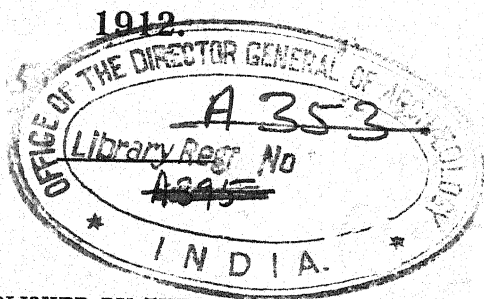


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THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

(FOUNDED 1910).

*For the Investigation and Encouragement of Arts, Science
and Literature in relation to Burma and neighbouring
Countries.*

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THE ORIGIN OF THE BURMESE.

The term "Burmese," as commonly used, means those persons who speak the Burmese language and follow Burmese customs, and are not known to be of other than Burman descent. Such a person may belong to any race on the face of the earth, but he is nevertheless a Burman. Of course, an individual with black skin or flaxen hair would not be described as a Burman; but then there are no such persons who also fulfil the above conditions. Anyone with such obviously un-Burman characteristics would probably wear trousers (if he is a man) and call himself an "Anglo-Indian" or Englishman. On the other hand a Zerbadi, if he professes the Muhammadan religion, would never be called a Burman, though he may look like one, speak only Burmese, follow Burmese customs in all respects except as regards his religion, and have but a small fraction of Indian blood in his veins. The term, in short, does not describe a race, but merely a community.

A similar statement might be made, with more or less degree of truth, of all so-called races. Another way of putting it would be to say that all races are more or less mixed. The races of which they are composed were mixed, and so were the races from which these races were formed, and so on. With this process going on indefinitely we might expect all mankind to merge into one another, and to be no more capable of classification than the sand on the sea-shore. This, however, does not happen, because communities which live in one part of the world, follow the same customs, speak the same language, and intermarry, tend to become uniform and to develop a type of their own, no matter how diverse their origin may have been. The most mixed community has only to refrain long enough from intermarriage with other communities, and it will develop a type as distinct as that of the Jews.

The Burmese follow the ordinary rule. Though they have lived as one people for only a few generations, it is quite possible that they have already imperceptibly begun

to develop a type of their own which may after many hundreds of years entitle them to be described as a race,—provided they refrain from intermarrying with, or incorporating, the members of other communities.

As compared, indeed, with the majority of the inhabitants of the two great countries, India and China, on each side of them, the Burmese are of quite a distinct type. They differ in feature and complexion from the former, and in complexion from the latter. But this difference fades away when we compare them with the numerous peoples immediately surrounding them and living under similar conditions. Chins and Nagas on the one hand and Talaiings on the other, though the last-named people belong to a different language-group, are indistinguishable from Burmans when living as Burmans in the plains. Put a Siamese or a Malay into Burmese dress, and he will in most cases look like a Burman. Where he does not it will be easy to argue that the fact is due to some foreign admixture. Individual Malays, for instance, may be found who are quite unlike Burmans in appearance, but this may easily be because they are of Arab descent. Even if we go farther afield, to Java or the Philippines, the type differs but little.

This absence of distinct types is due, I think, not so much to homogeneity as to the fact that all these communities are of mixed blood, and that the type most suitable to the environment tends to predominate; while the admixture has at the same time gone on within comparatively narrow limits. This again is owing to the willingness of the Tibeto-Burman, Indonesian, and other groups covering the area in question to intermarry with each other instead of carrying on wars of extermination or, as in India, forming exclusive castes, while their habits are certainly not less migratory than those of the rest of mankind. In fact the tendency mentioned above, under which all mankind might conceivably become of one general type, with great variations between individuals but no division into groups, has actually been at work in these countries, with results perplexing to those who think it their duty to search for a "true" physical type for each community speaking a separate

language. The fact is that it is only where barriers have been erected between communities, whether by nature or by man, that distinct types have been evolved or preserved.

There is no reason to suppose that the position is materially altered by our pushing our enquiries back in point of time. People are too apt, while admitting the obvious fact that most Burmans in Lower Burma are not Burman at all but Talaing, to assume that at some remote period of time (usually a period just before the dawn of history) there was a pure Burmese race. Such an assumption is altogether gratuitous, and is made improbable by analogy. There is no reason whatever for supposing that there was a Burmese race a thousand or two thousand years ago any more than there is now, if by race is meant a people of homogeneous descent inhabiting a wide area of country. It is quite possible, however, that the Burmese language in an earlier form was confined to a clan, all the members of which were related to one another; and that the clan, growing more and more powerful, subdued or incorporated within itself other clans speaking languages allied to its own, or even belonging to a totally different language-group. Such evidence as there is points on the whole to something of this kind having happened. It is obvious that Burmese was once spoken over a very much smaller area than now. The downfall of the Talaing kingdom, with its resulting conversion of the Talaings to the Burmese language and customs, took place only a century and a half ago. In Upper Burma, which is supposed to be the home of the Burman, most of the country north of Mandalay was held, not so many centuries ago, by the Shans, who imposed their language on the people; without, however, being able to eradicate altogether the earlier languages, of which Kadu seems to have been the chief. Of Kadu history we know nothing; but, judging from analogy, it is likely enough that the Kadus themselves were but another clan who grew more powerful than their neighbours and eventually founded a Kadu kingdom. Tradition mentions other tribes, such as the Thet, the Sak, and the Pyu, as having existed side by side with the Burmese and been gradually incorporated

with them. That curious and interesting people the Taungthas, who dwell in the plains in the west of Pakokku district, have a primitive civilization of their own, speak a dialect of Chin, and say they came from Mount Pôppa on the other side of the Irrawaddy, may well be the remnant of a tribe which once occupied the present Myingyan district, and attained a civilization almost rivalling the Burmese before it or part of it was expelled. Thus even in historical times the Burmese-speaking people were confined to a comparatively small area: and it is reasonable to suppose that, before they were strong or civilized enough to make history, the area must have been smaller still.

It may now be asked how far these other tribes were allied to the Burmese in language, and therefore presumably in race; for, though language is often most misleading as a test of race, it also is often the only test we have. As to this it would be rash to offer an opinion. The Chins, the Kadus, and some smaller communities speak languages classed with Burmese as Tibeto-Mongolian. On the other hand the Talaings and the Karens belong to totally different groups. It is impossible to say to which of these categories the extinct languages of Burma belong. It is consequently impossible to say whether the bulk of the people who appear at the dawn of history as Burmans came from one direction or many.

Various parts of Tibet and China have been suggested as the "original" home of the Burmese. So far as I know these suggestions are pure conjecture except in so far as they are founded on similarity of dialect, and the only serious attempt at comparative etymology bearing on this subject is Mr. Houghton's in the article referred to in the last number of this Journal. He found, as far as I remember, that the dialects of western Tibet most closely resembled Burmese, and inferred that the Burmans came from there.

No one seems to have suggested that the Burmese might have been evolved in Burma, and indeed there are good arguments to be found against such a theory, though the assumption that any given people must have come from some part of the world other than that in which it is found

is not always justified. The tide of conquest and migration tends to run from cold and barren to warm and fertile areas, and nothing could have been more natural than the settlement of Burma from the highlands of Tibet. The same may be said of those parts of western China where, as in the case of the Lolos, the languages show a manifest affinity with Burmese. On the other hand it does not seem necessarily to follow that, because the Tibetan dialects most closely allied to Burmese are now found in the west of Tibet, the ancestors of the Burmese also came from that part of the country. The western Tibetans may have migrated from the east.

Whether the Burmese entered the country now called Burma as a single clan, or whether they had already welded other tribes with their own into a little nation, it is impossible to say. Here again we can only judge from analogy: and from what we know of Tibeto-Burman peoples in a primitive state their genius is against combinations for military or other purposes. Such combinations may have existed before the advent of civilizing influences from India, but we have no record of any on a large scale. On the whole it seems unlikely that they existed in the absence of some form of Indian or Chinese civilization.

Nor is it at all necessary to assume a military invasion in order to account for the presence of Tibeto-Burman tribes in the country, allowing that they have come from outside. Bloodthirsty as some of these tribes and their neighbours appear to be, we often find them remarkably well-disposed towards strangers, welcoming them and passing them on to desirable lands. Though I do not wish to suggest that the conditions now existing among the tribes in the Hukong valley must have existed among the former inhabitants of Burma, we are yet able to realize from those conditions the fact that a peaceful invasion is not incompatible with a low degree of civilization, both in the invaders and in the existing occupants of the country. In the west of the Hukong valley we have the curious spectacle of a great number of petty chiefs, all independent of each other, living as a rule at peace with their neighbours and making little or no

attempt to extend their power over large areas. The population is very mixed, various dialects belonging or cognate to the Kachin, Shan and Naga languages being spoken. From time to time it receives accretions by immigration, which is not opposed; and there is record of communities having passed right through the tract to settle beyond it. For instance, the little State Zingaling Kamti, in the Upper Chindwin District to the south of this region, was settled about a hundred years ago by wanderers from Kamti Long, or great Kamti, far to the north-east of it. They had apparently been allowed to pass through the Hukong valley without opposition from its inhabitants. Again, the headman of the little village of Maukkalauk, in the south of the same state, told me that he and his people had come from the neighbourhood of Nengbyeng, in the heart of the Hukong valley, and that they had arrived there, when his father was a boy, from Assam. They now talk Kachin, wear Kachin dress, and follow Kachin customs, but this is merely because they settled among Kachins at Nengbyeng. In Assam they are said to have worn white clothes and to have spoken some language which they have entirely forgotten and of which they do not even know the name. The history of this tiny community not only proves the possibility of peaceful migration among uncivilized peoples, but is a striking example of the rapidity and thoroughness with which a community may change all the characteristics (other than physical) which are generally supposed to indicate its race.

It has been suggested that the Tibeto-Burman tribes formed the last of successive waves of migration which entered Burma from outside, "pushing before them the Negrito race."* I know of no evidence for the former existence of a Negrito race in Burma. Such evidence as we have is, as far as I know, negative, for if a Negrito race had existed there we might fairly expect to find traces of it. Nor does there seem to be any real evidence that Upper Burma was ever occupied by people speaking

* See the review of "Burma through the Centuries," in the first number of this Journal.

other than Tibeto-Burman languages, except of course the Shans, who are comparatively recent arrivals. The Mons, whom we call in Burma the Talaings, seem to have occupied part of Siam and the Malay Peninsula before the advent of the Tais, and may well have entered the newly-formed lands of the lower province from the east long ages after the Tibeto-Burman tribes were established further north. On the whole there seems no evidence that Tibeto-Burman dialects, or primitive forms thereof, were not the first forms of speech heard in Upper Burma; and in the absence of such evidence it is surely reasonable to assume that they were. If evidence exists, it is hoped that the publication of this article will lead to its production.

The article is headed "The Origin of the Burmese." It has been seen that that phrase is capable of various interpretations according to the meaning attached to the word "Burmese." If this means the present Burmese community its origin is various, but there is reason to suppose that, so far as it is not descended from autochthonous tribes, it has come from the north and east. The only other definite meaning I can attach to the word is "the people who introduced the Burmese language, in its present or an earlier form, into Burma." As to this it must be said that there is no proof that anyone introduced the language into Burma: it may have been evolved there. Seeing, however, that it has mastered many other dialects and languages, the probability is that it was evolved in a more bracing climate, producing a more vigorous race, than is found in any part of Burma otherwise suited for human habitation; and, as such a climate is to be found at no great distance in the highlands of Tibet, it may very well be that it was evolved there, and that the Burmese, in this limited sense, are of Tibetan origin.

R. GRANT BROWN

THE CHRONOLOGY OF BURMA.

BY MG. MAY OUNG.

Students of Burmese history have often complained of the want of some definite basis to proceed upon in the work of research. To wade through the mass of details and discrepancies to be found in the chronicles, most of which, moreover, are inaccessible to the majority, is a difficult task which many have given up in despair. It is probable that the chronology that follows will encourage some to take up any desired period or portion of the history, and to follow up the suggestions made with a view to fixing the dates with an appreciable degree of certainty.

Very little reference is made to Sir Arthur Phayre's valuable work, as it is apparently based on either the Yazawin-gyi of Maung Kala or the Yazawin-thit of the Twin-thin-wun, neither of which has been printed. It is generally agreed that the Hman Nan Yazawin, compiled in 1829 by a committee of scholars under the orders of King Bagyidaw, is the most reliable of the three. It closes with the capture of Ava by the Talaings in 1751, and contains copious references to old works and inscriptions; a very large number of the latter had been collected at Amarapura by the preceding sovereign. With regard to Arakan and Pegu, Phayre had very scanty information, and even now not much more is ascertainable of the former.

Most of the items in the Chronology are given from the Hman Nan; those relating to Arakan are chiefly from an Archaeological Report on Arakan, which cites the *Sappadana-pakarana*, 'an ancient Arakanese manuscript of great value.' I have not been able to obtain this, nor the compendious 48-*anga* history of Arakan. Only such of the Kings who stand out fairly prominently have been mentioned, and the Alompra dynasty has been excluded.

The following is a list of the various works cited in the Chronology :—

ENGLISH WORKS.

1. Sir Arthur Phayre's *History of Burma*, (1883).
2. *Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilisation*, by Terrien de La Couperie (1894).
3. Notes on the early History and Geography of British Burma. I—The Shwe Dagon Pagoda. By Forchhammer (1891).
4. *Buddhist India*, by Rhys Davids, (1903).
5. *The Chronology of India*, by C. Mabel Duff, (1899).
6. *Book of Indian Eras*, by Cunningham, (1883).
7. *Languages of Farther India*, by Forbes, (1881).
8. Bowring's Siam. 2 Vols.
9. *Ralph Fitch*, by J. Horton Ryley, (1899).
10. Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava. Translation, (1899).
11. The Jardine Prize Essay, by Forchhammer, (1885).
12. Kalyani Inscription. Translation.
13. Archaeological Report on Arakan.
14. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
15. Bayfield's Historical Review of the political relations between the British and Ava (1835).
16. *Buddhaghosuppatti*, by James Gray (1892).
17. Bigandet's Legend of Gautama.

BURMESE WORKS.

Those in italics have not been printed.

1. Hman Nan Yazawin. 3 Vols.
2. *Mahayazawin* (or *Yazawin-gyi*), by Maung Kala.
3. *Mahayazawin* (or *Yazawin-thit*), by Twin Thin Wun.
4. *Yazawin-kyaw*, by Silavamsa.
5. Paleiksa Egyin.
6. Sasanalankara.
7. Mun Yazawin, by U Naw.
8. Pitakat Thamaing.
9. *Yazawin-gyok*, by Maha Thiri Zeyathu.
10. *Than-lyin Yazawin*.
11. History of Moulmein, by Saya Lun.

12. Dinnyawadi Yazawin-thit, by U Pandi (1910).
13. Shwemawdaw Yazawin Thamaing, by Saya Ku.
14. Mani Ratanabon.
15. *Mahamuni Thamaing*.
16. *Yakhaing Yazawin*, by Maha-Zeyathein.
17. Toungoo Thamaing.
18. Yazadarit Ayebon.
19. *Yakhaing Minthami Egyin*.
20. Tada-u-ti Mawgun.
21. Mindaya Shwehti Egyin.
22. Pakeinnaka Dipani.
23. Swè-zon-kyaw-htin.
24. Inscriptions copied from the stones collected by King Bodawpaya. 2 Vols. (Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1897).
25. Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma. 2 Vols. (Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1900 and 1903).

B. C.

C. 800

Abhiraja settled at Tagaung. Phayre, p. 14. Lacouperie, p. 117. *Hman Nan*, Vol. I, p. 157, merely says 'in the past before the Attainment of Buddha-hood.' The *Paleiksa-egyin*, verse 19, and other Burmese works say '300 years before the Attainment.'

A few years later, Kanraja-gyi settled at Arakan.

C. 692

New era begun by Bodaw Añjana, maternal grand-father of the Buddha. This era appears to be unknown in India. Cf. Bigandet, Vol. I, p. 13, and J. R. A. S., 1908, p. 8.

	B. C.	
	C. 600	Suvannabhumi (Thaton) founded by Thiha Raja. Forbes, p. 35. <i>cf. Hman Nan</i> , Vol. I, p. 251. <i>Sasanalankara</i> , p. 55. <i>Mun Yazawin</i> gives 582 B. C.
	C. 589	Attainment of Buddha-hood. Pagoda erected by Taphussa and Bhalika; this was enlarged at various times and is now the Shwe Dagon Pagoda of Rangoon. Forchhammer's <i>Notes</i> . Lacouperie, p. 56. See entry for 544 B. C., below.
	C. 549	Dhajaraja migrated from India owing to defeat by Vitadupa, and re-founded Tagaung, after having previously established Moriya (modern Mwe-yin) and Thindwè (Th=S). Vitadupa's slaughter of the Sakyas took place a year or two before the death of the Buddha; <i>Buddhist India</i> , p. 11. Duff, p. 6, gives 478 B. C. Lacouperie, p. 56, mentions a place called Tzinduè, known to the Chinese in the 2nd century, B. C.
	C. 545	King Chanda-suriya of Arakan erected the Mahamuni shrine, and image (now at Mandalay). <i>Archæological Report on Arakan</i> .
A. B.		
1	C. 544	Buddha's death. 148th year of Bodaw Añjana's era. First Great Council by Ajatasattu. New era (Anno Buddha) begun.

A. B. B. C.

The *Pitakat-thamaing*, p. 10, says that this was after Dhajaraja had reigned at Tagaung for 5 years. As regards the inauguration of the new era, it quotes from the *Sarattha-dipani-tika*, attributed (p. 45) to Shin Sariputtara, a writer of Ceylon *temp.* King Siri-mahā-parakkama-bāhu.

The year of the Buddha's death is still the subject of controversy. See, e. g., Cunningham, pp. 34-36. Also, J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 1. Duff, p. 6, gives 477 B. C. The *Yazawin-gyok*, by Maha Zeyathu, p. 21, quotes a passage from a Sanskrit work called the *Prabodha-candrodaya* or *Gotama Puran*, (said to have been written by Siri Amara of Magadha at the request of King Nemacandra of Kosala), which says that Gotama attained Buddha-hood 2570 years from the beginning of the Kali Yuga. This = B. C. 532, and as Gotama preached for 45 years, he died in 487 B. C. Some Burmese writers have taken the passage to mean that Gotama *died* at the time specified; the interpretation turns on the word *pabhuvu*.

60 494 Maha Thambawa arrived near Prome from Tagaung, and became King of the Pyus.

101 443 Dwuttabaung, son of Maha Thambawa, ascended, and founded Thaye-Khettaya (Yathemyo; ancient Prome). Built several pagodas, now standing. This is said to have been in the year following the

A. B.	B. C.	
		Second Great Council at Vaisali by King Kalasoka, son of Susunaga. For this council, Duff, p. 7, gives 377 B. C.
157	387	Rammapura, also called Rammavadi (Moulmein) founded. <i>Mun Yazawin</i> , p. 42. Saya Lun, p. 24, places this 113 years earlier.
171	373	Dwuttabaung died.
209	335	Sudhammavadi (near Thatôn) founded. <i>Mun Yazawin</i> , p. 36.
236	308	Sona and Uttara brought Buddhism from India to Thaton. See Kalyani Inscription, and <i>cf.</i> Forbes, p. 16. This is said to have been in the year following the Third Great Council by King Asoka. Duff, p. 12, gives 246 B. C. for the council, and 241 for the sending of Mahinda to Ceylon.
433	111	King Thiri-rit (Siri-raj) of Prome, with the assistance of brahmins, made calculations for a new era, but the year was found unsuitable.
450	94	17th regnal year of Ngataba. Buddhist scriptures reduced to writing on palm

A. B.	B. C.	
		leaves at Ceylon under King Wuttagamini ; Fourth Great Council. Duff, p. 17, gives 80 B. C.
624	A. D. 78	King Thumondari introduced a new era, eliminating 622 years, and beginning with year 2. This corresponds to the Saka era of India. (Between this year and 562, the Anno Buddhae is ascertained by adding 622 to the Burmese year.)
Saka. 5	81	Supañña, last King of old Prome, ascended. Invaded Arakan and tried to take away the Mahamuni image, but failed; for this, the <i>Report on Arakan</i> quotes Forbes' <i>Legendary History of Burma and Arakan</i> , p. 13. The <i>Hman Nan</i> says the image was in the Kanyan country.
16	94	Destruction of old Prome.
29	107	"Pagan" dynasty founded by Thamudarit (Samudda-raj) at Yon-hlut-kyun. The country was called Tampadipa.
89	167	Pyu Saw Hti became King. The kingdom was named Arimaddana. The <i>Pyu Dhammathat</i> is ascribed to this King.

Saka.	A. D.	
266	344	Thin-li-gyaung ascended. The original 19 village tracts were converted into a single city called Thiri-pyitsaya (Siri-pac-caya).
324	402	Buddhaghosa is said to have come to Thaton. According to Talaing chronicles, Buddhaghosa went from Thaton to Ceylon in 930 A. B., and brought back copies of the Buddhist scriptures and commentaries; see <i>Buddhaghosuppatti</i> , pp. 21, 26, 27.
438	516	Thaik-taing ascended. New city founded at Thama-hti, and called Tampawadi.
562	638	Sangha-rajā (Poppa Saw Rahan) introduced a new era (the one now in use), eliminating 560 years and beginning with year 2. The luni-solar calendar had been introduced from India; Cunningham, p. 71. (After this, the Anno Buddhæ is ascertained by adding 1182 to the Burmese year).
B. E. 152	790	New city of Vesali in Arakan founded. <i>Report on Arakan</i> , and U Pandi, p. 84.
187	825	Thamala founded the 1st Hanthawaddy dynasty at Pegu. <i>Shwe Mawdaw Yazawin Thamaing</i> , p. 41. The <i>Mun Yazawin</i> , p. 83, places this 1313 years earlier,

B. E.	A. D.	
		i. e., before the foundation of Prome ; it relies on old Talaing manuscripts collected in Burma and Siam for Sir Arthur Phayre in 1849. Forbes, pp. 38-40, cites a Mon tradition placing this event about 573 A. D. The <i>Than-lyin</i> (Syriam) <i>Yazawin</i> gives the year 514, but does not mention the era ; possibly Saka.
211	849	Present town of Pagan built.
C. 300	938	King of "Pagan" sent ministers to the Mahamuni shrine in Arakan. <i>Hman Nan</i> does not mention this.
326	964	King Pèpyu of Arakan founded a new city at Mrauk-u, (modern Mro-haung), which was destroyed 12 years later by Shans. <i>Report on Arakan</i> , and <i>U Pandi</i> , p. 100.
356	994	Sambawet (Campavak) in Arakan founded ; see <i>U Pandi</i> , p. 101.
379	1017	Anawrahta ascended. For this date, <i>Hman Nan</i> , Vol. I, p. 234, cites an inscription recorded by the King's mother. See also p. 240. The <i>Mani Ratanabon</i> , <i>Pakeinnaka Dipani</i> and other works give the same date, but Maung Kala and Twin Thin give different dates—earlier ; cf. Phayre, p. 22. For about 250

B. E.	A. D.	
		years from the date of this King's accession the chronology of "Pagan" cannot be stated with much certainty. The various inscriptions found in Burma are most conflicting. <i>Bodaw's Inscriptions</i> , pp. 906 and 937. <i>U. B. Inscriptions</i> , Vol. I, p. 159 have 395 and 366.
391	1029	Mission from Burma or Arakan to Buddha Gaya in India. Inscriptions found at the Maha Bodhi temple ; see Cunningham, p. 72.
419	1057	Conquest of Thaton by Anawrahta. This is the date given in the Kalyani Inscription, which, however, may be wrong, as it was recorded more than 400 years later. <i>Maniratanabon</i> , p. 16, gives 416, and this is supported by <i>Bodaw's Inscriptions</i> , p. 528. First Hanthawaddy dynasty ends. Pegu becomes an appendage of "Pagan." <i>Shwe-maw-daw Yazawin Thamaing</i> , p. 81.
421	1059	Shwezigon Pagoda built. Death of Anawrahta.
426	1064	King Kyanzittha (also called Hti-hlaing-shin) at "Pagan." Mr. Taw Sein Ko (Vol. I, Part I of this Journal, p. 33) suggests 446, relying on the Myazedi inscriptions; <i>Inscriptions, P. P. & A.</i> , p. 97. But cf. <i>Bodaw's In-</i>

B. E.	A. D.	
440	1078	<p><i>scriptions</i>, pp. 597, 762 and 861, where the dates 427 and 444 are met with in connection with this King. In favour of Mr. Taw Sein Ko's suggestion there are two inscriptions at pp. 604 and 607, which give 440 in connection with Saw Lu, the preceding King. Consider entries below.</p>
		<p>Min Bilu of Arakan assassinated; his son Minyebhaya fled to Kyanzittha of "Pagan." <i>Report on Arakan</i>, p. 47, <i>cf. Hman Nan</i>, pp. 300, 301. U Pandi, p. 104, says the "Pagan" King was Alaungsithunge, but this is obviously incorrect. Mahazeyathin gives Kyanzittha.</p>
454	1092	<p>Alaungsithu ascended at Pagan. Reigned till 529. Mr. Taw Sein Ko suggests 474 to 549. But <i>cf. Bodaw's Inscriptions</i>, 506 and 719, where 463, 455 and 456 are met with. Also, <i>Inscriptions, P. P. & A.</i>, pp. 4 and 67, give 545 in connection with the third King after Alaungsithu. Also, entries below.</p>
456	1094	<p>Alaungsithu's palace attacked by dacoits. See <i>Hman Nan</i>, Vol. I, p. 291, where a history by Shin Gawdawara is cited.</p>
458	1096	<p>Mission by Alaungsithu to Arakan to repair the Mahamuni shrine. <i>Report on Arakan</i>, p. 6.</p>

B. E.	A. D.	
464	1102	Letya-min-nan, grandson of Min Bilu, restored to the throne of Arakan by Alaungsithu. <i>Report on Arakan</i> , p. 48. <i>cf.</i> Phayre, p. 46. U Pandi, p. 107, quoting from the <i>Mahamuni Thamaing</i> , gives 480.
468	1106	Parim city of Arakan founded by Letya-min-nan.
536	1174	Narapatisithu, 3rd King after Alaungsithu, ascended. <i>Hman Nan</i> cites an inscription called Shwedaungmè. <i>Dhammavilasa Dhammathat</i> compiled; see the Jardine Prize Essay, p. 29.
542	1180	Uttarajiva sent to Ceylon. The Kalyani inscription gives 532.
543	1181	Religion from Ceylon established at "Pagan."
573	1211	King Nandaungmya (also called Zeyatheinka and Uzana). This date is stated in the Zeyaput inscription; see <i>U. B. Inscriptions</i> , Vol. I, pp. 178 and 335. But the dates 569 and 560 are also met with in reference to this King; see <i>Inscriptions, P. P. & A.</i> , pp. 56 and 98.

B. E.	A. D.	
596	1234	King Kya-zwa. Thus <i>Hman Nan</i> , but the Zeyaput inscription cited above gives 597.
599	1237	Launggyet city and dynasty of Arakan founded by Alomapyu. <i>Report on Arakan</i> . Mahazeyathein's History gives 632. U Pandi does not mention this at all.
617	1255	King Narathihapate. The name of Pagan was first recognised.
641	1279	Kingdom of Zeyawuddhana (Toungoo) founded by Thawungyi, who reigned till 679. <i>Toungoo Thamaing</i> and <i>Swe-zon-kyaw-htin</i> give the same date.
643	1281	The Governor of Martaban, who had been appointed by the King of Pagan, was assassinated by Wariru, who became King. Details are given in the <i>Yazadarit Ayebon</i> . The King compiled the <i>Wagaru Dhammathat</i> ; see the Jardine Prize Essay.
646	1284	Invasion by Kublai Khan. Prome and Pegu declared independence, the former under Thihathu, son of Narathihapate, and the latter under Ngapamun or Tarappa ; soon after Pegu was taken by Martaban.

B. E.	A. D.	
648	1286	King Kyawzwa, last independent King of Pagan. Further dismemberment of Pagan Empire.
660	1298	Kyawzwa deposed by Shan brothers, Athinkaya of Myinsaing, Yazathingyan of Mekkhaya, and Thihathu of Pinle. Saw-nit, son of Kyawzwa, became feudatory King of Pagan ; <i>Inscriptions, P. P. & A.</i> , pp. 137, 140.
664	1302	Thihathu (called Tazi-shin) of Pinle built a city at Pinya, and founded a new dynasty.
677	1315	Thinkaya Saw Yun (son of Thihathu) founded a separate kingdom at Sagaing. <i>Yazawinkyaw</i> gives A. B. 1852 = 670.
679	1317	Toungoo subdued by Thihathu of Pinya.
685	1323	Prome subdued by Pinya.
689	1327	Saw-mun-nit, last King of Pagan (subordinate to Uzana of Pinya). <i>Inscriptions, P. P. & A.</i> , p. 143.
695	1333	Min-hti of Arakan invaded Burma. Destroyed Thayetmyo and captured Min

B. E.	A. D.	
		Shin Saw (son of Kyawzwa of Pagan) and his sons, one of whom afterwards became King of Ava as Min Kyizwa Sawkè. <i>Dinnyawadi Ayedawbon</i> , p. 26. U Pandi, p. 126. <i>cf.</i> <i>Hman Nan</i> , I—409.
726	1364	Pinya and Sagaing overcome by Thadominbya of Tagaung. First Ava dynasty founded by him.
731	1369	Byinnya-U (Moktama Sinbyushin) of Martaban (7th King after Wariru) moved his capital to Pegu. Second Hanthawaddy dynasty begun. The dates, 711 in <i>Yazadarit Ayebon</i> , p. 31, and 713 in <i>Hman Nan</i> , Vol. II, p. 198, are misprints, Byinnya-U ascended at Martaban in 715.
737	1375	Pyanchi-gyi of Toungoo assassinated by Governor of Prome. <i>Hman Nan</i> gives 738; but see <i>Inscriptions, P. P. & A.</i> , pp. 134, 148.
745	1383	Yazadarit ascended at Pegu; wars between him and Ava, 748 to 783. See <i>Yazadarit Ayebon</i> .
768	1406	Launggyet in Arakan destroyed by Burmans and Talaings. Minsawmun fled to Bengal. <i>Report on Arakan</i> . U Pandi, p. 137, and <i>Dinnyawadi Ayedawbon</i> , p. 39, give 780.

B. E.	A. D.	
784	1422	Sinbyushin Thihathu of Ava subdued Talaiings and married Shin Saw Bu.
792	1430	Restoration of Minsawmun, who re-founded the old Arakan capital, Mrauk-u. The date is corroborated by the <i>Yakhaing Minthami Egyin</i> , written a few years later, and by U Pandi, p. 139. Also <i>Dinnyawadi Ayedawbon</i> , p. 41. Visit to Ava of Nicolo di Conti.
800	1438	Mohnyin Mindaya of Ava started a new era, which became obsolete after a few years ; see <i>Inscriptions, P. P. & A.</i> , p. 37.
807	1445	Sin-mya-shin or Min-kyi-zwa declared independence at Prome.
814	1452	Shin Saw Bu became Queen at Pegu.
816	1454	Meeting between Minsari or Alikin of Arakan and Narapati of Ava to settle boundaries.
832	1471	Dhammaceti at Pegu. Also called Ramadhhipati. Founder of the Kalyani Sima, and Inscriptions at that place and at the Shwe Dagon Pagoda. The year of his accession given in the Kalyani inscription is that in which he was appointed Gover-

B. E.	A. D.	
		nor by his mother-in-law, Shin Saw Bu, who retired to Rangoon.
842	1480	Dutiya Mingaung at Ava. This date is corroborated by the Tada-u-ti Mawgun, verse 12, by Silavamsa, who, however, in his <i>Yazawinkyaw</i> , gives A. B. 2023=841.
847	1485	Mingyi Nyo proclaimed independence at Toungoo, and assumed the title of Maha Thiri Zeyathura.
858	1496	Hieronimo di Santo Stefano visited Pegu. The reigning King was Byinnya Ran, who died in 1516.
865	1503	Lewes Vertomannus visited Pegu.
872	1510	New Toungoo capital at Ketumadi.
878	1516	Tabin Shwehti born. See <i>Mindaya Shwehti Egyin</i> .
886	1524	Ava under Shwe-nan-gyaw-shin taken by Shans and Thado-min-saw of Prome.

B. E.	A. D.	
888	1526	Shan King, Thohanbwa, ascended at Ava. Second or Shan Dynasty of Ava.
892	1530	Tabin Shwehti ascended at Toungoo.
893	1531	King Min-ba-gyi or Minbin ascended in Arakan. Conquered Bengal. U Pandi, p. 143. <i>Dinnyawadi Ayedawbon</i> , p. 55, gives 878.
902	1540	Tabin Shwehti conquered Hanthawaddy and moved his capital to Pegu. Portugese records give the same date ; see also <i>Ralph Fitch</i> . End of second Hanthawaddy dynasty, and establishment of Burmese dynasty of Pegu. Martaban taken by Tabin Shwehti.
904	1542	Prome taken by Tabin Shwehti.
909	1547	Invasion of Arakan. Mahazeyathein gives the same date, and says the Arakanese King was Min Palaung, but according to U Pandi, p. 154, the latter ascended in 915, and the Peguans came in 917.
910	1548	Invasion of Siam. The Siamese give 1543 ; see Bowring, p. 46.

B. E.	A. D.	
912	1550	Tabin Shwehti assassinated. Bayin Naung (Hanthawaddy Sinbyushin) succeeded at Pegu. See <i>Inscriptions, P. P. & A.</i> , p. 94.
916	1554	Ava taken by Bayin Naung. It becomes an appanage of Pegu, till 961.
920	1558	Conquest of Zimmè (Chengmai.)
925	1563	Conquest of Yodaya (Siam). Siamese chronicles give an earlier date ; cf. Bowring, pp. 46-55 ; his Vol. II, p. 343, gives 1556.
929	1567	Cæsar Fredericke visited Pegu. Phayre, 267. In <i>Ralph Fitch</i> , pp. 147 and 151, 1569 is given.
943	1581	Bayin Naung died, and was succeeded by his son, Nanda Bayin or Ngasu-dayaka.
945	1583	Gasparo Balbi visited Pegu. Between this and 961, there was continual warfare between Siam and Pegu, during which Prome and Toungoo declared independence.

B. E.	A. D.	
949	1587	Ralph Fitch, the first Englishman in Burma, visited Pegu.
961	1599	Nyaungyan Mindaya, a son of Bayin Naung, crowned at Ava. Third Ava Dynasty. Minyè Thihathu of Toungoo, a nephew of Bayin Naung, assisted by Arakan, subdued Pegu, and deposed Ngasu-dayaka.
962	1600	Nicote (Nga Zinga) set up at Syriam.
967	1605	Anauk-pet-lun Mindaya succeeded at Ava.
970	1608	Prome annexed by Ava.
972	1610	Toungoo annexed by Ava.
975	1613	Syriam taken by Ava, and Nicote executed. Burmese capital moved to Pegu.
977	1615	Portugese expedition against Arakan failed.
990	1628	Anauk-pet-lun murdered by his son, Minyè Deibba, who reigned for one year.

B. E.	A. D.	
991	1629	Thalun Mindaya succeeded; crowned at Pegu in 995.
996	1634	Ava re-established as the capital.
1011	1649	Chinese invasion repulsed.
1021	1659	Chinese attack on Ava repulsed.
1049	1687	Island of Negrais occupied by British.
1057	1695	Regular official intercourse between British and Ava instituted. Fleetwood's Mission. <i>Historical Review</i> , p. 2.
1059	1697	Bowyear's Mission.
1071	1709	Allanson's Mission.
1085	1723	Chandavijaya of Arakan built the Kadothein. See inscription described in <i>Report on Arakan</i> .
1086	1724	Wars between Ava and Manipur begun.

B. E.	A. D.	
1095	1733	Last King of the Third Ava dynasty ascended.
1102	1740	Peguans rebelled and declared independence.
1104	1742	Abhaya-raja ascended in Arakan. Afterwards, contemporary of Alompra till 1123.
1108	1746	Byinnya Dala succeeded at Pegu.
1113	1751	Ava taken by Talaings.
1114	1752	Appearance of Alompra at Shwebo.

Addendum to List of Works. (Burmese).

Dinnyawadi Ayedawbon (an abridgment, written in B. E. 149, of the 48-anga history of Arakan ; by Kawithara.)

“THE BURMESE DRAMA.”

BY J. A. STEWART, M. A., I. C. S.

It is one of the ironies of history that literature, music and other arts, originally dedicated to the praise and glory of God, all seem to reach a stage when they are condemned as immoral by the professed exponents of religion and despised as trivial by the serious-minded. Every reader of Plato is familiar with his condemnation of the imitative arts; and it is recorded that when David danced before the Lord the daughter of Saul looked through a window, and saw him, and despised him in her heart. In Mediæval England plays were performed at the very doors of the churches; by the seventeenth century the drama was beginning to be regarded as disreputable. Here in Burma the irony is even more intense. Drama, the most vigorous branch of literature at the present day, which is probably of religious origin and still continues to derive its plots and characters from the sacred histories of Buddha, and which is regularly presented at all religious festivals, lies under the anathema of the Buddhist church and gains but a sneaking and shamefaced approval even from its most constant patrons. It is true that on the occasion of a great pagoda feast a sprinkling of priests may be seen among the audience at a *pwe*, but it has been clearly laid down by many reverend authors that to look at a play is to drink damnation and that the actors and producers are but the purveyors of that undesirable commodity.

But there is reason to believe that the disfavour of the church while it may have injured or improved has never succeeded in exterminating any of the arts; and the Burmese drama shows such unmistakable signs of vigour and is so rooted in the affections of the people that pulpit or other denunciation is little likely to kill it. In view of this extensive popularity it seems worth while to put on record a description of the *Zat* as it is now and to examine it for indications of future development.

Since, at any rate among foreigners, very loose notions of the construction and character of the *Zat* seem to prevail, it may be well to describe a recently witnessed performance by Maung Po Sein's company of the play "Sawyabala, the Outlaw."

ACT I, Scene I. The King of Benares and his ministers discuss affairs of state. The ministers report that Sawyabala, stepson of the rich man Danakawtila is harassing the

country by robbery and violence. The king directs that Sawyabala be outlawed and a reward of ten thousand rupees offered for his apprehension.

Scene II. The ministers make proclamation accordingly. Sawyabala's mother, Ma Pa Za, supplies him with money and sends him to the forest.

Scene III. Sawyabala and his gang appear and plan various villainies. The members of the gang are comedians and the scene is a brief comic interlude after the serious business which has gone before.

ACT II, Scene I. The rich man and his wife discuss their domestic trouble. The *thahte* wears, of course, a fur-lined coat and a big moustache. He is represented as dotingly fond of his somewhat elderly wife. In an aside Ma Pa Za explains that she is determined to bring about a marriage between her son the outlaw and her step-daughter, the rich man's daughter by previous marriage.

Scene II. She takes her step-daughter Santakônmayi to the river to perform the headwashing ceremony and propounds her scheme. Santakônmayi replies that she loves Sawyabala as a brother and refuses to marry him. Her step-mother beats and abuses her and finally casts her into the river and leaves her to drown.

ACT III, Scene I. The hermit Tekkapandita and four irrepressible acolytes come to the river to take the air. Santakônmayi cries for help (ကပ်တော့သူပါ၍) One of the acolytes suggests that some one is calling "Fresh fish." (ဝပ်တော့သူပါ၍) They finally make up their minds that the cries proceed from a woman who is drowning in the river and there is some discussion as to the propriety of hermits having anything to do with her. The hermit, however, decides to try and save the girl, and disregarding the solicitations of his disciples—they expect him to be drowned and besiege him with applications for bequests—he plunges into the river and brings her ashore. He inquires who her parents are and offers to send her home. (There is some competition among the acolytes for the duty of escorting her). She refuses to go, pulls off his hermit's cloak and insists that he shall marry her. To this, after some hesitation, he agrees. At this point we have the betrothal scene (*thitsahta*) in which they sing and dance to each other. The hermit and his wife then leave the stage to set up business as sellers of vinegar and pickles.

ACT IV, Scene I. In the course of their hawking they reach the rich man's house. Ma Pa Za feigns repentance, and lures Santakônmayi into the house with a promise to

restore all the jewellery which she had had as a girl. Once inside, the wicked step-mother shuts the door and refuses to let her go. The husband from outside and his wife from inside the house sing to each other of their love and misfortune. Ma Pa Za drives him away, telling him that Santakônmayi is now in the arms of Sawyabala whom she had always loved.

Scene II. By an arrangement with Ma Pa Za, Sawyabala carries away Santakônmayi to the forest. She still refuses to marry him. He beats her and leaves her in a cave with orders to his men to guard her.

Scene III. The hermit finds her in the jungle while the watchmen are asleep. She swears she is true to him. Their conversation is interrupted by Sawyabala who ties the hermit to a tree and orders his men to kill him at midnight.

ACT V, Scene I. The watchmen are again asleep. The *Myo Zaung Nat* substitutes Ma Pa Za for the hermit, and sends him and his wife back to the rich man's house. Ma Pa Za is killed by the outlaws. Sawyabala, however, discovers their mistake and hastens off bent on vengeance.

Scene II. Arrived at his step-father's house, he is going to kill Santakônmayi, but the *nat* stays his hand and preaches to him, revealing the fortune awaiting him and the other characters of the play in future existences. Sawyabala refuses to listen and is going to murder Santakônmayi when the *nat* causes the earth to open and swallow him.

Scene III. It is night. Santakônmayi is asleep and her husband gazes at her as she lies. He sees that her cheeks are wet with dream-tears. "Vanity of vanities. What shall it profit his immortal soul that he is now rich? What will become of all his wealth when he dies? Which of us has his desire or having it is satisfied? He will return to the hermit's life." He leaves the house silently and the curtain falls.

It will be noticed that the action of the play is simple. There are no complications or unexpected dénouements. The story is told in as intelligible and straightforward a fashion as possible. This simplicity of plot is thoroughly characteristic of the Burmese Drama, as it was of the tragedy of ancient Greece. In nine cases out of ten the subject-matter of the *Zat* is as familiar to the audience as the story of Agamemnon or Jason was to the Athenians. The plot cannot therefore contain any element of surprise and the play must have interests entirely apart from the interest of plot. The interest of a Greek tragedy must have lain in the language and sentiments and interplay of circumstance

and character. And it is probable that the singing and dancing of the chorus was a good deal more interesting to the audience than the painful student, not independent of Liddel and Scott, would conceive. Now civilization in Burma is in some respects very advanced; the intellect of the people is keen and the Buddhist religion fosters sanity of thought and sobriety of judgment. In the Burmese drama, therefore, lacking in plot and loosely constructed though it be, we shall probably find some legitimate sources of interest, some qualities or the promise of qualities, worthy of the serious attention of the student of literature.

The persevering playgoer must have observed that in all the more emotional passages the hero and heroine abandon prose and address each other in strophe and antistrophe of song and dance. Of these musical scenes there is one in particular which requires notice. This is the scene known as the *thitsahta*. It occurs when the "Prince and Princess" have met and decided to make a match of it and consists of two hours' more or less continuous singing and dancing. Its chief peculiarity is that during its course the action of the play is entirely suspended. The actors forget all about the plot and their parts. The songs are either colourless or frankly irrelevant and the actors address each other not by the names of the characters they represent but by their ordinary or stage names, the names under which they are known to the public. After two or three songs each, both are probably a little exhausted and the clowns or *lubyets*, who always attend on these occasions, strike in with criticisms of their performance. "Well, if that does not please you," says the princess, "I will show you six different styles of dancing." "Kè-è," say the *lubyets*. The princess dances; the prince and clowns criticise and exhort her, and half an hour passes very agreeably. "I really think you are the nicest wife I ever had," says the prince. "But you have had many wives and I am afraid I shall not be the last." And so on. Then there will be more singing and dancing. The prince vows constancy and the princess reiterates her suspicions and doubts. By and by one of the clowns reminds them that it is past midnight and that they must be getting on with the action. "Well," says the prince to the audience, "we haven't quarrelled yet and we haven't sung a weeping song. I am sure you would like to hear us cry but you must wait for that till nearer dawn." In all *Zats*, whether performed by metropolitan or jungle companies, the *thitsahta* has this inartistic character. No matter who or how situated the hero may be—a soldier hastening to battle or a timid ex-hermit and pickle-seller-to-

be—in the *thitsahta* all are monotonously alike. And every heroine, no matter how carefully nurtured, expresses the same rather unpleasant doubts of her husband's fidelity. The smaller companies, with weaker cast and more limited resources are apt to prolong the *thitsahta* and sometimes insert an extra one performed by the hero's younger brother and his princess, neither of whom is in the least necessary to the plot and who after a "turn" of about two hours withdraw and are seen no more.

The singing does not end with the *thitsahta* but the later songs are as a rule more relevant, and arise more naturally out of the action. If the hero is slain, for instance, or decides to become a hermit, as heroes have a habit of doing towards dawn, the laments of the princess are often very natural and touching. The *abandon* of pose, the thrill and break of the voice in a weeping song would probably be hard to equal in the acting of any country. And indeed, in all moods, the actors succeed in so combining song and dance as to give passion its utmost expression. The brisk and debonair manner of the prince, the easy confidence of his love-making, the maidenly reserve, meanwhile, of the princess, who is merely showing her graces, and looking pretty, till her turn comes—the lightsome music and pretty dresses—convey a sense of exhilaration which should rejuvenate the most incorrigibly middle-aged.

Next in the popular estimation to the operatic parts of the *Zat* come the low comedy scenes in which the prominent feature is the jesting of the *lubyets*. They are in some respects comparable to the Greek chorus. Sometimes, like the chorus they take a subordinate part in the action. But, whether necessary to the action or not, they are never absent from a play. Practically any of the characters except the king, prince and princess may be impersonated by a clown; rich men, priests, *nats* and other minor divinities, thieves and servants are all recognized comic parts. The *lubyets* have as a rule high spirits and a real power of comic acting. They pride themselves on being able to crack jokes on any topic at a moment's notice (တူတူဝေး) Doubtless a certain number of the jokes are prepared beforehand or at any rate have been used previously—as play-goers know there are a number of chestnuts which are always cropping up in the cheaper *pwés*—but it is considered unprofessional to learn your words by rote. Audiences naturally prefer the joke spontaneous to that which smells of the lamp. One regrettable consequence of this tradition of impromptu jesting is, that the inferior *lubyets*, or indeed

the very aristocrats of the order, when not in form, are driven to supply the deficiencies of wit by a somewhat free recourse to vulgarity. It is difficult to estimate the effect of this grossness on the audience. That they appreciate it at its true value you can tell at once by comparing the hoarse guffaw which greets the foul joke, with the thunderclap of real laughter or the appreciative chortle of milder amusement. It is therefore no apology for the filthy jest to say that Burmans are less squeamish than Europeans; if filth is appreciated as such it must make some impression and that impression must be bad. So long, however, as performances go on till dawn, it would be too much to expect the mere salt of real wit and humour all night and every night.

All things considered the comedy scenes are wonderfully good. Quotation would be dangerous, for jokes and especially puns, which are much affected, do not translate well; but the following well-known skit may be quoted. A *pwe* was being performed in Kemmendine at a time when the Rangoon Municipality was proposing to increase the stringency of their building rules, much to the consternation of all owners of the match-box type of dwelling. Enter one of the *lubyets*, dressed as a local *nat*, weeping and with every manifestation of extreme distress. In reply to sympathetic inquiries he at length explains; "The Municipality says I must put a zinc roof on my bab-ab-anyan tree." It is but a topical allusion after all, yet how it must have gone home!

We may perhaps say that the *lubyet* tends to become less of a chorus and more of an acting part. There is every reason to hope that this tendency will persist and that the comic scenes will contribute towards, instead of detracting from, the coherence of the play.

We have now sufficiently indicated the construction of the *Zat* and discussed its principal constituents. It remains to say a word of the acting. When we have admitted that the clowns excel in broad farce and that the quarrels and lamentations of the prince and princess have considerable verisimilitude, we have said all there is to say. It is hard to recollect an instance of consistent impersonation of a character all through the play. Yet there are abundant indications that Burman actors have no mean histrionic ability. Why do they not use it? The reasons will probably be found in the traditions and conventions of the Burman stage. It is hard to be certain, but probably the prince and princess are expected to be perfect characters—the prince the ideal lover and the princess the supreme embodiment of all feminine attractions. And so, like many

heroes and heroines in English fiction, striving to be perfect characters, they divest themselves of all character whatsoever. Then convention demands that hero and heroine shall be, or be dressed as, prince and princess; they must wear clothes of a particular cut and as much jewellery as possible. Let us say that the prince and princess, banished from the palace in early youth, are the slaves of a wicked Brahmin, by whom they are kept in ignorance of their royal birth and employed on menial duties; they will draw water and sweep the floor, bedight with rings and bangles and as if from a premonition of future greatness, arrayed in all the trappings of royalty.

We have grumbled a good deal at the absurdities of the *thitsahta*. Its pernicious effect on the *Zat* as a whole and particularly on the acting may be illustrated from the play above described. A conscientious attempt was made at character-acting. After the *thitsahta*, the hero actually appeared as pickle-seller in a dirty flannel *eingyi* and antiquated *gaungbaung*, speaking slowly and haltingly and with a curiously barbarian idiom; thus *ရှင်တယ်* became *ရှင်ထားတယ်* *အောက်မေ့တယ်* became *အောက်မေ့ထားတယ်* and so forth. Now a certain degree of *gaucherie* is to be expected in the hermit-hero but the pickle-seller was no more like the "prince" of the previous scene than Punch is like Apollo. The *Zat*, as it were, starts at the wrong end. How much more effective it would be for the hero to begin as the yokel, then throw off his disguise and blossom out as Prince Perfection halfway through the performance. This device is used in such popular plays as "M. Beaucaire" and "Henry of Navarre." It would certainly be appreciated in Burma. One can fancy the gasp of delight from the *apyogales* in the audience which would greet the emergence of the hero in his real character. As it is, the *thitsahta* dominates the whole play and after the colourless perfection which it requires of the players, any subsequent attempt at acting becomes in itself an absurdity. The attempt, we may add, is rarely made.

We have spoken of the impromptu nature of the performance. There is no "book." The *Zat* as a rule comes into being in the following way. One of the company selects some sacred life or popular novel and arranges it as a play; that is, he decides the order of the scenes and the general course of the action. Another expert writes the songs, many of them vague enough to be used in any play. The actors are instructed in their parts and the rest is left to luck. Hap-hazard as it seems, this method may be said to justify itself. The actors have great natural fluency and

there are few hitches in a performance. One is chary, therefore, of attributing the faults of the *Zat* to the absence of a "book". Most of them could be removed without requiring the actors to learn their words.

The criticisms we have passed will be commonplaces to most readers, and their truth is admitted by the more intelligent of Burman actors. Reform is delayed by the disposition of the better classes to regard the *Zat* as mere trifling. The newspapers devote no space to dramatic criticism and the denunciations of the priests are too wholesale to have much effect. By its borrowing from Parsi and English companies in recent years the *Zat* has proved that it is by no means stereotyped and that theatrical audiences are not so conservative as might have been expected. If some of the better companies could be induced to perform a superior type of play—even only as a curtain-raiser preliminary to the *Zat* proper—the effect would probably be far-reaching. With this, however, we must leave the subject; it is not for the pedestrian critic to prescribe the flight of Pegasus.

NOTES ON TALAING EPIGRAPHY.

BY C. O. BLAGDEN,

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Some apology is due to the Society for the desultory and scrappy character of the following notes. I trust that it will be excused in view of the fact that the systematic study of the subject is still in its infancy, while its importance is such as to justify its being brought to the notice of the Society even at its present stage. Epigraphy is the safest guide both to history and to linguistic study, and Talaing epigraphy has hitherto remained a practically unexplored field. Even the modern form of Talaing is little known to European scholars: the language has been neglected in Burma and there have been few facilities for studying it in Europe.

Importance of Talaing.

Linguistically considered, the value of Talaing lies in the fact that it is the oldest literary vernacular of Burma (and perhaps of all Indo-China) and an important member of the Mon-Khmer family of languages, closely connected with Cambojan (Khmer), the other leading literary vernacular of that family. A comparison of its forms, both ancient and modern, with those of its cognates in French Indo-China will clear up much of the mystery which surrounds this family of languages. Historically, the Talaing inscriptions take rank amongst the oldest in Burma, and many interesting facts will, it is confidently expected, be gleaned from them when they are carefully and systematically studied and interpreted.

Difficulty of the subject.

If modern Talaing is little known, old Talaing may fairly be said to be an absolute *terra incognita*. The Talaing literary tradition has been interrupted. Whereas a Burmese scholar can, I am informed, interpret, albeit with some trouble, the early Burmese inscriptions, I doubt whether there is a Talaing living who can make any sense out of the old Talaing ones. The same difficulty prevailed in Camboja and Champa, and there too all attempts at interpretation had to begin *de novo*. In the case of Talaing the difficulty

is very serious. The modern form of the language is very much decayed, both phonetically and morphologically. In other words, there is a huge gap between it and the language of the early inscriptions, and this can only be bridged by patient comparative study. To a modern Talaing the old language presents forms which seem to him phonetically impossible and unintelligible. It admits combinations of consonants which the modern language rejects, it contains certain formative elements (in particular certain infixes) which are hardly traceable in the modern language, and the spelling has undergone radical changes even though modern Talaing spelling lags centuries behind the spoken language. Hence it is no easy matter to tackle an old Talaing inscription.

Materials and Methods of study.

The Talaing inscriptions, so far as known to me, go back to about the time of Anawrāta. There may be and probably are older ones still extant, but up to now I have not been furnished with copies of them. From the time, however, when the Burmese first conquered the Talaing country, Talaing inscriptions begin to appear even in the Burmese capital. It is evident that at that period the Talaings were more civilised than the Burmese, and Talaing scribes and craftsmen were taken to Pagan to help in erecting the inscribed monuments which were set up there. The same process went on in other parts of Burma, notably at Prome. And thus we find Talaing inscriptions set up to adorn Buddhist shrines or commemorate the glories of Burmese kings in districts where Talaing was not the spoken vernacular. A striking case is that of the Ananda Pagoda at Pagan, where (as M. Huber has recently pointed out in the BEFEO, 1911) the inscriptions on the glazed tiles decorating the building are in Talaing, not in Burmese. In the same capital, too, and also at Prome, there are many Talaing inscriptions cut on stone.

The key to all this wealth of material has been fortunately furnished to us by the quadrilingual inscription connected with the Myazedi Pagoda at Pagan, to which some reference has been made by Mr. Taw Sein Ko in his note on "The Early Use of the Buddhist Era in Burma" in Vol. 1, Part 1 of this Journal. This inscription contains four versions of the same story in four different languages, viz., Pali, Burmese, Talaing and a language which I have provisionally conjectured to be Pyu. For further details I must refer the reader to recent articles and notes in the JRAS (1909-11) where

the detailed results of the study of the Talaing and "Pyu" texts will be found. It is sufficient to say here that the Talaing text, duly checked by the Pali and Burmese versions, gives us the old Talaing forms in the stage of the development of the language that prevailed about the year A. D. 1100 and enables us by analogy to interpret other old Talaing inscriptions which have not so conveniently been supplied with Pali and Burmese equivalents. The importance of the Myazedi record can hardly therefore be over-rated: that document is, if one may say so, the Rosetta stone from which the further decipherment and interpretation of the Talaing inscriptions must proceed. And be it here said in passing, that in these Talaing inscriptions the mere process of decipherment does not as a rule offer very serious difficulties, provided that the stone is not much damaged by weathering or wilful defacement: the characters are usually clearly cut and distinct and the old forms of the alphabet are soon recognised and identified. The real difficulty, apart from the reading of blurred and damaged portions and the conjectural restoration of missing passages, lies in the interpretation of the deciphered text. The process is necessarily a slow one. Words constantly appear which cannot at present be identified with modern equivalents, for, apart from the great change in the language in eight centuries, the materials for the study of modern Talaing are very inadequate and deficient. Haswell's vocabulary is very far from being a dictionary of the language, and the recently published Pali vocabulary with Talaing glosses (issued from the printing press of a Talaing monastery at Pak Lat, Siam) is not arranged in a way likely to facilitate the finding of unknown Talaing words.

The only method available at present is the laborious comparison of context with context wherever the same unexplained word occurs: in process of time this will determine its meaning in most cases. It will be a great help to have before one inscriptions of different periods, so that the gradual development of the language in all its successive phases can be clearly traced.

Up to the present I have had few documents of this sort to work with. The most important is the Talaing text of the great Kalyāṇi inscription of Pegu. This is, unfortunately, broken into fragments which in some cases have suffered very severely by weathering and wilful damage. Probably only about half of the text has been preserved. It is however very important, as it embodies the Talaing of the latter end of the 15th century A. D. and represents a stage in which the language though still archaic begins to take on

its more modern form. As a matter of fact, I should say that this stage, so far at least as the spelling is concerned, is nearer to the modern written form than it is to the form of A. D. 1100. The reason is that the written Talaing has not kept pace with the progressive changes in the spoken language but is now a stereotyped system, partly representing past phases in the development of the language and partly a somewhat arbitrary convention. It has been to some extent recast in such a way as to produce forms analogous to such English spellings as "rhyme" and "scythe," which are neither phonetically nor etymologically correct. So too many modern Talaing spellings represent neither the present sound nor any former pronunciation: they are artificial spellings invented to harmonize the present with the past, but actually misrepresenting both.

Results.

It is somewhat premature at present to speak of results, but a few words may perhaps be said on the subject even now. So far as the contents of the inscriptions are concerned, no great new historical facts have as yet come to light, though at any moment something of the kind may be revealed. But much has been found which will contribute to our better understanding of the material and mental condition of the people of Burma in the early days when the truly historical epoch may be said to begin. There is a great deal of information about their state of civilisation and environment, even when allowance has been made for the idealising tendency of these rather high-flown records. We learn a good deal about their social condition, their beliefs and aspirations, and their customs. The whole thing is of course strongly tinged with courtly panegyric and religious sentiment: these inscriptions were doubtless drafted by ecclesiastics at the order of the sovereign. But under their conventional phraseology we get glimpses of the life of the people themselves. It is noticeable that they are usually spoken of as "the four castes," as if the Hindu caste system fully prevailed in Burma at that time. But that may be merely a piece of conventional phraseology ultimately derived from Indian models. However, Brahmins are mentioned and their acquaintance with the Vedas is referred to. But the prevailing tone is of course Buddhist.

Linguistically the inscriptions are already yielding much interesting information. The old form of the language, unlike the modern form, offers few difficulties to the transliterator. Its alphabet, the parent of the modern Burmo-

Talaing one, is derived from southern India, and is fuller than that of Pali but less complete than the Sanskrit, containing however the two Sanskrit sibilants *ś* and *ṣ* (= *śh*) which modern Talaing has lost. It is probable that this alphabet never really sufficed to represent all the shades of the complex Talaing vowel system. At any rate the system that can be deduced from the old inscriptions is far less extensive than that of the modern spoken language. The old language allowed the consonants *c*, *ñ*, *r*, *l*, and *s* to be used as finals, whereas the modern form rejects them in that position. It also, in Indian loanwords, permitted such finals as *j*, *ṇ*, and *ḍ*, which are now a days turned, as a rule, even in writing and always in speech, into *t*, *n*, and *t*. Owing to the presence of infixes, which have now almost dwindled away, and the greater fulness of its prefix syllables, the old Talaing has a decidedly less monosyllabic appearance than the modern. It is however believed that the language is built up out of simple monosyllabic roots, having not more than one consonant at the beginning and the like at the end. At no stage in its development does Talaing seem to have tolerated double final consonants. But it does admit certain combinations initially, though there is reason to suppose that in such cases one of the consonants was originally a prefix or an infix.

However that may be, the old language has in active use (quite apart from such fossilised affixes) a clearly traceable system whereby words are extended by prefixes and infixes. Suffixes are not used. Of the prefixes the chief are the verbal *s*- and *p*-, the latter of which has a causative force. The infixes include *-um-*, *-in-*, and *-ir-*. Their precise import has not yet been determined. The last named appears to form substantives from verbs and adjectives. A remarkable thing about it is that when applied to a word having two initial consonants it is inserted after the first and before the second, but when it is used with a word having but one initial consonant it causes the latter to be reduplicated and is inserted between the original and the new initial. As aspirated consonant is, however, treated as a double consonant. Thus from *fnok*, "great," is formed the word *firnok*, "extent," but from *das*, "to be," *dirdas*, "being, existence." This infix is even applied sometimes to Indian loanwords, e.g., *sirsuk*, from *sukha*, and *cirhāy*, from *chāyā*.

This seems to indicate that such Indian words had already at that time been established so long in the language as to pass for native words and be treated accordingly. The

system of affixes in old Talaing may be compared to the Cambojan, which however is even more elaborate.

A very noticeable feature of old Talaing is the large number of Indian loanwords derived direct from the Sanskrit, not through Pali. There are of course also Pali forms, and even forms which are partly based on Sanskrit and partly on Pali.

It is evident that the influence of Sanskrit on Talaing must at some time prior to A. D. 1100 have been very considerable indeed. As throughout Southern Indo-China generally the Sanskrit-using Mahayanist Buddhism can be traced back to an earlier epoch than the Pali-using Hinayanist variety, there is nothing specially surprising in the circumstance that the Talaing country forms no exception to the rule in that respect; but the fact does not appear to be distinctly realised in Burma.

Another point established by the inscriptions is that *ma*, which, in the modern language, forms a sort of participle when joined with the simple verb, is in old Talaing a separate relative particle, which can admit of another word intervening between it and the verb. In other respects the grammar and syntax of old Talaing are not very different from those of the modern language. Etymologically, of course, the inscriptions serve to explain many forms which phonetic decay has since obscured. From the point of view of vocabulary the old language appears to me to be much nearer to the modern Talaing than it is to the old Cambojan, and a very long time must have passed since the original separation of these two languages, seeing that even eight centuries ago they had already diverged so much. This consideration seems to indicate that the two peoples had occupied their respective countries in remote prehistoric times, which it is now impossible to determine even approximately. Compared with them, the Burmese and Siamese, and indeed most of the other races now inhabiting Indo-China, are newcomers of the day before yesterday.

Altogether there is much to be learnt from Talaing epigraphy and the above remarks are in no sense an attempt to exhaust the subject, but merely an instalment or interim report. I hope at some future time to be in a position to supplement them with fuller and more definite information.*

* This paper was read before the Annual Meeting of the Society held on the 8th February, 1912.

HYPNOTISM IN BURMA.

BY MAUNG SHWE ZAN AUNG, B. A.

Hypnotism was practised by the Egyptian priests and the Persian magi, and is still practised by the Indian yogis, in the East. In Burma it is known under the generic name of '*mhaw*'. The derivation of this word is uncertain (1) but its meaning may be gathered from the different forms which I will now proceed to briefly describe :—

(a) WITCHCRAFT.

Són-mhaw is nothing more than hypnotism abused, in which an agent, usually a woman, influences her neighbours telepathically for evil. That is, she causes some one who is open to outside influences to suffer illness. This is done either out of spite or for a pecuniary gain. As an example of spite, a case of partial aphonia was within the writer's knowledge. In 1885 a *zat-mintha* (chief actor) married the *prima donna* who was the wife of another in the same company. The actress' mother who was a Shan did not approve of the scandalous marriage and left her daughter when the new son-in-law lost his voice and could not sing any more. Both he and his wife affirmed that her mother had wreaked her vengeance on him. As an example of pecuniary gain, the case of a couple who in 1893 used to be the terror of the local Police in Kawmhu of the Hanthawaddy district may be cited. In their case the husband practised therapeutics and cured the illness caused by the wife. Witches are reputed to be able to create hallucinations and it is alleged that when they entertain their enemies they generally turn unpalatable things into savoury dishes. And so the writer while in Kawmhu was warned by his servant not to eat even *let-pet* (pickled tea leaves) in their house.

Burmans do not talk about wizards. But a variety of this craft is known as *kawe-mhaw*. The word '*kawe*' is the equivalent of '*wise-ard*'. And yet professors of this higher craft are not men but women. The well-known *Mhaw-kadaws*, *Ma Kè* and *Ma Pè*, of the Burmese Court were sorceresses of this class. These weird ladies are reported to have possessed the power of transforming themselves into a vulture etc., especially when they competed with *Sayas* in arts.

1. '*Mhaw*' is probably connected with the Pali '*Moha*' (stupefaction).

The Pali word 'kawi' (a wise person) from which the name was derived betrays the meaning that witchcraft is a science. A treatise on the essence of the science, entitled the '*Kawe-thāra-kyam*', will probably be found in the Bernard Free Library. But the existence of *wundwin-sóns* (born witches) accounts for the fact that witches are generally met with in out-of-the-way places, such as Gwa, Eng, and other similar places in Burma. Some, however, go so far as to say that one is sure to meet with a witch in every seven houses. Born witches are supposed to be superior to those who acquire the art.

(b) SPIRITISM.

(i) *Asein-mhaw* is another form of the misuse of hypnotic powers, in which an operator honestly thinks that he employs a disembodied spirit as his agent in causing harm to individual subjects.

