he leaves everything behind.³³ Thus to give away one's own property in charity in an unlimited and not to be equalled manner³⁴, if possible, was one of the means of acquiring merit contributing to the final attainment of *nirvāna*. After every act of merit a donor would pray for the boon of *nirvāna* in the form of a mere *araha* when *Bodhisattva Maitreya* becomes Buddha³⁵. But the more ambitious would ask for the boon of Buddhahood³⁶. *Sāsanā*, however, taught them to cherish *nirvāna* and showed them the way there. It had a profound influence, over them and it is reflected in their daily life. A queen in A.D. 1266 says:

I pray that I may never be covetous, insatiate, wrathful, bullying, ignorant, stupid, mean, uncharitable, faithless, frivolous, forgetful nor ungrateful. But I would cross *Samsarā* 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 considerate³⁷.

This shows that the active and warlike Burmans, by becoming Buddhists have been gradually turned into a peace loving people. With peace came the development of art and architecture. The old Burmans knew perfectly that they owed a great deal to India for all these benefits. *Thiluiñ Mañ* caused repairs at the holy temple of Budh Gaya. Probably pilgrims from Burma frequented the places in India associated with the life of Buddha. A queen planted a banyan tree within the enclosure of the monastery which she founded and she claimed that the tree grew from a seed of the very tree at Bodh Gaya under which Buddha sat and acquired *sabbaññutañāna*. An inscription in Burmese dated A.D. 1298 recorded repairs at a *ceṭī* of Bodh Gaya.³⁸

The Burmese word *purhā* meaning the exalted one is probably derived from *vara*³⁹. Generally it denotes Buddha himself as a pagoda where the

32. Pl. 164/46

33. Pl. 272/31-6

34. *asadisaḍāna* Pl. 275/1235. Pl. 23/10, Pl. 246/13, P^r. 253b/10, etc.36. Pl. 568b, *Ep. Birm.* I, ii, I,D/15-17,

Pl. 1 stanzas 31-2, Pl. 31/1-3, Pl.

10a/2-4, Pl. 21/17-19, etc.

37. Pl. 216/11-14

38. Pl. 299

39. *Ep. Birm.* I, i, 26-7

the bodily relics of Buddha 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 *mipurhā* or *amipurhā*. To show the difference between the spiritual and temporal lords, some scribes of old Burma took special care to say *mīlat cwā so purhā*⁴⁰-the most exalted *purhā*, when they wanted to signify Buddha and *purhā rhañ*⁴¹- the *purhā* who is living, to denote the then reigning king. The king is also mentioned as *purhā loñ*⁴² - the Boddhisattva. As for images, *purhā chañpu*⁴³- the form of the Lord, is used together with *purhā ryap*⁴⁴-standing Buddha, *purhā thaway*⁴⁵- sitting Buddha, *purhā tanthiñ*⁴⁶-recumbent Buddha, *purhā niyrapan*⁴⁷- dead Buddha, *ryaptuiñ purhā*⁴⁸-image made to the donors height, and *kuiw ryap tuiñ purhā*⁴⁹-image made to the donor's measurements. *Chañpu* is very much similar to the Pyu *cha: bo*⁵⁰ It is used for images made of stone or wood and also for the paintings of Buddha that adorn the walls of hollow pagodas. In one case we find that as many as 14,619 pictures of the Lord were painted within seventeen days⁵¹ and in another case 4,000⁵². Naturally *Gotama* would be painted or sculptured but sometimes images or pictures of other Buddhas were also made or painted⁵³. All of them look very much alike and the only way to differentiate them is by the different backgrounds in the form of trees as each Buddha had his own particular tree under which he attained enlightenment⁵⁴. Tales of anterior births of *Gotama* known as *jāt nā ryā*⁵⁵-500 stories, and sometimes as *jāt* 550⁵⁶ - 550 stories, are also taken as popular themes for painting on the walls of the hollow pagodas. Actually there are only 547 stories⁵⁷, but they concocted three more to make them 550⁵⁸. Glazed plaques were also made to tell these stories. The Ananda Pagoda has nearly 1500 *jātaka* plaques with Mon legends. Out of these 389 were edited and published⁵⁹. Usually each plaque is assigned to represent one *jātaka* but many more would be spent on each of the last ten anterior lives of *Gotama*. These ten would form a popular theme for written works as well⁶⁰. The best surviving specimens of the painting are at Wetkyi-in Gubyaukkyi in spite of the fact that in 1899 Dr Th.H.Thomann⁶¹ had destroyed

40. Pl. 18/5, etc.

41. Pl. 113/2, etc.

42. Pl. 36/3, etc.

43. Pl. 73/15, etc.

44. Pl. 66/21, etc.

45. Pl. 130/3, etc.

46. Pl. 61/7, etc.

47. Pl. 270/7, 13, 14

48: Pl. 130/3,4, etc.

49. Pl. 209/4, etc.

50. Pl. 363a/10

51. 7-24 March 1237, Pl. 105a/6-8

52. 10 December 1253, Pl. 248/ 16-18

53. Pl. 249/21-3, *ASI*, 1928-9, pp. 110-11, Pl. LIII d54. See *JBR*S. XXX, i, 314-21, n.67

55 Pl. 73/15

56 Pl. 105a/7

57. Fausboll's edition of the *Jātakas*, 7 vols, Trubner & Co, London. 1877-9758. C.Duroiselle; "Pictorial Representations of *Jātakas* in Burma", *ASI*, 1912-13, pp. 87-11959. *Ep. Birm.* II, i, and ii

60. Pl. 242/27

61. Who worked in the interests of the Hamburg* Ethnographical Museum

many of them in his attempt to carry them off. The life history of *Gotama* was also popular. The Ananda has eight stone reliefs on this episode⁶². In many of its niches are enshrined the images of the seated Buddha which roughly fall into two types, viz. those in *Vyākhyāna mudrā* - the act of preaching with right hand against the breast and left hand either on the lap or hanging down, and those in the common *Bhūmispārśa mudrā* - earth touching attitude. We have also noticed that seven of the images have no *ushnīsha* - the excrescence on the head, and many of them have normal fingers quite distinct from the modern images with awkward looking fingers of the same size and length. In the middle stand four colossal images, each measuring 31 feet high on 8 feet pedestals and placed back to back. The north and south ones are said to be contemporaneous with the pagoda and they are in the *dharma-chakra mudrā*. The western image is flanked by two disciples who are popularly believed to be *Thiluiñ Mañ* and *Arahan*. The western porch has two foot-prints of the Buddha with 108 marks spread full within the outline of the foot.⁶³ The Lokananda and the Shwezigon pagodas have also foot-prints similar to those of the Ananda dating back to our period⁶⁴. One inscription dated A.D. 1294 mentions that a *Buddha-pāda* has been painted in various colours⁶⁵. Professionals making Buddha images were called *purhā samā* and they were paid either in cash or kind or sometimes both. In one instance a slave girl was sold to pay the sculptor⁶⁶. An inscription of A.D. 1236 says that the wages for the *purhā samā* was 30 ticals of silver, one piece of black linen and one horse for making ten *purhā ryap*⁶⁷. These standing Buddhas were sometimes made to the height (*ryaptuiñ purhā*) or to the height and weight (*kuiw ryap tuiñ purhā*) of the donor but they were not 'portrait - statues' like those of ancient Khmer when a king was apotheosized as Buddha⁶⁸. There are many instances of these *ryap tuiñ*⁶⁹ but there is no evidence to consider them as 'portrait-statues'.

