

Theravada Buddhism in Myanmar and Environmental Ethics (1752-1819)

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work embodied in this thesis entitled **“Theravada Buddhism in Myanmar and Environmental Ethics (1752-1819)”** carried out by me under the supervision of **Prof. S. Victor Babu**, Department of History, Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University, Lucknow is an original work and it has not been previously submitted in part or full for any other degree or diploma in this or any other University.

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis titled “**Theravada Buddhism in Myanmar and Environmental Ethics (1752-1819)**” submitted by **Dhamma Sara** (Enrollment No.430/15) is an original research work and has not been previously submitted in part or full for the award of any other degree or diploma in this or any other University.

The thesis submitted to the Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University Lucknow (A Central University) satisfies all the requirements as stipulated in the Doctor of philosophy regulations- 1999 as amended in 2008/2010/2013 and it is fit for submission and evaluation for the award of the Degree of *Doctor of Philosophy* of the University.

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CHAPTER -I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

Introduction

1.1 Context and Significance of the Problems

The existence and development of human world as well as the historical process of man and woman is mainly created by the public who are working with endeavor. So, the principle of human history is the people who are working. It is interesting to say that the Konbaung dynasty is one of the most famous dynasty in Myanmar and it was founded by Alongphayra who is a village chief in 1752 to challenge the restored Hanthawaddy kingdom which had just toppled the Taungoo dynasty. It created the second-largest empire in Burmese history continuing the administrative reforms begun by the Toungoo dynasty. Although it laid the foundations of the modern state of Burma the restructurings proved inadequate to stem the advance of the British generally Konboungdynasty has last for 150 years from the time Alongphyartook control the country 1752 until the generations of his revolved against British in 1900. It was the mid of the 18 century and the first 19 century when Konbaung kings influenced the neighboring countries and their authority was in peak. They were very enjoyable with their victories of war.

Past history, as the matter of fact, is the lesson for present and present is for future ones. Without studying history, one cannot understand the real situation of country and people.¹ History cannot give us a program for the future, but it can give us a fuller understanding of ourselves, and our common community. According to the saying of Robert Penn Warren, it cannot be deniable that studying history of country or religion can make

¹Phayre 1883, p. 153.

people understand the good and bad beneficiaries of history concerned and they are managed to construct their lives better for their future. The topic I have chosen for my Ph.D degree is focus on the historical research concerning with Konbaung dynasty which is one of the most famous historical evidences on Theravada Buddhism in Mynamar.

When studying the historical background of Konbaung dynasty in brief, there appears the problems and research questions as follow: How did the Buddhism relate with Konbaung dynasty? Is Buddhism really flourished in Myanmar and especially in that period? How did Buddhism spread and flourish in that period? Why did Konbaung heirs conclude under British? In what way did it influence the people in Myanmar in the field of environmental ethics?

1.2 Objectives of the research

The objectives of this research are;

- To be understandable the fact that to study history of Burma is nothing but to study the history of the Theravada Buddhism.
- To realize how Theravada Buddhism exercised on the life of the Burmese people in the past or in the present.
- To analyze the social background of Burmese people in their daily life in social, education, administration, economics, culture, literature, politic, environmental ethics at the time of Konbaung period in conformity with the teachings of the Buddha
- To illustrate why human ethic becomes so important as far as teaching of religion is concerned.

-To deal with questions concerning the nature and description of an environmental ethics in Buddhism .

-To address the deep-rooted cause of environmental degradation.

-To study whether Buddhism provide any practical solution to this problem.

-To ascertain whether practical spirituality in Buddhism to lead the life along the noble eight fold path is the way to reduce our ecological footprints for sustainable future.

-To delineate the Buddhist response to nature remains a palpable challenge that must be enquired into in all seriousness.

With the advent of modern technology, we noticed that the world is shrinking day by day; physical science has been advancing with leaps and bound and the morality of the modern society has been degrading day by day. The true progress is hard to measure because of this moral degradation and so are the human ethics. As a result of degraded ethical outlook, the crime incidents have been on the increase with each passing day. On account of this, many religions have warned us about the coming of the dark age of human immorality and had long advocated to embrace the moral teaching of every religion and its ethical system that could protect us all from being destroyed in the ruin of time.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Human civilization and globalization are the dominant culprits of constant change in the global environment in present scenario. Various processes that can be said to contribute to the global environmental problems include pollution, global warming, ozone depletion,

acid rain, depletion of natural resources, over population, waste disposal, deforestation and loss of biodiversity. Almost all these processes are the result of the use of natural resources in unsustainable manner. These processes have highly negative impact on our environment.

There is a gap in Theravada Buddhism in Myanmar and environmental ethics of Konbaung period. Despite expressing the historical background of that period by most scholars, there is rarely provide how Buddhism is related with environmental ethics. This problem has negatively affected the people and country because it is not completed in the historical field. A possible cause of this problem is that they are difficulties in collecting the data with original language. Perhaps a study which investigates Konbaung period by a historical method could help resolve the situation. This research project is to articulate how the Buddha's ethics is still applicable and harmonious in the ancient and modern era in regard to the social and environmental problems like health, education, economic, and politic that every one faces day after day. In this world we have several major religions and Buddhism is one of the shining exemplary religions based on human ethics. The Buddha was one of the prominent leaders and most of his discourses on record are based on human ethic. Because of this ethical system embedded in his doctrine, his teaching stands through the test of time for over 2500 years, today.

1.4 Scope of the Research

Even though there are a lot of evidences and references for the fact concerning with Theravada Buddhism in Myanmar, it is here limited the field of Buddhism in Konbaung dynasty from 1752-1819 because of the time limit. Since time frame is limited, the

primary data cannot be going to the field. The analyses are made according to the data collected from secondary data in this study. The key findings and suggestions are forecast viewing these data expressed from ancient to modern days.

1.5 Research Assumptions/Questions

The Konbaung period from 1752 to 1819 is obviously understandable the significant transformation of civilization and environmental ethics of citizens who are influenced by the well-known kings like Alongphayar and so on.

This research recommends the knowledge of information that the kings and their retinues had to reunite the people and rebuild the country with the transparent action in accordance with doctrines taught by the Buddha. This research is also proposing that three trainings ascribed in Buddhism have dominated the rulers and citizens all the time in the field of administration as well as judicial system. It is necessary to examine the reason why Buddhism great influence over Myanmar, and described religious daily affair. The social cultural life in Burma has a different dimension between each race as the diversity in the religion always attracted the other outsiders.

Why Buddhism was the main attraction for the Burmese from ancient to modern age, why Buddhism was the most important for them and why Buddhism was impressed by the people in Myanmar around their daily life is the main hypothesis in this research. Regarding this, it will state how Buddhism makes influence on people from Konbaung period not only in environmental, social, economic, judicial but also religious activities as described in the historical books written by scholars.

1.6 Definition of the Terms Used in the Research

The terms of the key words and phrases refer to concepts at the core of one's study and concepts that must be unmistakable in conducting research with proper care and if the procedures and outcomes are to be properly understood by your reading audience. To illustrate key words of this research are as follows:

Konbaung period- it means the period from king Alongphayar to king Thipaw (1752-1885)¹

AtinGaing – it means the sect of Buddhist monks accept the practice of robbing informally, leaving the right shoulder, when going outside the confines of the monastery. They were the people of immoral rectitude.

AyonGaing- it means the sect of Buddhist monks who accept the practice robbing formally when going outside the confines of the monastery.²

Environmental ethics – the term is concerned with environment of Myanmar people in their daily life in social, education, administration, economics, culture, architecture, literature, politic at the time of Konbaung period.

1.7 Review of Literature

When I collect the information for my thesis, I have to read and note the raw data from historical books dealing with our country Myanmar, theses, articles and periodicals for

¹Nyomya. "Konbaungsharpuntaw, "p. 9.

²Sanvarabhivamsa,Ashin. "Buddha Naingantaw," volume 3, p. 78.

general knowledge and retrieve some information in my dissertation. On reading and analyzing the information regarding the area of my thesis, it is found that most writers and researchers have been writing the chronicles of Myanmar in order that the teachings of the Buddha can reach to the Burma from the time of the Buddha age, as well as that the kings derive from old capitals of Myanmar may be the direct descendants of the their ancestors followed by the fact that people may compile local histories with undisguised effort to attach importance to each locality as it has been founded by either a princely or saintly person and they can praise the achievement of successful monarchs so that the future kings could follow their example.

For my thesis, I have to analysis the historical events from the chronicle record which is a traditional way of writings the past of Buddhist countries such as Sri Lanka and Burma and constitute a strong historical tradition. The Dipavamsa, the Sinhalese chronicle, claims that King Ashoka sent Buddhist missions to nine places and Suvannabhumi in and Lankadipa were among them. The Mahavamsa which is Sinhalese chronicle, illustrates these facts in great detail. The Burmese chronicles followed suit. The famous Myanmar writer, Nyo Mya tried to search for Konbaung history and writes the book named “KonbaungShar Bon Daw”¹ Dr. Toe Hla also writes a book named “Konbaung City of King Alongphayar”². Both famous writers had to try the historical records without matching environmental ethics. So, in my dissertation, I will extract some information about Konbaung history written by them and do the critical research combining the environmental ethic in Buddhist perspective.

¹Nyo Mya, KonbaungShar Bon Daw

² Toe Hla, Dr, “Konbaung City of King Alongphayar

On the other hand, according to the record on Kobaung from the book written by Maungmaungtin, as a point of environmental ethics, he showed that since King *Alaungpaya* had great respect for Buddha Sasana, and it is known that he appointed *Mahadanvan* who charged with keeping vigilance of the monks' adherence to the *Vinayas*. After that, Sangha who did not obey *Vinayas* were continuously interrogated and cleared them up from Sasana. He ruled the nation in line with the teaching of Buddha. Slaughtering animals was forbidden and slaughterers were arrested. Believing in rules, making offerings to nuts, drinking alcohol and abusing narcotic drugs such as opium and cannabis were prohibited all over the nation.

During the harvest season, offering to nuts by means of killing chickens in accord with false belief, *Micchaditthi* was totally barred. On finding out that someone did the prohibited matter, he/she was sentenced to death. By virtue of above events, King *Alaungpaya* supported the Sasana with his power in order to propagate the teaching of Buddha. It is also observed that Heads of the cities and villages had to compensate the owner if someone was robbed. Thus, it is prominent that King *Alaungpaya* wanted all citizens to be resolute with Five Precepts. That was his benevolence. He himself dammed the irrigation canals such as *ShweboMahanandaLake* the length and breadth of the nation.¹Hence, King *Alaungpaya* eagerly encouraged PariyattiSasana, the most essential among three were endless political and military affairs, and the king enabled the religious matters not to be under-privileged. That was the prestige of the king as well as the historical record.

Similarly, at the due west of *Seegon* Stupa, Four-tired monastery with firebreak, walls and spire-like roof was built and donated to *AshinNyarnasagara* who achieved the

Title ' *Nyarnasagaramahadhammarajadhirajaguru*'. After praising his meritorious deeds for the monasteries, the king donated eight prescribed articles and paraphernalia for monks. In addition those, Brahmins, alchemists, hermits, order people and the poors were listed and the king held *Asadisadanawith* great festivities for seven days.

King *Alaungpaya* was not only the founder of *Konbaung* Dynasty but also mighty monarch in Sasana history. He purified the Sasana by dispelling *Gamavasi (PwalKyaung)* according to Dhamma as well. Since 1060 ME (2242 Sasana Era), the separation of *AtinGaing* and *AyonGaing* had been happened during the reign of the king. That conflict could not be solved till the reign of King *Alaungpaya*.¹ This is now the accepted practice. King *Alaungpaya* offered the title " *Mahaatulayassamahadhammarajaguru*" to *AshinAtulayassa* from *Uship* village in *Dipeyin* city. That *Sayadaw* became the member of *AtinGaing* in separating *AtinGaing* and *Ayon Gaing*.^{*} The members of *AyonGaing* led by *AshinSuzata* submitted to the king that all Sangha had to wear the robe formally when entering to the village. *Sayadaws* from *AtinGaing* led by *AhinAtulayassa*, however, refuted that the conflict had been over. Hence, King *Alaungpayapromulgated* that there were several cases concerning with monarchy to be settled as the nation's affairs were complicated. After that, he would solve the matter in connection with Sasana. Moreover, the king announced that all the Sangha who lived in this nation must obey *AshinAtulayassa*. This edict explained that the king did not realize *Dhammakamma (Vinaya)*. In the other way, it is supposed the king publicized that edict to restore the law and order of the nation. Despite the king's announcement, some *Sayadaws* of *AyonGaing* did not follow it. As a result, *Atulayassa*

1. Sanvarabhivamsa, Ashin. "*Buddha Naingngantaw*," volume 3, page 78.

* Vamsamalar treatise showed that both *Atin&Ayon* are Dhammavadi and they are varied in teaching novices.

summoned two order monks and made them carry sand. While carrying sand, they called upon *Lokapaladevasto* bear witness that they were treated unjustly. At that very moment, the sky was suddenly full of dark clouds and both *Atulayassa's* monastery and the king's palace were hit by thunder.¹ History researchers remarked that event was the omen before marching to Thai.² There was an old monk named *AshinMunindaghosa* of *Pukhamgyi* city who was proficient in literacy. He did not follow *AtinGaing*. When the king found out about him, he was invited and let him meet with the *Sayadaws* of *AtinGaing* at *Sudhamma* rest house. They did not discuss with him according to Buddha's Teaching. They forced him to be the member of *AtinGaing*. At that time, *AshinMunindaghosa* squatted among the Sangha paying homage to the Buddha Image and recited "*Ahambanteyavajivitapariyosana.navijahissami*". That Pali meant that he would not abandon the Vinaya and he would sacrifice his life instead of following *Adhammavadi*.

Hence, it is observed that king *Alaungpaya* had less interest in religion as there were complicated affairs of nation. As soon as the king had heard about *AshinMunindaghosa*, he was deported. In other country, he continued counseling to wear the robe formally. Therefore, the king invited him again. He considered that he was about to be killed by the king. Thus, he left the *monkhood* in order that he did not want the king to gain the dept of sins if he was sentenced to death as a monk who exactly obeyed Vinaya.³ It is obvious that the Sangha protected both *Pariyatti* and *PatipattiSasana* in line with *Dhammakammaw* without considering the king and even their lives. King *Alaungpaya* imprisoned him and decided to judge according to Buddha's Teaching after he had come back from Thai. Unfortunately, the

2. Rajinda,Ashin. "*Sasanabahusutapakasan*," page 118

3. Maungmaungtin, U. "*Konbaungchat*," volume 1, page 305.

1. Rajinda,Ashin. "*Sasanabahusutapakasan* ,"page 120-121.

king passed away on his way back to the palace. Hence, the conflict between *Atin and Ayon* was not finished during the reign of king Alaungpaya. In my thesis, the statements mentioned above found in former historical records will be also criticized and solve the problems based on the environmental ethic taught by the Buddha.

1.8 Conceptual Framework

Even though the projected study aims to trace the history of the Konbaung period in Burma, the particular focus has been devoted to the religion especially the Theravada Buddhism. The ethics of the Theravada Buddhism deeply influenced the way Burmese people live. The proposed study attempts to trace the process of emergence of the Theravada Buddhism as a dominant mode of religion and a way of life in Burma especially in the Konbaung period. The proposed study is to explore how the environmental ethic and cultural process of ancient Burma tangled with the teachings of the Buddha. In other words, this study is historical and ethical approach to the ancient civilization in the past and present.

1.9 Research Methodology

This study is an endeavor to explore the environmental ethic connected to Theravada Buddhism and will follow descriptive design. The existing works on the environmental ethic will be collected and extensively expound on preservation of natural climate, viewing of point of Theravada Buddhism. The basic methodology of this research is to find relevant data from the books written by Burmese scholars regarding the historical records of Konbaung and the Buddhist scriptures, studying them comparatively in order

to achieve the main objective of this study from the aspects of collection, classification and comparative analysis of data from the primary sources and secondary sources. The data collected was mainly from the factual information recorded in Burmese historical, textual, inscriptions, archeological excavation, royal orders, reports, books and the Buddhist scriptures in Pali, Atthakatha, Tika.¹

1.10 chapterisation

In my present work is divided in to five chapters as follows:

Chapter –I , Introduction

Chapter-II: Life of the Buddha and Brief introduction to Buddhism

Chapter-III : Historical background of Theravada Buddhism in Myanmar

Chapter-IV: Theravada Buddhism in Konbaung Period (1752-1819)

Chapter-V: Environmental ethics of Theravada Buddhism in Konbaung Period

Chapter –VI :Conclusion

Bibliography

Chapter –I

The first chapter, introduction consists of systematic introduction of the topic, objectives, hypothesis, methodology, context of study, review of literature and mention of sources and conceptual framework of thesis.

Chapter-II

¹Maungmaungtin, U. "*Konbaungchat*," volume 1, page 327.

Chapter two will describe the life of the Buddha and brief introduction to Buddhism which shows the starting place of Buddhism and the ways to liberation from Samsara, the circle of birth and death for the followers of Buddhism as well as the key Suttas for Buddhist people.

Chapter-III

Chapter three will describe the historical context of Theravada Buddhism in Myanmar. Concerning the introduction of Buddhism into Myanmar, the views of the different scholars will be shown. The earliest form of Buddhism that arrived in Myanmar was a pure form of Theravada Buddhism is discussed. It is analyzed that the Myanmar came into contact with Buddhism only after Aniruddha's conquest of Thaton. Moreover, how the *aris*, who were disparaged in the Myanmar chronicles, did not appear in the early Pagan period, but appeared only in the later Pagan period and how they were powerful even in the post-Pagan periods and how no Myanmar King had ever stamped out the *aris* are discussed. How some kings were unable to carry through their reforms because they were not accepted by monks and laypersons is also explained.

Chapter-IV

Chapter four deals with Theravada Buddhism in Konbaung period (1752-1819)

This chapter discusses the summary on the background of Konaung dynasty and restructiions of Konaung, following religious activities of Konbaung kings, how Atinayon problem which was disputed for many years was resolved, how King Badon attempted to push through religious reforms after studying Buddhism himself. It also points out how the king had to support the Buddhism. Moreover, how the original purpose of the religious examinations, held with a view to promoting the *PariyattiSasana*

was lost is discussed and how the *Tipitaka* texts were inscribed on stone slabs and the Fifth Buddhist Synod was convened in King Mindon's reign. It is explained in this chapter that the Religion of Konbaung Period was not more orthodox than that in other periods, that the kings who were supposed to be purifying the Religion were still relying on occult practices. And, How the *ThathanabyuThathanazaunt* Committee was formed for forcing monks to follow the *Vinaya* rules are discussed in this chapter.

Chapter-V

Chapter five discuss on the environmental ethics of Theravada Buddhism in Konbaung period. In this chapter, it is explained that how Theravada Buddhism influenced the life of Burmese people in their daily life in social, education, administration, economics, culture, architecture, literature, politic and law at the time of Konbaung Dynasty. Social classes, sumptuary laws, demography and so on are also discussed following universal ethics such as five precepts and noble eightfold path. Besides those mentioned above, how Konbaung was administrated based on Ten Rājacaritadhamma, four Sangahavatthu, seven Aparihāṇiyadhamma. It will also discussed the judicial system of Konbaung, Rajathat as well as Dhamathat in Konbaung. Criminal cases and Legal cases involving Buddhist monks are also written in this chapter.

Chapter –VI

In chapter six, conclusion, it has been drawn conclusion regarding the whole my dissertation. It will summarize the main points of the whole carrier of my dissertation.

CHAPTER-II

LIFE OF THE BUDDHA AND BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO BUDDHISM

CHAPTER II

LIFE OF THE BUDDHA AND BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO BUDDHISM

2.1. The brief biography of the Buddha

It is undeniable that for a Buddhist, one should know the basic meaning of the words such as Buddha, Buddhism and Buddhist so as to be able to give right answer if asked about them by other religious people in such a developing and globalizing world. It is incomplete that if one is asked what is Buddha and replied as “Buddha” instead of giving the complete answer like Lord Buddha is the one who knows and achieve the fully enlightenment by himself and let all know like him. Actually he is a good instructor of all human beings and a good leader in the 6thcentaury BC. He was not a god nor a creator but a unique Being who was the profoundest of thinkers, the most persuasive of speakers, the most energetic of workers, the most successful of reorganizers, the most sympathetic and forbearing of teachers, the most efficient of superintendents. He was the perfect model of all the virtues He preached.

Before appearance of the Lord Buddha Gotama, there were many so called Buddhas who claimed themselves they were Buddhas such as Puranakassapa, Makkhaligosala and so on. Indeed they are not real Buddhas. They had no reason and condition for Buddha. Their lives were living under other people and later they claimed as noble ones in order to get food, fame and properties. So if you reply our lord Buddha as Buddha simply, at that time, some can confuse Him with them. Therefore, we need to give the detail answers to people who want to know about a Buddha. As a matter of fact, it is very difficult to become a real Buddha. A normal people cannot consider to be a Buddha because it mast

have to spend much time and perform many good perfection to be Buddha. So in the teachings of the Buddha, we can see the stanza like, ‘Tathagatassa arahato sammāsambuddhassa patubhaho dullaḥho lokasmim’ meaning ‘it is very rare to appear a real Buddha endowed with the attribute of Arahant and Sammāsambuddha in the world.’¹

To become a real Buddha, our lord Buddha himself had to take much time and spent many years. It is said he spent for four Asankhyeyas and one lakh .During that time; he accomplished the great deeds such as the perfection of charity, perfection of morality, the perfection of renunciation and so on aiming at the attainment of enlightenment. He passed through the various lives- higher or lower. However, he did not take into consideration of life’ situation but for welfare of others.

2.2 The forefather of Buddhism

The Buddha the foundation of the Buddhist religion or Buddhism, was born in Nepal in the 6th century B.C. Buddhism is one of the shining, ideal and the best religions in the world since 2,600 years. It was founded by the Buddha, the Teacher of men, *Devas*, and *Brahmā*, who was born in 563 BCE.² He was son of Suddhodhana, king of the Khattiya clan which was known as Sakya of Kapilvatthu,³ situated near Nepal border at the time

¹A.N.3. 167

²Radhakrishnan, S.,(ed.) *The Dhammapada, The Buddhism Omnibus*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press,1950, p. 5.