(ii). The *pónnaga* attack is a specific form of class (i) under this head, in which people occasionally witness the throwing of stones by unseen hands. Some forty years ago, U Mra Phaw of Akyab experienced a very bad attack of this sort by a "poltageist" The writer is indebted to Dr. Maung Tha Noo, A. T. M., K. S. M. for the following details :—

He writes.—I cannot give you the correct date. It was about 1870 that I first experienced the fun, which lasted for about a week. Big lumps of earth fell through comparatively small openings in the lattice-work. Small lumps occasionally hit the inmates without actually hurting them. The phenomenon began at nights during the first few days, but later, it took place at daytime too. U Mra Phaw who is my brother-in-law had several pupils. They all watched but could detect no sign of human agency. His brother Maung San Hla abused the 'pelter-ghost', when he was slapped across his cheek by an unseen hand in broad daylight with such force as to make his cigar fly off from his mouth. A neighbour lawyer gentleman, who was well known in higher circles, came upstairs talking slightly of the Pónnaga. But he too received a slap across his face with such force as to make his head-dress go off flying, in full view of many others present. When *Pongyis* performed the *paritta* or devil-expelling ceremony at night, even they were pelted with small lumps of earth on their heads.

Not long after, i. e. about 1871 or 1872, a fire-phenomenon took place in your Saya Maung Than's house. First I saw the roof at the back on fire. But when the fire was being extinguished, the roof in front caught fire, not from any visible sparks. In this mysterious way seven places were affected without burning down the house. It was at 1 p.m. and attracted crowds of people. As the natural cause of the fire could not be discovered, it was attributed to the Pónnaga.

Again, about 1874, Wundauk U Shwe Taw's children happened to become familiar with a friendly spirit who supplied them with betel-quids, packets of *lepet* etc., when asked for. This was at the expense

of night road-sellers. But when other tricks (1) occurred, the children got afraid and U Shwe Taw had to move into another house where the spirit followed but turned himself into an enemy by throwing ashes into dishes in broad daylight. These three cases I knew well and personally. Several other instances are reported now and again. But I will not give you hearsays.

The latest case of stone-throwing was reported in 1905 from U Hmaing's house in Crisp Street. This gentleman at first suspected a neighbour as joking with him. But when stones began to drop from the ceiling in full view of a company of friends, he realised that the matter was serious. So he engaged a Saya from Pazundaung to dispel the attack. Stones, however, continued to drop not only in the presence of the Saya but every night for fully a fortnight. The phenomenon ceased only after he had secured the services of a Pongyi from Maulmein to counteract the evil influences of spirits. U Hmaing now honestly believes that their employer, a native of Cheduba, died later through the effects of a *dan-byan* (counter-punishment) administered by the Pongyi (2). Stone-throwing in these two instances must not be confounded with that for *ge-bo* on marriage occasions. On these occasions, stones may very often reach the Police courts. But in the case of true phenomena it is noticeable that stones do not hit the inmates of a house though they fall very near them so as to merely frighten them, or do not hurt them even if they happen to be hit.

Another variety of it consists in burning the clothes of an enemy inside a chest in which those of other people, if kept together, are left intact.

Phenomena of this kind occurred about 1881 in Ma Phaw's house of 21st Street Rangoon: the substance of her own account of how she was troubled by poltageist phenomena for eighteen months is given below:—

One evening about eight o'clock a corner of her mosquito curtain caught fire; she ran up and put it out and thinking that some burglar must have got into the house she searched the house through but found nobody; hardly had the search been completed, when another curtain caught fire. After this burning incidents occurred to a more and more alarming extent; day after day until nearly 11 o'clock at night, the smell of burning would arouse them, and they would find now this piece of silk, now that cloth, ablaze. They tried putting all clothes away in boxes, but the clothes

1. It would be interesting to know what these tricks were, which frightened the children. But I have no time to write to Dr. M. Tha Noo at Sandoway.

2. The mention of 'pongyi' in this connection must not mislead. He is but one of a few black sheep in the flock.

would be found removed and aflame in another quarter of the house : if however the boxes were locked then the materials inside were not harmed. Nothing ever *began* to burn while it was being watched but turn away for a moment and it might catch fire : if one kept his eyes on a mosquito curtain it was always the farthest corner that burst into flames; many people came to see these phenomena and one amongst them said that the inmates were lucky, in not getting pinched or having stones thrown at them as evil spirits could do this also. The next day when sitting at table they suddenly felt a pinch and stones dropped from the ceiling. Ma Phaw herself was not much molested but twice felt the press of a very big and heavy hand, her four daughters were continually worried, and it was noticeable that if one cried all four cried, if one laughed all four laughed. Many visitors came from all parts, and received pinches so severe as to make a visible bruise : if the visitor said "I understand that only the inmates of the house are pinched," he was certain to get immediately a very hard pinch or smack. No European, however, who visited the house saw any phenomena at all ; he might be just leaving the gate when flames burst out, and the like, but *never* so long as he remained under their roof.

One of the daughters who was given magic oil learnt to communicate with the "poltageist"; the spirit laughed at the Sayas who tried to drive him away and said if they fed him would go away and leave them treasure by the garden-well. Ma Phaw replied that if he had treasure to give them he would give them there and then : immediately something wrapped up in paper dropped from the ceiling : she opened it ; in the paper were her daughters' ear-rings.

As time went on they got less and less afraid of the evil spirit and learnt more and more how to evade his tricks ; about one year after his first appearance the phenomena became less frequent, until eighteen months later neither himself nor his freaks were to be seen again.

In conclusion it may be said that phenomena such as have been described occurred *regularly*, and not as isolated or occasional freaks, before many spectators and yet no signs of a visible agent were ever seen. And so also for other occurrences. Pice and other coins *frequently* disappeared from visitors' pockets, and then again dropped from the roof.

It is not possible that the agent should be human acting in a human body, though some may prefer to judge the phenomena to be hypnotically rather than spritually induced.

A third form was related about the year 1890 by a European who was then residing in a rented house in Sule Pagoda Road. At first he was rather amused with the unusual phenomena of movements of objects, e. g., the falling of glasses off the table, the rocking of coats against the wall, the displacement of hats and sticks in the room etc. He said that he had never previously witnessed such phenomena in his life though he had travelled much. But he sorely complained of his food having been tampered with by an invisible hand. It is said that his cooked dishes were found mixed with a quantity of sand and that, from day to day, notwithstanding great precautions taken by him. This necessitated his removal from the temporarily haunted house which then attracted great crowds of people including many soldiers.

(iii) Allied to the last mentioned is a form called *tamein-chônmhaw* (petti-coat hypnotism) in which the agent produces marvellous phenomena through his alleged spiritual agency. In 1895 the writer personally witnessed telekinesis, or the movement of inanimate objects at a distance, performed not by a professional juggler but by a respectable ward-headman, Saya Se, of Kyaukse where his name and fame as a *Mhaw-saya* will be long remembered by future generations. He could bid anything come to him provided that he had touched it before it was put away from him. This was no mere legerdemain aided by a black thread against the back-ground of a black screen on an European stage. It was displayed in an open place in the writer's own house where the Saya was brought by a Head Constable in order to convince the incredulous writer. The Saya would be very sore if his *myet-tè* (genuine) phenomenon were regarded as *myet-lhè*, that is, as a mere optical illusion. When pressed for an explanation, he naively ascribed it to the spiritual agency.

Burmans look upon it as a very contemptible art as the name indicates. When the writer mentioned Sya Se's abilities to a Pongyi in Bassein, who was also reputed to employ spirits, he at once said that Saya Se might have had to touch things before he moved them. And he went on to say that a far superior art is to move things without previous touching, as when a Saya merely points his finger at a fruit which he desires to be plucked without climbing up the tree. When asked if he could show the phenomenon, he replied that it was necessary to greatly excite the spirits as when two rival Sayas compete with each other in arts (1).

1. I am fully alive to the fact that I have exposed myself to criticisms by Spiritists for having classed their highly interesting pheno-

(c) SNAKE-ILLUSION.

Saya Se was also reputed to be an adept in *mwe-mhaw*, i. e., the art of turning a rod or cane into a snake. It is said that he practised it when it suited him to make a little money out of the hallucination. For instance, a householder saw a snake in his compound but suddenly lost sight of it. He naturally became uneasy in his mind as it might bite his children. One of his neighbours would tell him to send for Saya Se who charged a visiting fee of Rs. 5/-. On arrival he enquired of the householder what kind of snake it was, how long and how big and so forth. After getting all the necessary information, he pretended to make a search especially at the spot where the snake was last lost sight of. Lo and behold! There was to be seen, to the mingled joy and surprise of the houseowner, a snake of the exact description given by himself. To all intents and purposes, it was the very snake that slunk into the thicket under his own eyes. But Saya Se, in order to convince him that it was not a natural snake but one sent by some evil-minded person through the black art with a view to harming him, turned the snake into a rod or cane. The houseowner thereupon thanked Saya Se much for his timely services rendered in removing a danger that a little while ago menaced the safety of his family. Such is a simple snake story, among others, told of Saya Se of Kyaukse fame. But what he was pleased to show to the writer was not a transformed snake but just the snake-like movements of the writer's own handkerchief.

(d) THE ART OF FASCINATION.

Piya-thiddhi is personal magnetism practised with the aid of charms called *shōs*, four classes of which are known to Burmans:—

Itthi-shō secures the love of a woman, and *puritha-shō* that of a man, to the opposite sex; *rāja-shō* influences kings and official superiors and *thabba-shō*, the people in general.

mena under hypnotism which is looked upon with somewhat undeserved contempt. But it may be noted that spirits refuse to execute the orders of the master in the presence of a man of superior *will-power*. These phenomena which at first sight seem almost impossible without the intervention of spirits occur very rarely. But when they do occur, they are genuine. My position is simply this—that when a phenomenon is explicable on the theory of tangible hallucination (collective, instantaneous, positive and negative) induced telepathically, we need not trouble ourselves about "poltageists" in order to account for it. I mean that, if a living mind can act on another direct, producing illusions of all the five senses, there is no room for their intervention. In any case, these instances might, I think, be systematically collected and investigated by the Burma Research Society.

(e) *Kāya-thiddhi* (PHYSICAL POWERS).

(i) Anaesthesia or analgesia is known as *dok-pee* (stick-proof) and *da-pee* (da-proof). But the people even talk of the bullet-proof. The temporary immunity from pain is occasionally met with and is therefore coveted by many. But it is difficult to convince them that this immunity is never permanent.

(ii) The art of melting into airy nothing, or remaining invisible before another's view, is called *shein-pee*. This phase of negative hallucination is rather talked about than practised at the present day.

(iii) The term '*Kāya-thiddhi*' also includes physical levitation.

(f) HYPNOTIC THERAPEUTICS.

(i) The curative phase of hypnotism is practised by our mental therapists called *Chittajaku-sayas*.

(ii) The spirit-, or devil-, cure by *Payoga-sayas* is no doubt a form of suggestive therapeutics. *Si-man* or *ye-man* (charmed or mesmerised oil or water) is often used, sometimes with very good results in a great many functional diseases.

(g) MEDIUMISM.

(i) Self-hypnotism is practised by mediums called *Nat-kadaws*. They induce auto-hypnosis but honestly believe that they are possessed by one or other of the thirty-seven *nats* to whose service they devote their lives by profession. These mediums claim to be clairvoyant.

(ii) *Nat-mhaw* is a form of mediumism in which an agent invokes a *nat* to possess, not himself but, a subject who is generally clairvoyant.

(h) Quasi-RELIGIOUS HYPNOTISM.

If the object of positive hallucination be the form of the Buddha, hypnotism is then named *Phaya-mhaw* or *Tha-mādhi-mhaw*. In this case the privileged percipient is first of all required to take refuge in the Three Gems—the Buddha, the Doctrine and the Order—and to observe the five cardinal precepts or *Silas*, before he is allowed to see the Buddha face to face.

(i) PAÑCALET-SAYAS.

Sorcerers of this class produce instantaneous and collective hypnosis and show phenomena which are nothing short

of miraculous. They swallow a big boat in full view of the public on the road-side. On one occasion it is said that a boy on the top of a tree behind the Saya escaped his hypnotic influence. And when he cried out that the Saya was merely walking alongside the boat, he was instantaneously hypnotised into a hallucination that the tree was very low. Thereupon the boy jumped on to the ground when he was killed by the fall.

Another phenomenon commonly attributed to them is similar to the Indian rope trick. The Saya flies a thread vertically into the sky and bids paper figures of soldiers climb up the thread to fight a battle with the *Thagya-min* (King of gods) in mid-air whence the booming of the artillery duel can be heard by the audience.

They are also reputed to be able to produce dishes demanded by spectators. But they have to admit that the phenomenon displayed is illusory; for, they cannot possibly live on the dishes produced by themselves but must necessarily depend upon the charity of the people to whom they cater. Sometimes spectators temporarily satisfy themselves with the dishes and the effect lasts for some little time after the hypnotic influence has worn off. But at other times the hypnotised subject merely bites his fingers whenever he attempts to eat an imaginary fruit in his hand.

These Sayas, however, little understand the true theory of hallucination; for, they honestly believe that it is due to a certain charmed preparation composed of ingredients (1) difficult to collect.

SAYA SHWE MAUNG AND MINDAT-MIN.

Saya Shwe Maung, one of the retainers of the Crown Prince, is said to have created not less than seven Shwe Maungs in the presence of the *Einshè-min*, but his multiples disappeared when called out by the Prince. He is a parallel to Culabhan of Buddhist scriptures in which the Arahant is recorded as having created a thousand selves. In this case all except the genuine disappeared when any one of them was touched. But the one touched happened to be the original.

A CHINAMAN AND A BURMAN.

A very amusing story is current of a Chinaman who thought that he had cheaply bought a fat pig from one

1. Some say that the term 'Pañcalet' is derived from the 'five parts' of a herb used as an ingredient. But in all probability the word is a corruption of 'Pañca-lhè' (five-sensed illusion).

Maung Lu Gyi. Halfway home, the Celestial found his basket empty and, exasperated to a degree at the idea of foul play by the treacherous Burman, he returned to Maung Lu Gyi's house. Meanwhile the Burman, expecting the return of the Chinaman, pretended to be fast asleep, instead of absconding which course would bring him to grief for cheating. The Chinaman attempted to wake him up by pulling his limbs about. But alas! First the hands, next the legs, happened to be torn off the body to the dismay of the amazed and half-dazed Chinaman who thereupon promptly took to his heels for fear of being arrested by the Police for grievous hurt or possibly culpable homicide.

(j) PATHAMAN-SAYAS.

This class of sorcerers is not commonly met with. They do not use any chemical composition but work by telepathy and produce all kinds of hallucination, instantaneous, collective, positive and negative. They can also produce double or multiple selves, vanish into thin air, remain invisible etc. They occupy the position of Indian yogis and their powers are spoken of in Buddhist works as *vijñā-mayiddhi*.

U AUNG OF PROME AND KING BODAW-PHAYA.

A very interesting account of the famous *Yathè* (Rishi) U Aung by Professor Duroiselle appeared in the *Rangoon Gazette* of the 30th of December 1904. This Saya is accredited with having daily fed a thousand dogs with an inexhaustible handful of rice, and having produced fruits of far-off lands at request. His fame spread far and wide. King Bodaw-phaya was alarmed on hearing about his powers and felt himself insecure on the throne as long as the Saya lived in his kingdom. And so he ordered the production of U Aung before him. The Saya was arrested at Prome and placed in the hold of a boat which was to convey the prisoner to the capital. His captors thought that he was thereby secured in safe custody. But, alas, U Aung was becking them from the river bank! This frightened the captors out of their lives. And they entreated him not to evade and elude the arrest out of pity for the poor captors who were sure to be killed by the enraged King for failure to effect the arrest. U Aung complied with their request and accompanied them to the capital. On arrival there he told the King that the surest way of killing him was to erase a zero which he wrote. The King tried to erase one when two appeared. These, on being erased,

again doubled themselves and in this way the zeros multiplied themselves to such an extent that the King was sorely perplexed and disappointed. After that, U Aung disappeared for ever. But the people believe him to be still alive. We should no longer regard his life as romantic, seeing that all the phenomena related of him are scientifically explicable on the theory of instantaneous and collective hallucination produced by telepathic suggestions. Even the superstitious belief that he is still alive is but the natural result of his survivals after apparent deaths of his apparitional selves.

A PATHAMAN SAYA AND AN ALCHEMIST.

Another interesting, autobiographical story was related by the late Saya Ku of Sandoway. He was a lad of about sixteen years of age when he met a *Pathaman* Saya somewhere near Padaung in the Prome district. One day the Saya and his pupils set out on their famous journey to Aja-gona's cave on the Arakan Yomas in the vicinity of the Bassein district.

It may be noted, in passing, that Aja-gona was the famous alchemist of Pagan, who spent all his resources and lost his eyesight in his quest after the philosopher's stone. He gave up the art in great despair. But the story goes that by pure accident he one day found out the secrets of the Rishis of old and he became the proud possessor of the much coveted stone, which restored his sight. It is said that he sent a pupil to the bazaar to buy him two animal's eyes wherewith to replace his lost ones. But the pupil just managed to procure one of goat's eyes and one of ox's. Hence the name Aja-gona (goat-and-ox). Before he retired from the world, he desired the inhabitants of Pagan to smelt all lead and copper in their possession, each in front of his own house. As he passed along the streets, he turned them into gold and silver by a simple touch he gave to the molten metal with his *pyata-lon*. To the Burman, though still unacquainted with the properties of radium, the ruins of innumerable pagodas in Pagan are an eloquent testimony of the wealth of Pagan as the result of the transmutation of baser metals into nobler ones.

On their way the party became hungry and sat round in the heart of a forest when a big circular leaf with dishes over it mysteriously fell in front of each. After they had satisfied their hunger, the Saya asked his pupils to fetch water from a spring in the neighbourhood. All the older disciples failed to get water because every bamboo cut by them was found without joints so that it would hold no water. But Maung Ku, after a few trials, stuffed one end of the cut bamboo with grass and fetched water to his master. The Saya saw the intelligence of Maung Ku, whom he therefore loved most. In their next advance the party saw all stones turned into gold and silver and the pupils attempted to grab them when the master reproved them

for being greedy. At last the party arrived at their objective which was a cave secured with inner and outer doors, both under lock and key. The master opened the doors and in the inner room was a small table with a pair of scales and some ash-looking powder in a little vase. He carefully weighed the powder and distributed a quarter of a *tical* to each pupil except to Maung Ku who received double the quantity. The master himself appropriated no more than what he doled out to others. This wonderful ash, supposed to have been prepared by Aja-gona, was an analogue of Metchnikoff's Bulgarian curd and was therefore regarded as the elixir of life. After that the master separated from his pupils. Maung Ku ate some of the ashes but lost the rest. He however lived over eighty without much ailment. He wanted to see his master again but did not know where to find him. In vain he searched for his master in the neighbourhood of Padaung; but every aspect of the country seemed to him to have changed leaving not a trace of the enchanted wood and the cave. Failing to find his master, he was next in search of a qualified pupil to help him in the consummation of his *pathaman* art, somewhat after the manner of a modern hypnotist searching for a suitable *subject*. Again, he bitterly complained of his failure to find one who could stand the tests which he learnt from his master. Up to the time of his death U Ku believed that his master was still alive. But he little dreamt that all that he experienced under his master's influence could be equally produced by modern hypnotism.

(k) HYPNOTISM AND HISTORY.

The previous mention of Bodawphaya reminds us of history and the following traditions are connected with historical personages :—

(i) Byatwi and Byatta, having eaten the *jogi-phowintha* (i. e. the flesh of a rejuvenated yogi), acquired such powers as to frighten King Manuha of Thaton. It is said that they turned the *kyaung* upside down during their master's absence. The King killed one of the brothers but the other escaped to Pagan;

(ii) Prince Kyan-zit (or Kyan-yit) during his exile from King Nawratha's Court turned a sour lime into a sweet fruit by means of his wonderful spear which had saved his life from the King's wrath;

(iii) Dhammazedi and Dhammapala, both pupils of the renowned Bamai Sadaw of Ava, in their master's absence put their new-found hypnotic powers to test—one by commanding the sun to set on a fore-noon and the other by

commanding it to re-appear immediately—to the wonder and amazement of the whole town of Ava. It was through their assistance that Saw Bu Me, a Talaing captive princess at Ava, escaped from the clutches of the Burmese King. The story goes on to relate that she was sent away in a boat which successively turned white, red and green so as to elude detection by the riverine *kins* (outposts) to which the enraged King had sent messages to intercept the fugitive boat. They themselves had to flee from the wrath of the King. On arrival at Pegu, they found Saw Bu Me already installed as queen of Pegu. After a time Dhammazedi left the Order and married the queen of Pegu. His friend, still in yellow robe, out of jealousy hypnotised the queen and summoned her to his *kyaung* at nights for immoral purposes. The King, on finding out that his queen was under the influence of Dhammapala, ordered him to be put to death. But Dhammapala for a time succeeded in defending himself against the attacks of the royalists by setting up a bamboo effigy to repulse them. The King, however, dehypnotised his men who then saw that it was but a harmless bamboo effigy.

This story forms one of the most popular plays in the Burmese dramatic world. And it facilitates our own transition from history to drama.

(1) HYPNOTISM AND THE STAGE.

Zo-anthropia is often acted on the stage. A human being is transformed, not into a wolf as in Europe of the Middle Ages nor into a fox as in Japan but, into a *thaman* tiger for a certain period. Certain villagers in Upper Burma still claim descent from a man who was so metamorphosed.

Another very peculiar animal ancestry is claimed, not on Darwin's lines, in Yegin of the Tharrawaddy district from a man who was transformed from a crocodile and who was retransformed into that amphibious animal.

Aphasia or loss of speech with reference to one's true name is also acted in our *zats* (dramatic plays).

The case (1) cited by Leopold Casper, in which Tissie suggested to a hypnotised subject that the right ring-finger should indicate sexual desire and the left abstinence, recalls a delightful play in which a prince contrived to get into a princess' compartment. The compartment was closely guarded from all males under pain of death but the prince had a magic ring which, if worn on a left finger, turned him into a woman.

1. Moll's *Hypnotism*, p. 119.

The above list does not pretend to be exhaustive and instances of phenomena as known or practised in Burma may be multiplied by any one interested in Burmese folklore. He will find himself rather embarrassed not by the dearth but by the wealth of materials.

Now, the Burman believes implicitly in all these phenomena and would not trouble himself about such evidence as would be accepted in a court of justice. Consequently, some of these phenomena have been relegated to the realm of superstition and others, to the region of myth. But fortunately for him, evidence has been systematically collected in the West to confirm the existence of all these phenomena as hard facts. Where the Burman is now wrong is in his interpretation, i. e., in his explanation of the facts so established. But whatever may be the different theories advanced by the credulous Burman, there is one thing common to the different forms enumerated above. Certain *mantras* (or *gathas*) play a very important part. These are formulas written, half in Pali, half in Burmese and headed by the magic word 'Om' (Lord); for, without it a *gatha* is ineffective. Like the sleep formulas of the Nancy school, they are but suggestions. They are repeated orally or mentally a certain number of times while one's breath is held. The object of holding the breath is merely to aid the concentration of thought on the desired effect. Certain mechanical devices, such as *in* or *letpwe* are also used in conjunction. The former is a hieroglyphic writing of numbers or characters in a square or a circle and the latter is a charmed amulet. Their value, like that of Mesmer's rod or Braid's button, cannot of course be denied.

S. Z. A.

THE INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ASSOCIATION.

The valuable article in the first number of this Journal on the "Lahoo, Ahka, and Wa Languages" illustrates and emphasizes the need for a system of writing which will represent with reasonable accuracy, and in such a way as to leave no doubt in the mind of one who has learnt the system, the sounds heard in the languages of Burma. For a new sound it will, of course, be necessary to invent a new symbol, but such sounds are rare. Our own language is rich in vowels, and a system which represents all the English vowels will need but few additions to perfect it.

The author of the above article has supplied a key to his system, but besides the minor objection that he departs in some respects from established practice without any obvious reason there is the serious one that he often leaves one in doubt as to the pronunciation of a word. As an instance of the first one may mention the use of "oo" to represent the sound of *u* in *rude*. The sound is rendered by *u* in all recognized systems, including that prescribed by the Government of Burma; and it is difficult to understand why "oo", which is not so pronounced, as far as I am aware, in any language but English, and that only modern standard English, should have been chosen to represent it. The author distinguishes the sound of *oo* in *noon* from that of *u* in *true*, and uses different symbols for them. The two sounds are identical, and it is impossible even to guess what sounds he intends to represent by the two symbols.

For the sound of *e* in *men*, *eh* is used instead of the ϵ prescribed by Government. This will not, I think, strike most readers as an improvement. There is nothing approaching an *h* in the sound; while the use of ϵ is familiar to all who read French (though the French sound is somewhat wider), and is also prescribed by the International Phonetic Association. On the other hand, owing to the adoption of *hp*, *hk*, etc., to represent the aspirated consonants, it is impossible to tell whether (to give an example) "Hehpu" on p. 45 is meant for "Hèpu" or "Hepu."

Again, the consonants are said to have "the ordinary sounds." But what is the "ordinary sound" of *c*, which is frequently used throughout the texts? In English it represents *s* before *e* or *i*, and *k* before *a*, *o* or *u*, and is therefore superfluous altogether. At first sight it seems as if the word "ci" in the text was meant to be pronounced *si*, and the word "ca" *ka*, though, if so, it is difficult to understand why they are not written *si* and *ka*. But

apparently this is not so, for while on p. 43 we have "ca, eat", on p. 45 we have "ka, on".

It will be recognized, I hope, that these criticisms are not made with the object of finding fault with the Revd. Mr. Antisdell's useful article, but in order to show the necessity for a system devoid of ambiguity and intelligible to the readers of the Journal, once they have learnt it.

The chief difficulty is with the vowels. The Roman alphabet contains but five vowel-symbols,—a, e, i, o, u. For most languages this number is altogether inadequate, and other symbols have to be added. But first we have to agree on the sounds to be given to the five symbols which we already have. On this point there is general agreement, and no reasonable man who has studied the subject can wish to give them any other values than the following:—†

a	as in	father
e	"	rein
i	"	machine
o	"	low
u	"	rude

The English language has, diphthongs apart, thirteen* vowels, so that there are no less than eight for which symbols have to be devised. The Burmese vowel-system is simpler, and indeed exceptionally well adapted to the Roman alphabet. Burmese has only ten vowels, all found in English, and of these only three, as will presently be seen, really need special symbols or combinations of letters. Other languages spoken in Burma are less accommodating. All the remaining English vowels are found in them, and some others.

It is now time to introduce the readers of the Journal, so far as they have not been introduced already, to the International Phonetic Association. It has its headquarters in France, but is represented in England by Mr. Daniel Jones, of University College, London. Its system does not differ greatly from that of Dr. Sweet, the greatest of all masters of phonetics; it has a large and growing body of representatives in all parts of the world; and the system has been used in many works on language, including, curiously enough, the Asiatic language which perhaps needs it least,—Japanese. It has, so far as I know, no rivals, and though I think better symbols might have been chosen in

† The values are only approximate, the English vowels being hardly ever quite pure. In *rein* the *i* is lightly pronounced as in *it*, and in *low* the *w* as *u* in *put*.

* Or fourteen, if the sounds in *amiss* and *burn* are treated as separate vowels. See below.

some cases there are no serious objections to its use, while the advantage of having a universal system far outweighs any to be obtained from improvements that are not generally accepted. I have therefore no hesitation in recommending the system to the readers of the Journal, and suggesting that it should be used in all future contributions on the languages of Burma. The key can be obtained, apparently for 5d., from Mr. Daniel Jones, and the subscription for members is 3½ francs a year, including the supply of the Society's Journal, which appears once every two months.

The system is practical rather than scientific. Those who wish to see a scientific system of visible speech should consult Dr. Sweet's Primer of Phonetics (Oxford Press, 3s. 6d.), which supplies one in addition to that already mentioned. The ordinary Roman alphabet is utilized as far as possible. Where special symbols are needed inverted letters are sometimes employed for the sake of economy and ease in printing, the printer merely reversing his type. English can in fact, so far as the vowels are concerned, be written without any special types, and so, of course, can Burmese. It has already been stated that there are eight English vowels which cannot be differentiated by the ordinary Roman character. They are rendered in the Association's system as follows :—

Pit	Pit
put	put
pet	pet
paw	pɔ:
amiss	əmis
not	nɔt
nut	nɒt
rat	ræt

Strictly speaking the first three vowels should have a grave accent on them, but this is dispensed with in writing English, as these vowels when followed by a final consonant are invariably given the relaxed pronunciation indicated by the accent. The colon after pɔ indicates that the vowel is long. I should prefer to double the vowel (pɔɔ) as in Sweet's system, and a double vowel would always be intelligible, but the point is not important. In not the grave accent is dispensed with for the reason given in the case of pit, etc. *Naught* would of course be written nɔ:t. The vowel sound in *burn* is not included in the above, as it is assumed to be a long form of the first sound in *amiss*. This is not quite accurate, as the *a* in *amiss* is indeterminate, but it is near enough for practical purposes. The word is written bə:n. I need hardly remind my Scottish readers who

pronounce it barn that the *r* is quite mute in standard English.

Of the English consonants the *s* in *measure* is represented by a tailed *z*, and *j*, of course, by the same with a *d* prefixed. *Sh* is represented by the old fashioned English long *s*, and *ch* by the same following a *t*; the *th* in *thin* by the Greek letter, and that in *this* by the Anglo-Saxon symbol. *Ng* is replaced by *n* with a tail. I have not attempted to produce these letters, as the Editor would not thank me for doing so. The whole of this article, accordingly, can be printed without special types. If, however, it is decided to employ the Association's system, types can be struck at trifling expense by the Journal's printers.

The Burmese sound-system is simple, and presents far less difficulty than the English. Of the eight vowel-sounds mentioned above only the first five are found in Burmese. For the first two the diacritical mark can be dispensed with for precisely the same reason as in English. The sound of *e* in *pet*, however, often occurs without a consonant following it, and must then be written *è* to distinguish it from *e*. For the next vowel *aw*, though clumsy, is good enough for Englishmen, but if the Association's system is introduced its symbol should of course be used. For the *a* in *amiss*, or the Burmese *၁၀၀*, a special symbol or diacritical mark is of course indispensable. In my "Half the Battle" I used *ã*, as being familiar to every schoolboy and less likely to frighten beginners than *ə*. It is only when we come to the non-Burman languages of Burma that the Association's symbols become absolutely indispensable for the vowels. I can imagine no neater or more practical symbol for the *u* in *nut* than *Δ*. As to the consonants, a special symbol is, in order to obtain complete accuracy, indispensable for the purpose of distinguishing the *th* in *thin* from that in *this*, both sounds being common in Burmese. The aspirates must also be distinguished from the unaspirated letters, and this can only be done efficiently by means of a diacritical mark. To use an *h* is clumsy and misleading, for though there is a puff of breath *after* the consonant it in no way resembles an *h* (being due to the release of air confined in forming the consonant), and there is all the difference in the world between *th* (not the English sound, but an unaspirated *t* followed by an *h*) and an aspirated *t*. An inverted comma (') is already used in Chinese and Tibetan, and nothing better can be found for Burmese. The Association's system contains no provision for recording these aspirates. Nor does it supply tone-marks. For a falling tone I have used

a slanting line in a specimen of Burmese sent to the Association's journal, and a similar device has been employed for Chinese in the last number. For the abrupt tone perhaps a point in the middle of the line is as good as anything.

I observe that the Revd. Mr. Antisdal, like myself, uses a type-writer, and is anxious that any system of notation employed should be such that it can be rendered on a type-writer. I can assure him that the whole of this article has been typed by my Yost without any addition from the pen except in the case of the word written in Burmese characters and the inverted comma, for which there is a symbol on the type-writer, but one differing slightly from that used in print. For a few pence extra types for e, c, v can be obtained and inserted upside down in place of the superfluous fractions, etc. Other symbols can be specially cut at somewhat larger, but still trifling, expense; or combinations can be used as suggested in the March-April number of the Association's journal, p. 48.

Whether the International Association's symbols are used or not, I would strongly urge that this Society lose no time in laying down a phonetic system, to which all contributors to the Journal should be required to conform when giving specimens of little-known languages or dialects.

R. GRANT BROWN.

BURMESE FOLKLORE—Continued.

II.

4. The Tale of how Mr. Owl's eyes became large and of how Mr. Mole's eyes became small.

Once upon a time Squirrel, Owl and Mole found a cart and wished to take a drive. They had no bulls so they yoked into it a pair of tigers. In front of the tigers they put a pair of Leopards. In front of the leopards a pair of Jackals and in front of the Jackals a pair of Hares. The Jackals chased the hares, the leopards chased the jackals, and the tigers chased the leopards. With this team the cart bounded through the forest.

Squirrel was driver and sat in the front, and to this day you hear a squirrel saying "kch ! kch ! kch !", as if he were driving his bulls.

Behind him sat Owl who agreed to watch to see that the wheels did not fall off. Sitting well in the centre of the cart he strained his eyes gazing from side to side, in the effort to keep a good watch on the wheels. Hence the Owl's eyes were stretched and are large to this day.

At the back of the cart sat Mole, and as the cart bumped and jolted he was terribly tossed about. He held the cart on each side and leaning back, he laughed and he laughed and he laughed so much that his eyes were almost lost to view. Hence the Mole's eyes are almost invisible to this day.

R. A. S.

5. How Mr. Cat taught Big Tiger.

Great is the feud between cat and big tiger, and this is the cause.

When the world was young and all the animals newly created, out of each class one was taught the duties of his class, and then appointed "Saya" to the others. Thus, Dog was set to teach lion, wolf, fox and all the dog tribe; goat was *saya* to sheep, deer, barking deer and all the goat tribe ; while cat had in her class tiger, leopard, and all this tribe. But Saya Cat when teaching Big Tiger, argued with himself thus; If I teach Big Tiger all my cleverness and cunning, he will become too powerful and with his strength of limb and jaw he could slay with ease any animal he wished. I must do something to handicap him.

So Saya Cat taught Big Tiger how to walk velvet-footed so that not even Mr. Barking Deer could hear his footsteps when he walked the jungle paths ; taught him to sheath his long strong claws when he was playing, and to use them when angered ; taught him to measure an opening with his whiskers before letting his head go through: taught him to purr, and give off sparks, and how to expand the pupils of his eyes so as to see well even in the dark;—*but* Saya Cat did not teach him how to arch his tail over his back, and to this day the Big Tiger's tail taps the ground as he walks. Tuk! Tuk! Tuk! at each step! And deer of the flat jungle and cunning barking deer of the hills can hear him coming and flee ; so Big Tiger is compelled to lie in wait for his dinner instead of stalking it, all because Saya Cat cunningly did not teach him how to curve his tail over his back.

R. A. S.

6. The race between Barking Deer and Tortoise.

Once upon a time Barking Deer met Tortoise making his way slowly over a hilltop. "How did you manage to come so far from your pond, friend Tortoise," he taunted, "And how many days will it take you to get back? Don't you envy my fleetness of foot and grace of limb? Why, I could reach the water at the foot of the hill while you are travelling three cubits: I am truly sorry for you, Friend Tortoise."

"Well," said Tortoise, "we must test it. If I run a race with you and win, what will you stake on the race?" "Race with you, Friend Tortoise!" scoffed Barking Deer. "If you win I promise faithfully that I will never eat again of the soft juicy grass on which I and my family now live, but will eat only the coarse bitter jungle bushes for my own life and the life of all my descendants after me. And you, Mr. Tortoise, what will you stake?" "I", said Tortoise slowly, "will promise never to enter or live near water, as I and my ancestors have always done, but will live in dry places; I and my descendants after me for ever."

They started! Barking deer ran like the wind over rocks and stones and leaped with great bounds the bushes that blocked his path! Tortoise, however, looked for the steepest place on the hill side, where it sloped sheer down to the water. He tucked his head and his twisted feet into his shell, and threw himself down the precipice.

When Barking deer arrived at the water's edge he was breathless and exhausted, but quite happy in having won

the race ; when he suddenly caught sight of Tortoise lying dosing half in and half out of the water.

"He! He! Friend Barking Deer," said Tortoise, "Don't forget your stake!" And he dived into the water and swam away.

Poor Barking Deer was sad, for he loved the the soft rich grass and the tender juicy grass that springs up after rain; but because of his vow, to this day Barking Deer lives on scrub jungle, although his eyes often turn to gaze wistfully at the grass when it springs green after rain.*

R. A. S.

* The Burmans believe that the *gyi* (barking deer) never eats grass but lives on scrub jungle.

LAHOO FOLKLORE.
THE HUNT FOR THE BEESWAX.

- As there is sickness in this house,
Sleep having lost its charms,
Food its taste and
Drink its flavor,
- 5 We consulted Piji (witch doctor) who resides at the
head of the village,
We consulted Kuji (witch doctor) who resides at the
tail of the village.
(We found that) we have to follow in the track of God's
bees ;
We have to trace the way of God's green flies.
At the top of the village,
- 10 If it was not planted there could not have been,
There is a grove of cherry trees.
At the bottom of the village there is a grove of peach
trees.
The cherry trees in the bloom
Attract the bees.
- 15 The peach trees in their bloom attract the green flies.
Then shall we, you and I,
Having a common plan between us,
Having a common end
We should follow after the bees of God,
- 20 We should track the way of His green flies.
Looking up the tops of the cherry trees
There are bees humming.
Looking up the tops of the peach trees
There are the green flies buzzing.
- 25 On the four sides of the earth,
At the four corners of heaven
Where dwell the bees ?
Where the green flies ?
I do not know where the bees reside.
- 30 I cannot guess where live the green flies.
Looking round in many places,
Searching in many localities
(I found) that the bees reside in the Land of the East.
The green flies dwell in the Land of the East.
- 35 Making mine eyes the eyes of a wild cat.
Transforming mine eyes into those of an eagle,
I shall have to trace the ways of bees of God,
Shall have to follow in the track of His green flies.

- Turning my head towards the East,
 40 Turning my neck to eastwards
 There (I see) nine hives of bees, nine nests of green
 flies.
 Residing in the Land of the East.
 Tracing the way of bees,
 Following in the track of green flies
 45 We passed thro' the outskirts of the village.
 When we have gone a little far
 (We come) to the fields of the daughters of man,
 To the fields of the sons of man
 There could not have been if it was not planted.
 50 There is corn in the fields, the sweet corn ;
 There is corn in the fields, the bitter corn.
 Looking at the tops of the corn
 There the bees are humming.
 Looking at the tops of the bitter corn
 55 The green flies are buzzing.
 Bees do not easily make their home in this place,
 Green flies do not easily dwell in this sky.
 Having passed the fields of corn
 We go on farther and farther.
 60 Then we come to nine knolls of thatch grass.
 We thought that bees resided here.
 That the green flies resided here
 But the bees live not here.
 It is not the home of the green flies.
 65 They are simply gathering honey from the flowers of
 green and yellow grass.
 Going up farther and farther
 We come to the plateau by the sea.
 There is a banyan tree.
 There the bees are humming,
 70 And the green flies buzzing.
 About the top of the banyan.
 We thought that bees resided here
 That green flies resided here.
 Shading my eyes with my hand I looked
 75 But bees reside not here,
 Nor the green flies.
 Going up farther and farther
 We pass over rocks and stones
 Going up farther and farther
 80 We come to where the Chinese dwell
 The large empire covering half the earth,
 Taking half the sky.
 All covered with mist.

- The track of the bee is almost lost,
 85 And the trace of the green fly.
 I make my eyes those of the wild cat,
 The eyes of the hawk I make mine,
 The trace of the bee trends eastwards,
 So trends the track of the green fly.
- 90 Having passed the land of the Chinese,
 Having crossed their sky,
 We pass onward and forward.
 We come to the land Mun Mehn,
 We come to her plain.
- 95 Having passed the plain of the Mun Mehn
 We pass on further forward.
 We come to the land of Purki,
 We come to the country of Naki.
 Looking towards the East of Purki,
- 100 Spying eastwards of Naki,
 There are large rocks,
 There is a pile of rocks.
 Here dwell the green flies,
 Here dwell the bees.
- 105 Then shall we produce the product of hand labour of
 the son of man,
 The product of the foot labour of the daughter of man,
 And offerings make
 To the spirits of the rocks.
 Then we two, you and I,
- 110 Then you and I, we two
 Making our purpose one (of God)
 Will poke the bees and take.
 Will poke the green flies of God and take.
 Then shall we take the wood of God,
- 115 The wood of God then shall we take
 And poke the bees of God,
 And poke his green flies.
 There are poles but they are not long enough,
 Poles there are but are too short.
- 120 Taking the wood of God,
 We shall have to make a ladder.
 When we have made a ladder
 We shall see if we can take the bee,
 Shall see if we can take the green fly.
- 125 It is not an easy task.
 The hum of the bees is like the thunder,
 The buzz of the flies is like lightning.
 Altho' the bees are humming,
 And buzzing are the green flies

- 130 We will take the product of hand labour of the son of
man,
The product of foot labour of the daughter of woman
And offer to the spirit of the rocks.
Then we two, you and I,
Then you and I, we two
- 135 Will rejoice
To go and take the bees of God,
To get at His green flies.
Altho' we have got the bees of God,
Altho' we have His green flies
- 140 There is no basket (to carry in.)
You and I we two,
We two, you and I
Will take the yellow bamboo of God,
The green bamboo of God will take
- 145 And make a basket.
Then shall we put the bees in the basket,
In the basket put the green flies.
Then we two, you and I,
Then you and I, we two (shall carry)
- 150 One strapping it to his shoulders,
The other strapping it to his head.
Then shall we turn our face homeward.
Then with joy we shall sing.
Making a stride from hill to hill,
- 155 And from dale to dale
Down the way we come.
Then come we to the plateau by the sea.
Then come we down farther and farther
We come between the plateau and the hills,
- 160 Between the hills and the plateau we come.
We now come to the hills of A'vghaw.
Coming down farther and farther
We come to where the sons of man work their fields,
To where the daughters of women work their fields.
- 165 Then come we down farther and farther.
We come to where the daughters of woman take their
water,
To where the sons of man take their water.
Then down we come farther and farther.
We come to the edge of the village.
- 170 To the edge of the village we come.
We come to the door by which we leave each morning
Re-entering at evening
Then come we into the house.
Into the house we come.

- 175 Then we bring the white and yellow water
 Then we gather green and yellow wood
 Out at the entrance of the village
 We set a tripod
 And starting a fire,
- 180 We place the pan on top of the tripod.
 Then putting the white and yellow water in the pan
 We shall prepare the beeswax.
 When we have prepared the beeswax,
 Taking the product of the hand labour of the man
- 185 And the product of the feet labour of the woman
 Which is silk and sateen thread
 We shall manufacture candles.
 When the candles have been made
 Thirty pairs and three shall go as offering to the head-
 man of the village.
- 190 Then we two, you and I, will take another thirty pairs
 and three
 And putting them in golden and silver trays,
 Offer to God,
 Make offerings to God and
 Go to the abode of God for seeds of life.
- 195 We go to the land of God for seeds of life.
 Making our purpose one,
 Our aim one
 One act the part of Pi,
 And the other the part of Ku.
- 200 We should go to the land of God for the seeds of life,
 To the abode of God for seeds of life.
 Then we try to find out where the abode of God is.
 Then think of many places,
 We look to so many places,
- 205 And we find that God resides in the East.
 God abides in the Land of the East.
 Taking the beeswax candles for offerings to God,
 Bringing the beeswax candles for an offering to God.
 We will have to seek the seeds of life from God,
- 210 Go after the seeds of life from God.
 The product of the foot labour of man,
 The product of the hand labour of the woman,
 These candles we bring for an offering to God.
 Then these candles shall we take an offering to God
- 215 And lay them at the doorway of God.
 At the doorway of God shall we lay them.
 There is A'Daw, the subordinate of God,
 A'Ga, the subordinate of God. They are a pair.
 They talk to us, they converse with us.

- 220 O Ye men, sons of Piti, Ye women, daughters of Ishe,
 After what have you come to the abode of God ?
 What have you come to seek in the land of God ?
 As the sons of man have illness
 And daughters of woman disease
- 225 We have come to seek the seeds of life from God,
 We have come to seek life's seed of God.
 The product of the foot labour of man,
 The product of the hand labour of woman,
 These candles bring we an offering to God ;
- 230 An offering to God these candles we bring
 And place them in the hands of A'Daw,
 At the feet of A'Ga place we them.
 And have him to be a speaker for the woman,
 And have them to be speakers for the sons of man.
- 235 And they speak to God,
 They speak with God,
 Then says God,
 He says,
 The seeds of life are with God, God has the seeds of life ;
- 240 When we hear the word of God,
 When God's word we hear
 We feel the gladness of heart,
 We feel glad at heart.
 And A'Daw, Gods angel speaks,
- 245 And A'Ga, God's angel speaks.
 Life's seeds are there in nine red chests,
 In nine white chests are life's seeds.
 On the left hand are seeds of sickness and death,
 On the right hand are seeds of life.
- 250 God opens the nine red chests,
 He opens the nine white chests.
 Having taken the seeds of life from the right hand side
 We bring them away in the golden tray,
 In the silver tray we bring them away.
- 255 We bring the seeds of life,
 The seeds of life we bring.
 Passing the gates of God we descend,
 We descend passing the gates of God.
 Then come we down farther and farther,
- 260 We come to the abode of the sons of man,
 The abode of the daughters of woman.
 Then come we down farther and farther
 We come to the entrance of the village.
 To the entrance of the village we come.
- 265 Taking these seeds of life, the life's seeds,
 We enter the nine roomed house,

- The nine roomed house we enter.
In the golden tray, the silver tray
Is placed a cup of white water,
270 A cup of yellow water.
Taking these seeds of life we put in the white water,
The seeds of life we take and put in the yellow water.
The white water is the cup of life divine, the yellow
water the cup of life divine.
When the sons of man drink,
275 When the daughters of women drink
After this day they will enjoy food,
They will enjoy drink,
They will enjoy sleep,
They will enjoy life.
280 After this day let life be long as the life of God's
heaven.
As the life of God's earth let it be long.

Translated by REV. BA TE.

NOTES, QUERIES AND MEMORANDA.

PROME AND THE PYUS.

The derivation of "Prome" as given by "S. A." in the last number of the Journal is a new one, though perhaps to most Burmese scholars the suggested rendering of "Supañña-nagara-chinna" will come as a shock. There is yet another possible derivation of the name which deserves consideration. In ancient Burma there existed at one time a tribe of people or a town called $\text{P}\ddot{\text{r}}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{m}$. In Arakanese history (see U Pandi's *Dharmāvati-Yazawin-thit*, pp. 108, 109) there are references to $\text{P}\ddot{\text{r}}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{m}$ and $\text{P}\ddot{\text{r}}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{m}$ (the "Country of Prôm" and "the Prôm King"), and the latter name is said to have been recorded on a stone monument which exists at the present day on the hill called Canda-pabbata. The country of Prôm is said to have lain to the north of the then capital—Parin—and was subdued by King Kauliya who reigned from 495 to 515 B. E. Probably the Prôm dwelt on the Burma side of the Yomas, as they are not included among the tribes of Northern Arakan given in Captain Lewin's *Wild Races of South-Eastern India*. In the Report on Archæological work in Burma for 1904-05, p. 7, we have the following passage:—

"Halingyi is ten miles to the south-west of Shwebo town. It is redolent of traditions about the Pyumin and Pyônmin, but possesses no reliable historical record either on stone or palm-leaf. The Pyu are, doubtless, the P'iao of Chinese history, and may be identified with the Shans of the present day; and the Pyôn (Prohm—Brohm—Brahman) were the Brahmanical or Aryan colonists of the Gangetic valley, who overflowed into Burma during the process of their territorial expansion. The only glimmering of history that is available is that 790 Kings ruled over Halingyi, whose classic name is Hanthanagara (Hamsanagara), and that Karabaw was the founder of the dynasty."*

Now, it seems to be a significant fact that "Pyu-min" and "Pyôn-min" always go together in common talk, just as they do in the above passage, and it is possible that there was some affinity between the Pyu (Pru) and the Pyôn (Prôm). The entire absence from the Burmese chronicles of any mention of the Kings of Halingyi points to the fact

* Later on, we are told that an inscription in the *devanâgarî* character was found in the locality, and that estampages of it were sent to India for decipherment. Apparently nothing more has been heard of the matter.

that the Prom was the ruling race on the Upper Irrawaddy long before the foundation of Pagan, and probably some time before the foundation of Thare-Khettara. It is conceivable then that the Pyus were an offshoot of the Prôms, and that they travelled down the Irrawaddy. At that time they would have been known as Prom to the Talaings, from whom Europeans got the name of Prome; the Talaing pronunciation of the word is even now very similar to the English.

That no word bearing any resemblance to Shan occurs in the Pyu inscription recently deciphered by Mr. Blagden (J. R. A. S., 1911, p. 365) is against the theory that the Pyus were a Shan tribe; and it may be questioned whether the Chinese P'iao is not the Burmese ပျော့ (pronounced *pyaw*). The *r* is a difficulty, but it also occurs in ပျော့

There is reason also to doubt the correctness of the common assumption that the Burmese were a different race from the Pyus; I am inclined to think that they were the same. In old Arakanese records the people of Pagan are always referred to as Pyus. Besides this, it is a remarkable fact that in the Pyu inscription referred to above we find such words as *sa:* for "son," and *maya:* for "wife."

M. O.

ORIGIN OF THE WORD "TALAING."

Phayre, in his *History of Burma*, page 28, says that the name "Talaing" is obviously connected with the word Telingana, and accepts the theory that the Mun (or Mon) were originally settlers from southern India. There is a great deal to be said in favour of this view, but many have been inclined to place faith in the story that the epithet "Talaing" (said to mean "downtrodden") was applied to the Peguans by Alompra after his conquest in 1757. That the latter suggestion is utterly incorrect may easily be proved; we have only to turn to several well-known Burmese works of much earlier date to see that the term as designating the people of the delta was known and used long before Alompra.

The *Yakhaing Minthami Egyin*, written about 820 B. E. (1458), the *Thakin Twe Egyin*, composed in honour of a princess born in 830 (1468), and the *Mindaya Shwehti Nadaw-thwin*, an ode submitted to Tabin Shwehti, who reigned from 1530 to 1550,—all give the name "Talaing," rhyming with other words having the same vowel-ending.

Among other works there are also Maung Kala's histories, the Yazawingyi, the Yazawin-lat, and the Yazawin-gyok, all written about 30 years before Alompra appeared, and in all of which the same name is found.

The Alaung-mindaya-gyi Ayedawbon, a detailed account of the great King's exploits, does not mention the alleged re-naming of the Mons.

M. O.

QUERY.

Probably I am not the first person to be baffled by the Pagoda problem. Could any better informed person explain

- (1). The origin of the Pagoda ?
- (2). The meaning and derivation of the word ? (Is it really a mis-transliteration of Dagoba ?)
- (3). Its symbolism, and the part it plays in pure Buddhist teaching ?

E. N. BELL.

ANSWER TO MR. BELL'S QUERY.

Professor Duroiselle has sent on to me, to reply, Mr. Bell's query regarding pagodas, and I have much pleasure in complying with his request. In India, pagodas are called "*topes*", which is derived from *Stūpa* in Sanskrit, and *thūpa* in Pali. In Ceylon, they are called "*dagobas*", which is derived from "dhātu-garbha" in Sanskrit, and "dhātu-gabbha" in Pali, meaning "a relic-chamber". The word "pagoda" is believed to be the transformation, by metathesis, of the word "*dagoba*". The word Shwedagôn (ရွှေဘို) is said to be derived from *Shwe-dāgob*.

There is a slight difference in the shape of the Indian *topes* and Sinhalese *dāgobas*. The former, some of which date from a century or two before the Christian era, and of which the Sanchi *tope* is the most notable type, consist of solid or nearly solid domical masses of masonry springing from a low base or drum, thereby presenting a curious resemblance to the Etruscan tumulus, which has a conical instead of a domical shape. In the case of an Indian *tope*, the relics are buried below the base of the structure, while in that of a Sinhalese *dāgoba*, the relics are deposited in a square or rectangular box made of stone or masonry, which

is placed near the pinnacle of the structure. That box is the real "dhātu-gabbha" or the "relic-chamber."

The pagoda appears to have derived its form from a tumulus, because ancient religions are partly based on the veneration of the tombs of ancestors. (Cp. the pyramids of Egypt and the Ming and other Imperial Tombs of China and also the observance of the All Souls' day in November by the Roman Catholics, and of the Tomb Festival in April by the Chinese). According to Buddhist tradition, however, the prototype of all pagodas is the Sulāmaṇi, situated on Mount Meru, in which is enshrined the hair cut off by Siddhārtha on his great renunciation of the world (vide page 4 of the Society's Journal for December, 1911).

The symbolism of the component parts of a pagoda has been explained at pages 3-4 of the number of the Journal cited above. That information may now be supplemented as follows :

A pagoda rests on five receding terraces, because the sides of Mount Meru, on which Sulāmaṇi stands, are divided into five regions, each of which is inhabited by a separate order of beings. The Bawbawgyi Pagoda at Hmawza (near Prome), the Shwesandaw Pagoda at Pagan, and the Myatheindan or Sinbyumè Pagoda at Mingun, stand on five terraces. In later buildings, the number of terraces is reduced from five to three, because apparently the Buddha is the revered of the "three worlds of Brahmas, devas, and men". Then come an octagon, which represents the earth, a circle, which represents the skyey dome, and a bell-shaped dome, which represents the Buddhist empyrean, where, according to the Chinese, the past Buddhas dwell after fulfilling their sacred mission on earth. Concentric circles of an odd number ranging from three or five onwards then appear, and they represent the successive layers of umbrellas. In the Indian Museum at Calcutta, there are stone figures of pagodas surmounted by successive layers of umbrellas. In sculpture, painting, and the ceramic art, sovereignty is represented by an umbrella. Thus a dog or elephant, which is King among its fellows, is represented with an umbrella over its head. The Buddha, as a Supreme Being among all creatures, is entitled to many umbrellas placed one above the other. Over the concentric circles and resting on a lotus capital is placed an *amlaka* which the Burmans call "Kayathi" (ခရုသီး or ကျားရူးသီး)

Its signification is involved in obscurity, although its resemblance to a *linga* of the Saivite Hindus may be noted. The final component part of a pagoda is an iron *ti* or crown-

ing umbrella, which in Mongolia and Northern China assumes a flat shape and protects the building from rain, snow and frost.

Mr. Bell wants to know the part a pagoda plays in pure Buddhist teaching. This is rather a delicate question to answer. Burmese Buddhists say that there are four kinds of pagodas or *zedis* :

- (I) ဓါတုဇေတီ။ pagodas in which the corporeal relics of the Buddha are enshrined ;
- (II) ဝန်တောဂဇေတီ။ pagodas in which the utensils of Gautama Buddha, or of his predecessors, are enshrined ;
- (III) ပွမ်သဇေတီ။ pagodas in which figures of the Buddha and of his disciples, or pseudo replicas of relics or utensils are enshrined ;
- (IV) ဓမ္မဇေတီ။ pagodas in which the Buddhist scriptures are enshrined.

When a Burmese Buddhist kneels down and utters his prayers before a pagoda or an image of the Buddha, he endeavours to visualize the Sage Himself, on whose Virtues and Attributes he is contemplating, in Whose footsteps he tries to walk, and Whose type of character he makes his highest efforts to assimilate both in this and future existences. The act, from the standpoint of pure Buddhist teaching, can scarcely be called idolatory, and should be differentiated from similar acts prevailing in the Roman Catholic Church.

CAMP HMAWZA : }
The 7th March, 1912. }

TAW SEIN KO.

NOTE ON A BURMESE SAYING.

In the weekly Budget of the Rangoon Gazette for August 28, 1911, an unknown correspondent wrote of "Bein ma tha Lein ma tha" as equivalent to the English "Diamond cut Diamond." The phrase was then new to me, but I have since come across it in the Pakokku District used in a different sense. We were discussing Thathameda assessments, and one of the luyis said "Most of the village are Bein ma tha Lein ma tha and pay the normal rate": i. e., in this context "Pretty much of a muchness" is the nearest English equivalent. Neither the user of the phrase, nor any of the Burmans present, could give an origin for the words, but all agreed that there was some plausibility in the Ko Bein and Ma Lein story.

E. N. BELL.

MR. GRANT BROWN ON "THE USE OF THE ROMAN CHARACTER FOR ORIENTAL LANGUAGES."

ASIATIC.—*March 12.*—Lord Reay, President, in the chair.—Mr. Grant Brown of the Indian Civil Service read a paper on 'The Use of the Roman Character for Oriental Languages.' He began by defining transliteration and distinguishing it from phonetic writing, while pointing out that some kind of phonetic script was used for all transliteration, however much the spoken sound might appear to be ignored. The transliterator had, first, to decide what sounds were represented by the characters in the text, and then to embody them in a phonetic script. There was no reason why the same phonetic script should not be used for all language, special symbols being added when necessary. The author then suggested the qualifications necessary or desirable for such a script, and showed that the only system in use which possessed them all was that of the International Phonetic Association, of which Mr. Daniel Jones, Lecturer in Phonetics at London University College, was Secretary. The system was already widely used in Europe for educational purposes, especially in teaching phonetics. He urged that a training in phonetics was essential for Indian civilians if they were to follow scientific methods in learning the Indian languages, and to go to India well equipped for learning to speak, not only the principal language of their province, but also any other language which might be needed for their work. He showed that the script would be useful to ethnologists for recording new languages, to natives who had no written language or an unsatisfactory script, and for many other purposes. He ended by quoting an article in *The Edinburgh Review* of 1848, which said that the preparation of a manual supplying a well-considered phonetic alphabet, and illustrating its use by means of texts in important languages, was a matter of pressing urgency if the unwritten languages of the earth were to be effectually recorded before they perished. A discussion followed, in which the Rev. J. Knowles, the Rev. Dr. Weitbrecht, Miss Ridding, Dr. Pollen, Mr. J. Dyer Ball, and Mr. D. Jones took part.—(THE ATHENÆUM, *March 16, 1912*).

AN ARCHÆOLOGICAL FIND AT TOUNGOO.

[In deference to the wishes of many members of the Society, the unabridged correspondence on the above subject is reprinted from the *Rangoon Gazette*, in the hope that it may stimulate further research on the point at issue, which, as will appear on perusal, has not yet been settled satisfactorily; and that it may perhaps arouse in a few some interest in the History and Archæology of Burma; for such an interest is still practically non-existent amongst those well fitted, by their deep knowledge of the people and their language, and the observations made in the course of frequent transfers within the Province, to prosecute, during their leisure hours, some research work in these or other cognate subjects, which would prove, not only of great interest, but also of indisputable value.

At the instance of the writer a few passages have been expunged from the last letter.

C. D.]

AN ARCHÆOLOGICAL FIND AT TOUNGOO.

At the present juncture when Lord Curzon is vigorously espousing the cause of archæology of India and Burma, it may not be altogether inopportune to publish a brief account of a recent valuable archæological find in Toungoo. There exists a mound overgrown with rank vegetation, not far from the central gate in the western wall of the historic town of Toungoo. It is known as the Shwehintha Pagoda site. A short time back some people from Ava who were in possession of the Pagoda legend came and consulted U Thagara of Kaungmhudaw with a view to unearthing the *Thaik* (i. e. hidden treasures). The hpoongyi advised them to go back as Government was bound to interfere with such a project. But he took good care to take a copy of the legend. About a fortnight ago he explored the ground and on removing the upper layers of bricks, he noticed some slabs. With the assistance of villagers round about, he began to make excavations, when a number of brass images, both in the round and in relief, was found together with numerous relics. In the central chamber protected by slabs was a miniature brass pagoda with a square base. It was cast with a number of images in relief on all four sides. By the side of it was found a most interesting object in the shape of a royal barge supported by four Hintha birds. Both the vessel and the birds are made of earthenware glazed white and are of exquisite workmanship. On the upper deck there are six men on each side besides a helmsman and others. Each of the men on the sides holds in his hands something which looks more like a gramophone funnel than an oar. Half the number of men on either side

turn in opposite direction so that they cannot be rowing the barge. It is noticeable that the crew wear short hair. They probably represent Talaings. Or could they be Portuguese in Burmese service? The vessel has a lid made of plain, unglazed earthenware. Its hold is divided into two chambers, upper and lower, by a circular plain earthenware plate. This plate supports a Chinese coloured porcelain goglet full of relics and a smaller porcelain vessel. The latter is a white porcelain cup with a lid and contains a silver case inside which is a gold case. This last again encases a tiny little image of the Buddha.

In the smaller chamber below the circular plate referred to is another porcelain vessel with some rings and transparent crystals. The Hintha birds seem to mark the sanctuary of sanctuaries in the pagoda, though the hpoongyi is still hopeful of finding more underneath. There is also a detached, broken piece of stone sculpture of exquisite workmanship showing traces of foreign influences. It represents a recumbent image of the Buddha surrounded by other figures, all in relief. It was found on the bow of the barge. But how it came to be there cannot very well be guessed. Three brass images bear a short inscription in Burmese, part of which has not yet been deciphered. All the three inscriptions are similar to one another. The first part of each inscription reads "Mingyi Zeyathura, Sakkaraj 903." The discovery of these inscriptions is of unique value as it is of the utmost importance to Burmese history. According to native chronicles, Mingyi Nyo, the father of the famous Tabinshweti, became King of Toungoo in 847 B.E. (1485 A. D). He reigned for 46 years so that he died in 893 B. E. (1531 A. D.) But according to the author of the *Thamantacakkhudipani* he reigned from 864 to 892 B.E. (1502 to 1530 A. D.) Later European historians seem to have followed this chronology; for, on p. 45 of "Burma Through the Centuries," we find that 1530 A. D. is assigned as the year of this King's death. Phayre, however, makes it 1540 A. D. Thus the chronology of even this recent period in Burmese history is very much confused.

Mingyi Nyo is accredited with having founded the new town of Ketumadi, which is the classic name of present Toungoo, in 872 B. E. (1510 A. D.) when he assumed the title of Mahazeyathura. And the legend of the Shwehintha Pagoda runs as follows:—"When King Zeyathura decided to change his capital from Dwarawaddy (now Myogyi) he was advised to build his new palace on the spot where a Hintha flying from east to west dropped its food and to build a pagoda where the bird alighted." It is clear from

this legend that the present town of Toungoo was founded in the year in which the pagoda in question was built. Now the inscriptions recently discovered clearly show that this pagoda was built by Zeyathura in 903 B. E. (1541 A. D). Even if we adopt Phayre's date, 1540 A.D., as the date of this King's death, it is clearly impossible for the departed King to have built this pagoda a year after his death. As he reigned in his new capital for 21 years, he died in 1562 A.D. Thus native chronology is out by 31 years. Two reasons may be assigned for this mistake :—First, Native chronology is generally reckoned from a known date by means of a list of kings with the duration of each reign. It is not difficult to understand that, if a king or two be omitted in the list, the chronology will be out ; secondly, there was another King known as Taungdwin Min Zeyathura who is supposed to have reigned for 7 years in Toungoo from 821 to 828 B. E. (1459-1466 A. D.) If this King's chronology were out by 31 years under the first assigned cause, he must have reigned from 852-859 B. E. (1490-1497 A. D.) Considering that native chronicles make 1485 A.D. as the year of the accession of Mingyi Nyo it is very probable that they have confounded the two kings of similar titles.

Our accepted history therefore needs revision in the light of these inscriptions. Corrected in this light, Tabinshweti's reign began in 1562 and not in 1540 A. D. as made out by Phayre. The site is daily attracting crowds of votaries from villages round about Toungoo. The Deputy Commissioner has already communicated with the Superintendent of Archæological Survey, Burma, who promises a visit some time in January next after his return from the Delhi Durbar. In the meantime a strong committee has been formed to collect money and bricks with a view to re-enshrining the valuable relics in a new pagoda in a fitting manner.

20th November, 1911.

S. Z. A.

TO THE EDITOR, "RANGOON GAZETTE."

SIR—The discovery of a number of relics at Toungoo as described in your paper this morning is interesting from many points of view, but your correspondent's suggestions and conclusions as regards the dates are, I think, open to considerable doubt. I have seen the inscriptions on the spot and am inclined to dispute the reading of the King's name. It is very imperfect, and as it stands would just as well serve for Thihathura. It is open to very much doubt

that Mingyi Nyo, who assumed the grand title of Maha Thiri Zeyathura, would have allowed himself to be described merely as Mingyi Zeyathura. If Thihathura is the correct reading, there is no difficulty as to the date. After Tabin Shwehti had moved to Pegu he appointed one of his attendants, Mingyi Swe (father of Bayin Naung), Governor of Toungoo. Mingyi Swe was also called Theinkathu, but on being made viceroy was given the title of Thihathu. This was in 902, and it is quite natural to suppose that he built or rebuilt the pagoda now in question in the following year.

According to the Shwe Hintha legend, which "S. Z. A." quotes, Mingyi Nyo built the city and the pagoda in 903. This cannot possibly be correct because we have the best evidence of the date of Tabinshwehti's birth. (See the *Mindaya Shwe Hti Egyin* by Hlawga Thondaung Hmu). That event took place in 877, *after* the founding of Ketumadi. When the city was built, the Kya In or Lotus Lake (the present lake) was included in the city limits, and it was some time after that that the King while he was out one day inspecting an overflow of water met the daughter of the Nga Nwe Gon thugyi who became Tabin Shwehti's mother. Tabin Shwehti ascended the throne at the age of 17 (894 B. E.) and his subsequent history and the date of his death are recent enough to admit of the best proof.