To consider the Buddha as God is absurd. But to some early Burmans he was something like God: to have infinite faith in him meant having a long life and happiness⁷⁰. One donor took the Buddha as a living deity and gave Him musicians to enjoy music⁷¹. Instrumentalists, dancers and singers were often included in the slaves gave to the Buddha. In A.D. 1242 *Kaṅkasu's* wife gave a private secretary and a launderer⁷². Another donor gave some

62 C. Duroisell: *The Ananda Temple at Pagon, ASI Memoir* 56, p. II.

63 I have seen elsewhere foot-prints with the marks confined to a circle in the middle.

64 U Mya: "A note on the Buddha's Foot-prints in Burma", *ASI*, 1930-4, II, 320-31

65 Pl. 283/7

66. Pl. 238/19

67. Pl. 97/3-21

68. Pl. 130/1-5. L. P. Briggs: *The*

Ancient Khmer Empire, pp. 229-30

69. Pl. 209/1-5, Pl. 229/17-19, Pl.

253a/6

70. Pl. 18/5-9

71. Pl. 10a/16

72. Pl. 144/4-16

palanquin bearers, umbrella bearers and weavers⁷³. Barbers⁷⁴, cooks and betel-servers⁷⁵ also became slaves of the Buddha. An inscription of A.D. 1241 records that the Buddha was served every day with necessities⁷⁶. In connection with this inscription, Professor Pe Maung Tin made this remark:

'Buddha is not wearing his royal outer robe 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 music⁷⁷.

This anthropomorphism of Buddha worship is still preserved in Burma.

Most donors prayed for *nirvāna* with no specifications but as I have mentioned a few prayed for Buddhahood. Kings did that, e.g. *Śrī Tribhuvanāditya*⁷⁸, *Thiluin Mañ*⁷⁹, *Cañsū*¹⁸⁴ and *Nātonmyā*⁸¹. Actually all kings styled themselves as *purhā loñ*⁸² - the future 'purha' or *purhā rhañ tañ*⁸³-the living 'purhā'. Some great ministers⁸⁴ and learned scholars⁸⁵ too asked for Buddhahood. Such a person must necessarily meet *Maitreya* to receive a prophecy from his very lips as to the time he would become Buddha and so they were all anxious to meet that Boddhisattva⁸⁶. Practising charity, observing restraint and meditating on love known as *pārami* must be fulfilled⁸⁷. The concept of ten *pārami* is a later invention⁸⁸. An inscription dated AD 1197⁸⁹ gives the time required as 'four *asañkheyya*⁹⁰ plus one hundred *kappa*. *Kappa* means the life of the earth and *asañkheyya* means incalculable. *Si cap mrañ nham*, "know wide, see deep"⁹² is their translation of *sabbaññutāñña*—omniscience, and so they knew quite well that to attain such a state of knowing everything would certainly require a very long time of practice and piety. It was also believed that no woman could become a Buddha. A lady who in A. D. 1260 prayed for Buddhahood⁹³ realizing her mistake, corrected it by praying for manhood in A. D. 1265⁹⁴. She also took care to pray that she would be born a man believing in the Buddhist religion.

73. Pl. 148b/3-10

74. Pl. 395/30

75. Pl. 391/30-4

76. Pl. 138/13-17, 20-1

77. *JBR*S, XXVI, i, 61

78. Pl. 568b

79. *Ep. Birm.* I, ii, I,D/15-17

80. Pl. I, stanzas 31-2

81. Pl. 31/1-3

82. Pl. 36/3, etc.

83. Pl. 113/2, etc.

84. Pl. 10a/2-4, Pl.73/5-6

85. Pl. 140b/22-3

86. Pl. 8a/5-8

87. Pl. 21/17-19

88. Pl.273/34 dated A.D. 121, also Pl. 390/2, Pl. 413/2. See also W. Geiger: *Mahāvamsa*, p. 2, n.1

89. Pl. 15/4-6

90. 10,000,000²⁰ or 1 followed by 140 ciphers

91. Pl. 73/5

92. *JBR*S, XXII, iii, p. 126. Pe Maung Tin is in favour of translating this phrase "know thorough, see extensive." This has now become the motto of our Society.

93. Pl. 194/6

94. Pl. 249/8

When a pagoda or image is finished the *anekajā* ceremony is very important nowadays. It is a sort of consecration without which the pagoda is just a pile of bricks and the image is just another statue none of which is considered worshipful. The idea and procedure are simple. A few monks gathered and recite verses 153 and 154 of the *Dhammapada* which consisted of words supposed to be first uttered by the Buddha after his enlightenment. In none of the inscriptions of our period we find the mention of the *anekajā*. Thus we know that the people during the period under survey understood the doctrines of Buddhism very well though they put a few modification here and there to suit their genius. Among the *pāramī* for salvation, the practice of charity was the most popular with them. So many a cultivable piece of land was turned into a religious holding from which the king got no tax. This led King *Klacwā* to appoint a royal commission in A.D. 1235 to authenticate religious lands with the idea of confiscating them where evidences were weak⁹⁵.

Tryā in its broadest sense means the law and it is not necessarily the law of Buddha. It included all laws—moral, legal or religious and thus it embraced also the customary observances or prescribed conduct for everybody either ecclesiastical or lay as the Sanskrit *dharma* implied. In the period under survey, *tryā* is used to mean *Tipiṭaka*⁹⁶, to mean the sermons⁹⁷, to mean a law suit⁹⁸, to mean the judges themselves⁹⁹, and to describe a natural phenomenon such as death, *tryā* is used again as *atañ may so tryā*—the law of impermanence. The old Burman therefore used the word *tryā* in connection with all applications of law or discipline ranging from *khuīw tryā*¹⁰¹—a petty theft case, to *aklwat tryā*¹⁰²—the attainment of *nirvāna*. We do not know the derivation of this very useful word. Perhaps it is the Sanskrit *ritā* spoonerised. But if it were to be loaned the more familiar *dharma* should have been the chosen word.

As a matter of fact Mon inscriptions use *dharma*¹⁰³ and it was only when Burmese was used for inscriptions that the phrase *buddha dhamma sangha* had been changed into *purhā tryā saṅghā*¹⁰⁴. *Tryā* therefore become analogous with *dhamma* with only one exception where the *dhammasattha*—the civil code, is retained in its original form up to his day¹⁰⁵. Sometimes *tryā* is suffixed or prefixed to *mañ*—the King, to form either *mañ tryā*¹⁰⁶ or *tryā mañ*¹⁰⁷ and this tempts one of to connect *tryā* with the Sanskrit *trā* meaning protector. Then the combination would mean the King Protector.

95. Pl. 90/15-16, Pl.231b/6

96. Pl. 27/18, etc.

97. Pl. 17/3, 5, 9, etc.

98. Pl. 74/13, etc.

99. Pl. 141a/3

100. Pl. 82b/10

101. Pl. 141a/14

102. Pl. 216/15

103. *Ep. Birm.* I, ii, I,F/28

104. Pl. 13/3, 11, 15, etc.

105. Pl. 174/14

106. Pl. 141a/10

107. Pl. 96/5

But we know that the combination is the direct translation of *dhammarāja*¹⁰⁸—the just king.