³**Kapilvatthu**: Capital of the Sakya country named after the sage Kapila. Rhys Davids takes Tilaurakot to be the old Kapilavastu and Piprāvā to be the new city built after the destruction of the old one by Vidudubha. Tilaura is about a mile north of Tauliva with the headquarters of the Provincial Government of the Tarni and 31 miles to the South-west of the Nepalese village of Nigliva, north of Gorakhpur, situated in the Nepalese Tarai. Rummindei is only 10 miles to the east of Kapilavastu and 2 miles north of Bhagavanapura. The Rummindei pillar inscription of Aśoka locates beyond doubt the Lumbini grove, the birth place of Lord Buddha.]. Law, B. C, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, pp. 29-20.

of presence. He renounced his royal life and kingship, universal monarch that would be seven days later at the age of 29 and went to Uruvela forest for seeking *Nibbāna* liberating him from the whirlpool of *Saiisāra*. He became the one who is fully enlightenment after he was undertaking the right way called Middle Path under the Bodhi-tree on the full-moon day of *Vesakha* (Vesak) at the age of 35. He, himself not only realized the four noble truths but also let others know them. When the Buddha was setting under Linlun-Tree (*Rajaratana*), Tapussa and Bhallika, the merchants from Ukkala approached and donated some honey cake because of direction by former family god, spirit.¹ He founded Buddhism and created Buddhist Community which consists of *Bhikkhus*, *Bhikkhunis*, lay men, and lay women in group. Later on, during his 45 years of Buddha's life, he could make gradually propagation of his teachings around 16 states of Majjhimadesa, (India) existed at this time and abroad as well as all of over the world as much he could, seeing on all mankind for their welfare, out of Karunā, compassion. Uttering his teachings and delivering human being so that free from chain of defilements, at age of 80, the Buddha demised under the Sāla tree of Lumbinî Park in Kusināra, Pāvā² in 455 BC.

2.3 Introduction to the Buddhism

It is the fact that Buddhism is the teachings of the Buddha, taught by Him during 45 years. It is not a religion of neither faith nor soul system. It is the noble way of life. We can divide Buddhism into three portions. The first one is Vinaya- pertaining to morality, the second Suttanta concerning with concentration and the third Abhidhamma related to wisdom. In the Vinaya, there are a lot of fundamental and highest rules and regulations

¹VinayaPiñaka, MahāvaggaPāḍi, p. 4.

²**Kusinara** is probably identical with Kasia on the smaller Gandak and in the east of the Gorakhpur district.

for the Order of monks and nuns and human society that the Buddha taught . The noble disciplinary rules which we should abide by from the beginning of one life till Nibbana, are found in it. In Suttanta, we can see many kinds of discourse which were taught by the Buddha in various ways and in different places. In the Abhidhamma, there are many profound Dhammas which cannot be thought with normal knowledge by normal people. As the matter of fact, the basic doctrine that Buddhism is centered on morality, concentration and wisdom and freedom for thought. The Buddha never demands blind faith from his followers but he always advises them to come and see and later choose the ways which should be suitable for them to practice for liberation. He had already showed the ways to happiness in many canonical texts. Therefore, before acceptance the Buddhism we firstly should come to study the teaching s of Buddha in detail. Then only can we understand about Buddhism well.As the second step, we need to practice it with much effort. And then as the third stage, we will realize the way to happiness and find out of our liberation in Samsara. So, as another way, we can call Buddhism as one kind of religion based on study, practice and knowledge.

When we go back to view the religions that appeared during the 6th BC, we could find that most of them were based on God or Creator. So here we have to know how the religions appeared in the world. When threatened with danger, men go to many a refuge, - to hills, woods, groves, trees, and shrines. That kind of refuge is not a safe refuge, not the best refuge. One is not liberated from all evil consequences of existence (dukkha) for having come to such a refuge” said the Buddha in Dhammapadapali¹

¹. Dh.p. Verse.188.189

Thousands of years back, man noticed many wonderful occurrences when he started to think of various kinds of natural phenomena in this world. By the time of the certain natural forces were not in his favor, he had to face sufferings and he had seen disasters and terrifying events. Then he began to consider how he could protect these unfavorable conditions that created fear, suspicion, insecurity, tension and pain. These events which were difficult to understand were thought to be the work of various 'gods'. He began to worship them and to make animal sacrifices hoping to please these supernatural powers. He also started to praise and worship in thanksgiving when certain phenomena were in his favor, thinking that these too were the acts of the gods. When these concepts started to develop, certain other important practices were also incorporated. They are rites, rituals and ceremonies or festivals. Separate communities organized them in accordance with their own needs in their own geographical regions. When there was a big enough body of ceremonies and philosophical thought, 'religion' became an intrinsic part of every civilization.

After that, man embellished this building of religion by introducing faith, offerings, prayers, vows, penalties, morals and ethics in the name of god in order to control mankind, and also to find out an eternal place called paradise for everlasting happiness and peace of the soul. Many years later after accepting the supernatural powers as worship, another religion named 'Buddhism' came into being in the world. In spite of being later religion, the leader of Buddhism did not use any kinds of those wrong and old beliefs. He did not exploit the concept of god, the soul-theory, eternal hell or eternal heaven to formulate Buddhism. He did not show fear and distorted views regarding the natural phenomena to support his religion. Neither did he demand blind faith nor

unnecessary rites and rituals. He never believed in self-torture, the imposition of penalties or commandments in the propagation of Buddhism nor did He also seek the authority of any external divine agency to strengthen his arguments. For the sake of erecting this religious building called Buddhism, He used original ideals or materials.

The Buddha, during his life time, tried to make Buddhist community arising bigger and bigger, more and more, and occasionally sent the 60 *Bhikkhus*, monks for missionary to the four directions where there is not yet reached his teachings at the dawn of Buddhism, saying:

Caratha Bhikkhave cārikāū, Bahujanahitāya, Bahujanasukhāya, Lokānukappāya, atthāya, hitāya, sukhāya..etc.

It means that “Go forth, O Bhikkhus, on your wanderings, for the good of the massive being (*Bahujana*), for the happiness of massive being, in compassion for the world for the good, the welfare (*Hita*) and the happiness (*Sukha*) of Devas, celestial being and men. Let not two of you go the same way, O *Bhikkhus*, proclaim the *Dhamma* which is beneficent at the beginning, beneficent in the middle and beneficent in the end.”¹

Therefore, the *Bhikkhus* were wandering and delivering the Buddha’s teaching around India and abroad. After the Buddha was gone, he left his verbal teachings called *Tri-piṇaka* and five *Nikayas* which consisted of *Vinaya*, rules and regulating of *Bhikkhus* and *Bhikkhunīs*, *Sutta*, the discourse for all, and *Abhidhamma*, based on natural which is known Buddha’s philosophy. The Buddha’s *Dhamma*, or teachings were collectively preserved in *Tri-pitaka* by his disciples keeping in memory, but it was more strength.

¹*Vinaya Piṇaka, Mahāvagga Pāli*, p. 27.

Therefore, they, the Buddha's disciples have convened the *Sangha* Council and maintained the Buddha's teachings as original after the Buddha's *Parinibbana*, the final release. Here, those who follow Buddhism as the teaching of the Buddha are called Buddhists. The Buddha converted numerous people into Buddhism and he organized a Buddha's community consisted four kinds of which are: *Bhikkhus*(monks), *Bhikkhunīs* (Nuns), *Upāsakas*(Lay men), and *Upāsikas*(Lay women), which are also called Buddhists (Buddha's Four Audiences). They obeyed the Buddha's teachings and practiced as what the Buddha taught. Therefore, in this chapter of this work, these are explored about how far Buddha's dispensation spread around Majjhima-*desa*, middle region called at this time of Buddha and abroad, and why Buddhism declined and disappeared apart of some monastic life or followers from their mother-land based on geography and scripture recorded with six conferences so as to know clearly the trace about how was dissemination of Buddhism into Myanmar and then it will be shown relatively on rest chapters.

2.4 Majjhima-*desa* and Paccantara

Middle Place in early Buddha's time, the country name of India was not exist yet in history, it was stated as Majjhima-*Desa* in Pāli, Middle regions and Paccantara means the boundary of the Middle regions. Majjhima-*Desa* is the place where the saints, the great persons, viz. Buddha, Universal monarch usually was born and proper place to live in as mentioned in the Buddhist scripture.

In the *VinayaPiṅka* of the *Mahāvagga*,¹ the Majjhama-Desa circle and its boundary regions were described, first of all mentioned the boundaries of Majjhima-Desa are as follows:

To the east is the town Kajangala,² and beyond it Mahasala. Beyond that is border country; this side of it is the middle country. To the southeast is the river Sallavati. Beyond that is border country; this side of it is the Middle country. To the south is (the town) a big village named Setakaooika. Beyond that is border country; that side of it is Middle country.

To the west is a Brahmin village called Thuoa. Beyond that is border country; this side of it is the Middle country. To the north is a mountain range called Usiraddhaja. Beyond that is the border country; this side of it is the Middle country. It has 300 *Yojana*³ in length, 250 *Yojana* in width, and 900 *Yojana* in diameter. Although there are no else others of named border countries mentioned in the *Tri-Pitaka*, Buddha's scripture, it can be said generally there are several countries outside of Majjhima-Desa. The area of Majjhima-Desa, according to states in the *Anguttara* commentary, in some place, there is 80 or 200 or 300 *Yozanas* in length, while the middle area is 300 *Yojanas* and there are 900 in circumference.⁴

¹*VinayaPiṅka, MahāvaggaPāṭi*, p. 287, *SuttanipāṭaAññhakathā*, Vol. II, p. 78.

²Cunningham has identified it with the modern town of Kankajol, eighteen miles south of Rajmahal.

³Yojanā: Traditionally, a Yojanā is about 12 miles; but it is calculated about 6 miles nowadays.

⁴*AnguttaraNikāyaAññhakathā*, Vol. I, p. 76.

2.4.1 Sixteen States in Majjhima-desa

There are hundreds of districts possessed of India nowadays. At the time of Lord Buddha, however, there are sixteen states where the Buddha was wandering and preached his *Dhamma* in India called Majjhima-desa. In the *Anguttara Nikaya* addressed sixteen states around India as follows:

(1) Kasi, (2) Kosala (Modern Uttar Pradesh), (3) Anga (Modern South of Vishar), (4) Magadha (Modern Bihar), (5) Vajji (Modern Bihar), (6) Malla (Modern Uttar Pradesh), (7) Cetiya (Modern Uttar Pradesh), (8) Vausa (Modern Uttar Pradesh), (9) Kuru (Modern Haryana), (10) Pancala (Modern Uttar Pradesh), (11) Maccha (Modern Jaipur Rajasthan), (12) Surasena (Modern east of Rajasthan), (13) Asaka (Modern Madhya Pradesh), (14) Avanti (Modern Madhya Pradesh), (15) Gandhara (Modern Jammu and Kashmir, the border of Pakistan) and (16) Kosaubhî or Kambhoja (Modern Afghanistan).¹

It does not mean that Buddhism has spread all over these sixteen states at that time, however, it is sure that Buddhism was able to disseminate abroad from mother land, in a way, Buddhism was practiced by the Buddhists from around Middle Place more or less.

2.5 Basic Doctrines, Tri-Pitaka (or Tipitaka)

Tripitaka is the collection of the teachings of the Buddha over 45 years in the Pali language, and it consists of Sutta---conventional teaching, Vinaya -disciplinary code, and Abhidhamma---moral psychology.

2.5.1 Vinaya Pitaka

¹ *Āṅguttara Nikāya Pāṭi*, Vol. III, p. 65, Obhāsa, U, Sayadaw, Historic ancient city and villages from Majjhima-desa, Varanasi: Kamala Press Pvt. Ltd, 2003, p. 118.

The Vinaya Pitaka which shows the rules and regulations of the Order of monks (Bhikkhus) and nuns (Bhikkhunis) is one of the three Pitaka. It designates in detail the gradual development of the Sasana (Dispensation). It also gives an account of the life and ministry of the Buddha. Secondly it divulges some useful information about ancient history, Indian customs, arts, sciences, etc.

Up to nearly twenty years from His Enlightenment, the Buddha did promulgate rules for the control of the Sangha. Later, as the occasion arose, the Buddha laid down rules for the future disciplines of the Sangha. There are five books in this Pitaka:

Parajika Pali (Major Offences)

Pacittiya Pali (Minor Offences)

Mahavagga Pali (Greater Section)

Cullavagga Pali (Smaller Section)

Parivara Pali (Epitome of the Vinaya)

2.5.2 Sutta Pitaka

The Sutta Pitaka contains primarily of discourses delivered by the Buddha Himself on various occasions and by some of His distinguished disciples, such as the Venerable Sariputta, Ananda, Moggallana, etc. It is similar to a book of treatments, because of the fact that the discourses exemplified therein were expounded to suit the different occasions and the temperaments of various persons. There may be seemingly contradictory statements.

This Pitaka is separated into five Nikayas or collections as follows:

DighaNikaya (Collection of Long Discourses)

MajjhimaNikaya (Collection of Middle-length Discourses)

SamyuttaNikaya (Collection of Kindred Sayings)

AnguttaraNikaya (Collection of Discourses arranged in accordance with number)

KhuddakaNikaya (Smaller Collection)

The fifth is subdivided into fifteen books:

KhuddakaPatha (Shorter Texts)

Dhammapada (The Way of Truth)

Udana (Heartfelt sayings or Paeons of Joy)

ItiVuttaka ("Thus said" Discourses)

SuttaNipata (Collected Discourses)

VimanaVatthu (Stories of Celestial Mansions)

Peta Vatthu (Stories of Petas)

Theragatha (Psalms of the Brethren)

Therigatha (Psalms of the Sisters)

Jataka (Birth Stories)

Niddesa (Expositions)

Patisambhida (Analytical Knowledge)

Apadana (Lives of Saints)

Buddhavamsa (The History of Buddha)

CariyaPitaka (Modes of Conduct)¹

2.5.3 AbhidhammaPitaka

The term *Abhidhamma* is a compound of two Pali words: *abhi*(special) and *dhamma*(doctrine). This is just general understanding; we will discuss later why it is called special and the different meanings of the term *dhamma*. Sometimes, the term *Abhidhamma* is translated in English as ‘Buddhist Psychology,’ even as ‘Buddhist Philosophy.’ Such translations do not convey the full meaning of the term. Mr. Rhys Davids called it ‘Buddhist Psychological Ethics.’ This sounds more correct.

Philosophy and Ethics are interconnected in the Buddhist teachings. Knowledge and conduct go together (*Vijjacaranasampanna*); they cannot be separated although they can be divided for the sake of understanding. Therefore, if we translated it as ‘Buddhist Psychology,’ it is lack of ethics. Unlike the Western psychology which is analyzing only the mentality without analyzing the behavioral aspects, the Buddhist psychological analysis is based fully on a moral basis. Without morality we cannot talk of the Buddhist psychology or Buddhist philosophy. The Buddhist psychology or philosophy is closely related to the human behavior.

¹ Guide to Tipitaka, p.135

Although some memory is necessary for understanding of the Abhidhammic analysis, it is not compulsory things to memorize all the components which are analyzed in Abhidhamma. First of all, we have to understand the practical aspect of Abhidhamma as it is closely related to our day to day life. We are studying a very practical subject. It is not an intellectual enterprise. Therefore, the main point of today's subject is how the Abhidhamma is related to our life; how it is useful for our daily life.

Actually Abhidhamma is a later development. Even the Theravada tradition accepts it. *Kathavatthupparakara*(Points of Controversy), one of the seven texts of AbhidhammaPiyaakawas added by Ven. MoggaliputtaTissaat the third Buddhist Council. It is no problem because while the Buddha was living, the Buddha gave permission to his disciples to expand and analyze his teachings. How many discourses are there in the Pali canon preached by the disciples! No problem. It is not the matter of fact whether it is later or earlier. The most important thing is how it is useful and practical and how it is related to the Buddha's teachings.

Therefore, Abhidhamma is not a new invention. It is a philosophical and psychological analysis of the Early Buddhist teachings. There are some people say that we cannot accept Abhidhamma; we can depend on the Early Buddhist teachings such as *DN, MN, SN, and AN*. However, I say that Abhidhamma is compulsory because there are many discourses that cannot be understood without reference to the Abhidhamma or the commentaries. The commentary means nothing but the Abhidhamma because the commentators have commented on the Buddha's teachings while keeping the Abhidhamma philosophy in their discussion. First of all, they systematized the Abhidhamma philosophy depending on the Buddha's teachings. Thus, Abhidhamma is a

systematic teaching and organized. But, the Buddha's early teachings are not organized because the Buddha preached to different people according to their situation, mentality, needs and requirements. Then, the Abhidhamma or the commentaries is the attempt of the later disciples to solve such problems arisen out of the discourses. Therefore, Abhidhamma can be introduced as the philosophical interpretation of Early Buddhist teachings. That is why I made a title of my book as *Abhidhammic Interpretations of Early Buddhist Teachings*.

In the Early Buddhism, the human personality is explained as five aggregates (*pancakkhandha*): (1) *rupa* (matter); (2) *vedana* (feelings); (3) *sanna* (perception); (4) *sankhara* (dispositions); (5) *vinnana* (consciousness). These five aggregates are 'person' as well as 'the whole world.' In better term, it is 'the world of experience' because Buddhism does not talk on the separate world; everything is discussed in relation to the person. The whole world including the person is explained in these five aggregates. This is the basis of all Abhidhammic interpretations, except *nirvana* and *paticcasamuppada*.

Any complete philosophy should have two aspects as its essential part: it should include an analysis of the world; and it should include synthesis, i.e., explaining how such analyzed factors are combined. We need both analysis of the world of experience and synthesis of such elements which are analyzed. In Early Buddhism, Causality or Dependent Co-origination (*paticcasamuppada*) is the synthesis. In Abhidhamma, it means the theory of Relations. If we analyze something, we have to explain how they are inter-related in synthesis.

If someone asks why we need a good knowledge, Buddhism would say that all human purposes are fulfilled with right knowledge. All human purposes include even the realization of *nibbana*. If the realization of *nibbana* is our purpose, we should have wisdom, the special knowledge. While studying Abhidhamma, we should get wisdom for the realization of *nibbana*. For our daily purposes, we should have the general knowledge. Then, human beings get the knowledge, whether it is general knowledge or special knowledge, by understanding two factors: analysis and synthesis.

Thus, any kind of understanding consists of two kinds of knowledge: knowledge of analysis and knowledge of synthesis. The Western philosophers talk about the knowledge of the facts that means the knowledge of analysis and the knowledge of the relationship among the facts that means synthesis. For example, to know about sun, heat, sky, wind, steam, cloud, and moving are the knowledge of facts; but, my knowledge is not complete till I understand their relationships. To know how rain arises from these facts can be worked out by synthesis of their relationship. Abhidhamma is also the same that it has two kinds of knowledge: we get the knowledge of facts by analysis and we get the knowledge of relationship by studying the theory of causality, i.e. synthesis.

For a Buddhist, he or she needs to study basic abhidhamma for taking meditation easily. At least, he or she ought to understand the meaning and definition of four ultimate realities (paramattha) which comprise consciousness (Citta), mental concomitants (Cetasika), matter (Rupa), and extinction of craving (Nibbana).

2.5.4 The four noble truths or The Light of the Universe

If we know Abhidhamma in brief, we will get the good result that makes us understand the Four Noble Truths as the way to live in happiness in this life and hereafter. As the matter of fact, we accept that the heart of the Buddha's teaching lies in the Four Noble Truths. The Buddha expounded them in his very first sermon to his old colleagues, the five ascetics, at Isipatana near Benares-after his Enlightenment. In this sermon, these Four Noble Truths are given briefly. But there are innumerable place in the early Buddhist scriptures where they are explained again and again with greater detail and in different ways. Hence, the title is named as the light of the Universe.

At the first Buddhist council, Arahata scholar monks compiled all Lord Buddha teachings into three divisions known as three baskets. They are:

1. Code of discipline (Vinaya)
2. Discourses (Suttanta)
3. Higher Teaching. (Abhidhamma)

These texts can be again divided into five sub-divisions. They are:

1. Long discourses (DighaNikaya)
2. Medium-Length discourses (MajjhimaNikaya)
3. Short discourses (SamyuttaNikaya)
4. Division of discourses (AnguttaraNikaya)
5. Division of miscellaneous discourse (KhuddakaNikaya)

The three fundamental desires of all living beings including human beings are the desires of seek;

1. The eternal, permanent, ever-lasting and changeless realities
2. Sublime, tranquil bliss or well beings
3. The ultimate realities

As human beings are much more intelligent than animals, the aforementioned three fundamental desires of human beings are much stronger and most steadfast.

By keeping away from two extremes of indulgence sensual pleasure and self-torment, one can leads to Enlightenment and Deliverance from Sufferings. The four Noble Truth can be compared to the hub of a wheel. As all the spokes of the wheel radiate from the hub, all Buddha's teachings radiate from this sermon. In fact, the four Noble Truth is nothing but a problem solving methodology in its most advanced, sophisticated and subtle form. It is also an expose of the four fundamental ethical principles. In the final analysis, our life is nothing but a series of problem solving exercises.

The four fundamental ethical principles are

1. Identification or awareness of the problem,
2. Finding out the cause of the problem,
3. Knowing the solution to the problem, and
4. Executing the solution to the problem.

2.5.4.1 Analogy of a Physician

The best analogy for the FNTs is to liken the Lord Buddha to a physician and this sermon of the FNTs to the physician's diagnosis and prescription of the remedy for the patient:

- First, the physician has to diagnose the disease the patient is suffering from;
- Second, he has to find out the origin or cause of the disease:
- Third, he has to attack and remove the cause of the disease in order to cure it:
- Fourth, he has to do this by prescribing and administering an efficacious remedy to the patient.

Let us now draw points of analogy from this illustration.

- Identification or awareness of the Truth of Suffering bears analogy with the diagnosis of the disease by the physician; (Suffering Truth)
- Investigation into the Truth of the Cause of Suffering bears analogy with the physician's investigation into the cause of the disease; (Origin Truth)
- Realization of the truth of the cessation of suffering bears analogy with the physician's decision to remove the cause of the disease; (Cessation Truth)
- Practicing or executing the Eightfold Path leading to the cessation of suffering bears analogy with the remedy administered by the physician to the patient to cure the disease. (Path Truth)

The Methodology of Four Noble Truths is to solve the problem of human suffering like the use of CAT-scan machines for curative treatment of patient.

Here, I should like to further explanation for the Four Noble Truths by using a analogy of a dream.

2.5.4.2 Analogy of a Dream

Let a man has a long –dream. In his dream he meets with a charming pretty lady falls in love with her and spend many happy moments with her, suddenly a tiger comes out of the forest and chases the man and lady. The two lovers run for their lives.

Once he wakes up, he realizes that it is merely a dream. His love-story in the dream is indeed an illusion. And also our phenomenal world and all living beings are an illusion.

If we study the FNTs, we get a fairly good and accurate account of the essential teachings of the Buddha.

2.5.4.3 The Four Noble Truths are:

1. The Truth of Suffering to know,
2. The Truth of the Origin of Suffering to eradicate,
3. The Truth of the Cessation of Suffering to realize,
4. The Truth of the Path leading to the Cessation of Suffering to develop.

2.5.4.3.1. The Truth of Suffering to know

The First Noble Truth is generally translated by almost all scholars as ‘The Noble Truth of Suffering’ and it is interpreted to mean that life according to Buddhism is nothing but suffering and pain. When we investigate our mind and body, mental and material events are in a constant state of instability and impermanent. Therefore, they are unsatisfactory, undesirable and not cling on it.