Moreover, the Toungoo Thamaing, which gives very minute details of the building of Ketumadi, makes no mention of a Shwe Hintha pagoda. Several of the king's pagodas, *theins*, and other works of merit are given, and it is inconceivable that this one would have been left out if it had really been built by him. I think the Shwe Hintha legend is only a legend after all.

Yours etc.,

M. O.

TO THE EDITOR, "RANGOON GAZETTE."

SIR,—There are many here who take Burmese history and the Toungoo Thamaing as the Gospel truth. Such people are naturally very unwilling to admit that their accepted history is wrong. And so they have tried their best to read the name of Thihathura in the inscriptions recently discovered. This morning, before I read "M.O.'s" letter in your paper of the 8th instant, the Akunwun, Myook Maung Khan and myself took Saya Pwa, a well-known figure in Toungoo, to re-read the inscriptions, because he thought he

had actually read that name not in all but in one of the inscriptions. Well, even he, who had hitherto offered the stoutest opposition to the new view, was disappointed. The inscriptions are now clear enough for the purpose. But I would leave this matter to Mr. Taw Sein Ko to decide authoritatively when he visits here.

Since writing my last, I have succeeded in getting from U Thagara the original 'khe' leaf out of an old manuscript brought from Ava. It reads: "The legend of the Shwehintha Pagoda is as follows:—Zeyathura, *alias* Mingyi Nyo, the father of Tabinshweti, declared himself independent of the King of Ava in 2066 R. E. or 884 B. E. and assumed the title of Thirizeyathura Mahadhammarajadhiraja. He reigned in Lokuttara Dwarawaddy for 19 years when he was advised by his counsellors to found a new city in order that he might live over a hundred years and become more powerful. The King himself had already a desire to remove his capital from Lokuttara Dwarawaddy which was then being eroded by the river. He was therefore very pleased with the idea. He then invited wise ponnas, ministers and rahans over to his palace and consulted them as to the choice of a site for the proposed town. And they told the King as follows:—'On the 24th of waning Tazaungmon in the year 903, a pair of Hinthas will fly from due east. The spot on which they drop their food will be the most auspicious site for the new palace. On each of the four sides of the city wall to be built, there should be a main gate with four smaller ones, making up 20 gates in all. At the entrance of each gate, there should be erected a *thein*. The city should be surrounded by 3 moats—a water moat, a mud moat and a dry moat. The Shwehintha Pagoda should be built on the spot where the birds alight.' A pair of Hintha birds came even as predicted. The new town was founded, and the Shwehintha Pagoda was built under the King's personal supervision. The list of things deposited in the Pagoda is as follows:—In the two porcelain vessels presented by the Emperor of China. . . ."

I have not yet got the continuation of the manuscript showing a complete list of things originally deposited. But the mention of porcelain vessels presented by the Emperor of China in the first part of the list is most significant. The Chinese porcelain vessels have been found inside the Hintha barge in what appears to be the most sacred spot in the pagoda. Of course, I do not mean that these vessels were actually presented by the Emperor of China. In all probability, they were presented by the Chinese Viceroy of Yunnan. But when a legend is supported by the actual

discovery of material objects, it is more than a mere legend. The legendary part may be easily separated from the substratum of truth which underlies it. I have already shown the existing confusion in the chronology of even this present period. According to the Hmanan Yazawin, Tabinshweti was born on Wednesday, the 1st of waning Kason, 878 B. E. This is a very definite statement and yet "M.O.," antedates the event by a year. According to the same authority, he ascended the throne in 892 B. E. But "M. O." makes it 894. It is true that it is but a matter of a few years only. But, at the same time, it is enough to show that the two versions cannot be both true while they may be both false. I wish my friend to reconcile the differences in his own camp first, before he attacks a new view.

Yours etc.,

S. Z. A.

TO THE EDITOR, "RANGOON GAZETTE."

SIR,—I am obliged to my friend "S. Z. A.," for giving me an opportunity of still further strengthening my position. He has not adduced any new evidence, and does not seem to have had an opportunity of looking up the "Mindaya Shwe Hti Egin."

The passage therein, verse 24, is :—သက္ကရာဇ်ကား ဖြစ်တုံ့၍ ရာသက္ကသက္က နှစ်လည်း ကုန် ကဆုန် ဝိဇ္ဇာန် ယာဉ် ဖြန့်ဥတ္တရ ဆုတ်စေ ရက်။ This may be taken to mean 877 or 878 according as the Thingyan fell before or after the 1st waning of Kason. The date of Tabinshwehti's accession may be placed between 892 and 894 ; a discrepancy of a year or two cannot make any difference to my suggestion that Mingyi Nyo was dead long before 903. The "Mindaya Shwe Hti Egin Thit," also a contemporary work a little later than the former, verse 32, gives the date of Mingyi Nyo's accession as 847, which is also the Hman Nan date. We must remember that there was a flourishing literature in the ninth and tenth centuries of the Burmese era ; there are at least four *e-gyin* of the period, Thakin Twe, 838, Mindaya Medaw, 912, Minye Kyawzwa, 931, and Minye Naya, 967. Is it probable, then, that our historians are so hopelessly out in their reckoning as the Shwe Hintha legend makes out ?

But there is more than this. We have the positive evidence of outside (European) writers in support of the Hman Nan chronology of this period. This is what I meant when I said that Tabinshwehti's "subsequent history and the date of his death are recent enough to admit of the best proof."

Let us first ascertain the equivalent Christian dates. "S. Z. A.," on the authority of the Shwe Hintha legend, places the foundation of Ketumadi by Mingyi Nyo in 903=1541. My position is that Mingyi Nyo died 8 or 9 years before that. Tabinshwehti, his son, succeeded him (take the Hman Nan date) in 892=1430, and died in 912=1550. Before his death he took to drink in company with a Portugese, Soarez. He was succeeded in the following year by Bayin Naung, or Branginoco, (contemporary of Akbar अकबर), who died in 943=1581. The last King at Hanthawaddy of this short but glorious dynasty was Ngasu-dayaka, who was deposed in 961=1599. Soon after, Nga Zinga (Nicote) set himself up at Syriam. This is the despised Hman Nan chronology, but European records confirm it most satisfactorily. Tabinshwehti's first campaign against Pegu was in 1534-5; his age then is given by the Portugese as about 20 (which would place the Burmese date of his birth in about 877). The third and final campaign was in 1539, and in 1540 (*a year before* the marvellous Shwe Hintha myth), Pegu, in spite of Portugese aid, fell. Souza (vol. ii) gives an account of Tabinshwehti's death and of Bayin Naung's reign. The latter succeeded in 1551, after re-taking Pegu from the Talaings, and died in November, 1581. Caesar Fredericke visited Pegu in 1567-9; and during the reign of Bayin Naung's successor there were several visitors including Gasparo Balbi and Ralph Fitch, the first Englishman in Burma. Earlier comers were Nicolo di Conti, at the beginning of the fifteenth century; Athanasius Nikitin in 1468-74; Hieronimo di Santo Stefano, 1496; Lewes Vertomannus, 1503-4. Surely these, and the gallant Portugese who fought against and under Tabinshwehti and Bayin Naung, are entitled to much greater credence than the Shwe Hintha, written by an unknown author at an unknown date.

Yours etc.,
M. O.

TO THE EDITOR, "RANGOON GAZETTE."

Sir,—I have seen the original manuscript of the Shwe-hintha legend. The document is very clear and speaks for itself. On the face of it, it seems to bear the stamp of truth. Names and dates are very definite. The religious era given in the legend makes it impossible for the dates to be mistaken. The interval of nineteen years allowed between the two dates of founding Dwarawaddy and Ketumadi is also admitted in current history. The erosion of the river was

a very sensible reason for the King's desire to remove his capital from Dwarawaddy which was on the river bank. The legend refers to twenty gates and twenty theins which are described in detail in the Toungoo Thamaing. The omission of this legend in that Thamaing is strange. But it is not altogether inexplicable. Either the compiler of the Thamaing did not see the legend or he had deliberately discarded it as untrue, because the dates as given therein conflicted with those accepted in current history. But now that the legend is confirmed by the discovery of inscriptions, its accuracy can be no longer doubted. I have read the disputed reading over and over again. Those who dispute it find it difficult to turn 'ze' (ဇေ) into 'thi' (ထိ) and consequently they are inclined to read 'raja' (ရာဇ) out of 'zeya' (ဇေယ). The reading 'Mingyi Raja Thihathu' is most unlikely, as the name was Minyethihathu. Besides, it necessitates a forced reading of 'thura tha' (ထုရထ) as 'thihathu' (ထိဟထ). In doing so, the syllable 'Tha' (ထ) is dismembered from the next word 'thami' (ထမိ). So, the forced reading is clearly untenable. I think, therefore, it is conclusively proved by the inscriptions coupled with the legend that Ketumadi was founded in 903 B. E. And if Tabinshweti were born six years after that event, his birth-date could not have been earlier than 909. But this impossible date would conflict with later history, for he invaded Siam in 910 B. E. (1548 A. D.) Siamese history makes it 1543 A. D. (See Bowring's Siam, Vol. I, p. 46). Though these two dates cannot be both true, neither of these two independently recorded dates would be very much further from the truth. We may therefore accept the Burmese date of invasion as approximately correct. It is probable that his father died shortly after the founding of Ketumadi in 903 B. E. (1541 A. D.) All that seems necessary is to correct native chronology, not subsequent but prior to that year. But Burmans who move along old grooves of thought would do nothing of the sort. They would lightly reject all evidence of archæology, should it clash with history. They must adhere to their 'yannhein-khu,' a mnemonic word for 872 as the year in which Ketumadi was founded. They must necessarily give another lease of 20 years' reign (872-892) to King Mingyi Nyo in his new capital. Further, they would let the story of Wanwewon thugyi's daughter pass for history. The Lotus Lake which was included within the limits of the new city was more likely to overflow before the new city was built with

the present massive walls which have acted as effective bunds. Burmese authorities here say that the village of Wanwagon referred to in the story is situated in Lewe township of Pyinmana subdivision. If so, it is incredible that a comparatively small lake should have affected such a distant place, so that it is most unlikely that the King could have met that village thugyi's fortunate daughter somewhere near the lake which overflowed. There is a village now known as Penwagon some six miles from Toungoo and it is probable that the King visited it from his old capital Dwarawaddy which was but a couple of miles from the lake itself. Lastly, even poets must needs be cited as an infallible authority for history. But after all, the Tabinshweti Egyin is not a very serious document. The fact that it purported to have been a contemporaneous document does not lend much authority. The poem is attributed to one Hlawga Thondaung Hmu. In 1900 the Hanthawaddy Press published another poem entitled the New Tabinshweti Egyin. Some ascribe this to one Taung Thin Hmu. It is written in the same style as though it was composed during the very lifetime of our national hero. The anonymous author of this later work copies the date of the hero's birth, rightly or wrongly, from the earlier work. We have therefore no definite proofs as to the actual dates of these works, except the style of poem which is far from being conclusive. If the older poem as we have it quoted in the Toungoo Thamaing were really contemporaneous with the lifetime of its hero, it is not improbable that an error has crept into it. If the hero ascended the throne in 903 B. E., on his father's death in that year as already remarked above, when he had just completed his age of 15, he must have been born in 888 B. E. And the poem in question would read aright if ခဏ္ဍာ ဝတ္တ be substituted for ဝတ္တော ဝတ္တ. But the birth of the first invader of Siam was anterior to the founding of Ketumadi. It is, however, impossible to convince and convert Burmese folks until and unless their error is exposed by *reductio ad absurdum*.

Your etc.

M. K.

TO THE EDITOR, "RANGOON GAZETTE."

SIR,—It seems that "old grooves of thought" are sometimes the best, and I am tempted to inflict myself once more on your patience and that of your readers by "M. K's" remarkable ingenuity in suggesting 903 (1541) as the date of

Mingyi Nyo's death and Tabinshwehti's accession. Quite apart from the the evidence of contemporary Portuguese writers that Pegu fell to Tabinshwehti in 1540 after nearly six years' fighting, there is a piece of archæological evidence which will doubtless commend itself to "M.K." I refer to page 94 of the "Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava," translated by U Tun Nyein. Inscription No. 26 found within the front porch of the Shwekugyi pagoda is a confirmation by Hanthawaddy Sinbyushin (Bayin Naung) of the dedication of offerings to monasteries. It reads: "In the year 913 Sakkaraj, which corresponds with the year of the Religion 2095, soon after his accession to the throne, the King issued the royal order etc." This year, 1551, corroborates both the old Hman Nan and the Portuguese. If Tabinshwehti came to the throne in 903 at the age of 15, as "M. K." puts it, he must have reigned only 10 years and died at the age of 25, which, as Euclid has it, is absurd in the light of proved facts.

Yours etc.,

M. O.

TO THE EDITOR, "RANGOON GAZETTE."

SIR,—I had fondly hoped that the war axe had been buried beneath the Shwehintha Pagoda mound with an historical legend at its back. I regret very much that once more it has been dug up by my doughty adversary. I have, however, escaped unhurt, for his blows have for the most part cut the air. My conclusion from the evidence of archæology was simply that history needs revision in the light of the inscriptions, and I desired to enforce that necessity by *reductio ad absurdum*. But I frankly admit that my language had not been happy. What I meant to say was that Tabinshweti's accession would take place in 1562 A. D., an impossible date, (instead of in 1540 which is nearer the truth than 1530), if the story of Wanwegan thugyi's daughter, the Tabinshweti Egyin, the Toungoo Thamaing and current history were made to turn on the date of founding Ketumadi as corrected by the inscriptions, coupled with the legend. I need not labour on the subject on which I have been so much anticipated by "M. K."

"M. O." seems to have made a very serious error as regards the date of the 'Mindaya Shweti Egyin Thit.' This poem is not among the 12 old Egyins supposed to have been written between 700 and 1,000, B. E., nor even among the 34 works given after them in the Pitakat Thonbon Sadan.

Therefore the work in question appears to have been composed not less than a century, if not more, after the hero's death. "M. O." cited no authority for considering it to be a "contemporary work, a little later than the former." Since he relies so much on this poem from which he quotes with apparent satisfaction, I may be permitted to show how carelessly native chronology is generally dealt with under the guise of apparent accuracy. The poem not only gives a very definite date and hour (*viz.*, 6 p.m., on Wednesday, the 1st of waning Kason, 878 B. E.), but also describes in very minute details the state of the sky at that auspicious hour, when a "thick shower of hail, about the size of a moderate-sized pumelo" fell amidst thunder and lightning. A well-known Saya here had hitherto adopted 877 as given on p. 45 of the *Toungoo Thamaing*. The other day I drew his attention to the phrase နှစ်လသွေးကုန် ('year having expired') after the words which stand for '877' in the poem quoted on the very next page. Only then he thought that 878 as given in history might be correct. He has since looked up the *Yazawin* and found out his mistake. But what are this Saya's astronomical qualifications to authoritatively declare now that the Thingyan and the New Year fell before the 1st decrease of Kason? He holds a testimonial from a high official who desired me to interest myself in the Burmese calendar and recommended the Saya as one of the most reliable Burmese astronomers. Now if it did not occur to this astronomer that the 1st of waning Kason, 877, might have been any day but Wednesday (*i. e.*, that the same date in two successive years would not fall on the same day), I doubt if "M. O." has taken the trouble of verifying whether the astronomical data given in the poem was for 877 or 878, or for 888 as proposed with very cogent reasons by "M. K."

An authoritative manuscript of the history of *Toungoo* on which our local opponent here relies clearly says that the life of *Ketumadi* was 37 years in the year of the accession of *Thihathu*, *alias* *Min Gaung*, in 914 B. E. This fixes the date of its founding in 877, a year before the accepted date of the birth of the national hero, but not in the usual 872. On the face of such contradictions in native chronology, I adhere to my conclusion from the inscriptions, coupled with the legend that *Ketumadi* was founded in 903 and that *Mingyi Nyo* had not died before that year.

S. Z. A.

[*Note.*—The last two letters appeared on the same date, as also did the fourth and fifth.]

BURMESE PROSODY.

"M. O.'s" notes on 'Garu' and 'Lahu,' which appeared in the second number of this Journal, initiated an interesting discussion in this hitherto neglected field. His explanations are, however, inaccurate and misleading. It is my misfortune to be opposed to him in almost every particular and I regret that my criticisms will, for the most part, be destructive.

I. It is not true that Burmese prosody follows closely the Vuttodaya of Pali. Burmese poetry was composed long before the introduction of Pali into Burma. Our ancient bards of the lyric period drew inspiration direct from their own Muses but borrowed from India "ganas" or metres which "M. O." had spoken of as "feet." He would have been more correct if he had said that the various feet (pādas) in Pali poetry are distinguished by the use of metres. He is also wrong when he says that this does not seem to be the case in Burmese. Metre was the first, though not the only, condition demanded by ancient poetry. Our earliest poets scanned their entire verses, each of which, as generally now, consisted of a great many quadrisyllabic feet ended by a foot of seven syllables. The number of feet in a verse depended upon the length of the subject.

The following rules of metrification were then adopted:—

- (i) If there was a "kriya" (verb) in a foot, that was invariably discarded.
- (ii) But if there was no verb at all, the initial syllable was invariably rejected.
- (iii) Of the two verbs in the middle of a foot the latter was neglected.
- (iv) And if the last two syllables of a foot consisted of verbs, it was also the latter that was rejected.
- (v) In the final foot (၁၅) the first and the last two syllables were discarded.

I may observe that these rules were not written in vernacular, as might have been expected, nor in Pali, but in Sanscrit (See pp. 294-296 of the *Kabyabandhathara* by U Tin).

It is not quite true that "Burmese writers have apparently missed the true nature and value of prosody and have lost themselves in mythical and fanciful conceptions." These conceptions were not of Burmese creating. They were Indian. (See pp. 293, 294, *Ibid*, and also the *San Nithaya* by Sadaw U Bok, pp. 74 and 75).

The reluctance to "dally" with Kalakanni, the Dark Muse, who is supposed to preside over the four undesirable metres, is therefore of Indian origin.

The expression ရိုက်တွင်းမည်ဂျိုးဝဝဝယ် suggests that later poets were more careful with reference to the first nine feet called Gaingdwin. But modern inferior poets seem to trouble themselves only about the initial foot.

Apart from the fact that the four undesirable metres were *sometimes* regarded as "favourable" (ရန်ကြိုက်), it is not very improbable that our standard authors of the 15th century rejected the initial syllable of the initial foot for purposes of metre; for, the rejection of the final syllable seems to have begun with Min Yaza of the 18th century. If they did, the *Payamigan* beginning with ဝေါပိတ္တိင် began with the bacchius instead of the cretious. I suggest that there is a danger of judging ancient works by a comparatively modern standard.

II. Rhyme is another condition of Burmese poetry. Apart from the peculiar structure of our verses, we have a system of six rhymes (ကာရန် from Pali, Karanto) quite unknown in Pali poetry. In the ancient lyric period when yadu's (ရတု) were "sung," the triple rhyme was adopted. It is a type of composition (Asat=အစတံ) in which the fourth syllable of the first foot rhymes with the third syllable of the second foot as well as with the first or second syllable of the third foot. The same procedure is repeated with the fourth syllable of this third foot. This type of Asat is now called (1) Thongyetnyi. When all the three rhymes end in similar final consonants (Athats=အထတ်), then the Asat is known as That-sai-nhet. Thongyetnyi is also either simple (ထွ်ခြင်းထပ်) or complex (နုတေထပ်).

At first yadu's were composed in single, short verses known to this date as Ekabaik. Next they began to be composed first in two, then in three, verses during the mediaeval lyric period when 25 methods of beginning and ending a yadu verse (ရတုကဗျာချီနည်းချနည်း ၂၅ ချိုး) came into vogue. The yadu in two verses is now called Aphyigan (i. e., one left to be completed by a later poet) and that in three, Paikson (i. e., one complete in itself). The final foot now consisted of 7, 9, 11, 15, 19, 25 or 35 syllables. In consequence of this tendency from "singing" to "making", the double rhyme crept into the composition as an exception to the rule. The first type of the double rhyme is (2) Biluye, in which the fourth syllable of the previous foot rhymes with the second of the next. Rahtathara used as

many biluyes as possible in a "running" style. Hence biluyes in succession are known as Yahtabye or Rahthathara style.

When the fourth syllable of the preceding foot rhymes with the first of the succeeding, then the Asat becomes (3) Udaiksat.

Faulty rhymes in final *t* and *p* (ဝ and δ) as well as in *n* and *m* (န and မ) were then rejected as Sadon (ဝဝဝန) But when they began to be recognized by the best poets of the modern epic period, three more types of Asat with reference to these four finals were added. When the first two rhymes of the triple are alike in any one of these finals, the Asat is termed (4) Teikchindat. Thus we have the following four varieties under this type:—

(i) t-t-p; (ii) p-p-t; (iii) n-n-m; (iv) m-m-n.

But when the first two are unlike, the Asat becomes (5) Teichingywet. Under this head also we have four classes:—

(i) t-p-p; (ii) p-t-t; (iii) n-m-m; (iv) m-n-n.

In each of these four forms the first two rhymes may not be followed by the third when Teichingywet is either a biluye or udaiksat.

When the first and the third are alike, the Asat is called (6) Cheingwinlya. This also comprises four forms:—

(i) t-p-t; (ii) p-t-p; (iii) n-m-n; (iv) m-n-m.

III. The terms 'garu' and 'lahu' as applied to vowels in Pali prosody are synonymous with 'long' and 'short' accents. But it is not true that these terms in the sense of 'heavy' and 'light' as applied to sounds by Wicitthacara in his *Wuttodaya-myanmar-saṅkyaṅ* (written during the reign of Hanthawaddy) refers to the sense, meaning or significance of a word, as Saya Lun and others would have us believe. Used with reference to the four finals -p, -t, -m, and -n referred to above, the terms in question had no doubt something to do with the time and the manner in which these dentals and labials were given their full phonetic values. It was only when orthoëpy degenerated, that is, when pronunciation no longer followed the spelling, spelling-books (That-pons) had to be written.

Now, correct orthography is the first essential in Burmese poetry. And it is necessary to study it from spelling-books based on standard authors. But Wicitthacara devoted a chapter, *by way of broad hints only*, on the puzzling orthography of these four finals.

First of all, he divided them into (1) paramat and (2) pyinnyat, for the highest class of students, because most of

our philosophical terms appeared to our author to end in finals p and m and ordinary terms, in t and n.

Next, he distinguished them as (3) garu and (4) lahu, for the next lower class of students, since the finals p and m were at one time sounded with lips closed, while t and n were sounded with lips open as now.

Finally he classed them under (5) desirable and (6) undesirable, for the lowest class of students. Obviously, this distinction has reference to the sense of a word. According to our author, words with desirable sense generally end in t and n and those with the opposite sense, in p and m.

It is curious that these six classes, specifically spoken of as athan (အထ်), are generically spoken of as six Athats (အထတ်). This, the Burmese Sayas say, is by way of an upaza, i. e., a figure of speech. It will be noticed that only four doubtful Athats are really involved.

The first attempt at distinctions of these doubtful Athats was made by Wicitthacara because, as already observed, faulty rhymes had been recognized. It is for others to improve upon these rough and ready distinctions. But up to date no better system has yet been devised by any of his critics, past or present. Those who decry this pioneer have been sadly mistaken in regarding his "hints" as "rules" of universal validity. That he was misunderstood may be seen from the fact that Shwedaung Yazagyaw in 1751 criticised him for having dealt with only six out of many Athats. And U Tin has of late very unfairly used this criticism as applied to the six Asats also.

As regards these latter, Wicitthacara did not define the terms and modern scholars have tried, each in his own way, to supply this omission with their own definitions framed from examples cited. Unhappily, examples in existing editions seem to have got confused by displacement from under one head to another. Besides, our author unfortunately selected the double rhyme, instead of the triple, in order to illustrate Teikchingywet. But this was a pure accident.

I trust that this note will help to clear up misconceptions.

K. M.

NOTES TO THE ABOVE.

This discussion bids fair to lead to some interesting results. For instance, quite a lengthy article might be written on the so-called prosody of the Burmese. For the

present, however, I am content to accept the statement of several *Sayas* that *San* is primarily based on the Vuttodaya, the more so because "K. M." has not revealed any other source. The declaration that "Burmese poetry was composed long before the introduction of Pali into Burma" is one which requires much explanation. When was Pali introduced into Burma? When was Burmese poetry first composed? I do not think these are questions to which definite answers can be given at present. One of the earliest poetical compositions extant is that attributed to the minister Ananta-thuriya, who was executed by order of the King of Pagan, Narapati-sithu, in B. E. 536 (A. D. 1174). The piece, consisting of four verses, is given in the Hman-Nan-Yazawin, Volume I, pages 320 and 321, and fairly bristles with Pali words.

The dissertation on Rhyme does not seem to arise out of my answer to Mr. Stewart's query.

The third part of "K. M.'s" contribution is the one with which we are really concerned, i. e., in the explanation of the terms ဝှေ့ဝှေ့ and ဝှေ့ဝှေ့. The suggestion that Wiseittasara's classification of the *a-thats* was made with reference to three grades of students is one which has been condemned over and over again by the foremost writers on Burmese style. Wiseittasara himself did not explain his classification, and it is difficult to lay down definitely which explanation is "true" and which not true. The divisions (1) and (2), and (5) and (6), above, clearly refer to the "sense, meaning or significance" of words, and I am inclined to give the worthy author credit for the possession of a logical mind, and to accept the divisions (3) and (4) as having the same basis. At any rate, I fail to see how the terms *garu* and *lahu* have any connection with the closing and opening of the lips. I have moreover examined scores of words in the light of the explanation that ဝှေ့ in this connection means "sound," and find that they do not answer the test.

It may be of interest to readers that a comprehensive work on Burmese Orthography is being prepared by a well-known *Saya*, and I have no doubt that the *A-that Chauk-pa* will be fully dealt with therein.

M. O.

It is a matter for much satisfaction to see the interest in literary and historical matters which the *Journal* has awakened among Burmese gentlemen, as evidenced by the above discussion brought about by a short query of Mr. J. A. Stewart and an answer thereto (1).

1. See Vol. I, Part II 86 ff.

I have myself always thought that the application by Burmese authors of Sanskrit-Pali prosody to their poetry is absolutely arbitrary if the Vuttodaya, the Vrittaratnākara and other similar works with their commentaries are rigorously adhered to. This system of prosody is as foreign to the Burmese as all the other things they have borrowed from India (and what they have not borrowed is very little) ; but while most of these other things have been so thoroughly assimilated that, to the *novice*, they may be palmed off as Burmese, prosody has successfully resisted all efforts to assimilate it ; the reason lies in the difference between the two languages, Pali and Burmese ; the first is a highly developed inflexional language ; the other is still mostly isolating, with here and there a suspicion of agglutination. In Pali, in Sanskrit (from which Pali prosody has been taken bodily over) as well as in Latin, prosody is based on long and short syllables arranged in groups called feet, of which there are many varieties, and verses are made up of these feet ; the beauty of poetry in these languages resides in the cadence and music of these intermingled feet of short and long syllables ; hence no rhymes are required, and when (rarely) they are used, they are considered as an additional, but not at all a necessary embellishment. Burmese, on the other hand, has no short and long syllables in the proper acceptation of these terms ; it has only tones, abrupt, natural and heavy which must not be confounded with short and long syllables ; hence, the rules of Burmese prosody cannot possibly be the same as those of the Pali and Sanskrit, and poetry in Burmese must fall back on rhymes ; this is why there is no blank verse in Burmese poetry ; but the rules concerning rhymes may be quite numerous, and in fact they are ; abolish rhymes, and you abolish Burmese prosody.

To this radical difference between these two languages, Pali and Burmese, which necessitates a radical difference also between their respective prosody, must probably be attributed the difficulty experienced by Mr. Stewart and others in understanding the terms of a prosody alien to the genius of the language and which cannot properly be made to fit in with its rich but, in character, totally different poetry.

C. D.

THE DERIVATION OF PROME.*

(A note on the above.)

The long discussed, but still uncertain etymology of the name of the old city of "Prome" which "has defied

* See Vol. I, part II p. 24.

scholars", has again been started; * it is to be hoped that, this time, the results of the enquiries, in Burma and elsewhere, which may follow S. A.'s "discovery," will be more productive than they have hitherto proved. Meanwhile, we have before us a delightful example of popular etymology, very much on the lines of Burmese authors, who delight in deriving almost all Burmese words from the Pāli in an extraordinary manner (1) but, of course, quite rightly, since it is affirmed that Pāli is the root from which *all* the other languages have sprung.

S. A. tells us that the word "Prome" is derived from "Suppaññā" in Suppaññā-Nagarachinna, by which latter long name the last king of Tharekhettara (Çriksetra), that is Prome, is known in Burmese histories. Shortly, the derivation comes to this: drop off Nagarachinna, there remains Supaññā, the (supposed) ancient name of Prome, which means literally "Good Wisdom" = Great Wisdom; drop now the prefix "su," and we have Paññā (wisdom), which is the Pāli form of the word; restore, then, the Sanskrit form, and we shall have Praññā (= Skt. prajñā; in Burmese would be ပြညာ); drop the final long "ā", and we obtain Prañña (ပြည); and now, we are nearing the end; again elide the short "a" in Prañña, there remains Praññ, written in Burmese ပြည့်, which is the name by which the Burmese know Prome (*lit.* Pyee, but generally pronounced Pri or Pyé). Now, how did the word come to be pronounced

* See Vol. I, Part II, p. 24.

1. I have met with many such attempts in divers publications. The following will give an idea of the arbitrary method generally followed. The Burmese word "Kyaung" (ကျောင်း; literally, kyeau) a monastery, is said to be a corruption of the Pāli arāma; the process of corruption, "in the course of centuries", was as follows: drop the initial a (in arāma), and rāma remains; change the initial r (in rāma), to "y", to this y prefix a k (က) and you have kyama (ကျာမ); drop the final "a" in kyama, there remains kyam (ကျမ်); now, change final m (မ) to the guttural nasal ñ (ဏ) to which add the heavy accent, ñ: (ဏ:); this gives kyañ: (ကျဏ:); all that remains to be done is to prefix to ကျဏ: the sound 'e' (French é), and there comes forth kyeau: ကျောင်း (commonly written kyaung, pronounced kya-òng). The great majority of Burmans are full of admiration for such a derivation, given according to the strictest rules of (their) philology. The derivation of lu (လူ), a man, is more simple, but no less admirable. The Sanskrit and Pāli root lū means "to reap" and the verb itself is lunati; hence the derivation: yavam lunatīti lū yo so! He (so) reaps barley (yavam), therefore (ti) is he called lū (လူ), a man; cf. Myanma viḡgaha kyam (မြန်မာဝိဂ္ဂဟကျမ်း) Hanthawaddy Press, Rangoon.

"Prome"? S. A. explains this in four lines: "The word "Prañ" in Burmese admits of two pronunciations—the earlier "Prin" as in အဝဉ် (Asin), or the latter "Pri", as in ဝဉ်ကားသဉ် (Si-ga-thi). The Arakanese pronounce the word "Pray" but their earlier pronunciation was apparently "Praising". An explanation which, though very simple on the face of it, is full of pitfalls. What does Mr. S. A. understand, in this case, by "earlier and later pronunciation"? This assertion might lure us into a discussion of Burmese phonetics, too lengthy not to be out of place here, but which, on the authority of the old inscriptions, would show that the reverse is probably the case, and the common, colloquial pronunciation (left out by S. A.) Pyé (ဝေ), substantiated easily by hundreds of similar examples, would only strengthen the case. There is no evidence whatsoever that the old Burmese ever pronounced this word, "Prin", and the very pronunciation of it given in the note under discussion as being the Arakanese one, "Pray" (=Pré=ဝေ=ဝေဉ်) simply goes to strengthen still more our point. To say that their (the Arakanese's) earlier pronunciation was *probably* "Prain" is a wild speculation, brought forward in an endeavour to explain the pronunciation "Prome", and which directly goes against all the rules of Arakanese and Burmese phonetics.

We are gravely told that Praññā, arbitrarily restored from the Sanskrit praññā and shortened from the epithet Su-paññā, was the (old) name of Prome. This statement is in itself so astonishing, that one is inclined to think S. A., in a gleeful mood, has sprung a joke upon us. Such, however, is not the case, for he gives a reference which, if accepted as given, goes strongly in favor of his derivation, but which he has misunderstood in the most extraordinary manner. The reference is to page 349 of the Samanta-cakkhu-dipani (1); he says: "the Burmese do not separate the words "Paññā, and "Nagara", though they readily drop the prefix "su" and the final word "chinna" as on p. 349" etc. This assertion is altogether misleading; the combination Paññā-nagara is practically found only in this passage and it does not refer to a town but to a king; it appears in the list of the kings of Prome, which comes after that of the kings of the "Middle Country" (Majjhimadesa) in India; the author of the Samanta-cakkhu has abbreviated, probably for mnemonic purposes, as is so common in Burmese works, most of the names or titles of kings in these lists, and in this place

Paññā-nagara is but the shortened form of Supaññā-Nagara-chinna ; to give only a few examples of such abbreviations in these very lists ; p. 349: Susu = susunāga ; Kālaso = Kālasoka ; Bindusā = Bindusāra ; p. 350 : Mundarī = Samundarī, and so Paññā-nagara = Supaññā-Nagarachinna. Moreover, the date of accession to the throne (နန်းတက်သက္ကရာဇ်) is, in each case, given in the right hand margin ; to read a king's name as that of a city and to make that city ascend the throne is to stretch a point too far in order to prove one's assertion.

But this is not the only difficulty in the way of this derivation ; how to explain the obstinate tenacity of all Burmese authors in always writing Supaññā (သုပညာ) instead of Supraññā (သုဗြညာ = Skt. Suprajñā) ? If Praññā was the original form, why was it changed to paññā and this latter form universally adhered to ? This supposed change remains the more inexplicable from the fact that, from the earliest known times, the Burmese have adopted and have retained up to the present, a very large number of words clearly taken from the Sanskrit, not from the Pāli (1) ; to give only a few sentences in which the " r " (ရ) inherent in Sanskrit and not in Pāli, appears in Burmese.

Pāli	Sanskrit	Burmese
Sakka	Sakra	Sakrā (သက္ကရာဇ်) (2)
Kamma	Karman	Krammā (ကြမ္မာ)
Pakati	Prakrti	Prakati (ပြကတိ) (3) and prakatē
Sankanti	Saṅkrānti	Sankran (သက္ကန်)
Samudda	Samudra	Samuddarā (သမုဒ္ဒရာ)
Citta	Citra	Citra (မိတြ)

Such examples might easily fill several pages ; it is probable, therefore that, if the Burmese had originally borrowed the word from the Sanskrit prajñā, they would have preserved it with the Sanskrit graphy, as they have done the other words adopted from the same source, without reducing it to its Pāli form for the supposed name of the town. But, it may be urged, the Burmese name for Prome (ပြည်) contains an " r " (ရ) which points to a Sanskrit origin. To this we would object that the letter ñ, single (ရှ) or ññ,

1. Cf. Mr. Taw Sein Ko, *Indian Antiquary*, 1892, pp. 94-95.

2. Wrongly spelt သိတြာ: by Burmese authors, probably from a desire to differentiate it from သက္ကရာဇ် = sakkhara, sugar.

3. Prakate (ပြကတေ) is another instance of the Burmese tendency to pronounce é or è, the final sound i or e e (as in pit, see) of many words.

double (ည) never, in Burmese, becomes final \bar{n} or $\bar{n}\bar{n}$ (ညိ or ညိံ the former of which is regularly pronounced "in" and the latter \bar{i} or colloqually, \acute{e} and $\acute{é}$) and that Pāli (or Sanskrit) words containing these letters are retained intact in Burmese, without any change; Examples—

Pāli	Sanskrit	Burmese
Kaṅṅā	Kanyā	Kaṅṅā (ကညာ)
Paṅṅā	Prajñā	Paṅṅā (ပညာ)
Puṅṅā	Puṇya	Puṅṅā (ပုညာ)
Suṅṅā	Ḷunya	Suṅṅā (ယုည)

Such Burmese words, clearly borrowed from Pāli or Sanskrit, which end in final $\bar{n}\bar{n}$ (ညိံ) do not, in the languages from which they are borrowed, end in \bar{n} or $\bar{n}\bar{n}$ (ညိ,ညိံ); Ex.

Pāli	Sanskrit	Burmese
ājāniya	ājāneya	ājānān̄n (အာဇာနည် but better : အာဇာနိံ)
Viññāṇa	Vijñāna	Viññān̄n (ဝိညာညိံ, more commonly ဝိညာညိံ but better ဝိညာညိံ)
Vinaya	Vinaya	Vinaññ̄n (ဝိနည်း)
Yāna	Yāna	Yaññ̄n (ယညိ better ယညိံ)
Uyyāna	Udyāna	Uyyān̄n (ဥယျာညိံ)
Uyyojana	Udyojana	Uyyojaññ̄n (ဥယျော့နည်)

The list of such words could be easily lengthened; also there may perhaps be a few exceptions to the above rule which have escaped me; in any case, the Burmese ငြညိ (Prah, *pron.* Pyé) is not one of these exceptions, if there are any; why should the Burmese or Arakanese have, in this single instance in the whole range of their language, violated all the rules of their phonetics in order to pronounce "Praing (1)" the supposed Burmanised form ငြညိ (Pri = Pyee = Pyé) of the word pañña (wisdom), is inconceivable. The form Prī = Prañ = paññā exists neither in Burmese nor Arakanese; but if by a somewhat violent effort of imagination, it be granted that it did exist, why should it be applied only to the name of the city (Prome), and never to the concept "wisdom" which it is supposed to represent?

Burmese chronicles give five ancient names of Prome: Paṭṭhanā-pati, Puṅṅavati, Varapati, Vanavasi and lastly

Sarekhettara (1) (Çriksetra); they are completely ignorant of Supaṇṇā as the name of the city, but know it well as the name of its last king.

The Mahārājāvaṇ Taw Krī: (2), to give only one instance, is quite clear as to the name being that of the king, "when king Atiyā died, his younger brother and his son fought for the throne, and his brother king Supaṇṇā (သုပဏ္ဍဝင်း) prevailed and ascended the throne in the 5th year of the new era (:)".

The fact is that S. A. has not seen that the name Supaṇṇānagarachinna is a nickname, itself made up of two nicknames, 1st Supaṇṇā and 2nd Nagarachinna, so that both are used separately and indifferently in Burmese history. Both are rather contemptuous, as most nicknames of kings, in Burmese, are; this is very clear from Mahārājāvaṇ Taw Krī:, pp. 209-10 and Pagan Rājāvaṇ Thit (end of 1st chapter); he was called Supaṇṇā "He-of-good-wisdom", just because he was rather foolish or "silly"; and Nagarachinna, "He-who-lost his-capital", because the capital was lost to him in a most absurd manner. S. A. misunderstanding this, gravely tells us Supaṇṇānagarachinna means: "one-who-has-the-good-Town-of-wisdom-cut-off"! which shows he has not at all understood the Pāli expression and derives it wrongly, still much less the humour of it. Such nicknames are not uncommon in Burma, cf. Nagā-Ya-Min (နဂါးရမင်း), He-who-had-a-nāga (4); Nagā-Nain-Min (နဂါးနိုင်းမင်း), "He-who-conquered-the cobra"; Pauṇ-Shī-Min, (ပေါင်ရှည်မင်း), "He-of-the-long-thigh"; Kyouk-Shi-Min, "He-of-the-long-bust" (5). The above are not so well known as the following; Tarup-Pré-Min (တရုတ်ပြေးမင်း), "He-who-ran-away from the Chinese"; Min-Khvé:-Khyé:(မင်းခွေးချေး), "He-of-the-dog's dung", and many others that will suggest themselves at once to S. A.

I think enough has been said in refutation of this popular etymology; and I still adhere to what I said some years ago

1. Pagan Rājāvaṇ Thit (ရတနာတော်စင်စာတမ်း), p. 32 of the paper Ms. in my possession; it is No. 918, of the collection of Mss. in the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon, end of the 1st chapter.

2. သောဓမ္မဝင်္ဂဏ်တော်စာတမ်း, Vol. I, 209; cf. also Pagan Rājāvaṇ Thit, end of 1st chapter.

3. i. e., the Dodorasa era.

4. Nāga, in Burmese naga: the cobra.

5. cf. Shway-Nat-Toung-Phura:—Thamain (ရွှေနတ်တောင်ဘုရားသမိုင်း)

that the name is probably Talaing (1), and that its true signification must be looked for in Talaing documents. But the question is perhaps still open, for Mr. Taw Sein Ko has gathered good evidence which would point to an original "Brahma", but as pointed out by me (1), the Talaing and Burmese forms of the name of this city do not point to such an original (2).

The Burmese and Arakanese form has nothing to do with the Talaing one etymologically. I have always suspected that the Burmese Pyee (=Pyé=Pré=မြို့=Prī, which means "city") may have been an emphatic appellation to designate, "The City par excellence" than which there was none greater then, nor more beautiful, nor richer, in the Irrawaddy Delta. But this is only a mere opinion of what may have been.

C. D.

NOTE ON THE WORD "TALAING."*

The etymology of the word "Talaing" has given rise to much controversy (3). The derivation offered by Forchhammer (4), followed later on by J. Gray, is absolutely inadmissible, not only because it is fundamentally wrong, not to say absurd, but principally because it makes the word "Talaing" originate with Alompra in the 18th century. Now, as M. O. rightly points out, the name was known to the Burmese *before* Alompra, and this alone would be sufficient to refute Forchhammer's view; but this word was also known to the Chinese early in the 17th century (5). Kou Tsou-Yu, in his Tou che fang yu ki yao, speaks of the great Kou-la (6) called also Pai-kou, that is Pegu, to the north of which are the people of Tong-wou (Taungu) and

* See page 73, of this number.

1. Notes on the Ancient Geography of Burma, I, pp. 3-4; cf. Hobson-Jobson, p. 732 "The name is Talaing, properly *Brun*. The Burmese call it Pyé or (in the Arakanese form in which the *r* is pronounced) Pré and Pré-myo".

2. Colonel Gerini, in his "Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia", leaves us perfectly in the dark.

3. cf. Hobson-Jobson, 889-90.

4. Notes on the Early History and Geography of British Burma, Part ii, pp. 11-12, Government Press, Rangoon, 1884.

5. See Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. IV, 1904, 292 and note 5.

6. On Kou-la cf. also Parker's Burma, its relations with China, 65 f. He writes: Kulah and Kulat.

to the south-east the people known as Tö-leng ; these latter, we are told, are a division of the Kou-las (that is Peguans = Talaings), and in 1610 A. D. they sided with the Siamese in an attack on the Burmese. It remains to see whether Tö-leng was the indigenous tribal name, pronounced by the Burmese Talaing, or whether it was a Chinese pronunciation of "Talaing" itself ; I incline to the latter assumption, and in this case the word Talaing was known to the Burmese at least before the beginning of the 17th century. The derivation of Phayre (1), which makes it come from Telinga = Kalinga, is no doubt the right one.

C. D.

THE BODHISATTVA MAITREYA IN BURMA.

M. O., in his interesting and useful contribution, "The Chronology of Burma," writes: (2) "In 81 A. D., Supañña, last King of Prome, ascended. Invaded Arakan and tried to take away the Mahāmuni image, but failed.... The *Hman Nan* says the image was in the Kanyan country." The statement of the *Hman Nan Rājāvañ* that the statue was the Mahāmuni (3) is interesting in so far as other chronicles say it was probably the image of the Bodhisattva Maitreya, the next Buddha to come ; for instance, *Mahārājāvañ Taw Kri:*, Vol. I, 209 (4), says that the image, all in gold and of immense size, resembled that of Maitreya ; the *Pagan Rājāvañ Thit* (5), near the end of the 1st chapter, says the same (6). The image was not brought to Prome, because, it is said, Supañña's ministers destroyed it. The cult of the Bodhisattva Maitreya is practically unknown in Burma, which make the assertion of these two chronicles doubly interesting, for it probably rests on an old tradition. Although Maitreya is known to the two schools of Buddhism, Southern and Northern, it is only in the latter that his cult was greatly developed and his representation therefore rather frequent ; he is frequently represented standing on one side of the Buddha, while the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara is on the other. The mention of an image of his in the

1. History of Pegu in J. R. A. Society of Bengal, Vol. XLII, Part I.

2. See in this number "Chronology of Burma," p. 14, § 2.

3. For its wonderful history see *Mahāmyatmuni Thamaing* (မဟာမြတ်စွန့်သမိုင်း:).

4. He is called here *Arimiteyya*.

5. No. 918, of the Mss. in the Bernard Free Library.

6. The name here is spelt *Arimatañ*: (*pron-Ayimati*).

Kanyan country would go to prove that the Buddhism of Lower Burma was not the Southern form, but some variety of the Northern School. The assertion of these Burmese histories seems to be substantiated by a discovery made at Prome of a stone sculpture (1) representing the Buddha flanked by two personages, which Mr. Sten Konow has little hesitation in identifying with the Bodhisattvas Avalokitesvara and Maitreya ; thus shewing that the Bodhisattva cult, which is peculiar to Northern Buddhism, once existed in Prome and the surrounding country.

C. D.

NOTE ON "HYPNOTISM IN BURMA."*

This very interesting paper of Mr. Shwe Zan Aung may be read with advantage in conjunction with that of Mr. Taw Sein Ko, which appeared in the Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States, Part I, Vol. II, 73 ff., for they, to some extent, complete each other.

A fact, important for the history of early Buddhism in Burma, seems to have been overlooked by both writers. Mr. Shwe Zan Aung writes (2), "Certain *mantras* (or *gāthās*) play a very important part. These are formulas written, half in Pāli, half in Burmese, and headed by the magic word "Om" (Lord) (3); for, without it, a *gāthā* is ineffective." And Mr. Taw Sein Ko (4), "Incantations play an important part in Burmese necromancy. They are composed in Sanskrit, Pāli, Burmese, Talaing, and Shan, and sometimes in an unintelligible jargon consisting of a mixture (5) of two or more of these languages. The mystic Sanskrit symbol *Om* is invariably placed at the beginning of each incantation."

Now, these incantations or formulas or *gāthās*, thousands of which have been preserved in what the Burmese call *lokī kyam* (6), that is, treatises containing worldly lore, as

1. Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma, 1909, p. 10, § 33.—cf. also A. Foucher's *Iconographie Buddhique de l'Inde*, Vol. I, pp. 42, n1; 67, n6, 102, 111, 175; and Vol. II. pp. 16-18, 48-49.

* See pp. 44-56 of this number.

2. *Op. cit.* 56.

3. "Lord" as the translation of *Om* is wide off the mark; it would be, I think, better translated by *Ainsi soit-il!* So be it!

4. *Op. cit.* 73.

5. This is most often the case.

6. = *Lokiyā ganthā*.

opposed to religious works, are absolutely tantric in character and purpose, and are again another proof, if any were still needed, that there was once in Burma a variety of Northern Buddhism and tantraism which have now disappeared, but whose influence is still strongly felt. These *loki kyams* seem to have been strangely neglected and ignored by writers on the history of Burma and Burmese Buddhism, although a patient searcher would glean in them a rich harvest of data in a wide range of interesting subjects. The study of these works (1), still very widely read by the people, in the light of Indian Tantraism and the Atharvaveda, is greatly desirable.

C. D.

OUR MUSEUM.

One of the objects of the Burma Research Society is, little by little, to create a small but useful archæological and ethnographic museum. Such an object can now be obtained only through the generosity of members and other persons in whose possession are objects of antiquarian or ethnographical interest, part or the whole of which, they might be ready to make over to this society; the value of such gifts will be readily understood, when it is borne in mind that their accumulation in one place, with expert classification and labelling, and their accessibility to the many, will be a great help, and it is to be hoped in some cases an incentive, to serious ethnographic and antiquarian research. By the time the Burma Research Society's museum is large enough to be of any real utility, the Phayre Museum, which has suddenly disappeared from our midst, and whose very location practically nobody seems to be aware of, will probably have popped up from its hiding place and been located in some appropriate building; but this will not detract from our little museum's utility, for both will probably complete each other.

Meanwhile, we have now a really good small beginning, having received from two persons 38 objects, the list of which is given below. A fuller description, with photographs, will form the subject of a paper in a future issue of this journal.

1. Their number is limited, but each work is as a rule voluminous; new editions of them are issued yearly by native presses.

1

Mrs. Snadden, of Pegu, has sent through the Commissioner of Pegu, 22 objects of no little interest ; as follows :—

Serial No.	Articles.	No. of Articles.
1	Ornamental tobacco pipes	5
2	Pieces of broken Jars	5
3	Rod	1
4	Mortar	1
5	Small Jars	3
6	Weights of different values	6
7	A hollow coin	1
		22

All these were found by Mrs. Snadden in her garden at Pegu.

2

From the Right Reverend Bishop Alexander Cardot have been received 16 of archæological interest :—

1—A statuette of Chinese workmanship, of clay and hollow, 9". It is a Bodhisattva, flanked by two smaller figures, man and woman in Chinese dress.

2—A metal Bodhisattva, 11"; on a lotus seat, in the dhyāna-mudrā or attitude of meditation, with a bowl (pātra) resting on his open left hand.

3—Another metal Bodhisattva, 10", seated, in the vitarka-mudrā, or attitude of argumentation ; flanked by two small personages seated with hands raised up in adoration.

4—A group, of metal, on a circular pedestal $4\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter ; the Buddha is seated near the edge in the act of taking the earth to witness (bhūmisparça-mudrā) ; a branch of a tree is seen behind above his head ; he is flanked by two deer ; a small figure is kneeling in front of the Buddha with clasped hands in the attitude of listening ; four similar figures are missing, but there are the holes in which they were fitted. It is the Buddha in the Deer Park (Migadaya) near Benares "establishing the dominion of the Law" (Dhammacakkappavattana), that is preaching his first discourse to his first five monkish disciples.

5—Same subject as No. 4 ; but the Buddha only remains ; the holes wherein the deer and the disciples were fitted alone remain.

6—A metal image of Mother Earth (Vasundharī) wringing her hair, 5"; seated Burmese fashion. Seated figures of Vasundharī are scarce in Burma.

7—A metal Buddha, 6", in the bhūmisparça-mudrā; sitting under the Mucalinda tree; he is protected from the rain by the Serpent-King Mucalinda, expanding his hood over him. In front, a small square tank in which are a tortoise and a fish.

8—A small metal Buddha, 3", standing upright, the arms pressed closely against his sides and thighs; the figure stands at the extreme end of an oblong pedestal, 3½" long, which represents the caṅkamana, or covered walk.

9—A metal figure, 3"; the body is nude down to the waist, and from the waist clad in a flowing garment covering the feet; left forearm is broken off; the right hand holds what appears to be a sword with the end broken off, behind the head and horizontally to the shoulders, as in the act of striking or decapitating; the headgear is a kind of high bonnet such as were worn by Burmese high dignitaries.

10—A figure, seated in the bhūmisparça-mudra; in front of the seat are three elephant heads; at the back, on each side of the figure, two makaras (sea monsters) and between them a yakkha; the cast of countenance is unmistakably Indian; the elaborate headdress points to the figure being the Bodhisattva.

11—A white marble Burmese lady, 12"; standing erect, with both hands brought together on the top of her chignon, in the act of adoration.

12—A small clay tablet, 4"×2", the Buddha, in the attitude of meditation, is on a seat supported by three elephants.

13—A clay tablet, 5"×3", with a figure sitting with both legs hanging down, European fashion; the left hand is resting on the lap and the right brought up to the level of the shoulder; on each side, a standing figure, and on each of these again a smaller figure, seated, Indian-wise. The whole is very much eroded and defaced, as if under the action of dripping water.

14—A clay tablet, 4½"×2½", with a small figure seated on a throne in perfect European fashion; the hands are held before the chest in the attitude of teaching (Cakra-mudrā); on each side three stūpas; below the throne, on each side of the feet, three lines of inscription in very small and faint letters. Right under the feet is what appears to be the wheel (Cakra).

15—A fragment of a votive brick, broken diagonally, 5"×4½" the brick has a recess or niche ½ inch deep, in which is represented seated on a throne in the bhūmisparça-mudrā,

the last Buddha, Sakyamuni, with, around him, the Buddhas that preceded him, of whom 15 are visible ; there are letters between the heads of the smaller Buddhas, and a line of inscription at the bottom. On the reverse another inscription in archaic characters, in Pali, about half of which is missing.

16—A square panel of clay, 1'3"×1'2"×2" ; representing the principal scene of the Cullasetṭhi-jātaka (1) ; half the head of Cullasetṭhi is broken off, and that of the poor man who became so rich entirely missing. On the top is the inscription : " Cūlasetṭhi-jātaka."

As has been already said, these objects may form the subject of a paper in a subsequent number of the journal. Unfortunately, much of the interest of the objects in the second list is lost owing to Bishop Bigandet not having left any note as to the places in which they were found.

C. D.

Remarks made by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Offg. Director-General of Archaeology, in the Visitors' Book of the Shwe-Kugale Pagoda, Pegu, on the 6th February, 1912.

I am delighted to note how much money is being spent by pious Buddhists on the upkeep and restoration of their religious buildings. I may, perhaps, express the hope that, in works of this kind, the old examples should be followed and that they should be made to benefit the indigenous architectural and decorative arts. These arts, especially that of wood-carving, have produced so much that is beautiful that it would be a thousand pities to abandon them and to follow European or semi-European examples. Art and religion are very closely connected. The one serves to give the other, as it were, a visible shape which makes it possible for the faithful to worship the invisible in the visible. Religion is still a great living force in Burma and I sincerely hope that it will remain so. It is only a living religion which can execute and maintain a great living art.*

1. For the story see *The Jatakas*, Fausböll Vol. 1, 120 ff ; and its translation in Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Birth Stories*, 168 ff ; also the Cambridge translation, Vol. 1, by R. Chalmers, p. 19 ff.

* Communicated by Mr. Taw Sein Ko, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma.

REVIEWS.

"A GUIDE TO THE STUDY OF SHAN."

Some time ago there came to my table a copy of a book with the above title, prepared by Major F. Bigg-Wither. I was glad to see it, for I had long known that such a book as this appeared to be was needed. Turning to the Preface, I learned that the book was designed for beginners as "a basis on which to start" and as an aid "in reading up for examinations." The purpose was to produce "a compendium of Shan as she is spoke." In other words, the author aimed to give real help from the first easy lessons in Shan to a reasonable mastery of this difficult language.

A book of such large pretensions naturally awakened high expectations. Whether these were, or were not, met will soon appear. Turning over a page, I found that the vowel sounds had not been given with sufficient care in every case. The difference between the open and the closed tones should have been clearly distinguished, and the last vowel should not have been misrepresented "as *ug* in *dug*." It is a pure vowel sound and is misrepresented by any consonant whatever. This however is a slight defect that could be easily corrected in a new edition.

The following fifteen pages are covered with grammatical rules, largely re-written from Dr. Cushing's Shan Grammar. That cut and dried grammatical rules, set off by themselves, are of any great value in a work of this kind is more than doubtful. No one but an idiot would sit down and commit them to memory like a parrot, and no one, not already acquainted with Shan usage, could apply them without aid. In a book of this kind, the grammatical structure, the idioms, the helps over hard places, should be given in connection with the sentences, whenever and wherever needed. To learn the grammar of a language first and then build up a knowledge of the language on that basis was once considered a good teaching method; but that day has gone by. No one can learn a new language so quickly as a little child, and the nearer adults approach the child's method the quicker will they learn. Cut and dried grammatical rules may be formulated later, if any one has use for them. I may therefore say again that such rules, set off by themselves, are of little value in a book like this. If we must have them, they should at least be accurate.

These are not in every instance.

Take, for a sample, what is said on "Syntax," page 17.

"The construction of sentences and the arrangement of the words therein differs markedly from English usage, in that Shan sentences, like Burmese, are much longer than in English; and not only is there in Shan this absence of short sentences but the use of the word *and* so much used in English to connect sentences rarely obtains in Shan."

This is not an accurate statement of the facts. If Shan sentences are longer than in English (which is doubtful) it is because they make large use of compound sentences and connect them by this very word *and*. One does not need to go far afield to show this. To do so it is necessary only to turn to the author's own translation of his first petition, page 102, and count the *ands* in the English and in the translation which he gives.

The next remark on syntax is peculiar: "Shan differs from Burmese in that the verb is not commonly put at the end of the sentence but comes *in its natural place*." According to this the position of the verb in Burmese is unnatural, even to a Burman. The author is quite correct in saying that the verb does not come at the end of the sentence, but precedes its object usually, though not always.

What is said of the Shan literature is in the main correct, but it is an exaggerated statement. There is little modern literature, and it is not quite true that the old literature "is crammed with meaningless words." The words have meaning, except to men who do not understand them.

In his last statement on syntax, the author repeats the old blunder "that practically every letter in the Shan alphabet is but a slightly modified form of the Burmese character." They are not Burman characters modified, and never were; they are Shan characters modified by Burman influence in the regions next to Burma—this is quite a different statement, and the proof of it is conclusive.

Here we have four statements on syntax, and not one of them is strictly accurate. This gives me the suspicion that the author is not speaking from full and accurate knowledge. Can it be possible that he is like "Globe-trotters" who write of the character and customs of a people through whose country they quietly pass, with a kodak? What I have seen thus far has the look of snap-shots taken by moon-light. Let us keep up our spirits and see whether there is anything better farther on.

Unfortunately the next section of the book gives us but little encouragement. Standing with both feet on those grammatical rules, we are invited to strip and plunge into a sea of one thousand six hundred and fifty sentences, and practically told that we will come upon the other side with

a knowledge of Shan between our teeth. We look in vain for any application of those rules whatever. We are not first taught to swim, stroke by stroke., in shallow water. No easy graded lessons are given. The beginner is asked to do the work of the High School Grade. He is asked to do the impossible. In a book of this kind, this is unpardonable, a sin without forgiveness. This is a defect, but it is not the worst. One certainly has a right to expect the sentences to be accurately translated—and they are not. I have opened the book at random and read the translation of the sentences on page 25. There are twenty eight sentences on this page, of which twenty one are defective—words put in that have no business there, words left out that are absolutely necessary to free the sentence from ambiguity, unidiomatic constructions, and the like—a total of seventy five per cent wrong to twenty five per cent right. Having made this statement, I ought in all fairness to take the time and trouble to prove it. I must therefore run the risk of being tiresome and run through these sentences:—

The first sentence on this page is a question in the English, and an affirmation in the Shan, with one superfluous word. The second sentence, in English, tells us that somebody hawks cloth through a village, and in the Shan says that he did the hawking outside the village. The third sentence is ambiguous in the English ("The railway will come through the Shan States"). It seems to mean that the railway will come through the Shan States and pass out on the other side, but the Shan merely says that the railway train will enter the Shan States. "Ra-hta hpai" in Shan does not mean a railway, but a (railway) train. The fourth sentence will do as it stands. The fifth is frightful. The English says, "I was distant a stones-throw from the accused". The Shan says, "The accused was far from me a stones-throw." That is bad English and it is equally bad in the Shan. It is quite possible that the author took that sentence from a Shan petition just as it stands; but that by no means means that it is good Shan. The testimony of witnesses, rapidly taken down, is often abominable Shan. The first words of the sentence should have read: "Tang tra-hkam tang kao hka kai kan."—The same fault applies to the next sentence. The next sentence, in English, reads, "This boat won by a length." The Shan says, "This boat passed beyond a boat." This is getting too tiresome. What is said of these few sentences is true of them all. It is perfectly safe to say that not far from one thousand of the more than sixteen hundred sentences are defective in one way or another. But the author may say that he took many of these sentences, here

called defective, from Shan petitions and Shan stories, and that therefore they must be right. I am aware that at least some of these sentences, which I call wrong, were taken from Shan writings. In their own connection, as part of the context, they were right; but that does not make them right here. In Shan, as in English, after the thing talked about is clearly understood, many words that can be readily supplied in thought, are omitted. But when these same sentences are taken out of their context and written, as here, in unrelated sentences it is necessary to supply the omitted words. This in some instances apparently was not done. Or the author may say, "I said something to a Shan; then asked him what I said; and he gave me the answer in exactly the words that are given in my book—therefore the sentence, or sentences, so given must be right." On the contrary, the answer might be "a short-cut" and entirely unfit for a book of this kind. But this is not the only defect. These sentences violate practically every rule given in the preceding sixteen pages of "Grammar." This proves what I said about the worthlessness of grammatical rules set off by themselves; even the author of the book himself has not applied them correctly in many instances. If he could and didn't, no criticism can be too severe. If he couldn't, he ought not to have attempted to write "a guide" to the blind.

It is only fair to say that the sentences, in the English, were well chosen and well arranged—and this is all that can be said.

Having come forth from that sea of sentences, naked and hungry so far as any real knowledge of the Shan language is concerned, we are asked to take a plunge into a dense wilderness of two and twenty Petitions, with no road demarcated and with no tree blazed. The reader-up for an examination must force his way through as best he can—in his nakedness and hunger.

Here the author has gone far afield for some of his material; an Aden correspondent is quoted. We are informed in the Preface that "the first 50 petitions are translations of petitions in Wedderspoon and Yeo Wun Sin's 3 volumes of Burmese Petitions. Fortunately this is a mistake—there are only twenty of them. It would have been much better to have used pure Shan petitions, containing words in common use.

The work in translation, in so far as these petitions are translated at all, is better than in the sentences. It is quite possible that the author had a Shan assistant who was familiar with Burmese and who translated these petitions

directly from the Burmese language ; and that the same man was weak in English and made a mess of his translations from that language in the sentences. This is only a fancy of mine ; the author can tell us whether my conjecture is, or is not, true. The most glaring fault in the translation of the petitions is the large element of Burmese words and idioms. While it is true that the Shans have adopted many Burmese legal words and phrases and now use them as Shan terms, so much Burmese as is found here is unnecessary and undesirable. To show this it is needful only to compare these translations with court petitions written in North Hsen-wi, for instance.

It is unfortunate also that practically all of the 200 untranslated petitions were collected in the Southern Shan States. A few petitions from that locality is desirable ; but the bulk of them should have come from the N. S. S., where the Shan is purer.

But why are these petitions here at all ? They are not translated, as Mr. Wedderspoon's were ; neither are they lithographed—which is a far more important matter. They should have been lithographed, giving the hand-writing of various scribes, of various localities. As it is, hand-written petitions that may be had for the asking at political headquarters or of almost any district magistrate would be far more valuable. If the author had translated these petitions and accompanied his translations with accurate and adequate explanations of Shan usage, we might forgive him for failing to have them lithographed ; but these monotonous impressions from cold type are an offence.

The general plan and the teaching method of Mr. Wedderspoon's and Prof. Bridges' Petitions are excellent. That there is a demand for a similar work in Shan for students of the Shan language, there can be no doubt. We thank Major Bigg-Wither for trying to fill the want ; but we must confess that he has failed, and failed badly. A truthful review of his book could be summed up in six words : " Wrong in method ; bad in execution."

The author may think that I have been too drastic in my review. If he does, it is up to him to prove that he is right, and that I am wrong. I assume that the pages of this Journal will be open to him for self defence.

After all, in preparing aids to the study of a language, such as dictionaries, and the book here under review, the chief consideration is not the author's reputation, but the student's time and money. It is quite possible that a worthless book may be flatteringly reviewed in the local Press and mislead men desirous of taking up the study of a certain

language. The loss is great, for they learn, not how the language is written or spoken, but the author's mistakes which it may take them years to correct. There ought to be, if there is not, a competent committee, appointed by Government, through whose hands the manuscript of books of this nature should pass before they are printed and published for public use. The Government give financial aid to aspiring authors getting out books of this nature—and this is well ; but they sometimes give aid for the publishing of worthless books—and that is bad. It would be less harmful to spend surplus funds in making a road to the moon.

The author informs us that he hopes to bring out an English Shan Dictionary. I hope he is qualified to do it ; but he has given no evidence of that in the book here reviewed. A dictionary calls for wide knowledge and scientific accuracy. A few years ago, a Burman brought out an English-Burmese Dictionary that is quite passable—a translation of it by some trained Shan might be better than nothing, a little better. Something more than that is wanted. There can be no possible harm if I say that the best qualified man in Burma to bring out an English-Shan Dictionary is not a man but a woman. I can give her name with pleasure to any one who may want to know.

W. W. COCHRANE.

MAHAYANA SUTRALAMKARA.

The study of Sanskrit Buddhism, that is to say, of Buddhism preserved in the texts written in the Sanskrit language is still under a cloud. The majority of oriental scholars are still of opinion that the oldest form of Buddhism *so far as it is now accessible to us* is preserved only in the books. This is the position formulated by the late Dr. Winternitz. In other words, it is possible that the primitive form of Buddhism may yet have survived the ravages of time unknown to us and may one day come to light. But so far as our present knowledge extends all the books written in Sanskrit are at the very highest, contemporary with the Pali texts. That, however, a very large portion of what is preserved in the Pali Pitakas is identical with the fragmentary portions only recently discovered is equally undoubted. It is so to say a question of time for us to prove the complete identity of Sanskrit and Pali texts. The recent discoveries at Turfan in Chinese Turkistan show

fragments of Sanskrit Nikayas which have been proved closely corresponding to the Pali; and it is not too much to hope that one day an entire book may be brought to light in the Sanskrit language presenting a sister version to Pali. Meanwhile it will take some time to remove that certain amount of suspicion with which the Sanskrit books are looked upon. We cannot therefore welcome too warmly any impartial study of a Sanskrit text contributing to a wider knowledge of the despised books.