In connection with Buddhism, *tryā* is *Tipiṭaka* and to denote a compilation it is used together with the word *apum*¹⁰⁹—the heap. The whole phrase would be *piṭakat suñ puñ so tryā apum*¹¹⁰—the three heaps of *piṭaka* (i.e.) the heap of Law. Donors often caused the whole set to be copied and kept at monastic libraries¹¹¹. But the monastery was not the only place where religious works were kept. *Thiluin Mañ*'s new palace which was completed in A.D. 1102 had a separate apartment where the statues of Buddha and *Gaṃbapāti* together with the *Tipiṭaka* were kept¹¹². He insisted that the copies should be made perfect¹¹³. A minister called *Caturāṅgapaccaya*¹¹⁴ is said to have been a person well versed in the *Tipiṭaka* and therefore it may also be expected that such persons would have their own private sets. But they were very expensive. In A.D. 1273, a set is said to cost 3000 ticals of silver¹¹⁵. At a time when a tical of silver could buy one *pay* (1.57 acres) of land¹¹⁶, one could have bought with that money an estate of 5250 acres. It was so costly because all 84,000 *dhamma khandha*¹¹⁷ were to be copied by hand with a stylus on palm leaves and good scribes would certainly have been scarce as the art of writing was then still in its infancy with the Burmans. There would be a separate building in a monastic establishment¹¹⁸ for a library and *rhuy talā*¹¹⁹—a gilded case, would be used to store the works. As it was expensive, few *piṭaka dāyakā*¹²⁰—donors of the Law could afford a complete set. In that case they gave just what was needed at the particular library or the copies they thought would be most useful. An inscription of A.D. 1223¹²¹ gives us a list of works given to a library. Such Sinhalese book like *Mahāvamsa*, *Thūpavamsa* and *Anāgatavamsa* were also popular. Some donors made it a special point to give *Vinaya* texts to monastic establishments¹²² 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. To some donors, *Abhidhamma* books seemed to be of more importance¹²³ perhaps because they form the essence of Buddhism.

Most of the libraries were attached to learning centres. Young monks devoted their time largely to *pariyatti*¹²⁴—learning, and so they were called

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| 108. <i>Ep. Birm.</i> I, ii, 1, G 3, 4, 22, etc. | 117. Pl. 220/7 |
| 109. Pl. 73/18, etc. | 118. Pl. 234/8 |
| 110. Pl. 194/14 | 119. Pl. 247/10 |
| 111. Pl. 73 | 120. Pl. 264/4 |
| 112. <i>Ep. Birm.</i> III, i, IX A/31-2 | 121. List 187 |
| 113. <i>Ibid.</i> VIII, A/3 | 122. Pl. 372/42 |
| 114. Pl. 289/3 | 123. Pl. 242/27 |
| 115. Fl. 243/14 | 124. Pl. 275/26 |
| 116. Pl. 162/28, 32 | |

*cāsañ*¹²⁵ and monasteries devoted to learning were called *cāsañ tuik*¹²⁶ or *cāsañ kloñ*¹²⁷— educational institutes. Such institutes also provided free board and lodging¹²⁸ to the students and some institutes had as few as two students¹²⁹ while some had as many as twenty big buildings within a compound serving as hostels for them¹³⁰. These students used *piy*¹³¹— (*carypha elata*) umbrella-palm-leaves or *than rwak*¹³² (*borassus flatellifer*) palmyra-palm-leaves, and stylus for their writing material with a view to longevity. In this case they bound their finished *piy* with *klam*¹³³— wooden boards, usually of *lakpañ*¹³⁴ (*hombox malabaricum*), and stored them up in *talā*¹³⁵— cases, made of wood or in *cātuik*¹³⁶— cabinets, which were sometimes so profusely decorated that one would cost as much as 215 ticals of silver¹³⁷. Sometimes they used *parabuit*¹³⁸— a single long sheet of paper folded backwards and forwards to form a book, to be written with *Kamkūchān*¹³⁹ soapstone (steatite) pencil, kept in a *Kamkūtamkleñ*¹⁴⁰—cylindrical case specially made for those pencils. For classroom use they had *mliyphlu*¹⁴¹— chalk, and *sañphun*¹⁴²—blackboard.

Having built the library, the donor's next concern was to provide it with attendants and necessary funds so that repairs to the building, preservation of the manuscripts, and new acquisitions to the library would be possible. These works are known as *tryā wat*¹⁴³—duties towards the Law, and to fulfil these purposes, the donor dedicated lands¹⁴⁴, slaves¹⁴⁵ including scribes¹⁴⁶ sometimes, elephants¹⁴⁷, palmyra-palms¹⁴⁸ and sesamum¹⁴⁹ from which oil is extracted for lighting, to the Law. The duties towards the Law also included the offering of daily food in the same way as to the Lord and the Order¹⁵⁰.

Tryā also means the sermon whereby the monk tries to explain some part of the teaching of *Gotama* to his congregation. To give such a sermon is known as *tryā haw*¹⁵¹ and to listen to it would be termed *tryā nā*¹⁵² and a sort of honorarium called *tryā chu*¹⁵³ is given to the preacher. The form of

125. Pl. 85/25

126. Pl. 138/23

127. Pl. 105a/12

128. Pl. 85/25

129. Pl. 195b/8

130. Pl. 152/6

131. Pl. 235/38

132. Pl. Pl. 417/6

133. Pl. 208/19

134. Pl. 417/6

135. Pl. 234/9

136. Pl. 164/41

137. Pl. 164/41

138. Pl. 310b/30-2

139. Pl. 310b/30-2

140. Pl. 310b/30-2

141. Pl. 310b/27-9

142. Pl. 310b/27-9

143. Pl. 42/28, etc.

144. Pl. 23/33, etc.

145. Pl. 122a:6, 13, etc.

146. Pl. 42/28

147. Pl. 182/15

148. Pl. 202/3

149. Pl. 393/22

150. Pl. 289/17

151. Pl. 27/12

152. Pl. 19/3,5,9, etc.

153. Pl. 36/23, etc.

honorarium varied from areca-nuts ¹⁵⁴ and loin-cloths ¹⁵⁵ to paddy ¹⁵⁶ and paddy fields ¹⁵⁷. Usually sermons were given weekly on every *satañ* ¹⁵⁸-sabbath day, during the *wā*¹⁵⁹-lent. In some monasteries preaching was heard twice every sabbath, i.e. once in the morning and again at night ¹⁶⁰. Big monastic establishments generally had a separate building called the *dhammasā* ¹⁶¹ or *tryā im* ¹⁶² or *tryā kloñ*¹⁶³- hall of the Law, where most of the preaching was done. In such a hall there was a sort of pulpit called *tryā panlañ* ¹⁶⁴ which is sometimes gilded. Some of these have a golden umbrella and canopy too ¹⁶⁵ for the preacher. From the seat, the preacher would address the congregation on such subjects as *Dhammacakka* ¹⁶⁶-the wheel of Law, *Paṭiccasamuppāda* ¹⁶⁷-the Working of Cause and Effect, *Rathavinīta Sutta* ¹⁶⁸-the Seven Acts of Purity, and *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* ¹⁶⁹-the four Methods of Meditation. The listeners thus become well acquainted with the methods with which to obtain for themselves the *paṭisambidā* ¹⁷⁰-analytical knowledge, and the four *saccā*¹⁷¹-truths, that would ultimately result in their becoming *araha* ¹⁷² when Maitreya ¹⁷³ attains Buddhahood or in other words in attaining *akḥwat tryā*¹⁷⁴-the knowledge that would help one to achieve *nirvāna*. *Jātaka* stories quoted to illustrate some points of the Law would certainly attract a considerable portion of the audience to the sermon. Some buildings have scenes from these stories painted on the walls ¹⁷⁵ and we may safely assume that these paintings directly aimed at giving some information on Buddhism to the illiterate. People also found much satisfaction in the supposed attributes of *paritta* to ward off various evils physical and moral. *Thiluiñ Mañ* had it recited at his new palace by 4108 monks ¹⁷⁶ in A.D. 1102. *Singhasūra* had it recited at an occasion for enshrining relics in a pagoda in A.D. 1190 ¹⁷⁷. On a similar occasion in A.D. 1261, Princess *Ācaw Lat* had seven *bhikkhu* and one *bhikkhunī* to recite the *paritta* ¹⁷⁸.