2.5.4.3.2. The Truth of the Origin of Suffering to eradicate

The Second Noble Truth is that of the arising or origin of dukkha. The most popular and well-known definition of the Second Truth is craving or thirst which produces re-existence and re-becoming. One can realize that our won craving for various things like us down to the rounds of struggle and suffering connected with these things. These craving can be grouped into 3 potions;

1. Craving for sensual pleasures,
2. Craving for one’s existence and
3. Craving for termination of one’s existence

By practicing meditation, one realizes that mental and material events, arising and passing away are un-solids, non-concrete and unreal. If one has these cravings, one can be caught up to the circle of rebirth. This is the cause of suffering.

2.5.4.3.3. The Truth of the Cessation of Suffering to realize

The third Noble Truth is that there is emancipation, liberation, freedom from suffering, from the continuity of dukkha. This is called the Noble Truth of Cessation of dukkha, which is Nibbāna. To eliminate dukkha completely, one has to eliminate the main root of

dukkha, which is thirst or craving. Therefore, Nibbāna is known also by the term Tanhakkhaya ‘Extinction of Thirst. Only the enlightened ones realize this. They prefer sublime and spiritual well beings to crude sensual pleasures. Relinquishing the craving in any thing is the same as the cessation of suffering.

2.5.4.3.4. The Truth of the Path leading to the Cessation of Suffering to develop

The Fourth Noble Truth is that of the Way leading to the Cessation of dukkha. This is known as the Middle Path because it avoids two extremes:

As one’s meditation of mindfulness advances, one’s faculty and factors also develop. At the time of enlightenment, eightfold path arises in one resulting in a change in our outlook of the world and in the personalities.

The enlightenment or Magga or Path consciousness constitutes the path leading to the cessation of Suffering. The eight fold path leading to the cessation of Suffering is the key for realization of the Four Noble Truth.

The eight fold Noble path can be divided into two portions, namely;

1. Mundane Eightfold Path and

2. Supramundane Eightfold Path

Mundane constituents Path include the moral and immoral actions. Therefore we may perform moral maggins and to refrain to committing immoral maggings.

Because the Eightfold path is of paramount importance, I should like to explain about it in details. The followings are Eightfold Noble Path.

- 1. Right View (sammaditthi) - insight, panna mental factor**
- 2. Right Thinking (sammasaññ kappa) - applied thought mental factor**
- 3. Right Speech (sammavasa) - 3 abstinence mental factor**
- 4. Right Action (sammakammanta) - 3 abstinence mental factor**
- 5. Right Livelihood (sammajiva) - 3 abstinence mental factor**
- 6. Right Effort (sammavayama) - effort mental factor**
- 7. Right Mindfulness (sammasati) - mindfulness mental factor**
- 8. Right Concentration (sammasamadhi) - tranquility mental factor**

The eightfold Noble Path is the most important in daily life and is the key for the attainment of Four Noble Truth. In whatever moral actions we may perform, moral maggins are involved.

1. Right view (right look)

The first prerequisite in any important activities is the right view. Without right view, we cannot have right thought.

2. Right thinking

It is important to have right thought. Without right thought, we cannot have right speech.

3. Right speech

Only if we have the right speech, we have good moral character. A right, elegant and effective speech is also essential to our success in our social and business and our professional career.

4. Right action

Work is on a main measure of the value of the man. So, it is an essential Maggins 1 to 3 will contribute to the performance of right action.

5. Right livelihood

As everyone must have a livelihood, it is also essential to have the right livelihood. Maggins 1 to 4 will contribute to the practice of right livelihood.

6. Right effort

Effort is an integral component of any undertaking or task. Right effort is, therefore, essential.

7. Right mindfulness

Right mindfulness is one of the most essential Maggins. Only the right mindfulness can lead us to enlightenment. Right mindfulness, therefore, places a crucial role in practicing the insight meditation of mindfulness.

8. Right concentration

In whatever we do, we cannot be affective without proper and sustained concentration. We can achieve our objective only when we have such a powerful concentration.

The Noble Eightfold Path, invented by Lord Buddha, is the most appropriate, most useful and most valuable directive in life.

There are three methodologies of causal analysis in Buddhism such as the methodology of dependent origination, the methodology of conditional relation and the methodology of the Four Noble Truths. It is undeniable that Dependent Origination is a central doctrine of Buddhism among them. Indeed, a proper understanding of DO is essential for all Buddhists because it is an important part of a good and thorough knowledge of Theravada Buddhism.

On the night of their Supreme Enlightenment, All embryo Buddhas firstly investigate into DO and then practice deep meditation of mindfulness on five clinging aggregates to attain their supreme Enlightenment. After attaining Buddhahood, all Buddhas engage themselves in the reflection on DO and the contemplation of Fruition. This clearly proves the importance of DO.

As the matter of fact, DO is so deep and profound that people cannot understand it with only simple knowledge. Even the commentator, AshinMahaBuddhaghosa expresses his feeling of inadequacy and trepidation when he came to dealing with the difficult subject of DO in his book 'Path of Purity'. He says: 'In writing a commentary on DO, I feel like a man who has stepped into the deep ocean. It is far too deep for me.'

Once Venerable Ananda was also admonished by the Lord Buddha, because he said that DO seemed to be rather shallow to him. Lord Buddha said: 'Do not say that, Ananda. Do not say that Ananda. Dependent Origination is deep in its substance, and it is deep in its aspect.'

With reference to Dependent Origination, we need to know two methods of teaching by the Buddha such as the Regular Order and the Reverse Order.

Dependent Origination in the normal order is as follow:-

Dependent on ignorance, arises Kammic actions;

Dependent on Kammic actions, arises rebirth-linking consciousness;

Dependent on rebirth-linking consciousness, arises mind and body;

Dependent on mind and body, arise six sense bases;

Dependent on six sense bases, arises contact;

Dependent on contact, arises feeling;

Dependent on feeling, arises craving;

Dependent on craving, arises clingings;

Dependent on clinging, arises rebirth-producing Kamma(KammaBhava);

Dependent on rebirth-producing Kamma (KammaBhava), arises rebirth;

Dependent on rebirth, arise old age, death, sorrow, mourning, bodily pain, grief and despair.

Dependent Origination in the reverse order is as follows:

Dependent on the cessation of ignorance, ceases Kammic actions,

Dependent on the cessation of Kammic actions, ceases rebirth-linking consciousness;

Dependent on the cessation of rebirth-linking consciousness, cease mind and body;

Dependent on the cessation of mind and body, cease six sense bases;

Dependent on the cessation of six sense bases, ceases contact;

Dependent on the cessation of contact, ceases feeling;

Dependent on feeling, ceases craving;

Dependent on the cessation of craving, cease clingings;

Dependent on the cessation of clinging, ceases rebirth-producing Kamma (KammaBhava);

Dependent on the cessation of rebirth-producing Kamma (KammaBhava), ceases rebirth;

Dependent on the cessation of rebirth, cease old age, death, sorrow, mourning, bodily pain, grief and despair.

It should be noticed the explanation about 12 factors of DO as follows:-

1. Ignorance, in the context of DO means delusion or not realizing the four noble Truths.

At the mundane level, it means not knowing the truths and not knowing sense objects and things as they are.

2. Kammic actions refer to all moral and immoral actions performed by us.

3. Rebirth-Linking consciousness means resultant consciousness that can perform as a rebirth linking consciousness.

4. In Namarupa, mind refers to 19 rebirth consciousness and 32 mundane resultant consciousness after rebirth and 35 mental factors. And matter refers to Kamma conditioned matter or alternatively 4 factors conditioned matter.

5. Six bases are called eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and matter.

6. Phassa or Contact is defined as a contact between 6 sense bases and 6 external sense objects.

7. Feeling is sensation.

8. Craving is called greed or lust or craving.

9. Clingings are of 4 types:

1. Clinging to sensual pleasures;

2. Clinging to wrong views;

3. Clinging to wrong practices of purification; and

4. clinging to the notions of the existence of self.

10.Rebirth producing Kamma or becoming means motivator (cetana) and its associated mental factors, particularly craving and clinging that are decisive factors in determining one's new existence in a certain plane of existence.

11.Rebirth /conception means coming into existence, being conceived in mother's womb or appearing as a new-born being.

12.Old age and death refer to becoming mature and passing away from present life.

Here, Lord Buddha analyses DO from different perspectives as follows:

1. 2 roots ;

2. 12 factors ;

3. 3 time spans;

4. 20 incidents;

5. 3 connections;

6. 4 layers and

7. 3 rounds

Analogy of a Maze and a Deep Forest

Besides textual studies, it is extremely important to acquire a deep understanding of fundamental principle. Actually, DO is very much like a maze or labyrinth. There is a complicated network of lanes, crisis-crossing each other in a maze. Likewise, there is a very complicated large network of DO routes crisis-crossing each other. It is also very much like a tangled skein of threads.

Name of the game is finding a key crossroad. Such a key crossed will be a fork of two routes, one route leading to the exit of the maze or another route, if you go in the wrong direction, it will send you back into the tangled net work of maze.

Insight on cessation of ignorance is the key crossed as clearly illustrated in the aforementioned analogy. It may be illustrated by a parable of a group of people who have lost their way in a wild jungle. At long last, one very intelligent man finds the key crossroad and the route that will taken them out of the dangerous jungle to the Golden City of wealth and happiness, which is their destination. The leader shows his followers the way out of the jungle to the Golden City. Lord Buddha may be linked to the leader in this parable. We are his followers. The wild jungle with a large complicated network of crisis-crossing routes is DO.

Regarding a starting point of DO, a question may be posed, “Why ignorance is taken as a starting point of DO by Lord Buddha?” Another question may also be posed, “Is not there a cause that begets ignorance?”

As the matter of fact, there is a cause and even a chain of causes that beget ignorance. Lord Buddha says’ “Four maladies beget ignorance.

In another context, He expresses a chain of causes for ignorance as follows:

The origin of ignorance is five or six hindrances. Such as (i) craving of sensual pleasures; (ii) hatred; (iii) sloth and toper; (iv) restlessness and remorse; (v) doubt ; (vi) ignorance.

The origin of five or six hindrances is threefold sinful actions.

The origin of threefold sinful action is not guarding at the six sense doors. Such as eye faculty, ear faculty, nose faculty, tongue faculty, body faculty and mind faculty.

The origin of not guarding at the six sense doors is non-practicing of mindfulness and reasoning. The origin of non-practicing of mindfulness and reason is inappropriate consideration. The origin of inappropriate consideration is the lack of confidence.

The origin of the lack of confidence is not listening to sermons and guidance of respectable persons of high morality and wisdom. The origin of not listening to sermons and guidance of respectable persons of high morality and wisdom is non association with such persons.

2.5.6 The Five khandhas

According to the Buddha, all things exist depending on their own nature. They do not exist as separate fixed entities, and in the case of living creatures, they are not distinct and immutable beings or persons. The Buddhist doctrine of egolessness seems to be a bit confusing to westerners. I think this is because there is some confusion as to what is meant by ego. Ego, in the Buddhist sense, is quite different from the Freudian ego. The Buddhist ego is a collection of mental events classified into five categories, called skandhas, loosely translated as bundles, or heaps.

1. Rupa (corporeality; body; material form): all material constituents; the body and all physical behavior; matter and physical energy, along with the properties and course of such energy.
2. Vedana (feeling; sensation): the feeling of pleasure, pain, and neutral feelings, arising from contact by way of the five senses and by way of the mind.

3. Sanna (perception): the ability to recognize and to designate; the perception and discernment of various signs, characteristics and distinguishing features, enabling one to remember a specific object of attention.
4. Sankhara (mental formations; volitional activities) those mental constituents or properties, with intention as leader which shape the mind as ,moral , immoral or neutral.
5. Vinnna (Consciousness) is traditionally defined as awareness of sense objects. It refers to a prevailing or constant form of knowing. It is both the basis and the channel for other mental aggregate.¹

If we were to borrow a western expression, we could say that "in the beginning" things were going along quite well. At some point, however, there was a loss of confidence in the way things were going. There was a kind of primordial panic which produced confusion about what was happening. Rather than acknowledging this loss of confidence, there was identification with the panic and confusion. Ego began to form. This is known as the first skandha, the skandha of form. After the identification with confusion, ego begins to explore how it feels about the formation of this experience. If we like the experience, we try to draw it in. If we dislike it, we try to push it away, or destroy it. If we feel neutral about it, we just ignore it. The way we feel about the experience is called the skandha of form; what we try to do about it is known as the skandha of impulse/perception.

The next stage is to try to identify, or label the experience. If we can put it into a category, we can manipulate it better. Then we would have a whole bag of tricks to use

¹ Buddha Dhamma page21-22

on it. This is the skandha of concept. The final step in the birth of ego, is called the skandha of consciousness. Ego begins to churn thoughts and emotions around and around. This makes ego feel solid and real. The churning around and around is called samsara -- literally, to whirl about. The way ego feels about its situation (skandha of feeling) determines which of the six realms of existence it creates for itself.

2.5.7 31 existences and the Noble disciples in the world

Belief in the existences is also requirement for Buddhist because if a person does not accept that there are good existences or bad existences in the world, he may do always evil deeds without taken into considering any faults. There are altogether thirty one planes in Buddhism according to their moral or immoral Kamma. They are called result or Vipaka of Kamma in pali. They are also called heaven and hell in other's religions. Whosoever is good doer or evil doer will have to go there depending on their Kamma. If you do good deeds, you will go good abodes. If you do evil deeds, you will go to evil abodes. This is not because of Buddha's preaching but because of the nature of Kamma. Therefore we must also believe and accept having thirty one planes in the world. They are;

1. The four states of unhappiness
 2. The seven states of happiness
 3. The sixty states of Rupa Brahmana and
 4. The four states of Arupabrahmana.
1. The four states of unhappiness

2.5.7.1 The four states of unhappiness

There are the four states of unhappiness called Apaya viewed both as mental states and as places. They are;

1. Nirayagati-jam-packed of miserable states for their evil Kamma
2. Tiracchanagati—the plane of animal kingdom where beings are born as animals on account of evil Kamma.
3. Peta gati-departed beings absolutely devoid of happiness.
4. Asuragati- the place of the Asura demons who have no shine or who have no sport, and the group of unhappy beings similar to the Petas

2.5.7 .2. The seven states of happiness

Closed to these four unhappy states are the seven happy states given below.

1. Manussa- the realm of human beings.
2. Catummaharajika – the lowest of the heavenly realms where the Guardian Deities of the four quarters of the firmament reside with their followers.
2. Tavatamsa- the celestial realm of the thirty-three Devas where Deva Sakka is the king. The origin of the name is attributed to a story which that thirty-three selfless volunteers by Maga, having performed charitable deeds, were born in this heavenly abode. It was in this heaven that the Buddha taught the Abhidhamma to the Devas for three months.
4. Yama- the realm of the Yama Devas that which destroys pain is Yama.
5. Tusita- the realm of delight or the abode of happy dwellers. The bodhisattas who have perfected the requisites of Buddhahood reside in this plane until the opportune moment comes for Buddhahood.
6. Nimmanarati- The realm of the Devas who delight in the created mansions.

7. Paranimmkitavasavatti- The realm of the Devas who make others' creation serve their own ends. Among them, the human realm is a mixture of both pain and happiness and the last six are the realms of the Devas whose physical forms are more subtle. The eleven planes, the four unhappy states and the seven happy states are collectively called Kamaloka meaning sentient sphere.

Moreover, we have to believe in that there are the Brahma realms or Rupaloka superior to these sensuous planes where beings delight in Jhanic bliss, achieved by renounced sense-desire. It consists of sixteen realms according to the Jhanas or Ecstasies cultivated. They are as follows;

2.5.7.3 The sixteen states of Rupa Brahmana

(a) The plane of the first jhana;

1. Brahma Parisajja- the realm of the Brahma's retinue.
2. Brahma Purohita- the realm of the Brahma's ministers.
3. Maha Brahma – the realm of the great Brahms

(b) The planes of the Second Jhana

4. Parittabha- the realm of minor luster,
5. Appamanarbha- the realm of infinite luster,
6. Abhassara- the realm of the radiant Brahmas.

(c) Plane of the third Jhana

7. Parittasubha- the realm of the Brahmas of minor aura
8. Appamanasubha- the realm of the Brahmas of infinite aura,
9. Subhakinha- the realm of the Brahmas of steady aura,

(d) The plane of the fourth jhana;

10. Vehapphala- the realm of the Brahmas of great reward.
11. Asannasatta – the realm of mindless beings
12. Suddhavasa – the pure abodes which are further subdivided into five, viz;
 - i. Aviha- the durable realm,
 - ii. Atappa- the serene realm,
 - iii. Sudassa the beautiful realm,
 - iv. Sudassi- the clear-sightte realm,
- V. Akanitha- the highest realm

2.5.7.4 The four states of Arupabrahmana

Besides these, a Buddhist believe in that there are four other planes called Arupaloka which are totally devoid of matter or bodies. It should be mentioned that there is no sex distinction in the Rupalaoka and the Arupaloka. The Arupaloka is divided into four planes according to the four Arupajhanas. They are as follow.

1. Akarsanancayatana- the sphere of the conception of infinite space.
2. Vinnanancayatana- the sphere of the conception of infinite consciousness.
3. Akincannayatana- the sphere of the conception of nothingness and
4. Nevasannasannayatana- the sphere of neither perception nor non- perception.¹

2.5.7.5 Belief in Four classes of Noble disciples

Besides, for a lay Buddhist, he also has to believe that there are the noble disciples who realize the four noble truths through the middle way. With relation to this, we can see them at the Buddha's time as well as after demise of the Buddha such as Ven- Mahamoggalana, Ven-Sariputta ,Ven-Mahakassapa and so on. The noble disciples can be

divided into four classes in accordance with the eradication of the AkusalaCittas as follows;

1. A Sotàpanna -Stream-Winner who eradicates the 1st,2nd, 5th, 6th, and 11th types of consciousness as he has destroyed the two Fetters (Saiyojana) (Self-illusion) and Vicikiccha (Doubts)..
2. A Sakadàgàmi -Once-Returner who has attained the second stage of Sainthood, weakens the potentiality of the 9th and 10th types of consciousness, because he can diminish the both Sense-desire and Hatred.
3. An Anàgàmi -Never-Returner who has attained the third stage of Sainthood, eradicates the above two types of consciousness as he has completely destroyed the said two Fetters.
4. An Arahanta – worthy who does not give rise to any of the twelve AkusalaCittas as he has eradicated the remaining five Fetters too—namely, Rupaàga (Attachment to RupaJhanas and Form-Spheres), Arupaàga (Attachment to ArupaJhànas and Formless-Spheres), Màna (Conceit), Uddhacca (Restlessness) and Avijjà (Not-knowingness or Ignorance). (SilabbataParamasa—Indulgence in wrongful rites and.¹

¹ B.T.H.436-445

² C.M.A. 43-44

CHAPTER-III

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THERAVADA BUDDHISM IN MYANMAR

Chapter III

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THERAVADA BUDDHISM IN MYANMAR

3.1 Theravada Buddhism and Myanmar

It is no doubt that according to history, it shows a lot of legends, oral histories not only written records such as stone Inscriptions, palm leaf inscriptions, folding paper ink writings and court chronicles giving a collection of answers to the questions. They approve that the Buddha's teachings came to Myanmar not just once but many times. As the matter of fact, they did not flourish shortly after arriving in Myanmar but it become well known very quickly after the first and second arrivals. Receiving Tipitaka, the growth of Buddha Sasana came to become continuous.

According to the record of Myanmar tradition, Buddhism has been spread into our country after the Buddha become enlightened one after 49 days in the 6th century BC, but not yet flourished over all area. At present day, the city named Yangon called in three names: Ukkalapa, Pokkharavati and Asitanjana which are a part of Râmanna-desa were also called as Suvannabumi at the beginning of that time of the Buddha. It, however, was identical geographically. To be clear that how Buddhism spread into Myanmar it should be examined the connection with the place from where the Buddha was enlightened, Majjhima-desa, the middle part of India (Northern India) and Burma known as Myanmar nowadays. In this chapter, therefore, it will be explored the link between the Majjhima-desa and the ancient Myanmar as well as the dissemination of Buddhism into Myanmar

in detail. The dissemination of Buddhism into Myanmar is much associated with the Shwedagon Pagoda in Myanmar. First of all the life of the Buddha and his teachings should be known.

3.1.1 The Appearance of Buddhism in India

The sixth century BC was an age of religious reform activities that stretched over the entire ancient world. Greece in this period witnessed the rise of Parmenides and Empedocles; China saw the appearance of Laotse and Confucius; and there was a remarkable intellectual and religious ferment in India, in this period.¹

This century is an important landmark in the history of the religion of India too. Brahmanism was the leading religion of the country up to this period, and it was the Brahmin priests that took the leading roles in most of the religious ceremonies. Then, the general population used to worship the Yaksas, Gandharvas, the Vriksas, Devatas, and the Nagas etc. The rise of Buddhism in the sixth century BC marked the end of the predominance of the Brahmanic period.²

The Buddha introduced his religion in this century. In this context, it is critical to glance briefly at the life of the Buddha, the founder of Buddhism. On the full moon day of May,³ in the year 623 B.C,⁴ there was born at the Lumbini¹ Park in Kapilavatthu² on

¹. P.V. Bapat, 2500 years of Buddhism, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi, 1997, P.v.

². Kanai Lal Hazra, History of Theravada Buddhism in South-East Asia, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, 1996. P.9.

³. Corresponding to Pali Vesakha, Sanskrit – Vaisakha.

⁴. Unlike the Christian era the Buddha Era is reckoned from the death of the Buddha, which occurred in 543 B.C. (in His 80th year), and not from His birth. In the book of “Indian Buddhism P. 44-45” written by A. K. Warder the differences of the date regarding Prince Siddhattha’s life are found that 566 B.C. is for the date of birth, 537 b.c. for the renunciation of the buddha and 531 b.c. becomes for the enlightenment of the buddha. ”

the Indian borders of present Nepal, a noble prince named Siddhattha³ Gotama,⁴ who was destined to be the greatest teacher in the world. His father was King Suddhodana of the aristocratic Sakya⁵ clan and his mother was Queen Maha Maya. His beloved mother died seven days after his birth, Maha Pajapati Gotami, her younger sister, who was also married to the King, adopted the child, entrusting his own son, Nanda, to the care of the nurses.

According to the custom of the time, he was married quite young, at the age of sixteen, to a beautiful young princess named Yasodhara. The young prince lived in his palace with every imaginable luxury available at his command.

His father, King Suddhodana took all measures to prevent his son from leaving the world as ascetic mendicant. He did all possible arrangements for Siddhattha's enjoyments in order to prevent him from undertaking a vow of homeless solitary ascetic life style. But his contemplative nature and boundless compassion did not permit him to enjoy the fleeting material pleasures of a Royal household life.

Soon, the time was ripe for him to go forth. Realizing the vanity of sensual enjoyments, at the age of 29, soon after the birth of his only child, RahulCE, he renounced

¹. To mark the spot as the birthplace of the Buddha of mankind, and as a token of his reverence for him, the Emperor Asoka in 239 B.C, erected a pillar.

². The site of Kapilavatthu has been identified with Bhuiila (Bhulya) in the Basti district, three miles from Bengal and N.W. Railway station of Babuan.