Professor Sylven Levi of the College of France edited in the year 1907 a work of great importance from a manuscript procured personally by himself from Nepal and now the learned world is presented with a scholarly translation of this Mahayana Sutralamkara. It is strictly within the bounds of facts that the task could scarcely have been undertaken with greater prospect of success by any other of our living scholars. For while our professors of Pali as a rule rely upon a combined knowledge of Pali and Sanskrit, some only of the European scholars and a few Indians have recently taken to accepting the help afforded by a Tibetan version, and fewer still combine a thorough mastery of these languages with a working knowledge of those unknown languages of Central Asia about the very names of which there has been so much divergence of view. France has from the very first avoided attaching exaggerated importance to Pali. From the note of warning sounded by Foucaux in his translation of the Lalita Vistara the French school of Buddhist investigators has refused to be drawn too far away by the researches however brilliant of English and German scholars. They have neither despised Sanskrit nor Tibetan and have ascribed proper importance to Chinese, the vast store house of Buddhistic lore translated from the Sanskrit, the originals of which have been irrecoverably lost as a body, though beautiful fragments of it have been recently unearthed. It is evident that only a master of all the four extant sources of Buddhism, Pali, Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese can be adjudged to be in opposition to pronounce that final verdict which cannot command confidence when delivered by merely Pali or Chinese scholars however high their authority in their respective spheres. Professor Sylven Levi gives us a Sanskrit Index, a Chinese-Sanskrit vocabulary, and a Tibetan-Sanskrit vocabulary, with their French equivalents of the words of greatest interest to us occurring in the new books.

The Mahayana Sutralamkara was translated into Chinese between 630 and 633 by an Indian called Prabhakara Mitra.

The text has been edited in the Devanagari character and a whole hearted welcome must be accorded to this simple and natural method of editing Sanskrit books. There is some difference of opinion, and perhaps each opinion can be justifiably maintained, as to the superiority of the rival claims of the number of scripts in which Pali was and is written,—Singalese, Burmese, Siamese, Kambodian, Nagari, —but there is no dispute that for a Sanskrit text the best characters are the Nagari alphabet in order to make room for the uncouth Roman letters. The valuable series of stories depicting Buddhist India as it lived and died, though edited by scholars whose names are venerated by all Indians, has remained to a great extent a dead letter to the majority of our *pandits* on account of the Latin alphabet in which the Divyavadana is transcribed.

I have preferred to give the text, says the learned editor, in the Devanagari character in spite of the practical advantages of (Roman) transcription from the stand point of the westerner, and that is because our editions of the Buddhist works may get a chance of reaching a class of readers whom perhaps we do not take sufficiently into consideration. In Nepal itself and even beyond Nepal in the territory, so difficult of access, of the Lamas, we shall thereby be able to provide to the pious an aliment which will become an inducement to scientific investigation or call back to daylight the threatened texts and vivify the progress of knowledge. And very truly the French Savant concludes: The study of Indian languages is no empty exercise of dilettantism, for at the back of our problems of language and philosophy, political history, and religious and social science we must look upon the hundreds of millions of living creatures who unknown to themselves are governed by the principles involved in these problems and whose lot is bound with the solution of these questions.

The text is provided with a kind of running commentary in which the metre, various readings, and philological value of the important words are discussed with terseness and lucidity. These notes must form a valuable asset to the future compiler of a dictionary of Sanskrit Buddhism. Every word in the text which is met with for the first time in Sanskrit has been carefully noted. I have elsewhere given an alphabetical list of these highly interesting vocables.

But if there is one point of view more interesting than another in the domain of the Buddhistic philology it is the parallels, sometimes complete, between a Sanskrit text, and what some scholars insist on calling their Pali proto-types.

Professor Sylven Levi who has, so to say, the Pali pitakas at his fingers' ends at once points to the phrase, sentence or para in a given Sanskrit Tibetan or Chinese work of which the Pali duplicate has long since impressed itself on his retentive memory. For instance the first *pada* of a Sanskrit Shloka at page 82 has been identified by him with a corresponding phrase in the Dhammapada. Here also occurs the celebrated Bharahara Sutra regarding the existence of Soul the irreconcilable presence of which in the texts has often been commented upon. We have long been accustomed to meet with Saddhiviharis in Pali: Here for the first time in the entire body of Sanskrit literature known to us we come across the corresponding Sardhamvihari. In Pali the word Sammosa is familiar to us but Sammosha occurs for the first time at page 186.

The translation is preceded by a scholarly introduction and is followed by seven indexes. In the Mahayana-Sutralamkara there are undeniable traces of an idiom which must have been colloquial and of a living speech in that species of Sanskrit which is represented by this work of Northern Buddhism. These Buddhist books testify to the scant courtesy with which the iron rules of Panini were regarded by non-Brahmanic writers. We have been so much accustomed almost from our early childhood to take Panini as the only model of the Sanskrit grammarians that any deviation from his stringent algebraical formulae jar on our ears. But the Buddhist Sanskrit books are an evidence that there were grammarians other than Panini who were followed, and followed by a large number of readers, who did not identify literary elegance with Panini's aphorisms. It was not before 2 or 3 centuries subsequent to Asanga that the Sanskrit grammar of the Buddhist philologist Candragomi began to betray traces of the capitulation of Buddhism to the rigorous exactitude of the Brahmanic style.

It is the Samyukta Agama in Sanskrit, corresponding to the Pali Samyutta Nikaya, which seems to have furnished the author of the Mahayana Sutralamkara with the largest number of texts on which to base the exposition of his faith. The next ancient collection in his estimation was, to judge from our book, the Sanskrit ekottara, the replica of the southern Anguttara. Three of the Sutras adduced in our book have their perfect parallels in the Pali.

The influences to which the doctrine expounded by Asanga was subjected have been traced by Professor Sylven Levi to Zoroastrianism as well as to Manicheism. Perhaps in a future edition or in a separate dissertation the learned

Professor will enlighten us in detail on this question affecting nearly all Asia and some parts of Europe. How much of Asanga coincides with the teachings of Descartes to whom a passing allusion is made is also worth a wider investigation. The notes to the translation are arresting in their interest and none too long. The few lines by way of notes on the celebrated Anagatabhaya contain the nucleus of a fascinating treatise on the beginnings of Buddhism. At page 10 we have a clear canonical definition of the vexed term *Buddhavacana*, the Word of the Buddha. Perhaps the most important note contributing to the solution of the alleged priority of Pali over Sanskrit lies in the valuable discovery made by Professor Sylven Levi that the word *gotra* in its technical sense has been retained in Pali whereas in its original significance it is represented by the proper philological equivalent *gotta*. Our text embodies a treatment of the problem of the existence of the Buddha after his Nirvana. It is delightful to compare the Sanskrit passage with its Pali analogue. The original Sanskrit representative has been happily unearthed by the Grunwedel Mission in Central Asia,—one additional proof that the *Buddhavacana* did exist in its entirety in the Sanskrit language and at a very early period. The whole of the 11th Chapter has parallels in Pali books and is worthy of a special separate exposition on the lines so liberally indicated by the learned translator out of the fullness of his knowledge. One whole Shloka at page 141 has been brought back to life again from its present mutilated manuscript position with the help of the extant faithful Tibetan version,—an evidence of the thorough trustworthiness and the high importance of Tibetan translations. So far from the study of Sanskrit Buddhistic work being barren of result, the text and translation of the *Mahayana Sutralamkara* with the valuable running commentary with which they are elucidated are a brilliant triumph of the Sanskrit school in as much as in dozens of places they supply a key which alone unlocks the meaning hidden in obscure Pali phraseology which generations of Pali commentators and glossators and exegetes had failed rightly to rightly to expound.

G. K. N.

SIX BUDDHIST NYAYA TRACTS.*

Early Buddhism rested on reason. Nothing was taken for granted and the flaws in the theological syllogisms of

* Six Buddhist Nyaya Tracts in Sanskrit edited by Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, M. A., Vice President, Asiatic Society of Bengal.

the Brahmans and Jains were mercilessly exposed. The gods and the goddesses, the titular deities and the heavenly powers, dear to the heart of an intelligent but not over-scrupulous priesthood, were the peculiar butt for the shafts of Buddhist heretics. The most interesting portion indeed of the scriptures of the various contending creeds of India contemporaneous with the rise and the *floruit* of Buddhism would seem to be the controversies, the intellectual wrestles, between their respective protagonists. The value and importance of the one *sutta* in the Majjhima Nikaya in which the Buddha enters into an argument with and finally converts a favourite disciple of Nataputta himself was early recognised by the great Feer. It would be surprising if the followers of such a system of philosophy reared mainly on pure reason did not have schools of logic of their own. Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri has recently edited six tracts which are in Sanskrit, the medium of all learning and the universal instrument of intellectual warfare in pre-Moslem India. One of the tracts undertakes to refute in succession the Brahmanical treatises by Kumarila, Trilocana, Nyayabhushana, Vacaspati Misra and Dharmottara. In another treatise Pandita Asoka combats the theory of the eternal relation between the part and the whole. "The whole," he argues, "is nothing but a collection of parts and has no separate existence whatever; and if it has no independent existence the eternal relation is only a myth." Another work, the *Samanya-dushana-dik-prasarita*, opposes the Brahmanical Naiyayika principle of *Samanya* or "generality as a singular and all-prevading eternal category of knowledge." Every one has five fingers and they are distinctly perceived. The sixth finger as an unknown entity is common to all. "He who sees a sixth sees a horn on his own head."

The texts printed in beautiful clear type are introduced by an all too brief preface. Perhaps the learned Shastri will give a more elaborate and popular account of his laborious yet none the less interesting studies in a future edition.

G. K. N.

"THE STORY OF WUNZIN MIN YAZA."

The above is the title of a new book in Burmese written by U Maung Maung, lately editor of the *Myanma Magazine* and now Principal of the Buddhist Commercial School, and printed at the *Tain Lon Zambu Press*, 26th Street; price Rs. 1-8.

The book is not quite what its title implies, that is, it is not exactly a work of imagination, a novel ; it is rather a biography, a branch of literature almost unknown in Burma, if we except, perhaps, the Buddha's life, and this barely comes under the head of biography. For Min Yaza is one of the best known, one of the noblest and purest figures in Burmese history. What was known of him up to the present was rather scanty ; it was known as a certainty that he had been the much prized and respected adviser of three Kings of Ava : Min Gyizwa Sawke, Trahpya Kyi and Pathama Min Khaung ; and all the short notices on his life, the principal of which is to be found in the preface to the very popular work known as Maniratana Pon Kyam (မင်္ဂလာတနာပုံကျမ်း), begin only at the meeting of Min Gyizwa Sawke and of the then poor and unknown hero of the present book at the Mithila Lake, which made the fortune of Min Yaza and added to the glory and lustre of three reigns ; before that, practically nothing was known of his life, beyond the fact that he was the son of a poor, but rather well read man ; that he was endowed with uncommon intelligence, common sense and learning and that he did much to soften the unruly, arrogant dispositions of those three sovereigns, of the two last of whom he was the tutor. If we are to believe the notices referred to above, and there is no reason why we should not, he did much for the prosperity of the country, and saved several precious lives by soothing the fierce anger of his royal masters. His instructions or advices to Min Gyizwa Sawke and the two princes who succeeded him have been collected, arranged and published in 1781 A. D., by a monk known as Candalanka, under the title of Maniratana Pon Kyam, a little over four centuries after his death. All that is known, from his elevation to his death being public property and well known, the author of the work before us treats only of that part of Min Yaza's life that was less, or rather, not at all known to the great majority of the Burmese. It is this fact which makes the book interesting, and doubly so, when it is considered that this biography, if this work may be so called, is the result of several years of patient and careful research, which necessitated visiting many towns and villages, and collating with care the different traditions still living in the memory of the people in all those places. The author, then, had practically no manuscripts to rely upon ; all that he tells us of his hero's earlier life is merely a collection, arranged and divided into appropriate chapters, of popular traditions. This alone ought to make the book valuable, for these traditions are over five hundred

years old, and such unwritten history, or may be historical fables have, everywhere, a glamour and pathos that appeal always to the imagination and to the child that always survives in us ; moreover these traditions, whatever their source and their 'vraisemblance' or their lack of it, are real enough and true to the simple folk who have perpetuated and developed them, and to them at least, it is undeniable history. In the circumstances under which the book has been written, it is naturally very difficult, if not impossible to know how much of real history these traditions contain, although, probably, they contain a certain amount of it, but which cannot be judged by any canons of historical criticism ; for all these stories have no doubt increased in details through the five centuries of their existence.

C. D.

"THE RELIGION OF THE IRANIAN PEOPLES."

The little volume bearing the above title consists of the translation from the French and German of three works of very unequal length, the principal of which, the one which has given its name to the whole book, covering 147 pages out of a total of 210 ; it is the well-known work of C. P. Tiele, one of the foremost scholars on the religion of Iran and the antiquities of the Iranian peoples, whose death was a great loss to this sphere of comparative religion and philology. The translator is Mr. G. K. Nariman, who has added to his translations two appendices ; printed at the British India Press, and published by the Parsi Publishing Co., Bombay.

The translator, in his preface, tells us that the great expounder of the Avesta, J. Darmesteter, "to whom our community is indebted for more than a complete rendering of our scriptures in a European language, erred in holding that the whole of our Avesta writings are not older than the Sasanian period in the form in which they have been transmitted to us and that they betray foreign influences, Brahmanical, Buddhist, Greek and Jewish," and proceeds in quoting the name of some eminent scholars who have refuted this view ; but it would appear that, as far at least as the age of the Avesta in its present form is concerned, some other eminent scholars, founding their faith upon internal evidence, are still of the same opinion as J. Darmesteter, as appears from the recent work written in collaboration by Messrs. F. C. Andreas and J. Wackernagel, "Die Vierte

Gatha des Zurathusthro" (Josno 31), and the latest number of the *Journal Asiatic* to hand (November-December 1911), p. 638 ff., which both seem to have appeared after Mr. Nariman wrote his preface; I shall not enter here upon a discussion on the subject, suffice it to say that the question whether the whole of the Avesta texts are or are not anterior to the Sasanian period is still an open question amongst European scholars, and that it requires more philological researches to be settled for or against, although, as is usual in all such cases, there are two distinct camps of earnest workers, one for and the other against such anteriority, both putting forward good and strong reasons.

We do not know exactly who it is that, to use the translator's words "indulge in cheap sarcasm at the expense of the much-motoring, much-beclubbing, theatre-going, racing, sporting section of the latter—Parsis to whom a book on philological and religious antiquities is bound to prove a violent soporific," and with whomsoever indulges in such energetic sarcasms, which the translator indignantly condemns, we do certainly not agree, for some Parsis have made unto themselves a very honorable name in this field of Oriental scholarship, as not a few Oriental periodicals in Europe and the earnest work of the Bombay Gatha Society amply testify; such sarcasms, surely, are applicable only to the majority of a community, and not to the whole of it; would not, for instance, such a work as one of the kind referred to in the above quotation, prove a "violent soporific" to the great majority of Buddhists in Burma? Would it not prove so as to a vast number of Christians?

The work of Tiele, the first part only of which is translated in this book, is one of the very best expositions up to now written on the Iranian religion and, though simple and brief, yet very complete and scholarly; it was Tiele's intention that it should be read by the Parsis themselves and not only by Europeans, hence the reason of this translation into English of Mr. Nariman, from the German translation of the original Dutch. To all Parsi gentlemen this work should be welcome indeed, as well as to all others interested in this, one of the oldest religions of the world, closely allied (not derived from) that of the Veda and a few traces of whose very influence have been discovered in some parts of northern Europe.

The sketch of Goldziher on "The Influence of Parsism on Islam," also translated in this volume (pp. 163-182) and the translator's Note thereon, will prove most interesting reading to all earnest Musulmans and open to those among them with a turn of mind for serious research work a field

almost virgin yet and which, to them, cannot fail to be of surpassing interest. Of general interest, though short and scholarly, is the masterful "Persia, a Historical and Literary Sketch" by J. Darmesteter (pp. 187-210), divided into two great periods, the first from the beginning to the end of the Arab conquest and the second from the Arab conquest down to our own days.

This little volume will also be of interest to Buddhists, if only for the translator's "Appendix to Chapter XVII., Some Buddhistic Parallels." Most Buddhists, excepting perhaps a few endowed with larger and advanced views, will disagree with Mr. Nariman's words in his preface when referring to the above mentioned appendix: "To make Gautama the Buddha a strict vegetarian when he put little restraint on animal food, when he ate freely of it, and when as a matter of religious tradition, handed down from hoary antiquity, and believed by millions to-day, his last meal in this life consisted of tender pork; to make him the expounder of an esoteric philosophy when he frankly repudiated all that was occult and suspicious and secret; to misrepresent him as the master and practitioner of supernatural potencies when he unequivocally denounced them as unworthy of saintly pursuit; to establish him a leader of psychological subtleties when with unparalleled candour he categorically declined to answer the fixed fourteen questions relating to existence after death,—these are but a few of the ways in respect of a single religion adopted by laymen masquerading as expounders of ancient wisdom and secret doctrines." The appendix itself is not, as the foregoing quotation might perhaps lead one to think, at all controversial; it consists, as its title indicates, merely of parallels between passages and thoughts in the Avesta found also in Buddhist works; they are really interesting, the more so as, so far as I am aware, such parallels are here drawn and presented for the first time, and I would recommend Buddhist gentlemen reading them with attention. At the very beginning of this appendix (p. 148), is found a singular error; the author says referring to the Dhammapada, "I have not at hand the Pali Text Society's edition and quote from the Hanthawaddy Press edition, Burmese character." As a matter of fact, the Dhammapada has never been edited by the Pali Text Society, but only by V. Fausboll, first in 1855 and the second edition in 1900. The book contains a certain number of mistakes in spelling which we hope to see corrected in the second volume, now in the press.

C. D.

"A HAND-BOOK OF INDIAN COMPANIES ACTS."

The above little volume is one which, it is to be hoped may, slowly and unostentatiously, do much good to the Burmese community, for whom it is intended. Lovers of the people of this province have in books and above all through the medium of the local press often deplored the apathy, real or apparent, of the Burmese in matters commercial, and their utter lack of cohesion and concerted effort. The result is that, except for one or two small concerns, the Burmese have allowed not only the Europeans, who are comparatively few, but Indians, who are legion, to steal a march on them and to annex practically all the trading business that is to be done in Burma. They seem to be content, in this respect, to be in a subordinate position, and to allow passively the riches of the soil of which they are the sons to pass into the pockets of foreigners. Such a state of affairs may have been brought about by the conditions obtaining in Burma before the advent of the British, and the almost total ignorance of her people of the science and of the laws, written or tacit of trading on a large scale. There are very few large individual fortunes among the Burmese, so at least Maung Pu, the author of the book, seems to insinuate in his preface; but these ought not to prevent them from awakening to a sense of the dangerous condition their inertia has placed them in, and to a sense of their duty, which is slowly assuming the proportions of the national duty of self-preservation. They may fight against the, at first slow, but now rapid and steady Indian monopoly of almost every form of trade and commerce, by constituting themselves into limited companies formed on a sound legal basis. What one individual cannot often possibly do a number of individuals, bound by the links of national pride and common interest, may very well achieve. But to launch such companies and keep them working successfully, an intimate knowledge of the exact relations between promoters and directors on the one hand, and shareholders on the other, as well as of the laws governing such associations, is required. To impart such knowledge to his countrymen has been the object kept in view by Maung Pu in the useful work before us. The first few pages of his very sensible preface should appeal to all patriotic and intelligent Burmese. Let us hope this heartfelt though homely appeal will not fall on deaf ears. As the title indicates, the book is the collection of the Indian Companies Acts rendered into Burmese. The translator tells us it is no easy thing to put into Burmese legal documents correctly and at the same

time make oneself easily understood by all, even by those who have had no legal training; for such documents necessarily contain many terms which have no equivalent in the language, and sometimes would necessitate long circumlocutions to make them understood. As the volume is intended to be read by the many, the translator has employed as few legal terms as possible, unless they be commonly known and familiar, and has made it a point to render each Act in so simple and clear language that it can be readily understood by anyone; and he has singularly well succeeded. Maung Pu is to be congratulated on the excellence of his performance and the patriotic motives which have inspired it. The book is published at the *Sun Press*, Rangoon; price Rs. 3.

C. D.

JOURNAL of the ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND.*

Vol. XLI, 1911, of the above Journal is, like all its predecessors, very interesting (1) and full of solid information on various tribes and peoples. This number contains a paper by Mr. R. Grant Brown (with 4 plates) on "The Tamans of the Upper Chindwin, Burma", which will make it doubly interesting to residents in this Province; it is, we think, the most comprehensive paper as yet written on this interesting people. A deeper comparative study of their language, with a short grammar, a Vocabulary and, if possible, a few tales and legends in Taman would make a very desirable and valuable volume; it is to be hoped Mr. Grant Brown may find leisure and opportunity to write it.

C D.

PERIODICALS.

Indian Thought, Vol. IV., No. 2, contains: Kavyalan-kara-Sutra of Vamana.—Translation of Khandankhandakhadya.—Translation of the Nyaya-Sutras of Gautama.—Notices of Books.—etc. (See p. 114).

Toung Pao, December, 1911, Vol. XII., No. 5, contains: Le Royaume de Champa, by G. Maspero.—Notions de Grammaire Lo-lo, Dialecte A-hi, by A. Liétard.—Deux

* Published by the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 50, Great Russell Street, London, W. C., price 15/- net.

(1). For contents see lower down, under : Periodicals.

Titres Bouddhiques Portés par des Religieux Nestoriens, by P. Pelliot.—Les Kouo-che ou Maîtres du Royaume dans le Bouddhisme Chinois, by P. Pelliot.—Mémoire sur les Antiquités Musulmanes de Ts'inan-tcheou, by G. Arnaiz and M. van Berchem.—Ein alter Plan der beiden Hauptstädte des ehemaligen Königreiches Chusan, by E. Simon.—Mélanges.—Bulletin Critique.—Bibliographie.—Correspondence.—etc., etc.

Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol. XXV., No. 4, contains: Zum Aufbau von Ezechiel Kap. 20, by D. H. Müller.—Bemerkungen über die vrātya's', by J. Charpentier.—Mitteliranische Studien (II.), by C. Bartholomae.—Eine Alabasterlampe mit einer Ge'ezinschrift, by Grohmann.—Zum Meissner'schen Vokabular in OL.L. 1911, S. 385, by V. Christian.—Reviews.—Miscellaneous.—Notes.—etc., etc.

Epigraphia Indica, January, 1911, Vol. XI., Part I., contains: An Inscription at Devageri, by J. F. Fleet.—Palitana Plates of Simhaditya: the Year 255, by E. Hultzsch.—Saheth-Maheth Plate of Govindachandra (Vikrama): Samvat 1186, by D. R. Sahni.—The Chahamanas of Marwar, Nos. 1-14, by D. R. Bhandarkar.—etc., etc.

Geological Survey of India, Records of the, Vol. XLI., Part IV., contains: The Pegu-Eocene Succession in the Minbu District near Ngape, by G. de P. Cotter.—The Geology of the Henzada District, Burma, by M. Stuart.—The Geology of Lonar Lake, by T. H. D. La Touche.—Miscellaneous Notes.—etc., etc.

Indian Antiquary, February 1912, Vol. XLI., Part 516, contains: Some Unpublished Inscriptions, by D. R. Bhandarkar.—Travencore Archæological Series, by K. V. S. Aiyar.—The Vedic Calendar, by R. Shamasastri.—"Lankikanyanjalī," Two Handfuls of Popular Maxims Current in Sanskrit Literature, collected by G. A. Jacob, by V. Chakravarth.—Asoka's Bhabra Edict and its References to Tipitaka Passages, by D. Kosambi.—Contributions to Punjabi Lexicography (Series III.), by H. A. Rose.—Miscellaneous.—Notes and Queries.—etc., etc.

Indian Antiquary, March 1912, Vol. XLI., Part 517, contains: The Vedic Calendar, by R. Shamasastri.—Miscellaneous.—Notes and Queries.—etc., etc.

Völkerkundliche Notizen aus Oberbirma, I. Die Maring von L. Scherman Mit 3 Tafeln. Vorgelegt am 6 Mai 1911 Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

The Fifth Precept by Bhikkhu Silacara and **Social Service** by Dr. G. R. T. Ross (*Rangoon College Buddhist Association's Publication*).

The Man, Vol. XII., No. 5—May 1912, contains: Anthropological Research in South Africa, by J. G. Frazer.—Note on Stone-walled Kraals by J. P. Johnson.—Kabui Notes (*Diagrams*), by Lieut.-Col. J. Shakespeare.—Stone Adze Blades from Sulopa, by C. G. Seligmann.—Reviews.—Anthropological Notes.—Meetings of the Anthropological Institute.

PUBLICATIONS OFFERED TO THE SOCIETY.

East and West, by David Alec. Wilson, 2 copies.

Old Historical Ballads, by Maung May Oung.

Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. IV., No. 1, Part 1.

Census of India, Vol. IX Parts I—III, by C. M. Webb.

Indian Antiquary, for 1911.

The British Burma Gazetteer, 2 Vols. by H. R. Spearman.

Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States, 5 Vols. by J. G. Scott.

The Chin Hills: (A History of the People, our dealings with them, their Customs and Manners, and a Gazetteer of their Country,) 2 Vols. by B. S. Carey, and H. N. Tuck.

The Silken East (A Records of Life and Travel in Burma) 2 Vols. by V. C. Scott O'Connor.

Burma by Ferrars, Max and Bertha.

The Image of War, or Service on the Chin Hills, 2 copies, by Surgeon Captain A. G. E. Newland.

The Court of Ava in 1855 by Capt. H. Yule.

Journal of an Embassy to the Court of Ava, by J. Crawford.

Across Chryse (Being the Narrative of A Journey of Exploration), 2 Vols. by A. R. Colquhoun.

Our Burmese Wars and Relations with Burma. (Being an Abstract of Military and Political Operations, 1824-15-28, and 1852-53,) by Col. W. F. B. Laurie.

The Karens of the Golden Chersonese by Lieut.-Col. A. R. McMahon.

With the Jungle Folk (A Sketch of Burmese Village Life) by E. D. Cuming.

Mandalay to Momein: (A Narrative of the Two Expeditions to Western China of 1868 and 1875) by J. Anderson.

The Orchids of Burma by Capt. B. Grant.

The Journey of Augustus Raymond Margary by Sir R. Alcock.

Journal of A Residence in the Burman Empire by Capt. H. Cox.

Ralph Fitch by J. H. Ryley.

Two years in Ava. from May 1824 to May 1826.

Life and Travel in Lower Burma by F. G. Aflalo.

The Burman (His Life and Notions) 2 Vols. by Shway Yoe.

Personal Narrative of Two Years' Imprisonment in Burmah, by H. Gouger.

The Second Burmese War (A Narrative of the Operations at Rangoon, in 1852), by W. F. B. Laurie.

A Hand-book of Cottage Industries in Burma, Part I, by "Lanka."

MINUTES.

Minutes of the Meeting of the Council of the Burma Research Society, held at Rangoon College on the 10th November, 1911.

PRESENT.

Mr. M. Hunter, *Vice-President (in the Chair).*

The Right Revd. Bishop Cardot.	Maung May Oung, (<i>Vice-President.</i>)
Mr. Guy Rutledge.	Mr. J. Stuart.
Maung Ne Dun.	Prof. J. F. Smith.

Mr. A. D. Keith, (*Hon. Secretary.*)

1. The minutes of the previous meeting held on Friday, the 4th of August, were read and confirmed.
2. The resignation of the Rev. D. Gilmore was accepted with regret. The Council are glad to know that he will continue to assist the Society with contributions.
3. The following gentlemen were proposed, seconded and elected :—

Major Bigg-Wither, I.A.,
E. F. Baum, Esqr., I.C.S.,
Maung Ba Kyaw, K.S.M.,
C. Otto Blagden, Esqr.
J. C. Habgood, Esqr., *Imperial Police.*
The Revd. Dr. Kelly, *Baptist College.*
Mrs. E. M. Powell-Brown.

BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

In the absence of Mr. Justice Hartnoll on tour, Mr. M. Hunter, vice president of the Society, took the chair at the ordinary meeting of the Burma Research Society held at Rangoon College at 5-30 p.m. on Nov. 10. Twenty-six members were present.

The proceedings commenced with the reading by Dr. G. R. T. Ross of Mr. J. S. Furnivall's paper on the Foundation of Pagan. After pointing out the necessity of acquaintance with the actual physical conditions of a place if we want to anatomise its past, Mr. Furnivall proceeded to give the account of the destruction of old Prome, Thayekettaya,

and the subsequent migrations as it is given in the Hmannan Yazawin. The account describes the quarrels in the year 16 of the Dodorasa era between the two factions, the Pyus and the Kanyans in which at first the Pyus gained the advantage. After, however, the Pyus were left in undisturbed possession of the pagoda they had built to the west of Thayekettaya they quarrelled among themselves and split into three parties. After various foundations from which the Pyus were driven by the Talaings and Kanyans, in the year 29 King Thamodarit commenced to found a city at Yonhlutkyun with nineteen villages each under a headman and King Thamodarit over all. Regarding the third successor of King Thamodarit there is a legend that one Pyu Saw'ti, a descendant of the Tagaung kings, came to Pagan and assisted King Thamodarit against his enemies in reward for which he was given the hand of the king's daughter and in due course succeeded to the throne. The physical aspect of Yonhlutkyun supports the story of its foundation, its situation being exactly that which a party of settlers fearing attack from the river would be likely to choose. Before the capital was finally established at Pagan there were four removals, the first removal taking place under Pyu Saw'ti. The existence of Pyu Saw'ti, however, is combated by Phayre who states that the legend is merely invented to connect the Burman line of kings and the Kshatriya kings of Tagaung. Mr. Furnivall, however, from the architecture at Pagan which indicates nothern influence and from the fact that there seems to have been connection with North India otherwise than by sea is inclined to think that a substratum of truth may underlie the story of Pyu Saw'ti.

Maung May Oung, in the course of a very interesting speech, said that several points of great importance were connected with the founding of Yonhlutkyun. One such point was the date of King Thamodarit. If we can definitely fix the date of King Thamodarit as the year 29 of the Dodorasa era, which is the same as the Saka era and begins in 78 A. D., then we have authority for the antiquity of Prome, an antiquity which has been into question. The Burmese chronicles say that *Thumondari* was the last but two of the Prome dynasty in the year 624 of the religion, reckoning from the death of Buddha in 544 B. C. The fact of Thumondari's having started a new era beginning with the year 2 was mentioned by me. This year 78 A. D. was the year 2 of the new Dodorasa or Saka era. The point is important with reference to recent discussions in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society as to the commencement of the

Buddhist era. When, too, did Buddhism come into Burma? Was the form southern or northern? If Prome is earlier than 107 A. D. then northern Buddhism is out of question because previous to that date there was no cleavage.

With reference to the legend of Pyu Saw'ti there is some ground for the supposition that the legend has some truth in it. An early law-book, called the Pyu Dhammathat, agreeing in dates with the Burmese chronicles, contains provisions that are Indian in nature rather than Burman, as, for example, the distributing of family property to the younger brothers instead of to the widow. Such provisions are only found in other Burmese law-books which are confessedly based on the Pyu law-book. It is noticeable, too, that the Pyu law-book makes provision for only such cases as arise from a very simple and primitive state of life. From the internal evidence of Indian influence contained in this law-book it would seem that a substratum of truth did underlie the legend of the Kshattriya Pyu Saw'ti.

Mr. Rutledge pleaded with the writers of papers not to assume complete knowledge on the part of their audience but to have compassion on the weaker vessels and condescend to explanations which experts might scorn but which would be very welcome to those like himself, whose interest in the subject was greater than their knowledge.

A quotation by Mr. C. R. Dun of a remark that he had recently come across in the Abbe Dubois' works to the effect that in Ceylon it was supposed that Buddhism came from Burma to Ceylon and not vice versa, as generally thought, elicited the explanation from Mr. Nariman that as the Burmese are the best scholars of Abhidhamma or metaphysics and as the study of metaphysics is considered the highest, the Burmese scholars are more respected. This respect for Burmese scholarship may have given rise to the legend in Ceylon that Buddhism came from Burma. There was no historical truth in Mr. Dun's tentative suggestion that an early form of Buddhism may have gone from Burma to Ceylon and returned to Burma in a more developed form.

Dr. Ross said that Mr. Furnivall's paper was interesting as an attempt to base a definite theory on geographical grounds. There was a great deal in the legends which required explanation. *What was the connection between the Pyus and the Burmans?* He believed that certain inscriptions had been found written in what was supposed to be the Pyu language. These, however, referred to a much later date than 107 A. D.—somewhere about 800 or 900 A. D. Might not the incidents referred to in Mr. Furnivall's paper have occurred at a *much later date* and been wrongly

attributed to the earlier date? The back dating of events was a favourite vice of historians of all countries. English history, for example if we were to believe Geoffrey of Monmouth would begin in 1100 B. C. It would seem from the legends that the Burmese kings were leaders of small people. It looked as though the country were divided into a number of small tribes and that by some historical accident that of the Mymmas has given its name to the whole country.

The second paper of the evening, that by the Rev. C. B. Antisdell on "Lahoo Traditions" was read by Professor Storrs. Mr. Hunter expressed the sense of the meeting when he said that the Society should be very grateful to Mr. Antisdell for his very thorough studies of Lahoo language and legend. He also drew the attention of the audience to the parallel between the Lahoo and Karen traditions as presented to the Society in a recent paper by the Rev. Mr. Gilmore. Dr. Ross pointed out the danger of believing too readily in the separate origin of similar traditions. One tribe often borrowed the legends of another. What was true of one tribe passes current as a story in another, and some day what was merely a story is perverted into history.

Refreshments were served in an adjoining room at the end of the meeting.

BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Minutes of the Meeting of the Sub-Committee held at 8 a.m. on the 11th January, 1912, at Rangoon College.

PRESENT.

M. Hunter, Esquire, *Vice-President, (in the chair).*

Mg. May Oung, *(Vice-President,)*

A. D. Keith, Esqr., *(Hon. Secretary).*

1. The Minutes of the Meeting held on the 28th September were read and confirmed.

2. A letter was read from Mr. Morgan Webb who stated that he would be unable to finish his paper before February. In consequence of this communication it was resolved to postpone the Annual General Meeting of the Society to the 9th of February, by which date the second number of the Journal will, it is hoped, be issued. The Honorary Secretary was directed to find out whether this date would be convenient to the President and to Mr. Webb.

3. A letter was read from Mr. J. W. Darwood who stated that he had no objection to the Society's selecting certain books from the list of those he offered, and that he was sending to England for the selected books.

4. A Statement of the Accounts of the Society compiled by the Honorary Treasurer was considered. It was resolved to ask the Honorary Treasurer to be good enough to compile a more detailed statement showing the headings of expenditure and receipt for the purposes of the General Meeting.

5. The draft forms prepared by Mr. Furnivall were considered. The "Notice asking for contributions" was approved; the "Notice of overdue subscriptions" was held back for emendation.

6. The Honorary Secretary was requested to draw up a report for the calendar year 1911.

7. It was decided to cyclostyle a circular containing the names of those of the Committee available for re-election and send it to members of the Society with a request for further proposals of names. Such list when returned to be cyclostyled and handed to those attending the Annual General Meeting for the purpose of voting thereon, if any voting be found necessary.

ALAN D. KEITH,

The 15th January, 1912.

Honorary Secretary.

Minutes of the Meeting of the Committee of the Burma Research Society held on the 8th February, 1912, at Rangoon College.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Harloll, (*in the chair*).

The Hon'ble R. E. V. Arbuth-
not.

Mr. M. Hunter.

Lt.-Col. W. G. Pridmore.

Dr. G. R. T. Ross.

Maung Kin.

Maung May Oung.

Mr. J. G. Rutledge.

Rev. J. Smith.

Mr. J. T. Best.

Mr. C. Duroiselle.

Mr. A. D. Keith, (*Hon. Secretary*).

1. The Minutes of the meeting of the committee held on the 10th November 1911 were read and confirmed.

2. The Report for the year 1911 was read previous to submittal to the Society.

3. The accounts for 1911 were read. It was resolved to ask Maung Set if he would be so kind as to audit the accounts. It was resolved to publish the accounts in the next number of the Journal.

4. Mr. J. T. Best was appointed a member of the Subcommittee in place of Mr. Hunter departing on leave.

5. It was resolved to propose to the Society the names of Sir Richard Temple and Mr. C. O. Blagden as Corresponding Members.

6. The following were elected ordinary members of the Society being duly proposed and seconded.

Mr. A. C. J. Baldwin.
Maung San Pe.

7. The meeting dispersed with a vote of thanks to the chair.

ALAN. D. KEITH,
Honorary Secretary.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The annual general meeting postponed from January, of the Burma Research Society, was held at the Rangoon College on Thursday evening at 5-30 p.m. The following were present: Mr. Justice Hartnoll, President, in the chair, Mrs. Hartnoll, Mrs. G. R. T. Ross, the Bishop of Rangoon, the Hon. Mr. R. E. V. Arbuthnot, Mr. M. Hunter, U. May Oung, Dr. Vogel of the Indian Archæological Department at present on tour in Burma, Father Luce, Lieut-Col. W. G. Pridmore, I. M. S., the Revs. J. F. Smith and W. C. D. Purser, Messrs. Rutledge, Best, Bellars, Taw Sein Ko, Ross, Maung Set, Storrs, Maung Hpay, Khalak, Tun Shein, Maung Kin, Maung Thein Kin, Maung Kun, Thein Han, Duroiselle and Keith.

The first item on the agenda was the reading of the report of the working of the society for 1911. The report was as follows.—Membership: On the 31st December, 1911, the close of the period under report, there was 230 names on the membership roll of the Burma Research Society. The resignations which amounted during the year to ten were compensated for by the elections of 17 new members. We regret to record one death among the Society's members. The loss of the Rev. E. O. Stevens has deprived the Society of a scholar well known for his intimate acquaintance with the country and sympathetic understanding of its inhabitants.

Officers.—The Hon. Mr. Eales having resigned the presidency on his transfer to Mandalay, the Hon. Mr. Justice Hartnoll was elected president. At the meeting held on August 5th, the functions of secretary and editor were divided, Mr. A. D. Keith being appointed to the former, and Mr. C. Duroiselle, who had formerly held both offices, retaining the latter. Meetings and Papers.—Three ordinary meetings of the Society were held during the year. The following papers were read:—Karen Folk Lore (two papers) by the Rev. D. Gilmore; Human Sacrifices in the Upper Chindwin, by Mr. R. Grant Brown; Chinese Antiquities at Pagan, by Mr. Taw Sein Ko; Lahoo Traditions, by the Rev. C. B. Antidel. There was a fair attendance at each meeting. Committee.—The committee and sub-committee have held meetings at regular intervals throughout the year. It has been decided to hold a meeting of the sub-committee every two months. Journal, Periodicals, books.—The first number of the Society's Journal appeared in the first week of July. It was hoped that the second number would have been out before the end of the year, but this hope was not realised. A certain number of Societies have been approached with a view to the exchange of their publications with the Journal of the Society. It is hoped that in time a library may be formed. Mr. J. W. Darwood has kindly promised to present to the Society a collection of books on Burma which will form the nucleus of the library. At present the finances of the Society do not permit of the hiring of a home for a library or the establishment of a reading-room. These along with a number of publications kindly presented by the Government of Burma and private donors will be kept for the present in the Bernard Free Library. A list of these books appeared in the second number of the Society's journal which has just been issued. The thanks of the Society are due to those gentlemen who either as officers, members of the committees, donors of books or authors of articles, helped to promote the objects of the Society.

In the absence of the Hon. Treasurer, U Tun Nyein, the Hon. Secretary read a statement of accounts which showed that since the last statement Rs. 1,960 had been gathered in the shape of subscriptions from 129 members. The balance in hand amounted to Rs. 3990-6-6., out of which sum, however, the present issue of the Society's Journal had to be paid for. Mr. Keith explained that a full statement of accounts, which Mr. Maung Set of the Accountant-General's Office would be asked to audit, would be published in the next number of the Journal. The accounts were passed unanimously.

Mr. Justice Hartnoll was re-elected president of the Society, the Hon. Mr. Arbuthnot, Mr. M. Hunter and U May Oung, vice-presidents ; U Tun Nyein, hon. treasurer. Mr. Duroiselle, hon. editor and Mr. A. D. Keith, hon. secretary. The following were elected members of the committee : the Rt. Rev. Bishop Cardot, Lieut.-Colonel Pridmore, Major E. R. Rost, Captain Ba Ket, the Revs. J. F. Smith and W. C. D. Purser, Messrs. U. Bah Too, Darwood, Rutledge, Shwe Zan Aung, Wedderspoon, Greer, Ne Dun, Maung Kin, Maung Set. The officers of the Society are ex-officio members of the Society.

The president on behalf of the committee moved that Sir Richard Temple and Mr. C. O. Blagden be appointed corresponding members of the Society. The motion was carried, on the proposal of Mr. Rutledge who said that he could imagine no two scholars more fit to be the first corresponding members of the Society than the Author of "The Thirty-Seven Nats," and the well-known Talaing authority. Mr. Taw Sein Ko seconded.

The Hon. Secretary then read Mr. C. O. Blagden's "Notes on Talaing Epigraphy." After pointing out the difficulty for studying Talaing Mr. Blagden went on to show the value of Talaing as the oldest literary vernacular of Burma and perhaps all-Indo-China. From further researches in Talaing it is confidently expected that many discoveries of historical importance will result. Old Talaing is entirely different from modern Talaing, and to a modern speaker of the tongue it seems absolutely unintelligible and phonetically absurd. Talaing can be studied through inscriptions which go as far back as Anawrata. When the Burmese conquered the Talaing country it seems that the Talaings were more civilised than their conquerors. Talaing scribes were used to celebrate the glories of Burmese kings in parts of the country where no Talaing was spoken. At the Ananda Pagoda in Pagan there are glazed tiles with Talaing inscriptions. The key to Talaing inscriptions is furnished by the inscription at the Myazedi Pagoda in Pagan. This inscription is written in Pali, Burmese, Talaing and a language which the writer provisionally conjectures to be Pyu. The Talaing forms can be checked by a comparison with the Pali and Burmese, so we have some idea of Talaing as written circa A. D. 1100 and can use our knowledge to read other inscriptions. In Talaing inscriptions decipherment is easy, interpretation only possible by the comparison of unexplained words as they occur in different contexts. Up to the present there was little material to work with. The great Kalyani inscription at Pegu was important as giving

Talaing of the 15th century A. D. when the language was approaching the modern form. No great new historical facts have come to light as yet but the inscriptions illustrate the civilisation of their times. It is curious that the people are spoken of as "the four castes." The phrase may be conventional but Brahmins and the Vedas are referred to. Linguistically we are shown an alphabet, fuller than Pali, less complete than Sanskrit. Owing to the presence of infixes (*sic*) the old language appears less monosyllabic than the modern. Words in old Talaing seem capable of extension by prefixes. Suffixes are not used. A noticeable feature is the large number of the words derived from Sanskrit through Pali. The influence of Sanskrit on Talaing must have been great some time previous to A. D. 1100. Old Talaing seems much nearer to modern Talaing than it is to the old Cambojan and a very long time must have passed since the original separation of these two languages. This would indicate that these peoples had occupied their respective countries from remote prehistoric times, and that the Siamese and Burmese are of yesterday compared with them. In conclusion Mr. Blagden hoped to supplement these by no means complete notes with fuller and more definite information.

An interesting discussion followed the reading of the paper. To Mr. Rutledge's inquiry whether there was much written or printed Talaing in Burma Mr. Duroisille said that there were a few books printed in Talaing, as, for example, the Gospels, a Thinbongyi, a life of Dr. Judson. In Siam the three Pitakas had been printed in Talaing, as well as a history of Burma called a history of Tenasserim and Gavampati, a Pali distionary, the Abhidanapadipika. In the Bernard Free Library there were something like 340 Talaing manuscripts. Some were transliterations of Pali, others were purely Talaing, poems, stories from the Buddhist scriptures and commentaries. There were also 127 bundles of palm-leaves containing Talaing equivalents for Pali words. It was only by publishing these that we could obtain sufficient materials for a Talaing dictionary. The Talaing in these was the language of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Burma Research Society might make it one of its objects to publish one or two volumes of these Pali-Talaing equivalents. Much had been overlooked in Haswell's book and there was much grammatical material awaiting investigation in the Bernard Free Library. If something were done by the Society, a great reproach would be removed from the English in Burma, as up to now all research in Talaing had been done by foreigners. The

treasures contained in the Bernard Free Library were objects of envy to all the learned world.

Mr. Taw Sein Ko rose to support Mr. Duroiselle's suggestion. Talaing had not flourished ever since the time that Alomptra in the eighteenth century had endeavoured with might and main to destroy the language completely by forbidding Talaing to be spoken and by burning all Talaing manuscripts. Round Thaton and Amherst there were bundles of manuscripts rotting in out of the way caves and occasionally being used by the Karens as firewood. Dr. Forchhammer had saved a great many from destruction. The Government were now encouraging the study of Talaing by offering a reward for those who passed an examination in it. Up to now, however no officer had done so. Libraries, too, were maintained in some villages, for examples, Kado and Kawknat. Talaing was more important than Karen. Talaing had a literature whereas Karen had none. Even the Karen alphabet had been invented by an American, Dr. Mason. Talaing was about the oldest language. The Myazedi inscription dated from 1084 and was written in Burmese, Talaing Pali and Pyu. Estampages of another inscription in the Pyu character, found at Hmawza, had been sent to Mr. Blagden who, it was interesting to recall, had been led to assist the Burma Archæological Department in this way as the result of meeting Mr. Shearme at Lausanne. The Kalyani inscription was dated 1476. It was set up by king Dhammacheti. The apostolic succession of the Buddhist priesthood had been disturbed. Anxious to perpetuate the correct succession from Buddha Dhammacheti had sent over to Ceylon. The inscription gives a *resumé* of Buddhism in Ceylon, Southern India and Burma. There are a number of archaic words in the inscription which stand midway between modern. Talaing and Talaing of the eleventh century. There was no inscription anterior to Anawrata. He hoped that Mr. Blagden would continue his researches, as it is from Talaing that we may some day hope to arrive at a fuller history of the Indo-China peninsula.

U May Oung asked whether any comparison had been made between Talaing and some of the scripts of Southern India, an investigation which might well be made. Mr. Justice Hartnoll asked whether Talaing did not come rather from the East than the West. In reply to this Mr. Taw Sein Ko said there was a difference of opinion. Some said Talaing came from India, some from Cambodia—the Talaings being ethnically related to the Combodians. One idea was that the Talaings came from round Chota Nagpore, where there were several distinct tribes like the Bhils, and

the Santals. The Kasias in Assam and the Palaungs were linguistically connected with the Talaings and it was thought that they were struggling tribes left behind when the Talaings came over from India. They seem to have settled at Myanaung in Anawrata's time. The Pyus were at Prrome and the Burmans in the north with a capital at Pagan. It may provisionally be said that they came from India.

The Rev. Mr. Purser said that he understood that at Pegu inscriptions had been discovered which were of a later date than the Kalyani inscription. Mr. Taw Sein Ko said that the inscriptions were in a poor condition. Rubbings, however, would be sent to Mr. Blagden.

Dr. Ross suggested that following up Mr. Duroiselle's proposal, someone should be set at work to make a vocabulary of Talaing from the material in the Bernard Free Library. The Society existed for this sort of thing, and to urge the Government to take care of every thing antique. Was anything being done to preserve the inscriptions half way up the pagoda? Mr. Taw Sein Ko replied that he would write to the Pagoda Trustees about these inscriptions which were of Dhammacheti's time. He suggested that Mr. Duroiselle should find out from Pak Lat near Bangkok where they had a fount of Talaing print the cost of printing a proportion of the Bernard Free Library palm-leaves and then Government should be approached for a suitable subsidy.

Mr. Justice Hartnoll thought that the meeting might instruct the sub-committee to look into the matter. On Mr. Rutledge's suggestion it was agreed that the instruction should be informal, no resolution being considered necessary.

With a vote of thanks to Mr. Blagden for his paper, the meeting dispersed. Refreshments were provided in an adjoining room.

BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Minutes of the Meeting of the Sub-Committee of the Burma Research Society held at the Rangoon College on Monday the 1st April 1912 at 8 a.m.

PRESENT.

U May Oung, *Vice-President (in the Chair.)*
 J. G. Rutledge, Esqr. | C. Duroiselle, Esqr.
 A. D. Keith, Esqr. (*Honorary Secretary.*)

1. Minutes of the Meeting held on the 11th January, 1912 were read and confirmed.
 2. With reference to the proposed printing of the Talaing MSS in the Bernard Free Library Mr. Duroiselle kindly undertook to investigate the possibility of having the surplus remaining from the Government grant for the copying of the MSS transferred to their printing. It was arranged that Mr. Duroiselle should lay the facts as to this surplus before a Meeting of the Committee to be called towards the end of May.
 3. It was arranged to have an Ordinary Meeting of the Society on the Second Friday in June.
 4. It was agreed to have some copies of the original letter describing the object of the Society (which was circulated before its formation) re-printed.
 5. It was resolved to recommend to the Committee that members be allowed to speak either in Burmese or English at the Ordinary Meetings of the Society.
 6. U May Oung suggested the possibility of the Society's holding a conversazione sometime in August and adumbrated a scheme which was postponed for further consideration.
 7. The Sub-Committee decided to ask the Committee to delegate to them their powers of electing members. A list of possible members suggested by U Bah Too was ordered to be circulated to the Committee in order that these members, if approved, might be elected as soon as possible.
 8. It was decided to print a form of proposal for membership.
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STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

On the 1st February 1911, the date on which the last statement of accounts was submitted, there was a balance in hand of Rs. 3,269/0/6. Since then a sum of Rs. 120/- has been collected in the shape of annual subscriptions from eight members. A sum of Rs. 925/10/0 was expended in printing and other charges during the period from the 1st. February 1911 to the 31st. July 1911. So there is a balance in hand of Rs. 2463/6/6.

*Dated Rangoon,
the 1st, August 1911.*

TUN NYEIN,
*Hony. Treasurer,
Burma Research Society.*

ACCOUNTS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Income.		Outgo.	
	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.
<i>February, 1911.</i>		<i>February, 1911.</i>	
Balance in hand	.. 3,269 0 6	..	.. 34 0 0
		Balance in hand	.. 3,235 0 6
		Total Rs.	.. 3,269 0 6
<hr/>		<hr/>	
<i>March, 1911.</i>		<i>March, 1911.</i>	
Balance in hand	.. 3,235 0 6	..	.. 35 12 0
Subscriptions from 2 members	.. 30 0 0	Balance in hand	.. 3,229 4 6
		Total Rs.	.. 3,265 0 6
<hr/>		<hr/>	
<i>April, 1911.</i>		<i>April, 1911.</i>	
Balance in hand	.. 3,229 4 6	..	.. 34 0 0
Subscription from a member	.. 15 0 0	Balance in hand	.. 3,210 4 6
		Total Rs.	.. 3,244 4 6

ACCOUNTS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.—continued.

Income—continued.		Outgo—continued.	
	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.
<i>May, 1911.</i>		<i>May, 1911.</i>	
Balance in hand ..	3,210 4 6	Balance in hand ..	75 14 0
			3,134 6 6
		Total Rs. ..	3,210 4 6
<hr/>			
<i>June, 1911.</i>		<i>June, 1911.</i>	
Balance in hand ..	3,134 6 6	Balance in hand ..	40 0 6
			3,094 6 0
		Total Rs. ..	3,134 6 6
<hr/>			
<i>July, 1911.</i>		<i>July, 1911.</i>	
Balance in hand ..	3,094 6 0	Balance in hand ..	705 15 6
Subscriptions from 5 members ..	75 0 0		2,463 6 6
		Total Rs. ..	3,169 6 0

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

On the 1st August, 1911, the date on which the last statement of accounts was submitted there was a balance in hand of Rs. 2463/6/6. Since then a sum of Rs. 1960/- has been collected in the shape of subscriptions from 129 members. A sum of Rs. 433/- was expended as shown in the annexure. So there is a balance in hand of Rs. 3990/6/6.

*Dated Rangoon,
The 23rd January, 1912.*

TUN NYEIN,
*Honorary Treasurer,
Burma Research Society.*

Checked
MAUNG SET,
17/5/12.

ACCOUNTS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

ACCOUNTS.

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Income.	Rs.	A.	P.	Outgo.	Rs.	A.	P.
<i>August, 1911—</i>							
Balance in hand				Clerk's pay and Peons' pay for 7/11..	36	0	0
Subscriptions from 57 members ..	2,463	6	6	Purchase of ½ anna postage stamps	36	13	0
	855	0	0		72	13	0
Total Rs. ..	3,318	6	6	Balance in hand	3,245	9	6
				Total Rs. ..	3,318	6	6
<i>September, 1911—</i>							
Balance in hand				Clerk's pay and Peons' pay for 8/11	36	0	0
Subscriptions from 17 members ..	3,245	9	6	Expenditure incurred in connection with the 3rd General Meeting of the Society held on the 4-8-1911 ..	58	0	0
	255	0	0		94	0	0
Total Rs. ..	3,500	9	6	Balance in hand	3,406	9	6
				Total Rs. ..	3,500	9	6
<i>October, 1911—</i>							
Balance in hand				Clerk's pay and Peons' pay for 9/11	36	0	0
Subscriptions from 9 members ..	3,406	9	6	Cost of 1 almiraah ..	13	8	0
	135	0	0		49	8	0
Total Rs. ..	3,541	9	6	Balance in hand	3,492	1	6
				Total Rs. ..	3,541	9	6

ACCOUNTS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY—continued.

Income—continued.

November, 1911—	Rs.	A.	P.
Balance in hand ..	3,492	1	6
Subscriptions from 12 members ..	160	0	0
Total Rs. ..	<u>3,652</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>

[2 members paid subscriptions, (viz. Rs. 5/- each) for rest of the year 1911].

December, 1911—

	Rs.	A.	P.
Balance in hand ..	3,587	7	6
Subscriptions from 13 members ..	190	0	0
Total Rs. ..	<u>3,777</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>

Outgo—continued.

November, 1911—	Rs.	A.	P.
Clerk's pay and Peons' pay for 10/11	36	0	0
Postage stamps ..	5	0	0
Correction slips ..	8	8	0
Stationary ..	15	2	0
Total Rs. ..	<u>64</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>
Balance in hand ..	3,587	7	6
Total Rs. ..	<u>3,652</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>

December, 1911—

	Rs.	A.	P.
Clerk's pay and Peons' pay for 11/11	36	0	0
500 envelopes, printed ..	4	8	0
Telegram to Mr. FURNIVAL ..	0	6	0
Cooly hire to carry almirah ..	0	8	0
Cooly hire to carry aerated waters ..	0	4	0
Gharry hire ..	1	4	0

ACCOUNTS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY—continued.

Income—continued.

December, 1911—continued.

(2 paid for the rest of the year and
1 for 2 years).

	RS.	A.	P.
<i>January, 1912—</i>			
Balance in hand	3,730	8	6
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*For the Investigation and Encouragement of Arts, Science
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BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY'S JOURNAL.

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SOME NOTES ON THE BURMA CENSUS.

When Mr. Morgan Webb was selected as Census Superintendent, those of us who knew his keen interest not only in the Burmese people but in the study of the various economic forces at work in the Province, his driving energy and clear understanding, could not help recognising how admirable was the Local Government's choice. And now that the fruit of his two years' toil lies before us in three bulky volumes we feel that our sanguine anticipations have been fully realized, that a public document has been produced which must be consulted and studied by every man concerned with the public life of this Province. Of the three volumes, the third is in the nature of a last will and testament to his successor in 1920, and the second consists of tables of statistics. With the first alone are we concerned here. It would be impossible within the compass of this paper to touch on the various matters of interest which Mr. Webb discusses or suggests in the twelve chapters of the first volume. All that I propose to do is to touch upon a few of the outstanding features and to see what bearing they have upon the life and prospects of the Burmese people.

At page 245 of the first volume we come across the following:—"It is a fundamental article of belief with the majority of Europeans in Burma that the Burmese race is doomed and is bound to be submerged in a comparatively short time by the hordes of immigrants who arrive by every steamer from India. There are many facts which appear to provide good grounds for this belief, but it is entirely unsupported by the Census returns." If you ask me what is the outstanding feature of the Census I would answer that it is the decisive negative which it gives to this widely spread belief.

The increase of the Indian population during the decade under review is given at 205,000. The increase of the Burmese race in the same period amounts to 970,000; and if the other indigenous races of the Province—Shans, Karens, Chins and Kachins—are added, the increase becomes 1,500,000.

No doubt the percentage of increase at first sight suggests some grounds for the prevailing belief as the percentage of increase of the Indian population is 32.42, the Burmese 14.91, and the Burmese with the other indigenous races 15.73. This rate of increase would no doubt be

serious if the aggregate total populations of the competitors were nearly equal. But an increase of 205,000 making the total Indian population 838,000 does not point to a rapid submergence of the indigenous races with a total population of 11,125,000.

But the Indian increase as compared with the previous decade is slackening, as shown by a consideration of its two main constituents, the Hindu and the Mahomedan. During 1891-1901 the Hindu increase was 112,000 or 65 per cent. During 1901-11 it was 104,000 or 36 per cent. During 1891-1901 the Mahomedan increase was 86,000 or 34 per cent. During 1901-11 it was 81,000 or 24 per cent. But in neither case do these numbers represent a permanent settlement of that number of people in the country, as can be tested by the disparity between the sexes. Of the Hindus in Burma in 1911 306,000 were males and only 75,000 females. The excess 231,000 are either temporary immigrants, (for the most part coolies) who will return to their country after a period of sojourn. The few who remain, if they marry, must marry Burmese wives, and in that event will become cut off from their caste, if they have any, and in a generation or two they or their offspring will be absorbed in the Burmese race. Turning to the Mahomedans we find that in 1911 they consisted of 271,000 males and 149,000 females or a disparity of 122,000. But the Mahomedan total includes 149,000 from the Arracan Division, where there has been for generations a more or less indigenous Mussalman settlement and where the sexes are nearly equal. If this element is subtracted from the Mahomedan total the disparity between the sexes would approximate to that of the Hindus.

Of the total Mahomedan increase of 81,000 nearly one half, viz: 39,000, is due to the increase of the Zerbaddis, the offspring of a Mussalman father and a Burmese mother. But for this contribution the Mahomedan increase would be rather less than the total increase for the Province. The stronger organisation of the faith of Islam keeps the offspring in most instances within the Mahomedan fold, while the majority of the progeny of Hindu and Burmese marriages become Buddhist and in a generation or two cannot be differentiated except in feature from the rest of the Burmese community. But the Zerbaddis while they remain Mussulmans cannot be classed as Indians from whom they differ in mode of life considerably more than from the Burman.

Another test perhaps even more conclusive than the counting of heads has been applied by Mr. Webb from a

consideration of the people. Under the head of Production of Raw Materials we find that 71.76 per cent. of the population are employed. Of course the vast bulk of the people ranged under this head are cultivators, the other two elements—fishermen and extractors of minerals—being quite small. Of this class 88.7 per cent are Buddhist, 1.1 per cent Hindu, 2.3 per cent Mahomedan, or 3.4 per cent Indian. But if the indigenous Akyab Mussalmans are deducted and only ordinary cultivation without fishing or extraction of minerals is considered, the percentage of Indian cultivators to the total cultivators of the Province falls to 1.2 per cent. When we recollect the remarkable rate of agricultural expansion in Burma during the past 30 years, to find that only 12 out of every 1000 persons engaged in Agriculture are Indian does not afford much support for the current belief.

From experience we know that the Burman is primarily an agriculturalist. The problem of Western nations is how to keep the agriculturalist on the land and prevent him crowding into towns and so upsetting the economic balance between urban and rural occupations. The Census points to an opposite movement in Burma. The urban population of the Province in 1901 was comprised in 52 towns with a population of 990,000, and in 1911 in 63 towns with a population of 1,128,000. Of this the Buddhist element in 1901 amounted to 67.6 per cent, but in 1911 to 61.5 per cent, the Hindu in 1901 to 15.7 per cent, and in 1911 to 18.4 per cent; the Mahomedan in 1901 to 11.7 per cent and in 1911 to 13.1 per cent. In other words in 1911 of every hundred persons living in towns there were 6 less Buddhists or persons of indigenous origin, 4 more Hindu and Mahomedan, 1 more Chinese and 1 more Christian (including European, Anglo-Indian and Tamil Christian,) than in 1901. From this it will be seen that there must have been a large exodus from the towns to the land on the part of the Burmans during the past decade, and their place to a large extent has been taken by Indians. The migration of the Burman from the towns to the fields has never been fully appreciated by those who hold the current belief that the Burman is not holding his own. Their acquaintance with the country is to a large extent limited to the towns. They see his numbers relatively decline and the Indians relatively increase and so they hold their belief confirmed. They do not closely enquire whither the Burman has gone. Mr. Webb discusses the matter at some length in the third Chapter under Intra-Provincial Migration. At page 73 he quotes some very

interesting figures from the Land Records Returns which have a bearing more or less direct upon this question. The acreage of occupied land in Burma is given as follows :—

1900-01	..	..	8,453,000 acres.
1903-4	..	..	12,920,000 "
1906-7	..	..	15,051,000 "
1909-10	..	..	15,823,000 "

From this we see that the increase in the occupation of land during the first three years of the decade is roughly $4\frac{1}{2}$ million acres, in the second period 2,130,000 acres and in the third only 770,000 acres.

The first thing to be noted is that occupied land in Burma nearly doubled itself in 10 years. And this is very relevant to the question into which we are enquiring. Another noteworthy fact is that the rate of increase of land in occupation has diminished enormously in the years following 1906. Some people have attributed this decrease to the agrarian legislation proposed by the Burma Government as a primary cause. But while the Land Alienation question and the Tenancy Bill were being discussed in 1908 and 1909, the great decline in rate of increase as regards occupied land took place in 1906-7. Now this period coincides with the strict enforcement of the rule that a squatter on Government land who has not yet acquired the status of a landholder cannot mortgage his interest. This took place in 1906. And there seems to be little doubt that the strict enforcement of this rule prevented the Burman cultivator from borrowing so easily money to take up and clear land and purchase seed and animals of husbandry. The enforcement of this rule had another effect in that the extent of land in Burma mortgaged fell from 1,261,000 acres in 1906-7 to 1,007,000 acres in 1909-10, though the amount of land in occupation had gone up in the same period by more than 770,000 acres. From this it would seem that another wide spread belief has been disposed of, viz : that the cultivator is becoming more and more encumbered, for these figures show that while the cultivated area is slowly advancing the mortgaged area is more rapidly contracting. But the slackening of the pace of increase in occupied land is no doubt in part due to the more accessible and richer lands having already been taken up, leaving the less desirable to the squatter when the growth of population and the stress of competition may force him on to it.

Some light is thrown upon this belief in the alleged decadence of the Burmese race in the chapter upon Language. At page 184 Mr. Webb says, "The province of Burma is in

a stage of rapid transition in most of the phases of national life. In its linguistic and ethnical phases, the process of change takes the form of absorption of the smaller and less virile races by those of a larger and more strongly developed stage of existence. The Burmese, the Shan and the Kachin are strongly absorptive with respect to the remaining races." The Burmese language is the language of a large number of persons who do not belong to the Burmese race, the figures being in 1911,—Burmans 7,479,000, people speaking Burmese as their principal language 7,883,000 or 400,000 non-Burmans who speak Burmese. "This divergence," as the Census Superintendent remarks, "between the number of speakers of the Burmese group of languages and the number of Burmese tribes is a sure indication of the process of assimilation continuously proceeding. The race expands and absorbs the members of other races principally through the medium of language. The non-Burman users of forms of speech belonging to the Burma group are potential additions to the Burmese race." This fact is illustrated by reference to the Arakanese, who are classed as a separate race under the Burmese group, and who speak a different though very closely allied language to Burmese. There is no shrinkage of population in Arakan but a normal increase, yet the Arakanese race according to the Census decline from 405,000 to 344,000, or 15.06 per cent, while the number of persons speaking Arakanese declines from 383,000 to 324,000 or 15.50 per cent. The number speaking the language is 20,000 less than the strength of the race. It seems to be only a question of time when Arakanese will be assimilated with the Burmese as completely as the Tavoyan.

It may be worth while to diverge from the main line of these remarks to glance at the Talaings as shown by the present Census. This race we know disputed for centuries with the Burman for the lordship of Burma, and the struggle was only decided against them in Alaungpaya's time by the capture of Pegu in 1757. Their language was at the first discouraged and afterwards proscribed altogether in 1826. Large numbers have been completely absorbed by the Burmese race. But the absorption now is not very rapid. Their numbers in 1901 were 322,000 in round figures, while in 1911 they were below 321,000. Taking the Talaing increase to be the same as the rest of Burma these figures would point to the absorption of about 45,000 Talaings in the past 10 years. As in the case of the Arakanese the frontier of race is considerably in advance of the frontier of language, as only 179,000 are returned as speaking Talaing.

But here again there is a surprise in store for us. According to what we must expect from other cases there would be a decrease in those speaking Talaing. On the contrary we find 25,000 more people returned as speaking it in 1911 than in 1901. What may be the cause of this would form the subject of an interesting enquiry. Of course it may be due to more accurate enumeration in the Districts of Thaton and Amherst where the bulk of the Talaings now reside. But may it not also be a sign that the proud spirit of a race which had been levelled to the dust was re-asserting itself and freely declaring that they preferred to give their ancient speech to the enumerator as their mother tongue rather than the language of their conquerors? Be that as it may, the figures seem to justify Mr. Webb in concluding "that the absorption of the Talaing race and the disappearance of the Talaing language are neither so immediate nor so inevitable as has been generally assumed."