I have mentioned above that *tryā* could also mean a case, civil or criminal. The law court probably at the capital was known as *tryā kwan sayā* ¹⁷⁹-the Pleasant Hall of Justice. There were lower courts called *buih*

154. Pl. 32/23
 155. Pl. 275/22
 156. Pl. 138/27
 157. Pl. 42/21-2
 158. Pl. 36/23
 159. Pl. 138/21
 160. Pl. 275/22
 161. Pl. 75/19
 162. Pl. 152/5
 163. Pl. 68/3
 164. Pl. 105a/9
 165. Pl. 73/19
 166. Pl. 6/6

167. Pl. 6/7
 168. Pl. 396b/1
 169. Pl. 53/18
 170. Pl. 197/12
 171. Pl. 390/3
 172. Pl. 235/21, etc.
 173. Pl. 2/32, etc.
 174. Pl. 216/15
 175. Pl. 105a/6
 176. *Ep. Birm.* III, i, IX A 21-7, p. 37
 177. Pl. 10a/7
 178. Pl. 200/12, 14
 179. Pl. 54/7

*tryā*¹⁸⁰ perhaps one in each town or big village and the appeal court probably at the capital called *atañ tryā*¹⁸¹. As a criminal court there was the *khuiw tryā*¹⁸²—the court for petty theft cases. We have quite a number of inscriptions dealing with law suits especially disputes on ownership of land and slaves but we shall not go into details here. To be successful in a suit is termed *tryā oñe*¹⁸³ and to be defeated is *tryā yhum e*¹⁸⁴. From about the middle of the 13th century the courts used *Dhammasūt*¹⁸⁵ as the Civil Code and the *Amunwan*¹⁸⁶ as the Criminal Code. In trial, witnesses would be asked to hold the relics of the Lord¹⁸⁷ or to embrace the book of *Abhidhamma*¹⁸⁸ or to take an oath before an image of the Buddha¹⁸⁹ in order to affirm that they were telling nothing but the truth. When the verdict was pronounced it would be recorded¹⁹⁰ and the seal of the court affixed to the record¹⁹¹. Judges were called *tryā saṃpyañ*¹⁹², *tryā sūkrī*¹⁹³ or simply *tryā*¹⁹⁴. There are also such combinations of *khuiw tryā*¹⁹⁵, *khuiw tryā cākhi*¹⁹⁶ and *buih trya*¹⁹⁷ to mean a judge of petty cases, a clerk attached to the above and a junior judge respectively.

The last of the three Gems is the *Saṅghā* which is the Pali *Sangha* meaning the multitude or the assembly and Pyu *Saghā*¹⁹⁸ and old Mon *Saṅghā*¹⁹⁹. Roughly, monks were divided into two groups, viz. *Kloñ niy so saṅghā*²⁰⁰—monks living in monasteries, and *taw mlatkri*²⁰¹, *taw skhiñ*²⁰² and *taw kloñ saṅghā*²⁰³—the lords of the forest, who would otherwise be known as *Araññavāsi*²⁰⁴ or *Arañ*²⁰⁵. As they were mentioned as *Skhiñ saṅgha*²⁰⁶—the reverend monks, the monks evidently occupied an exalted position in the society. They were respected by the people in much the same way as the royal family or government officers who were also addressed with *skhiñ* prefixed to their names. King *Klacwā*, Prince *Rājasū* and Minister *Anantasū* were called *Skhiñ Klacwā*²⁰⁷, *Skhiñ Rājasū*²⁰⁸ and *Skhiñ Anantasū*²⁰⁹ respectively, so also the lords of the Order were addressed as

180. Pl. 795/19,27

181. Pl. 79b/17,27,35

182. Pl. 141a/14

183. Pl. 74/10

184. Pl. 174/14

185. Pl. 174/14

186. See *Klacwā's* Edict Pl. 166a, etc.

187. Pl. 78b/7

188. Pl. 78b/7

189. Pl. 231b/8

190. Pl. 196/4

191. Pl. 74/10

192. Pl. 149/14

193. Pl. 54/4

194. Pl. 56b/9

195. Pl. 141a/14

196. Pl. 269/1

197. Pl. 79b/19,27

198. Pl. 363a/17

199. *Ep. Birm.*, III, i, IX A/6, etc.

200. Pl. 10a/27

201. Pl. 208/17

202. Pl. 223a/8

203. Pl. 125/16

204. Pl. 465a/3

205. Pl. 40/4

206. Pl. 94a/16

207. Pl. 74/25

208. Pl. 105a/28

209. Pl. 79b/1

Skhiñ Wineydhui ²¹⁰, *Skhiñ Mahākassapa* ²¹¹ etc. Even in cases where the monk is known by the lay name, which is not infrequent, he is sure to get the honorific *skhiñ*, e.g. *Skhiñ Nā Mlat Khac* ²¹². But these *skhiñ* of the monastery were by nature quite different from their counterparts in the administration as they were defined as *sañkham so skhiñ* ²¹³—the patient lords, or *ñiriñ niy so skhiñ* ²¹⁴—the quiet lords. *Sāriputta* and *Moggallāna*, the two chief disciples of *Gotama* were also known as *Skhiñ Sāriputtā* and *Skhiñ Mokkalām* ²¹⁵ and this shows that the people considered their ecclesiastics as respectable as those of *Gotama's* life time. This perhaps also leads them to define their monks as *purhā skhiñ tape sā ariyā saṅghā* ²¹⁶—the noble monks, sons and disciples of the Lord or *purhā tape, sā rahan saṅgha* ²¹⁷—the worthy monks, sons and disciples of the Lord. The word *tape* would be freely translated as pupil though its origin in Pali *tapassī* and Sanskrit *tapasvin* would mean an ascetic. *Tape* again is usually suffixed with *sā*—the son, and to be a *tape sā* of somebody is to be attached to the person as apprentice to undergo a training on some craft for which he is considered master and it is believed that master would teach his pupils as he would teach his own sons. In a religious sense, it means disciple. *Tape, sā krī* ²¹⁸ is clearly *aggasāvaka* and therefore *tape, sā* is *sāvaka*. The monks were also called *ariya saṅghā* ²¹⁹ and *rahan saṅghā* ²²⁰ meaning the nobles who had reached Perfection. Although not all the monks had reached *arahatta*—the last and highest of the Path, they were called *rahan* as it was assumed that they were on the right path. Thus *saṅghā* is synonymous with respectful, pious, wise and celibate. We have only one reference which does not coincide with this general description. It says that *saṅghā* is well versed in the use of the harp. ²²¹ Perhaps this monk was in charge of the musicians who were dedicated to the pagodas. In another reference ²²² we find that a *thera*—senior monk, was invested with three duties, viz., to look after the lands of the pagoda, to do repairs at the pagoda whenever necessary, and to take charge of the pagoda slave musicians. It seems that the monasteries also gave some sort of a musical course²²³; at least training certain young slaves of the pagoda or monastery in singing or playing musical instruments as music teachers.