³. Sanskrit – Siddhartha. Its meaning is 'he who has achieved his object',

⁴. This is the name of his gotra or gens and roughly corresponds to a surname.

⁵. This is the name of the race to which the Buddha belonged. Tradition holds that the sons of King OkkEka of the MahESammata line, were exiled through the plotting of their step-mother. These princes, in the course of their wanderings, arrived at the foothills of the Himalayas. Here they met the sage Kapila, on whose advise, and after whom, they founded the city of Kapilavatthu, the site of Kapila. King Okkaka, hearing of the enterprise of the princes, exclaimed – "Sakya vata bho rajakumara – Capable, indeed, are the noble princes." Hence the race and the kingdom they originated were known by the name Sakya. The Sakya kingdom was situated in South Nepal and extended over much of modern Oudh. (See E.J. Thomas, Life of Buddha, P.6.)

all worldly pleasures and donning the simple yellow garb of an ascetic, alone, penniless, wandered forth in search of Truth and Peace. It was an unprecedented historic renunciation because he did it at the prime of manhood, not due to poverty but in plenty.

For six long years he wandered about the valley of the Ganges, meeting famous teachers, studying and following their systems and methods, and submitting him to rigorous practices. They did not satisfy him. So he abandoned all traditional religious austerity practices and went his own way.

One happy morning, while he was deeply absorbed in meditation, seated under a tree (then known as the Bodhi or Bo-tree, 'the tree of wisdom') on the river Neranjara at Buddha-Gaya (near Gaya in modern Bihar) unaided and unguided by any supernatural power and solely relying on his efforts and wisdom, he, at the age of 35, eradicated all defilements, purified himself and attained enlightenment after which he was known as the Buddha, 'The Enlightened One'.¹

The exertions of the ascetic Gotama were ended; but those of the Supreme Buddha had only just begun. He had strenuously worked for the attainment of liberation not for himself alone, but for all who were able to benefit by it. So began the task of his ministry, the spreading of the Dhamma, which he was to carry out untiringly for forty-five years.

¹.Bv II.P. 380, BvA, P.326.

3.2 Indian Background

3.2.1 The Situation of Buddhism in India

This study will be emphasized on social, political and economic dimensions as reflected in Theravada Buddhism that was preached, established and founded by the Buddha for forty-five years and that is currently accepted in Sri Lanka, Burma (Myanmar), Thailand, Laos and Cambodia. In order to understand how Theravada Buddhism spread beyond its border of India to the above mentioned Theravada Buddhist countries, we should have, as a background, some general idea of India in third century B.C.

When the Indian missionaries brought Buddhism to these countries, they carried with them not only the teaching of the Buddha but also the culture and tradition and the civilization of Buddhist India. Thus, the Buddhist rites, ceremonies, festivals and observances in these countries were; with minor local adaptation and modifications, mainly the traditional Indian practices which the early Buddhist missionaries introduced into these countries. It is necessary therefore at the very beginning to have an idea of the conditions in India at the time of the spread of Buddhism to other countries.

Buddhism began as an intellectual and ethical movement in the six century B.C., with the first sermon preached by the Buddha to the five ascetics at Isipatana near Benares.¹ It gradually spread during the lifetime of the Buddha along the Ganges valley and found its way into several kingdoms in North India between the Vindhya Mountains and the Himalayas. Kings and ministers, bankers and wealthy merchants, Brahmins and

¹.Athakho bhagava anupubbena carikacaramano yena baranasi isipatana migadayo, yena pancavaggiya bhikkhu, tenupasankami. Vi, I, P.8.

peasants became the followers of Buddhism, which was a revolt against some of the accepted theories and practices of the day.

At the time of the Buddha's death, about 483 B.C., almost all the states in North India seemed to have been deeply influenced by Buddhism. According to the Mahaparinibbana sutta,¹ eight countries claimed on various grounds a portion of the relics of the Buddha, which shows that he had already gained many ardent devotees in these states. Yet there is no evidence to show that the teaching of the Buddha had been adopted as the state religion in any of these kingdoms until long after his death.

Immediately after the Buddha's death, a Buddhist Council was held at Rajagaha during the rainy season under the patronage of Ajatasatthu, king of Magadha, with Mahakassapa as its president, the most senior of the disciples of the Buddha then alive. Its purpose was to decide and settle on the authentic teaching of the Buddha. The Buddha's immediate disciples like Ananda and Upali, were the principal protagonists in this great event.²

About a century later, in the fourth century B.C., during the time of King Kalasoka of Pataliputta, a group of monks known under the generic name of Vajji bhikkhus (monks), residing at the Mahavana monastery in Vesali, raised ten new points of indulgence³ which disturbed the orthodox authorities. Under the guidance of Yasa, Revata, and Sabbakami, three leading theras of the day, a great Council was held at

¹. Bhagavato sariranaahadha sama savibhatta vibhajahi. DN, II, P.166,

². SHB, P.3.ff.; Mhv. Ch.iii.

³. Vi. II, PP.426-428.

Vesali, and the ten points raised by authentic and genuine teaching of the Buddha was defined for the second time.¹

After this Second Council, the monks who were condemned as unorthodox and heretic, assembled elsewhere, held a rival Council and inaugurated a new school called Mahasa×ghika (or Mahasa°giti), different from the Theravada school. The following century saw the rise of eighteen schools in all, including the various schools of the Theravada Buddhism.²

3:2:2 The Life of King Asoka

In the last years of the fourth century B.C., Chandragupta Maurya had founded and organized a large and powerful empire extending approximately from Afghanistan to Mysore. Territories, which are even now outside India and West Pakistan, were parts of the Indian Empire under Chandragupta.³

Chandragupta's son, Bindusara, kept his father's empire intact, and perhaps even extended it in the south. About 274 B.C., Bindusara's son, Asoka, succeeded to this vast empire which had been built by two great emperors under the expert guidance of such able statesmen as Kautilya Chanakya.

The extent of Asoka's empire can be gauged from the inscriptions published by the emperor himself. Rock Edicts II, V and XIII mention the nations on the borders of his

¹. SHB, P.19 ff.; Mhv.Ch.iv.

². Mhv. V, 1-13; Nks. PP.5-6; for details see also Thomas HBT. Appedix II, PP.288 ff.

³. R. K. Mookerji, Ancient Indian Education, Macmillan & Co., 1947, Asoka, 1st Edition, P.12.

dominions. In the south, the limits were the Cholas, Pandyas, Satiyaputras¹ and Keralaputras. In the north, his empire extended as far as the foot of the Himalayas.

Buildings in Kashmir and Nepal show that these countries too were parts of his kingdom. Towards the north-west, it extended as far as the territory of the Syrian king, Antiochus, and hence stretched as far as Persia and Syria which were under Antiochus. The Yavanas, Kambojas, and Gandharas are mentioned as the peoples living on the borders in the north-west.

It should be mentioned here that Asoka's grandfather Chandragupta had, in about 304 B.C., and after a successful campaign, wrested from Seleucus, one of Alexander's generals, the four satrapies of Aria, Arachosia, Gedrosia, and the Paropanisadai. To this should be added the Kalinga country which Asoka himself had, in about 262 B.C., conquered after a devastating war.

"The Government of India under Asoka was an absolute monarchy in the legal and political sense of the term. Nevertheless autocracy in India was much more limited in many directions than the autocracies of the West."²

Society was composed of religious and secular classes. The former was divided into Brahmins, Sramas and Pasandas. Among the Pasandas the most prominent, in Asoka's time, were Nirgranthas, and Ajivakas to whom the emperor had granted some rock-cut caves. The popular religion of the time seems to have been full of trivial ceremonies and superstitions, as found in Rock Edict IX. The conception of family life appears to have been of an elevated standard. Even the claims of animals to kind

¹. Kanchi has been sought to be identified with this name.

². R. K. Mookerji, Ancient Indian Education, Macmillan & Co., 1947, Asoka, 1st Edition, op. cit. P.47

treatment were recognized. It was the duty of the householders to honour and support Sramanas, Brahmanas and other religious ascetics. Special attention was paid to the welfare and uplift of women. There were ministers, named Stri-adhyaksamahamatras, who were in charge of the affairs of women.¹

Intellectual life centered chiefly in monasteries. But learning and culture seem to have spread even among the masses. The fact that Asoka's Edicts were written not in Sanskrit but in vernacular dialects, on the assumption that the masses would read and understand them, indicates a high standard of literacy among the ordinary people. Vincent A. Smith says: "I think it likely that the percentage of literacy among the Buddhist population in Asoka's time was higher than it is now in many provinces in British India."²

In Asoka's time there were many large cities in India, such as Pataliputra and Vedisa. Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador of Seleucus to the Court of Chandragupta, describes Pataliputra as having a wall defended by 570 towers and pierced by a number of gates. Around the city was a ditch 600 feet broad and 30 cubits deep.³

The building of Srinagar in Kashmir and city in Nepal are attributed to Asoka himself. The country was full of great monasteries such as the Asokarama in Pataliputra and stupa such as those of Sanchi and Bharhut. "The truth is that, so far as Buddhism is concerned, the cult of the relic-stupa was virtually initiated by Asoka."⁴

¹. Ven S. Dhammika, The Edicts of King Asoka, XII, (trans.) Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, Sri Lanka, 1993, P. 9.

². R. K. Mookerji, Ancient Indian Education, Macmillan & Co., 1947, Asoka, 1st Edition, op.cit.P.102.

³. Cambridge Shorter History of India, 1934, P.35.

⁴. Sir John Marshall, Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization; The Monuments of Sanchi, I, P.21.

Asoka was not a Buddhist by birth. Although we are not quite certain about the religion of his father and grandfather, we can be sure that they were non-Buddhists. A Jain tradition, which is neither corroborated nor contradicted elsewhere, says that his grandfather Chadragupta was or became a Jain, and towards the end of his life abdicated to spend his last days as an ascetic.¹

The Divyavadana records that an Ajivaka saint named Pingalavatsa was invited by King Bindusara in connection with the question of Asoka's succession to the throne.² The Mahavamsatika,³ borrowing from the old Sinhalese commentary on the Majjhimanikaya, relates a story,⁴ which says that an Ajivaka named Janasara was the family-priest of the royal house of Bindusara, and that Janasara was a naked ascetic. We may infer from this that he was a Jain belonging to the Digambara sect.

The Mahavagga-Tika⁵ has another reference to this same Janasara which says that he was the friend and counselor of Bindusara's queen. Both the Samantapasadika⁶ and the Mahavasa⁷ agree that Bindusara was of brahmanic faith (Brahmana-bhatta), that he entertained Brahmins and Brahman ascetics of various orders and that Asoka followed his father's practice for three years but that in the fourth year, after his coronation, he became a Buddhist. The grant by Asoka of certain caves⁸ to Ajivakas also indicated that he honoured his ancestral religion, which he himself had followed for a time.

¹. Cambridge Shorter History of India, Cambridge University Press, 1934, P.34.

². R. K. Mookerji, Ancient Indian Education, Macmillan & Co., 1947, Asoka, 1st Edition, op.cit. P.3,5.

³. MT. PP.192-3.

⁴. Not found in Buddhaghosa's Pali commentary on MN.

⁵. MT.P. 190.

⁶. SHB, P.25.

⁷. Mhv. V. 34.

⁸. Nigrodha and Khalatika caves on the Barabar Hill.

3.2.2 The Links between India and Myanmar in Ancient Time

At the ancient time, Indus-valley is very famous and when British colonials occupied, Indus River is called as Sindu-srighara. Later on it is called 'India'.¹ India and Myanmar were link by sea and land. In Lower Myanmar, Mons traded to India by sea, on the other hand in Upper side, Myanmar used to reach India by land for trading goods. The Mons, being nearest to India, thus felt under Indian commercial and cultural influences, and their civilization was shaped to a great extent by Indian custom and thought.² According to the historical record, Tagaung in northern Myanmar was the first kingdom of Myanmar,³ and it was founded by an Indian prince who had lost his kingdom in India. In the absence of archaeological evidence European scholars have summarily rejected the existence of this particular Burmese kingdom. But again there is no inherent impossibility in the legend. *A History of Burma*⁴ said that Indian merchant adventurers who dared to sail the seas would have dared first to go overland, and there used to be some commercial exchange across the northwestern highlands between India and Myanmar even in those remote times. In ancient time, Chinese traveler used Silk-road by crossing Myanmar to India in land. To know clearly dissemination of Buddhism into Myanmar, any geography should be identified because of this geography it is able to trace out the historical events that took place long ago. According to legend, the two merchants from Ramanna-desa in lower Myanmar travelled to Majjhima-desa (not available name of India at that time) for

¹ Kitti, U (Dhaññavati), *Mirror Treatise of India*, Yangon: Ka-Bha Aye Press, 2011, p. 6.

²Htin Aung, Maung, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

³ Maung Tin, Pe and Luce, G. H., (Tr.), *The Glass Palace Chronicle*, Yangon: Unity Publishing House, 2008, p. 3.

⁴ Htin Aung, Maung, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

the purpose of trading and fortunately met the Buddha and become Buddha's first disciples in the history of Buddhism. They were from (present) Yangon, known as former named Pokkharavati or Asitanjana or Ukkalapa in Râmanna-desa, lower Myanmar.¹ In the *Mahavagga* of the *Vinaya*² mentioned that two traders called Tapussa and Bhallika took a long journey from Ukkala (pa), Ramanna-desa to Magadha with 500 carts. In addition to that the learned Sayadaw, Ven. Cakkapāla, who was better famous as Taung Pauk Sayadaw, (1878-1959) asserted in his Book named '*Bhuddha-sasanika Pathawiwīn Kyan*' that since hundred years ago before the Buddha, there have been trading the goods from Majjhima-desa to Râmanna-desa in return by ship and also societies roamed.³

The Mon (Talaing in ancient name) tribes migrated from Ukkala of South-India to lower Myanmar by ship. They crossed the Bay of Bengal, setting up a village and city later given named Ukkalapa by taking Old native name. At that time can be dated back round about the 7th century BC.

Therefore, the two brother merchants came to Majjhima-desa for the purpose of trading the goods with five hundreds of bull carts soon after the Bodhisattha, *Siddhattha*, become the Enlightened One after 49 days later.

Apparently the two merchants had learnt and known already the trade routes from their parents and they accepted the career as heritage tribes. There is more interesting

¹Pan Hmwaye, Maung, *The Research Paper on 2600 Years Shwedagon Pagoda Anniversary*, Yangon: Pan Wai Wai Press, 2011, p. 17.

²*Vinaya Piṇaka, Mahāvagga Pāḍi*, p. 4.

³Cakkapāla, Taung-pauk Sayadaw, *Buddha-Sāsana Pathawiwīn Kyan*, Yangon: Myit-Ma-Kha Offset Press, 1992, p. 283.

mentioned in ‘*Burmese Sketches*’ written by Taw Sein Ko¹ about the trade routes between China and India passing through Myanmar; that ‘Burmese records do not mention anything about direct trade-routes between China and India passing through Myanmar, but the following are the recognized routes between China and Myanmar, along which both trade and military expeditions passed: (i) Tengyueh-Bhamo; (ii) Yungchagfu-Hsenwi (called Mupang in Chinese); (iii) Szemao-Kengtung.

These routes debouched at a town, which happened to be the capital of the Kingdom at that time. In Upper Myanmar, the followings were the capitals: Tagaung, Bagan, Ava, Sagaing, Amarapura and Mandalay while in Lower Myanmar the followings were the capitals: Prome, Pegu and Thaton.² Trade centered at the capital first, and then flowed in various directions. Arakan (Rakhine) was a half-way house between Myanmar and India, and the routes between Arakan and Myanmar passed through Padaung, which is nearly opposite Prome across the Irrawaddy, and through Minbu. The image of the Buddha (Mahamuni) in the Arakan Pagoda at Mandalay was brought away from Arakan to Amarapura via Padaung in 1785; and when Bagan was the capital, Myanmar intercourse with Arakan was carried on through Minbu from the 11th to the 13th centuries AD. There was, however, a third land-route to India along the Chindwin Valley, which passed through Manipur and Assam. It became closed in the 11th and 12th centuries AD, owing to the Muhammadan invasion of Northern India. The sea route was Bassein (Pathein), which early European travelers called Cosmin, to Bengal or Madras. These will be made clear in the second chapter which is the main role of the Shwedagon Pagoda of this thesis

¹Ko, Taw Sein, *Burmese Sketches*, Yangon: British Burma Press, 1913, p. 329.

²Ko, Taw Sein, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

with historical background based on Pali literatures and especially soiled books in Burmese language written by Myanmar scholars.

3.3 The People in Myanmar

In the dawn ancient Myanmar history, there were various kinds of race in different language speaking in the region. However, among them especially it can be counted that there are the biggest 7 or 8 dominant ethnic groups in the recorded history of Myanmar as follows: Arakan (Rakhine), Chin, Kayin, Kachin, Kayah, Mon, Pyu (later absorbed Myanmar) Mramma or Burmese, and Shan which they, all are called Myanmar nowadays. When the people in Myanmar appeared in history, they had been as Buddhists. Recent day, apparently eighty eight percent populations follow Buddhism, ten percentage of Christian, four percentages of Muslim and Hindu religions and one percentage of others who are non-religions.¹

The origin of the Mon is uncertainty and at least linguistically, they are related to the Khmer.²It is said that they established in the south of Myanmar and Thailand. But the Khmer made northern Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia their home. Some Mons, settled in Siam and in Lower Myanmar, called them themselves Ramen. It is an old Mon word which is used as an ethnic name in Myanmar in an inscription of 1102, of the Myanmar King Kyansittha's reign. ³From its mediaeval form, Ramen come Râmanna and the name

¹“2008 Human Rights Report: Burma”, State.gov. 29 May 2015.
<<http://www.dop.gov.mm/moip/>>. Accessed on 12/07/2017, 09:00 PM.

²The Mon is also called Talaing, but this term is considered to be derogatory. It is thought to come from Telugu, a language of South Indian origin whose script the Mon adopted.

³*Epigraphy Birmanica*, Vol. III, Pt. I (Mon Inscriptions by Blagden, Inscription IX-Bagan)

Ramanna-desa given by Arab geographers to ‘*the country of the Mons*’.¹ In the Mon regions Buddhism of Theravada variety was the prevailing religion and from which quarter it spread here is unknown. However, when they appear in history, the Mons have already imbibed Buddhism, and a literature in the Mon language has developed under the influence; their legendary genealogies (Rajawam), legends of the pagodas (Dhatuwam) and moral episodes from the Ramanna kings (Pun).

The **Shan** descended from Mon Khamar stokes. While the Mons, settled in their States in Lower Myanmar and Siam, were developing their own forms of culture, especially those associated with the practice of Buddhism, away to their north a people called the Thai were living in a kingdom of their own in a southern province named Nanchao of the Chinese empire. Somehow the conditions of life in Nanchao became too hard for them to bear, and tribe by tribe they began to migrate southwards in the 8th AD.² After long wanderings one Thai branch settled in Siam and another in the Shan States of Myanmar. The Thais of the Shan States are known in Siam as the ‘elder Thai’ (Thai Yai) and as Mranma in Myanmar. A majority of them left the Shan States and descended to the plains. Their foothold on the plains was at Kyaukse, then known as ‘the Eleven Villages’, a hundred miles east of Bagan, inhabited by a settled Mon population.³ In the wild and unsettled Shan regions, Buddhism was unknown. Now Shan tribes mostly live in Shan plateaus of Shan States, ‘some of them are still non-Buddhist’ - Says Prof. Luce. Shan

¹Dutt, Sukumar, *Buddhism in South-East Asia*, Delhi: D K fine Art Press P Ltd., 2004, p. 53.

²Luce, G. H., “*Old Kyaukse and the Coming of the Burmans*”, *Journal of Burma Research Society*, June, 1959.

³Hall, D. G. E., *History of South-East Asia*, London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1964, p. 122.

tribes are not much related with regarding to dissemination Buddhism into Myanmar, and not much mention as main players in history of Myanmar rebuilt to be united.

The **Pyus** are people of Tibeto-Burman derivation and they lived in the area around Prome long prior to the fact that the Myanmar pressed into the plains of Myanmar from the north. Their language was almost similar to the language of the Myanmar. Their script was used up to the fourteenth century, but was then lost.

Burmese or Mranma descended from Tibeto-Burmese, in Burmese history, migrated from the Central Asian plateau to Kyaukse situated in central of Myanmar and found it with its surrounding 19 villages by subjugating others race, which had settled down already prior the Burmese, Pyu, Kayin, Chin, Kayah, Shan and others. On the other hand, in 9th century BC a Sakyan Prince Abhiraja came to Myanmar with his army and found Tagaung situated on east bank of Irrawaddy River. After he died, his two sons, Kanrajagy and Kanraja-nge shared the kingdom between them, while the elder then was ruling over Dhaññavati or Arakan (Rakhine) and the younger ruled over Tagaung. The date assigned to this event is 825 BC.¹The original tribes then in the land were called Kanran, Pyu, and Thet. They afterwards took the name of Mramma, by which the people is still called. People of Bengal it is known as “Brahmodesh”, *Brahmadesa* in Pali or the country of “Brahma”.²This name was never applied to the Arakanese (Rakhine), who claim to be the older branch of the race, their pronunciation certainly an older form than the Burmese.³⁵ After Kanraja-nge and thirty-one of his descendants ruled in Tagaung, according to Maha-Raja-win, stated that when the last of these King Bhinnaka reigned,

¹Ko, Taw Sein, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

²Cocks, S. W., *A Short History of Burma*, London: Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1919, p. 8.

and was overthrown about the year 700 BC by China invaders. Two years later, again Tagaung was attacked by Shan tribes from the hill country east of the Irrawaddy. Therefore, the king fled south to Male on the Irrawaddy and died there. His followers at his death split up into three divisions. The Shan invaders did not stay long in the kingdom of Tagaung, but were driven out by Indians from the north-west. A king named Dhazaraja who lost his country in India and settled Chindwin valley. He married Queen Naga-hsein and built a new capital at Old Bagan close to Tagaung. According to Myanmar history recorded said that before new Bagan has built, in Upper Myanmar, there were two kingdoms found (5 BC to 9 AD) which are Bikeshano and Sriksetra reigned by Pyus at Prome. However, not only because of civil war brought the kingdom of Prome to an end, but also was an invasion from Nanchao in 832.¹ Their capital was ruthlessly sacked and destroyed; about 3.000 people were taken captive, but it seems that the language and script of the Pyu were understood in Myanmar at least till 1113 when Kyansittha, the son of Anawrahta reigned in new Bagan. However, after king Anawrahta has ascended the throne at Bagan Myanmar history had changed a new age. It was at Bagan, about a hundred miles from Kyaukse, that Anawrahta established amidst a Buddhist population the capital of his expansionist kingdom in 1020 AD. Anawrahta who was one of the first king of Myanmar, is said to have been rebuilt the Myanmar Kingdom after bringing Theravada Buddhism from Thaton, Talaing or Mon Kingdom in the case of conquer and introduced Buddhism to Bagan. In addition to the kingdom gradually extended from Bagan to Thaton and farther across the Irrawaddy, spreading over the whole of Lower Myanmar down to the sea. It lasted from 1044 to 1287 AD and nearly the whole of the

¹Dutt, Sukumar, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

Burmese part of old Ramanna-desa was included in it. Upper Myanmar and Lower Myanmar were united under one rule.