The Census figures show a remarkable increase of Chinese in the period, the numbers advancing from over 62,000 to nearly 123,000. But these figures do not mean that this great increase is due to extensive immigration, though no doubt this is an important factor. Certain localities in the North and North Eastern parts of the Province have been included in the Census for the first time. In two of these localities, Kokang and West Manglun, nearly 19,000 Chinese are accounted for. A large number come from the Kachin districts of North Hsenwi and the parts of Myitkyina District which were previously only estimated. In many of these parts the Chinese are as indigenous as the Mussalmans in Arracan. But when allowance is made for these districts, a great deal of the 60,000 increase must be due to immigration, partly from the coast ports, but to a much greater extent by entering overland from Yunnan and Szechuen. Even if the Chinaman comes in greater numbers it need not alarm us. He usually comes alone, is sought after as a desirable husband by the Burmese woman and enters easily into the social economy of the Burmese village. It will be interesting to watch, when next the Census is recorded, what will be the extent of the present movement of Chinese across the border. Will the stream augment in volume? Or will it be diverted as a result of the great changes in the Government of China and in the internal policy of the new Republic?

As already quoted, Mr. Webb considers the Kachin race is highly absorptive of other races, a trait which they share with the Burman and the Shan. In the present Census they are returned as 162,000 as against 64,000 in 1901.

This is largely due to the extension of Census operations in North Hsenwi and Myitkyina thus making racial classification possible in these parts for the first time, so that this great increase does not represent merely immigration from the unadministered territory plus the national fecundity of the race. But a very important element in the increase is the steady movement of the Kachins southward and south eastward. The smaller tribes of Marus, Lashis, and Tsis are being absorbed, and the Chins, Palaungs, the Was, and the Shans have all been made to feel the pressure of the advancing Kachin. Mr. Lewis had much to say on this subject in his Census of 1901. And his view is confirmed by Mr. Thornton, the Superintendent, Northern Shan States, in his report for the present Census. "The steady pressure of Kachins southwards referred to in the last Census Report has continued. Kachin settlers are discouraged by the Sawbwa of South Hsenwi, who is more particularly affected by the movement, and it is hoped that the tide of immigration has been turned eastwards through the Wa country and into Mong Lem in China." We can understand the feelings of the Superintendent that the peaceful Shan would be much disturbed by the coming of large bodies of these active and truculent little hill men. But I think that their increase and advance may be viewed with satisfaction, when one considers how well they have behaved in the administered territories which we have taken over from time to time. They are a manly, straightforward people, easily governed, once their confidence and respect are won. In the Bhamo District blood feuds are becoming a thing of the past, the parties loyally submitting to the orders of the Political Officer.

The difficulty of conducting a Census over a District where previously the population was only guessed at and where there are no literate enumerators can be easily imagined. Through the kindness of Mrs. Cuffe I have been able to get some tally sticks upon which the illiterate enumerators took the numbers. The tally consists of a piece of bamboo with a V cut at one end to denote the top. Then holding it with the convex side out, the nicks on the upper part on the left are married males and on the right married females. Next come the unmarried adult males on the left and unmarried adult females on the right. Last come the children respectively on left and right as the other classes.

There are many other subjects suggested by the Census which will well repay those who are interested in economic and social questions, but they fall outside the scope of this

paper. But I think I have said enough to show that the outstanding results must be a matter of satisfaction to all well wishers of the Burmese people.

GUY RUTLEDGE.

A FORGOTTEN CHRONICLE.

Probably there are few members of this Society who have heard of the "Paw-tu-gi Yazawin," the Burmese history of Portugal. Had not U Tin, the learned Magistrate of Pagan, casually mentioned that he possessed a copy among his well stocked library of manuscripts I should probably never have learned of its existence. I had not suspected that European history had ever excited much interest in Burma, and it was with no little curiosity that I obtained the loan of it (1).

I did not however expect very much. The magniloquence of the Portuguese writers of the period does not lend itself to the Burman idiom, and had the Burman author emulated their tropical phraseology I should have been compelled to piece out his meaning with the dictionary and supplement the fragments by imagination. Besides, these tales of high achievement and desperate adventure, of battle, murder and sudden death, of lives lost and fortunes gained, were probably coloured for the consumption of Henry the Navigator and other Portuguese imperialists who stayed at home and looked for cent per cent abroad. The Burmans knew the truth. Even the plain uncoloured narrative must have been read differently by Portugal and Burman. It was out of curiosity therefore rather than in hope of edification that I borrowed the manuscript.

But it proved more edifying than I anticipated, and my curiosity is still unsatisfied. It is a Burman history of Portugal from the time that the Saracens, the Taraki Pathi Lumyo, were evicted until 1641 when the Portuguese had come out of "the Sixty Years' Captivity," and a Portuguese dynasty once more headed a nation no longer incorporate with Spain. It makes strange reading. Pyinsama Zun resolves itself without much difficulty into John the Fifth, and Po-ra-tu Than-tu into Porto Santo, while Ilia Kanarein and Ilia Madera are straightforward reading. But Wa-sakat-ka-ma does not without consideration become Vasco de Gama, and without the context Ka-pu-pu-ni-i-tha-pa-ran would hardly be recognised as the Cape of Good Hope. The names of lesser note are only suited to the puzzle corner of our Journal; to me at least the proper style of

(1) I understand that a copy exists among the MSS of the Bernard Library; it does not appear in the catalogue.

Admiral Pa-ra-di-nan-kat-sha-re remains a puzzle. Ferdinando emerges dimly as his Christian name, the rest is darkness.

There is matter in the book. It touches an interesting period of Burman history. For over three hundred years since the appearance of Wariru in Martaban there had been a balance of power between the powers of Pegu, Arakan and Ava. This had been disturbed by the victories of the recent established Toungoo dynasty. Buyinnaung, the third of the line, had reduced the whole of Burma under the Empire of Pegu, and a successor had transferred the Court to Ava. The consolidation of the Empire was the current theme of Burman history, and the jealousies and aspirations of the subordinate provinces gave an opening to the intervention of the Portuguese. In the history of Portugal too affairs were critical. The long continued struggle against the overwhelming power of Spain forms the background of the story. To recruit their strength and protect their interests in the Empire of Pegu the Viceroy of Goa sends a mission. In the story of the rise and fall of Philip de Brito y Nicote, the Nga Zinga of the Burman chronicles, both histories are relating the same events from these different aspects and it is of interest to compare their different accounts.

The account given in the Chronicle of Syriam is succinct; omitting such portions as do not immediately concern Nga Zinga it may be translated in full.

"When Anauk Pet Lun arrived at Prome there was a Feringhi Kala, Nga Zinga. This man intending to convert it into cannon had removed the large bell placed on the Theingottara Hill by Dhammazeti, who had presented it to the Shwe Dagon. By the power of the Buddha he and his vessel sank in the Panalwe Creek before his intention could be fulfilled. After Anauk Pet Lun had dealt with Prome according to his will, Nga Zinga made him many presents asking that he might be allowed to found in our Town of Syriam a village such as might be included in a hide. When his request had been granted he drew out the hide like wire and measured out land on the North, South, East, and West."

Here the narrative is interrupted by the necessity which had arisen for the Supreme King to deal with other cities according to his will. The process was presumably facilitated by the ammunition obtained from Nga Zinga. He "made a road" on various places in the Shan States, but was called to Toungoo to quell dissensions which had arisen there.

"When he was come to Yindaw of Yamethin his nephew (the king of Toungoo) declined to be longer subject to him, saying: "I will obey the orders of Nga Zinga." He had sent the Lord of Kyetyonbin with a letter to Nga Zinga at Syriam, and on their arrival at Toungoo the army of the Supreme King, Anaak Pet Lun, advanced to meet them. The General, while seated on his elephant directing the battle, was stricken and he died, so that the soldiers and men at arms were unable to make any further stand. The Supreme King fled to Ava and the Kala obtained possession of Toungoo."

Vengeance on the Kala had to be postponed until the Supreme King had made another expedition into the Shan Country, but having safeguarded his rear he marched on Syriam.

"After he had dealt with the Shans according to his will he came back to his own country and thence to Syriam. In the year 901 (2) having put his nephew to the question and finding that he had companied with dissolute and evil living corrupters of religion, decided that he was fit to live no longer. And it was ordered that his breast should be laid open. And as for the Kala, Nga Zinga, he said that he was a man who had destroyed religion and decided that he should be impaled on an iron stake before the public court at Syriam." The account concludes with a relation of the steps taken to guard Syriam against further attack and the disposal of Nga Zinga's followers. It is very brief, bald in fact, and hardly amplifies the local memories of Nga Zinga, the Kala who overturned religion. But throughout it presents the facts as incidents in the consolidation of the Empire. The account in the Portuguese history is fuller, and written from an entirely different point of view. It runs however to a dozen or more closely written sheets of foolscap and within the limits of this paper no more than a summary can be attempted.

According to this account de Brito arrived in Arakan on a mission from the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa. As the story in general acceptance describes his arrival as a ship's boy this may be a fiction. But once in Arakan he speedily gained the favour of the King, and was sent to treat with the Emperor of Ava, whom he found involved in an unceasing endeavour to suppress rebellion. His assistance was welcomed and his petition for a hide of land allowed. Despite the petitions of the Peguans whom he evicted he demarcated an estate at Syriam. Once securely established

(2) This date is clearly wrong. Anaak Pet Lun ascended the throne in 967.—Ed.

there he claimed to exercise dominion over the Portuguese in Arakan. The King of Arakan refused to acknowledge such a claim and sent an expedition against him headed by his son. The attempt failed and the prince was captured. Arakan therefore sought help from Ava, but met with a rebuff. The Portuguese however hearing of the come and go of embassies deemed it prudent to send for help to Goa, and strengthened themselves until assistance would arrive by an alliance with Toungoo which had thrown off the yoke of the Supreme King. Neither from Goa, however, nor Toungoo, was help available. The Viceroy returned word that owing to internal strife in Portugal and the threats of Spain against Molucca, their most valuable possession in the East, no reinforcements could be provided. The unwelcome news was followed by an application for assistance from Toungoo where the King had been driven from his throne. The Portuguese force consisted of no more than 550 Portuguese, 550 Kappali and 500 Kale soldiers. For *Kappali*, cavalry suggests itself, but for *Kale* I can make no suggestion, unless the two terms mean half castes and Indians respectively (3). Despite however the poverty of his resources de Brito held to his engagement, and the King of Toungoo presented him with a valuable ruby. But he refused to take it until it had been earned: "Wait," he said "until I have set you once more securely on your throne." He marched to Toungoo and relieved the city, but was himself in turn invested. The siege was carried on with vigour and repelled with equal determination. Mines were dugged beneath the city, but the assault along this line was beaten back with hand grenades. The incessant labour of defence allowed Nga Zinga—it is worth noting that throughout this chronicle he is spoken of as Nga Zinga—no leisure for rest or food, and by the end of twelve days he was thoroughly exhausted. He determined therefore to raise the siege by an expedition in force. After a furious conflict the Burmans were driven off. But both the King of Toungoo and Nga Zinga were wounded and the latter returned to the city with blood streaming over his legs and boots. The Supreme King attempted to detach Nga Zinga from his alliance, and sent a message to the effect that his quarrel was solely with his rebellious subject. When the messenger arrived without the city walls the King of Toungoo was seated in Nga Zinga's quarters. The messenger was led blindfold through the

(3) *Kappali* is the Burmese name for Negroes, and *Kale* that for Tamils.—Ed.

city into their presence. Nga Zinga had apparently never learned to read Burmese; he handed the letter to his ally and after hearing the contents returned answer: "We Portuguese are men of good faith, I have passed my word to the King of Toungoo and I can not break it." From that day onwards the Supreme King maintained a body of informers in Syriam, and in other ways showed that if Nga Zinga had to be reckoned with as an enemy he would press matters with his usual energy. The two Portuguese ships were set on fire, and a Portuguese galley sent to trade with Arakan was attacked and captured. He cut off the ears of his captives and sent the captain of the galley back to Syriam in a small boat with a letter to Nga Zinga: "Look at this, Nga Zinga, and determine whether it behoves you to make over my enemy at my request." But Nga Zinga continued to shelter the King of Toungoo and the only immediate effect of the warning was to bind their alliance closer. The King of Toungoo determined to embrace Christianity.

"I," he said, "am of Burman race, but I have never seen a man so pitiless. I wish no longer to remain his countryman, number me I pray you among the community of the Portuguese."

He was accordingly baptized, with Nga Zinga as one of his sponsors, by the French priest who acted as chaplain to the Portuguese, and on the same occasion Nga Zinga was married to his sister according to Christian rites. By this time the forces of the Supreme King were closely investing Syriam, attacks were being delivered day and night. At length a force of 1500 Burmans broke into the town while the inhabitants were at church. But the alarm was given, the defendants gathered their resources and every one of the 1500 was killed. Daily however the scanty forces of the besieged were losing ten or twenty men, and shortly afterwards a general assault directed by the Supreme King in person captured the town. Both Nga Zinga and the King of Toungoo were taken prisoners. Nga Zinga was offered life if he would ask for pardon.

"What," he made answer, "is my offence that I should ask for pardon? You say that I have given harbour to your enemy. If a man be at enmity with you shall all men treat him as an enemy? My friend is my friend and I dare not refuse to discharge the duties of a friend. Before I had sought help from Goa the King of Toungoo bound himself as my ally, we have long sworn to live and die together; now that we are in your hands the promise holds. Let there be life for both, or death for both."

The King of Toungoo was equally stout-hearted.

" My doings are already known to you. I have joined myself to the men of Portugal by ties of race and blood. For that which I have done I am not now to be put in fear. Now that I am in your hands show me such favour as you show these Portuguese. Kill me and I know how to die. Over the term of my life I have no power, but whatever is your pleasure I have courage to endure it."

So the Prince of Toungoo and Nga Zinga were both executed on the same day.

All this is evidently the work of a Portuguese. Nga Zinga no longer figures as the corrupter of religion, the conversion of the King of Toungoo is insisted on, the fragments of dialogue, the details of the attack betray a Portuguese invention. But the whole relation is singularly impartial. The Burmans are not pagans, nor are there pious reflections on the guiding power of Providence over the fortunes of the Portuguese. It is difficult to suggest who can have written the work or at what date. A note at the end sets forth that the work is a full description of the events of 1641. It mentions the coronation of the Duke of Braganza as John the Fourth and the end of the Sixty Years, Captivity. But it also mentioned the betrothal of a Portuguese Princess to the Mintha Ka-ro-lo of England, and this does not seem even to have been mooted in Portugal until 1650. Despite this however it seems fairly certain that the original manuscript must have been nearly contemporaneous with the events related. After the defeat of Nga Zinga no one in Burma can have felt much interest in the affairs of Portugal. The use of the term "ga-ra-nat," hand grenade, shows that it can be no recent compilation or "bomb"-*bon*:—the marginal comment of a later student—would probably have been preferred. There seems to have been a succession of Goanese priests in Burma from the time of de Brito until the arrival of the Barnabites in 1720. But unless belied by quasi sectarian jealousy these were a dissolute set, seeking their converts in the stews, and defending their pleasures with their daggers. From such as these no historical treatise may be expected. Although there are difficulties in the way of accepting such a theory the most probable explanation seems that the account was written by some Portuguese captive to the order of a Burman minister.

But whoever may have written it and at whatever date the work is of interest. It gives far the fullest account with which I am acquainted of the rise and fall of Nga Zinga. It enables us to fill out the Burman histories and

corroborates the Burman picture of one of the greatest of their kings. And it is indirectly of even greater interest as an encouragement to study more of the numerous manuscripts scattered over the country. At present they have not even been collected.

J. S. FURNIVALL.

A CONTRIBUTION TO BURMESE PHILOLOGY.

The volume of Burmese philological literature is already considerable. The following are fair specimens of its quality. ခင်းတ ခင်းတ vulture, is so called because it becomes very hungry in the early hours of the morning and *longs for the dawn*. ခြောက် is a contraction of ခေတ to *arrive at disappearance*. These derivations are ingenious if not convincing. Others are neither plausible nor probable. A late reverend bishop had a passion for deriving all Burmese words from Pali. ခိန် for instance is a corruption of the Pali ခိဓိသျှတ်. "Strike off ခိဓိ turn သျှတ် into ခိန် and ခိန် is the result." On this and similar imaginative efforts a learned *pongyi* remarked သဒ္ဒါသလောကကြီးအားကြီးရင်ခိုင့်ကတ်ပုတ်တတ်တယ်။ "Such a habit of etymological speculation may lead to misinterpretation of the Tripitaka"—probably because, for his own purposes the etymologist is apt to pervert the traditional meaning of words.

The most satisfactory method of philological research is the historical. But as we are still without a historical grammar of the Burmese language, we cannot yet afford to dispense with reasoned speculation. If, for instance, we found a considerable number of words parallel in formation to ခြောက်—if ချောက် (ချေတော်) meant 'to become beautiful' and ချောက် (တေတော်) 'to succeed in gaping,' we should be justified in concluding, even without historical evidence, that ခေတ (to arrive) was a component part of all.

The present article proceeds on such an inductive method. In the tables below are collected groups of words whose main differentia is tone and whose meaning is either similar or identical; and the inference is drawn that the members of each group are cognate in origin.

Columns 1 to 4 stand for the four tones of Burmese, e.g. ခိုင်: ခိုင် ခိုင် ခိုင်။ ခဲ ဝေ ခဲ ဝေ။ &c. In the last column is entered the common idea underlying the members of the group. (It is usually said that there are only three tones in Burmese. This is not the place for a discussion of the question and readers who prefer the three-tone theory need only note that words ending in ဝဲ ဝဲ ဝဲ or equivalent letters appear in the fourth column of the tables). The transliteration has been added at the request of the Editor. Some members of the Society, though unable to read Burmese in the native character, are doubtless familiar with other Indo-Chinese languages and may be able to say whether in these languages

similar groups of apparently cognate words can be formed. *ṣ* is here represented by *p*, *ṣ* and *the-the-tin* by *m*, though the ordinary pronunciation is nearer *t* and *n*. The object of this departure from customary methods of transliteration is to emphasize the etymological value of the traditional spelling. Aspirated letters are represented by capitals. The insertion of *h* is clumsy and ambiguous and the use of the rough breathing or inverted comma is apt to lead to misprints.

နာ: na:	နာ na			hearing.
သာ: tha:		သ tha.	သတ် that	definition.
		ရှ sha.	ရှင် shap	graze.
မာ: ma:	မာ ma	မ ma.		large.
		မ ma.	မတ် mat	upright.
ဖါ: Pa:			ဖတ် Pat	hang loosely.

Notes :

နာ: = ear. နာ = hear.

သာ: = mark, define. သ = distinct, as in ငြိငြိသသပြောသည်။ သတ် = demarcate, as in သတ်မှတ်သည်။

ရှ = wound slightly, as ဝါ: ရှသည်။ ရှင် as in Stevenson's example, သေနတ်နှင့်ဖြစ်လိုက်သည်မှာပါးကိုရှင်မှန်သည်။

မာ: as in ကြီးကြီးမာ:မာ:။ မာ = strong. မ = large, as in လမ်း:တန်း:ချောင်း:မ။

မ = raise. မတ် = upright as in မတ်တတ်။

ဖါ: = as in ဆံပင်ဖါ:လာ:ချသည်။ ဖတ် as in ဖတ်လတ်။ said of a flag ; also perhaps in မိုသိဖတ်သိ of clothes worn loosely and carelessly.

	ညီ nyi	ညှိ hnyi.		level.
ဆည်း Si:	ဆည် Si			collection.

Notes :

ညီ = level and ညှိ = make level. For the change of tone compare ကျယ် = broad and ချဲ့ = make broad.

ဆည်း: = collect and ဆည် = dam. To connect these words may perhaps be fanciful but compare ဆုံး: a collection of water, which also means an aggregation of precedents or custom.

နွဲ: nwe :	နွဲ nwe			heat.
နွဲ: Kwe :	နွဲ Kwe	ကွဲ kwe.		curvature.

Notes :

နွဲ: = warm. နွဲ = summer.
 နွဲ: = ferrule. နွဲ = coil, as a snake. ကွဲ = bend, as of a river.

တွဲ twè :	တွဲ twè	တွဲ twè.		hang.
	တွဲ thwè		တွဲ thwet	thin.
	ကျဲ kyè	ကျဲ chè.		broad.
	တွဲ twè		တွဲ twet	measure.
		မဲ mè.	မဲ met	lack.

Notes :

တွဲ = measure, as in တွဲတွဲတွဲ = calculate.
 မဲ = be without. မဲ = long for.

	မော့ maw	မော့ maw.	မော့ mauk	aloft.
ငါ့ ngaw :	ငါ့ ngaw	ငါ့ ngaw.	ငါ့ ngauk	project.
နှော့ hnaung :		နှော့ hnaung.	နှော့ hnauk	mix.
ကော့ kaw :		ကော့ kaw.	ကော့ kauk	bulge.
ချော့ chaw :	ချော့ chaw	ချော့ chaw.		smooth.
နှောင် hnaung :	နှောင် naung	နှောင် hnaung.	နှောင် nauk	behind.
	ထောင် Taung		ထောင် Tauk	upright.

Notes :

နှော့ in နှော့ရှက် is obviously a metaphorical use. ရှက် = interlaced, as the branches of trees. နှော့ = mix or stir. So ရှက် stir, has the metaphorical meaning harass.
 ချော့ = smooth. ချော့ = slip, slide. ချော့ = flatter, coax.
 နှောင် = to be late. နှောင် = future, or elder brother. နှောင် in နှောင်နှော့ to be slow. နှောင် = behind, future.

ပု: Pu :	တု tu	တု tu.		like.
ပြု: pyu :	ပြု pyu	ပု Pu.		protuberant.
	အမူ amu	အမှု ahmu.		fact.

Notes :
 တု=like. တု=make like.

ဖြန့်: Pyan :		ဖြန့် Pyan.		scatter.
မှန်: hman :	မှန် hman			aim, hit.
နံ: nam :	နံ nam	အနံ anam.	နှံ hnap	smell.
လျှမ်း: hlyam:	လျှံ hlyam			overflow.

Notes :
 The *an* and *in* sounds appear to be interrelated ; cf. ချင် and ချိန်၊ တင်: ဝင်: and တန်: ဝန်: which are identical in meaning.

အဆင်: aSin:	အဆင် aSin			appearance.
	ခြင် chin	ခြင် chin.		measure.

Notes :
 ခြင် in ခြင်တွယ်၊ ခြင် in ခြင်တွက်၊

	အခွံ aKum	ခွံ Kum.		shell.
ရွှန်: shun :			ရွှတ် shut	voluble, excitable.
သွန်: thun :			သွတ် thut	pour in, cast.
သွန်: thun :	သွန် thun			pour out.
သွမ်း: thum :			သွမ် thup	unprincipled.
ညွန်: hnyun :	ညွန် hnyun			show.
လွန်: lun :	လွန် lun	လွန် lun.		revolve.
ပွန်: pun :			ပွတ် put	rub.

Notes :
 ခွံ as in ဝတ်ခွံ၊
 လွန်=twist, as လွှဲလွန်:၊ လွန်=gimlet.

		ရှိုင် shaing.	ရှိုက် shaik	concave.
ပိုင် paing :			ပိုင် paik	divide.
မှိုင် hmaing :	မှိုင် hmaing		မှိုင် maik	dark.
တိုင် taing :			တိုင် taik	measure.
ဝိုင် waing :			ဝိုင် waik	circle.

Notes :

With ပိုင်:ပိုင်, perhaps ပိုင်=own, should be classed, as the essential element of property is appropriation to a person, to the exclusion of others.

မှိုင် hmein :	မှိုင် hmein		မှိုင် hmeit	dim.
	လိမ် leim	လိမ် leim.	လိမ် leip	revolve.
ငြိမ် ngyeim :	ငြိမ် ngyeim	ငြိမ် ngyeim.		still.
ရှိန် shein :	ရှိန် shein			hot.

The reader may think that the similarity of meaning between different members of the same group is in some cases merely fanciful. For any group which he rejects he can easily, by turning over a few pages of the dictionary, find a substitute which may please him better. Bearing in mind the fallibility of conjecture, I have tried to be cautious. It is tempting, for instance to connect ခဲ and ခဲင် (difficult). But ခဲ clearly means originally *hard*, while ခဲင် may be a metaphorical use of a word meaning *thorny*. In this and similar cases, where the resemblance of sound may be merely accidental, I have excluded the group from the tables. Again, there is a strong probability that the sounds *u*, and *ón*; *i* and *eim*; *in* and *an* are philologically connected. Not being in a position to trace these connections historically I have ignored them.

The following conclusions are perhaps justifiable. (1) Groups of words whose main differentia is tone are seen to have a close similarity of meaning. (2) The members of such a group are probably derivatives or variations of one original root. (3) Such roots were probably non-tonal, that is, they might be pronounced indifferently in any tone.

These conclusions are of course tentative. They indicate, however, that a historical examination of the growth of the Burmese language is likely to be of assistance in explaining the origin of tone—a vexed question on which there has been abundance of irresponsible speculation but no certainty.

J. A. STEWART.

ABHISAMBODHI ALĀNKĀRA.*

“The Embellishments of Perfect Knowledge.”

A Pāli Poem, edited and translated

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PREFACE.

The Pāli text of *Abhisambodhi Alānkāra* is based on a little book, which Prof. C. Duroiselle was kind enough to give me. It is printed in Sinhalese characters and edited by Saṅghananda. We learn from the introduction that the author is Mahāthera Saraṇaṅkarasangharāḷā, a Sinhalese author, who wrote this poem of 104 verses in about 1767 A.D. This therā has won his reputation as a Pāli scholar by numerous other works, among which may be mentioned *Muniḡuṅālānkāra*, “The Embellishments of the Virtues of the Saint” and *Saddhammasāratthasaṅgaha*, “Compendium of the Essence of the True Doctrine.”

Abhisambodhi Alānkāra throws no new light on the life of the Buddha. Indeed, even some familiarity, on the part of the reader, with the life and teachings of the Buddha is required for the study of the text. For the poet's purpose is less biographical than eulogistic, less to teach us any new thing in the Buddha's life than to sing of the Embellishments of Perfect Knowledge, as he has chosen to name his work. Accordingly, he is occupied with his narrative as far as that point so momentous in the history of Buddhism as the attainment of Perfect Knowledge under the Wisdom Tree. The leading events are told at such great length and encomiums on the Buddha's mother and his wife sung with so much vehemence that the poet has hardly any breath left to relate the minor events, the connecting links, so to speak, of the chain of narration. Thus, to give a single instance, from the highly poetical description of the circumstances leading to the Buddha's birth, he passes on to paint the elaborate picture of the Buddha's marriage, a few lines doing justice to the events in the intervening period. This is not to be unexpected, considering that the poem is too short to admit of an elaborate treatment of each and every incident in the Buddha's life.

* This Pali poem has not hitherto been published in this form nor has it yet been translated into English. It possesses great value for students of modern Pali.—Ed.

The age of the poet indicates the style of the poem. A modern poet makes use of long strings of compounds and curious juxta-position of words, which as a rule are absent in the canonical books. And he often displays his knowledge of Sanskrit by employing words and phrases and even similes and metaphors which legitimately belong to Sanskrit literature. One good instance of such figures of speech, borrowed from the Sanskrit, is the simile of the *churning of the ocean* (verses 63, 100). And many a word and many a phrase will convince the reader of the poet's leaning towards Sanskrit literature. All these characteristic features embellish or blemish *Abhisambodhi Alankāra*. However that may be, the poem has great literary merits. In its beauty of description, its wealth of imagery, its richness of vocabulary and its flowing ease of diction, it challenges comparison with other modern poems, such for instance as *Jinacarita* (edited by Rouse and by Duroiselle) and *Jinālaṅkāra* (edited by Gray).

Saṅghananda's Sinhalese edition of this poem is accompanied by a Sinhalese commentary by an unknown author. My present text differs *metri causa* in a few places from its original. Where such variations occur, I have given the readings of the original in foot-notes to the present text.

In translating the poem, I have taken care to give a rendering which is neither too close nor too free. Too close a translation often makes the English ridiculous; too free a translation often fails to give the exact sense of the original. A judicious steering between the two is what I have aimed at.

I must not conclude without expressing my deep obligations to my teacher and friend, Mr. Chas. Duroiselle, for his kind help in the interpretation of some difficult passages.

ABHISAMBODHI ALANKĀRA.

Namo tassa Bhagavato Arahato Sammāsambuddhassa.

1. Buddhaṃ suddhaguṇākaraṃ dasabalaṃ devātidevaṃ
jinaṃ,
Dhammaṃ tena sudesitaṃ bhavanudaṃ dukkhāpahaṃ
nimmalaṃ,
Saṅghaṃ cāpi niraṅgaṇaṃ munisutaṃ vandāṃ 'ahaṃ
muddhanā ;
Buddho Dhammagāṇo tathāgatavarā pārentu te maṃ
sadā.
2. Natvā vatthuttayaṃ evaṃ
suladdho abhayam pi ca
yathā vajirālayaṃ patto
ratanattayapālito
karissaṃ Abhisambodhi
Alaṅkāraṃ manoramaṃ.
3. Sahassakappāna 'sataṃ ca uttare
asaṅkhasaṅkhyāna 'catunna 'matthake
niruttare uttamaṃ jambudīpake
puraṃ ahū yaṃ Amarābhidhānakaṃ ;
4. Tahiṃ dayāsitalamānaso ca yo
guṇuttamo pañña varaṅgaṇālayo
asesavedaṇṇavapāratirago
visārado sippavisesaṅātako
5. Anaṅgarūpo varavippa-anvayo
ahū Sumedho iti paṇḍito sudhī
mahaddhano mātupitunnamaccaye
ghare t̥hito so sakameva buddhiyā ;
6. Bhave ca bhoge ca sakaṃ ca jīvite
vilokayitvāna asārabhāvakaṃ
padānato vatthugahetva sārakaṃ
rudaṃ mukhaṃ nātigaṇam pahāya taṃ

THE EMBELLISHMENTS OF PERFECT KNOWLEDGE.

HONOUR BE TO HIM, THE BLESSED, THE SAINT,
THE PERFECTLY ENLIGHTENED.

1. The Buddha, that mine of pure virtues, possessed of the Ten Powers (1), the god of gods, the conqueror,—the Law by him well preached, that Law immaculate, which spurns repeated birth and shakes off misery,—the Order, in whom is no sin and begotten (2) by the Sage,—I adore with my whole heart. The Buddha, the Law, the Order—may these venerable Objects for ever protect me.

2. The Three Objects duly adored, security from danger was given unto me, and I felt as if I was seated on the adamantine throne (3). Safe in the refuge of the three Jewels, I will sing of the Embellishments of Perfect Knowledge in a strain pleasing to the mind.

3. More than one hundred thousand cycles and four æons ago, a city there was by the name of Amara in the glorious incomparable Jambudīpa (India),

4-5. Wherein lived a wise man, Sumedha, immensely rich, descended from a noble brahmin family and beautiful even as the God of Love (4); who was withal well-versed in the different arts, and bold in his own attainments; one who had successfully traversed the ocean of the entire Vedas; in whom supreme wisdom was pleased to dwell; and whose heart—such excellent virtues were in him—was tempered with compassion. Both father and mother having passed out of existence, he administered the family estate, with none other guide than his own intelligence.

6. Renewed existence, wealth, his own life—these three he subjected to careful examination; having scrutinized, no essence whatever could he find in them. Alms-giving alone was found to be of real benefit. So he left his kith and kin bathed in tears,

(1). The Ten Powers belonging to a Buddha are the ten modes of knowledge.

(2). The monks and nuns comprising the Order or the Clergy are often spoken of as the children of the Buddha.

(3). An Epithet applied to the seat where the Buddha sat when he obtained omniscience under the Wisdom Tree. It is so called because Māra, the Evil One, despite all his efforts, was unable to expel the Buddha from it. It is also called the "Unconquerable Seat." cf. '*vajirāsanam*' verse 95.

(4). *Ananga*—the Indian Cupid.

7. Anantasañcāramigīndakādinaṃ
nikūjitaṃ pakkhimayūrakādinaṃ
sumaṇḍitaṃ candanakānanādinaṃ
nisevitaṃ tāpasapuṅgavādinaṃ
8. Himācalan taṃ samupecca uttamaṃ
pahāya vesaṃ akhilaṃ gharārahaṃ
isīna 'pabbajjivasā tadā hi tu
gavesamāno amataṃ su pabbaji.
9. Evañ ca so pabbajito samāno
kattabbakicc 'ev 'abhivāyamāno
sah 'ev 'abhiññā varaññāṇalābhī
vasaṃ vasi tena sukkena tasmīṃ
10. Lokattaye mohatamappabandhaṃ
hantvā dharantaṃ varadhammadipaṃ
Dīpaṃkaraṃ lokaguruṃ mahantaṃ
samūpagantvāna jinaṃ mahesiṃ
11. Disvā taṃ lokanāthaṃ suranaramahitaṃ buddharaṃ-
sijjalantaṃ
pūjetvā attabhāvaṃ dasabalamunino jivitaṃ cāpi tena
"Siddhattho 'yaṃ jinindo bhavati" iti tadā vyākato
dhammaraññā
taṃ sutvā Bodhisatto parahitanirato pītiyāpuṅṅakāyo
12. Ye bodhipācanakarā idha buddhadhammā
kālattaye munivarehi pi sevamānā
dānādinaṃ dasavidhā samatimsakā ca
te buddhadhammanikhile samadhiṭṭhahitvā

7-8. And set in towards that glorious Himalaya mountain, bedecked with forests of sandal and other trees, where ascetics of eminence and other *religieux* were wont to dwell, amidst the cries of birds such as the peacock and so forth, the while the king of beasts and other inhabitants of the forest used to roam at large. So eager was his search for Nirvāṇa that he entirely gave up the habit of a householder and renounced the world after the manner of ascetics.

9. The world being thus renounced, he applied himself to his ascetic duties. While he lived in contentment a perfect saint, his senses under control, he became possessed of higher knowledge and likewise the Ultramundane Faculties (1).

10. Dīpankara, that mighty preceptor of the world, the conqueror, the great sage, who was bearing the lamp of the Law sublime, dispelling the accumulated gloom of delusion in the three worlds (2) was next approached.

11-12. On beholding him, who was likewise the protector of the world, being revered of both gods and men, a lambent flame playing about him in testimony to his Buddhahood, he forthwith worshipped the personality and vitality of the Sage, who was possessed of the Ten Powers. "This one will become Siddhattha, king of conquerors"—this being predicted of him by the king of Truth, the Bodhisat, whose delight was in the welfare of others, his whole frame being filled with joy, practised unto satisfaction those entire conditions of a Buddha,—the Ten Perfections (3), beginning with alms-giving, thirty in all—those agents for the maturity of knowledge in this world, being practised by the holiest sages during the three divisions of time, past, present and future.

(1). These are :—1. The various magical powers. 2. The divine ear. 3. Knowledge of the thoughts of others. 4. Knowledge of one's former existences. 5. The divine eye. 6. The knowledge which causes the destruction of human passions.

(2). Viz. the worlds of sense, of form and of absence of form.

(3). The Ten Paramis or Perfections, practised by a Bodhisat as a preliminary to his attaining Buddhahood. Each of these being practised in three degrees—the ordinary, the inferior and the pre-eminent,—there are in all thirty Paramis. The Ten Paramis are: 1. Alms giving. 2. Morality. 3. Self-abnegation. 4. Wisdom. 5. Exertion. 6. Patience. 7. Truth. 8. Resolution. 9. Kindness. 10. Equanimity.

13. Kondhaññam pi ca nāyakam dasabalam kālāññakam
Maṅgalam
lokaggam Sumanavhayaṃ thiraguṇaṃ mokkhākaram
Revataṃ
rūpaggam pi ca Sobhitaṃ vara-Anomādassidighaṅgu-
liṃ
dhammaggaṃ Padumaṃ jinaṃ amatadaṃ pūjārahaṃ
Nāradaṃ,
14. Satthāraṃ Padumuttaram pi ca Sumedhannāma Me-
dhamkaram
jātiddhamsi Sujātamaggamatadaṃ brahmujjuggattam
pi ca
sambuddham Piyadassi nāma sivadaṃ taṃ Atthadas-
siṃ varaṃ
viraggam pi ca Dhammadassi sugataṃ Siddhattalokut-
tamaṃ
15. Tissaṃ cāpi niruttaraṃ naravaraṃ Phussaṃ visud-
dhākaram
lokānandakaram Vipassimatulaṃ viraṃ Sikhim māra-
jiṃ
nāthaṃ VessabhudhammarājaKakusandhañ cāpi (1)
Aṅgīrasaṃ
taṃ Koṇāgamanaṃ munim guṇanidhim buddhañca
taṃ Kassapaṃ
16. Disvā pūjetva ete pi ca munisakale vyākato tehi cāpi
pūrento Bodhisatto asithilaviriyo bodhisambhūradham-
me
rājā hutvā ca Vessantara-avanipati dānatejena bhūmim
k mpetvā sattavāre Tusitapuravare so ahū devarājā
17. Mahābrahma Sakkādayo devarājā
samāgantva buddhamkuraṃ taṃ namitvā
“ Mahāvira kālo ayaṃ buddhabhāvaṃ
tuvañ cāpi gantvā manussāna' lokam
18. Janitvāna tasmim varaṃ mātukucchin
janaṃ tārayanto sadevaṃ tiloke
sukhaṃ bujha dhammaṃ ” ti vatvāna evaṃ
samārādhito devalokā cavitvā

13-16. 'He then in turn beheld Kondhañña, the leader, possessed of the Ten Powers ; Mangala, who knew the right division of time, and was the greatest in the world ; Sumana of steadfast virtues ; Revata the Saviour (1) ; Sobhita the beautiful ; and the peerless Anomadassi, distinguished by his long fingers ; Paduma the conqueror, chief of the Law ; Nārada the worshipful, dispenser of ambrosia (2) ; and Padumuttara the teacher ; Sumedha and Medhankara ; Sujāta, destroyer of rebirth, the chieftain, the dispenser of Ambrosia ; Piyadassi, the perfectly enlightened one, majestic in bearing (3) and bestowing happiness ; the noble Atthadassi ; Dhammadassi the blest chief of heroes ; and Sīdhatta the best in the world ; likewise the incomparable Tissa, best of men ; Phussa, a mine of pure virtues ; the peerless Vipassi, giver of happiness to the world ; Sikhi the hero, vanquisher of the Evil One ; Vessabhu the lord, king of Truth ; Angīrasa and Kakusandha ; the sage Koṇāgama, the depositary of virtues ; and lastly Kassapa (4) that enlightened one. All of them he worshipped ; each of them foretold his destiny. The Bodhisat whose energy was unflinching fulfilled the requisites of Perfect Knowledge and became king Vessantara, lord of the earth. By sheer force of his alms-giving he caused the earth to shake even seven times and in the glorious city of the Tusita gods he re-appeared as the king of gods.

17-18. Mahābrahma, Sakka and other kings of the gods having assembled gave honour to the nascent Buddha : "Time it were, O thou mighty one, that thou shouldst the Buddha become. Deign, Lord, to visit the world of men and take birth in the womb of an auspicious mother. Be thou saviour to the men in the three worlds with the world of gods. Mayest thou with ease understand the Law." He acquiesced in their request and from the world of gods he passed away,

(1). *Mokkhakara*—lit "doer of emancipation."

(2). The nectar of immortality and the drink of the gods.

(3). *Brahmujjagattam*—lit: 'having large and upright limbs.' It is possible to render the compound by 'having limbs as upright as those of Mahābrahma.' But such a comparison would be the reverse of paying a compliment to a Buddha, who is superior to Mahābrahma.

(4). It will be seen that the list of the Buddhas given here includes the usual twenty-four names given in the Pali books. But our author goes further and gives the names of two more, viz. Medhankara and Angīrasa, thus making the number of the Buddhas immediately preceding Gotama to be twenty-six. The names of three other Buddhas, however, in addition to the usual twenty-four are preserved, of which Medhankara is one. See further Childers' Dictionary, *S. V. Buddha* and *Kappa*.

19. Upacitamitapuññaṃ kappalakkhaṃ mahantaṃ
dhitimativiriyādivāsabhūtaṃ guṇānaṃ
janapamakutaḥhiṅgūcumbitaṅghi 'ravindaṃ
pavaranarapatīṃ nissāya Suddhodanaṃ taṃ,
20. Vividhaviḍḍhapuññaṃ kappalakkhaṃ katāya
satatavimalasilālaṃkatāy' accharāya
apahasavara-Māyādeviyā uttamāya
avigatasatiyā uppajji so tāya kucchiṃ ;
21. Maṇḍisamuggamajjhamhi
soṇṇarūpaṃ va mātuyā
paññāyanta vasaṃ tattha
dasamāsaccayā pana
22. Vesākhe puṇṇamāyaṃ tu
nakkhatte ca Visākhake
pañcadasighatī c'eva
puṇṇe Kujadīne tadā,
23. Devissarassa vananandasannibhamhi
uyyānake ruciralumbiniyā pasiddhe
samphullitāmi (2) varamaṅgalasālamūle
sākhāṃ gahetva tthitamātuyakucchito tu.

2. Samphullitāmi

(To be continued).

19-20. And took conception in the womb of that noble peerless Queen Māyā ; in whom mindfulness was not a moment absent ; a celestial nymph charming (1) and ever pure ; and wearing virtue as her ornament ; one who had performed immense good for a countless number of years in various manner ; being conceived in her through the agency of that noble King Suddhodana ; whose lotus-like feet were kissed by kings with bee-like diadems ; (2) in whom fortitude, intelligence, energy and other qualities found their true home ; and who had accumulated immense boundless merit for a countless number of years.

21-22. Like unto a golden image encased in a be-jewelled casket, in the womb of his mother was he confined ; and after ten months, on Tuesday, the fifteenth day of the sign, *Aquarius* of the Zodiac (3) being the full-moon day of Vesākha (April-May), what time the festival of Visākhā was celebrated,

23. He emerged from the womb of his mother, who stood holding a branch at the foot of that noble auspicious Sal tree in full blossom, situated in the celebrated Lumbini Garden, delightful even as the Nandana grove of Sakka.

(1). *Apaḥāsa*, lit : " not to be laughed at."

(2). *Janapa-makuta-bhinga-cumbita-anghi-aravindam*.

(3). *Ghātī*—the eleventh sign of the Zodiac, *Aquarius*. Also called *kumbha*.

(To be continued.)

LACQUERWARE MANUFACTURE AT PAGAN.

It is not known when and whence the art was introduced into Pagan. The probabilities are that it came from Northern Siam, through the Talaings, in the 11th century A. D., when so many other arts and crafts were domiciled at Pagan through the Burmese conquest of Thaton.

The processes of manufacture are extremely simple. Bamboo split into thin slips is used, and about 12 stages have to be passed through before a finished article is obtained, the maximum period of time ranging from four to six months. The article in its crude condition is besmeared with black wood-oil, which is procured from the Shan States, and then rubbed down by means of a pumice stone so as to make the surface smooth. The process is repeated after each coating of wood-oil has become dry by being kept in a subterranean chamber built of masonry. The patterns are incised with an iron style, and the artist is not guided, as a rule, by drawings or models placed before him. The scenes often depicted and most affected by the artists are those relating to the Vessantara, Mahājanaka, and the other Jātakas called the "Ten great Jātakas." Scenes from the life of Buddha also occur, such as his leaving home ("the Great Renunciation") and subjects from Burmese history.

The implements used are equally simple, and consist mainly of a lathe and a sharp knife for scratching off the surface. Orpiment or sulphide of arsenic is used to produce the yellow colour. Indigo mixed with orpiment gives a beautiful green colour. Red vermilion is also used. By a judicious mixture of yellow, blue, and red, other colours are obtained.

The lacquerware industry is in a dying condition for want of patronage. The articles manufactured are not exported, and the home market is becoming more and more restricted, owing to the growingly extensive use of European glassware and crockery. It was formerly found in Prome also, but is now restricted to Pagan and Mandalay. Pagan is the real centre.

TAW SEIN KO.

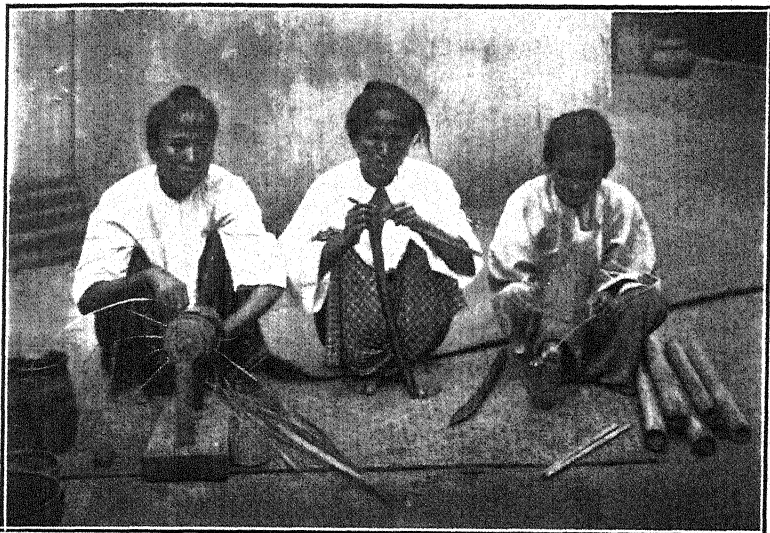


FIG. 1.

SPLICING BAMBOOS AND MOULDING FORMS OF LACQUERWARE ARTICLES.



FIG. 2.

POLISHING THE SIDES OF THE ARTICLES ON A LATHE WITH



FIG. 3.

THE POLISHING AND RUBBING PROCESS (CONTINUED).
INCISING PATTERNS ON THE ARTICLES WITH AN IRON STYLE.



FIG. 4.

INCISING PATTERNS (CONTINUED).

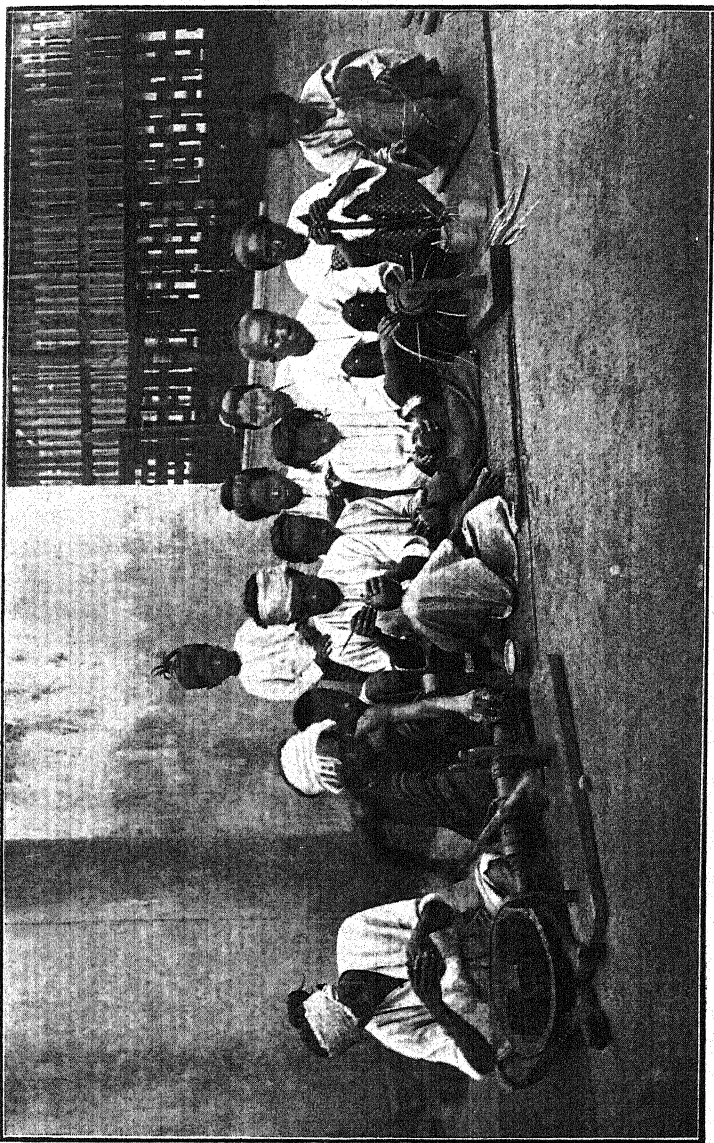


FIG. 5.

PANORAMA OF THE FOUR PROCESSES.



RANGOON IN 1852.

[The following article in Burmese is contributed by Saya Thein, of Hmawbi, who has taken great pains to trace the history of Rangoon during the first half of the last century. The first mention in Burmese history of a town in this locality is that referring to the Talaing queen, Shin Saw Bu, (see Vol. I, Part II, of the Journal), who reigned from 1452 to 1471, and is stated to have dwelt near the Shwe Dagon hill for ten years. The next noteworthy record is the conquest in 1757 by Alompra, who named the place *Yan-gôn*—"end of the war." Apparently however, apart from stockades and such like defences, there was no walled city till a much later date. English works written soon after the first Burmese War, 1824-26, do not mention the existence of such a city.

Saya Thein now calls attention to the mention at pp. 1202-4 of the *Kôn-baung-set Mahā-yāzawingyi* (a Burmese history of the Alompra dynasty) of the foundation of a royal city in 1203 B. E. (1841) by King Tharawadi, (the successor of Bagyidaw), who was also known as *Kôn-baung Min*. The site chosen was the village of *Ukkalāba*, under the shadow of the Dagon hill. The name of *Aung-mye-yan-nhin* was given to the city, and that of *Myat-nan-aung-gya* to the palace. The writer then gives statements made by U Ariya, a monk 78 years old, who was born at Rangoon, and now lives at *Gya-taw-ya*, east of the Pagoda. These are in effect:—

1. The boundaries of Konbaung Min's town were, I think, as follows:—North-East corner—the Shwe Dagon pagoda; South-East corner—the southern end of Barrack hill; South-West corner—near Mission Road; North-West corner—near the end of Shin Saw Bu's northern wall.

2. There were three gates on each side, and the northernmost on the east was called the *Leik-khon* gate; it was opposite to the road leading to the Royal Lakes. The middle gate was called the *Sin-zu*, and the southernmost the *Kan-daw-galay*. The easternmost gate on the south was called the *Pa-bè-dan* gate or the *Kya-gu* gate; it represents the present Pagoda Road. The middle gate was termed the *Nyaung-bin*. The westernmost was the *Thingyo* or *Thit-nyo*,—now Godwin Road, which is called *Lan-ma-daw*, because it was the road by which the King travelled. The middle gate on the west was called the *Wet-su*; the other two are forgotten. On the north, the westernmost was called the *Mū-tha* gate, and the middle the *Shin Saw*

Bu gate ; the easternmost one is not known. I have read the name "Aung-mye-yan-nhin" on an inscribed pillar.

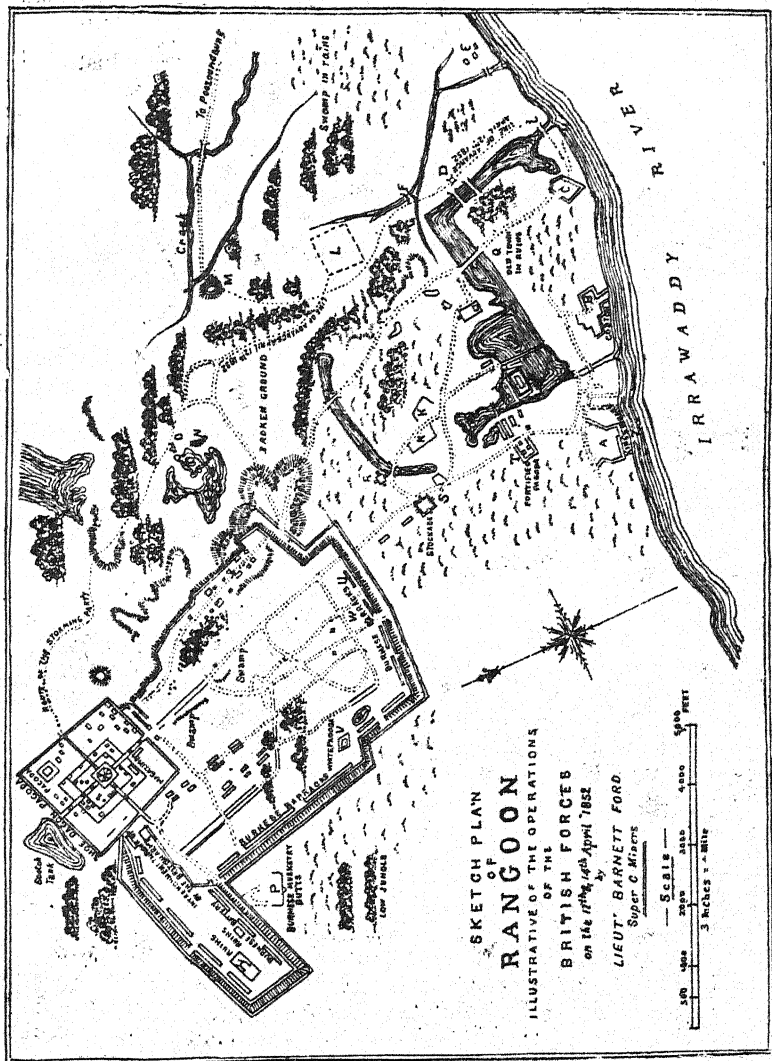
3. The Eastern wall was to the east of barrack hill, and the Signal Pagoda was within the city. The southern wall ran between the Jubilee Hall and the Kya-gu *thein* (the ruined temple on the race maidan facing Pagoda Road). The Kya-gu *thein* was outside the city, on the bank of the moat. The western wall was, I think, near Mission Road, and the northern was the same as the ancient one of Shin Saw Bu.

4. The palace stood where the Cantonment Church now is, facing the east. To the north-west of it was Pusodan road wherein the subjects dwelt. On the North, East and South of the palace, there were the quarters of the various troops.

5. The Jubilee Hall site was formerly occupied by Pongyi U Bya's monastery, east of it was the Tsin-ba Sayadaw's *Kyaung*, and south one built by the queen, Kin So. North of Tsin-ba Sayadaw's monastery was the Sā-zā *Kyaung*. The pagoda now standing opposite the Jubilee Hall was erected during Bodawpaya's reign by the Set-kya Woon-gyi after the model of the Shwe Dagon, and was called the Lawka-man-aung. South of it was U Ottama's monastery. North of Jubilee Hall was the Shwe-gu Paya-taik, containing seated brick images five and six cubits high, a recumbent figure twenty cubits in length heading south, and a row of images of the 28 Buddhas. Near it dwelt the elephant-keepers, and the place was known as the Shwegu quarter. The site of the Roman Catholic Church on Pagoda Road was occupied by soldiers ; to the north of it were monasteries, and to the west, the Seik-tu bazaar.

7. The Signal Pagoda on barrack hill was once called the Min-let-wè pagoda because it was erected by a minister of that name. South of it and near it was another pagoda built by Min-let-ya. On Pagoda Road there were two pagodas and two lions ; there is now only one pagoda and the two lions. At the western approach of the Pagoda also, there were two pagodas and two lions. These pagodas were on the line of the wall around the Shwe Dagon.

8. Pagan Min (the successor of Tharawadi) caused a pagoda to be built on the site of his residence when he was Crown Prince ; it had walls on four sides, four gates, a *zayat* on the south, outside the wall, a brick-lined tank, the Madaya Sayadaw's *Kyaung* on the north, outside the wall, and a *thein* on the north-east. These works of charity were carried out under royal orders by U Win, the Ye-wun of Rangoon. The Pagoda and tank still exist.



- A' Stockade destroyed by the Navy April 11th.
 B Stockade destroyed by the Navy April 11th.
 C' Stockade destroyed by the Navy April 11th.
 D Bridge destroyed by the Burmese.
 E Field Hospital.
 F Bridge destroyed by the Burmese.
 G Light guns in position, April 12th.
 H Landing Place April 12th
 J Bridge destroyed by the Burmese.
 K Burial Ground.
 L British Camp April 12th and 13th.
 M White House Picket.
 N Two Light Guns in Position.

- O Former Residence of Major Canning.
 P Burmese Musketry Butts.
 Q Old Town in ruins.
 R Signal Pagoda.
 S Stockade.
 T Fortified Pagoda.
 U Burmese Barrack.
 V White Pagoda.
 W King's Palace Barrack.
 X Sulay Pagoda.
 Y Shoay Dagon Pagoda.
 Z King's Wharf.

The writer goes on to quote from the Kon-baung history a passage which relates that in the year 1210 Konbaung Mindaya-gyi visited Ukkalaba-Rangoon (accompanied by the Pagan Prince ?), and that a pagoda called the Dhammayan-thi was erected by the Ye-wun, Myosa of Pegu, Maha Mingaung Kyaw-htin, who was given a sum of over Rs. 8000 for the purpose.

Saya Thein refers to the map of 1852, here reproduced, (from the copy in the Rangoon Municipal Office) which shows the city limits. He states that traces of the northern wall are still to be seen on the north-west of the pagoda (near the golf links), and suggests that the wall went round the present Ein-daw-ya ("site of royal residence") pagoda (near Bishop's Court); he would trace the rest of the wall on the lines stated by U Ariya. He sees faint indications of a wall and ditch along Budd Road, and does not agree with his informant as to Mission Road being the site of the western wall. The plan does not show the palace site, and it is not described in the history quoted from above. He notes that the gates shown in the plan do not tally with U Ariya's description. He then points out that, although it is stated by aged persons that the north wall was the old Shin Saw Bu's wall, the English Government's plan made after the first war does not show a wall, and the Shin Saw Bu wall is not mentioned in the history. He refers also to a book in Talaing, printed in Siam, which mentions Shin Saw Bu's visit to the Shwe Dagon, but does not say that she built a town and dwelt there; and to a Talaing manuscript discovered by him at Kamamo, Bilugyun, near Moulmein, which describes Shin Saw Bu's charitable works at the Shwe Dagon, including an enlargement or widening of the walls of the Pagoda. Saya Thein thinks that for the latter purpose the queen must have resided on the spot for a considerable time, during which she would probably establish a town of some sort. However, the Thaton Hnwe Mun Yazawin, although it describes Shin Saw Bu's visit, residence and death at Dagon, does not say that a town was built. The writer concludes with a reference to the prevailing belief that Shin Saw Bu's grave stood on Windsor Road, a monastery near it being known as the Shin Saw Bu's Cemetery *Kyaung*.

The plan given is, with a few slight differences, the same as the one given at page 69 of Laurie's *Second Burmese War*; both are stated to have been made by Lieut. Ford. The following passage from that work is interesting.

"An idea of the strength of new Rangoon may be gathered from the fact that the new town, already mentioned, up-

wards of a mile from the river, was described as nearly a square, with a bund, or mud wall, about sixteen feet high and eight broad; a ditch runs along each side of the square, and on the north side, where the Pagoda stands, it has been cleverly worked into the defences, to which it forms a sort of citadel." (Page 36).

At page 102 are given the names of 13 gates :—North Gate, Shoury Gyein (altered in the same author's later work, *Our Burmese Wars*, page 136, to Shwé Gyeen) Gate, Red Earth Gate, Sacred Tray Gate, Shoury Douny (Shwé Doung) Gate, 2 Tree Gates, Banyan Tree Gate, Smith's (South) Gate, Sacred Hair Gate, Little Lake Gate, Twisted Umbrella Gate, and Stone Gate. Banyan Tree Gate and Little Lake Gate correspond to U Ariya's Nyaungbin and Kandawgalay, one of the Tree Gates may be the Thit-nyo, and the Red Earth Gate was probably on the north, where there now is the Myenigon ("red earth hillock or mound") quarter.

Symes, Snodgrass, and other writers, quoted in the *British Burma Gazetteer*, Vol. II, pp. 568-570, describe Rangoon, prior to 1852, as being situated on the river bank, two miles south of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda enclosed on all sides by palisades, the King's Wharf being the only gate on the South. The *Gazetteer* goes on to say, page 571,——
 "The town, such as it was, was close to the river bank and in 1841, when King Koon-boung-meng, better known as prince Tharrawaddy, visited Rangoon he directed that the town and stockade should be removed about a mile and a quarter inland to the site of Ook-ka-la-ba and be called by that name. The ground plan of the new foundation was nearly square with sides about three quarters of a mile long having the Shwe Dagon pagoda hill as a citadel on the north east. The "royal order" was to a certain extent obeyed; the principal buildings and government offices were placed in the new town and were there when the British force landed and captured Rangoon in April 1852. It was surrounded by an earthen embankment 16 feet high and eight broad at the top with a ditch running along each side of the square. Between the new town and the river the ground was generally low and swampy and under water during spring tides, yet it had not been entirely deserted."

The most curious feature of the plan here reproduced is what appears to be a fair-sized harbour behind the old town and which was probably a morass. Within it, at X, is shown the Sule Pagoda,* which apparently used to be farther

* The letter, X, is not clear on the map as produced here. In the large copy, it is shown near the little square in the middle of the inland harbour or morass.

away from the river than it is now. The bridge, F, was probably over the creek which gave its name to Creek Street in East Rangoon, but which exists no longer. The Botatoung Pagoda is not shown, but the Fortified Pagoda, T, is very likely the temple near the Surati Bazaar. The Pagoda, R, is said to be "Signal Pagoda," but this seems to be a mistake; on the plan given in Laurie's *Second Burmese War* it is merely styled "Small Pagoda." I am inclined to think that it is the pagoda now standing in the compound opposite the Jubilee Hall, and that therefore the suggestion that the southern wall of Kon-baung Min's town ran between the Jubilee Hall and the Kya-gu *thein* is incorrect. My view is strengthened by the plan in Laurie, which shows "King's Palace Burnt" quite near the southern wall, inside it, and, according to U Ariya, the palace was somewhere near the Cantonment Church. It is probably the same as W, "King's Palace Barrack." Is the word "Barrack" here a mistake for "Burnt"? The word "Coston" near B should be "Custom House Wharf."

It is possible that other traces of old Rangoon will come to light after further investigation. Portions of the northern wall of Kon-baung Min's city are still clearly discernible, and the White Pagoda, V, with its tank, is the familiar Eindawya Pagoda in Godwin Road. The rest is at present obscure.—Ed.]