There were other names used to signify the monks. The old Mons sometimes shortened *saṅghā* into *sañ* ²²⁴ or supplement *sañ* with *ariya* to

210. Pl. 152/30

211. Pl. 123/5

212. Pl. 385a/7

213. Pl. 73/30

214. Pl. 385a/2

215. Pl. 6/4,5

216. Pl. 249/24

217. Pl. 216/5

218. Pl. 558a/7

219. Pl. 21/13

220. Pl. 31/19

221. Pl. 21/11

222. Pl. 195a/9-10

223. Pl. 94a/46, Pl. 276b/11

224. *Ep. Birn.* I, ii, IF/43

become *sañ ariy* ²²⁵. But more often they used their own word *gumīr* ²²⁶. The old Burmans also used *sañ* ²²⁷ for all the monks and *Sañkrī* ²²⁸ for senior monks and *Sañlyañ* ²²⁹ for junior monks. The Pyu word for *sañkrī* is *tra:hā*: ²³⁰ A forest dwelling monk is mentioned once as *sañ arañ* ²³¹ and like the old Mon they also used the combination *sañ aryā* ²³². The word *bhunkrī*: for a monk was not in use then although a very similar similar one *phun sañ* ²³³—the possessor of merit, was sometimes used as a honorific to a monk's name. But the term *phun sañ* ²³⁴ was also applied to some lay devotees. Next to *sañghā*, the most popular term for a monk was *aryā* ²³⁵ which originally means noble and later was extended to include Buddhist monks. Sometimes the combination of *aryā sūtau kon* ²³⁶ is used suggesting that to the old Burmans *aryā* means a holy man. Next to *aryā*, they had *rahan* ²³⁷ which derives from *arahā*—a person who arrives at the fourth and last stage on the way to *nirvāna*. But to the old Burmans the term *rahan* has no such specification because they used *rahantā* ²³⁸ for those who had acquired *arahattaphuil* ²³⁹. Therefore *rahan* simply means monk and to become one is termed *rahan mū* ²⁴⁰. Only adults of over twenty would be ordained monks or nuns ²⁴¹. Deacons or novices were called *samanīy* ²⁴² which is the Pali *sāmaṇera*. The word *kuirañ* was not in use then. The words *syañ* or *asyañ* ²⁴⁴ from which perhaps the word *kuirañ* is derived does not mean a novice but a monk with the exception when *asyañ* was applied to royalty as *asyañ mañkrī* ²⁴⁵ the liege lord, the great king. Monks addressed each other as *nā syañ* ²⁴⁶—my lord. They were also mentioned as *pancañ* ²⁴⁷ which literally means a pure flower and the spelling does not permit it to be connected with *pañcaṅga*—the five attributes, or the burmanised *pañcañ*, as the modern Burman believes.

As the Reverend, Very Reverend, Right Reverend and Most Reverend are used before the names of the clergy, the old Burmese used such terms as *phun mlat so* ²⁴⁸ or *mlat so* ²⁴⁹ for senior monks, *mlat ewā so* ²⁵⁰ or *mlat krī* ²⁵¹

225. *Ep. Birm.* I, ii, 1E/9

226. *Ep. Birm.* I, ii, 1C/53

227. Pl. 40/5 etc.

228. Pl. 6/9 etc.

229. Pl. 113/8

231. Pl. 40/5-6

232. Pl. 285/26

233. Pl. 118b/3, etc.

234. Pl. 7/4, etc.

235. *ariyā* Pl. 12/10, etc.

236. Pl. 271/48

237. Pl. 3/22

238. Pl. 10b/31, etc.

239. *Arahattaphalāttha* Pl. 235/21

240. Pl. 220/9

241. J. F. Dickson: "Upasampadā-Kamma vāsā". *JRAS.* VII, 1875, pp. 1-16

242. Pl. 308/33

243. Pl. 244/20

244. Pl. 368a²

245. Pl. 24/9

246. Pl. 271/16

247. Pl. 41/15 etc.

248. Pl. 29/7, 18

249. Pl. 84/15

250. Pl. 261/17

251. Pl. 102/8

for the most senior monks and *mlat krī cwā*²⁵² or *phun mlat krī cwā*²⁵³ for the exceptionally respected monks who were royal preceptors, etc. But such terms as *thera*²⁵⁴, *saṅghā therā*²⁵⁵ and *mahā therā*²⁵⁶ were equally popular. A senior monk was also called *chryā*²⁵⁷—the teacher. Very often a monk would be addressed as the teacher of a certain prominent person among his lay devotees. For example, the king's preceptor came to be popularly known as *mañ chryā*²⁵⁸ and the queen's preceptor as *Caw Palay May Chryā*²⁵⁹, the minister's preceptor as *Amatkrī Sīriwatthanā Chryā*²⁶⁰ and so on. As a matter of fact, even the Lord Buddha is mentioned as *lū nat takā chryā*²⁶¹—the teacher of all men and *deva*, or *sum lu chryā*²⁶²—the teacher of Men, *Deva* and *Brahma*. It would be interesting to know the reason why a monk called *Ratanāucchī* was known as *nat chryā mlat cwā so skhiñ Ratanāucchī*²⁶³—the most Reverend Lord *Ratanāucchī*, the teacher of *deva*. Another *thera* was called *nat thamañ ra so skhiñ Thampā*²⁶⁴—Lord *Thampā*, receiver of *Deva's* food. *Puññā*²⁶⁵—brahman, and *hurā*²⁶⁶—astrologer, would probably also be addressed as *chryā*. Another equally popular prefix to a monk's name is *sukhamin*²⁶⁷—the wise, although some people who were not monks were known as *sukhamin*²⁶⁸ too. Perhaps they were once monks and continued to be called by that name after they had left the Order. There were also *taw thwak*²⁶⁹—monks or nuns who were once married, as well as *lū thwak*²⁷⁰—people who were once monks or nuns.

Among the followers of a prominent monk, *cāsañ*²⁷¹—the students, formed the most important group. They devoted their time to *pariyatti*²⁷²—learning, while there were others who were devoted to *paṭipatti*²⁷³—practice. Big monastic establishments were endowed with funds to enable them to become Buddhist schools²⁷⁴. Some donors gave fields, etc. specifically to students alone of a certain establishment²⁷⁵. The student population, in those days seems to have been considerable and people took care to encourage and support them. The lay devotees would be known as *upāsakā*²⁷⁶ or more popularly as *satañsañ*²⁷⁷ who would also dedicate lands and slaves to the monastery as the *dāyakā*²⁷⁸ did. There were also people who looked

252. Pl. 12/11

253. Pl. 196/2

254. Pl. 12/9

255. Pl. 22/11

256. Pl. 3/1, etc.

257. *acāriya*, Pl. 13/3

258. Pl. 36/10

259. Pl. 246/18

260. Pl. 244/33

261. Pl. 232/2

262. Pl. 388b/4

263. Pl. 366/28

264. Pl. 228b/3, 7

265. Pl. 102/18

266. Pl. 44b/16

267. Pl. 123/15

268. Pl. 162/9, etc.

269. Pl. 25/2

270. Pl. 579/18

271. Pl. 143a/26

272. Pl. 275/26

273. Pl. 275/27

274. Pl. 152/1-10

275. Pl. 85/25

276. Pl. 297/20

277. Pl. 94a/47

278. Pl. 44b/17

after the comfort of the *thera* and they were known as *kappikā* ²⁷⁹. The *kloṇ saṅ* ²⁸⁰ looked after the comfort of all the inmates of the monastery. Perhaps the *kappikā* and *kloṇ saṅ* were the liaison officers used by the monks when dealing with the outside world. They would be asked to represent the monastery in law suits ²⁸¹ or to act as agents in buying things needed by the monastery ²⁸². We find many instances where monks bought lands for themselves ²⁸³. *Saṅghika-uccā* ²⁸⁴—the funds of the Order, would be used for these transactions. There were also slaves who attended to the needs of a monastery. The total number of them might vary from a whole village ²⁸⁵ to one or two slaves ²⁸⁶. Usually the *thera* would control these slaves ²⁸⁷ but sometimes some monks were assigned with the special duty of looking after the land and slaves ²⁸⁸. Some inscriptions give us an idea of the duties of of these monastery slaves. They were “to fetch the water for the monks to wash their feet, hands and bodies and to drink; to cook rice food; and to sweep (the compound) and remove the refuse” ²⁸⁹. The work would also include “pounding the paddy and chopping the firewood” ²⁹⁰. Some slaves were allotted to look after the *saṅghika nwā* ²⁹¹—cattle of the monks, and the *nuiw ṅhat nwā ma* ²⁹² milch cow, must be well tended so that “the patient lords (of the Order) could enjoy the five delicacies of fresh milk, sour milk, butter milk, unclarified butter and clarified butter” ²⁹³.