3.4 The First time of Buddhism into Myanmar

The account of the first contacts with the Buddha and dissemination of his teachings will be attempted on this work with referent to scholarly books recorded Buddhists monks and Myanmar Chronicles especially. The most mention about is the visits of the Buddha and their contact are; the Buddha visited to Arakan (Rakhine), Leikaing Kyang-daw-yar (Shwe-sit-taw), and Thaton in Myanmar. It may have seem to be oral tradition, recorded and put into chronicle later, but it is a trace for identify that being almost lost connection to the events. According to legends of the Buddhist history recorded in Myanmar, the two brothers, sons of the rich man named Suvanna from Pokkharavati (Asitañjana)¹City, Ukkalapa²province, were main players in regard to appear a monument as the Great Shwedagon Pagoda: the Epicentre of Buddhist culture of Myanmar as well as the core work title of this thesis. To explore the arrival of the Hair Relics of Buddha is associated with tradition record into their history and the links later literature as well as the evidence existed presently or excavation of ancient place. However, the trace on some events which has taken place long before is impossible to have actual prove, yet it is said tradition.

¹Kyi Thant, Maung, *Myat Shwedagon*, Yangon: Zinyatana-Caw Press, 2012, p. 9. [**Pokkharavati (Asitañjana)** had been situated in the East of Twante (then Kwan Dei or Kawkyunkhabin village).]

²Ukkalāpa (Okkalāpa) Province with a dynasty of 32 kings had been situated at the North of Siiguttara Hills.

The account of the Buddha's Hair Relics firstly has been recorded in Pali of the *Vinaya Piṇaka* by successive *Theras*¹ at first *Sangha* Council that:

Tapussa and Bhallika, two merchants from Ukkala,² were travelling through the region of Uruvela and were directed them to the Buddha by their family god. The Buddha had just come out of seven weeks of meditation after his awakening and was sitting under a Lin-lun tree (*Rajaratana*) feeling the need for food. Tapussa and Bhallika approached and made an offering of rice cake and honey to the Buddha and took the two refuges, the refuge in the Buddha and the refuge in the Dhamma (the Sangha, the third refuge, did not exist yet). As they were about to depart, they asked the Buddha for an object to worship in his stead³ and he gave them (eight in number⁴) hairs from his head. After the two returned and arrived home from their journey, they enshrined the hairs in a *Stupa* which is now known as the great Shwedagon Pagoda on the Siiguttara Hill in Yangon, Myanmar.

According to the *Sasanavannsa, The History of Buddha's Religion*, and others traditional records dealing with the region where the two brothers returned and erected the *Stupa*, at that time, was called Ramanna-desa which consisted of three countries; Hamsavati,

¹*Theras*: Buddha's chief disciples, the most venerable monks; Mahā Kassapa, ānanda, Upāli and so on.

²*Vinaya Piṇaka, Mahāvagga Pāḍi*, p. 4. [*Atha kho sattāhassa accayena tahmā vuññahitvā mucalindamūlā yena rājāyatanāni tenupasaikami, upasaikamitvā rājāyatanamūle sattāhaṃ ekapallaikena nisīdi vimuttisukhapaṇisaivēdi... Tapussa Bhallika vāḍizā ukkalā taṃ desāni*, etc.].

³*Vinaya Piṇaka, Mahāvagga Aññhakathā*, p. 242. [*Kassa dāni bhande ahmehi ajja pattāya abhivadanapaccupaññānāni kātabbāni*]. *Aṅguttara Ekanipāta Aññhakathā*, p. 295. [*Bhande, ahmākāni paricaraḍaceti yaṃ dethāti vadiisu*].

⁴*Aṅguttara Ekanipāta Aññhakathā*, p. 295. [*Satthā dakkhiḍena hatthena sīsāni parāmasitvā dvinnāpi janānāni aññha kesadhātuyo adāsi*].

Muttima (Martaban), and Suvannabhumi. The entire Ramanna country should be taken as one region. Beginning with (the conversion of) Tapussa and Bhallika (who hailed from) the Ukkalapa country, the religion was established in the Ramanna country from the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Asalhi, when exactly seven weeks had elapsed since the Blessed One attained the highest wisdom.¹Therefore, the region where the two merchant brothers returned and erected *Stupa* is identical with Lower Myanmar.

In addition to Kalyani Inscription mentioned that of three regions of Mon which are;

(i) Thaton and Muttama are including a part of Suvannabhumi, (ii) Tigon² and Dala including a part of Ukkalapa, and (iii) Pathein and Myaungmya including an apart of

3.4.1 Identification of Ukkalapa (Ukkala, Okkala and Utkala)

In the Buddhist Text of the *Vinaya Pitaka* regarding to the word of Ukkala (Ukkalapa or Utkala) to be indentifying and its original region were argued by most scholars, although it was indentify in Modern Orissa of India.³It is claimed on Orissa Review of November 2007⁴ that archaeology would appear to confirm with two inscriptions from Orissa, both in Brahmin script and both dating from about the 1st century BCE, mention gifts made

¹ Law, B. C., (Tr.), *The History of the Buddha's Religion (Sāsanavaūsa)*, London: Luzac and Co. Ltd., 1952, p. 40.

²“Tigon” is the old name of Dagon, Rangoon, and now Yangon.

Kusimaratha.⁴⁵ According to this, it is assumed that the region, at that time, is Tigon City(Dagon or Modern Yangon) in Ukkalāpa Division, where the relics enshrined in 103 ME.

³Mahadhamma-thinkyan, Amatgyi, *Sāsanalankara-car-dan*, Yangon: Hantharwadi Press, 1956, p. 42.

⁴ Mohanty, G. N., “*Tapussa and Bhallika of Orissa: Their Historicity and Nativity*”, Orissa Review, November, 2007, p. 1.

donations made by Tapussa and Bhallika. The first of these was found in a *Stupa* at Jaipur and the second one is located in a cave nearby a huge *Stupa* on Deuli Hill. According to the commentary of the Thera-gāthā¹ these two merchants also subsequently visited the Buddha at Raja griha and by that time Tapussa was attained *Sotapatti*-fruition (first stream-winner) and bestowed as the first *Dvevācika- Upāsakā*, taking refuge on two Gems; the Buddha and the *Dhamma*, and his name has been incorporated in the list of eminent *Upāsakas* of Lord Buddha. On the other hand, Bhallika joined the *Saāgha* and became an Arahāt. There, however, was not any record that the place where they were passing away, but most probably they seem to have visited the place where their relations in Ukkala, and then might demise there. The historicity and nativity of Tapussa and Bhallika, the two merchant brothers of Ukkala, who became the first disciples of Lord Buddha, are shrouded in mystery. **OrissaReview** referred, therefore, to make Tapussa and Bhallika as hail from Ukkala, taking the source from the *Majjhima Nikaya* that ‘Vassa and Bhanna are the two tribes of Ukkala who professed a type of religion called *Ahetukavada*, *akiriyavada* and, *Natthikavda*². These two tribes later on are known to have embraced Buddhism preached by Lord Buddha. Tapussa and Bhallika are ascribed to Vassa and Bhanna tribes of ancient Ukkala’.³ It, however, is a misunderstanding on original Pali Text. In fact, Vassa and Bhanna from Ukkala were wrong view called

¹*Theragāthā Pāṭi*, No. 7; *Theragāthā Aññhakathā*, Vol. I, p. 60.

²**Ahetukavāda**: the reject moral causation, doctrine of non-causality; **Akriyavāda**: An exponent of nonefficacy of Kamma, deny the result of kamma; and **Natthikavāda**: A nihilist.

³Mohanty, G. N., *op. cit.*, p. 1.

Paribbajaka who is against Buddhism.¹ They never become as Buddhist and not mention any tribes in Pali texts. Moreover, the two merchant brothers became so widely popular in Buddhist world that they were represented in various garbs in various countries. According to Dr. N. K. Sahoo, Ukkalapa is nothing but a variant form of the country of Utkala, mistaken as a city.

The Lalitavistara mentions the city (adhistana) called Utkala in Uttaraptha.² The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who visited India in the 1st half of the 7th century AD has spoken about two places as belonging to Tapussa and Bhallika in Baklh regions. From about the 5th century CE, Sri Lanka has claimed that Tapussa and Bhallika as their own. At Thiriyaya on the north-east coast of Sri Lanka is a beautiful *Stupa* supposedly built by the two merchants and enshrining a hair given to them by the Buddha.³ The Burmese legends speak Tapussa (Tapo) and Bhallika (Tapuk) as the residents of the city of Pokkharavati which is recently excavation and found ancient architectural things which can be dated between the 6th and the 2nd BC (Buddha's time and Asoka's time) in Kabhin,⁴ about 12 miles from Yangon. Ukkalapa is a capital city reigned by King Ukkalapa at that time. It will be explored clearly and will give more detail in second chapter.

¹ *Majjhima Nikāya Aññhakathā*, Vol. IV, p. 96. [*Abhabbo tassa attabhāvassa anatarāṇi saggaṇṇi gantūṇi, pakeva mokkhaṇi, vaññakhāḍḍu nāmesa satto pathavīgopako, yebhuyyena evarūpassa bhavato vuññhānāṇi natthi, Vassa-bhaññāpi edisā ahesuṇi.*]

² Sahoo, N. K., *Buddhism in Orissa*, Utkal University, 1958.

³ "History of Girihadu Seya", May 2010, <<http://www.srilankatravelnotes.com/trincomalee/girihaduseya/girihaduseya.html>>. Accessed on 20/07/16, 02:00 PM.

⁴ Pan Hmwaye, Maung, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

According to traditional recorded of Burmese history and in **Shwedagon Inscription**¹ claimed that Tapussa and Bhallika are native of Pokkharavati city.

Furthermore, the learned Myanmar scholar-Sayadaw, Ven. Cakkapāla, better known as

Taung Pauk Sayadaw, (1878-1959) asserted in his Book named '*Bhuddha-sāsanika*

Pathawiwin Kyan' that since hundred years ago before the Buddha, there have been trading the goods from Majjhima-desa to Rāmañña-desa in return by ship and also people migrated.² The Mon³ (may be the rulers Talaing in ancient name) tribes migrated from Ukkala of 54 It also is alternatively called 'Dhammazedī Inscription'. [It's the Trilingual Inscription in which has three incised stone slabs were discovered in 1880 on the hill's eastern slope, just a metre or two north of the present stairway and about 15 metres below the platform, the three slabs were found upright within ancient brick flooring (Forchhammer 1884). The trio was shifted later to the pagoda platform where they are now protected by a pavilion in the north-eastern corner. The stones were arranged to match their original positions on the slope, beginning with the *Pali* record on the north and followed by the Mon and Burmese slabs, respectively.

Each slab was accorded a separate language, incised on both sides, with the obverse of each stone facing north. The staircase on the eastern face may have been located originally a few metres further north of its present position, since this would have made

²Cakkapāla, Taung-pauk Sayadaw, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

³The Mon or the Pyus: [At the time, the origin race in this region is not yet clearly identify, but as regard to recent discovering and excavation the antiques, it is assumed that is the Pyus race is indentify.]. Referents are given: Pokkharavati Myth and Over 2600 years the Myanmar History by Phone Tint Kyaw (author), 13/02/2016 7-Days News, 03/07/1999 and 28/06/2005 The Mirror (Newspaper), and so on.

the front side of the first inscription plainly visible as one ascended the hill in the 15th century.

South-India to lower Myanmar by ship, crossing the Bay of Bengal and established a village and city later given named Ukkalapa by taking Old native name. At that time it can be dated back approximately the 7th century BC. In addition, there were three tribes of Mon; Mon Ding, Mon Ti, and Mon Na, who migrated from India. Tapussa and Bhallika were containing of tribe Mon Ding. ¹Therefore, it was mentioned that since ancient time in Myanmar, of the

many races inhabiting the Mon or Talaing race is probably the oldest. Their ancient capital, Thaton, at that time a seaport, was colonized in prehistoric days by kings from Teliigana, a district on the east coast of India, north of Madras.² ‘Talaing’ has a verbal similarity to Telaigana, a district of the Andhra Pradesh of India. However, neither physically nor culturally is a Talaing of Myanmar different from Burmese, but an educated Talaing still retains through his knowledge of the Mon language a sort of spiritual contact with the old Mon traditions of the country.³

According to Mon chronicles, there was definitely some conflict between the India settlers and the advancing Mons. At that time, two princes, Thamala and Wimala from

Thaton, founded Pegu⁶⁰ on an island that had recently emerged from the sea as part of the Irrawaddy delta in 825 AD. The island had been discovered already by an Indian

¹Cakkapāla, Taung-pauk Sayadaw, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

²Cocks, S. W., *op. cit.*, p. 4.

³Dutt, Sukumar, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

merchant ship, but the Mon was able to hold it despite Indian claims for its possession. Therefore, the Indian merchant challenged the king to fight with an Indian warrior, “seven feet tall,” with Pegu as the stake. In spite of such conflicts, the Mons seemed to have followed a policy of compromise. Mons gave Pegu the official name of Ussa, after Orissa in eastern India, and they freely intermarried with the Indians so as to absorb their small community, with the result that the Mons came to be known also as Talaings, or “people from the Talaigana coast of south India”. It, therefore, should be drawn a conclusion that Tapussa and Bhallika are identical the native of ancient city of Pokkharavati in Myanmar, but their old family lived in Ukkala (Utkala), Orissa and they had migrated coastal line of Ramanna-desa by ship and created the city permanently long before become the Buddha about 7th century BC.

3.4.2 The Events after Arriving Hair Relics

Pego (Pago): 30 miles distant from Yangon and old name Hamthawadi, older ‘Ussa’. It is believed in Myanmar that the hill upon which the Shwedagon Pagoda stands was not haphazardly chosen by Tapussa and Bhallika but was, in fact, the site where the three Buddhas preceding the Buddha Gotama in this world cycle themselves deposited Sacred Relics. Buddha Kakussandha is said to have left his staff on the Siiguttara Hill, the Buddha Koṅāgamaḍa his water filter, and Buddha Kassapa a part of his robe.¹ Because of this, the Buddha requested Tapussa and Bhallika to enshrine his relics in this location. The original *Stupa* is said to have been 66 feet high. Today the Shwedagon Pagoda has grown to over 326 feet. According to the *Aḷguttara Nikaya Aññhakathā*, because of

¹Nyunt Wae, U., *The History of Shwedagon Pagoda*, Yangon: Saccamantine Press, 1989, p. 35.

asking by Tapussa and Bhallika, the Buddha gave them eight Hair Relics. They put the Hairs in the gold casket and took them home. They afterward erected and enshrined them in a *Cetiya, Stupa* at the entrance of the Asitañjanacity. ¹On *Uposatha* (Sabbath) days the shrine used to emit hazel Buddha-rays.²

It was the first time of dissemination Buddhism into Myanmar. But except this arriving of Hair Relics, there were no records before Sona and Uttara *Theras* arrived in the 3rd century BC, that the arriving of *Bhikkhus*, monks and preaching *Dhamma* them, and even monasteries built for them after arriving the Hair Relics of the Buddha. Therefore, it is presumed that Buddhism in the region at that time no remain for long. In the several chronicle traditionally it has said that, however, occasionally there were several time of visiting of the Buddha to the region in different place. But it seemed to have not been the connection or lost history record. Therefore, scholars deduce that ‘the Shwedagon Pagoda which is built by King Ukkalapa, after have been paying respect and maintaining about his successors till 32 kings, when Ukkalapa kingdom has silt up, the religion also gradually lost luster and the *Stupa* and its compound also were cover with warp and bush, finally become as forest.’³ Later on little is known about the Shwedagon Pagoda, but the Shwedagon Inscription which left by King Dhammazedī (1472-1492) inscribed in 1485

¹Asitañjana: Ancient name of Yangon.

²*Aṅguttara Nikāya Aññakathā*, Vol. I, p. 295. [*Asitañjana nagaradvāre jīvakesadhātuyā cetiyam patiññāpesuim, upostha divase cetiyato nīlasmiyo niggacchanti.*]

³Sucitta, Ashin, *A Myattuttin Tigonshin*, Yangon: Saccamantine Piñaka Press, 2012, p. 30

relates to the story of Tapussa and Bhallika, and then continues.¹ It will be given more explanation on the second chapter.

3.5 The Great Buddhist Sangha Councils

To know about propagation of Buddhism into Myanmar, it should be mentioned the Great *Sangha* Councils held by six in number, because of important role to spread of Buddhism to where the palace are not yet flourished and established firmly. According to Theravada perceptive, there are six Buddhist *Sangha* Councils held in different places by lineages of learned monks for the purpose of maintaining the original teaching of the Buddha. The Six Great Buddhist *Sangha* Councils with place and date are as follows in brief:

1. The First *Sangha* Council held in Sattapanni cave of Vebhāra mount near Raja gaha, Majjhima-desa (India) 544 BC;
2. The Second *Sangha* Council held at Veluvana Monastery near Vesāli, Majjhimadesa (India) 100 BE (443 BC);
3. The Third *Sangha* Council held Asokarama Monastery, Pāñaliputta, Majjhimadesa (India) 235 BE (308 BC);
4. The Fourth *Sangha* Council held at Aloka cave, Malaya district, Sri Lanka 450 BE (94 BC);
5. The Fifth *Sangha* Council convened at Mandalay, Upper Myanmar 1232 ME, 2415 BE (November, 1871); and

¹Tun Aung Chain, U and Thein Hlaing, U., *Shwedagon*, Yangon: The University Press, 1996, p. 2

6. The Sixth *Sangha* Council convened at Yangon, Lower Myanmar 1316 ME, 2498 BE (May 1954).¹

It may be counted Six *Sangha* councils up to now. However, scholars particularly used to refer the preceding 4 *Sangha* councils, by lacking of data. It was hiding in knowledge about the last two *Sangha* Councils held in Myanmar which has stronghold Theravada Buddhist followers. Actually, it is shown the authentic Theravada Buddhism has been going down by through the Great *Sangha* Councils, indeed.

3.5.1 Theravada and Mahayana Buddhism

There are two popular schools among many kinds of Buddhism: Theravada and Mahayana. The Buddhism which spread to southern countries such as Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia, Sri Lanka, and Laos is called Theravada Buddhism or Southern-Buddhism. On the other hand, the Buddhism which spread to northern countries such as Japan, Korea, and Vietnam etc. is called Mahayana Buddhism or Northern-Buddhism. It is said that Mahayana Buddhism appeared contemporary with the Second Buddhist Council held at Vesāli in 100 BE (443 BC). The *Dipavnsa* mentions that the Vajjian monks categorically refused to accept the Council's decision and held a conference separately which attended by ten thousand monks.

It was so called by the named *Mahasangiti*.² It was also the beginning of Mahayana Buddhism. However, the people in Myanmar accepted to follow the Theravada

¹Revatadhamma, Ven, "*Buddhist Councils*", <<http://www.budsas.org/ebud/ebdha134.htm>>. Accessed on 16/07/16, 10:00 PM.

²Bapat, P. V., *2500 Years of Buddhism*, New Delhi: Sochno Bhawan, C. G. O. Complex, 1956, p. 44.

Buddhism from that time of arriving Buddhism till today. Therefore, whatever is discussed in this thesis, it should be attributed from the point of view of Theravada Buddhism and the reference also have mostly taken from Theravada Texts in Pali, English and Myanmar language especially. To spread of Buddhism far and wide around area, the work of Buddhist Great Councils held in several place because of required to propagation and promotion of Buddha's teaching, are most important role in Buddhist History happened along with it.

3.5.2 The Important Role of Buddhist Samgha Councils Held

The task of Buddhist *Sangha* Councils as well as sending act of Missionary was more impact on dissemination of Buddhism into Myanmar. It is definitely worthy to state that Buddhism will be lasting over the course of 2600 years more because of making it purification of whenever it is conflict between actual and fake. The Buddha attained Enlightenment in 589 BC. At that time, he was thirty-five years old. Since then, throughout forty-five years he preached many discourses and disciplines diligently for welfare of all beings without regarding cold, heat, tiredness, weariness, and ailment. The Buddha left his last words thus:

“Ananda, the discourses and the disciplines I have taught and laid down to all of you will be your teacher when I am gone.”¹

Therefore, it is clearly noted that the Buddha will remain alive so long as the discourses and the disciplines are in existence. Of course, the discourses and the disciplines are

¹*Dīgha Nikāya, Mahāvagga Pāṭi*, pp. 126-127. [*Yo vo, ānanda, mayā dhammo ca vinayo ca desito paññatto, so vo mamaccayena satthā.*].

called *Sasana*, the Teachings of the Buddha. The permanency of *Sasana* relies on the existence of these discourses and disciplines. And vice versa, if they disappear the Buddha and his teachings will also disappear. When this happens, the whole world will be overwhelmed by the darkness of ignorance. Therefore, the *Bhikkhus*, the Buddha's disciples, have been successively striving for the preservation of the discourses and the disciplines so that they are not stained by mistakes and they do not disappear. But there had arisen many obstacles endangering the Buddha's Teachings through the ages. The *Bhikkhus* have never neglected those obstacles and they tried to overcome them. Then they also held the Great Councils to promote and propagate the Buddha's Teachings. The successive kings, governments and the people contributed to the accomplishment of the Great Councils. The Buddha attained *Mahaparinibbana* in 544 BC. That year was counted as the first year of the Buddhist Era. Now, two thousand and six hundred years have passed since the demise of the Buddha. During this time, altogether six great councils of Theravada Buddhism have been held. In these councils, many hundreds of *Bhikkhus* gathered together and recited the Buddha's discourses and disciplines in unity to approve the teachings of the Buddha. The discourses and the disciplines are recited in originality without any change, addition or modification.

3.5.3 The First Great *Sangha* council

Three months after the demise of the Buddha the First Great Council was held in Sattapanni Cave Pavilion at Mount Vebhāra near the city of Raja gaha.¹The **Sattapanni Cave** is a collection of three shallow fissures in a cliff near the top of one of Raja gaha's

¹*Pārājika Pāṭi Commentary*, Vol. I, p. 9; *Cūlavagga Pāṭi*, p. 482.

high hills. The cave got its name from a Seven Leaf Tree (*Alstonia scholaris*) that used to grow near its entrance. This rocky and isolated place with its breathtaking view of the landscape below was the site for one of the pivotal events in Buddhist history. The Buddha stayed in the cave from time to time and it was sometimes used as a residence for newly arrived monks when no other dwelling could be found for them (*Vinaya*, I: 159). But the significance of the Sattapanni Cave lies in the fact that it was here that the First Buddhist council was convened in 483 BCE. Three months after the Buddha's final *Nibbāna*, five hundred Arahants met here to recite the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* so that it could be passed on to future generations. It was Maha Kassapa who suggested that the council be held in the cave named Sattapanni on the northern slope of Mount Vaibhāra, on a rocky-surfaced spot of ground shaded by diverse trees. (*Mahavastu*, I: 7ff.). Rajagaha was probably selected as the site of the council as only a city of that size could provide enough alms-food for such a large number of monks. The Mahavāisa says that King Ajātasattu, in preparation for the council, had a splendid hall built by the side of the Vebhara Rock by the entrance of the Sattapanni Cave and it was like the assembly hall of the devas. When it was adorned in every way he caused precious carpets to be spread according to the number of monks. Maha Kassapa questioned Upali on the rules of monastic discipline and ānanda on the discourses, and when this was finished the whole assembly chanted the Dhamma and the discipline together. (*Vinaya*, V: 286). Today the Sattapanni is a popular sight with tourists and pilgrims.