ရန်ကုန်မြို့တွင် ကုန်းဘောင်သူရင်ခေတ္တတည်ထောင်
စံနေတော်မူသော မြို့နေရာအကြောင်း။

ကုန်းဘောင်မင်းသည်။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၂၀၃ ခုတော်သလင်းလပြည့်
ကျော် ၇ ရက်နေ့၊ နေရပ်ပူရမြို့မှ ရန်ကုန်မြို့သို့ စုန်တော်မူလာရာ သတင်း
ကျွတ်လဆန်း ၁၄ ရက်နေ့ရောက်တော်မူ၍။ ဘောင်တော်တံတားဆိပ်
ကမ်း၊ ထဲနန်း တော်မှ၊ ဥက္ကဋ္ဌသပ နန်းတော်သို့ ဝင်တော် မူပြီးလျှင်။
ဆောက်ထားရှိနှင့်သည့်။ ကောင်းမွန်ဆန်းကြယ်သော၊ ရွှေနန်းပြာသာဒ်
တော်နှင့်တကွ၊ အဆောင်ဆောင်သော၊ ရွှေနန်းတော်များကို။ တက်သိမ်း
စွယ်တော်မူသည်။ နောက်တော်ကလိုက်ပါသည်။ မင်းညီမင်းသားစော်
ထွားမြို့စား မှူးတော်မတ်တော်။ ဗိုလ်ပါရဲမက်အပေါင်းတို့ကို၊ သင့်ရာ
အိမ်တိုက်တန်း၊ တင်းကုပ်များတွင်။ ချထားနေထိုင် စေသည်။ သတင်း
ကျွတ်လပြည့်ကျော် ၁၀ ရက်၊ ကောင်းမြတ်သောအခါတွင်၊ မြေမြို့ရိုးတည်
မည့်နေရာကို။ ချွင်းနင်းကြည့်ရှုတော်မူ၍။ တန်ဆောင်ရမ်းထဆန်း ၉ ရက်
စနေနေ့တွင်။ တိဂုန်တောင်ထိပ်၊ စက်ရိပ်အတွင်း၊ ဥက္ကဋ္ဌသပ ဇနပုဒ်နှိုက်။

တာဝန် ၁၀၀၀ ရှိသော၊ ခြေမြှောက်ကို နောက်တော်ပါ မင်းညီမင်းသား
 မှူးတော်မတ်တော်၊ ဗိုလ်မှူးတပ်မှူး၊ အမှုထမ်းချေမက်အပေါင်းတို့ကို၊ အ
 သီးအသီးတာဝန်ပေးအပ်တော်မူ၍။ ကျန်းခြေင်းတံခါး၊ ပြဒိုး၊ ပစ်
 စင်နှင့်တကွ၊ မြို့၏အင်္ဂါပြည့်စုံစွာ၊ အိမ်ဈေးသတင်းစသည်တို့ဖြင့်၊ ပြည်
 အလုံးကိုတန်ဆာဆင်သကဲ့သို့၊ ရက်အတွင်းတည်လုပ်ပြီးပြေလျှင်၊ မြို့
 တော်ကို၊ အောင်မြေရန်နှင့်၊ နန်းတော်ကို၊ မြတ်နန်းအောင်စွာ သမုတ်
 တော်မူ၍၊ စံတော်မူသည်။

(ဤဖော်ပြသော အကြောင်းကား၊ ကုန်းတောင်ဆက် မဟာရာဇာဝင်
 ကြီး၊ ဗျက်နာနံပါတ် ၁၂၀၃-၁၂၀၄ တွင်ရှိသည်။ အကျဉ်းအ
 မြတ်မှာ ထုတ်နုတ်ချက်ဖြစ်သည်။)

ရန်ကုန်မြို့၊ တပ်ခလေးခရီးရပ်တွင်၊ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၉၆ ခု၊ နှောင်း
 တန်းခူးလဆန်း ၈ ရက်၊ တနင်္ဂနွေနေ့တွင်၊ ဓမ္မစွေးပွားသော၊ သက်
 တော်၇၈၊ ဝါတော် ၅၇ ရှိတော်မူသော၊ တိဂုန်ဓမ္မတီတော်အရှေ့၊
 ကြားတောရာကျောင်းတိုက်တွင်၊ သတင်းသုံးတော်မူသော၊ ဘုန်း
 တော်ကြီးဦးအရိယမိန်ဆိုချက်မှာ၊

၁။ ကုန်းတောင်မင်းတည်သော၊ မြို့ရိုးအရှေ့မြောက်ထောင့်သည်၊
 ဘုရားကြီးကုန်းတော် တနင်္ဂနွေထောင့်၊ ယခုပေတရာလမ်း ထောင့်၌၊
 ပေါ်ကျမည် ထင်သည်။ အရှေ့တောင်ထောင့် မြို့ရိုးသည်၊ ယခုစစ်သား
 ဂေါ်ရာများနေသော၊ ကုန်းတောင်အဆုံးတွင်ကျမည်ထင်သည်။ အနောက်
 တောင်ထောင့် မြို့ရိုးသည်၊ မစ်ရှင်လမ်းအနီးတွင်ကျမည်ထင်သည်။ အ
 နောက် မြောက်ထောင့် မြို့ရိုးသည်၊ ရှေးရှိရင်းရှင်စောဝုမြို့မြောက်ဘက်
 မြို့ရိုးဟောင်းထောင့်အနီးတွင်ကျမည်ထင်သည်။

၂။ တဗျက်နာမှာ၊ ၃ တံခါးထားသည်။ ၄ ဗျက်နာတံခါး ၁၂ ရှိ
 သည်။ အရှေ့ဗျက်နာ၊ မြောက်ဆုံးတံခါးကို၊ လိပ်ခိုးတံခါးခေါ်သည်။ ယခု
 ကန်တော်ကြီးကို သွားသော ပေတရာလမ်းဖြစ်သည်။ အလယ်တံခါးကို၊
 ဆင်စုတံခါးခေါ်သည်။ တောင်ဆုံးတံခါးကို၊ ကန်တော်ကလေးတံခါးခေါ်
 သည်။ တောင်ဗျက်နာ၊ အရှေ့ဆုံးတံခါးကို၊ ပန်းပဲတန်းတံခါး၎င်း၊ ကျား
 ကူးတံခါး၎င်းခေါ်သည်။ ယခုခါတ်ရထားသွားသော ဘုရားထမ်းဖြစ်
 သည်။ အလယ်တံခါးကို၊ ညောင်ပင်တံခါးခေါ်သည်။ အနောက်ဆုံး တံ
 ခါးကို၊ သင်းပြုတ်တံခါး၎င်း၊ သစ်ညိုတံခါး၎င်းခေါ်သည်။ ယခုထမ်းမ
 တော်ခေါ်သည်။ လမ်းမတော်ခေါ်သည်မှာ၊ ကုန်းတောင်မင်း မြို့နန်းတော်
 သို့ဝင်ထွက်တော်မူသော လမ်းဖြစ်၍ ခေါ်ကြသည်။ အနောက်ဗျက်နာ
 အလယ် တံခါးကို၊ ဝက်စု တံခါး ခေါ်သည်။ ကျန် တံခါးကို မမှတ်မိ။

မြောက်ဗဟိုနှင့် အနောက်ဆုံးတံခါးကို မသတ်ခါးခေါ်သည်။ အလယ်တံခါးကို ၅၆ ခေတ်ပုတံခါးခေါ်သည်။ အရှေ့ဆုံးတံခါးကိုမထိ။ အောင်မြေရန်နှင့်မြို့ဟု ကမ္ဘည်းတိုင်စိုက်ထားသည်ကို ဖတ်ရဘူးသည်။

၃။ အရှေ့တက်မြို့ရိုးသည်၊ ယခုဂေါ်ရာကုန်း၏အရှေ့ကျသည်။ အထိတင်ဘုရားစေတီသည်၊ မြို့တွင်းကျသည်။ တောင်တက်မြို့ရိုးသည်၊ ယခုဂျူပလီနှင့် ကျားကူးထိမ်အကြားကျသည်။ ကျားကူးထိမ်သည် မြို့ပြင်ကျုံးထိပ် ကျသည်။ အနောက် မြို့ရိုးသည်၊ ယခုမစ်ရှင်ထမ်း အနီးဖြစ်မည်ထင်သည်။ မြောက်တက်မြို့ရိုးမှာ၊ ရှေးက ၅၆ ခေတ်ပု တည်သော၊ မြောက်မြို့ရိုးဟောင်းဖြစ်သည်။

၄။ စံတင်မူသောနန်းတော်နေရာသည်၊ ယခုမြင်းပြိုင်ကွင်းမြောက်ထက်၊ အင်္ဂလိပ်ဘုရားရှိခိုးကျောင်း နေရာဖြစ်သည်။ နန်းတော်ဗဟိုနှင့်၊ အရှေ့တက် ပြုသည်။ နန်းတော် အနောက်မြောက်ထောင့်တွင်၊ ပုဂံမင်းသားအိမ်တော်ရှိသည်။ ၎င်းအိမ်တော်အနောက်တွင်၊ ပုဆိုးတန်းထမ်းရှိသည်။ ဆင်းရဲသားဈေးနေသည်။ နန်းတော်တောင်တက်တွင်၊ မီးစွဲ၊ လှံစွဲ လက်နက်ကိုင်အမှုထမ်းတို့နေရသည်။ နန်းတော်မြောက်ထက်တွင်၊ မီးလှံကိုင် ၅၀၀၊ သေနတ်ကိုင် ၅၀၀၊ အမှုထမ်းတို့နေရသည်။ နန်းတော်အရှေ့တက်တွင်၊ ရန်ကုန်မြို့ရှိရင်း၊ ၅၅၀ အမှုထမ်း သေနတ်သားရဲသားများနေရသည်။

၅။ ယခုဂျူပလီရုံ နေရာတွင်၊ ရှေးကဘုန်းကြီး ဦးပြားကျောင်း ရှိသည်။ ၎င်းအရှေ့စဉ်ပါဆရာတော်ကျောင်း၊ ၎င်းတောင်မိဖုရားခင်ဆိုးဆောက်သောကျောင်းရှိသည်။ စဉ်ပါဆရာတော်ကျောင်းမြောက်၊ ဆားစားကျောင်းရှိသည်။ ယခုဂျူပလီရုံနှင့်ဗဟိုတိုင်၊ ဘုရားလမ်းအရှေ့ရှိသောစေတီသည်၊ သိုးတော်မင်းတရားကြီးလက်ထက်၊ စကြာဝန်ကြီးတည်သော ဘုရားဖြစ်သည်။ ရွတ်ဂုန်ပုံအထိုင်းတည်သည်။ လောကမာရ်အောင်ဟုကမ္ဘည်းတပ်သည်။ ၎င်းဘုရားတောင်၊ ဘုန်းကြီးဦးဥက္ကမကျောင်းရှိသည်။ ဂျူပလီရုံမြောက်တွင်၊ ရှေးက ရွှေဂူဘုရားထိုက်ကြီးရှိသည်။ တင်ပြန်ခွေဥာဏ်တော် ၅ တောင် ၆ တောင်ရှိသော အုတ်ရိုးရုပ်ပွားတော်များ စွာရှိသည်။ တောင်ကိုဥက္ကောင်းမူလျက်၊ ဥာဏ်တော်အတောင် ၂၀ ရှိသော၊ လျောင်းတော်မူတဆူရှိသည်။ နှစ်ကွပ်နှစ်ဆူရုပ်ပွားတော်များစီတန်းလျက်ရှိသည်။ ၎င်းဘုရားထိုက်အနီး၊ ဆင်ထိန်းဈေးနေကြသည်။ ရှေးက ရွှေဂူရုပ်စုဟု ခေါ်သည်။ ဓာတ်ရထားဘုရားထမ်းအနောက်ယခုရှိသောအင်္ဂလိပ်ဘုရားရှိခိုးကျောင်းနေရာတွင်၊ ရှေးကလက်နက်ကိုင် အမှုထမ်းတို့နေရာဖြစ်သည်။ ၎င်းဘုရားရှိခိုးကျောင်းမြောက်။

ရှေးကဘုန်းကြီးကျောင်းရှိသည်။ တိုက်ကျောင်း၎င်း။ ထန်းတောကျောင်း
၎င်းခေါ်တွင်သည်။ ၎င်းဘုရားရှိဦးကျောင်းအနောက်။ ရှေးက စိတ်တူ
ဈေးရှိသည်။

၆။ ယခုဂေါ်ရာစစ်သားဈားနေသောကုန်းပေါ်ရှိ၊ အထိတင်ဘုရား
စေတီသည်။ ရှေးကမင်းသက်ဝဲအမတ်တည်သောကြောင့်။ မင်းလက်ဝဲ
ဘုရားခေါ်သည်။ ၎င်းဘုရားတောင်ထက် အနီးကလည်း။ မင်းလက်ယာ
တည်သော၊ ဘုရားစေတီတဆူရှိသည်။ ရွှေတိဂုန်ဘုရားကြီး ကုန်းတော်
အောက်။ တောင်ထက်မာတ်ရထားသွားဘုရားလမ်းတွင်း၊ ရှေးကစေတီ
၂ ဆူ၊ ခြင်္သေ့ ၂ စီးသည်လျက်ရှိသည်။ မုတ်ဦးစေတီ၊ မုတ်ဦး၊ ခြင်္သေ့ခေါ်
သည်။ ယခုစေတီတဆူနှင့်ခြင်္သေ့ ၂ စီးသာရှိချေသည်။ အနောက်ဗျက်
နှာ စောင်း တန်းအဆင်းကလည်း။ စေတီ ၂ ဆူ၊ ခြင်္သေ့ ၂ စီးရှိသည်။
၎င်းစေတီဈားနှင့်အညီ ကုန်းတော်ကို ငှမုက်နှာပတ်လည်၊ အုတ်မဟာ
ရုံ တံတိုင်းကာလျက်ရှိသည်။

၇။ ပုဂံရွာနန်းရှင်သည်။ မင်းသားဖြစ်စင်က၊ ရန်ကုန်မြို့တွင်စံနေခဲ့ဘူး
သော၊ အိမ်တော်ရာ၌။ စေတီတဆူ၊ မဟာရုံတံတိုင်း ငှ မုက်နှာကာ၊
မုတ်ပေါက် ငှ။ စေတီတော်တောင်၊ မဟာရုံပြင်။ စရပ်ကြီးတဆောင်။ ၎င်း
စရပ်အရှေ့ အုတ်စီရေကန် ၁။ စေတီတော်မြောက်၊ မဟာရုံပြင်၊ မဏ္ဍရာ
ဆရာတော်ကျောင်း ၁။ စေတီတော်အရှေ့မြောက်ထောင့်၊ မဟာရုံပြင်။
သိမ်တလုံး၊ ၎င်းကုသိုလ်တော်ဈားကို၊ ပြီးပြေအောင်၊ ပုဂံမင်း အမိန့်
ဘော်နှင့်၊ ရန်ကုန်မြို့၊ ရေဝန်ဦးဝင်းက။ ကြပ်မဆောင် ရွက်ပြုလုပ်ရသည်။
ယခုစေတီတော်နှင့်၊ ရေကန်ရှိလေသည်။ (ဤကားဘုန်းတော်ကြီး မိန့်
ဆိုချက်တို့တည်း။)

ကုန်းဘောင် မဟာရာဇဝင်ကြီးတွင်။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၂၁၀ ပြည့်နှစ်
တွင်၊ ခမည်းတော်ကုန်းဘောင်မင်းတရားကြီး။ ဥက္ကလာပရန်ကုန်မြို့သို့
ထွက်ခံတော်မူရာ။ နောက်တော်ပါသည်ဖြစ်၍၊ စံနေတော်မူရင်း၊ မင်္ဂလာ
အိမ်တော်တွင်၊ ရေဝန်ပကိုးမြို့စား။ မဟာမင်းခေါင်ကျော်ထင်ကို။ ငွေ
တော်သပြာရှစ်ထောင်ကျော် ထုတ်ပေး၍၊ ကြီးကြပ်တည်လုပ်စေသည်။
ဘိနပ်တော်သံတောင် ၄၀၊ အရပ်သံတောင် ၄၅ ရှိသောစေတီတော် မ
ဟာရုံ တံတိုင်းမီးတားနှင့်တကွ၊ တည်လုပ်ပြီးပြေသည်ကို။ ထိုသက္ကရာဇ်
ပြာသိုလ်လ၊ ခမ္မရံသီ ကမ္မည်း တပ်စေပြီးလျှင်၊ အခါတော်နှင့်၊ ရွှေထီးအ
ထွတ်တင်လှူစေသည်ဟုဆိုသည်။

ဤကား၊ ကုန်းဘောင်မင်းတည်သော၊ ဥက္ကလာပ အောင်မြေရန်နှင့်
မြို့၏အတွင်းရှိသော အဆောက်အဦဈားဖြစ်သည်။

ခိုင်းချိန်ရန်အချက်။

၁။ ခရာဇ်သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၅၂ ခု၊ မြိမ္မာသက္ကရာဇ် ၁၂၁၄ ခုနှစ်တွင်၊ အင်္ဂလိပ်အစိုးရမင်းတို့ တိုင်းတာမှတ်သားထားသော။ ၃ ယက်မတမိုင် စကေးရှိမြေပုံတွင်။ ဘုန်းကြီးမိန့်ချက်အရ။ ကုန်းတောင်မင်းတည်သော မြို့နေရာကို ကြည့်ရှုရာ။ တိဂုန်စေတီတော်ကုန်း တောင်ချက်နှာနှင့်။ အနောက်ချက်နှာတွင်။ ကျုံးနှင့်မြို့ရိုးပြထားလျက်ရှိသည်။

၂။ ဘုရားကြီးကုန်းတော်အနောက်မြောက်ထောင့်က။ အနောက်သို့ တည့်တည့်။ မြောက်ဘက် မြို့ရိုးသည်။ ယခုတစတစ ထင်ရှား ရှိသေးသည်။ ၎င်းမြို့ရိုးသည်၊ အနောက်မြောက်ထောင့်မှ။ တောင်ဘက်သို့ ချိုးပြီးလျှင်။ တဖန်အရှေ့သို့၊ ဖြောင့်ဖြောင့်ချိုးတက်လာပြီးမှ။ တောင်ဘက်သို့ တန်းတန်းအတော်သွား၍။ အနည်းငယ်အရှေ့သို့ ညွတ်ပြီးနောက်။ တဖန်တောင်သို့ဖြောင့်စွာသွားရာ။ ယခုအိမ်တော်ရာ ဘုရားအနောက်တောင်ထောင့်အနီး။ အရှေ့သို့ချိုးသည်။ ၎င်းသည် အနောက်ဘက်မြို့ရိုးဖြစ်သည်။ တောင်ဘက်မြို့ရိုးမှာ။ ၎င်းအချိုးက အရှေ့သို့ယခုမြင်းပြင်ကွင်းမြောက်ဘက်ဖြတ်၍။ ဂျူပလီရုံနှင့်ကျားကူးသိမ်အကြားသွားပြီးလျှင်။ ဂေါ်ရာကုန်း၏တောင်အစွန်းအရှေ့တောင်ထောင့်မြို့ရိုးဆိုးသည်။ အရှေ့ဘက်မြို့ရိုးမှာ။ ယခုဂေါ်ရာစစ်သားတို့ နေသော။ ကုန်းရိုးအတိုင်း ဖြစ်သည်။

၃။ အိမ်တော်ရာ ဘုရား အနောက်။ ယခုရှိသော ဗတ်လမ်းသည်။ တောင်ဘက်သို့ကိုင်ညွတ်လာသောအနောက်မြို့ရိုးနှင့်တူသည်။ သေသေချာချာ မြေပုံအရလှည့်၍ သတိထားကြည့်ရှုပါလျှင်။ ရှေးကတူးသော ကျုံးဟောင်းသဏ္ဍာန်နိမ့်ရှိုင်းလျက်ရှိသည်။ မြို့ရိုးသဏ္ဍာန်ကုန်းရိုး မိမိုမောက်မောက် ထင်မှတ်ရန် ရှိသေးသည်။ ဘုန်းတော်ကြီးမိန့်ချက်။ အနောက်မြို့ရိုးသည်။ မစ်ရှင်လမ်းအနီးကျမည်အထင်နှင့်မိန့်ဆိုရာ။ မြေပုံရှိမြို့ရိုးနှင့်မကိုက်။ ဝေကွာလျက်ရှိသည်။ ဘုန်းတော်ကြီး မိန့်ဆိုသော အိမ်တော်ရာဘုရားအနောက်။ ပုဆိုးတန်းလမ်းရှိသည်ဆိုရာမှာ။ မြို့ရိုးပြင်ဘက်ကျမည်ထင်သည်။

၄။ မြို့ရိုးအတွင်း။ သက်နက်ကိုင်အမှုထမ်းများ။ မှူးတော်မတ်တော် စသောအခြေအရံ၊ မိသားစုမင်းမထိုနေထိုင်ရသော၊ အဆောက်အဦများကို ပြထားလျက် ရှိသည်။ နန်းတော် နေရာ အဆောက်အဦကို ပြထားလျက်မရှိချေ။ ကုန်းတောင်ဆက် ရာဇဝင်ကြီးမှာသည်။ မည်သည့်နေရာရပ်ကွက်မှာမြို့တည်၍။ နန်းတော်မည်သည့်နေရာမှာစိုက်ပျော်မှုသည်ထူမဆို။ ဘုန်းတော်ကြီးမိန့်ဆိုသောနေရာကိုသာမှတ်ရမည်ဖြစ်သည်။

၅။ တောင်မျက်နှာက။တံခါး ၂ ပေါက်ပြုလျက်ရှိသည်။ဘုန်းတော်ကြီးမိန့်ချက်အရ။မညီရှိသည်။အရှေ့မျက်နှာက။မြောက်ဆုံးတံခါးနှင့်။တောင်ဆုံးတံခါး ၂ သာရှိသည်။အလယ်တံခါးမရှိ။ယခုမျက်နှာမြင်-တောင်ကုန်းကြီးဖြစ်လျက်ရှိနေသည်။ဘုန်းတော်ကြီးမိန့်ဆိုချက်နှင့်မညီရှိသည်။အနောက်မျက်နှာမှာ။ တောင်ဆုံးတံခါးနှင့်။ မြောက်ဆုံးထောင့်မျိုး တံခါးသာပြု သာလျက်ရှိသည်။ဘုန်းတော်ကြီးမိန့်ချက်အရ။တံခါး၃ ပေါက်မထုတ်ချေ။ မြောက်မျက်နှာမှာ။ အလယ်တံခါး တပေါက်သာ ပြထားသည်။အနောက်ဆုံးနှင့်။အရှေ့ဆုံးတံခါးမရှိချေ။

၆။ ယခုထင်ရှားလျက်။တစ်တစ်ခုနေသော- မြေမြှေးသည်။သက်ရွယ်ကြီးကုန်သော။ရဟန်းရှင်ယူထိုကရှင်စောပုမြို့ရှိ၊ထုပြောဆိုကြသည်။သို့သော် သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၁၀၆ခုနှစ်၊ပဌမအရေးတော်ဖြစ်ပြီးနောက်။အင်္ဂလိပ်အစိုးရမင်းဘိုး။ ထိုင်းတာ မှတ်သား ထားသော မြေပုံတွင်။ ၎င်းမြို့ရှိကြောင်း။မဖော်မပြဖြစ်သည်။ ထို့ပြင်ကုန်းထောင်မင်းမြို့တည်စဉ်အခါက။ရှင်စောပုမြို့ပါထိမ်းရုန်း၍တည်ကြောင်းကို။ရာဇဝင်၌ကပ်မဆို။

၇။ ရှင်စောပုသည်။တံသာဝတီမြို့ကို။သက္ကရာဇ် ၈၉၉ခုနှစ်တွင်။စိုးစံဘော်မူ၍။နန်းစံ ၅ နှစ်ရှိသောအခါ။မြို့ဦးတပ်နှင့်တကွ။မူးတော် မတ်တော် အခြေအရံတို့ပါ။ ထွက်ချီတော်မူပြီးလျှင်။ တိဂုန်ခေတ်တော်ကြီးကို။ ထပ်မံပြင်ဆင်။ ဝူဇော်လှူဒါန်းတော်မူကြောင်းကို။ အယုဒ္ဓယနယ်။ ဣန္ဒိလသန္တနဂိုရ်မြို့။ ပညသန္တဂါရစာပုံနှိပ်ထိုက်က။တလိုင်းအက္ခရာနှင့်ထုတ်သော။တလိုင်းရာဇဝင်စာအုပ်မျက်နှာနံပါတ် ၄၃၃ တွင်ဆိုသည်။ မြို့တည်နေကြောင်းမဆိုချေ။

၈။ ထိုပြင် သက္ကရာဇ် ၈၂၅ခုနှစ်။တံသာဝတီမြို့ကို။ ရှင်စောပုစိုးစံတော်မူရာ။၇-နှစ်မြောက်တွင်။သားမက်ကို မြို့စောင့်သားခွဲပြီးမှ။မူးမတ်မိလ်ပါအစုံနှင့်။ ဆင်းလာတော်မူ၍။တိဂုန်ဆံတော်ရှင်ခေတ်မြတ်ကို။ ပြုပြင်တော်မူသည်မှာ။မဟာရံတံထိုင်းကို။ချွဲ၍ကာသည်။ ဆီမီးဝတ်။ဆွမ်းဝတ်။ပန်း ရေချမ်းဝတ်စသည်တို့ကို။ မပြတ်ပူဇော်သည်။မိမိကိုယ်နှင့်အလေးတူချိန်စက်၍။၉၅ ၂၅ ဝိဿာကို။အပြားခတ် ပြီးလျှင်။ ခေတ်တော်ငှက်ပျောဖူးတွင်း။ရွှေသင်္ကန်း ခွမ်းခံကပ်လှူတော်မူသည်။ ဘုရားကြီးကိုလည်း။ အစောင့်အကြပ်။ လူကြီး ၄ ယောက် ခန့်ထားတော် မူသည်။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၈၃၂ ခုနှစ်။တိဂုန်တွင်အနိစ္စရောက်ကြောင်းကို။ မော်လမြိုင်ဘီလူးကျွန်း။ ကမာမိ ရွာက-ရခဲသော ရာဇဝင်တလိုင်းတာသာအက္ခရာနှင့်ပေစာတွင်ဆိုသည်။ မြို့တည်နေကြောင်းမဆို။ သို့သော်၎င်းရာဇဝင်တွင်။ မဟာရံတံထိုင်းကို။ချွဲ၍ လုပ် ကိုင်ရကြောင်း ပါရှိသည်ကိုထောက်

လျှင်းတလနှစ်လနှင့်ပြီးနိုင်မည်မထင်။ တနှစ်ဖြစ်စေ။ နှစ်ဝက်ဖြစ်စေ။ အနည်းဆုံးကြာရန် ဂြိုမည်ဖြစ်သည်။ နောက်ပါအကြွေအရံ အမှုထမ်းတို့နှင့် လုံခြုံစွာဘနည်းနည်းအားဖြင့် မြို့တည်၍နေရန် စီမံလိမ့်မည်ဟု တွေးထင်တွယ်ရောက်ကြောင်း။

၉။ သထုံနှယ်ခွန်ရာဇဝင်တွင်ရှင်စောပုသည်တိဂုန်မြို့တွင်ပိသုဒ္ဓိရာဇာဗညားတော အမည်ခံ၍ ၁၀ နှစ်ထိုင်ခံပြီးလျှင် တိဂုန်ဆံတော်ရှင်စေတီတော်မြတ်ကို အထက်ခရားသီးမှ အောက်ဘိနပ်တော်ရောက် ရွှေသင်္ကန်းကပ်ယူတော်မူသည်။ ပြင်ဆင်ရန်ရှိသမျှကိုလည်းပြင်ဆင်၍ နေ့စဉ်ဆီမီး ဝတ်ကပ်ယူတော်မူသည်။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၈၃၂ ခုနှစ်၊ တိဂုန်မြို့တွင်အနိစ္စခရောက်ကြောင်းဆိုသည်။ မြို့ဘည်နေကြောင်းမဆို။

အနိစ္စခရောက်ကြောင်းကိုလည်းသက်သေခံပေါ်ထွက်သည်မှာ။ ယခုရှိသောမြို့ရိုးမြောက်ပေ ၁၀၀၀ခန့်ကွားပေတရာလမ်းထိပ်၊ ပြည်လမ်းအနောက်ဘက်တွင် ရှင်စောပုသုဿန်ဟုခေါ်ဝေါ်လျက် အထင်အရှားရှိသည်။ ယခုဘုန်းကြီးကျောင်းရှိသည်။ ရှေးကရှင်စောပု သုဿန်ကျောင်းဟုခေါ်ကြောင်းကို ရဟန်းရှင်လူ သက်ကြီးသူအိုတို့ ပြောကြသည်။

ဤကဲ့သို့ရှေးမိသက်ကြီးသူအိုတို့တဆင့်မှတဆင့်၊ တွေ့ကြုံ၍ပြောဆိုကြသောစကားအရရှင်စောပုသုဿန်ဟုအမှတ်ပြုရပါလျှင်မည်သည့်နေရာတွင် ရှင်စောပုသင်းရှိုင်းရှိသည်ဟု တလိုင်းတာသာ မြေဗွာတာသာရာဇဝင်တို့နှိုက်မဆိုချေ။ ရာဇဝင်များတွင် မဖော်မပြသော်လည်း သိမိသူရှင်ကြီးလူကြီးတို့တဆင့်မှတဆင့် ပြောကြားသောစကားကိုပင် ယုံကြည်ရမည်ဖြစ်ပါက မြို့ရိုးမှာလည်း သူအိုသက်ကြီးတို့စကား ဖြစ်ချေသောကြောင့်တိုင်းဆဆင်ခြင်ရန်ဖြစ်တော့သည်။

၁၀။ မြေပုံမှာရန်ကုန်မြို့မြို့နီစီပါယ်ရိုးကမြေပုံအရဖြစ်ပါသည်။

ဆရာသိန်း၊
ရှင်တီ။

THE BURMESE ERA.

The article entitled "Eras and Reckoning," reproduced below, is from Mr. Taw Sein Ko's *Some Remarks on the Kalyani Inscriptions*, published in the *Indian Antiquary* in 1893. It is perhaps, the most complete examination into the origin of the Burmese Era which has yet been recorded. How far it is an accurate exposition of the subject may be judged from the criticism that follows it.

ERAS AND RECKONING.

"The years of Sakkaraj (Thetkayit, the 'Vulgar Era' of the Burmese) throughout the inscriptions are expressed by means of mnemonic words, the latter being written in the reverse order. The following list contains the words most commonly used in this connexion :—

Cipher—*kha* ; *suñña* (void), *nabha* (the sky).

One—*rāpa* (form).

Two—*dō* (or *dvē*) ; *chamma* (there being two kinds of skins) ;
yama (a couple).

Three—*sikhi* (there being three kinds of fires, namely, of
lōbha or *rāga*, *dosa* and *moha*).

Four—*beda* (the number of *Vedas* being four).

Five—*pāna* (there being five kinds of intoxicants).

Six—*rasa* (there being six different kinds of tastes).

Seven—*muni* (there being seven kinds of sages).

Eight—*nāga* (there being eight kinds of *nāgas*).

Nine—*ruddha* (there being nine kinds of *samāpattis* ; five
rūpajjhāna, and four *arūpajjhāna*).

"Two eras, both of exotic origin, are in use among the Burmese :—the era of Religion, or Anno Buddhæ, reckoned by the Burmans from 544 B. C., and the Vulgar era, or Sakkaraj. The Burmans would derive Sakkarāj from Sakka or 'Sakra, the Recording Angel of Buddhism, and *rājā*, a king ; because, according to them, the era was inaugurated by the king of the *dēvas*. In ancient books and inscriptions, however, the word is found written *Sakaraj*, which is more consonant with its true etymology from *Sakarājā*. It is in fact a form of the Saka era of India, and is found in use in most of the Indo-Chinese countries and in Java, being reckoned properly from Monday, 14th March, 78, A.D. (Julian era).

"The earliest era used in Burma seems to have been the Era of Religion, reckoned as above ; but according to the Burmese, this era was abolished by Samundari, King of

Prome or Srikshêtra, in Anno Buddhæ 624, and a new era was established in its own second year, thus wiping out 622 years of the Era of Religion. Hence the era established by King Samundari had the name of the Dodorasa Era applied to it.

"It will be thus seen that the Dodorasa Era of King Samundari reckons from 78 A.D., that is, from the Saka Era of India. The correspondence of the beginning of this era in India and Burma, and of its very appellation, and the existence of architectural remains in Prome which resemble those of Upper India, are convincing proofs, to my mind, that there was frequent intercourse between India and Prome in the first century after Christ, when the latter was a seaport, and that Indian influence was predominant in the Irrawaddy Valley.

"But the Burmese and Indo-Chinese generally reckon, and have for centuries reckoned, the Sakkarâj from 638 A.D., adding, as they say, 622 and 560 to the Anno Buddhæ to arrive at it. That is, to convert a year Anno Buddhæ into a year Sakkarâj, the numbers 622 and 560 must be added to the former. [The numbers should be subtracted, not added.—Ed.] How the number 622 was arrived at, we have already seen, and the next puzzle is to find out why 560 has also been added.

"Besides the name Sakkaraj or Thetkayit, the name *Khacchapañcha* is applied to the Era which commences with 638 A.D., and the Burmese records are, so far as I know, silent as to the reasons for its introduction. For the matter of that they are silent as to the causes that led to the adoption of the Saka era of 78 A.D.

"But there is evidence to show that the new Sakkarâj, or Era of 638 A.D., is of Chinese origin. Forbes, *Languages of Further India*, p. 26 f., talks of the "singular fact that all the nations of Ultra-India, although deriving their religion, their civilization and their literature from India, have not adopted any of the Indian Eras, but have borrowed from China." He then goes on to quote from Garnier.

"Les relations établies par les Thang avec les contreés du midi avaient propagé sans aucun doute les connaissances astronomiques et le calendrier Chinois, et c'est la peut-être l'origine de l'ère qui est aujourd'hui la seule employée à Siam (Cambodge), au Laos, et en Birmanie, et qui commence à l'an 638. Cassini a démontré au effect que le point de départ de cette ère était purement astronomique. Le 21 Mars 638 la nouvelle lune coïncida avec l'entrée du soleil dans le premier signe du zodiaque et produisit une éclipse importante."

"As to the travels of the Era from China to Burma they can be accounted for thus. The Annamese, who became subject to China as long ago as the year 221 B.C. under the Emperor Hwangti, passed it on to their neighbours, the Cambodians, whose empire extended in the early centuries of the Christian era, prior to their conquest by the Siamese (1351-1374 A. D.), as far as the shores of the Gulf of Martaban. Traces of their influence and civilization are still to be found in the painting, sculpture and architecture of Burma.

"To convert the present Sakkarāj into years A.D., it is simply necessary to add 638; thus 1255 and 638=1893. The year 1893 A.D.=the year 1255 B.E. (Burmese Era). According to the Burmans the number 1255 is arrived at thus :—

1255	years Sakkarāj.
560	years Dôdôrasa.
622	years A.B.

2437 the present year A.B.

Subtract 1893 (years A.D.) from 2437 (years A.B.), and 544 B.C. is arrived at as the commencement of the Era of Religion.

"It will, however, be perceived that there is nothing Indian about the Sakkarāj of the modern Burmese, except its name and the traditions connected with it."

It thus appears that, according to Mr. Taw Sein Ko, the Burmans obtained their present era from China. That he has not altered his views since 1893 is apparent from his recent article on "The Early use of the Buddhist Era in Burma," (Vol. I, Part I, of this journal), wherein the expression, "the Chinese Era" is definitely used, and the *Antiquary* article is referred to.

What, however, is the so-called evidence on which an unqualified pronouncement on a matter of such historical importance has been made? A passage from Garnier, who observed a coincidence, and a surmise based thereon made by Forbes while discussing the possible early intercourse between Burma and China through the Cambodians. It may be noted that Forbes went on to say :—"The Annamese, Cambodians and Siamese have gone further, and have also adopted the Chinese duodenary cycle, which the Mons, Burmans and Shans have not done." There is not a vestige of proof beyond this, and we should perhaps be justified in rejecting the idea without even going into other matters.

But it is clearly demonstrable that the era was *not* borrowed from China or from any other country ; Indian influence there was, but the reckoning was most certainly made in Burma itself.

It is convenient to state here all the eras mentioned in Burmese historical and literary works, though two of them at least were admittedly promulgated in India.

1. The first is the Mahā Sakkarāj or the era of Bodaw Añjana, (grand-father of the Buddha) who is said to have dropped 8645 years of a previous era. For this, see Bigandet's *Legend of Gautama*, Vol. I, p. 13, and the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1908, p. 8. Also, the *Paleitsa Egyin*, verse 14.

2. The death of the Buddha is placed in the year 148 of the Mahā Sakkarāj, and it is stated that King Ajātasatru of Rājagaha ordained the commencement of the Sāsana (Religious) Era—Anno Buddhæ. Apparently this information was received by the Burmese from the *Sārattthadīpani-tika*, a work attributed to Sariputta, a writer of Ceylon *temp.* King Siri-mahā-parakkama-bāhu. See *Pitakatthamaing*, p. 45.

3. In 624 A. B., King Sumondari was reigning at ancient Prome (Thaye-khettayā). It is stated that a predecessor of his, King Thiri-rit or Siri-rāj, had in 433 made, with the assistance of brahmins, calculations for a new era, but the year was found unsuitable. (*Hman-nan*, Vol. I, p. 182). At page 187, *ibid*, we are told :—"The year of King Sumondari's death was 624. . . . The Sikrā, (or Sakka) King of the Nats, disguised himself as Mahallaka Pōnna (brahmin) at Lawka-nanda Kyauk-sagā and gave the calculation on a rock : 'The short year 2, after leaving out *do-do-rasa*, 622 years.'" (The mnemonic=2-2-6, and this is read, as usual, in the reverse order.) This was in A. D. 78, and the era coincides with the Sāka Era of India. Considering the intercourse which must have existed between Burma and India at the time, it is highly probable that the era was imported and that the tradition was a later invention owing to a confusion of Saka with Sakka ; it may be, however, that the brahmins induced the Burmese King to adopt the Indian reckoning and for that purpose put forward the myth of the Sikrā's coming. At least this is clear, that Indian astronomers had even then begun to exercise their influence in Burma, an influence which still survives.

4. The Sāka Era went on in Burma for 562 years. Before the expiry of that period, Varāha Mihira, the author of the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, one of the most important Indian

astronomical works, died (*viz.*, in 587 A.D.), and it is not at all unlikely but on the contrary highly probable that that publication or a knowledge of its principles found its way to Burma. In Saka 562, the King of Pagan, Pôppā Saw Rahan, or Sangha Rāja, who had been a monk before attaining the throne, introduced the present Burmese era by dropping 560 years and beginning with the year 2. *Khachapañca* (the *Khacchapañcha* of Mr. Taw Sein Ko's article) is the mnemonic for 0-6-5. The actual commencement of this era was in March, 638 A.D., the 21st according to the Julian, and 24th according to the Gregorian reckoning. This is what Cunningham says in the *Book of Indian Eras* :—"The common era of Burma which is now in use is the luni-solar calendar, which was introduced from India in A.D. 638. The length of the year is exactly the same as that of the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, namely 365-875648 days. The solar year is reckoned in the same way as that of the Hindus, and accordingly it now begins on the 12th and 13th of April, which is the calculated date of the sun's entrance into Aries according to Hindu reckoning. The luni-solar year has 12 lunar months of 29 and 30 days alternately, with an intercalary month at seven fixed periods in each cycle of 19 years." There is no Indian era with the same initial year, but the number of days in the year, the number of days in the various months, the 19-year cycle,—all these are Indian, and utterly foreign to the Chinese.

5. Before proceeding further, it should be noted that there was yet another era introduced in Burma by Mohnyin Mindaya of Ava, in 800 B.E. (See *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava*, p. 37). Of this the Hman-nan history (Vol. II, p. 85) says :—"He arrived at Ratanapura on the full-moon day of Nayon, 799, Sakkarāj. Having reached the golden palace, he consulted the *sayadaws* learned in the Pitakats and Vedas on the internal affairs of the kingdom, and the Sagyo and Mingyaung priests told him that the *pashu-chidda-muni* (=8-9-7) period had now elapsed and it would be improper not to wipe it off. Mohnyin Mindaya asked what consequences would follow an omission to do so, and the learned men said,—'The writers of Sanketa (Sanskrit) works have stated that the consequences would be disturbances in the country and the misery of living beings.' Yaza-thingyan (a minister) then pointed out that all previous kings who had introduced new eras were short-lived, that in fact they died in the very year that they did so. Whereupon the King replied :—"Should I, while seeing the happiness to be gained by all living beings, be guilty of this neglect through fear of death, it will be a slur

on me till the end of the world.'” He then ordered the abolition of the old era. The new reckoning, introduced though it was with pomp and circumstance, did not survive for very many years, probably because there were at that time a great many more erudite persons than on former occasions and they had become accustomed to the old chronology.

The reason for a change in reckoning as given to Mohnyin Mindaya reveals yet another instance of Burmese superstition springing from the influence of brahmins, but the real cause, as it existed in the minds of those who desired the change, is not difficult to understand. In a Burmese work, a century and a half old, the *Taungdwin Thathanabaing Sayadawgyi Apye*, the following occurs:—“The *thetkayit* should be demolished in a *suitable* year before the completion of 1000 years. Otherwise, owing to the multiplicity of figures, it is *difficult to calculate* the *thuзи dat byinzadā* (astronomical terms), and calamities are likely to occur in the country, so it is stated by worldly *sanketa* scholars.” It is well-known that for such purposes as the preparation of the calendar and the casting of horoscopes, most elaborate calculations have to be made, involving the reduction of years to minutes and seconds and fractions of a second, and one can sympathise with the astrologer who desires that the number of years to be so reduced should be as few as possible. It is for this reason that the practice arose of dropping out, from time to time, a certain number from the expired years of the era.

But this had to be done in a *suitable* year. What this means exactly is a question which only a qualified astronomer can answer, but it is suggested that, in order that a particular year, month and date may be suitable, the sun, moon and planets must be in a certain well-defined position—a position which admits of a fresh start being made on the same lines of reckoning as before. In the French quotation from Garnier we are told that on the 21st March, 638, the new moon coincided with the entry of the sun into the first sign of the Zodiac and produced an important eclipse. It is more than probable that such a moment was found to be eminently “suitable” not only in Burma, but in Siam and Cambodia as well, and that the astronomers of these countries, not necessarily acting in concert, utilised such an excellent opportunity of simplifying their calculations for the future; possibly, also, they desired to establish an era of their own in place of the Indian one which they had all hitherto used.

It seems therefore incorrect to say that "there is nothing Indian about the Sakkarāj of the modern Burmese, except its name and the traditions connected with it," and——in the entire absence of proof of any intercourse between the Cambodians and the Kingdom of Pagan——it is far less accurate to lay down that they transmitted the so-called Chinese Era to the people of Burma.

MAY OUNG.

THE ORIGIN OF THE KACHINS.*

The Kachins occupy a large and fertile territory extending from the 29th parallel north to almost the 23rd degree south. They are almost entirely a mountain people, and it is only recently that some of them have taken to the plains. Most of them live within the boundaries of British Burma, but large numbers inhabit the hill-country of western Yunnan and smaller settlements are found in Assam and along the borders of Tibet. The whole of northern Burma as far south as the 24th parallel is largely under Kachin influence. On the west side of the Irrawaddy they are not as strongly represented as on the east, but they are found as far south as Katha and Wuntho, holding the hills in the Mogoung district, and being in undisputed possession of the country north of Kamaing and the jade-mines, and the whole of the Hukong valley. The hill tract between Myitkyina and the Kamhti valley is in possession of the Hkakhku Kachins and they are still numerous on the border of north-eastern Assam. On the east of the great artery of Burma they inhabit the whole territory as far as the Salween and are quite numerous in north Hsenwi and as far south as the Ruby Mines district. Formerly they also ruled the large plains in the Bhamo district and the Northern Shan States, they themselves living in their mountain homes. The Shans and Burmans became their tributaries, and it was only the British occupation of Upper Burma that put an end to their conquests and advance further south.

THE ASSAM KACHINS.

The Singhpas of Assam are the same as the Jinghpaws of Burma. The Assamese being unable to pronounce the word Jinghpaw render it as Singhpo. There are also some small families such as the Darungs and Faqueers who speak "Singhpo," but they are of mixed blood. Pure Kachins are found east of Ledo, and the dialect is spoken as far west as Dibrugarh and Golaghat. The Darunga have a story that they were for generations held as slaves by the Darung river in the Hukong valley, when the Shans (probably the Ahoms) ruled that country. Thus their dialect became largely a Shan *patois* and they lost many of their Kachin characteristics. There is no doubt some truth in

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this, and the Ahom rule is responsible for the fact that the Kachins never became as strong on the west side of the Irrawaddy as on the east.

KACHINS IN CHINA.

The Atsi-Kachins are very numerous in western Yunnan, and further north we have the Marus, Nungs and other tribes. But our information regarding them is still meagre. We know, however, that in language, customs and traditions they do not materially differ from their kinsmen in other parts of Kachin-land.

THE KACHIN TRIBES.

Strictly speaking there are no Kachin tribes, but simply families and linguistic divisions. For the sake of convenience, however, we may call the group of families that speak the same dialect a tribe or clan, employing the name Kachin for the people as a whole. Still it must be remembered that the linguistic and family divisions are not at all co-terminous. Following the linguistic divisions we have the Jinghpaw, Maru, Lashi, Atsi and Nung tribes, while the Hkahku, Gauri and Sasan simply represent local conditions. All Kachins, whatever dialect they speak, call themselves *Jinghpaw*, and recognise a common source and ancestry. We accept the name Kachin because it is in common use and is the only term in which all these divisions and sub-divisions can be included.

ORIGIN OF THE KACHIN FAMILIES.

According to Kachin tradition (our only authority on the subject) they are the descendants of a certain Wahkyetwa, a semi-mythological figure. His five eldest sons became the progenitors of the five recognised families of chieftains. These are :

La N-Gam (Marip wa Gumja), the golden father of the Marip family.

La N-Naw (Lahtaw wa Naw Lawn) the aggressive father of the Lahtaws.

La N-La (Lahpai wa La Tsan) the "far-spreading" father of the Lahpais.

La N-Tu (Tsit wa Tu Hkum) the "growing" father of the Nhkums.

La N-Tang (Maran wa Ningshawng) the "first" of the Marans.

From these five families come all the Kachin chiefs, and no one bearing the family name of a chief can ever in theory become a "commoner," but in reality they are constantly

"losing caste" and dwindling down among their subjects. Thus a branch of the Marip family lost the name and became called Sakhungthen. This was changed and they are to-day called Damau.

Following these five, three younger sons were born who did not become rulers and their families became identified with those of their elder brothers. These are La N-Yaw who became one with the Nhkum family; La Nhka who became identified with the Lahtaws, and La N-Kying, the "branch" who settled down with the Marans. These parent families, often incorrectly called tribes, have no subdivisions; all belonging to them having the honour and dignity of chiefs. When they branch off they lose the family name and all that goes with it.

According to one tradition Wahkyetwa had three wives, others say thirty. The first of these, Magawng Kabang Majan, is apparently the mother of the chiefs, although this is not quite certain. The others became the mothers of the endless families of commoners, ruled by a chief from one or the other of the ruling families. These can never carry the name of the chief, except in the sense that they are his slaves, subjects or dependents. They can never belong to his family or intermarry with their rulers. They carry the name of the chief only so long as they remain in his jurisdiction; when they remove to the territory of another chief, they become his subjects and will be named after him.

ANCESTRAL HOME.

Where are we to look for the ancestral home of Wahkyetwa and his valiant sons? If we could answer this question with certainty, we would bring to light many an obscure point in early Burman history. But here we are left to often contradictory traditions and consequent conjectures. In this sea of uncertainty there are however, three faint beacon lights to guide us; (1) All Kachins claim to come from Majoi Shingra Bum, or Kaang Shingra; (2) their traditions indicate an acquaintance with the sources of the Irrawaddy; and (3) the names of the districts ruled by the first five chiefs have been handed down.

It would seem that with these landmarks to guide us, we would be able to determine something regarding their early home. But a close examination leads to the disappointing conclusion that we are dealing with legends from which very little of an historical character can be extracted, and where we seem to have history, it leads us only two or three centuries back. Where are we to locate the Majoi Shingra Bum, or, as it is

also called, Kaang Shingra or Majoi Shingra Hkindaw? The meaning of the name is plain enough. We can translate the three different designations, "The naturally flat mountain," the "central plain," and the "threshold of the naturally level country." In each case we have the picture of a plateau, or high tableland; this is situated in the "centre of the world," and is the threshold of what is beyond. When confronted with the question where this place is to be found, a Kachin invariably replies, "Way up there," pointing to the north. Further than this he cannot carry us. A few will describe a mountain reminding us of Duffa Bum in North-Eastern Assam; but this is only an echo of the Buddhist tradition regarding Mount Meru. Others claim that it is a Kachin land of snow-clad hills, colder than any territory now inhabited by Kachins. Here too we deal most likely with mere conjectures and impressions, and not with actual knowledge. The Kachins have a term for frost, but no word for snow. Even northern Kachins must borrow a Chinese term when naming a snow-drift. Some of the Hukong Kachins locate the mountain in the territory occupied by the Nungs north-east of Kamhti Long. That they occupied this district for some time on their way south is certain, but it cannot have been their original home.

While an acquaintance with the head-waters of the Irrawaddy is evident this too does not lead us very far. Four rivers are mentioned in traditional lore, namely, the Malihka (Irrawaddy), called in poetic language Ja Kaw, the golden female Kaw, which was "measured out" (by the Creator) with a golden spoon; the Nmai hka (the Nmai river), Ja Lu, the golden daughter Lu, "measured out" with a silver spoon; the Nshawn (probably the Dibru), regarded as a male and measured out with a copper spoon; and the Hpunggawn (probably the Brahmaputra) of the same gender and humble origin. All that we can infer from the mention of these names is that the Kachin hordes, two or three centuries ago, were living in the territory drained by these great arteries, but it does not prove that here was actually their ancestral home.

When we examine the legend regarding the original districts ruled by the five parents chiefs, we again find little for our instruction. From these we learn (1) that the father of the Marips occupied the Wang Ya, "the round plain," which may refer to the Hukong where the Marips are numerous; (2) the Lahtaw family ruled the Jaw man Jaw Hkang, which may be a strip of Naga-land, north-east of Assam, or the hills east of the Malikha; (3) the "far-spread-

ing" Lahpai held the Tawn Singkawng district, probably identical with the Singkawng hills in the Hkaku country; (4) the "green and growing father of the Nhkums" held sway in the Tsit ga, the green country, or, as some pronounce it, Tsin ga, probably the Kamhti valley; and (5) the "first of the Marans" ruled the Gumshu Gumwa ga, the sugar-cane district, a tract of land still bearing that name in the Hkaku hills. It is clear from all this that present-day traditions deal only with conditions that were actual when the emigrating families lived on the border-land between Assam, China and northern Burma. The Kamhti and adjacent territory was then their home as far as they had any. But it is certain that we must look still further north for the ancestral nidus. This no doubt must be sought among the highlands of Mongolia, and the border-land of eastern Tibet and western Szechuan. Here stood the cradle of the race. In unison with a large number of related tribes, Nagas, Chins, Lahus and possibly Karens, a movement south commenced. The Kachins held the central position, and while weaker tribes were allowed to pass the Jinghpaw tribes were held back by the strong Shan rulers in Assam and Yunnan. Thus they must have stopped, probably for centuries in the district drained by the "four rivers," and it is from this period that our traditions and stories mainly date. As the Yunnan Shans lost their grip, and the Ahoms in Assam became weak the Kachins again began to move and from that time on we can follow their movements with a certain amount of accuracy.

THE NAME "KACHIN."

If we could tell how and when the name Kachin originated we would know something about their history. But all we can tell with certainty is that it is a Burmese appellation, not known in either Assam or China. All Kachins, as stated, call themselves Jinghpaw, the word sometimes being used in the sense of man (*homo*). But just as the Tai race became known as Shan, the Bragin-yaw tribes as Karens, the Jinghpaws were called Kachins. The Shans and Palawngs call the Jinghpaws Hkang, the same name the Kachins give to the Chins, an opprobrious term indicating mixed race or parentage. The Chinese called them Ye Jein, wild men, which in Kachin becomes Yawyin and is applied to the Lishaws. The Burmans must have had their first information regarding the advancing Jinghpaws from the Shans and Chinese, and in some way coined the term in accordance with the names employed by them. The Hkang of the Shan and the Jein of the Chinese may for short have become

Hkakhkyen, which seems to have been the earliest way of pronouncing and spelling the word ; this again has been simplified to our Kachin. That we in the word Kachin have the Burmese words for sour (hka) and bitter (hkyin) is forced and fanciful. A theory advanced by some Kachins that we have a combination of the Kachin and Burmese words for basket (ka and khyin), thus indicating that a Kachin is never seen without carrying a basket, is as good as the rest, but no better. My own impression is that we have in the name a corruption of the Shan and Chinese terms.

MIGRATIONS.

Guided by the meagre traditions, we must try to form an idea of the Kachin conquest of Northern Burma and adjacent territory. We need go back about 250 or 300 years to come in contact with the comparatively small groups of Jinghpaw families, as they leave their mountain homes around the great rivers of the land north of the Kamhti, where they have lived since their first advance from the Kaang Shingra. They are now of enough importance that the Ahom kings are willing to use small detachments of them in their service. Later as the Shan rulers became weak and the tribes grew strong, there was fierce fighting between them on the Assam frontier. But the Jinghpaws never gained a strong foot-hold in Assam and thus they turned south and east over-running the Kamhti valley and crossing the Patkoi range practically exterminated the Hukong population. Only a few Shans remain there to this day, being subjects of the Kachins. This happened about 200 years ago. Having obtained a foot-hold, the conquest of the whole region between Kamhti and the Hukong as far south as the Mogoung river followed in due time. The Shans and Burmans were driven out, and only the ruins of their pagodas, the trees planted around their monasteries and the names of their villages remained to tell the story of fierce fighting and wholesale slaughter. A few were held as slaves, but all that could fled south for protection among their kinsmen. Having advanced as far south as the Mogoung and Katha districts they encountered more organised resistance and were forced east. They found it difficult to hold the plains and looked for new conquest among the hills east of the Irrawaddy. Crossing the river north of Myitkyina they soon became the masters of the whole country between the Irrawaddy and the Salween, except that they were unable to hold the valleys ruled by the Chinese. The La, Shan, Palawng and Chinese hill population

receded further and further south, and most of the Kachin villages remain on the old village sites of the Tai people. The rich Shan valleys became tributaries to the mountain chiefs, and had it not been for the British occupation, many of them would have shared the fate of the Hukong.

When the main body of the Jinghpaws left their homes north of the Kahmhti and took possession of the country west of the Irrawaddy, smaller detachments, mostly represented by the Marus, forced their way southward between the Mali and Nmai rivers. But they were never strong enough to gain much headway south of the Nmai. It was only after their kinsmen the Jinghpaws had crossed the Irrawaddy and become powerful enough to invade the region north of the Tapaing that the Marus could seek new homes. They pushed down along the Chinese frontier, and many of them settled among the Jinghpaws. Thus we find Maru villages all over the Kachin hills. While of the same stock they show in their speech a remarkable relationship to the Burmese. In customs and religion they are, however, Kachins with some peculiarities of their own. A large number of them came under the influence of the strong Lahpai family, and by intermarriage a new clan grew up, the Atsi. These developed a new dialect and some of the customs are somewhat different from both Jinghpaw and Maru, but in the main they are true Kachins. Their speech as is natural is closely related to the Maru. Through the Atsis, by intermarriage with the Marans and probably Chinese, came the Lashis, the youngest of the district divisions, unless the Sasans be so regarded, which seems unnecessary. The Lashi shows in his dialect his Maru parentage, but in certain other respects gives evidence of the more modern conditions under which he has grown up. Thus the Maru, Atsi and Lashi are practically the same people. It is only by the suffrage of their stronger kinsmen that they have been able to secure territory, but have always, so to speak, been kept to the backwoods, and are thus less civilised, and if possible more superstitious than the regular Jinghpaws.

RELATIONS BETWEEN MARU AND BURMESE.

While the Marus, or as they call themselves the Lawngwaw, belong to the Jinghpaw family, the marked similarity between the Maru dialects (including Atsi and Lashi) to the Burmese, indicates an interesting condition in early history. It is questionable, however if their dialects taken as a whole stand any nearer Burmese than does Jinghpaw. One-fourth of the Jinghpaw roots are identical

with Burmese ; grammar and constructions are practically the same. It is doubtful if more than this can be said of the Maru group. Still the fact that quite a number of their words retain the Burman ring, where Jinghpaw has adopted new terms or changed the old so as to be almost unrecognisable, indicates a closer relationship in the distant past between the Marus and Burmans than between the Jinghpaws and Burmans. The early home of all the tribes of Burma was no doubt the same. The Burmans were the first to push south. They were probably followed by Chins and the Jinghpaws kept to the west of the Irrawaddy while the Burmans and the Marus came down the east side. The more aggressive and numerous Burmans soon left their weaker brethren behind. In the meantime northern Burma came under Shan influence. The Shan kings of Tali and Assam kept the Jinghpaws and Marus in the territory already indicated. The Jinghpaws to the west were more in touch with the outside world than the now isolated Maru. While the latter retained some early characteristics of speech they ran easily into brogues in their lonely hills and valleys. The Jinghpaws in touch with the larger life modified their speech, but maintained the unity of their dialect. Thus when the day came for a new advance south, the Jinghpaws had the advantage of a wider training and their common dialect secured the homogeneity of the race.

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS.

The Kachin history, as we are able to trace it to-day, begins at the head waters of the Irrawaddy, when the tribes are ready to advance into Burma, Assam and Yunnan. What movements there were before that time from a region still further north we can only conjecture. The territorial distribution of the families to-day indicates the position they held two or three centuries ago, but changes are always taking place. In the far north-east we find the Nungs (Hkanungs), a degenerate branch of a once strong and intelligent tribe. Many of them are slaves to the Kamhti Shans and their appearance is low, cringing and savage. To the west of them we have the Assam Singhpos, in all essentials one with their kinsmen further north and south, but lacking in some of their stronger qualities. They exhibit both in speech and customs a strong Shan influence. Still moving south we meet the Hkakhkus and Hukong Kachins of whom the Sasans have departed most widely from the parent stock. South of these we come in contact with the main body of the race in the Myitkyina, Mogoung, Bhamo and Katha districts. In the Northern Shan States they hold the

hills and a goodly number is found in the Ruby Mines district.

As it often happens that the conquerors are intellectually conquered by their subjects, so to a certain extent it has happened here. The Kachins that remained on the west side of the Irrawaddy developed localisms in their speech, and many of them, as in the Hukong and Kamhti, became strongly influenced by the Shans as to customs and religion. The more isolated communities in the hills also developed some special characteristics and in time became known as *Hkahku ni*, the up-river people. Their dialect differs somewhat from ordinary Jinghpaw, but they are true Kachins and adhere strictly to the ancestral traditions. As time went on a large number of sectional names grew up, but the original family names, and identity of the ruling families, has always been maintained. On the east of the Irrawaddy the Jinghpaw dialect has remained remarkably pure, and the old customs and traditions have been everywhere followed. It is only of late years that Shan influence has been felt in the Northern Shan States and in Chinese territory.

The demarcation of the sections occupied by the five ruling families is difficult, as they are represented in all parts of the country. It is of importance only as it helps us to follow their line of advance. In early days the chiefs of the same family would act together in offensive and defensive warfare, but in time they separated and established themselves wherever there was an opportunity. Still we can to some extent outline their early conquests and settlements.

The MARIPS are found mostly on the west of the Irrawaddy. Their territory is broadly speaking the Hukong, the Jade-mines and the Hkahku country.

The LAHTAWS have villages in the Hukong; they are strong on both sides of the Irrawaddy north of the confluence as far south as Myitkyina. They are numerous in the Bhamo district and occupy a large section of the North Hsenwi.

- The LAHPAI family is the largest and strongest of all. They are found in the Mogoung district and to the east of Myitkyina. All the Atsis along the whole frontier from Sadon to Kutkai and Lashio are ruled by Lahpai chiefs. The Gauri villages east of Bhamo are under their rule, while after a short break we find them in the Hpungkan hills further south. Smaller groups are found in every part of Kachin-land.

The NHKUMS are scattered all along the Chinese frontier. They are probably the weakest of the ruling families. They have a number of villages in the Mogoung district, east of Bhamo and in the north Hsenwi, particularly in the Mong Baw circle. Their earliest home seems to have been west of the Irrawaddy around the Kamhti valley.

The MARANS like the Nhkums are found around Sinbo, Mogoung and Katha. South-east of Bhamo the Sana and Laika groups have Maran chiefs, and the Laika groups have Maran chiefs, and the Laikas again appear along the Salween in the Northern Shan States, and in the Mong Myit district.

O. HANSON.

THE LEGEND OF THE KYAUKWAING PAGODA.

The erection of monuments to commemorate notable events over the remains of those who gave birth to them is of universal practice. All nations perpetuate the memories of their own heroes in their own ways either by recording deeds of valour in the imperishable pages of history, or on the face of the monuments reared over their bones. While in other countries these commemorative edifices take the form of triumphal arches, mausoleums, etc., in Burma the religious zeal of the Burmans often gives them the shape of religious shrines or pagodas. Some of these pagodas serve as receptacles of the relics of holy saints or of one's relatives; others are intended as lasting memorials of victories over enemies, or of piety and devotion to religion. It was in this manner that Burma became possessed of the immense number of pagodas which have won for her the appellation of "The Land of Pagodas." Some of the shrines are of great antiquity and sanctity, and are not allowed to fall into decay. They are looked after with assiduous care and solicitude. But others which are of a less sacred nature do not receive an equal share of attention, and are gradually falling into ruin through the ravages of time. It is these latter pagodas that are generally associated with mythical stories or romantic legends. It has been the custom of Burmans from time immemorial to make a pilgrimage to these shrines, and hold festivals in honour of them once a year. In or near almost every big town there are several of these pagodas, more or less important, which furnish the people annually with sources of pleasure and recreation. Near Rangoon there are not less than five of such minor shrines, namely, Kyaikkalo, Kyaikkasan, Kyaukwaing, Thadugan and Tanyin (Syriam) Pagodas, to which the people repair every year in carts, boats or train, in merry companies. Of these the Kyaukwaing pagoda has a remarkable history which I give below as current among the Burmans.

Once upon a time there dwelt Ma Shwe Bwin, the daughter of a Thugyi, in the little town of Yegin, so called because it is beyond the reach of the tidal floods of the Irrawaddy below Prome. As a young girl of prepossessing appearance, she had many admirers but did not favour the attentions of any one particular suitor. Great was the disappointment of many a young man whose solicitations were rejected. This state of affairs at last reached the climax when she began to receive an unknown handsome young

man who in his nightly visits to the house seemed to have won her heart by his affable manners. Their acquaintance soon ripened into an intense love for each other, which culminated in their union as husband and wife. She bore him a child in due course and he was very happy nursing her on her child-bed with great care and tenderness. But their domestic felicity was not destined to last long, for the evil hour of terrible retribution was approaching. Within a week of the birth of the child as he was attending her one night, he was thrown forward from his seat three times when all at once the past events of his life flitted across his mind, and he knew that the time for retribution was at hand. His bodily and mental agony attracted the notice of his watchful mother-in-law, who pressed him for the reason of his sudden illness, when he related to her story as follows in order to pass the time more pleasantly :—

In a village, not far from the town of Hmawbi, there lived an old man named Po Taw Laban and his wife Me Zet. They earned a precarious livelihood by fishing. One day they saw in their net a shining egg among the captives of the finny tribe. This they carefully laid aside to see what it was like. In due course of time a young alligator was hatched out of the egg, and was named Nga Mo Yeik by the solicitous old couple on account of the sky being overcast at the time of its hatching. It was kept in a little pond specially dug near their humble dwelling. It was looked after and fed daily with parental care. Years rolled by when the grown-up animal found its abode too small. And the little protegéé was accordingly transferred to an enclosure within a bamboo fence in the river near the village. The village itself was afterwards named Wataya after the hundred bamboos used in the construction of the fence.

After the lapse of some years Nga Mo Yeik found his new habitation also too small for him, and broke through the bamboo barrier to seek a wider field. Still, it was not neglected by its guardians and it was fed daily as usual with their own hands.

But this state of things did not last long. One day as the old man neared Nga Mo Yeik with the usual meal, the nature of the animal asserted itself when it seized and killed the old benefactor. Nga Mo Yeik next moved down the river and met three female alligators named MeGale, Mi Letto and Migyi Gaunggyaung in the Rangoon river. These at once disputed his right to enter their territory and gave battle. He defeated them all and continued his march of conquest into every nook and bend of the river till he became the lord of the whole territory. Now Nga Mo Yeik

was not an ordinary animal. He was under the tutelage of a sylvan deity and he had the super-normal power of assuming the form of any being he chose as occasion arose. When he came to Yegin, he assumed the form of a human being, and took to wife a charming young damsel, who was the belle of the town. His wife then bore him a son.

"Oh!", exclaimed the astonished old lady, "my dear son, this story very much resembles your case."

"Dear mother," replied the unhappy Nga Mo Yeik, "resemblances of circumstances between persons and things are not uncommon in this world."

"True. But proceed with your story in which I feel rather interested."

Nga Mo Yeik then resumed his narrative as follows:—

"While his wife was still in confinement, the husband was summoned three times by one Maung Pauk Kyaing of Dagon (the classical name of Rangoon). At each of these summonses the wretched man fell forward from the seat and become unconscious."

"Ah! I see," ejaculated the terrified lady. "The hero of your story is no other than you."

But who was this wonderful Maung Pauk Kyaing?

The old fisherman who was the unfortunate victim of base ingratitude, quite helpless in the jaws of death, prayed that in his next existence he might be enabled to take revenge against the ungrateful Nga Mo Yeik. He was reborn in the city of Dagon. On his attainment of manhood, he went to Tekkatho (the Greek Taxil) where he learnt the *Migyaung-libyat-atat*, i.e., the art of severing the necks of alligators. On return to his country, he one day came to Wataya when the events of his former life were vividly recalled to his mind. Thereupon he determined to avenge himself on his former enemy. Accordingly he summoned the poor Nga Mo Yeik to his presence by striking the waters of the river three times with his magical cane. And at each stroke Nga Mo Yeik was stunned, and became senseless, as if it was administered to his body. Nga Mo Yeik told his dear wife and mother-in-law that he could not do anything but obey the commands of Maung Pauk Kyaing.

On arrival at the place of his doom, the retransformed Nga Mo Yeik was ordered by Maung Pauk Kyaing to lay his body half in water and half on land, before he was cut in twain.

Such is the horrible end of ingratitude under the inflexible and inexorable laws of Retribution.

The bereaved widow and mother, overwhelmed with grief, buried the body and erected a mound of stones over

it to mark the site of terrible execution. Hence the name of Kyauk-waing, (literally, 'stone-surrounded') known to this day. It was subsequently enlarged and improved upon by the people who now annually hold an anniversary festival in honour of this victim of Karma.

This brief account of Nga Mo Yeik will not be complete without the mention of a certain belief prevalent among Burmans that the descendents of Nga Mo Yeik in Yegin still have a natural aversion to the use of turmeric which is regarded as an object of great dread and abhorrence to alligators.

YEO WUN SIN.

NOTE TO THE ABOVE.

This popular story of the alligator Nga Mo Yeik and the Yegin-thu Ma Shwe Bwin was at one time frequently acted on the Burmese stage, and the former name is still given to the Pazundaung creek above the rice-mills. The pagoda itself however was probably built in Talaing times, before the use of bricks. When discovered in the jungle in 1863 it was a laterite structure, and it was under the leadership of Po Kāya, a *pothudaw* (lay brother), with the assistance of circle-thugyi U Tha Yauk, that a brick covering was erected. Further repairs were effected three years later by thugyi U Ta Po (later appointed a Myook and now a pensioner and Honorary Magistrate of Rangoon). By many the pagoda is called Kyaik-waing, the *Kyaik* being the Talaing for "pagoda," as in Kyaik-kasan, Kyaik-kalo, Kyaik-kami, and a host of others. Some say that this name is a corruption of Kyaik-āwaing-oot, but there does not seem to be any reliable authority for the derivation. See the Ramañña-thōnyat *Dattaw-thamaing* (Maramma Auba Press, Rangoon, 1912), pages 202-212.