Ownership of land by monks often led to disputes and law suits. We find disputes over ownership arose between monks and king ²⁹⁴ or between monks and the laity ²⁹⁵ or even among themselves ²⁹⁶. During our period we find three disputes in 1235, ²⁹⁷ 1245, ²⁹⁸ and 1255, ²⁹⁹ between kings and monks over ownership of land. In all these cases, investigations followed and the kings were proved wrong and the lands given back to the monks. Incidentally, I must mention here the single instance ³⁰⁰ I find where two monks called *Randhip* and *Bhummapuil* were found guilty of having some connection with a rebellion—probably one of those which broke out during the early years of the reign of King *Klacwā*. *Mahāsaman* pleaded on their behalf and consequently they were pardoned and they gave as *tanchuiw*—price for his labour, 1500 *pay* of land at *Dhipesyan*.

279. *kappiya* Pl. 10a/30

280. Pl. 259/3

281. Pl. 163

282. Pl. 162, Pl. 163

283. Pl. 162, etc.

284. Pl. 162/a

285. Pl. 127a/3

286. Pl. 208/18

287. Pl. 143a/26

288. Pl. 139

289. Pl. 186/27-8

290. Pl. 393/32-3

291. Pl. 202/22

292. Pl. 134a/4

293. Pl. 235/9

294. Pl. 90/15-16

295. Pl. 381

296. Pl. 45

297. Pl. 90

298. Pl. 213b

299. Pl. 296

300. Pl. 102/24-5

Among the articles of daily use given to the monks, first and foremost comes food. They called it *niccapat*³⁰¹—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 come begging for it once every day. This duty is termed *wat*³⁰² and *samput*, *chīmī*, *kwam*, *pan*³⁰³ - food, light, betel and flower, all came under this heading. Land producing food for the monastery are called *wat lay*³⁰⁴ or *samput lay*³⁰⁵. *Samput khyak kywan*³⁰⁶ or *wat khyat kywan*³⁰⁷ or *cāchwam nhuik lup kluy so kywan*³⁰⁸ were slaves dedicated to monasteries as cooks. Rice and curry together became *chwam*³⁰⁹ for the monks and invitations to one thousand monks to a *chwam*³¹⁰ in those days was not a rare occurrence. Toward the end of the period under survey, in some of these feasts, monks were served not only with rice and curry, but also with *yammakā aphyaw*³¹¹—sweet liquor made from palmyra palm juice. Perhaps it is to prepare this drink and to make jaggery and also to provide writing material and fans, that these palmyra palms were very often dedicated to the monastery³¹² or planted around it.³¹³

Among gifts to a monastery *chīmī*-oil lamps came next in importance to food. Oil for lighting is extracted from sesamum and it is mentioned that fifty (measures) of sesamum yielded twenty *tanak* of oil³¹⁴. There were special nights when *chīmī thoñ*³¹⁵—one thousand lamps, were lit. But usually monks did not care to have good lighting at nights as their only duty after dusk was for the younger ones to repeat from memory what they had learnt from the Pali texts during the day and for the older ones to find a secluded corner and meditate. Next to light, a donor's care was to provide a monk with the betel quid or the necessary ingredients for making one. The betel leaf was called *saimlhu*³¹⁶ and the areca-nuts were measured in *kaḍun*³¹⁷. Some appurtenances of betel chewing like *kwam ac*³¹⁸ and *kwam khyap*³¹⁹ or *kwam kap*³²⁰ betel boxes, *kwam loñ*^{320a}—betel boats, *kwam khyam*³²¹—nut cracker, and *thunphū*³²²—phials of chunam were also given to the monasteries. Chewing betel seems to have been very popular then and who did not chew the quid must have been a very rare exception. We find a monk called by the name of *mlat krī cwā kwam ma cā*³²³—the Most Reverend Don't-Eat-Betel. As a matter of fact, this *kwam* comes under the category of food which is one of

301. *niccabhattam* Pl. 392/34

302. Pl. 31/30

303. Pl. 73/30

304. Pl. 31/30

305. Pl. 6/19

306. Pl. 50/22

307. Pl. 417/9

308. Pl. 275/28

309. Pl. 73/31

310. Pl. 100a/8

311. Pl. 233/14

312. Pl. 12/10

313. Pl. 73/7

314. Pl. 390/29-30

315. Pl. 117b/7

316. Pl. 36/19

317. Pl. 164/35,39

318. Pl. 135b/12

319. Pl. 138/14

320. Pl. 265/7

320a. Pl. 312b/8

321. Pl. 38b/13

322. Pl. 265/7

323. Pl. 422b/2

the four necessities of a monk. The necessities were known as *paccañ lepā*³²⁴ among which *chīy wā*³²⁵-medicine, was the most important. The *Vinaya* prescribed five standard medicines, viz. *thawpiy*³²⁶ unclarified butter, *thawpat*³²⁷-clarified butter, *chī*³²⁸-oil, *pyā*³²⁹-honey and *taṅglay*³³⁰-molasses. Some monasteries had *thawpat kī*³³¹-storehouse for clarified butter. Some donors made it a point to mention that medicine would be provided for the sick and firewood for the dead³³². Since then it seems, dead monks were always cremated. *Sañkan*³³³-the robe, is the next necessity. The word comes from the Pali *Saṅghāṭī*-the outer garment. *Sakkham*³³⁴ or *khruykhām*³³⁵ is the inner garment and *sāmpuñ*³³⁶ is for the nether part. *Tuyañ*, *tankyat*³³⁷ and *kawthā*³³⁸ are also names for the monastic robes but unfortunately we cannot identify them. The monks could also pick up *pañsakū*³³⁹-the dusty robe, for themselves. As there is mentioned, however, that *pañsakū* was given, we gather that the original idea of monks taking for themselves the dusty rags discarded by the people was already modified. It would only mean an indirect giving of the robe by leaving it on the way the monks usually passed by. In the month which immediately follows *Wā*³⁴⁰-the Lent, the monks were given *Kathin*³⁴¹ robe which must be received only by a chapter of five monks and it was given to the one in that five who was in sore need of a robe. Sometimes various other articles of daily use were also given together with the *Kathin* robe and such articles were usually hung on an artificial tree known as *pateñsā pañ*³⁴². Giving a robe, however, was not confined only to the end of the Lent. There were also *wā chuiw sañkan*³⁴³ -the robe with which the Lent began, *wākhon sañkan*³⁴⁴-the robe of the middle of the Lent, and *wākwat sañkan*³⁴⁵-the robe with which the Lent ended.