Getting there requires a long but pleasant walk up Mount Vaibhāra. Mahakassapa, accompanied by two and a half thousand monks, was coming to Kusināra from Pāvā without awareness of passing away of the Buddha, but he heard on the road: 'The Blessed

One has attained the *Parinibbana*.’ At that time, seeing the monks, who were not free from grief, weeping, a monk named Subhadda, who became a *bhikkhu* in his old age, he spoke thus: ‘Friends, do not lament, there is nothing to mourn in this matter. Formerly we like serfs of a money-lender, were annoyed by the recluse Gotama, thus: Do this, it is allowable; do not do this, it is not allowable to you.’ But now we are able to do whatever we like, not to do what we do not like.’ On hearing those insulting words, Venerable Maha-kassapa decided to hold the First Great Council.¹ Five hundred arahats, including Venerable Upali and Venerable ânanda, took part in that council held lasting for seven months, in the third month since the Lord Buddha’s *Parinibbana*, under the patronage of the king named Ajatasattu.

3.5.4 Propagation of Buddhism into Myanmar (5th BC)

The *Sasanavannsa*, history of the Buddha’s religion written by Pannasami who is a learned monk in the reign of King Minton in 1861 AD mentioned that in Myanmar at that time, the king named Jambudîpadhaja-raja had reigned for more than five years in Takoüsäuta city,

when Magadha King Ajatasattu who was sponsorship for first *Sangha* Council, had reigned for eight years.² The two kings were contemporaries.³ According to the *Sasanavnnsa*, Takoüsäuta was not clearly exist at that time, yet it’s named might be

¹*Mahāvaiisa*, Vol. III, p. 5.

²Law, B. C., (Tr.), *op. cit.*, p. 4.

³The Ministry of Religion, *The Teaching of the Buddha (Higher Level)*, Vol. II, Yangon: Dept. PP of the Sāsana, 2001, pp. 257-8.

Tagaung City alternatively. Dr. Than Tun who is Author of *Royal Order of Burma* said in his book that ‘Tagaung being a city found the Sakyans of India is imaginary’.¹

Tagaung, however, was addressed as ancient city in numerous of Myanmar history books written by Historians: *The Union of Burma*, *The Brief History of Burma*, *Shwenattaung History*, and *Ukala Yazawin*, mentioned that the former founder of Tagaung was Abhiraja who belongs to Sakyan clan came to Myanmar (No date) and built the Tagaung city at first and after he and his successors 34 kings reigned Tagaung, and then was destroyed by Chinese invaders from north. The Second founder of Tagaung city was Dhajaraja who was also Sakyan, fled from Kapilavasthu because of fear of King Visākhābha² who took his revenge back. He changed his name as ‘Jambudīpadhaja’ later on.³ Moreover, it has said that Myanmar emerged and started her civilization was from Tagaung where situated on the east bank of the Irrawaddy River, 127 miles north of Mandalay and reigned about successors 170 for 2800 years until Thibaw King⁴ who is son of the King Minton in 1852-1871 AD. Tagaung, in fact, recently has been excavation and found many kinds of antiques: Burial, Anthropomorphic Stamp on, crescent roof-tile eaves, round roof-tile eaves, votive tablets, after unearth its ancient side. Tagaung is a triple-walled site on the east bank of the Irrawaddy that chronicles place seven hundred years before the birth of the Buddha Gotama (circa 1300 BC). Evidence of probable Neolithic and Bronze Age habitation has been documented from surface

¹Tun, Than, *Royal Order of Burma*, Vol. III, Kyoto: Kyoto University, 1985, p. 10.

²King Visākhābha: He is Son of King Passenadi Kosala, Kosala.

³Lun, Saya, *Brief History of Burma and Shwenattaung Thamaing*, Rangoon: The Sun Press, 1911.

⁴Ba Thain, U., *Union of Burma*, Yangon: Social Press, 1968.

finds....¹Therefore, it can be dated back that the first Tagaung was built by Abhiraja in the 8th century BC proximately and at the same place for second time Tagaung was rebuilt by Jambhudîparaja in the 5th century BC. In addition to the unique Tagaung urns, crescent and round roof tile end-pieces from Hsin Hnyat (SNK1) are distinctive (See Figures 3a and 3b below). Similar roof tiles and end pieces dated to the 1st to the 3rd century AD have been recorded at Trakieu and Go Cam in central Vietnam and likened to early first millennium AD Chinese styles of the Tsin and Han. Some Go Cam round end-pieces bear faces, dated to the 3rd century AD in relation to raids against 'southern barbarians', an outgrowth of persistent flux between Chinese and local rule in central Vietnam after the fall of the Tsin in 206BC.²

According to the mentioned above, on arriving the Buddha's relation who are Sakyans in Myanmar, Buddhism also had been taken along with them into Myanmar. However, from that time it can be said that Buddhist practices have been flourished in upper Myanmar, but there is not available the provable texts and inscriptions that how far it was remained in pure and firmly because of archeological absence.

¹Moore, Elizabeth, *The Early Buddhist Archaeology of Myanmar: Tagaung, Thagara, and the Mon-Pyudichotomy*, (pdf), pp. 1-17

<<https://eprints.soas.ac.uk/5668/1/22MooreEArchaeologyvShan.pdf>>. Accessed on 12/09/2016, 12 : 00PM.

²Moore Elizabeth, *op. cit.* [This seemingly was also the case in the western Yunnan, annexed during the reign of the sixth Han Emperor, Wu Ti (140-86 BC). Tribute missions from Myanmar at this time brought pearls, vitreous objects and rare stones, although those bearing gifts may have changed during this period as earlier groups in Yunnan dispersed towards the west and south (Taw Sein Ko 1913, pp.16-17). In 225 AD, the Wei general Chu-Ko-Liang is said to have used bronze drums to frighten 'savages' by placing them in torrents to strike like military watch-drums at regular intervals (Hudson 2004:31, Kyaw Zin N.D.).]

3.5.5 The Second Great Sangha Council

The Second Council was held at Vālukārāma monastery, near the city of Vesāli¹ in 100 BE (443 BC) one hundred years after the Buddha's *Parinibbana* in order to settle a serious dispute over the 'ten points'. This is a reference to some monks breaking of ten minor rules. They were given to:

1. Storing salt in a horn;
2. Eating after mid-day;
3. To eating once and then going again to a village for alms;
4. Holding the Uposatha Ceremony with monks dwelling in the same locality;
5. Carrying out official acts when the assembly was incomplete;
6. Following a certain practice because it was done by one's tutor or teacher;
7. Eating sour milk after one had had his mid-day meal;
8. Drinking strong drink before it had been fermented;
9. Using a rug which was not the proper size; and
10. Using gold and silver.²

¹Vesāli: It is identical with modern Besarh in the Muzffarpur district of Bihar.

²*Pārājika Pāṭi Commentary*, Vol. I, p. 26, *Vinaya Piṇaka, Cūlavagga Pāṭi*, p. 491.

Their misdeeds became an issue and caused a major controversy as breaking these rules was thought to contradict the Buddha's original teachings. The *Bhikkhus* of the Vajjian clan from Vesāli preached and practiced mentioned above Ten Unlawful modifications in the Rules of the Order. The seven hundred arahats led by Venerable Yasa. Venerable Sabbakāmi and Venerable Revata took part in that council after refuting the illegal points promulgated by the Vajjiputtaka Monks while King Kalasoka of Vesāli and the people gave necessary supports to that council, it lasted eight months.

Thereafter, at that time, ten years had elapsed since the consecration of king Kalasoka who was born as a son of king Susunaga in the city of Panaliputta in the Middle Country, Majjhima-desa. On the other hand, it was one year earlier than the consecration of the king named Dvattaponka (Dwattabaung) in the city of Sriksetra (Tharekhittara) in the Myanmar Country.¹

3.5.6 Buddhism and Pyu in Sriksetra Period

Sriksetra, *Tha-re-khit-ta-ra* was founded by the eldest son of the last king Thado Dhammaraja of Tagaung second dynasty. But king Dwattabaung was most powerful ruler in this period. Its present city Prome where the Irrawaddy delta commences is known as the site of the ancient Sriksetra. The people of the kingdom were Pyu who were probably closely related to the modern Myanmar. They were also followers of the Theravada Buddhist faith which was bringing in by Sakyans after Tagaung dynasty was destroyed by Chinese invaders. Chinese travelers' reports of the mid-third century AD refer to the kingdom of Lin- Yang where Buddha was venerated by all and where several

¹Law, B. C., (Tr.), *op. cit.*, p. 8.

thousand monks or *bhikkhus* lived. The ancient site of archaeological evidence has been discovered nowadays. A major monastery built in the fourth century has been unearthed at Biekthano near Prome. The building, constructed in brick, with a *Stupa* and shrine located nearby, is identical to the Buddhist monasteries of Nagarjuna-konda, the great Buddhist centre of southern India.

However, how long it took Buddhism to become influential in Pyu society is difficult to determine, but some historians assume that the first contacts with Aśokan religious centres in India took place in the second century AD.

According to “*Piñakattaw Thamine*”,¹ there are 175 treaties on Dhammasat that had been used by ancient Myanmar kings. Among them, Manu Dhammasat, Manosara dhammathat, manussika dhammathat, King Jali Dhammasat, King Atityar dhammathat, King Dwattabaung dhammathat etc. are written in Pali language. King Dwattabaung of Sriksetra ascended the throne in 101 *Sasana* Era.

Myanmar Buddhist and Royal Histories claims that Arahat Shin Dibbahtwe submitted a Dhammasat which begins with “*apayagamupāya*” to king Dwattabaung. From this evidence, it can assume that Buddhism and Buddhist monks played very important role in Sriksetra around hundred years after the demise of the Buddha. It is mentioned in the colophon of the treatise that in the *Sasana* Era 629, Ven. Uttamasîri composed a treatise named “Kappalakara” in the reign of king Supannanagarachinna of Sriksetra. It can be

¹Yan, U., “*Piñakattaw Thamine*” (*History of Holy Piñaka*), p. 245. [History of Holy *Piñaka* is also called “*Tripīṇaka Car-dam*” written by Mingyi Mahathirijeyathu who is a librarian at Mandalay from the time of Mindon to Thibaw Kings reigned in Konbaung period.]. “*Tripīṇaka Car-dam*”, Yangon: Soe Moe Press, 1989, p. 275.

definitely inferred from the Kappālakāra treatise that there exists the unbroken lineage of Buddhism and Buddhist monks in Myanmar during the Sriksetra period. Other convincing evidences for this assumption is that of two gold plates (both of them starts with “*ye dhammāhetuppabhāvā*, the first one mentions about thirty-seven factors of enlightenment, the second the attributes of the Buddha and the *Dhamma*.”¹Both of these texts can be found many times in the Pali canon excavated from Maung Kan’s place, Old city Sriksetra in 1897, three pieces of stone inscriptions (texts were identified as from *Abhidhamma Piñaka* especially *Vibhaṅga*)² excavated in 1910-11 near Bawbawgyi pagoda, Hmawzar township, twenty gold plates (the texts were identified as *Pañniccasamuppāda*, *Vipassanāñāna*, *Bodhipakkhiyadhamma*, *Catuvesārajjadhamma*, *Buddhañāḍa*, and *Buddhaguḍa*)³ from Khin Bha’s place from Sriksetra in 1926-27, and one gold plate manuscript inscribing the attributes of the Buddha from Kyundawzar village, near Hmawzar township in 1928-29.

These gold plate manuscripts were being exhibited in Kaba-Aye pagoda in Yangon, Myanmar. The size of gold leaf manuscripts is five inches in length and one and half inches in width. The teachings of the Buddha are inscribed on these gold leaves with Kadamba script. Orthographists identified the date of these gold leaf manuscripts to be fifth century AD for the script used in these manuscripts is a sort of Kadamba of Southern India used in the 5th and the 6th Century AD. Inferring from the aforesaid literary and

¹Pe Maung Tin, U., “*Myanmar alii Kyan-gan Thamine*” (*History of Pali literature in Myanmar*); Sayagyi U Pe Maung Tin: in commemoration of 120th Anniversary, p. 50.

²Ibid., p. 51.

³Pe Maung Tin, U., *op. cit.*, p. 55.

archeological evidences, it is reasonable to assume that Buddhism flourished in Sriksetra, the role and academic qualification of Buddhist monks are highly admired by both the kings and their subjects in Sriksetra, from 100 Buddhist Era to over 600 Buddhist Era. According to the eighth-century historical text Man-Shu, the Pyus esteemed modesty and decency; their disposition was peaceful; they were men of few words. They were courteous and charming and greeted each other by grasping the arm with the hand and bowing. Their laws were humane; chains, fetters, and prisons were unknown. Criminals on their first offense were given three strokes with a whip; for repeated offenses, five strokes, but criminals found guilty of murder were executed. There was also great white image of the Buddha one hundred feet in height, before which litigants in civil suits knelt and made their oaths. In time of national calamity and danger the king himself lit incense before the image and took an oath to rule his people with justice.¹ In addition to the great image, there were pagodas at the four cardinal points of the city. Three, of those four are still in use as places of worship nowadays. The Bawbawgyi pagoda is the oldest one which still retains its original size, shape and design is one of the three at Sriksetra, and old Pyu city state (1st to 9th century AD) near the modern town of Pyay about 180 miles to the north of Yangon.² In the Sriksetra period, therefore, the Pyus were devout Buddhists. The Chinese text noted that the Pyus, both men and women, wore silk-cotton cloth instead of true silk because the manufacture of silk involved the taking of life. There were many monasteries, and both boys and girls on reaching the age of seven shaved off their hair and became novices in monasteries and convents; when they reached

¹Htin Aung, Maung, *op. cit.*, 1967, p. 11.

²Maung Nyunt, Khin, *Myanmar Superlatives*, Yangon: Unity Publishing House, 2012, p. 12.

the age of twenty, which was the minimum age to take the higher ordination, most of them would not consider themselves worthy and would leave the monasteries or convents.

3.5.7 The Third Great Saṅgha Council and its Missionary Works

The Third Council was held at Asokarama Monastery in the city of Pāñāliputta in 235 BE (308 BC).⁸⁹ Sixty thousand ascetics infiltrated into the *Saṅgha* Order, polluted the *Sasana* by their corrupt lives and heretical views. That is the main reason why the Third Council was held by one thousand Arahats in order to protect the *Sasana*. Venerable Maha Moggaliputta Tissa presided over the council. King Siridhammāsoka⁹⁰ of Pāñāliputta gave the necessary support to the council. It lasted nine months. After the Third Council, nine missions were sent to nine different places to propagate the *Sasana*, including the mission of five Arahats to Suvannabhumi, Rāmañña-*desa*, Lower Myanmar, led by Venerable Soḍa Thera and Venerable Uttara *Thera*. It was great healing upon religion which was gradually declining as facing civil war and appearing contemporary religions. To restore the religion which was obscure, the missionary works were more helping to reveal and prevalent in Buddhists circle. The Elects and Nine Palaces from outcome sending missionary works are as follows:

1. Majjhantika and four others to the Kashmir and Gandhāra region;
2. Mahadeva to Mahisamaḍḍala;
3. Rakkhita to Vanavasi;

4. Yonaka Dhammarakkhita to Aparantaka;
5. Maha-Dhammarakkhita to Maharañña;
6. Maha-Rakkhita to Yonaka region;
7. Majjhima, to Himalayan region;
8. Soḍa and Uttara to Suvaññabhûmi (Myanmar); and
9. Mahinda and four (Itthiya, Uttiya, Sambala, and Bhaddasila) others to Ceylon (Sri Lanka).¹

Although there are many variant versions mentioned the Nine Places and the Elect appointed, yet in this chapter, only the assigned place Suvannabhumi and the elect monks would be explained in detail due to relate with this chapter. As explored above, Buddhism has been flourished in Myanmar known as, at that time, Suvaññabhûmi, but not was exist long and widespread out of area as much as it could. Therefore, the Elders, *Theras* decided again to send Missionary work so that restore the religion and make purify.

3.6 Reintroducing Buddhism into Myanmar by Sona and Uttara

In regard to appointed by *Theras* to perform the missionary work as mentioned above, Soḍa and Uttara accompanied by a group of five monks born in smith families, come to that part of Ramanna country known as Suvannabhumi and founded the religion 235 BE

¹*Pārājika Pāḍi Commentary*, Vol. I, p. 48.

(308 BC). According to *Vinaya Aññhakathā*¹ goes thus: At that time, in Suvannabhumi at palace a prince was born. When Soḍa *Thera* and Uttara *Thera* arrived there, one *Yakkhini*, ogress was coming out from ocean to steal and eat the prince. On seeing the *Theras*, people grabbing arms in hand tried to fight them as thought of Ogress friends. When *Theras* asked why did you take arms? People then explained that ‘Ogress used to eat whenever prince was born at palace, and we thought you are friends with them’. Therefore, *Theras* let them to be known as *Sāmaḍa* (Saint, monk) means son of Gotama Buddha, who usually abstain from killing living being etc., and then created a double body bigger than the ogress and made them surrounding. After ogress with his fellows was running away because of fear, *Theras* then, made protection around that island. *Theras*, thereafter, preached the *Brahmajāla Sutta* to the people who came to that assembly. Consequently sixty thousand (of them) were stream-winner and the like, bound for the beyond. Three and a half thousand boys of respectable families were initiated, while the girls of respectable families numbered two and a half thousand. One thousand and five hundred princes were initiated. And the rest of the people were established in the refuge, in this way, *Theras* established the religion there.

According to *Sāsanavaḥsa* and Mon chronicle, at that time, the city is named Sudhammapūra reigned by king Srimasoka, in Suvannabhumi. The City stood on the top of the mount of Kelasa, with one half of it at the southern corner resting on the top of the mount and other half on the low level. Therefore, on being near the great ocean, a water-*yakkhini*, ogress used to come frequently and eat the princes who were born in the

¹Ibid., p. 51.

palace.¹In addition to, at that time, the Elders Soḍa and Uttara built up a terrifying figure composed of man and lion having the one head and two bodies combined but the head was that of lion. In this way the Elders provided a safeguard so that the *Yakkhini*, ogress might not come again. Thenceforward, princes were called by the name of Soḍa and Uttara.²Therefore, on the head (of each) of the remaining youths they placed, so as to free them from the danger of demons, and after they had exhibited it, a figure of a man-lion which the Elders built up from palm-leaves and betel-pepper leaves as well as the figure can be seen on the *ShwedagonPagoda*'s compound nowadays. The people also made a stone figure of a man-lion and set it in the place near Sudhammapûra. In fact, in this region, the Buddhism has been stood firm on account of Tapussa and Bhallika and also the Elder Gavaüpati at the time of the Buddha. Although the people did not altogether understand all of it, those who believed at heart took faith in the religion according to their own wishes. It thus, is assumed that two hundred and thirty-five years after the Blessed One had attained the *Parinibbana*, when the Elders Soḍa and Uttara, had come to Suvannabhumi, they reintroduced again the religion by establishing it there.

3.7 The Outcome of Third Missionary Works in Myanmar

In such a way that it can be assumed in Myanmar nowadays, Buddhism is still followed by the Burmese, Mon, Shan etc. nationality. Therefore, it obviously can be made an inference that the missionary works have taken the benefit of dissemination Buddhism

¹Law, B. C., (Tr.), *op. cit.*, p. 43; Shwe Naw, Maung, *The History of Mon and The Brief History of Cetidaw*,

Yangon: Hantharwadi Press, 1899, p. 45.

²*Pārājika Pāḍi Commentary*, Vol. I, p. 52.; *Mahāvāḍsa*, chap.12 vs. p. 51.

into Myanmar. Therefore, Buddhism has flourished in Ramanna-desa after Nine Missionary with the effort of Soṅa and Uttara. Firstly Soṅa and Uttara arrived in Sumatra and made religion firmly there, later on gradually it seem to have been spread toward northern regions such as Indonesia, Cambodia, Thailand, and Thaton, Ramanna-desa, Lower Myanmar. At the time of Buddha, according to tradition, firstly arriving the Buddha's Hair Relics to Ukkalapa and enshrined Shwedagon Pagoda, the Buddha, secondly, himself and Gavaüpati *Thera*, even though have been established the Religion in the region already, but it seems to have been not lasting in this region so that not need to send missionary monks, Soṅa and Uttara by *Theras* with patronage Aśoka after Third Sangha Council. Therefore, it was definitely assumed that in this region Buddhism was disseminating before Third Buddhist Councils. Although the two countries, Ramanna-desa in lower Myanmar and Sriksetra in upper Myanmar were accepting Buddhism in the same breath, however, both were not connection, cooperation regarding to religions activities. But only after Anawrahta, king of Bagan conquered Thaton (1050 A.D.) Buddhism flourished all of over country. All in all, Myanmar has a valid case for claiming more and less connection with nine

missionaries. It is, of course, possible to prove that Buddhism was spread there or even Buddha himself visited there, influence undoubtedly led to great religious activity in the kingdoms of Lower Myanmar.

3.8 Introduction of Buddhism to Bagan (1044-1287 AD)

Bagan is an ancient City found by King Anawrahta who introduced Buddhism the country first and united the whole regions under one rule and later become a champion of

Buddhism as record. Bagan, the Burmese capital, enters history in 849 (AD), the traditional date of the construction of its walls by Pyinpya (King).¹ It was at Bagan, about a hundred miles from Kyaukse, that Anawrahta established amidst a Buddhist population the capital of his expansionist kingdom in 1020 AD.²

3.8.1 Theravada Buddhism Comes to Bagan

Bagan is believed to have been founded in the years 849-850 AD by the Myanmar, who had already established themselves as rice growers in the region around Kyaukse near Mandalay. The crucial event in the history of Myanmar is not so much the founding of the city of Bagan and the building of its walls and moat, but more Bagan's acceptance of Theravada Buddhism in the eleventh century. The religion was brought to the Bagan by a *Bhikkhu* named Shin Arahan. It can be said that the second wave of introduction of Buddhism into Myanmar, because Buddhism overwhelmed the whole Myanmar, only if arrival of Shin Arahan to Bagan.

The religion prevailing among the Myanmar before and during the early reign of Anawrahta was some form of Mahayana Buddhism, which had probably found its way into the region from the Pāla kingdom in Bengal. This is apparent from bronze statues depicting Bodhisattas and especially the "Lokanātha," a Bodhisatta believed, in Bengal, to reign in the period between the demise of the Buddha Gotama and the advent of the

¹Hall, D. G. E., *op. cit.*, 1964, p. 122.