M. O.

MULA MULOI;

A Talaing Account of the Creation.

In the introduction to his "Grammatical Notes and Vocabulary of the Peguan Language" the late Reverend Dr. Haswell remarks: "The Peguans like the Burmans are Buddhists. The Buddhist scriptures are said to have been translated into Peguan, before they were into Burmese. They have one book called the 'mula muloi,' which the Burmans have not. It proposes to give an account of things from the beginning, before there was a god, or any living being."

We have recently obtained a copy of this work. Though we have not yet been able to produce a complete translation we think that a short summary may be of interest to readers of this Journal. Circumstances have compelled us to work with some haste and this may be pleaded as a partial excuse for our short-comings. The manuscript itself is somewhat confused and the interpretation is in some places doubtful. Obsolete words occur in every Mon manuscript which are not to be found in Haswell's Vocabulary. It is hardly to be expected, therefore, that our summary should be free from inaccuracies. It may however be of assistance to anyone who wishes to read the Mula Muloi for himself. Copies are probably to be found in the libraries of most Talaing monasteries.

We believe we are right in saying that most priests regard the narrative as largely apocryphal. It would be strange indeed if anyone were to maintain the authenticity of such a medley of Buddhist and pre-Buddhist ideas. Whether there is another Mon version of the Mula Muloi which is accepted as authentic is a question we have not investigated. Some think that the original of the late U Naw's Adikappa Kaba-u Kyan is a Talaing manuscript. If so it must have differed considerably from that which we have obtained.

In the beginning there was no earth or water, no living creatures, all was Void. Then there came alternations of cold and hot; thence wind and water. The heavier particles of water, solidifying, formed the land. In the land were formed gold, silver, iron, copper and all precious stones. Then from the slime of the water grew grass, creepers, canes, bamboos and all kinds of trees. Then from the earth sprang maggots and insects, from the air also many kinds of animals and from fire insects with large heads or with

small heads. All had life but no mind or soul ; they knew not fear or death. These creatures persisted for many myriad lives. Then came into being creatures who knew fear and inevitable death and these kinds also persisted for many myriad lives. Then came creatures with bones. They were small creatures, the largest about the size of a pebble and their bones were no thicker than thin grass ; of blood also they had very little. These also persisted for many ages, the duration of which, as there were yet no years or months, cannot be computed.

Then from the earth-element sprang a woman who is called Itangeya Sangasoī. Her food was flowers. At this time the face of the earth was covered with a dense tangle of vegetation so that it was difficult for her to move about. She therefore made clay images of various animals, male and female, such as live in the water and on land. In the images maggots were formed and the images became alive. Then she gave them their names, as rat, cow, tiger, hare, naga, sawra wakaik, horse, monkey, hen, dog, elephant, lion. She could talk to these animals ; as for instance, if she saw a rat satisfied after a good meal she said Tsai ; if she saw them eating she said Ka ; if food fell from their lips she said Kap ; if they fell she said Wai ; if they rose Tdāp ; if they slept she said Mäng ; if they arose from sleep she said Päg ; if they came towards her she said Kāt or if they went away Kut. These are the original words which were abandoned after Buddha's time.

The animals increased and multiplied, on land there were ninety million species and in the water seventy million. They fed on leaves, grass and flowers. The forest became passable. Soon, so numerous were they, plants ceased to shoot and bud and the woman could scarce get food. She therefore considered how she might reduce their numbers.

Now from the element of fire a man came into being ; his name is called Paosangeya Sangasoī. He saw the animals male and female living together after their kind and reflected that somewhere there must be a mate for him. He went therefore to search and found the woman Itangeya. She asked him whence and why he came. He replied that he wished her to be his mate. She agreed to live with him provided he could suggest a plan for reducing the number of animals. "Make," he said, "three kinds of human beings, men, women and hermaphrodites ; they will war against the animals."

So they lived together and had three children, a boy, a girl and a hermaphrodite. These were the first human beings. By and by the children fell sick and the parents

considered the cause of their illness to be the confusion of hot and cold and wet. They therefore separated the three seasons and the children regained their health. Still, there was no sun or moon. The parents made the image of an elephant 49,000 yojanas high and put on its back Mount Meru. Then they dropped the elephant into the ocean and Mount Meru was under the water 720,000 yojanas and above the water 720,000 yojanas. Then they made the sun and the moon and the twenty-seven asterisms. The sun and moon circled round Mount Meru half way between the foot and summit. They now planted rice and fed their children therewith. Then they made the Nats' country and Tawadeintha.

The children were now strong and fat. The boy and girl lived together and had three children. The hermaphrodite was greatly distressed in mind and killed the boy. The girl took food daily to her husband's corpse and when it was decayed she planted a pillar in the place and carried food there every day. Then the hermaphrodite died. She placed his body near the pillar but carried no food to it. When her children asked, "Why do you give no food to one of our fathers?" she said, "I loved one but not the other." Soon after she died. Her three children put her body near her husband's and splitting a log in three, they erected three pillars by the bodies of their mother and their father and the other and made daily offerings of food to all.

Then the three children lived together and had thirteen children, seven sons and six daughters. As a plaything for the eldest his parents brought him a rat. When he saw it eat he said P'umñeza mussoika; this is Sanskrit. The second eldest got a cow, the third a tiger, the fourth a hare, the fifth a naga, the sixth a snake, the seventh a horse, the eighth a goat, the ninth a monkey, the tenth a hen, the eleventh a dog, the twelfth an elephant.*

The children fell sick and Itangeya and Paosangeya created the eight planets, and according to the planets and the four elements fire, water, air and earth, defined the twelve seasons.

The thirteen children lived together and had offspring. Of the thirteen one girl died. Her husband planted a bamboo post by her body and sent food daily. Then a hermaphrodite girl died. The husband took her to the burial ground but sent no food and when his children asked him why, he said, "I did not love her. I loved her who died first."

* The MS here omits mention of the thirteenth child.

Then he died leaving twelve children. They also lived together. One aged twenty was ill and, as there were yet no doctors, they* treated him with animals but had no success until they brought an elephant, when he recovered. So a child of twelve was successfully treated by a present of a cow. One aged twenty-six was cured by a snake. One of the age of thirty by a Galôn. One of the age of thirty-three by a tiger. One of the age of forty by a lion. One of the age of forty-seven by a cat. One of the age of forty-one by a rat. Henceforth in case of illness they resorted to this method of treatment.

All the people now on the earth were one large family. They lived together harmoniously without quarrelling. The dispositions of all were similar. There was none to tell them of sin. Thus they killed animals not knowing it to be wrong. Then the original parents Itangeya and Paosangeya, who knew that bad men after death go to hell, determined to create mind so that sinful thoughts should not arise. They did so making for each man his mind, just as they made different kinds of trees, out of the four elements. Then people began to quarrel and separate, and form different villages. The majority of people were sinful and went after death to the four hells. Hell was not created by the first parents but by the six *eindris*, sight, hearing, smell, taste, body and mind.

Nevertheless a few people attained to virtue. One man's parents died and as no one would receive him he went and lived in the forest under a *thingan* tree. There he remained peacefully meditating and thinking with longing of his relations. The mosquitoes and gadflies bit him but he did not kill them. He attained the law of love. People brought offerings of food for him and when he died he became a *nat*. He was the first *nat*.

There was a girl, too, in a certain village. Near the village lived a blind man who used to draw water from a creek. But on account of his blindness he sometimes failed to reach the creek. The girl benevolently made a road for him and when she died she became a *nat*; she was the first woman *nat*.

The world lasted very long and men went to hell or the *nats'* country after death according as their life was evil or good. Then the first parents considered: "Our plan has failed. There is no wise man. Let us destroy by fire men and all living creatures. In the next world men will be

* This is a literal translation of the Mon. The reference is probably to the custom of ๑๑๕:๑๐:๑

wise and virtuous." They created the sixteen abodes of Brahmas and good men went there.

Then fire came into being in the house of the sun. It shot to the moon and thence to the planets which were all set on fire. The sea dried and all the earth was burnt. Then they caused water to quench the fire and the wind blew on the water and dried it up. Then people from the abode of Brahmas came to earth and became men. The world so destroyed is called Toirawuttu Kaw.

After this many worlds were similarly burnt and recreated. The *nattha* and *natthami* reappeared in each. But after death they went to hell in the majority of cases, rarely to *nats'* country. Once, when the *nat* became a man he was full of reverence. In the cold season he brought fire-wood for his parents, drew water for them to bathe, built them a good house in the rains and used to level the ground so that people could walk comfortably. When he died he became *Thagyamin* with four wives.

In a later world the *natthami* came down from the abode of Brahmas and became a very beautiful girl. The *nattha* also became a very beautiful boy. They lived together and had two children, a son, *Zetheintha*, and a daughter, *Mulapupbea*. By and by the parents left their children and went their several ways into the forest where they lived as hermits. The forty *kammat'ans* were still unknown. They could only attempt to control their passions and desires. On death both went to the abode of Brahmas.

Later, the *nattha* was born into the world a marvellous child. He could speak to his parents from his infancy. At the age of seven he went into the forest and meditated there for thirteen years. At the age of twenty he became a *Potseka-budd'ea*. One day as he was bathing a thief stole his robe. He must now go and beg another. Considering whom he should approach he realised that a woman, *Mulat'ita*, had been his wife in a previous existence and resolved to go and beg a robe from her. When he arrived she was weeping and did not see him. He asked her why she wept and she said, "My husband died not long ago." "Do not weep for him. He has become a crab in a buffalo-wallow and has his wife and children there." "Show him to me," she said. The *Potseka-budd'ea* then led her to the pool and showed her her husband. "What are you doing here?" she said, "come with me," and took up the crab. But he said, "I have now a wife whom I love better than you; I will not come." The crab pinched her finger. *Potseka-budd'ea* ordered him to let go. *Mulat'ita* then dropped the crab and making obeisance to *Potseka-Budd'ea* asked him

who he was. He said, "I am Potseka-budd'ea, the most excellent man on earth." "Teach me," she said and made an offering of her kerchief. Considering what he told her she meditated on the law of mutability and that she also might become an animal. Such was her virtue that she straightway became a man. She then meditated on the law of impermanence and became a Potseka-budd'ea. Her sons became *Setkya mins*. They were the first of mortals to attain that position. Potseka-budd'eas appeared in every world.

A youth Nit'omatoika grew up and learnt to regard most things as indifferent——wealth little superior to poverty, inherited good fortune little better than inherited bad fortune. He went to the abode of Brahmas and returned to earth again as prince Wutip'uta Kumma. He regularly observed *uboks*. He explained to his court that he did so to benefit himself in future existences. Thereupon the queens and ministers also observed *uboks* and all attained *nats'* country.

Returning to earth again he became a *ponna*. He made it his great endeavour to prevent quarrels and feelings of enmity and was therefore called Wisutt'i Mitta Kumma. When he sucked his mother's breasts he observed that *Kyinyi* and *Kyinnge* resulted and thenceforward refrained from sucking. When his mother questioned him, he said that food was an obstacle on the path to Nirvana. When she asked him "What is Nirvana?" he replied, "It is a state of freedom from illness, age and death. In this world there is no comfort, only sin. Property is sin, poverty sin; wisdom sin, ignorance sin; beauty sin, ugliness sin." Now when all the *nats* living in the thousand *sekya* worlds heard this they feared he would die and brought him milk. When he reached the age of sixteen he went to the forest and became a hermit. He was very accomplished in transcendental wisdom but might not become a Buddh.

Again in another world when the life of man was ten thousand years, he came to earth as the son of a rich man. If sick persons touched him their disease was cured. Therefore he was called Nirogea-senea-kumma. When he reached manhood he wished to become a hermit but the sick and infirm besought him to stop among them. He was thus able to observe only five religious duties.

Again he became a prince and, as beasts and trees could then speak, he was known as Toitk'akgea Kumma. When four thousand years old, he left his wife and children and became a *Rahan*. He practised austerities under twenty-five different trees for a period of fifty thousand years in

all and finally attained enlightenment. Men and *nats* asked him to preach and he considered what law would be suitable. He feared that any of the profounder laws of religion would be beyond their understanding and resolved to preach first the facts of the creation of the universe. But, as a Buddha had never previously existed, even this was strange and beyond their understanding. He then taught them the vowels and consonants and they were able to read the Tripitaka. Thus they attained various degrees of knowledge and some became Rahandas.

Now, the two first parents Paosangeya Sangasoi and Itangeya Sangasoi had become husband and wife in this world. They saw the glory of the Buddha and worshipped him. They asked him to tell them of their previous existences and he said, "You became husband and wife because the man answered the woman's riddle. You two created the world." Then the wife said to the husband "I have loved you long and well," and they went away glad at heart.*

SAN WIN & D.

* There is no previous mention of the death of the first parents. But it is obvious from their questioning of the Buddha that they must have died and returned to earth again. This inconsistency perhaps indicates that the first and second parts of the story emanate from different sources and have not been completely welded together.

NOTES, REVIEWS, ETC.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF ORIENTAL LEARNING.

As a result of the Conference of Orientalists held at Simla in July, 1911,——at which Burma was represented by Prof. C. Duroiselle, now Officiating Superintendent of Archæological Survey, Burma, and late Hony. Editor of this journal,——the Government of India has addressed all local Governments on the questions of the encouragement of the ancient learning of the country and the improvement of instruction in the classical languages of India. The Burma Educational Syndicate, having been asked for its views, appointed a special Sub-Committee to consider the matter, and a lengthy report was submitted by it in September last. The Society has been favoured with a copy of this report, from which the following is extracted.

Research Institutes. It was noted that the Government of India have already decided to recommend the establishment of a Central Research Institute at Delhi. The Sub-Committee are in accord with the views that a Central Institute is both desirable and necessary, but having regard to the proceedings on the second day of the Conference of Orientalists and to the report of the Sub-Committee appointed to consider the details of the proposed Central Institute, endorse the views of that Sub-Committee as recorded in paragraph 4, page 11, and paragraph 10, page 19, of the Report, namely, that the most desirable location for the Central Institute is Calcutta. The Sub-Committee believe that students from Burma will in time proceed to the Central Institute and that Calcutta will be most suitable for them, inasmuch as it is more easily accessible than Delhi, contains such institutions as the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Indian Museum, and is within easy distance of places of historical and archaeological interest.

At the same time it is urged that, in view of the peculiar conditions prevailing in Burma and the many differences which exist between it and India as to archæology, epigraphy, ethnology, philology, and the like, a local Institute is necessary. It is only by means of such an Institute that the way can be paved for study and research on modern lines and that capable students can be selected for further training at the Central Institute. Nevertheless, it is not deemed desirable that a new Institute should be founded,

inasmuch as it would entail considerably less cost if the Government were merely to assist the existing Burma Research Society to provide facilities for study and research. The local institute, while keeping in touch with the University, would not have any intimate connection with the latter.

Encouragement of the old system of learning. The Sub-Committee concur in the opinion that it is necessary to retain separately the ancient and indigenous systems of instruction, and consider that, as regards Burma, this object would be best accomplished by reverting, as far as possible, to the old order of things which existed under the Burmese regime. In this connection it is noted that students in Burma fall under two heads—monks and laymen—and that it is necessary to treat them differently. Also although the Vernaculars of the several Indian presidencies and provinces are not noticed in the proceedings of the Conference of Orientalists nor in the Government of India letter, yet, in view of the extent and importance of the Burmese and Talaing literatures of this province, and the high place they occupied in the old system of scholarship, the Sub-Committee desire to urge their inclusion in any scheme that may be formulated.

The institutions to be aided are Monastic and Lay Vernacular Schools, and the Monasteries themselves in regard to the study of the old indigenous learning and the preparation of monks for the Patamabyan Examinations. The persons to be assisted are Buddhist monks, lay Sayas, and students generally.

PALI.

The Sub-Committee note that at present encouragement is given to students of Pali as follows:—

(1). By means of the yearly Patamabyan Examinations, on the results of which rewards are given to successful candidates.

(2) By means of the Government Examination in Pali open, however, only to members of the Burma Commission.

As regards (1), the Sub-Committee consider that the Patamabyan Examination, as conducted by the Education Department, is capable of much improvement. The chief objection to it is that it does not constitute a sufficient language test, and hence it is that even the Patamagyaw does not necessarily know Pali. It is therefore recommended that, after consultation with the Thathanabaing and the heads of teaching monasteries,——

(a) the curriculum of the Patamabyan Examination be revised and that, although the Abhidhamma should still predominate, some other works of the other Pitakas may be prescribed, particular attention being paid to translation from Burmese into Pali, which now is very poor; and

(b) the examination should include a Colloquial test.

While maintaining the present system of granting rewards to successful candidates, the Sub-Committee recommend that a system of maintenance Grants in the shape of monthly rice doles be instituted with a view to the support of recognised lecturers and their pupils in the monasteries during the preparation of the latter for the Patamabyan Examinations.

As regards (2), the Sub-Committee recommend that in order to create a body of Oriental scholars educated on modern lines, the rules for the examination be extended to include Members of the Provincial and Subordinate Services.

It is recommended also that in time there should be in the Province an Inspector of Schools for Pali, with two Assistant Inspectors.

BURMESE.

With regard to Burmese, the Sub-Committee consider that it is necessary to resuscitate the old and extensive literature, the study of which has almost died out. This is due to various causes, the chief being the low standard of knowledge required in Anglo-Vernacular schools, the poor prospects for the *Saya* (the equivalent of the Indian *pandit* and *maulvi*), and the non-existence of inducements for writers of original works, editors, and translators. The Sub-Committee therefore recommend :—

(a) that the standard of the courses in Burmese for Anglo-Vernacular High Schools be raised to that of the corresponding courses for Vernacular High Schools. (The Sub-Committee understand that the revision of Burmese readers now being made by the Government involves a raising of the standards in Standards I to VII).

(b) that, to encourage the production of Burmese literature, the Panjab system of offering annual rewards be introduced, namely :—

(i) Rs. 1500 for the best original work published during the year, and

(ii) Rs. 500 for the best translation of a foreign work; the scheme to be placed in the hands of the Educational Syndicate for the present, and later on, if necessary, transferred to the Burma University, and the grant safeguarded by a proviso to the effect that no award would be made

unless the literary production was declared to be of sufficient merit.

(c) that with a view to encourage the general study of higher Burmese literature, the Educational Syndicate should conduct a public examination in Higher Burmese; this examination might be made to serve as a stepping-stone to a degree or title and might also be made compulsory for teachers of Burmese in High Schools, Vernacular and Anglo-Vernacular.

(d) that, with a view to encourage modern students (*i. e.* graduates of provincial colleges) to adopt literature as a profession, a post-graduate studentship of Rs. 200 a month be instituted; the studentship to be tenable for two years in the local Research Institute by a graduate who shows a desire and ability to undertake study and research in the History and Literatures of Burma, including Talaing.

TALAING.

In this branch, the Sub-Committee recommend that a selection from the Talaing manuscripts in the Bernard Free Library be printed for distribution among students of that language both here and in the west.

Ancient manuscripts and catalogues. As recorded on page 7 of the proceedings of the Conference of Orientalists, much is being done in Burma under this head. The Sub-Committee recommend that the measures there described be maintained, and that, in particular, the Educational Syndicate be encouraged and supported in their search for further Talaing manuscripts with a view to their deposit in the Bernard Free Library.

The Sub-Committee, in this connection, feel strongly that the collection of manuscripts preserved in the Bernard Library is exposed to great danger from fire owing to its proximity to the Government High School. While recognising that the permanent home of the manuscripts is the urgently-needed but long-deferred Provincial Museum the Sub-Committee recommend that, pending its institution, the collection of manuscripts be deposited in some safe building where, as at present, they should be accessible to students. They urge also the necessity for a more suitable building to house the Bernard Free Library.

There is also the urgent necessity for the appointment of an all-time Curator for the Manuscript Department of the Library, who should be a scholar with a good knowledge of Burmese and Pali (and, if possible, Talaing) literature. The Sub-Committee understand that there is no difficulty

in securing a qualified curator, provided that a suitable salary (say Rs. 80 to Rs. 100) be offered.

Revision of University Courses. The Sub-Committee agree that this is a matter of great importance, and consider that one of the first steps necessary is the attachment of adequate remuneration to the Professorship of Pali in the Rangoon College ; they strongly recommend that this professorship be placed on an equal footing, as regards salary, with the other professorships in that institution.

In order to give the prominence that it deserves to Oriental study and research, the Sub-Committee recommend that the general scheme of the Burma University (the establishment of which in the near future they take for granted) should include a course for a degree in Oriental Learning with special reference to this Province and on the lines of that recommended on page 3, Appendix A to letter No. 1533/2-A dated the 18th. September 1901, from the Educational Syndicate to the local Government, but with the addition of other vernaculars, such as Talaing.

Meanwhile, the Sub-Committee are of opinion that the course of study prescribed by the Calcutta University in Pali needs revision in the direction indicated by the letter of the Government of India. They consider that the texts prescribed are not all suitable, for instance, that the *Dipavamsa*, which is prescribed for the Matriculation, is highly unsuitable in view of its corrupt text, and which might advantageously be replaced by selections from the *Mahavamsa* or *Sutta Nipata*. They recommend, moreover, that

(i) the I. A. Course in Pali be extended to include an additional text and the study of the History of Buddhism in India and Burma.

(ii) the B. A. pass course be modified by reducing the text, and adding an elementary course in the Indian philosophy of the Buddhist period ; provision should also be made for training students in Burma in the use of Pali manuscripts in Burmese character.

Honours for Burman Scholars. The Sub-Committee are in full accord with the suggestion made by Dr. Stein as to the nomination of persons of recognized scholarly merits to consultative public bodies, University fellowships and the like. They doubt, however, whether Buddhist monks could, at present or in the near future, be secured to serve on such bodies, and consider that the indigenous system of awarding seals (Tazeiks) and for granting titles to renowned teachers of Pali would be a better means of securing the object in view, namely, adding to the good report of ancient

learning in Burma. The Sub-Committee therefore suggest that, on the recommendation of the Thathanabaing, Tazeiks and Titles of different degrees be awarded to renowned scholars, being monks, and that some other equivalent honour be devised for lay scholars of distinction. As regards the latter, it is recommended that a title such as "Thukamein" or "Mahapandita", corresponding to the Indian titles Shams-ul-Ulema and Mahamahopadhyaya, be instituted in Burma, and that a limited number of holders of such titles should be given a stipend of Rs. 60 a month. This recommendation, both as regards title and stipend, includes the case of distinguished lay scholars in Burmese.

Modern methods and Sanskrit. The Sub-Committee believe that the above recommendations provide for the encouragement of the student trained in the modern and critical method as well as the indigenous scholar. In order however, to provide, if necessary, a distinct opening for the former, they recommend that, should their proposed revision of the present Patamabyan Examinations be considered impracticable, new examinations on Western lines parallel to them be instituted, and be conducted by the local Institute; for these, text-books, a grammar, a dictionary and a hand-book of colloquial Pali should be prepared under the auspices of Government.

As regards the teaching of Sanskrit, the Sub-Committee consider that so far as Burma is concerned it is essential that Pali should take the place of Sanskrit. It is doubted whether there is any organised teaching of this language in the monasteries or elsewhere in this Province, and it is therefore the introduction of this subject rather than the improvement of its teaching on which they advise. They would not, however, introduce it into the Patamabyan Examination on the indigenous system as now conducted, but they consider that it might well form a branch subject of a new parallel scheme for the study of Pali on modern methods, as suggested above, or a subject of study in the local Institute's curriculum.

MATRIARCHY IN BURMA.

Some of the readers of this Journal may remember a paper in which I suggested that in Burma the traces of a matriarchal organisation of society were so strong that definite proof was only a matter of enquiry. Proof that it existed in certain places within recent years is now forthcoming.

The Revenue Inquests of 1145 and 1164 B.E. are fairly well known. It is not so generally known that previous to the former of these dates there had been similar enquiries. By the courtesy of U Tin, the Subdivisional Magistrate of Pagan, I have been furnished with a copy of the records for Pagan of the Inquest held in 1127 B.E. This refers to a former enquiry of the same nature in 1093 B.E. (1732 A.C.) I do not know whether any copy of the record of 1093 is in existence. But that for 1127 shows that in several villages the rule descended in the female line. These records set forth the name and family of the headman of each village, its boundaries, the revenue due and the number of revenue paying households. I give below extracts from the record of the area subordinate to the Governor of Pagan so far as it relates to these villages where at that date matriarchy still obtained.

"..On the same day was examined the thugyi of Myethindwin—(Myethindwin, now called Myegedwin, is one of the original 19 villages of Pagan)—Ma Mi Ein, born on Friday, aged 36: Deposes:—My great grand mother Ma Nyein Tha was thugyi of this village, after her decease my grand mother, Ma Mi San, after her decease, my mother, Mi We. After her decease, from 1119 up to the present I have been thugyi. The boundaries of the village are as follows...etc."

"..On the same (day) the thugyi of De-bya, Ma Mi Ta, born on a Monday, aged 31; Deposes: My great grandmother Ma Mi Pu was thugyi of this village, after her decease my grand mother Ma Mi Pon, after her decease my mother, Mi Paung. After her decease, from 1116 up to the present I have been thugyi. The boundaries of the village are as follows...etc."

"On the same (day) was examined the Kagwe Thugyi, Ma Mi Myat Tun, born on a Saturday, aged 22: Deposes: My great grandmother Ma Mi Pu was thugyi of this village, after her decease my grandmother Ma Mi Lon, after her decease my mother Ma Hmwe. After her decease from 1115 up to the present I have been thugyi. The boundaries of the village are as follows...etc."

These two villages adjoin one another. The great grandmother of both these thugyis bears the same name. The names of their grandmothers rhyme as is common in the case of sisters. It is more than possible that both of them inherited from the same great grand parent. In this case there would appear to have been a division of the estate among the daughters.

" . . On the same (day) was examined the thugyi of Kya-be, Ma Mi Pya, born on a Monday, aged 15: Deposes:—Ma Pwa San was thugyi of this village, after her death her younger sister Ma Nyein Tha, after her death Le u (1) Ma Hla Nyi. After her decease from 1120 up to the present I have been thugyi. The boundaries of the village are as follows . . . etc."

It is worth noticing that this girl succeeded to the headmanship at 8 years old. There are cases in other villages where boys succeeded at an age almost as youthful. There is no mention of a trustee (yingwinbaik); but the Burmese word used is စီရင်ဆင့်။

The duties cannot have been arduous. In two villages women were subordinate thugyis, their predecessors are not stated.

In one village the husband of the thugyi seems to have shared the position.

" . . The thugyi of Ko-yua, also situated in the Province of Pagan, Nanda Raza, born on a Sunday, aged 32: Deposes:—My great-grandmother Ma Mi Ein was thugyi of Ko-yua, after her decease my grandmother Ma Hla Pon, after her decease my mother Ma Mi Pyu. After her decease from the year 1115 up to the present my wife Mi Kan has been thugyi. The boundaries of Ko-yua are as follows . . . etc." The literal interpretation of this is that while women ordinarily both transmitted and enjoyed political power a son could transmit but not enjoy. Probably however Nanda Raza only means that his wife's ancestors had been thugyi.

In two villages the circumstances are more difficult to interpret. In these there was a double line of thugyis, one male and one female. In one case they were husband and wife, both of whom succeeded in their respective lines in the same year. But whether they married before or subsequently does not appear. Nor is it explained how both their predecessors died at the same time.

" . . On the same day were examined the thugyi Nga Thu, born on a Sunday, aged 30, and his wife Ma Twa, born on a Saturday, aged 43, (their respective ages are perhaps worth noting): Depose: My grandfather Nga Shwe Kyi was thugyi of Ngahlaing, after his death my father Nga Aung, after his death from 1116 until the present I have been thugyi. My great grandmother Ma Mi Taw was thugyi, after her decease my mother Ma Mi Gyaing. After her decease I, Ma Mi Twa have been thugyi from 1116 up to the present . . . etc."

(1). လှိုင်စိုး: I do not know if this is part of the name.

In the other case the two thugyis do not appear to have been related.

" . . . On the same day the thugyi Ma Nyein Me Thu Ma, born on a Saturday, aged 65, and the thugyi Nga San, born on a Friday, aged 37; Depose:—(Ma Nyein Me Thu Ma) My great grandmother Ma Mi Myat was thugyi, after her decease from 1123 up to the present I have been thugyi. (Nga San) My great grandfather Nga Twe was thugyi, after his decease my grandfather Nga Nyo, after his decease my father Nga Ye Yon. After his decease from 1125 up to the present I have been thugyi. . . etc."

In all the other cases sons succeeded to their fathers. I have not noticed a single case in which man succeeded woman and vice versa. The above instances cannot therefore be accounted for by a failure of male heirs. The only satisfactory explanation is that within the last two hundred years a matriarchal organisation of society still existed in certain villages of the Pagan Township of Upper Burma. Over the rest of Upper Burma there must be many other examples. Possibly in one or two villages hereditary succession in the female line has survived the Village Regulation.

J. S. F.

THE DERIVATION OF PROME.

(Being a rejoinder.)

I must begin by saying that "C. D's." note on the above bristles with quizzical remarks. And quizzical remarks by the Editor of a learned journal at the expense of a contributor are greatly to be deprecated; for one effect of such so-called mild criticism would be to scare away would-be writers.

I derived 'prañ' from Burmanised Sanscrit 'praññā' which, I said, was in turn derived from Sanscrit 'prajñā'.

This, "C. D." has brushed aside as "a delightful example of popular etymology." And it is somewhat surprising that he should have in a journal of this kind laboured to show an analogy, which is at once false and forced, between the simple, natural derivation of 'prañ' on the one hand and the fanciful derivation of 'kyaung' on the other.

He says that I have arbitrarily restored 'praññā' from Sanscrit 'prajñā.' But why should it be more objectionable than any of the following:—

Vijñāna from vijāna ;

Paññā from praññā, probably through the earlier praññā ;

Samañña from samajñā.

The question—"Now, how did the word come to be pronounced 'Prome'?"—betrays to my mind that he like some others, has been trying to derive the European name 'Prome'; whereas I have derived the Burmese name ပြည်, though the caption under which I wrote was not quite accurate.

When I said that 'praing' was *apparently* the earlier Arakanese pronunciation of the modern 'prī' or its colloquial 'pre' or 'pray' (ပေး), I had the following examples in my mind:—

ပြည်ညောင် (or ပြည်ညောင်) pronounced 'praing-nyaung-bān' ;
 ဝညောင် pronounced 'paing-nya-wan' ;
 အောင် pronounced 'asaing'.

But my learned friend thinks that a discussion of Burmese phonetics would show that the reverse is *probably* the case. I have tried to follow his learned discussion as closely as possible but I must confess that I have not been able to find any data for this conclusion of his. He says that the common colloquial ပေး would only strengthen his case. But in what way? We all know the linguistic tendency for 'ī' to be pronounced 'e' or 'ay'. But does it show that 'praing' is the probable successor of the older 'prī'?

Again, I fail to see how the very Arakanese pronunciation of it as 'pray' simply goes to strengthen still more the point.

The learned critic thinks that I have made a city ascend the throne by his reading the king's name as that of the city. This is a gratuitous assumption. Suppose the name Mindoon or Thibaw is met with in a chronological list. No one in his senses would doubt for a moment that it refers to the king. But whence that name?

"If 'paññā' was the original form, why was it changed to 'paññā', the form now universally adhered to?" asks "C. D." It does not require a stretch of imagination to see that a host of other similar Burmanised Sanscrit words must have been lost to us and that only some which have the "obstinate tenacity" to withstand the inroads of later Pali would survive. Surely, he does not seriously contend that the list of such words now extant is all that we borrowed from that language during the long intercourse between India and Burma before the introduction of Pali into this country.

Now 'paññā' is invariably pronounced by Burmans 'pyin-nya'. Is 'y' in 'pyin' a mere euphonic insertion?

Or can it be accounted for otherwise? The Burmese people always pronounce 'r' as 'y'. Does this superfluous 'y' in 'pyin-nya' show the inherent 'r' in the earlier 'praññā'? (1) I tabulate below a few more words in which the inherent 'r' in Sanscrit is retained in the superfluous 'y' sound :—

Sanscrit.	Pali.	Burmese pronunciation.
Pratya	Paccaya	Pyit-saya.
Pratyakkha	Paccakkha	Pyit-sakkha.
Pratyanta	Paccanta	Pyit-santa.

We clearly see the inherent 'r' of the Sanscrit 'Kṛitya' (Kricca) still linger in the 'Krit-sa' of some Upper Burmans for the corresponding Pali 'Kicca'. I am aware of exceptions. 'Pañcasila' is pronounced 'Pyin-za-thila' without the inherent 'r' in the Sanscrit prototype. But who can say that these may not have been due to false analogy?

My esteemed critic says authoritatively that ñi or ññ never in Burmese becomes finals and that Pali (or Sanscrit) words containing these letters are retained in Burmese without any change." And unfortunately for himself, he cites Suñña as one of his examples. But I quote from a work entitled the *Saddānusāri Thatpōn*, written by Visuddha Ācāra in 1215 B. E. (1853) to show that the critic is in error.—

သနိာ်ဂြုဋ်သုဋ်း ။ စားတြိဂ်းသုဋ်း နှင့် ။ ဆေးသုဋ်း ဖြိလ်သုဋ်း ။ ခရီးသုဋ်း တွင် ။ ချောင်းငင်-
ညွတ် ။ သွင်း ။ ချွတ်တညွှိ ။ ဝဉ္စတရေ ရန် ။ တမ္ပဋ်း တန်ဆည် ။ ။ သင်္ကန်းမှတ်ယူသုံးစွဲတည် ။ ။
(p. 93 of the 1243 edition of the Bengali Press). On p. 119 of the Hanthawaddy Press edition of 1262 B. E. the final ñi is doubled. Now suppose all traces of this earliest form obliterated except in a solitary name of a place in which it has remained to us fixed exactly as our ဂြုဋ် has been. Would any one under the circumstances deny that that name was derived from သုည simply because we now write သု? Is this also an instance of so-called popular etymology?

If 'Supaññā' and 'Nagarachinna' were two separate nicknames of the last king of Prome, as "C. D." would have them, is it likely that even a mnemonic versifier called him 'Paññānagara.' He might as well call King Konbaung or Tharrawaddy, 'Baung-thara.' If, on the other hand, the two expressions formed one long nickname, as I have it, it is not altogether unreasonable to suppose that the extremities were lopped off for purposes of his verse.

I cannot conceive how the term 'Supaññā' came to be a contemptuous nickname. 'Naga-ya-min,' 'Naga-naing-min' are not nicknames but titles of honour. Such nicknames as

(1). It will be seen from an old inscription cited at page 247, *infra*, that ဝဉ္စ was at one time written ဂြုဋ်—Ed.

'Paung-shī-min', 'Tarôk-pye-min' signify what they purport to mean. That a "foolish" king who "lost the town in a most absurd manner" should have been nicknamed 'a very wise king' by posterity even by way of irony is more improbable than that the 'dog's dung' should smell sweet.

"C.D." found fault with my Pali. It was a slip of the pen. I meant to say "One who has the town of good wisdom cut off." But my critic must have seen more serious flaws than that mere slip of the pen when he said that I have not 'at all understood the Pali expression.' With due deference to his profound scholarship, I may be permitted to state here a difference between western and eastern scholarship. While the Viggaho (ဝိဂ္ဂဟ) or 'word—definition' is assiduously cultivated in the east, it is almost absent in the west. For this reason with western scholars, Supaññā—"He-of-good-wisdom"—can probably be never made to stand for "They-of-good-wisdom." But eastern scholars define words according to sense.

The following are the indigenous processes of forming this compound :—

METHOD A.

(1) Sundarī paññā yassa so'ti, Supañño. Supañña means 'One who has good wisdom.'

(2) Chinditabbam nagaram, Nagarachinnaṃ. Nagarachinna means 'The town that is cut off.'

(3) Nagarachinnaṃ yassa so'ti, Nagarachinno. Nagarachinna also means 'One who has the town cut off.'

(4) Supañño ca so nagarachinno cāti, Supaññānagarachinno. Supaññānagarachinna means 'One who is very wise and who also has the town cut off.'

METHOD B.

(1) Sundarī paññā yesam te'ti, Supaññā. Supaññā means 'Those who have good wisdom.'

(2) Supaññānam nagaram, Supaññānagaram. Supaññānagara means 'The town of very wise people.'

(3) Supaññānagaram chinnaṃ yassa so'ti, Supaññānagarachinno. Supaññānagarachinna means 'One who has the town of very wise people cut off.'

The Bingala Sadaw decidedly prefers the Method B to A, as he says the sense is 'straight' (အနက်ဖြောင့်သည်).

And yet "M. O." says in effect that the above derivation as approved by such an authority "will perhaps come to most Burmese scholars as a shock" (p. 72, Vol. II, Part. I). It is easy to make a bare statement of this kind.

It seems to me that, while Mr. Taw Sein Ko derived our word ငြိမ် from the European name 'Promé' or something akin to it in sound (e. g. Brahm = Prahm = Promh), "M.O." has practically reversed the process by deriving the European name, not from ငြိမ် but, from ငြ: leaving ငြိမ် still unaffected. To say that ငြိမ် was derived from ငြ: would lay itself open to the same phonetic objection as the Talaing ငြိမ် from ငြိမ်:

"S. A."

"SHAKESPEARE: AS YOU LIKE IT."

TRANSLATED INTO BURMESE BY SHWE KYU & CO.

This is a translation not of Shakespeare but of Charles Lamb, the text of whose "Tale" is printed paragraph by paragraph above the Burmese rendering. Curiously enough, Lamb's authorship is nowhere acknowledged either in preface or title page. The authors promise a translation of the plays in due course and the main interest of the present work is that it affords a criterion of their capacity to provide Burma with an adequate version of Shakespeare.

It may be admitted at once that the meaning is everywhere clear, that there are no mistakes in interpretation and that the authors have some command of Burmese. As a translation, however, the work is far from perfect, there is too much padding and in their desire to leave out nothing, the authors have mercilessly rendered all Lamb's euphonious redundancies—in a word, they have exercised the translator's privilege of expansion but have not availed themselves of his compensating privilege of compression.

The style adopted is that mixture of poetry and prose which is familiar on the stage and in many of the modern romances, though almost unknown, I believe, in the older literature. Where well managed this style is exceedingly pleasing. It is probably very hard to write. For the prose can hardly be ordinary prose and has to be joined to the metrical parts by an artful intricacy of rhyme. Accordingly most romance writers employ for narrative plain prose and reserve the composite style for the more elevated passages of dialogue. The authors, however, use this style throughout and so little are its two elements harmonized that it seems as if a few metrical feet had been sprinkled at haphazard over pages of very prosaic prose. Verses occur when nothing in the sentiment calls for them and merely clog the movement of the narrative. All this amounts to saying that the authors are mechanically using a literary medium whose æsthetic value they have entirely failed to appreciate.

Minor faults abound. They can best be illustrated by transcribing a typical passage. သီလီယာသည်၊ သူနှင့်အတူတကွ၊ အစ်မရိုဇာလင်ကို၊ နန်းတော်တွင်နေသို့ရာ၊ အခါခါ အတန်တန်၊ အတန်တန်ဘခင်အား။ တောင်းဝန်ပါသော်လည်း။ အခွင့်မရလေသည့်အဖြစ်ကို၊ သိလေသောအခါ၊ (အစ်မနှင့်ကွဲ၍နေတာထက်။ သေရတာကောင်းသေးသည်ဟု။ သဘောပိုက်ပြီးလျှင်) သူအစ်မနှင့်အတူတကွ။ (သေလျှင်အတူရှင်မူမကွာ။ ချမ်းသာမကွဲ။ ဆင်းရဲအမျှ) ဟုစိတ်သဘောကြီးခိုင်စွာ နှင့်လိုက်ပါသွားတော့မည်ဟု၊ အတည်အကျ။ သံဝိဋ္ဌချလိုက်လေ၏။ ထိုနောက်၊ ထိုညတွင်၊ မှာဝင်၊ သူတစ်နေ့နန်းတော်ကို ရွန်ပစ်၍။ သူအချစ်ရှိဇာလင်နှင့်အတူတကွ။ အနှင်ခံရသောရိုဇာလင်၏၊ ဘခင်ခရိုင်မင်းကြီးကို၊ အာခင်ခေါ်တောတွင်း၌ ဝင်၍ရှာကြလေ၏။

Here အခါခါအတန်တန်၊ အတန်တန် is verbosity at its worst. Three *ဟု's* occur in one amorphous period. ထိုနောက်၊ ထိုည။ is inexcusable. ရိုဇာလင် is followed by အနှင်ခံရသောရိုဇာလင် as if two Rosalinds were being distinguished. ဘခင်ခရိုင်မင်းကြီး is a harsh apposition (easy to avoid by the insertion of မြစ်လော after ဘခင်) The worst fault is of course the damnable iteration of အတူ and အတူတကွ throughout. These are school boy inelegancies betraying hasty and careless work. There are also several instances of cacophany resulting from the injudicious use of the "euphonic" particles.

Incidentally the passage illustrates what has been said as to the incongruity of the style. The သေလျှင်အတူရှင်မူမကွာ၊ ချမ်းသာမကွဲ၊ ဆင်းရဲအမျှ။ "for richer, for poorer, till death do us part," applied to the case of two runaway young ladies, is perilously near bombast, and the reader can prove to himself that it is simply a drag on the narrative by reading over two or three times the sentence in which it occurs. It is, in brief, an impertinent and uncalled for purple patch.

On the whole the translation is distinctly inferior in the matter of style to most of the recently published novels and renders one rather sceptical of the author's capacity as translators of the play. "As You Like It" contains a good deal of prose dialogue; one trembles for the fate of Jaques and Touchstone. And though Shwe Kyu & Co. could doubtless rhyme you eight years together, dinners, and suppers, and sleeping hours excepted, they hardly seem competent to handle the style of *U Panya* which is the obvious equivalent of Shakespeare's blank verse.

To translate Lamb's "Tales" seems waste of time. But Burmans are becoming curious about the masterpieces of English literature and would probably be grateful meantime for a version of Shakespeare in modest prose. The translator's knowledge of English and Burmese is adequate to the task. By careful revision and attention to the ordinary decencies of composition they might at least arrive at a style which would not seriously obscure the radiance of the original.

THE LIFE OF DR. J. N. CUSHING.

Though seven solid years have passed since the death of Dr. Cushing, the name that he has left behind makes it appear that that sad event occurred only the other day. Most of us in Burma have vivid recollections of his doings here, alike in his capacity as Missionary and alike in his wider relations with government in matters educational or administrative. He has been such a moving figure among us and has always taken such lively interest in our affairs that his departure to the better world has been a deep loss to us. His breadth of mind, his devotedness to the call of duty and his willingness to help endeared him to the hearts of his fellow workers, while his attainments as a scholar, his sound judgment as a counsellor and his sterling character as a man and friend made him one of the most popular of men. Of such a man we are naturally interested to know the early history, the boyhood and especially those benign influences of home which have shaped him into the prominent man that he was. Our curiosity has been satisfied by a book which has just been printed in Rangoon by Mr. Wallace St. John. The author has undertaken to be the biographer of Dr. Cushing whom we are therefore glad to have the opportunity of welcoming in the pages of the book.

Dr. Cushing came from a respectable family, being direct in descent from a Puritan, Matthew Cushing, who sailed from Gravesend in 1638 and settled at Hingham on Massachusetts Bay. As a child Dr. Cushing was nurtured in an atmosphere of religious devotion by the tender love of a pious mother. He also inherited his piety and studious temperament from his father. As a boy he did not display very brilliant signs of precocity but he early felt the keen edge of work when the exacting duties of a teacher were forced for a time on his young shoulders, which had barely seen sixteen summers. The experience which he thus early gained stood him in good stead many a time in later life. As a college student, he was rather of a retiring disposition, being devoted to his books, and distinguishing himself less on the athletic field than in the class-room. His future career affords a striking parallel to that of his saintly country-man Dr. Judson. But the parallel should be instituted only when we compare them to two different beacons shedding light in two different directions. Both were truly pious and good men. What Dr. Judson was to the Burmans, Dr. Cushing was to the Shans. His work as a pioneer in the cause of the Shans compares favourably with that of Dr. Judson in the cause of the Burmans. If Dr. Judson has left

his Dictionaries and Burmese Bible as his monuments, Dr. Cushing has his Shan Dictionary and Shan Bible to testify to the work done by him for the Shans. Such, in brief, is the account of the early days of a man whose later career is too well-known for recapitulation.

Mr. St. John has done his part well. The merit of his book lies in the freedom from that blind eulogy which forms the one blemish in most biographies. He lets his hero speak for himself. His duty is only to collate material and state facts as they are. For the most part he leaves it for the reader to eulogize or detract according as the case may be. His sentences are clear cut and his language is always crisp and idiomatic. And he has made his book more interesting by judiciously inserting many extracts from Dr. Cushing's own writings. These, together with the judicious comments of the biographer, afford clear glimpses into Shanland and a charming insight into the family affairs of Dr. Cushing himself. If there is anything to say against Mr. St. John, it must be this, (though we state it in no depreciatory spirit) that there is in him a certain lackness of a swing and a fluency, an absence of the dramatic touch, which seem to suggest that he is not so whole-hearted and warm in his sympathy for his hero as he undoubtedly must be.

M. T.

“THE GREAT CHRONICLE OF CEYLON.”

The Pāli Text Society has just brought out a work which has the greatest value for the ancient history of Ceylon and of India. It is the *Mahāvamsa* or the *Great Chronicle of Ceylon*, translated from the Pāli by Prof. Geiger with the assistance of Dr. Mabel Bode. The translator has made the subject his own, as evidenced by his monograph, “*Mahāvamsa und Dipavamsa*” which appeared in 1905 and by his critical edition of the Pāli text of the *Mahāvamsa* in 1908. No one therefore is better qualified to undertake the translation of this important work than Prof. Geiger. And it is pleasant to note that we have not been disappointed, as far, at least, as the critical and historical portions of the work are concerned. The book is preceded by a masterly introduction, which clearly shows that the author has spared no pains in setting forth his views on the intricate questions involved therein. Through the bewildering maze of chronology and seemingly self-contradictory statements, Prof. Geiger steps with a sure foot and a clear vision. The path he

has thus taken may not be the right path (which perhaps is, after all, only a delusion) but certainly one of the shortest. Thus he takes the year of the Buddha's death to be 483 B.C. Now, punctilious accuracy is almost impossible with regard to this much disputed point and it would be rash to affirm that a particular date, in preference to the rest, is the right one, however ingenious the arguments in its support may be. But thanks to the untiring efforts of several scholars, the differences in the calculation have been narrowed down to within ten years. It is interesting to note that as regards the Buddhist traditions, Prof. Geiger maintains a rigid conservatism and consequently has much to say against the conclusions of other inquirers. Thus he finds, in opposition to Mr. Vincent A. Smith, a historical kernel underlying the tradition of the three Buddhist Councils. The same position is taken up as to the trustworthiness of the Ceylon Chronicles, which, in the opinion of our author, are based on an original chronicle, which gives the history of the island from its legendary beginnings onwards, forming a part of the *Aṭṭhakaṭhā*, "the old commentary-literature on the canonical writings of the Buddhists which Buddhaghosa took as a basis for his illuminating works." (*Introduction*, p. X). It is noteworthy also that heedless of the pleadings of Prof. Rhys Davids, the phraseology Northern and Southern Buddhism is adhered to by Prof. Geiger.

As regards the date of composition of the *Mahāvamsa*, Prof. Geiger agrees with Dr. Fleet and thus we have the date fixed at the beginning of the sixth century A.D. Both these scholars also believe the *Mahāvamsa* to be "a conscious and intentional rearrangement of the *Dīpavamsa*, as a sort of commentary to this latter" (*Introduction*, p. XI.)

When we come to the translation itself—the purely literary portion of the work—we must more properly speak in terms of measured criticism. The translation would be quite good but for a few passages where slackness is more discernible than is proper. The foot-notes are excellent and a model of what such should be; a few however, betray the translator's want of information. We have noted the more errant of these blunders. We have no intention of picking holes, but in a book of such importance bearing the names of two such scholars of established repute as Doctors Geiger and Mabel Bode, no criticism should come amiss.

In the following passages the mistakes are due to pure carelessness:—twenty-eight *for* twenty-two (II 8), five hundred *for* five thousand (III 38), *Cittā for* Citta (IX 22), six *for* sixty (XXVIII 37), five *for* four (XXXI 104).

There are also passages where the sense of the Pāli has been missed :—In I 66 “O thou peerless one” is not a happy rendering for *amama*. In I 73 the *dutiye divase* should be taken as *the next day after the invitation*, understood in the verb *nimantayī* in verse 71, and this day coincided with the full-moon day of Vesākha. But such is not the meaning intended by Prof. Geiger’s translation. In V 109 the *nāma* does not refer to the name of the true doctrine but to the *khandha*, *nāma* as distinguished from *rūpa*. In VII 20 *nārācavalaya* means more than a noose. In III 1 we are told that the Conqueror, *i.e.*, the Buddha, died at the age of eighty-four. How a being, who lived for eighty years, could have died at the age of eighty-four is not easy to imagine. The fact simply is that in this verse, 84 is a careless blunder for 45, the years of the Buddha’s ministry, which added to his 29 years as a layman and 6 years of penance, give 80 years. It would be too much to suffer such glaring mistakes in a scholarly book.

Again, in a note on page 219 the Burmese term ‘tee’ is represented to be a rendering for the Pāli, *Caturassacaya*, “a square block of brickwork” which forms “the second part” in the construction of a *dāgaba*. This blunder is of course due to the ignorance of Burmese on the part of the author. But the scholar who has shown her knowledge of Burmese by her work on the Pāli literature of Burma should have easily corrected it. The Burmese ‘tee’ is the exact word for the Pāli *Chatta*.

Lastly, the note on page 86 on the introduction of Buddhism into Burma from China should be re-written. This is a very delicate question, which must await future research for final decision. Still, it is quite safe to say that Burma has been influenced by the South of India as well as by the north western countries, *viz.*, Assam and Manipur. And not only are there traces of the Mahāyāna form but also of the Hīnayāna form and also Tantraism and Brahmanism. The influence of China is indeed almost nil. We may refer to Mr. Duroiselle’s review on “Burma through the Centuries” in Vol. I, part I, of the Journal of the Burma Research Society.

M. T.

A REPLY TO THE TWO NOTES ON BURMESE PROSODY.

“M. O.” says that he is for the present content to accept the statement of Sayas that *San* is based on the Vuttawdaya,

the more so because I did not reveal any other source. By the way, *San* (Pali, Chando) means prosody. And a work on Pali prosody, entitled the *Vuttodaya* by Saṅgharakkhita was based on Sanscrit prosody by Piṅgala, etc. I thought I sufficiently indicated the source as Sanscrit when I said that even the metrical laws of Burmese prosody were originally written not in Pali but in Sanscrit. We may not be able to definitely say when Buddhism and Pali were introduced into this country. But it is recognised that Sanscrit was known in Burma before Pali. One clear proof of this is the marked preference the Burmans have for such Burmanised Sanscrit words as Sattva, Sikra, Samuddara, Kramma, etc. to their corresponding Pali. And when even the difficult and technical laws of metrification of Burmese prosody were written in Sanscrit which became the *lingua franca* of all India in the 2nd century A. D., there is no other alternative but to conclude that Burmese poetry began to be composed at a time when Pali was not yet known in this country.

I feel highly encouraged by the Editor's note to contribute to some of the future issues of this journal an historical sketch of Burmese poetry from its earliest dawn to the present day. For the present it will be sufficient to observe that the four verses composed by Anantathuriya in 1174 were not the earliest poem extant, as already proved by U Tin's discovery of an earlier poem called Poppa Nat Taung Langa (See p. 32 of his *Kabyabandhatharakyan*). Extant or not extant, we have as yet to reconstruct the history of Burmese literature.

"M.O.'s" reference to my logic is not understood. I meant to say that the basis of divisions (1) and (2) is what I may term "use"; that of (3) and (4), sound; and that of (5) and (6), sense.

Now in Buddhism every word, term or name is a pannyat to which is opposed paramat.

"Paramat" means "things" in their ultimate sense. Wicittacara would be the last person to oppose "things" to "words" in his distinction between the two classes of words. If it be urged that he opposed words denoting things to words denoting names, an example will suffice to dispose of it. The word $\omega\delta$ from Pali, Kappa, is never a paramat. Those who misunderstand the basis of divisions (1) and (2) as sense at once condemn Wicittacara because it is not spelt $\omega\delta$. But this was not what the much abused author meant. He says:—"When you are in doubt as to whether it should be spelt $\omega\delta$ or $\omega\delta$ write $\omega\delta$ if it be a philosophical term. By "philosophical term" I do not mean a word which has a philosophical sense but a word generally "used" in philo-

sophical works. But if you are not acquainted with such philosophical terms, try my second or third classifications. And your chances of error will be comparatively small. Do not, however, take my 'broad hints' for 'rules of universal validity; for they are mere methods of rough and ready distinctions."

After much reflection and discussion with local Burmese scholars I advanced my own theory of the three grades of students. As far as I am aware U Tin took exception to the six Asats and rejected them in favour of his more arbitrary classification without any rhyme or reason. He merely quoted the two earlier authorities in support of his view. One of them is Shwedaung Yazagyaw referred to by me in my previous paper. This writer merely said on p. 75 of the *Kawilekkhana Thatpon* :

ရှင်ပိမိတ္တောရသတ်နည်းထူးလည်း၊ အသတ်ခြောက်ချက်ကိုဆိုသည်။ ရှေးဝညာရှိတို့စကား
ကိုပြင်မှားလွန်းမည်ထင်သည်။ ယခုဝညာရှိတို့နှစ်လုံးကိုနှောင့်ရှက်သည်။

It will be noticed that there no reasons are given for the opinion contained in this quotation. But the beauty of it is that U Tin misquoted the passage as :—

ရှင်ပိမိတ္တောရအသတ်ခြောက်ပါး၊ အစင်ခြောက်ပါးဆိုသည်မှာလည်း၊ ဝညာရှိတို့နှစ်လုံးကို
နှောင့်ရှက်စေပြီးလျှင်၊ ရှေးဝညာရှိတို့စကားကိုပြင်မှားလွန်းမည်ထင်သည်။ (P. 105, the
Kabyabandhathara kyan).

It will be further noticed that Yazagyaw's criticism had nothing to do with the six Asats, still less with the theory of the three grades of students. When an author of U Tin's scholarship carelessly, if not deliberately, misquoted Yazagyaw in order to substantiate his otherwise unsupported view, I did not trouble myself about his other authority, Twinthin Taikwun, who was no other than the uncle of Yazagyaw himself.

And now "M.O." seriously tells me that this very theory of the three grades of students had been condemned by prominent writers on Burmese style. But I hope that I will be spared the trouble of going through the whole range of Burmese literature if "M.O." will kindly furnish me with a little more particulars as to—

(a) who actually advanced the theory of the three grades of students ;

(b) which prominent writers on Burmese style had condemned that theory and where ; and

(c) what their reasons for condemning the theory were.

The learned Editor says that 'garu' and 'lahu' never meant "long" and "short" accents. But here is the Pali prosodist's terminology.—"Sound immediately preceding a diphthong long sound (digho), sound accompanied by a nig-gahita and, sometimes, a final syllable of a metrical foot are

all termed 'Garu' which is denoted (in scanning) by a curve (vañko) : all others having a short (rasso) sound of a single *mattara* (measure or metre) are termed 'Lahu' which is denoted by a straight line (uju). (Pp. 77 and 78 of the *San Nissaya* by Sadaw U Bôk). Thus 'garu' and 'lahu' in Pali prosody have reference to quantity.

Saya Pwa of Toungoo who is at present engaged upon Burmese prosody is my authority for connecting the terms 'Garu' and 'Lahu' as used by Wicittacara, with the closing and opening of lips. Of course every one is aware that they are not scientifically accurate nomenclature to express the phonetic distinction between the labials and the dentals. I myself took it to be a case of loose terminology. But it is clear that these terms were borrowed by the author to distinguish final 'm' from 'n' and 'p' from 't'.

" K. M."

" ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA ANNUAL REPORT, 1908-9." (1)

The new volume of this important publication was issued in October, 1912 ; its publication has been somewhat retarded owing, no doubt, to technical difficulties ; but its appearance has not been so late after all as was that of its predecessor. The Director-General of Archaeology is taking energetic measures to have the remaining volumes, 1909-10, 1910-11 and 1911-1912 published as early as possible, so that, in future, the yearly numbers may be issued regularly. A glance at these magnificent volumes, (the only publication of its kind, as far as I am aware), which evidence the utmost care, conscientiousness and ability of their Editor, will at once explain the delays in their publication. The several papers, each very interesting, take the reader almost over the whole field of Indian Archaeology. The readers here will naturally turn first of all to the two papers on Burma Conservation and Epigraphy, from the pen of the distinguished Superintendent of Archaeology ; the paper on Conservation consists of two articles, full of information, the first about the Mingun Pagoda and the other on the Mingalazedi at Pagan. The paper on Epigraphy, very short, is very important. It records the discovery of three inscriptions. The first, it is said " was set up by Kyanzittha, the successor of Anawrata of Pagan, in B.E. 398 (= A.D. 1036)"; the second " was engraved in B.E. 577 (= A.D. 1215 and is important in that " it settles the question of the identity of the celebrated Buddhist divine Mahâthera Paunglaungshin

Katthapa (2) with the Mahāthera Panthagu of Pagan"; the last and most important of the three "records the existence at Kyauksauk in the Myingyan District, as late as B.E. 830 (= A.D. 1458), of the heretical sect of Aris who were suppressed (3) at Pagan by Anawrata in the 11th century."

It has been the habit, up to the present, for the Superintendents of the several provinces of India and Burma, to send their epigraphical papers to the Government Epigraphist, India, who *edited* them for the *Archaeological Annual*; this was done no doubt to save space; but it could not be done without impairing, to a certain extent, the interest of each particular paper; for instance, we should like to know somewhat more about the three Burmese inscriptions in this number; we should like to have a plate of them. There are reasons to be believed this plan will now be abandoned and that the epigraphical papers will in future be published in the *Epigraphica Indica*, which is published by the Government Epigraphist of India.

C. D.

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1. Government Printing, Calcutta, 1912; price Rs. 20 or 30s.
 2. Pāli=Kassapa.
 3. This inscription clearly shows they were not *suppressed* but that only an unsuccessful attempt to suppress them was made.
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FURTHER NOTE ON THE WORD "TALAING."*

In Volume II, part I of the Journal of this Society, M. O., at p. 73, refutes the view that the word Talaing was coined by Alompra in the middle of the XVIIIth century, and shows that it was known to the Burmese already in A. D. 1458; and on page 100 of the same volume, I have shown that this name was known also to the Chinese at the beginning of the XVIIth century, and probably long before. The date can now be pushed back several centuries, for this word was in use already during the reign of Kyanzittha (1084—1112), called also Hti-hlaing-shin, as is clear from an inscription dated B. E. 469=A. D. 1107. I transcribe this inscription in modern Burmese characters, but shall translate only the passage referring to the word Talaing.

The numbers to the left indicate the lines.

* Since going to press, further light has been thrown, not only on the derivation of the word *Talaing* but also on the probable origin of the "Talaings," by the discovery of a Mon manuscript, an extract from which has been printed and circulated to a few students. An article on the subject will appear in the next number.—Ed.

- (1) ။ဝ ။ သကရဇ် ၄၆၉ခု မာဃသံဝန္တိဏ်
 - (2) သိရိတဝနာဒိတ္ထုဓမ်ရာဇာဓိရာဇာမဟဗ္ဗလောဇိနိ
 - (3) တွာန၊မဟိသဗ္ဗိနိဗ္ဗါနိသဗ္ဗာတာရယန္တိ။ကုဆုန်လဆန်း ၁၀-၅
 - (4) နိယိမိမိဖျါရာပရိမ်ပြည်နှိုက်မိလိုင်သျှင်မင်ကြိစေ
 - (5) တိဘည်၏၊တည်ပြီရကာဥဿာလမည်တန်လိုင်ပြ
 - (6) ညီကိုးနည် ၊ ညက် ၊ ဖျက်မြိယ်ပြီရယ်ရမြိယ်ထသောပြ
 - (7) ညာကြိသောတန်လိုင်သုခမိန်ကိုးလေထာ၏ဟိုယ်ထံစ
 - (8) င်ဟိုယ်သန်လျှင်လေထာ၏မိရယ်ချင်ဖြစ်ထလျှင်သောစောင်
 - (9) ဆင်တင်ကုပ်တွင်ရယ် ၊ လှူသောကက်ဗိုလ်ကက်ပတိယ်ဒေမ
 - (10) တ် ဥယောက်စသောကျွန်တောင် ၁၀၀ လှူ၏ ရွာသာ ပြောင်
ပြာနှိုက်ဖြစ်သော
 - (11) စဗ္ဗါလေ ၁၅၀၀ လှူတင်မူ၏ကသွန်မိန်နှင့်ဖြုတ်ချင်ဆာငါမိ
 - (12) မုညင်ကြိန္တယ်မကြွင်မနာကံတွင်ထုတ်ရယ်လှူ၏ဤငါ
 - (13) လှူဝတ်ကိုးမပြတ်မိပင်ထသောနောင်လာသောမင်တိုက်ကာငါ
- နှင့်
- (14) ထပ်တူရစပါစိယ်ဤသို့ဟုရယ်မိလိုင်သျှင်မင်ကြိမှတ်တမူ၏

The first three lines are in Pāli excepting the last two words and the number. The passage that concerns us here begins with the end of the 3rd line and ends near the end of the 7th.

- (3) (in) the waxing month of Kason (on) the 15th.
- (4) day King Dhilain-shin at Parim, the place of his birth,
- (5) built a temple. Having built it, the Talaing country also called Ussā
- (6) having completely destroyed, he obtained a
- (7) very learned Talaing *savant* and kept him.

The sense is clear : " King Dhilaing-shin built a temple at Parim, his birth-place, on the 15th day of the waxing (fort-night of the) month of Kason. Having done this, he placed therein a very learned Talaing scholar whom he had obtained (and brought back) after destroying completely the Talaing Province of Pegu.

It will be remarked the word is here spelled " Tan-laing," which according to Burmese phonetics, can also be pronounced Talaing. From the manner it is used in the inscription, the word was already well known in A. D. 1107, and it is therefore, to be presumed that it was known some time before, and it must have been in use among the Burmese probably in the time of King Anawrahta in the 11th century. Ussā is the old name of Pegu.

I may note here the most salient peculiarities of this inscription : line 5, လ=လည် : ; 1. 6, နည် J ညက် J = နည်:နည်:ညက်ညက်=ဗ္ဗာ:ဗ္ဗာ:ညက်ညက်, *lit*, in powder ; the number 2 (J) indicates that the preceding word is to be repeated ; *cf.* 1. 9, ရှယ် J = ရှယ်ရှယ် = ရှေ့:ရှ်, choosing ; 1. 6, ဗြညာ from the Sanscrit *prajñā* ; 1. 7, လေ=လည် : ; ဟိုယ် (huiy) = ရှေ့, gold ; 1. 11, ဝမ္ပီ=ဝပါ: , paddy ; တသွန်မိန်=ကြက်သွန်မြိတ်, the tops of onions ; ငြဲတ=ငရှ်, chilly ; 1. 14, ဟ=ဟ=ဆိုသည်, to say ; now a days, the word ဟ is never used as a verb.

C. D.

BUDDHISM, A STUDY OF THE BUDDHIST NORM.

In a letter to a friend in Burma some time ago, Mrs. Rhys Davids wrote : 'The little book I am engaged upon for the Home University Library series is intended for "the intelligent clerk and artisan" reader (often a more brainy person than your 'gentleman') and is to be written not for scholars, not technical. I am trying to give a plain account of the philosophical principles underlying the *Nikāyas*—all that the early Buddhist saw in the pregnant word "Dhamma"—*i. e., pariyatti, hetu, guna and nissatta.*' The book here referred to now lies before us in the shape of volume number 47 of the series to which it belongs ; its title—*Buddhism, A Study of the Buddhist Norm, by Mrs. Rhys Davids, M.A.*, and it may be said at once that uniformly excellent for their size and price as are the other volumes of this series of handbooks in their treatment of the subject with which each deals, this a volume which—to an adherent of the religion of Burma at least—seems more excellent than them all.

Wherein that excellence lies is easily stated.