The eight requisites of a monk are known as *parikkharā yhaç pā*³⁴⁶. They are alms bowl, three robes, girdle, razor, needle and water strainer. People of Pagan, however, had vastly extended this *parikkharā* so that it came to include *sanryaṅ*³⁴⁷-palanquin, *lhiy*³⁴⁸-boat, *chañ*³⁴⁹- elephant, *salwan*³⁵⁰

324. Pl. 69/10

325. Pl. 96/16

326. Pl. 393/32

327. Pl. 393/33

328. Pl. 393/22

329. Pl. 36/18,26

330. *Ep. Birm* 11, No. 20

331. Pl. 94a/35

332. Pl. 275/23-5

333. Pl. 10a/13

334. Pl. 36/25

335. Pl. 212/14

336. Pl. 393/19

337. Pl. 138/13, 13,14

338. Pl. 372/11

339. *pañsakū* Pl. 23/2

340. Pl. 138/25

341. Pl. 23/2

342. Pl. 117b/3

343. Pl. 393/28

344. Pl. 393/29

345. Pl. 393/29

346. Pl. 390/15

347. Ul. 253a/7

348. Pl. 235/2

349. Pl. 423/11

350. Pl. 373b/14

-couch, *samphlū mwam*³⁵¹-good mats, *atham*³⁵²-porter's yoke, *puchin*³⁵³-axe, *tarwan*³⁵⁴-spade, *mikhat*³⁵⁵-flint, *kriy sañthun*³⁵⁶-copper razor, *puchuiw lhi*³⁵⁷-scissors, *chok*³⁵⁸-chisels, *myatkhat*³⁵⁹-broom, *chañlan*³⁶⁰ bell-³⁶¹ *khwak tacpway*-a set of dishes. *cākhwak*³⁶²-cup for eating, *santiy*³⁶³-bowl, *cālon*³⁶⁴-pot cover, ³⁶⁵ *uiw* - pot, *yat-fan*, *ñoncon*-couch, *klokpyān* - grinding stone, *chum* - mortar, *klipwe* - pestle, *riy mhut* - water dipper, *tanchoñ* - chandelier, *lanpan* - tray, *tamkhwān* - streamer, *ip rā* - bedding, *bratuiw* - spittoon, *karā* - jug, *chimikhwak* - oil lamp, *mliy phlu* - chalk, *sañpun* - blackboard, *parabuit* - folding book, *kamkūchān* - soapstone pencil and *kamkūtam kleñ* - pencil case. With regards to the *sapit*³⁶⁶ - the almsbowl, we have evidence of a donor giving as many as one thousand³⁶⁷. Probably most of these bowls were earthen or lacquerware but we also find that some were of copper³⁶⁸, silver³⁶⁹, and gold³⁷⁰.

Another important item in the four necessities is *senāsanam* - bedding or lodging and in its broadest sense a building, at times better than a king's palace with wonderful interior decoration³⁷¹. Every *kloñ tayakā*³⁷² - donor of a monastery, would like to build grand ones though some had to be content with building just a *sac ñay muiw kloñ*³⁷³-thatch roof monastery. Most of them, however, tried hard to construct *tañtay cwā so kloñ*³⁷⁴ - the goodly monastery, or *saya cwā so kloñ*³⁷⁵ - the pleasant monastery. Some donors even turned their houses into monasteries³⁷⁵. There were also such buildings as *taw kloñ*³⁷⁷-forest monasteries and *kulā kloñ*³⁷⁸ - brick monasteries. Although Pagan is noted for many pagodas, we find that the inscriptions made more mention of monasteries than pagodas. Perhaps the donors usually spent more on building these monasteries than the estimates. We find a record where the donor had to sell his horses so that he might continue building the monastery with the proceeds of the sale³⁷⁹. Even after the construction was completed, the donor felt that his duty was not over. He must maintain it and to this end, he dedicated lands and slaves to the monastery. Monks might do repairs to the building when necessary with

351. Pl. 373b/14

352. Pl. 373b/15

353. Pl. 373b/15

354. Pl. 373b/15

355. Pl. 373b/15

356. Pl. 373b/15

357. Pl. 373b/16

358. Pl. 373b/16

359. Pl. 138/20

360. Pl. 182a/11

361. Pl. 372/26

362. Pl. 262/22

363. Pl. 262/22

364. Pl. 262/23

365. This and the following are from Pl. 310 ab

366. Pl. 117b/9

367. Pl. 372/39

368. Pl. 15/8

369. Pl. 138/15

370. Pl. 65b/4

371. Pl. 194/14-18

372. Pl. 23/15

373. Pl. 428/28

374. Pl. 12/6

375. Pl. 69/10

376. Pl. 181/6-9

377. Pl. 44a/3, etc.

378. Pl. 64/6, etc.

379. Pl. 270/19

the money procured from the agricultural produce. One donor even put a curse on the monks lest they neglect repairs³⁸⁰.

Simā - the ordination hall, is another type of building given to the monks. A *baddhasimā* was built by a Mon *mahāthera* at Kyaukse³⁸¹. *Cawrahan* built one on Mt. *Turañ*³⁸². These two were the oldest of the halls we know of in our period. Land³⁸³, slaves³⁸⁴, and palmyra palms³⁸⁵ were also dedicated to the *sim* in as much the same way as they were dedicated to a pagoda or a monastery. *Kappiyakulī*³⁸⁶ - the storehouse, *cārap*³⁸⁷ - the almshouse, *tanchon*³⁸⁸ - the rest house and *satan tañkup*³⁸⁹ - the shed for the lay devotees to be used on sabbath days, would also be built in the monastic compound. Sometimes a reservoir and wells³⁹⁰ might even be added. For such an act of merit, a donor always wanted to pour water and invoke the Great Earth to witness it³⁹¹. Monks came and recited *paritta* to solemnize the occasion³⁹². Some sort of festivity was also included. In A.D. 1207 *Natonmyā* had the following ceremony:

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 *anumodanā*³⁹³.

This support of the Religion had one ulterior motive: they wanted to enter *nibban mañ so ma siy prañ*³⁹⁴ - the city of no death called *nirvana*.

We shall now discuss the important personalities among the monks of our period. The first in the list is the historic *Arahan*. He was the chief spiritual adviser of *Thiluiñ Mañ*³⁹⁵. They two tried to make Buddhism to conform as much as possible with the scriptures. *Arahan* had a following of 4108 monks. Perhaps he was the *Mahāthera* present when the king made a death-bed gift through the initiative of his son *Rajakumār*³⁹⁷. *Hmannan* says that when he died, *Cañsu* I appointed an elder to succeed him as *Thathanabaing*³⁹⁸. We find no mention of the word *Thathanabaing* in the inscriptions. There were *mañ chāryā*³⁹⁹ or *Rājgurū*⁴⁰⁰ - the teachers of the king, but to be the