²Dutt, Sukumar, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

Buddha Metteyya. Anawrahta continued to cast terracotta votive tablets with the image of Lokanātha even after he embraced the Theravada doctrine.¹

In India, Buddhism had split into numerous schools, some of which differed fundamentally from the teachings of Pali Buddhism, which is also called Theravada Buddhism (the doctrine of the Theras). The Ari, the monks or priests of this Mahayana Buddhist form of worship, are described, in later chronicles of Myanmar, as the most shameless bogus ascetics imaginable. They are said to have sold absolution from sin and to have oppressed the people in various ways with their tyranny. Their tantric Buddhism included, as an important element, the worship of *Nāgas* (dragons), which was probably an ancient indigenous tradition.²

At this time, the beginning of the eleventh century, the Buddhist religion among the Mon in Suvannabhumi was on the decline as people were disturbed by robbers and raiders, by plagues, and by adversaries of the religion. In the time of the king Manohari (Manuha), otherwise known as Suriyakumāra, the religion became very weak.³ These most probably came from the Hindu Khmer kingdom in Cambodia and the north of Thailand. The Khmer were endeavoring to add Thaton and the other Mon kingdoms of the south to their expanding empire. Shin Arahan⁴ must have feared that *Bhikkhus* would not be able to continue to maintain their religious practice and the study of the scriptures

¹Luce, G. H., *Old Burma: Early Bagan*, New York: J.J. Augustin Publisher, 1969, p. 184.

²Maung Tin, Pe and Luce, G. H., (Tr.), *op. cit.*, p. 30.

³Law, B. C., (Tr.), *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁴Shin Arahan was known as “Dhammadassi” among Mon Buddhists at Thaton. He was also a disciple of the Elder Sīlabuddhi.

under these circumstances. He went, therefore, upcountry where a new, strong people were developing, prosperous and secure from enemies.

It is interesting to note that in this same period, Buddhism was under attack in other places as well. The Colas, a Hindu dynasty strongly opposed to Buddhism, arose in southern India, one of the last strongholds of Theravada Buddhism. They were able to expand their rule to include most of Sri Lanka between 1017 and 1070. The great Mon city, Dvāravatī, a Theravada center in southern Thailand, fell to the Khmer, the masters of the whole of Thailand, who were Shaivaite Hindus. In the north of India, Muslim armies were trying to destroy what little was left of Buddhism there. “In this perilous period,” writes Professor Luce, “Buddhism was saved only by such valiant fighters as Vijayabāhu in Sri Lanka and Anawrahta.”¹

3.8.2 Shin Arahan Converts the King Anawrahta

Shin Arahan arrived in the vicinity of Bagan and was discovered in his forest dwelling by a hunter. The hunter who had never before seen such a strange creature with a shaven head and a yellow robe, thought he was some kind of spirit and took him to the king, Anawrahta.² Shin Arahan naturally sat down on the throne, as it was the highest seat, and the king thought: “This man is peaceful, in this man there is the essential thing. He is sitting down on the best seat and surely he must be the best being.” The king asked the visitor to tell him where he came from and was told that he came from the place where the Order lived and that the Buddha was his teacher. Then Shin Arahan gave the king the

¹ Luce, G. H., *op. cit.*, p. 184.

² Mahadhamma-thinkyan, Amatkyi, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

teaching on mindfulness (*appamāda*),¹ teaching him the same doctrine Nigrodha had given Emperor Aśoka when he was converted. Shin Araham then told the monarch that the Buddha had passed into *Parinibbana*, but that his teaching, the *Dhamma*, enshrined in the *Tipiṇṅaka*, and the twofold *Sangha* consisting of those who possessed absolute knowledge and those who possessed conventional knowledge, remained. The king must have felt that he had found what had been missing in his life and a genuine alternative to the superficial teachings of the Ari monks. He built a monastery for Shin Araham, and according to some sources, stopped all worship of the Ari monks. Tradition has it that he had them dressed in white and even forced them to serve as soldiers in his army. The Ari tradition continued for a long time, however, and its condemnation is a feature of much later times, and not, as far as contemporary evidence shows, of the Bagan era. Nigrodha is a novice, who is said to have been a nephew of Aśoka. The *Sasanavannsa* gives an alternate version of Anawrahta's conversion according to which Shin Araham had originally come from Sri Lanka to study the *Dhamma* in Dvāravatī and Thaton and was on his way to Sriksetra in search of a text when he was taken to Anawrahta by a hunter. The king asked him, "Who are you?" "O King, I am a disciple of Gotama." "Of what kind are the Three Jewels?" "O King, the Buddha should be regarded as Mahosadha, the wise, his doctrine as Ummagga, his order as the Videhan army."² This version is

¹Ibid., p. 46. It means: Mindfulness is the way to the Deathless (*Nibbāna*), unmindfulness is the way to Death.

Those who are mindful do not die; those who are not mindful are as if already dead. [*Appamado amataiṇṇapadaṇṇi, pamādo maccuno padaṇṇi; appamattā na mīyanti, ye pamattā yathā matā*] *Dhammapada Pāṭi*, p. 16.

²Law, B. C., (Tr.), *op. cit.*, p. 92.

interesting in that Anawrahta is portrayed as being a Buddhist with knowledge of the *Jātaka* stories, such as the Mahosadha *Jātaka* referred to above, even before meeting Shin Araham. This assumption that he was no stranger to Buddhism is supported by the fact that earlier kings had been followers of Buddhism in varying degrees. Caw Rahan, who died about 94 years before Anawrahta's accession, is said to have built a *Sīma* and five Pagodas, and Kyaung Pyu Min built the white monastery outside Bagan. Kyaung Pyu Min is believed to have been Anawrahta's father. **Sīma** is a building which is used to initiate as a monk which means that in Pali Buddhism "Upasampadā" "Ordination".

3.8.3 Anawrahta Acquires the Scriptures (Pali Text Tipiṇaka)

Through Shin Araham, Anawrahta had now found the religion he had been yearning for and he decided to set out and procure the scriptures and holy relics of this religion. He wished his kingdom to be secured on the original teachings of the Buddha. He tried to find the scriptures and relics of his new religion in different quarters. In his enthusiasm he did not limit his quest to Thaton, but also searched among the Khmer in Angkor, and in Tali, the capital of the Nanchao, a kingdom in modern day Yunnan, in China, where a tooth of the Buddha was enshrined. But everywhere he was refused. He then went to Thaton, where his teacher Shin Araham had come from, to request a copy of the scriptures. According to the tradition of Myanmar, Anawrahta's request was refused, and unable to endure another refusal he set out with his army in the year 1057 to conquer Thaton and acquire the *Tipiṇaka* by force.¹

¹Htin Aung, Maung, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

According to Nai Pan Hla, on the contrary, it was assumed that when the Thaton was facing under the invader Khamar King who was against Buddhism from south, and fear to lose the religion, therefore, on account of Mon King, Manuha requested the reinforcements to 129 Shin Arahan: Dhammadassî by name, but at the capital he was known as Shin Arahan (Venerable Arahat). The Burmese 'Shin' is equivalent to Ceylonese '*thera*', - an elderly monk of high standing, - and 'arahan' is a variant of 'arahat'. Perhaps it was a distinctive and honorific designation bestowed on him when his fame spread at Bagan.

Anawrahta, king of Bagan, and in 1057 AD. Manuha together with royal assistants, Monks, Ministers, *Tri-Piñakas*, were taken to Bagan as safeguard against the marauding Khmer.¹³¹ Before conquering Thaton, however, he had to subjugate Sriksetra, the Pyu capital. From there, he took the relics enshrined in King Dwattabaung's Bawbaw-gyi Pagoda to Bagan. Some thinks that the aim of his campaign was mainly to add the prosperous Indian colonies of Lower Myanmar to his possessions, while others think he may have actually been called to Thaton to defend it against the marauding Khmer. Whatever the immediate cause of his campaign in the lower country, it is certain that he returned with the king of Thaton and his court, with Mon artists and scholars and, above all, with Thaton's *bhikkhus* and their holy books, the *Tipiñaka*. Suvannabhumi and its Mon population were now in the hands of the Myanmar and the Mon culture and religion were accepted and assimilated in the emergent Bagan with fervor. Initially the fervor must have been restricted to the king and possibly his immediate entourage, yet even they continued to propitiate their traditional gods for worldly gain as the new religion was considered a higher practice. Theravada Buddhism does not provide much in the way of

rites and rituals, but a royal court cannot do without them. So the traditional propitiation of the Nāgas continued to be used for court ceremonials and remained part of the popular religion, while the *Bhikkhus* were accorded the greatest respect and their master, the Buddha Gotama, was honored with the erection of pagodas and shrines. There were contacts between the new kings of Myanmar and Sri Lanka that are recorded not only in the chronicles of the two countries but also in stone inscriptions in South India. As the Hindu Colas had ruled Sri Lanka for more than half a century, Buddhism had been weakened and King Vijayabāhu, who had driven out the Vaishnavite Colas, wanted to re-establish his religion. So in 1070, he requested King Anawrahta of Myanmar, who had assisted him financially in his war against the Colas, to send *bhikkhus* to re-introduce the pure ordination into his country.¹ It is interesting to note that the *Cûlavaiisa* refers to Anawrahta as the king of Ramanna, which was Lower Myanmar, also called Suvannabhumi. He was approached as the conqueror and master of Thaton, a respected Theravada center, rather than as the king of Bagan, a new and unknown country. The *Bhikkhus* who traveled to Sri Lanka² brought the Sinhalese *Tipiṇaka* back with them and established a link between the two countries which was to last for centuries.

Anawrahta is mentioned in the Myanmar, Mon, Khmer, Thai, and Sinhalese chronicles as a great champion of Buddhism because he developed Bagan into a major regional power and laid the foundation for its glory. He did not, however, build many of the temples for which Bagan is now as famous as the great age of temple building started only after his

¹*Cûlavaiisa*, Ch. 60. vv. pp. 4-8; Harvey, G. E., *History of Burma*, Frank Cass and Co. Ltd, 1968, p. 32.

²Pan Hla, Nai, *Thutethana Carpaymyar*, (ed.), Yangon: Arhmanthit Press, 2002, p. 322.

reign. It is important to realize that his interest was not restricted only to Bagan. He built pagodas wherever his campaigns took him and adorned them with illustrations from the *Jātakas* and the life of the Buddha. Some maintain that he used only *Jātakas* as themes for the adornment of his religious buildings because that was all he possessed of the *Tipiṇṇaka*. Such a conclusion is negative and quite superficial. After all, during Aśoka's time, *Jātakas* and scenes from the life of the Buddha were used for illustrations in Bharut and Sanchi, the great *Stupa* near Bombay. One cannot, therefore, deduce that the builders of Bharut and Sanchi were acquainted only with the *Jātakas*. These edifying stories which teach the fundamentals of Buddhism so skillfully are singularly suited to educate an illiterate people beset by superstitions through the vivid visual means of the stone reliefs depicting these stories. It is almost unthinkable that the Mon *Sangha*, who taught Anawrahta, had no knowledge of at least all of the *Vinaya*. Otherwise, they would not have been able to reestablish a valid ordination of *bhikkhus* in Sri Lanka. Anawrahta left behind innumerable clay tablets adorned with images of the Buddha, the king's name, and some Pali and Sanskrit verses. A typical aspiration on these tablets was:

“By me, King Anawrahta, this mould of *Sugata* (Buddha) has been made. Through this may I obtain the path to *Nibbāna* when Metteyya is awakened?”¹ Anawrahta aspired to become a disciple of the Buddha Metteyya, unlike many later kings of Myanmar who aspired to Buddha-hood. Is this an indication that this warrior had remained a modest man in spite of his empire building?

¹Pan Hla, Nai, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

3.8.4. Bagan: Flowering and Decline of Buddhism

Anawrahta was succeeded by a number of kings of varying significance to Buddhism in Myanmar. His successors inherited a relatively stable and prosperous kingdom and consequently were able to embark on the huge temple building projects for which their reigns are still remembered. This is the time when kings such as Kyansittha and others built pagodas, libraries, monasteries, and ordination halls.

3.8.5 Kyansittha Strengthens Theravada Buddhism

Kyansittha (1084-1113), who had been Anawrahta's commander-in-chief and had succeeded Anawrahta's son to the throne, consolidated Theravada Buddhism's predominance in Bagan. In his reign, such important shrines as the **Shwezigon** Pagoda, the ânanda, Nagayon, and Myinkaba Kubyauk-gyi temples were built. With the three latter temples, Kyansittha introduced a new style of religious building. The traditional *Stupa* or dagoba found in India and Sri Lanka is a solid mound in which relics or other holy objects are enshrined. The area of worship is situated around them and is usually marked by ornate stone railings.

In the new style of building, however, the solid mound had been hollowed out and could be entered. The central shrine was surrounded by halls which housed stone reliefs depicting scenes from the Buddha life and *Jātaka* stories. Kyansittha's aim was the conversion of his people to the new faith. Whereas Anawrahta had been busy expanding his empire and bringing relics and the Holy Scriptures to Bagan, Kyansittha's mission was to consolidate this enterprise. Enormous religious structures such as the ânanda Temple attracted the populace and the interiors of the temples allowed the *bhikkhus* to

instruct the inquisitive in the king's faith. Kyansittha's efforts for the advancement of Buddhism were not limited to his own country. For in one of his many inscriptions, he also mentions that he sent craftsmen to Bodh- Gaya to repair the Mahabodhi temple, which had been destroyed by a foreign king. The upkeep of the Mahabodhi temple became a tradition with the kings of Myanmar, who continued to send missions to Bodh- Gaya to repair the temple and also to donate temple slaves and land to the holiest shrine of Buddhism.¹

Kyansittha also initiated an extensive review and purification of the *Tipiṇaka* by the *bhikkhus*. This was the first occasion in Myanmar's history when the task of a Buddhist *Saīgāyanā* or Synod, comparing the Sinhalese and Suvannabhumi's *Tipiṇaka*, was undertaken. It is possible and even probable that this huge editing work was carried out along with visiting Sinhalese *Bhikkhus*. However, Kyansittha succeeded in firmly establishing the Pali *Tipiṇaka* by asking the *bhikkhus* to compare the ancient Mon *Tipiṇaka* with the texts obtained from the Mahavihāra in Sri Lanka. In this way, he also made it clear that confirmation of orthodoxy was to be sought in Sri Lanka and not in any other Buddhist country. Though Mahayana practices were tolerated in his reign (his chief queen was a tantric Buddhist), they were not officially regarded as the pure religion. It is characteristic of Bagan that these two branches of Buddhism co-existed - the religion of the *Theras*, which was accepted as the highest religion - and the tantric practices, which included the worship of spirits or *Nats* and gave more immediate satisfaction. Pagodas are often adorned with figures of all types of deities, but the deities are normally shown

¹Barua, D. K., *Buddha Gaya Temple: Its History*, Buddha Gaya, 1981, pp. 59, 62-63, 163, 176.

in an attitude of reverence towards the pagoda, a symbol of the Buddha. The ancient gods were not banished, but had to submit to the peerless Buddha. Tradition attributes to King Anawrahta the observation: “Men will not come for the sake of the new faith. Let them come for their old gods, and gradually they will be won over.” G.E. Harvey honors the kings of Bagan with the following words:

To them the world owes to a great measure the preservation of Theravada Buddhism, one of the purest faiths mankind has ever known. Brahmanism had strangled it in its land of birth; in Sri Lanka its existence was threatened again and again; east of Burma it was not yet free from priestly corruptions; but the kings of Burma never wavered, and at Bagan the stricken faith found a city of refuge.¹

3.9 The Fourth Great Council and Buddhism in Sri Lanka

The Fourth Buddhist Council was held at Cave Aloka in Malaya district, Sri Lanka, in 450 BE (94 BC). The people of Sri Lanka were hard hit by rebels, hunger and starvation for twelve years. So, the *Bhikkhus* had to make strong efforts to maintain the Buddha’s Teachings. The elder *Bhikkhus* foresaw that if there would appear such danger in future, the *bhikkhus* would not be able to memorize the discourses and the disciplines by heart because of the declination of their power of mindfulness, concentration and wisdom. Therefore, they held the Fourth Great Council. It is said that they under patronage of King Vaññagāmañi, caused the three *Piñakas* to be written in books together with commentary, that five hundred *bhikkhus*, led by Venerable Mahadhammarakkhita, in

¹ Harvey, G. E., *op. cit.*, p. 70.

Aloka cave in the Malaya country, a place in the island of Tambapaḍḍi.¹ The heads and elders as well as the people of Malaya district gave all-round support to the council. The Fourth Great Council continued for one year.

On the other hand, in the 433rd year of the religion, when the King Vañṅagāmaḍi who is supporter of the Fourth *Sangha* Council ascended the throne about 6 years, simultaneously in Myanmar Ngataba king reign in Sriksatra (Tharekhittara).² In *The Glass Palace Chronicle*³ also mentioned that ‘In the seventeen year of the reign of king Ngataba, in the 450th year of the religion, while king Vañṅagāmaḍi reigned in the island of Sri Lanka, five hundred noble saints, feeling that it was impossible to carry the three *Piṅakas*, the words of the Lord, in memory for long, inscribed them on palm leaves and kept them after collating them an hundredfold. This king was not of the lineage of Dwattabaung. Because he was a king of alien stock, thus, he was known later as Ngataba. Before becoming as a king, he was a novice. The Fourth Council was the great benefit to dissemination Buddhism because of writing down all of the Buddha’s teachings on palm leaves that never done before. Traditionally it has believed that the *Sangha* in Thaton accepted *Tripitāka* from Sri Lanka after Fourth *Sangha* Council.

3.10 The Fifth Great Council and Buddhism in Konbaung Period

Most scholars usually refer to the only former 3 Buddhist *Sangha* Councils held between the 5th century and the 2nd century BC, while they give reference in less frequent the

¹ Ibid., p. 26.

² Mahādhamma-thinkyan, Amatkyi, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

³ Maung Tin, Pe and Luce, G. H., (Tr.), *op. cit.*, p. 23.

Fourth Buddhist council held in Sri Lanka in 450 BE (BC 94). On the other hand, it seems to be unknown that there were two extra *Sangha* Councils held in Myanmar. In fact, Myanmar is the one of major stronghold Theravada Buddhism that can be said the genius practice which is unbroken lineage came down from earlier time and preserved the original the Buddha's Teachings in Pali.

3.10.1 The Fifth Saṅgha council in Mandalay Myanmar

The Fifth Council was convened at Mandalay in Myanmar on the first waning day of Tazaungmone, 1232 Myanmar Era, 2415 BE (November, 1871). The scriptures inscribed on palm-leaves could not last for a long time. Besides, it was held with the thought that “there might be many variations in rewriting the scriptures from copy to copy”. Therefore, the scriptures were inscribed on marble slabs in order to dispel these disadvantages. Two thousand and four hundred *bhikkhus* headed by Venerable Jagarābhivaūsa Thera of Dakkhinarāma Monastery, Mandalay, convened to recite and approve the scriptures. King Mindon initiated and supported the Fifth Great Council to the end. The scriptures were first inscribed on seven hundred and twenty-nine marble slabs in the precinct of Lokamārajina Pagoda at the foot of Mandalay Hill. It took seven years, six months and fourteen days to finish this work. Then, the *Bhikkhus* recited to approve the inscriptions for five months and three days. Therefore, in the Pali literature of Myanmar mentioned that ‘In 1868-71 a great assembly of learned monks and teachers was summoned together at the capital, where, the king presiding, they read or recited

texts to restore the best readings. By the royal order a complete text of the *Tripitāka* was then engraved on the stone tablets and placed in shrines'.¹

After the Fifth Great Council, the Pali Texts were translated into Myanmar language, and the Doctrinal Order was promulgated to the whole country for purpose of purification and propagation of the Buddha's Teachings. This monumental task was done by the monks and many skilled craftsmen who upon completion of each slab had them housed in beautiful miniature '*Piṅka*' pagodas on a special site in the grounds of King Mindon's Kuthodaw Pagoda at the foot of Mandalay Hill where it and the so-called 'largest book in the world', stands to this day. This Council is not generally recognized outside Myanmar because local *Sangha* members only participated owing to at that time lower Myanmar was under the reign of colonial British.

However, after rising up the country's dignity together with by gaining her independence from British in 1947, Myanmar Buddhist people again tried to hold "the Sixth Buddhist Council" in Yangon. That is what the purpose of doing is that making purification and propagation of the Buddha's Teachings as having in charge as Buddhists.

3.11 The Sixth Great Council in Yangon, Lower Myanmar

Myanmar Buddhists believed that it is not good enough just only satisfy the situation of existing of the Buddha's teachings, and it is also necessary to make it bigger and bigger, stronger and stronger more than before. Because Myanmar Buddhist people had lived about 100 years under the British's control from 1888 to 1974 being not performing the

¹Bode, M. H., *The Pāli Literature of Burma*, Yangon: Burma Research Society, 1965, p. 94; *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 66; *Buddhism*, 1905, p. 425.

religion activities as much it freely. During this period the Buddha *Sāsana*¹ had deteriorated to some extent.

Therefore, on the full-moon day of Kason, 1316 ME, 2498 BE (24 May 1954), the Sixth Great Council was held in the *Mahapāsāṅgī*, Great Cave, Kabar-Aye, Yangon in Myanmar, aiming at the purification and promotion of the Buddha *Sāsana*. Two thousand and five hundred *bhikkhus* were invited as a commemoration of 2500th years Buddha *Sāsana* Anniversary, from the five countries of Theravada Buddhism and participated in that council. Nyaungyan Sayadaw, Venerable Revata, presided over it; the Mahasi Sayadaw, Venerable Sobhana, and the Mingun Sayadaw, Venerable Vicittasārābhivaūsa who learned the *Tripitāka* by heart took the leading roles in that council.²The doctrinal questions asked by the people of five Theravada Buddhist countries: Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia were solved magnanimously. Twentyfive other countries also gave much help to that council. At that Council, not only the canonical Pali Texts of the Buddha but also the commentaries and sub-commentaries were reexamined. In this way, from Venerable Mahakassapa and the custodians of the *Dhamma* held the great councils up to six times and approved the words of the Buddha without any change and modification. The Teaching of the Buddha, thus, approved is called Theravada Buddhism. On the full moon day of Nayon, 1342 ME (June 1980), the State Sangha Mahanāyaka Committee comprising all sects was initiated in order to purify, perpetuate

¹*Sāsana*: Buddha's Teachings consisted of *Tripitāka*.