The entire sum of books on Buddhism published in European languages—and they are now not a few, thanks to the growing interest of the West in the mind and manners of the East—may be divided into three leading classes : those written by Christian missionaries to Buddhist lands, those written by scholars *pur et simple*, and those—as yet a small minority only—written by Occidental converts to Buddhist ways of thought and life. To the first of these three classes of books on Buddhism is due nearly all earlier Occidental knowledge of the Dhamma of the Buddha, and in spite of the much that has since been done in the same field, the western world still owes not a little to the painstaking labours of a Bigandet, a Gogerly and a Hardy for its

present acquaintance with at least one of the great religions of the Orient. But books of this class have all alike suffered from one fatal defect: their authors all set out with their minds made up beforehand that the system they are about to investigate and describe is one that has no real right to exist, and ought therefore to be suppressed and supplanted with all possible speed by the religious system which they profess as their own. With this idea ever present in their minds, while they did good work in picturing some phases of the religion they were investigating, sooner or later they came upon other phases which—quite unconsciously we will believe—they saw only in distorted fashion and so could only distortedly portray; while in not a few instances, owing to the utter newness and strangeness of the ideas with which they were confronted, they flatly misapprehended them, the subsequent picture they drew of the system being stamped all over with the impress of that misapprehension. The second class of book on Buddhism again, that by the scholar *pur et simple*, suffers only too often from the antiquarian air with which its author seems to treat his subject. He seems like one who has drawn forth from some 'chamber long to quiet vowed' a curious object all dented and covered with dust, concerning the origin and history of which he at once begins to speculate, without first enquiring if there are not some fresh, new specimens of the object to be found in everyday use around him. He treats of Buddhism as a dead and gone system and ignores the fact of its present existence as a living force in the lives of countless millions of his fellowmen,—pays little or no heed to the circumstance that in addition to a literature belonging to the past, Buddhism possesses a living and active tradition in the present. The history of the discussions at one time current in the West and not yet quite extinct, as to the meaning of Nibbāna, presents a fairly characteristic specimen of the scholar's method of setting to work upon the investigation of Buddhist ideas. Ancient manuscripts, and commentaries upon them only a trifle less ancient, were ransacked for every slightest word that might bear upon the vexed question, and every such finding was discussed *pro* and *con* entirely with reference to its meaning as that meaning might present itself to an *occidental* mind; and it never seemed to occur to anybody that the simplest and best way to find out what Nibbāna really meant was to ask one or two of the more intelligent among the living representatives of the religion in which the word was used to express one of its leading concepts. These purely scholarly disquisitions upon Buddhism left the average reader cold

and uninterested when not actually repelled. In the third class of book, finally, the convert to Buddhism, by the warmth and ardour which he inclines to import into the advocacy of his new-found faith, is rather apt to irritate and annoy the judicially-minded reader whose sole desire is for a little reliable information upon a subject in which he has become slightly interested, and who has no wish to listen to special pleadings on its behalf. It is the shining virtue and the unique distinction of this little book of Mrs. Rhys Davids' that it avoids the faults and combines the merits of all these three classes of books on the Buddhist Dhamma. It is scholarly but not for that, dreary ; painstaking but never biassed ; sympathetic, but its sympathy never runs to a neglect of important facts in favour of a dithyramb of approbation. In brief : it is easily the best book of its compass that has yet appeared on the subject, and can be confidently recommended to any desirous of knowing something of what the Dhamma of the Buddha really means as at once an able, impartial, and—this most important and also, rarest of all—an *understanding* presentation of that Dhamma. 'The intelligent clerk and artisan' for whom it is specially written may study it and learn from it all it has to teach them with the full assurance that they will never be called upon to unlearn anything they find in it, albeit, in view of the somewhat circumscribed dimensions of the volume, they will do well to supplement its information by reading in translations some of the original texts of Buddhism of which all they get here is perforce a few brief extracts.

To come to particulars:—In her opening chapter Mrs. Rhys Davids gives her reader the advice, useful in the case of every study of a new system of thought but nowhere more useful, indeed, necessary than here, that he should cease 'thinking of something else,'—the 'something else' in this case being the standpoints on certain matters which as a member of an occidental race he has hitherto taken for granted and accepted as indeed the only standpoints possible—and as far as he can, make an effort to work his way into the new standpoint presented to him and take a fresh view of life from the new position attained. Then—of necessity very briefly—she indicates the various sources of the Pāli Canon and incidentally intimates her agreement with Rhys Davids' view that the language of the Buddhist Scriptures is that once spoken in Kosala, not that of old Magadhi as believed by Childers and others:—a matter which the impartial reader will be inclined to treat in the spirit of the Oxford graduate who wrote in his examination paper that he believed 'that it was not Homer who wrote

the Iliad but another man of the same name.' More important is our authoress' setting aside of the sun-myth idea of the Buddha's existence as quite untenable, and her dismissal of the theory that the entire body of Pāli scriptures is a species of Sinhalese forgery with nothing about them to support their alleged Indian origin. She pertinently points out that the similes and strophes in which these scriptures abound are those of a sub-tropical continent and a great river-valley rather than of a tropical island. As for Sanskrit having any claim to be the primal language of Buddhist Scripture, she considers it to be a later encroaching growth, in order of proximity to the original sources, midway between Pāli and the Chinese and Tibetan books, these latter being in all probability only translations of Sanskrit and, it may be, Pāli books, but which of these we cannot yet definitely say until they have been rendered accessible in translations.

In her second chapter and those immediately following it, the originality and freshness of our authoress' plan of treating her subject come to the front. Instead of developing her thesis on the usual lines of the 'Four Noble Truths' she advances the proposition that the Pitakas, contrary to the opinion of some, contain implicitly, if not explicitly, a complete and rounded system of philosophy, and she plunges directly into a statement of the philosophical foundation on which the Buddhist system is based, making this the guiding thread of the remainder of her exposition. Taking that almost untranslatable term 'Dhamma'—which she rather happily suggests is just the Buddhist equivalent for 'good form'—she expounds it as the eternal and universal Law of Things, not invented but only re-stated and re-illustrated by each Buddha for the men of each new age in the endless procession of cosmic history,—a law of things of which all beings, whether called gods or men, are the willing or unwilling servitors. Then taking the term 'Abhidhamma,' which might well be translated 'deeper Dhamma,' she makes for Buddhists the claim that it was they who in the course of their searchings into the further meanings of the Dhamma, laid the foundations of mediæval Indian logic. Proceeding with her exposition of Theravādin Buddhist philosophy—for thus our authoress rightly elects to entitle what in some other quarters is wont to receive the somewhat opprobrious epithet of Hīnayāna, little or low Buddhist philosophy—she deals enlighteningly with the famous doctrine of 'no-soul' and demonstrates its fundamental importance in the Buddhist scheme of thought. Confessedly this is a difficult point to make clear to any one who has never before en-

countered the idea as it is understood by a Buddhist, and one could almost wish that our authoress' clerk or artisan friend, before he took up the present volume, read a similar volume dealing with Kant and another dealing with Bergson, but Mrs. Rhys Davids acquits herself well of her task and leaves the reader of her pages, who does not shrink from exercising his own wits a little on the points brought before him, but little excuse if he fails to understand correctly the Buddha's great teaching of Anatta, even if he does not quite seize all that it imports at this first meeting with it. Here, incidentally, Mrs. Rhys Davids meets the reproach of 'atheism' frequently levelled at Buddhists by the ignorant, remarking that this teaching involves no denial of the existence of a god or of gods. 'That they existed was taken for granted. . . . Why limit an infinite universe to humanity, he (the orthodox Buddhist) would say. So much then, and so little is there of atheism in his creed.' But continuing with regard to Anatta, she remarks that it is true that 'the testimony of normal consciousness is to a unity. Mental science, however, as we know, tends to support the Buddhist position. Experience, it says, shows that the unity often by no means works as such. Pathology tells us a good deal more to the same effect.' The word 'I', the *signatum* for a self-unity is useful, indeed indispensable for the purposes of practical, everyday life, but as a veritable fact it has no existence, was the Buddha's teaching. Here he broke absolutely with all his contemporaries of the Atmanistic schools of Brahminism, and in doing so initiated a 'science of mind, or psychology, which. . . . Buddhist culture subsequently developed. In this respect the Buddhists are the true Eastern compeers of Aristotle and Western psychology, and the day will come when their analysis of mind will rank, in the history of psychology and from the universal standpoint, equal in achievement with that of the Greeks and indeed of Europe generally, up to the time when psycho-physiology was introduced. . . . For Buddhist thought, from the start, psychological insight is an integral part of philosophical, nay, of religious insight. It started not with the external universe, and its first and final cause, but with the heart of man, sentient and desiring.' These words of our authoress will sufficiently show how she apprehends the point of view of Buddhism with respect to the world and life, and indicate her reliability as a guide to the subject with which she is dealing.

In the chapter entitled 'The Norm as the Law of Causation,' Mrs. Rhys Davids embodies the substance of a paper she read some time ago before a Congress of Orientalists

and in effect develops the idea of Anatta as it applies to the universe at large. She finds it implies what Herakleitus was teaching in Greece about the same time that the Buddha was teaching it in the Ganges valley,—that the universe is a stream of causes and effects ceaseless in its flow, in which a cross-cut section at any moment yields the universe of that moment and of no other. The denial of the 'self-ness' of the subject runs concurrently with the denial of the substantial 'thing-ness' of the object. 'Self-ness' and 'thing-ness' are temporary forms under which the one universal flow is illusively envisaged. She quotes the Buddha's *logion*: 'I will teach you the Dhamma:—That being present, this becomes: from the arising of that, this arises. That being absent, this does not become: from the cessation of that, this ceases;' and exclaims: 'Surely a notable milestone in the history of human ideas that a man reckoned for ages by thousands as the Light not of Asia only but of the world, and the saviour from sin and misery, should call this little formula his Norm or Gospel, or at least one aspect of that Gospel!' Here it is the philosophical aspect of the Dhamma that most interests our authoress and she thinks it worth while to point out that although the famous 'Four Noble Truths' of Ill and its arising and ceasing and the Way that leads to the latter, claim a large share of the attention of most students of Buddhism, yet as a matter of fact, where in the Pitakas the four 'Truths' of Ill and so forth are spoken of, it is more frequently by way of enforcing or illustrating the teaching of universal causation than of calling attention to the fact of their own existence. On this subject of life as simply a causal sequence she makes one remark of particular interest to Burmese Buddhists. 'The formula of causal genesis,' she says, 'in its affirmation of a natural order, put forward for the first time as a gospel for all in antithesis to the animism all around—here truly is an impressive iconoclasm and a bold stand, costing an effort we can scarcely realize. Too great a forward step to take and maintain in India. *Not too great for the maintenance of the Dhamma in South Asian centres, remote from skilled Absolutistic dialectic.*' The italics in this passage are our own, the part so italicized giving one the impression that in Mrs. Rhys Davids' opinion, the arrival of a skilled Absolutistic dialectic in Burma will mark the beginning of the end of Buddhism in this country, even as the presence of such a dialectic in India from all time almost, has for many centuries past brought about the practical end of Buddhism there. In may be so: who can say? But at least Buddhists of this country have received timely warning from a clear-

eyed observer and friend and might fitly proceed to arm themselves betimes with the weapon of a deeper and more intelligent understanding of their religion so that they may not be unprepared to meet the danger when it comes.

'But how had it been with us,' says our authoress, 'if in olden time some prophet had arisen who had seen in a vision of universal law, not a philosophic theory only, nor a scientific deduction, but a saving Truth, a Religion, whereby he might purify both his own beliefs and redeem mankind from error and delusion?' And she goes on to say that such a day came to the Orient when the Buddha preached his vision of Truth. The Buddha's vision of truth as moral law thus forms the subject matter of her fifth chapter, and in it she gives full credit to the remarkable change it effected in Indian life and manners among the common run of the people, rivalling in its extent that produced in Indian thought and speculation among the literate and learned. 'A complete account of the growth of Buddhism,' she says, 'has to show some plausible reason why that which so many critics among us call gloomy, pessimistic, arid, wooden, irrational, still sits enthroned in lands where pessimism, asceticism, decadence and vice are not more present, are even less in evidence, than in lands not professedly Buddhist, and where the national temperament that abides loyal to the ancient Dhamma is, for the most part, sunny and cheerfully, if not deeply, pious.' And she finds that reason, as others have done, in the existence among the people of an Order of men living a life of moral example, predominant of course being the personality and genius of the Founder of the Order. The abolition of useless and blood-stained sacrifices, the profound modification of the rigours of caste distinction, and the recognition of an aristocracy of intellect and virtue and of no other,—this it was, according to our authoress, which led to the rise of Buddhism and its ultimate sway over the greater part of India under the emperor Asoka. She deals at some length with the important question as to how moral injunctions could have any weight with the people where 'self' was denied, and shows that the idea of inevitable, inexorable Kamma in the sense of evil deed leading to pain, and good deed leading to weal, was as powerful to induce men to do good and shun evil with 'self' eliminated from the equation as it ever was with 'self' included. Evil consequences followed upon evil deeds, was the Buddha's most impressive teaching to the mass of the people, and the sharp distinction we moderns incline to make between the evil suffered by 'self' and that suffered by 'another' was allowed to become and did become dim and indistinct in a way

difficult for our present intensely individualized generation to realize or understand.

In the chapter on 'The Norm as Ideal,' Mrs. Rhys Davids corrects those 'Orientalists who held themselves bound, for some reason or other, to vindicate at the expense of Buddhism the established faith of the majority of their readers,' by charging Buddhism with 'ultra-pessimistic views,' 'the extinction of desires,' 'inaction and apathy,' and characterizes it as an attitude 'dear to the popular exponent but unworthy of the scholar.' As a scholar herself she effectively points out the erroneousness of the charges in question and in copious quotations from the Theragātha and Therigāthā finds ample support for her contention that from those who followed the Buddha's Path of Enlightenment to its end in achievement one hears anything but the note of hopelessness and despair; rather one meets with continual exclamations of delight, of bliss, of rapture, of supreme felicity. She aptly remarks: 'The imputation of thorough-going pessimism to the Buddhist ideal is too slovenly for the following reasons:—Movements of religious and ethical reform start necessarily with pessimistic utterances. Buddhism preaches not so much resignation to evil or ill, as revolt and escape from evil or ill,' and she mentions 'the appalling future, appalling as regarded the great majority of mankind' pictured in the early Christian ideal. Nibbāna, however, is the ideal end of the Buddhist, and on this she has some interesting pages dealing mostly with the *sa-upādisesa* aspect of the same, touching only lightly on the *anupādisesa* aspect. But what she says under this head does not readily lend itself to quotation. It is necessary to read the entire chapter to understand properly her exposition of this subject so difficult to make plain to the majority of Western minds, brought up as these have been in the tradition of Thomas Aquinas and its fixed faith in an *ens* universe.

In her final chapter, entitled 'The Quest of the Ideal,' our authoress treats of the steps by which those who aim at the ideal end, Nibbāna, make their way thither. Here we have a few pertinent words on Jhāna, the Buddhist system of mind-control. Then comes mention of the Four Great Meditations upon Love, Compassion, Sympathizing Joy, and Serenity, by the practice of which a Buddhist trains his mind into a proper attitude towards his fellow-creatures of all grades of being from insect to angel. And in a 'Conclusion' we are reminded that thinkers such as 'James, Bergson, and Alexander represent a flowing tide in the affairs of philosophy whose work and influence will aid, whether they know it or not, in securing a just and more sympathetic

appraisement for Buddhist Abhidhamma, when the literature has been more fully presented and adequately discussed by scholars from the West and also from the East. 'Till this comes to pass,' she adds, 'fuller recognition cannot be expected, or even desired, so many and so pathetic are the mistaken conclusions due to scanty knowledge and the attitude of a different tradition.'

There are a few misprints in the volume, and in two passages there seems to be a word missing. 'Way' is twice used as a substitute for 'away'—a usage that is so far only recognized in certain quarters on the western side of the Atlantic; and the sentence that closes chapter VI. reads rather clumsily and might with advantage have been rewritten. But these are minor faults of manner hardly worth mentioning where the matter is so excellent.

We understand from a private letter of later date than the one already quoted, that Mrs. Rhys Davids hopes in her next venture in the domain of Buddhology to address herself not to the layman but to the scholar. This is a good hearing. Meantime an adherent of the religion of Burma who has a friend wishful to know what Buddhism really is, cannot do better than recommend him to take up this volume and carefully read each one of its 250 reading pages. He can feel certain that his friend will at least be making a good beginning in his study of the Dhamma of the Buddha, and 'well begun is half done.'

S.

OLD HISTORICAL BALLADS. (1)

ရှေးဟောင်း ၁၂ စောင်တွဲ။

The above volume is, from a literary and historical point of view, one of the most important issued from the local presses since nearly a decade; for since the printing of the 3rd volume of the Hman-nan Rājavan-dawgyi (၄၄၄:၄၀၀၆ ဝေဒိန္ဒြိယ), and the publication of the Dutiya Mahā Rājavan-dawgyi, which is a sequel to the previous one and is concerned with the reigns of Bagyidaw to Mindon inclusive, nothing historical in the strictest sense of the word had been given to the public.

As the title itself indicates, this volume is a collection not only of old but of the oldest ballads that have been preserved and come down to us; there are about thirty more

(1). Edited, with Introductory Notes, by Maung May Oung; Rammapura Press, Moulmein, B. E. 1274 (1912). Price Rs. 2-4.

such poems, but they are not quite so old and important as the twelve published by Mr. May Oung.

Viewed from the standpoint of literary worth, they are invaluable, as some of them go back to the 15th century, and are witnesses to the fact, which has solemnly been denied more than once by persons (2) who ought to have known better, for they spoke, so to say, *ex cathedra*, that Burmese literature, though not hoary, can boast of a respectable antiquity, and can be pushed back at least to the 12th or 13th century; it is true we have no documents (other than lithic inscriptions) dating so far back; but it must be remembered *very little* is actually known of Burmese literature and that this vast field has not yet been investigated systematically (3). Anyone studying carefully the highly polished and refined poetry of the early part of the 15th century will easily perceive, and must come to the conclusion, that the perfection of form, the wonderful mastery of words, the already very elaborate native (4) prosody, the wealth of imagery and delicacy (5) of feeling and expression evidenced in that poetry, cannot, could not in fact, have sprung up suddenly and without precedents in the 15th century from the brains of Shin Silavamsa and Shin Ratthasāra, the two greatest bards Burma has produced; to maintain that this was the case, on the strength that as yet no other poetical productions antedating those two poets have been found, would be to claim for Burmese literature a miracle,

(2). Parker, in his "Burma, its relations with China;" Forchhammer, in his "Jardine Essay," and a good number of others who mostly followed Forchhammer and Parker and whose names need not be mentioned.

(3). A History of Burmese Literature, promised some years ago to the "École Française d'Extrême-Orient" at Hanoi, by Monsieur Chas. Duroiselle, is now in active preparation, and the first chapters, beginning from the earliest times (1st and 2nd centuries, A. C.) will probably appear next year—Ed.

(4). See J. B. R. S., II, part I, pp. 88-94.

(5). The reader who has gone only through modern comedies and dramas (မြေဝေဝါ), which are, after all, not much worse than the early comedies of Italy, Spain, France, and probably England, cannot judge of Burmese *poesie* by the standard of those modern productions, which contain no poetry at all, unless rhymed plattitudes may be so called. The old poets are singularly pure and elevated, and most of their works can be placed in the hands of the most innocent youths; this is much more than can be said of most *old* European poets. I think it is but fair to state this fact as there is a tendency amongst a certain class of "westerners" to abuse, as unclean, *the whole* of Burmese literature, which they do not know themselves, having never read it. Their assertion is simply based on the modern comedy, which respectable Burmans do not, as a rule, read; unless it be, as is the case with a few Burmese and European gentlemen, for the sake of research, literary and historical.

to which no parallel in any other national literature of the world could be adduced. Such a pitch of perfection cannot have been reached but through the slow evolution towards it of the poetry of the preceding centuries. Raṭṭhasāra himself is quite clear on this point; in the preface to his greatest poem, he mentions, in a general way, the works of *old* poets who had preceded him but wrote in a rather unrefined style which might well suit the time they lived in but not that in which he lived. His friend and elder, Silavamsa, writes a "poetical dictionary," containing the words used in *old* poetry and obsolete already in the 15th century, (very much as "Shakespeare vocabularies" have been made), (6), in order to enable people to understand *that* poetry, as well as that of their own time, which affected the use of old words as an embellishment. In some historical works, notably in the Pagan Rājavañ Thit (၄၀၄၀၀၀၀၀၀), many old ballads, which, it is to be hoped, have not completely disappeared, are quoted as coming "from the men of old," and some of these clearly seem to have antedated the 15th century. (7) This is a rather long digression, but I could not resist the desire to call attention—in a publication not so ephemeral as the columns of the *Rangoon Gazette*—to the fact, and to repeat, that Burmese literature is very much more extensive, older and interesting than has generally been thought; that the assertion that the literature of this country "has nothing in it," has been made, strange to say, by persons who, besides a few Buddhist tracts, the Ten Great Zats (8), a few dramas and perhaps the *Mālālaikāra* Vatthu (9), knew nothing of it, were not

(6). What would English gentlemen think of an educated foreigner who, not being able to understand Shakespeare at a first reading, owing to the large number of obsolete or obsolescent words in his plays, would stigmatise the world's greatest dramatist's works as "a mass of absurdities" and "all rot!"? The latter elegant and refined expression as well as the more polite former one, I have heard from the lips of a few persons, because they could not understand all those meaningless (they meant poetical and obsolete) words so abundant in the best of Burmese poetry.

(7). Instances of versification in the days preceding Raṭṭhasāra and Silavamsa may be seen at pages 71, 96, and 103 of *Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma* (Govt. Press, 1900).—Ed.

(8). ဘာဝဏ်တော်ကြီးသင်္ဂါး; the Burmese prose translation of the Pali Mahānīpāta. Cf. Fausbøll, *The Jatakas*, Volume VI, and the Cambridge translation, Volume VI.

(9). A Burmese Life of the Buddha, far inferior in style and completeness to the *Jinatha-pakasani* (ဇိနတ္ထပကာဆန်) and the *Tathagata-Udānam* (တထာဂတဥဒါန်). Bishop Bigandet's work, "The Legend of the Burmese Buddha" is based on the *Mālānkāra*.

even aware of its existence, from the fact that it is difficult of access owing to its not being yet printed (10). Another erroneous idea which prevails among Europeans in Burma is that its literature is still in a translatory state, and is based entirely on the Pali canon and commentaries. Nothing is so far from the mark; although a great portion of it is, it is true, based on those books, a very large portion of it is quite independent and national. It was so even in the 15th century; as instances, I will cite merely some of the Ballads in Mr. May Oung's book, the *Toñ Tvin lā* (တောင်တွင်းလာ) of Shin Silavamsa, and the pastorals and elegies of many a celebrated author and authoress.

The style of these ballads is, as may be expected, archaic, and this very archaism is a stumbling block to the majority of Europeans, and to not a few Burmans, in the reading of Burmese poetry; this ought no more now to be so, for, just as there are in England dictionaries and vocabularies to the old poets and to Shakespeare, so are there also in Burma dictionaries of "archaic words" (11), and there are at least four of them now *printed* (12). None of them is quite complete, but they very nearly complete one another, and no one in possession of these would find much difficulty in readily understanding ancient works. As has been said, none of these published vocabularies is complete, nor do they, as a whole, arrive at anything like completeness; for these *archaic* words, being those that were used countless generations ago, must have been rather numerous, although a great proportion of them dropped out completely and were lost to the language in the course of its evolution. But even as they are, they ought to be published with English meanings; this would give a great impetus to, not only Burmese studies in general but to, Burmese philology, ethnography and history. This work is, I daresay, much more urgent than the revision and re-writing of Stevenson's Burmese-English Dictionary; but I am afraid that unless a disinterested and generous Burmese gentleman came to the front to bear the printing expenses, nothing will be done in this line for some generations to come. Such a work, however, is urgently needed, not only in Burma, but also in

(10). The Hanthawaddy Press in Rangoon has, however, done much, during the last decade, for the diffusion of old Burmese literature by carefully printing many an old work, but what has been printed is yet infinitesimal.

(11). I. e., ပေါ်ရာဏကထာ (porāna-katha).

(12). The principal and best being the ပေါ်ရာဏကထာအဘိဓာန် (Porāna-katha-abhidāna), Hanthawaddy Press, Rangoon.

Indo-China and in Europe. Here now is an opportunity for the B. R. S. to patronise a very useful work, as yet the first of its kind in Burma, by giving all the necessary help to the production of such a dictionary (13). With such a help the reading of old Burmese authors would become a pleasure ; it would allow earnest young workers to read intelligently historical compositions such as those before us in this volume and so draw at the very sources of Burmese poetry.

A short historical notice at the beginning of each ballad greatly enhances the value of the work. The following are the ballads included in this volume :—(1) ရခိုင်မင်းသို့ချင်း။ (2) သခင်ထွေးချင်း။ (3) မင်းတရားရွှေထီးချင်း။ (4) မင်းတရားရွှေထီးနားတော်သွင်း။ (5) မင်းတရားမယ်တော်ချင်း။ (6) နတ်ရှင်မယ်တော်ချင်း။ (7) ဓမ္မာဥပရာဇာချင်း။ (8) မင်းရဲကျော်စွာစုန်ချင်း။ (9) သခင်ကြီးချင်း။ (10) ယိုးဒယားမိဖုရားချင်း။ (11) မင်းရဲနရာချင်း။ (12) မင်းရဲဒိဗ္ဗချင်း။ These are in chronological order from about 817 B. E. (1455) to about 960 B. E. (1598). They give in many cases information and details which would be looked for in vain in the larger chronicles. Notwithstanding the great care taken by the editor in proof-reading, the book still contains some misspellings not noted in the too long list of misprints at the beginning of the book ; to give only one example : p. 16, para 3, တရုဥတည် for တရုဥခည်။ I think the book would have still more gained in usefulness had the editor given in footnotes the principal various readings of the different manuscripts.

Mr. May Oung is sincerely to be congratulated for the useful volume he has given us and the scholarly and conscientious way in which he has edited it.

C. D.

(13). If such a step be taken, I think the best course would be to apportion the work among several gentlemen, Burmese and European, all working on the same plan, the whole being finally revised by a committee of three or four specially appointed for this purpose from amongst the collaborators ; this would ensure quicker and better work.

BURMESE SPELLING.

The vagaries of Burmese orthography are well-known and have been the despair of many a student. It is astonishing to find that even Burmans with a fairly good Burmese education are often in doubt as to the correct spelling of a word, though this is perhaps explicable by the fact that the pursuit of the indigenous literature has almost died out. No one who has carefully studied the principal productions of the ninth and tenth centuries of the current Burmese Era

finds himself at a loss to fix upon the right *a-that* when he remembers the *sat-hton* (" precedents ") and *khwè-da* (" differentiation ") of authors like Ratthasāra, Silavaṃsa, and Nawade-gyi. There are moreover the various standard works, such as the Kawi-lekkhana-that-pôn of Shwedaung Yāzagyaw, the Athat Chauk-pā of Wiseittasāra, the Pin-yit-gandhi of U Ponnya and several others. None of these latter however are complete in themselves, and hitherto one had to go to different books to find a required word. Recently, Saya Pye's collection, the That-pon Upade, and the Kawi-myet-mhan That-pon by U Kyaw Dun, have been of great assistance to students ; the latter is a comprehensive work of 367 pages Royal octavo, giving the popular *than-bauk* memorisers followed by the various uses of each word dealt with in the rhyming triplets. "*The Student's Guide to Burmese Spelling*," by U Po Hla, just published by the A. B. M. Press, (Rs. 2.8), is a book after the style of U Kyaw Dun's but without the *than-bauk* and with the valuable addition of English equivalents. It contains 851 paragraphs, arranged alphabetically, each of which contains a group of two to five words having the same or similar sound but different signification and spelling. *Porana* and Pali words are specially indicated, and reference is facilitated by the careful index at the end, which however should in a later edition give the page as well as the paragraph. So far as it goes, the work is an excellent one. There are a few omissions here and there and some of the words do not seem necessary in a book of this description which deals with orthographical differentia and does not profess to be a complete vocabulary. Thus, on page 83, paragraph 306 contains the word တေ which presumably is inserted merely to show that in the example given (အင်တေတေလှ၍ဝေဆည်၊ reluctantly) the correct spelling is with the ဓ and not the ဋ although at the same time the author tells us that there is no such word as တေ့၊ U Kyaw Dun gives အညီတညီတညီ၊ This particular word was referred to for the spelling of the Burmese word for *Echo*, which is usually written ဝဲတေ but with regard to to which a passage အူအူဝဲတေ၊ အတေတေဝဲ had come to light in a recent publication. Such faults as these are however venial. The great drawback, from the point of view of the scholar, must be the lack of indication as regards disputed spellings ; wherever these are known to exist a reference to standard works should be made. For instance, in the case of one of the words for *many*, the author gives us ချင် (page 140) and says that ခြင် is not in use. The former spelling is certainly to be met with in some works, but the *Pin-yit gandhi*, wherein the *y* and the *r* are

specially treated of, gives ဖြဲ and the same spelling is found in most of the leading poems and orthographical treatises. Which are we to follow? Again, at page 190, the author lays down the dictum that တံဆိပ်ဆင်သည်, and အေးယင်ကျူးသည် 'should be spelled with ယ် which means "to be civilized, graceful, polite, delicate," ယ် has no such meaning.' This may be correct; many will be doubtful on the point. But we are not told that the spelling ယ် is almost universally accepted, and that there is such a passage as တေဠယင်ယင်းသံ ဝုဠ်ဒ်းဒွာ်ရှင်တေဒ်ရင်း which should set all doubts as to the correct spelling at rest, whatever may be the derivation of the word. (The passage cited is from the *Yakhaing-min-thami Egyin*, verse 3.)

A really all-comprehending and authoritative treatise on Burmese Orthography would perhaps be a stupendous task and it will probably be many years before a thoroughly satisfactory work is produced. But meanwhile U Po Hla's book is a highly commendable one, and should prove very useful to the student.

M. O.

THE MAHAMUNI SHRINE IN ARAKAN.

The old Mahamuni Shrine was the most revered spot in Arakan. It was built on Thirigut hill by Sandasuriya who ascended the throne of Arakan in A. D. 146; but it was supposed to have been built in 545 B. C. The hill is situated on the north east of Dhaññawadi which was then the capital of Arakan. The motive which led to its construction, however, was political rather than religious. The copper plates in which 12,000 magical figures were engraved were buried in it with a view to calling in the aid of the spirits to make Dhaññawadi a state dominant over its neighbouring states. The Mahamuni Image was cast and was placed over the pedestal which was built right over the copper plates and the rich treasure, which were buried in the shrine.

In A. D. 81, Supaññanagara Chinna, the King of Tharek-hettara, invaded Arakan and saw the Mahamuni Image, which so absorbed his mind that he could not return home for three years. He ordered his Ministers to carry it to Tharek-hettara on a raft around the cape Negrais, but they found it impracticable to do so. They then made the excavation of the shrine under ground in search of the buried treasure, which caused the Image to fall from its pedestal. They took the buried treasure and set the Image on fire

evidently for its gold. They made 28 gold images of small dimensions and presented them to the King who was then moved to return home. The evil effect of these sacrilegious acts, according to the Mhannan Maharajawingyi of Burma, was that the City of Tharekhettara was subjected to dacoities which could not be put down and was subjected to an alarm that an army of Ngacakaw invaders had come, which brought about disorganisation of the society into three factions, the Prus, the Thaks, and the Kamyams, and its end in A. D. 94.

In A. D. 976, the Shans invaded Arakan and took the City of Mrauku which was built by a Mro King, Pe Phru, in A. D. 964. He retreated to a place called Thabit-toung where he raised an army and fought against the Shan King U Myo near the Mahamuni shirne where he was encamped.

He was defeated and slain and U Myo made his younger brother, the governor of Mohnyin, King of Arakan, but he soon became a naturalised Arakanese. When the Arakanese clamoured that their country was being destroyed by the Shans, the naturalised Arakanese King raised an army of Arakanese and defeated the Shans by a night attack. The Shans were driven out of Arakan to the great regret of their King U Myo, who thought that he had made a mistake in making his brother the King of Arakan. The Image house over the Mahamuni Image which was built of copper materials by U Myo, was destroyed and was melted into copper plates. They were engraved with magical figures and again buried in the shrine. A new Image house was built over the Image.

About A. D. 980, the Thaks came from the hilly country of Northern Arakan which now forms a part of the Buthidoung township where they had settled since A. D. 94, and occupied the shrine and did sacrilegious acts. They placed the Image in a chariot to remove it to their country, but it was found to be too heavy to be pulled from place to place. They then took gold and silver on the chariot and set the Image on fire for seven days. Upon finding that it could not be melted, they buried it in the earth and took away the brass images, which resulted in the cessation of image worship in Arakan.

The Mahamuni Image was not found for three years and five months. It was not cared for for the space of twelve years. A King of Ceylon then sent to Arakan an artisan with a maund of gold and a number of monks accompanied by a thousand followers. With the permission of the then King of Arakan, the Image was restored to its former form and a new Image house was built over it.

Anawrathā ascended the throne of Pugam in A. D. 1017. In 1018, he invaded Arakan with an army 100,000 strong and, for five months, devised means of taking it overland to Pugam by the Bhurwatmanyō road. He found it impracticable to carry out his intention, and built the edifice (tazaung) over the gate of the shrine. Anawrathā believed in Black Magic. He defaced the magical figures on the outer part of the shrine. He unearthed the magical figures buried in the shrine and uprooted the magical trees planted in the neighbourhood of it. He buried the magical figures to prevent the Arakanese invasion of Pugam. He took away the gold the silver and the brass images to Pugam. He took away also the Thinkhyettaw ဘုရားတော် Anawrathā died in A. D. 1059. Four months after his death, the edifice built by him was destroyed by the two brother Kings of Arakan and a new edifice was rebuilt by them. They unearthed the magical figures which were buried by Anawrathā to prevent the invasion of Pugam by the Arakanese.

Kyancictha ascended the throne of Pugam in A. D. 1064. He also believed in Black Magic. Some efficacy is attached to the building of the edifice over the gate of the shrine. The one built by the two brother Kings of Arakan was destroyed by Kyancictha and he rebuilt a new one in A. D. 1086.

Alaungcethu ascended the throne of Arakan in A. D. 1092. He was also a believer in Black Magic. In A. D. 1096, he sent an army which was encamped near Setuttaya, and Ngashwesin and Nga-nyo-sin, who were sent by him, planted Champac trees on the four quarters of the shrine and rebuilt the edifice over the gate of the shrine with the permission of Min Than, who was then the King of Arakan. Min Than, however, soon destroyed the edifice built under the orders of Alaungcethu and rebuilt a new one. This led to another invasion of Arakan by Alaungcethu who fought for possession of the Mahamuni shrine for three successive years. At last he was victorious and built a new edifice. He also built the Image house over the Mahamuni Image. Min Than was succeeded by his son Min Pati in A. D. 1100. In A. D. 1102, Alaungcethu sent an army of Prus and Talaings to restore the kingdom of Arakan to Lakyaminnan, but it was defeated by Min Pati. In A. D. 1103 another army of Prus and Talaings was sent against Min Pati, who was defeated and slain, and the kingdom of Arakan was restored to Lakyaminnan. The Prus set the Image on fire by the use of bellows and took away the gold of its back and the Talaings took away a leg of it. The actions of the Prus and the Talaings brought about the disregard of the

remaining portion of the Image and the cessation of the image worship in Arakan till the reign of Koliya who ascended the throne of Arakan in A. D. 1113. He cast an image of Buddha which he placed on Nandapabbata hill which became known as Ngarakauk ငါးစုတောင် because the image was cast of gold, silver, copper and other metals, which were collected from the people. The image worship was revived in his reign (1).

Koliya was succeeded by his son Dasaraja in A. D. 1153. Under his orders the Mahamuni Image was searched for and was found buried up to its neck in the Thirigut where it was left by the Prus and the Talaings. It was brought to Katanyuta (ကတညုတ) hill which is in the southern part of the City of Dhaffiawadi. Here Dasaraja made a new Mahamuni shrine, according to the instructions laid down in the Black Magic book which is called Visukamma, with a view to calling in the aid of spirits to make Arakan a state dominant over its neighbouring states. He restored the Mahamuni Image to its former form and placed it on the pedestal which was built within the shrine (2).

It was said that unless the renewal of the work of enchantment of the Mahamuni shrine was kept up by the future Kings of Arakan, its decay would be brought about. Its decay was brought about in A. D. 1784 when the shrine was deprived of all its magical figures and the Rakkha figure representing the Arakanese was buried in its place by the Burmese, and the Mahamuni Image, which is now in Mandalay, was sent over-land to Amarapura.

CHAN HTWAN OUNG.

(1). See verse 18 of the *Yakhaing Minthami Egyin*.—Ed.

(2). *Op. cit.*, verse 19 *et seq.*—Ed.

BURMESE MUSIC AND SONGS.

Several writers, notably Yule and Sir George Scott, have attempted a description of Burmese music and musical instruments, but no one, so far as I am aware, has tried to trace their origins or to explain their theory. Indeed, it is maintained by some that there is no theory at all. The present writer claims no knowledge of music, but has, at the Editor's request, compiled a few notes as to the Burmese variety from enquiries made of Burman musicians and scholars.

The acquaintance of the Burmese with musical sounds is said to date from the time of Alaungsithu, King of Pagan, i.e., from about 1100 A.D. This is the King who is said to have introduced weights and measures, and also to have

gone on a voyage of discovery to Ceylon and India, whence possibly he brought back the instruments used in olden times. Alaungsithu is said to have reached the place where grows the fabulous *Zabu-thabye* tree (whence the name *Zabu-dipā* or *Jambu-dipā*); and one account has it that the sounds produced by the musical instruments correspond to the various sounds heard near that tree, e. g., the whistling of the wind through its branches, the falling of the fruit into the water, etc.

Seven notes (*Khoon-nā-than*) are recognised, and each of these has three pitches,—expressed by the symbols တျာံတျာံ၊ တျာံ—thus giving 21 sounds. For this reason, it is said, the *sāing-waing* contains 21 drums, and the *pattala* (harmonicon) has 21 strips of bamboo.

The Karen harp has 7 strings, but the first Burmese stringed instrument, the *mee-gvaung* (the alligator-shaped guitar), had only 3; it is said that 18 sounds were produced from this, corresponding to the 18 gongs in the *Kyee-waing*. Later on, the Burmese harp, *saung*, of thirteen strings was evolved, dropping the eight lowest bass notes of the 21 mentioned above. Sometimes a fourteenth is added. Musical composition depends on the sounds produced by the harp. The deeper bass notes do not occur in Burmese singing, and are but seldom used in accompaniments.

There used to be a scheme of notation, which was studied in olden times, but does not seem to be known now-a-days, except to a few. Although there is no definite scale, there are various significant syllables like the *do, re, mi, fa*, etc. The following is an example of composition by means of such syllables :—

တျာတျာနုနုတေနုနု၊ နုနုတျာံ၊ တေတေတေတေတေလေထံ။ ထံတေထံထံတေ။ တေနု့၊ ထံ
တျာံ။ တေထံတျာံ။ တေလေထံတေတေတေထံတေတေ။ တေလေထံတေတေ။ တျာလျာတေတေတေ။
တေလေနု့၊ တျာတျာတျာ။ နုနုတျာံတေတေတေ—တျာနု့၊ တေတေလျာ။ နုနုတေတေတေတေတေ
နု့၊ တေတေထံတေတေ။

These represent the various sounds comprised in the tune, and words are then found to fit them, thus producing the song. In comparatively recent times, however, a system of musical training was thought out. The famous poet, *Padetha-yāza*, composed, during the reign of *Bodawpaya*, several tunes, one of which is known as the ထံတျာံတေးရှင်၊ which every beginner must master thoroughly before he can go on to play others.

Of songs there are a great variety but only the old ballads are favoured by really musical people. The most popular is the *Yodaya* (or Siamese) tune which is said to have been learnt from Siamese prisoners of war in the time of *Bāyin Naung* of *Hanthawadi*. There are many variations of

it, the words of the songs being chiefly in praise of hills, forests and gardens. It became so liked that it displaced the older *patpyo* and *bwai*. One of the greatest song writers was U Sa, Mingyi of Myawadi during three reigns of the Alompran dynasty. He accompanied King Tharrawaddy to Rangoon and on that occasion composed the famous *Taung-yan-taw* song which was fitted to a Talaing or Mun tune.

Another common and much used variety is the modern Burmese sonnet, called *taydat*, which, with a good accompaniment, is a very pretty tune. It has a peculiar method of versification of its own, and is used for every conceivable purpose. The older varieties of sonnets were the *bawlai* and *yadu*. Among the best of the former are six or seven written by the Hlaing Teik-khaung-din, chief consort of King Mindon's brother, the Crown Prince. Of yadus there are scores, those written by King Nat-shin-naung of Toungoo being considered by many to be the best.

The principal printed books containing Burmese songs are the *Mahā-gīta-medani*, an old collection, and the *Mahā-kābyā-kyan*, in two volumes, a recent compilation published by the Maramma Auba Press.

B. T.

ARCHÆOLOGY IN BURMA.

The Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma, for the year ending the 31st March, 1912, appeared in December, but the delay is compensated for by the absorbing interest of most of its contents. Indeed in respect of supremely important matter it far surpasses its predecessors of recent years.

In addition to the two fragmentary inscriptions in Pali found at the Bawbawgyi Pagoda, near Prome, in 1910-11, a third fragment has been discovered, fitting into the former. To M. Finot of Paris fell the task of piecing these together, and he has come to the conclusion that the writing may be ascribed to the Vth or VIth century, A. C., thus pushing back the time limit of authenticated Burmese history for five or six centuries. Mr. Taw Sein Ko is of opinion that the inscriptions indicate the co-existence of both Sanskrit and Pali at Prome and the alternate supersession of the one by the other. This opens up a field of enquiry which, no doubt, will be highly welcome to Orientalists in general, and to students of the history of Buddhism in Burma in particular.

But the civilization of Prome is claimed by Burmese chronicles to be much older than the 5th or 6th centuries,

A. C. Indeed, it would appear from "Talaing" epigraphs that the city was founded in the first year of the *Nirvāna* of the Buddha, a hundred years earlier than the date given by the Burmese, which is 443 B. C. (paragraph 46 of the Report under review). Be that as it may, proof is now forthcoming of the existence of writings dating as far back as the 3rd century A. C. at least. This has been brought to light by the discovery of two stone burial urns near the Payagyi Pagoda at Hmawza. Both these urns are inscribed in the Pyu character, which was first identified on the Myazedi pillar by Mr. Blagden (see J. R. A. S., 1911, p. 365). Mr. Taw Sein Ko says :—"One definite result seems . . . to emerge from the latest find (taken together with the previous ones in the same script). The language, whether we name it 'Pyu' or what you please, which is used in these inscriptions, was the language of the district of Prome, and the language in which the ruling chiefs of that region had their funeral epitaphs set up. That is now an established fact ; whereas, on the previous evidence only, it was merely a reasonable hypothesis. In other words, prior to 1000 A. D., there was between the Talaing States of the Delta and the Tenasserim side on the one hand and the Burmese State of Pagan on the other a third intervening nation with its centre at Prome, which was neither Burmese nor Talaing, but probably distantly related to the Burmese and representing an earlier wave of Tibeto-Burman immigration from the far North (1). It received its Hindu culture through the Talaings of the Delta ; but, for some centuries, managed to keep itself practically independent of both its neighbours, North and South, though it seems to have been occasionally overrun by Talaings (2). The ancient floating legends of an old Kingdom at Prome are, therefore, confirmed in a most remarkable manner by the epigraphic evidence now brought to light. Having regard to the very archaic characteristics of some of the letters of the Pyu alphabet, it would not be surprising if Indian civilization had reached Prome in the first, second or third century, A. D." Another Pyu inscription, found at Amarapura amongst King Bodawpaya's collection, is conjectured by Mr. Venkayya, the Government Epigraphist, to belong to the 4th century, and the writing is stated to resemble the ancient Telugu character.

(1). Compare the note on "Prome and the Pyus" in Vol. II, Part I, page 72.

(2) It is to be remembered, however, that Pagan is said to have been founded *after* the destruction of Prome, and there is no record of an independent state at Prome between 94 A. C. and 1284 A. C.

The most recent Pyu inscription known to exist is the one on the Myazedi pillar ; since the time of Kyanzittha of Pagan, however, there have been numerous inscriptions in the Mon language, and it is interesting to learn that Mr. Blagden contemplates publishing a collection of them with transliteration, translation, notes, glossary, etc., accompanied by illustrative plates, though perhaps such a work cannot be undertaken without a liberal subsidy from Government or from institutions or individuals.

A study of Pyu seems also likely to lead to useful results, especially as we are now told that a living representative of it exists in *Kadu*, which is still spoken in the Katha District of Upper Burma. According to the last Census Report, the Kadus, who belong to the Burmese group of tribes, number 11,196, having decreased by 23,433 since 1901. They are rapidly becoming Burmanised and will soon disappear.

Among the various archæological finds is mentioned that of Toungoo, which gave rise to the lengthy correspondence reproduced in the last number of this Journal. Mr. Taw Sein Ko reads the name as ဖုတေသုဂ် ; the two other readings were ဝေသေသုဂ် and သိတေသုဂ်. It is disappointing that no opinion is offered, although the Superintendent of Archæology states that the date 903, equivalent to 1541, is *one year after the death* of Mingyi Nyo, the founder of the Toungoo dynasty, —thus implying that the suggestion that Mingyi Nyo built Ketumadi in 903 is incorrect. Phayre is given as the authority for the date of Mingyi Nyo's decease, but this must have taken place earlier still, since we have it from Portuguese and other records that Pegu was conquered by Tabin Shwehti, the successor of Mingyi Nyo, in 1540, after several years' fighting.

The work of Archæology in Burma has been hampered very much by the necessity for conservation, the lack of adequate funds and the many calls on the time of the Superintendent ; it is some relief to learn that the last mentioned obstacle will be considerably lessened for the future by taking away the work of Examiner in Chinese. Mr. Taw Sein Ko has well earned the long leave which he is now enjoying.

M. O.

A CORRECTION.

Mr. Taw Sein Ko has written to the Rt. Rev. Bishop Cardot withdrawing the words, "and should be differentiated from similar acts prevailing in the Roman Catholic Church," which occur in the concluding sentence of his "Answer to Mr. Bell's query," pages 74-76 of the last number.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

*Minutes of the Meeting of the Sub-Committee of the
Burma Research Society held at 8 a. m., on the 17th June,
1912, at the Rangoon College.*

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. G. Rutledge, (in the Chair).

J. T. Best, Esq., | A. D. Keith, Esq., (Hon. Secy.)

1. Minutes of the previous meeting, held on the 1st April, were read and confirmed.

2. The remarks made by the Auditor on the Society's accounts were read. Certain suggestions were referred to the Committee.

3. U Tun Nyein having expressed a desire to resign the post of Honorary Treasurer it was resolved strongly to recommend to the Committee that Maung Set be asked to take up the post.

4. In view of Mr. C. Duroiselle's approaching departure from Rangoon it was resolved strongly to recommend to the Committee that U May Oung be asked to take over the task of editing the Journal.

5. It was resolved to thank Mr. Darwood for his very generous gift of valuable books.

6. It was resolved to hold a Meeting on the 2nd Friday in July, Mr. Rutledge kindly promising to read a paper on the Burma Census Report.

7. A form of proposal drawn up by the Hon. Secretary was approved.

ALAN D. KEITH,
Hony. Secretary.

*Minutes of the Meeting of the Council of the Burma
Research Society held at the Rangoon College on the 12th
July, 1912.*

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Hartnoll, (in the Chair).

The Hon'ble Mr. Arbuthnot, I.C.S.

The Hon'ble Mr. G. Rutledge.
 J. T. Best, Esq.
 Prof. J. F. Smith.
 U Ne Dun.
 A. D. Keith, Esq., Hon. Secy.

1. The Minutes of the Meeting held on the 8th February, 1912, were read and confirmed.

2. It was decided to allow members to address the Society at the Ordinary Meetings in either Burmese or English.

3. It was resolved to propose that the rules governing the election of members be revised and that the election be left in the hands of the Sub-Committee.

4. U May Oung was unanimously chosen to be suggested to the Society as the successor to Mr. C. Duroiselle in the Editorship of the Society's Journal.

5. U Set was unanimously selected for proposal before the Society as U Tun Nyein's successor in the Honorary Treasurership.

The thanks of the Committee were expressed to Mr. Duroiselle and U Tun Nyein for their services to the Society.

6. The auditor's remarks on the accounts were approved and ordered to be adopted. A permanent imprest of Rs. 50 was sanctioned for the Honorary Secretary.

7. The following gentlemen were duly proposed and seconded as members of the Society :—

P. A. Churchward, Esq., Bank of Rangoon.

Taw Sone Teong, Esq., Rangoon College.

Dr. Aung Tun, General Hospital, Rangoon.

ALAN D. KEITH,
Honorary Secretary.

ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

An ordinary meeting of the Burma Research Society was held at 5-30 p.m. on Friday, the 12th July, at the Rangoon College. Mr. Justice Hartnoll presided and the attendance included, among others, Mrs. Hartnoll, Mrs. Moorhead, Mrs. Diamond, the Hon. Mr. F. C. Gates, the Hon. Mr. Arbuthnot, the Hon. U Hpay, Lt.-Col. Pridmore, the Rev. W. C. B. Purser, the Rev. E. Kelly, the Rev. J. F. Smith, Messrs. W. J. Keith, J. T. Best, C. F. Grant, S. Grantham, J. A. Stewart, G. R. T. Ross, F. E. Storrs, U Bah Too, U Tun Myat, A. C.

J. Baldwin, F. Thompson, A. E. Bellars, Maung Set, Maung Ne Dun, Thein Han, Maung Kun, Tun Shein, Ba Dun, San U.

On behalf of the Committee, the Chairman proposed the names of U May Oung and Maung Set for the posts of Editor and Honorary Treasurer, Mr. C. Duroiselle, who is shortly to leave Rangoon, having resigned the post of Editor, and U Tun Nyein, who is on leave vacating the Honorary Treasurership. U May Oung and Maung Set were unanimously elected. The Chairman then called upon the Hon. Mr. Rutledge to read his paper on the Census Report. (The paper is reproduced in this number).

The Chairman, in inviting discussion, remarked that the decrease in the rate at which land was occupied was very probably due to the fact that all the best land had already been taken.

Mr. F. C. Gates said that the most surprising thing in the census report to any man in the habit of knocking about the districts was not the supremacy of the Burman—the idea that the Burman was not decadent had been shared by others besides Mr. Morgan Webb—but the fact that the number of Indians engaged in agriculture had not increased. The change in the method of collecting statistics prevented any comparison with the previous census. The speaker's own experience and that of others led him to think that there were far more natives of India in the villages than there used to be. In Meiktila the largest landowner was an Indian. It was true that in the case of the two really great Indian settlements, settlements which had been started to release the pressure of population in Bihar, Agra, Oudh, there had been very little increase.

Mr. Arbutnot said that in the Hanthawaddy district he had known many cases of Indians who started as coolies and afterwards became small holders themselves and permanent settlers. Nevertheless 78 per cent. of the land was in Burman hands, despite the fact that, as Hanthawaddy was so near Rangoon, you might expect to find more Indians there.

Mr. J. A. Stewart remarked that he had noticed an article in the journal of the Y. M. B. A. complaining of the great decrease of pure Burmans. Every village in the province seemed to have the same thing to grieve about—alien immigration.

U May Oung said the object of the writer of that article was to argue against mixed marriages and to arouse Burmese women to a sense of their duty to their country. If you took Prome to Mandalay, what Mr. Webb called the

Central Basin, as representing Burma then the Burman is doing excellently. It was only in the deltaic basin that he was not doing quite so well. Particular districts might be exceptions but in Burma proper the Burman was flourishing.

Mr. Purser pointed out that one characteristic of the census report occasionally lost sight of was its inaccuracy which amounted in some cases to 100 per cent. of incorrectness, in others to 50 per cent. Take the increase of those speaking the Intha language 25,000. Such an increase was impossible. Anglo-Indians should have been treated at greater length and separately, being as indigenous as Burmans. The report showed that there were 8,000 lepers and two asylums, 18,000 blind and no asylum. Though this was not the work of the society he thought the society would do well to look into this.

Dr. Ross apologised for not having finished his reading of the census report. With regard to the decrease in mortgages, to what extent were Indians foreclosing? This might account for the decrease in the mortgages. With reference to the proof of the Burman's growing supremacy drawn from the spread of his language, history can show us several cases of a language, the speech of a few in towns, which ousted the speech of the many in the country. Dr. Ross made the most striking point in the debate.

Mr. Grant remarked that many mortgages were suppressed, a fact which caused him great trouble in his work.

After the usual refreshments the meeting dispersed.

Minutes of the Meeting of the Sub-Committee held on the 6th September, 1912.

PRESENT.

The Hon. Mr. G. Rutledge, (in the Chair).

U May Oung, (Vice-President).

J. T. Best, Esq., Maung Set, (Hon. Treasurer).

A. D. Keith, Esq., (Hon. Secretary).

1. The Minutes of the Meeting held on the 17th June, 1912, were read and confirmed.
2. The purchase at Rs. 150/- of a typewriter from Mr. Duroiselle sanctioned by circular was confirmed.
3. The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society :—

W. G. Cooper, Esq.

S. St. C. Lightfoot, Esq.

J. E. Godfrey, Esq.
 J. C. MacKenzie, Esq., M.A., I.C.S.
 C. J. N. Cameron, Esq., I.C.V.D.
 Capt. H. Lack, I.M.S.
 Maung Tha Gywe, *Bar.-at-Law*.
 Maung Ba, B.A., (Mandalay).
 Maung Ba, Income-tax Assessor, Mandalay.
 The Hon'ble U Mye, Tabayin Wundauk.

4. It was resolved to purchase an almirah for the books presented by Mr. J. W. Darwood.

5. U May Oung's suggestion to hold a *Conversazione* was generally approved. The Secretary was asked to discuss the question with the President. If possible it should be arranged with the Revenue Secretary to borrow the Phayre Museum articles now in the Secretariat for the occasion. A day on or near Boxing-Day was suggested.

ALAN D. KEITH,
Honorary Secretary.

Minutes of the Meeting of the Sub-Committee of the Burma Research Society held at the Rangoon College on the 17th December, 1912.

PRESENT.

M. Hunter, Esq., Vice-President (in the Chair).	
U May Oung, M.A.	| The Hon'ble Mr. Rutledge.
U Set, B.A.	| J. T. Best, Esq., M.A.
A. D. Keith, Esq., (Hon. Secretary).	

1. The minutes of the meeting of the Sub-Committee held on the 6th September, 1912 were read and confirmed.

2. The Honorary Secretary was instructed to circulate to the members of the Society the following proposals to alter the rules:—That wherever in Rule 5 "Committee" occurs, "Sub-Committee" be substituted.

That the second sentence in Rule 9, read "If the subscription of a member be overdue for a period of six months, his privileges as a member shall lapse until he has paid the amount outstanding."

3. It was decided to hold the Annual General Meeting on the 31st January should that date suit the President.

4. The Honorary Secretary explained his reasons for taking no further action in the matter of the suggested conversazione.

5. Mr. M. Hunter, Vice-President, having returned from furlough, Mr. J. T. Best, who had kindly acted during Mr. Hunter's absence, resigned his membership of the Sub-Committee.

6. The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society :—

C. Innes, Esq., A.M. INST. C.E., Asst. Engineer, P. W. D., Mandalay.

C. S. Barton, Esq., Messrs. Bombay Burma Trading Corporation, Ltd., Mandalay.

A. R. Brown, Esq., Extra Asst. Conservator of Forests.

Lieut. A. E. Hamlin, Civil Surgeon, Chin Hills.

F. L. F. Boedicker, Esq., Burma Railways, Insein.

ALAN D. KEITH,
Honorary Secretary.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLI.

L'Indo-Chine Française (Souvenirs), by Paul Doumer.

Archæological Survey of India. Annual Report, 1908-09.

Journal of the East India Association, July and October, 1912.

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, January to June, 1912.

Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Muhamadan and British Monuments, Northern Circle, March, 1912.

Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Frontier Circle, for 1911-12.

Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma, for the year ending 31st March, 1912.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

- Adamson, The Hon'ble Sir Harvey, M.A., LL.D., KT., K.C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Life Member.
- Ah Yain, L., *Bar.-at-Law.*
- Ainley, C. W., M.A.
- Ali Khan, Ahmed
- Ananda Metteyya, The Rev. Bhikkhu
- Arbuthnot, R. E. V., I.C.S.
- Arnold, G. F., C.I.E., I.C.S.
- Aubert, L., B.A., B.Sc.
- Aung Dun, Maung
- Aung Gyi, Maung, (2), B.A.
- Aung Hla, Maung, (1), B.A.
- Aung Tun, Dr. M.B., Ch.B.
- Aung Zan, U, K.S.M.
- Ba, Maung, B.A.
- Ba, Maung
- Ba Dun, Maung, *Bar.-at-Law.*
- Ba E, Maung, B.A.
- Ba Htin, Maung, B.A.
- Ba-Ket, Capt., I.M.S.
- Ba Ko, Maung, B.A.
- Ba Kyaw, Maung, K.S.M.
- Ba Kyaw, Maung
- Ba Shin, Maung
- Ba Tha, Maung, B.A.
- Bah Too, U, K.S.M., C.I.E.
- Baldwin, A. C. J.
- Barton, C. S.
- Baum, E. F., I.C.S.
- Bell, E. N., I.C.S.
- Bellars, Prof. A. E.
- Best, J. T., M.A.
- Bigg-Wither, Major F., I.A.
- Binning, A. W.
- Blagden, C. Otto Corresponding Member.
- Boedicker, F. L. F.
- Booth-Gravely, W., I.C.S., M.A.

- Bose, P.
 Brown, A. R.
 Brown, R. Grant, I.C.S., Life Member.
 Brown, H. A., B.A., I.C.S.
 Browne, C. E.
 Bulkeley, J. P., B.A.
 Burd, Capt. E., I.A.
 Cameron, C. J. N.
 Campagnac, A. G.
 Cardot, Right Rev. Bishop A.
 Carr, W., I.C.S., Life Member.
 Casson, R., B.A., I.C.S.
 Churchward, P. A.
 Chin Cheng, Saw, B.A.
 Chin Tsong, The Hon'ble Mr. L.
 Cholmeley, N. G., C.S.I., I.C.S.
 Clague, J. B.A., I.C.S.
 Clayton, H., M.A., I.C.S.
 Clerk, F. V.
 Colomb, Col. F. C.
 Cooper, W. G.
 Couper, T., B.A., I.C.S.
 Covernton, J. G., M.A., F.R.N.S.
 Cuffe, Mrs. C. I. Wheeler
 Cummings, Rev. J. E., M.A., D.D.
 Darwood, J. W.
 Das, B. N., B.A.
 Davis, C. K.
 Davis, Lieut.-Col. R. E. S., I.M.S.
 Dawson, L., *Bar.-at-Law*.
 deGlanville, O., *Bar.-at-Law*.
 deSilver, Thos. P.
 Dewes, Lieut.-Col. J. F., I.M.S.
 Drysdale, Rev. J. A., M.A.
 Duarte, Dr. J. C., L.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., L.M.
 Dunn, C. W., B.A., I.C.S.
 Duroiselle, C., M.R.A.S.
 Eales, The Hon'ble H. L., I.C.S.
 Farmer, E. J., I.C.S.

- Forbes, W. W.
 Fox, The Hon'ble Sir Charles E., KT.
 Fraser, J. D., I.C.S.
 Frenchman, Lieut.-Col. E. P., I.M.S.
 Furnivall, J. S., B.A., I.C.S., Life Member.
 Fyffe, The Right Rev. Bishop R. S., M.A.
 Gaitskell, A., I.C.S.
 Gale, Maung, (6)
 Gates, The Hon'ble Sir F. C., C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S., *Bar.-at-Law*.
 Godfrey, J. E.
 Gordon, D. M., Life Member.
 Grant, C. F., M.A., I.C.S.
 Grantham, S. G., B.A., I.C.S.
 Greer, R. F., B.A., I.C.S.
 Griffin, J. V.
 Grose, F. S.
 Gyi, Maung, (7)
 Habgood, J. C.
 Hamlin, Lieut. A. E.
 Hardinge, F. D.
 Hartnoll, The Hon'ble Justice H. S., I.C.S., *Bar.-at-Law*.
 Hertz, W. A., F.R.G.S.
 Hewett, D. P.
 Hicks, Rev. L. E., Ph. D.
 Hla Baw, Maung, K.S.M.
 Hodgins, Capt. R., I.A.
 Holme, H. B., B.A., I.C.S.
 Houldey, J. E., B.A., I.C.S.
 Hpaw, Maung
 Hpay, The Hon'ble U, K.S.M., A.T.M.
 Hsiao, Yung Hsi
 Hunt, H. L. H.
 Hunter, M., M.A.
 Innes, C., A.M. INST. C.E.
 Jeffery, G. R.
 Keith, A. D., B.A., M.R.A.S.
 Keith, The Hon'ble W. J., M.A., I.C.S.
 Kelly, Rev. E. W., M.A., Ph.D.
 Kelsall, Mrs. I. G., M.B.

Khalat, A.
Kin, Maung, *Bar.-at-Law.*
Kin Hlaing, Maung
Korper, S. St.
Kumaran, P. J.
Kun, Maung
Kyaw Din, Maung, *Bar.-at-Law.*
Kyaw Dun, Maung.
Kyaw Min, Maung, B.A.
Kyaw Zan, Maung
Kyin Yon, U
Lack, Capt. L. H. A., I.M.S.
Laurie, M., M.V.O., I.C.S.
Leach, F. B., B.A., I.C.S.
Leveson, The Hon'ble Mr. H. G. A., I.C.S.
Lewisohn, F., M.A., I.C.S.
Lightfoot, S. St. C.
List, J. N.
Lord, Capt. H. P. M., I.A.
Lowis, C. C., I.C.S.
Lowry, W. E., B.A., I.C.S.
Luce, The Very Rev. Father E.
Ma, Maung
McColl, H. E., I.C.S.
McCallum, J. L., I.C.S.
MacKenna, J., M.A., I.C.S.
MacKenzie, J. C.
Mathews, H. M. S.
Maung, Maung
Maung, Maung
Maung, Maung, (5)
Maung, Maung
May Oung, Maung, M.A., LL.B., *Bar.-at-Law.*
Me, Maung
Min Din, Maung
Mitchell, F. H. O'C., B.A.
Môn, U, K.S.M.
Moore, H. C., B.A., I.C.S.
Morris, A. P.

- Myat Tun Aung, U, K.S.M., T.D.M., C.I.E.
 Mya U, Maung, *Bar.-at-Law*.
 Mye, The Hon'ble U
 Nariman, G. K.
 Ne Dun, Maung, F.R.C.I.
 Nepean, N. St. V.
 Ommanney, J. L.
 On Kyaw, Maung
 Page, A. J., B.A., I.C.S.
 Parlett, The Hon'ble Justice L. M., I.C.S.
 Pe Maung, Maung
 Pedley, Dr. T. F., M.D.
 Pennell, C. S., M.A., I.C.S. Life Member.
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 Po Bye, U, K.S.M.
 Po Byu, U
 Po Hnit, Maung, T.D.M.
 Po Kyu, Maung, A.T.M.
 Po Sa, U, K.S.M., I.S.O.
 Po Saw, Henry, B.A.
 Po Saw, Maung
 Po Sin, Maung
 Po Thoung, Maung, B.C.E., K.S.M.
 Po Tôk, Maung
 Po Yeik, Maung
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 Purser, Rev. W. C. B.
 Pye, Saya
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 Roberts, Capt. A. B., I.A.
 Rodger, A.
 Ross, G. R. T., M.A., D.Phil.
 Rost, Major E. R., I.M.S.
 Rutledge, The Hon'ble G., M.A., *Bar.-at-Law*.
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 San U, Maung, B.A.
 Saunders, L. H., I.C.S.

- Sawyer, A. M.
 Scott, Rev. Thos.
 Seeley, Rev. G. H.
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 Seppings, E. H.
 Set, Maung, B.A.
 Shaw, Sir G. W. C.S.I., I.C.S., KT.
 Sherratt, Rev. W.
 Shwe Ban, Maung, *Bar.-at-Law.*
 Shwe Po, Maung, (3)
 Shwe Tha, U, K.S.M.
 Shwe Zan Aung, Maung, B.A.
 Smart, R. B.
 Smith, Rev. J. F., B.A.
 Smyth, W. J., B.A., I.C.S.
 Snow, C. A., M.A.
 Sone Teong, Taw
 Stevens, T. H. G.
 Stewart, J. A., M.A., I.C.S.
 Storrs, Prof. F.
 Stuart, J.
 Swinhoe, R.
 Symns, J. M., M.A.
 Temple, Sir Richard .. **Corresponding Member.**
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 Tha Hnyin, Maung, B.A., *Bar.-at-Law.*
 Tha Ka Do, Maung, K.S.M.
 Tha Nu, Doctor, K.S.M., A.T.M.
 Tha U, Maung, (2)
 Tha Zan U, Maung, B.A., B.L.
 Thein, Saya **.. Life Member.**
 Thein Han, Maung
 Thein Kin, Maung, B.A., A.T.M.
 Thein Maung, Maung, (1)
 Tilly, H. L.
 Tun Myat, The Hon'ble U
 Tun Nyein, U **.. Life Member.**
 Tun Pe, Saya Maung
 Tun Shein, Maung

Tun U, Maung
Tun Win, Maung
Tun Ya, Maung, A.T.M.
Turner, E. C.
Upper Burma Club, Mandalay
Venning, Lieut. F. E. W., I.A.
Webb, C. M., M.A., I.C.S.
Wedderspoon, W. G., M.A., LL.B.
White, Sir Herbert Thirkell, K.C.I.E., I.C.S. . . Life Member
Wickham, P. F.
Williams, Major C. E., I.M.S.
Winckler, C.
Wright, J. M., I.C.S.
Yaba, A.