380. Pl. 224/14-16

381. *Ep. Birm.*, III, i, 70-3

382. Pl. 36/1-13

383. Pl. 70/a

384. Pl. 134b/15

385. Pl. 202/10

386. Pl. 73/27

387. Pl. 73/26

388. Pl. 73/25

389. Pl. 372/340

390. Pl. 73/22

391. Pl. 284a/12

392. Pl. 10a/7

393. Pl. 31/19-21

394. Pl. 202/26

395. *Ep. Brim.* I, ii, IB/42-7396. *Ep. Birm.*, III, i, IX, A/ 21-7, p. 37

397. Pl. 364a/23

398. *GPC*, para 141, p. 119

399. Pl. 36/10

400. Pl. 3/1

king's teacher does not imply that he was the head of the Order as Thathana-baing was understood during the Konbaung period. For matters of discipline in the Order, any elder well versed in the *Vinayapiṭaka* would be respected. Such a person would be popularly known as *Vinayadhara* or in its burmanised form *Wineñdhuir*. There was one *Wineñdhuir* whose name appeared fairly frequently in the inscriptions of the 13th century. It seems that he was the head of a great monastic establishment and had a great following. There were members of the royal family and ministers among his lay devotees. More and more students came to him probably to study *vinaya* in which he was an authority, so that twenty more hostels were built in his establishment in 1243. He was a famous *thera* with many devoted followers in 1216 and by 1261 he was a leading monk probably of the orthodox group, that advocated strict adherence to *vinaya* and close contact with Ceylon. They were for purification of the Order on the Sinhalese lines. Burma had good relations with Ceylon from the time of *Aniruddha* though they were broken off for a while as *Īmtaw Syaṅ* died in 1165 at the hands of assassins probably from Ceylon. *Caṅsū II* successfully restored the friendship with Ceylon - this was shown by the fact that he received relics from Ceylon in 1197⁴⁰¹. Teachers from Ceylon came to Burma early in the 13th century. An educational mission went to Ceylon probably between 1237 and 1248⁴⁰³ under the leadership of *Dhammasiri* and *Subhūticanda*. A considerable number of Sinhalese monks probably came with them on their return⁴⁰⁴. As a result, monks educated in Ceylon or by Sinhalese *thera* advocated purification of the Order on Sinhalese lines and it is not improbable that they found their leader in *Wineñdhuir*. But there was another group of monks who were not so eager for reforms. They were known as 'forest-dwellers' and they allowed themselves certain lapses in the observance of the *Vinaya*. As the practice of *ārañṅakaṅgam* is one of the thirteen *Dhutaṅgam*, it is not a compulsory practice for all the monks, but it seems that from the time of *Nātonmyā* until the fall of the empire, this practice became very popular so that many a donor built *arañāvāsi taau kloṅ*⁴⁰⁵ - forest monastery, 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 *ārañṅakaṅgam* but this original idea of a lonely monk as a forest recluse was much modified. Big monastic establishments called *taw kloṅ* appeared with hundreds of monks living in them under *taw mlat krī*⁴⁰⁶ - the Most Reverend Lord of the Forest. Minnanthu⁴⁰⁷ and Pwazaw⁴⁰⁸ to the east of Pagan. Myinmu⁴⁰⁹ in Sagaing

401. Pl. 19b/1-2

402. Pl. 373b/9, 18, 19

403. Pl. 302

404. Pl. 233a 8

405. Pl. 465a 3

406. Pl. 208/17

407. Pl. 68/2

408. Pl. 89

409. Pl. 123 16

district and Anein⁴¹⁰ in Mōnywa district were the centres of these forest monasteries. They were not confined to the forest areas alone. Some of them appeared even quite close to the capital city of Pagan⁴¹¹. These so-called forest-dwellers lived in big monasteries with big estates to support their establishments. The way they enlarged their estates and their connivance at the practices of drinking intoxicants were by no means in keeping with the *vinaya*. They received enormous gifts of land. Still they added to it by big purchases⁴¹². Among these 'forest-dwellers' the most frequently mentioned *thera* was *Mahākassapa* who perhaps was the leader of this new group in the Order. His name was first mentioned in the inscriptions in 1225⁴¹³. He was then already a famous *thera* at Myinmu in Sagaing district. Perhaps Myinmu was then the centre of these 'forest-dwellers' and *Mahākassapa* was their leader on account of whose piety they received much support from important people of the period. Probably he attempted with success to open a branch close to the Capital. The establishment at Minnanthu was founded in 1233 and that at Pwazaw in 1236. He extended further and reached Kyaukse area by 1242⁴¹⁴. In the meanwhile he became more popular with the royal family⁴¹⁵. His organization was new and therefore he felt the need of supporting it by a landed interest. Therefore he caused a series of land purchases from 1247 to 1272. It seems that he died between 1272 and 1278. Largely through his personality 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. Time alone decided who was to win and 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 *araññavāsi* or forest-dwellers under *Mahākassapa* who bought lands in outlying districts to strengthen their position and who accepted for themselves *yaṃmakā aphyav*⁴¹⁶ - a sweet liquor from palm juice, and allowed their devotees to indulge in grand feasts where liquor and meat were plentiful, with *Arañ* or *Ari* of whom the chronicles thought poorly. Burma was not alone in having these *Araññavāsi* monks during the 13th & 14th centuries. Inscriptions of *Rāma Gamhèn* (1298) and *Vat Pā Tèn* (1406) bear witness to the existence of *araññavāsi* monks during those centuries at Sukhodaya (Siam) too⁴¹⁷. Some connect them with Tāntric Buddhism. Alleged Tantric wall paintings were found at Abēyadana, Payathonzu and Nandamañña. I think these paintings are just interior decorations after the fashion of the time and has nothing to do with Tantricism and there is no obscenity in them. Although these *Ari* allowed certain lapse in the *vinaya*,

410. Pl. 296

411. Pl. 163

412. Pl. 162-3

413. Pl. 123/5, 6, 7, 12

414. Pl. 140a/2

415. Pl. 143a, etc.

416. Pl. 233/14

417. G. Cœdès: *Recueil des Inscriptions de Siam* I. Bangkok. 1924. pp. 46, 131-9

they were definitely not as debased as the chronicles allege. There is no evidence of anything unusual in their practices that the orthodox monks would not have done in those days except for the fact that they allowed some drinks at their feasts. The last point to be mentioned about them is that they were never officially suppressed during the Pagan dynasty. There is another important point in the Buddhism during the period under survey. That is the presence of *bhikkhunī* in the Order then. According to tradition there were no more female ascetics in the Buddhist Order since A.D. 456. But we find epigraphic evidence assuring their presence even in the 13th century. I am so sorry I do not have time to go into some details of this very important point. The following are a few popular names of the *bhikkhunī*. *Phun mlat so Uiw Chi Taw*⁴¹⁸, *Skhiñ Uiw Krañ Pañ Sañ*⁴¹⁹, *Saṅkādhi Uiw*, *Krañ Sañ*⁴²⁰, *Uin Chi Up Ni*⁴²¹, *Skhiñ Brahmaçari*⁴²², *Phun mlat so Uih Tañ Sañ*,⁴²³ and *Skhiñ Uiw Pañ*⁴²³. The last name of the dignitaries of the Order is *Syañ Disāprāmuk*, leader of the peace mission to Peking in 1275. It is the first known instance of a Buddhist monk in Burma taking a serious interest in politics, the general attitude being to remain aloof from the political sphere. His intervention however 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 *Tarukplyi*.

In conclusion, I shall have to repeat that the Burmans were Buddhists long before *Aniruddha's* conquest of Lower Burma; that the Buddhism alleged to have been introduced by *Aniruddha* from Lower Burma could not possibly be the *Theravāda* Buddhism; that it was much influenced by Vaishnavism and the native Naga worship was also maintained; and that the motive for attacking the south was not purely religious. In addition to these four very important points, we also find that the Buddha was worshipped as God to some extent and there was the anthropomorphic devotion of the Buddha which is still preserved in Burma. Regarding the Law, all the four scores and four thousand sections of the *piṭaka* with their many commentaries were known and big scholastic establishments were maintained in many parts of the kingdom. The study of *Vinaya* was found to be very popular with Pagan Burmans and as it required a sound knowledge of grammar for correct interpretation of the said text, it supports the tradition that they were excellent Pali scholars.

418. Pl. 29/7,19

419. Pl. 53/7

420. Pl. 119a/2

421. Pl. 1345/5

422. Pl. 21459

423. Pl. 559a/14

424. Pl. 576a/7.