²The Ministry of Religion, *op. cit.*, p. 288; See “*Chaññha Saṅgāyāna 2500th Buddha Jayanti Celebrations*” Issued by the Publicity Sub-Committee of Chaññha Saṅgāyāna and 2500th Celebrations Central Committee.

and propagate the Theravada Buddhism. Since then, the religious affairs have been carried out by the *Sangha* and the lay devotees of Myanmar hand in hand. Under the patronage of the State *Sangha Mahanāyaka* Committee, various measures have been taken for perpetuation and promotion of the Buddha *Sasana* and the moral development of the entire nation. The Pali Texts were translated into English; two State Pariyatti Sāsana Universities were founded in Yangon and Mandalay with the contributions of the people. The lawful and the unlawful doctrines were discriminated and the unlawful ones were crushed down. Missions were sent not only to the States and Divisions of the Country but also to foreign countries for the propagation of *Sasana*. This is just the brief history of religious work carried out by successive Buddhist generations. As these result in the History of Myanmar, it also becomes the learning epicenter of Buddhists culture of Myanmar. Therefore, it can be assumed that Buddhism has its glory in Myanmar country since dissemination into there as well as its original teachings still was existence in the heart of Buddhists.

3.12 The Journey of Lord of Buddha in Myanmar Legends

According to tradition, on the visiting of the Buddha to Myanmar are several times. The most commonly accepted within Myanmar will be presented in this work as relative to dissemination of Buddhism into Myanmar. It is commonly believed, a claim recorded within the Myanmar Chronicles that Lord of Buddha first visited soon after the Buddha's enlightenment and again in the 20th year after his Enlightenment such as; a visiting to Aparanta¹ in Upper Myanmar, Arakan (Rakhine), and Mon in lower Myanmar. The local

¹Law, B. C., *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 56; Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, (ed.) S. N.

regional legends like those pertaining to Shwedagon Pagoda and Lekaing Kyaung-daw-yar Ceti are used to support this claim. The first arrival is ascribed to the two merchant brothers Tapussa and Bhallika, who met the Buddha just after his enlightenment and became his first lay disciples, brought eight strands of the Buddha's hair from India to Ukkalapa, proposed to be part of Yangon, it was not the Buddha himself. However, tradition has it the Buddha visited Myanmar several time mentioned in local chronicles.

3.12.1 The Buddha Visited to Aparanta, the Upper Myanmar

The Buddha visited the region of Aparanta in Upper Myanmar, traditionally identified as one of the central Myanmar regions, in the 20th year after the Buddha's enlightenment. The *Theras* Culapuḍḍā and Mahapuḍḍā, who were brothers, invited the Buddha to visit Aparanta where they built "Candaku Temple" for the Buddha. This temple is now called "Leikaing Kyaung-taw-yar"¹ and it is also believed that the Lord Buddha left two footprints near that temple: one is at the bank of the Nammada River and the other on top of Sacca-bandha Hill.² These footprints, still visible today, were worshipped by the Mon, Pyu, and Myanmar kings alike and have remained among the holiest places of pilgrimage in Myanmar. In the fifteenth century, after the decimation of the population through the Siamese campaigns, knowledge of the footprints was lost. Then, in the year 1638, King

Maujumdar, Notes, p. 690. [**Aparanta:** Myanmar Buddhist tradition identifies "Aparanta" with Upper Myanmar and it's, however, the region laying to the west of the Upper Ayeyarwaddy River. "Aparanta" means Western India. According to the Chinese Buddhist Traveler, Yuan Chwang, western country seems to comprise Sindh, Western Rajputana, Cutch, Gujerat and a portion of the adjoining coast on the lower course of the Narmada.]

¹Mahādhamma-thinkyan, Amatkyi, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 79.

²Dhammācāra, Ashin, *Kyaungdawya Zedidaw Thamine*, Yangon: 1978, p. 28

Thalun sent learned *bhikkhus* to the region and fortuitously, they were able to relocate the Buddha's footprints.

These legends support the idea that Buddhism arrived and disseminated into Myanmar in the lifetime of the Buddha itself. However, the learned Myanmar scholar-

Sayadaw, Ven. Cakkapāla, better known as Taung Pauk Sayadaw, (1878-1959) as well as in the book named '*The Mirror of India Treatise*' written by U Kitti (Dhaññavati)¹

identifies with full of explanations, that the location of Aparanta is "situated in the Thana and Surat Districts, north of Mumbai, India. Irrespective of the factual accuracy and the discrepancies in the records of these pre-historical events, these legends at least give a strong indication to the religious belief of the ancient Myanmar.

3.12.2 The Buddha Visited to Arakan (Rakhine), West Myanmar

Rakhine State which to the outside world known as Arakan has been incorporated into Burma since 1784 by forceful occupied of the Burman. One of the earliest ancient cities is Dhaññavati, whose walls are still partially visible today. There is the Mahamuni temple located on the Sirigutta hill, which is believed that the Buddha visited there.² In this temple, for over two millennia, the Mahamuni image was enshrined and worshipped. The story of the Mahamuni image, at one time one of the most revered shrines of Buddhism is today in Mandalay, Upper Myanmar. Candrasūriya, the king of Dhaññavati, on hearing

¹Kitti, U (Dhaññavati), pp. 230-239.

²Aung Thar Oo, U, *Rakhine Yazawin*, Yangon: Mya-Ratana Press, 1317 ME, pp. 12-22.

that a Buddha had arisen in India, desired to go there to learn the *Dhamma*.¹The Buddha, aware of his intention, said to ânanda: “The king will have to pass through forests dangerous to travelers; wide rivers will impede his journey; he must cross a sea full of monsters. It will be an act of charity if we go to his dominion, so that he may pay homage without risking his life.” Therefore, the Buddha went there and was received with great pomp by King Candrasûriya and his people. The Buddha then taught the five and eight precepts and instructed the king in the ten kingly duties.²The Buddha remained for a week and on preparing for his departure the king requested that he leave an image of himself, so that they could worship him even in his absence. The Buddha consented to this and Sakka the king of the gods himself formed the image with the metals collected by the king and his people. It was completed in one week and when the Buddha breathed onto it the people exclaimed that now there were indeed two Buddhas, so alike was the image to the great sage. Then the Buddha made a prophesy addressing the image: “I shall pass into *Nibbāna* in my eightieth year, but you will live for five thousand years which I have foreseen as the duration of my Teaching.” It was at morning, the waning 1 of Kason 123 Era which the Bodaw Añjana King reformed.³This Buddha image is now known as “Mahamuni”.

¹Aung Thar Oo, U, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

²Ten Duties of a King are: (1) universal beneficence, (2) daily paying homage, (3) the showing of mercy, (4)

taxes of not more than a tenth part of the produce, (5) justice, (6) punishment without anger, (7) the support of his subjects as the earth supports them, (8) the employment of prudent commanders, (9) the taking of good counsel, and (10) the avoidance of pride. *Jātaka Pāṭi*, Vol. I, p. 174. *Jātaka Aññhakathā*, Vol. III, p.421.

³Aung Thar Oo, U., *op. cit.*, p. 19.

The Mahamuni image remained in its original location until 1784 when King Bodawpaya conquered Arakan and had the image transported to Mandalay where a special shrine. The king himself went out of his city to meet the approaching image with great devotion and “through the long colonnades leading to the pagoda, there used to come daily from the palace, so long as a king reigned there, sumptuous offerings borne in stately procession, marshalled by a minister and shaded by the white umbrella.”¹ According to ancient tradition, only five likenesses of the Buddha were said to have been made during his lifetime: Two were in India, two in paradise, and the fifth is the *Mahamuni* or “Great Sage” in Rakhine, Myanmar. Archaeologists believe the image was probably cast during the reign of King Candrasûriya, who ascended the throne in AD 146, some 600 years after the Buddha actually passed away. Little is known of the Mahamuni’s travels over the next fifteen hundred years. It was stolen and moved around by various kings. At other times it was buried beneath a crumbling temple in a forgotten jungle. The image was brought to Mandalay in 1784 by King Bodawpaya and placed within the specially built Payagyi Pagoda. Since that time it has been the most venerated Buddha image in all of Myanmar.²

3.12.3 The Buddha Visited Thaton in Lower Myanmar

The Thaton known as Suvannabhumi was often connected with the historical Buddha in the later Burmese chronicles, which credits the Mons with first establishing the Buddhist religion in Myanmar. Mon tradition maintains that the kingdom called Suvannabhumi

¹Harvey, G. E., *op. cit.*, p. 268.

²“*MandalayBurma, Myanmar*”, <https://sacredsites.com/asia/burma_myanmar/mandalay.html>.

Accessed on 21/07/2016, 9:00 PM.

(Burmese:), a name also claimed by Lower Thailand, and that it was founded during the time of the Buddha in the 6th century BCE. Thaton is the Burmese name of Sadhuim in Mon, which in turn is from *Sudhammapura* in Pali, after *Sudharma*, the moot hall of the gods.¹ According to Mon History, the kingdom of Thaton was ruled by a dynasty of 59 kings. The tradition also maintains that a group of political refugees founded the city of Pegu (Pego) in 573.² But the historical kingdom probably came into existence some time in the 9th century, following the entry Mon people into Lower Myanmar from modern northern Thailand. G.E. Harvey's *History of Burma*, citing the *Shwemawdaw Thamaing* (The History of Shwemawdaw), gives the year of founding of Pegu as 825; even that date remains unattested.³ Indeed, the earliest mention of Pegu is 1266, in Old Burmese.⁴ Although little is known about actual religious practice, trade connections through the Mon port city of Thaton can be traced to the Indian kingdom of the Buddhist King Aśoka from as early as the 3rd century BC. It was believed according to purely Mon tradition that the Buddha himself visited the Kingdom of Thaton⁵ after having been entreated by *Mahathera Gavaüpati*, one of the Buddha's main disciples but he is not frequently mentioned in the Buddhist scriptures.

¹Shorto, H. L., "The 32 Cities in the Medieval Mon Kingdom"; In Vladimir I, Braginsky, *Classical Civilizations of South East Asia: An Anthology of Articles*, p.590.

²Phayre, Sir, Arthur P., *History of Burma* (ed.), London: Susil Gupta, 1967, pp. 24-32.

³Harvey, G.E., *History of Burma: From the Earliest Times of 10 March 1824*, London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1925, p.368.

⁴Aung-Thwin, Michael, *The Mists of Rāmañña: The Legend that was Lower Burma*, University of Hawaii Press, 2005, p. 29.

⁵Shwe Naw, Maung, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 22.

According to Mon traditional history and *Sasanalaikāra car-dam*¹ mentioned, Gavaüpati *Thera*'s past life is Thaton native. While he went to Mithila (Modern Tirhut) which is his present native town, he knew that his mother had died and reborn in Rāmañña-*desa* where fishermen usually live. Therefore, after he got permission from the Lord of Buddha, he went to there by air and preached doctrine to the inhabitants together with his old brother king named Sīharaja and let them took the five precepts. Thereafter, because of that king's request, he informed to the Buddha to visit and in the eight year after he had gained the highest wisdom, the Blessed One with many hundred monks came by air to Sudhammapūra in the Rāmañña country. In the Kalyōōi stone inscription stated, however, that he came with twenty thousand of monks.² Then the Blessed One gave the essence of immortality to the inhabitants of the country together with their king and established them in the three refuges and five precepts. Therefore, it is said to have been established Buddhism in the religion and flourished at the Sudhammapūra in the Rāmañña-*desa* since the Buddha's alive. Precisely the eighth year since the Blessed One's *Parinibbana*, it is presumed to have been dissemination of Buddhism into Lower Myanmar. However, Buddhism has not always been practising even it glory actual condition itself. On the other hand, when opposing ruler reign the region, Buddhism might get the reducing from its attitude of shining and Buddhists also were fear to follow it. According to Mon chronicles, a King of Pegu was completely won over the side of Hinduism and started to persecute Buddhists until his selfless and courageous Queen

¹Mahādhamma-thinkyan, *Amatkyi, op. cit.*, p. 42.

²Mahādhamma-thinkyan, *Amatkyi, op. cit.*, p. 43; Sayadaw, Phayar Phu, *Kalyōōi Inscription (Pāēi and Burmese)*, Thudhammawadī Press, p. 29.

(*Talahtaw*) won him back to the fold.¹ There are some events that to be evidence. A king of Pago (Pegu), Tissa (1043-1057)² by name, had abandoned the worship of the Buddha and instead practiced Brahmanical worship. He persecuted the Buddhists and destroyed Buddha images or cast them into ditches. A pious Buddhist girl named Talahtaw, the daughter of a merchant, restored the images, then washed and worshipped them. The king could not tolerate such defiance, of course, and had the girl dragged before him. He tried to have her executed in several ways, but she seemed impossible to kill. Elephants would not trample her, while the fire of her pyre would not burn her. Eventually, the king intrigued by these events, asked the girl to perform a miracle. He stated that if she was able to make a Buddha image produce seven new images and then made all eight statues fly into heaven, she would be set free. The girl spoke an act of truth, and the eight Buddha statues flew up into the sky. The king was then converted to Buddhism and elevated the girl to the position of chief Queen with named “Bhaddra-Devî”. Until now, archaeological finds of Mon ruins in Myanmar are numerous at Bagan, but in Lower Myanmar are meager. On the other hand, the Mon civilization in Thailand also did not survive the onslaught of the Khmer in the eleventh century who were worshipping Hindu gods. In Myanmar, the Mon kingdom was conquered by Bagan. Because the Myanmar was eager to accept the Mon culture and especially their religion, while the Khmer, as Hindus, at best tolerated it. Therefore, today the archeological excavation in ancient

¹Htin Aung, Maung, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

²Htay Hlain, U, (Dhammācariya), *The Value of the Three Gems*, Yangon: Buddha A-than Press, 1993, p. 50;

Harvey, G. E., *History of Burma*; Mettā-Shin (Shwe Pyi Thar), *The Wonder of Saranagon*, Yangon: Yun Kyi Chat Press, 2005, pp. 54-58.

places and geographical connection purely could make a draw conclusion that the dissemination of Buddhism into Myanmar was long about 2600 years ago even alive the Buddha's time by recorded Buddhist canons and local Chronicles and then gradually the people in Myanmar adopted the religion in their daily life by making the religion propagation and contribution surrounding the **Shwedagon Pagoda** which is believed that this is the first contact with the Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, in the history of religion of Myanmar.

CHAPTER-IV

THERAVADA BUDDHISM IN KONBAUNG PERIOD

(1752-1819)

Chapter IV

Theravada Buddhism in Konbaung Period (1752-1819)

4:1 The Biography of King Alaungpaya (U Aung Zeya)

The king *Alaungpaya*—to be was born at one o'clock in the early dawn on Friday, first waning of *Tawtalin* in 1076 ME, (1714AD) at *Musoebo* Township. His parents were *Minyosan* who got the title of *Sri Mahadhammaraja* and *Mahadevi*. He was named '*Aung Zeya*'. At the age of nineteen, he got married to *Khin Yunn San*.

In 1113 ME, by the time *Mons* from *Hanthawaddy* marched to *Ava* and captured the King and the whole country, Second Myanmar Nation was annihilated. King *Alaungpaya* and his sixty-eight selected gallants fenced *Musoebo*, his native town with toddy-palms and rebuilt New Myanmar. Moreover, after suppressing *Kawe Shans* from north and *Mons* from south, he united the nation and then governed the entire nation but *Rakhaine* State.

He confiscated the city of *Manipura Kase* in 1120 ME as well. He, however, did not succeed in invading Thailand at the dawn on Sunday, Twelfth waning of *Kasone* in 1122 ME. What's name, King *Alaungpaya* who possessed 37 years and seven months before King-hood and eight years and one month as a king, passed away on the way back to *Ava*. He was 45 years and eight months old when he died. He had sixteen children, ten were born by the Queen and six were born by the lesser wives.¹

1. Thaikinthway, Nagabo. "*Ratanarsikha Maharajavam*," page 27-29. Maungmaungtin, U. *Konbaungchat*," volume 1, page 327. Nyomya. "*Konbaungsharpuntaw*," page 9.

4:2 Records of King Alaungpaya's Meritorious Deeds

Being Theravada Buddhist, King *Alaungpaya* revered three Gems-Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha. Hence, he donated the following deeds.

1. Building *Shawechattho* Stupa,
2. Building *Phaung Taw Oo* Stupa and rest house at *Mya Taung* city,
3. Constructing *Phaung Taw Oo* Stupa at *Pyay* city,
4. Constructing *Phaung Taw Oo* Stupa at *Myan Aung* city,
5. Building Jinaaungchar *Shwebumsar* Stupa at *Ta Gaung* city,
6. Building a Stupa at the auspicious place named *Nat Kyan* of the royal palace,
7. Building the stairways at *Shwedagon* Pagoda,
8. Building the rest house at *Shwedagon* Pagoda,
9. Building a Stupa at the northeast corner of *Ratanasinkha* city,
10. Building the monastery with a three- tiered roof at that Stupa and
11. Building Golden rest house at *Shwe Paw Kyon* Region.

Moreover, he ordered to renovate the damaged stupas along *Irrawaaddy* River, in *Sitkai*, *Ava*, *Pyay* and *Hansawaddy* by granting emolument in cash as well as kind artisans.¹

4:3 Buddha Sasana during the Reign of King Alaungpaya

¹ Kelasa, Ashin. "Sasanavam Bhawattansiketawmyarthamine," page 322.

Since King *Alaungpaya* had great respect for Buddha Sasana, it is known that he appointed *Mahadanvan* who charged with keeping vigilance of the monks' adherence to the *Vinayas*. After that, Sangha who did not obey *Vinayas* were continuously interrogated and cleared them up from Sasana. He ruled the nation in line with the teaching of Buddha. Slaughtering animals was forbidden and slaughterers were arrested. Believing in rules, making offerings to nats, drinking alcohol and abusing narcotic drugs such as opium and cannabis were prohibited all over the nation.

During the harvest season, offering to nats by means of killing chickens in accord with false belief, *Micchaditthi* was totally barred. On finding out that someone did the prohibited matter, he/she was sentenced to death. By virtue of above events, King *Alaungpaya* supported the Sasana with his power in order to propagate the teaching of Buddha. It is also observed that Heads of the cities and villages had to compensate the owner if someone was robbed. Thus, it is prominent that King *Alaungpaya* wanted all citizens to be resolute with Five Precepts. That was his benevolence. He himself dammed the irrigation canals such as *ShweboMahananda* Lake the length and breadth of the nation.¹

4:4 Offering Titles and Emblems to Prominent Sayadaws

With reference to the observation, King *Alaungpaya* offered Titles and Emblems-placed inside the box wrapped with red paper-to Sangha.

Tunywar Sayadaw was given the Title of *Gunatilankarasahasso*.² *Phathamakyaw Sayadaw* who was from *Zayit* village had been famous since the reign of *Ratanapura Innwa*

2. Maungmaungtin, U. "Konbaungchat," volume 1, page 67.

1. Kelasa, Ashin. "Sasanavam Bhawattansiketawmyarthamine," page 21.

King. Thus, King *Alaungpaya* offered the *Sayadaw ' Jambudipa Anantadhaja Mahadhammarajaguru '* with royal occasion on fullmoon day of *Tangu* in 1118 ME.

In the month of *Tansaungmone*, *Zayit Sayadaw* arrived at *Thanlyin* to worship *Kyaikkhout* Stupa. When he reached *Yankinsikin* military unit, King *Alaungpaya* invited him respectfully to *Zeyawaddy* city and build a monastery for him. The King also addressed that when examination in recitation of Buddhist Scriptures was about to be held, *Zayit Sayadaw* should consult with *Adhipati Sayadaw* so as to strive the study of *Pitakas*, the main source of *Sasana*.¹

Hence, King *Alaungpaya* eagerly encouraged *Pariyatti Sasana*, the most essential among three were endless political and military affairs, and the king enabled the religious matters not to be under-privileged. That was the prestige of the king as well as the historical record.

Similarly, at the due west of *Seegon* Stupa, Four-tired monastery with firebreak, walls and spire-like roof was built and donated to *Ashin Nyarnasagara* who achieved the Title '*Nyarnasagaramahadhammarajadhirajaguru '*. After praising his meritorious deeds for the monasteries, the king donated eight prescribed articles and paraphernalia for monks. In addition those, Brahmins, alchemists, hermits, order people and the poors were listed and the king held *Asadisadana* with great festivities for seven days.²

4:5 King Alaungpaya & Atin Ayon Conflict

² Maungmaungtin, U. "*Konbaungchat*," volume 1, page 240.

King *Alaungpaya* was not only the founder of *Konbaung* Dynasty but also mighty monarch in Sasana history. He purified the Sasana by dispelling *Gamavasi (Pwal Kyaung)* according to Dhamma as well.

Since 1060 ME (2242 Sasana Era), the separation of *Atin Gaing* and *Ayon Gaing* had been happened during the reign of the king. That conflict could not be solved till the reign of King *Alaungpaya*.¹ *Atin Gaing* means the sect of Buddhist monks accept the practice of robbing informally, leaving the right shoulder bare, when going outside the confines of the monastery. They were the people of immoral rectitude.

Ayon Gaing means the sect of Buddhist monks who accept the practice robbing formally when going outside the confines of the monastery. This is now the accepted practice.

King *Alaungpaya* offered the title " *Mahaatulayassamahadhammarajaguru* " to *Ashin Atulayassa* from *Uship* village in *Dipeyin* city. That *Sayadaw* became the member of *Atin Gaing* in separating *Atin Gaing* and *Ayon Gaing*. The members of *Ayon Gaing* led by *Ashin Suzata* submitted to the king that all Sangha had to wear the robe formally when entering to the village. *Sayadaws* from *Atin Gaing* led by *Ahin Atulayassa*, however, refuted that the conflict had been over.²

Hence, King *Alaungpaya* promulgated that there were several cases concerning with monarchy to be settled as the nation's affairs were complicated. After that, he would solve the matter in connection with Sasana. Moreover, the king announced that all the Sangha who

¹Sanvarabhivamsa, Ashin. "*Buddha Naingngantaw*," volume 3, page 78. Vamsamar treatise showed that both Atin & Ayon are Dhammavadi and they are varied in teaching novices.

²Rajinda, Ashin. "*Sasanabahusutapakasan*," page 118

lived in this nation must obey *Ashin Atulayassa*. This edict explained that the king did not realize *Dhammakamma (Vinaya)*. In the other way, it is supposed the king publicized that edict to restore the law and order of the nation.

Despite the king's announcement, some *Sayadaws* of *Ayon Gaing* did not follow it. As a result, *Atulayassa* summoned two order monks and made them carry sand. While carrying sand, they called upon *Lokapaladevas* to bear witness that they were treated unjustly. At that very moment, the sky was suddenly full of dark clouds and both *Atulayassa's* monastery and the king's palace were hit by thunder.¹ History researchers remarked that event was the omen before marching to Thai. There was an old monk named *Ashin Munindaghosa* of *Pukhamgyi* city who was proficient in literacy. He did not follow *Atin Gaing*. When the king found out about him, he was invited and let him meet with the *Sayadaws* of *Atin Gaing* at *Sudhamma* rest house. They did not discuss with him according to Buddha's Teaching. They forced him to be the member of *Atin Gaing*. At that time, *Ashin Munindaghosa* squatted among the Sangha paying homage to the Buddha Image and recited "*Aham bante yava jivitapariyosana.....na vijahissami*". That Pali meant that he would not abandon the Vinaya and he would sacrifice his life instead of following *Adhammavadi*.

Hence, it is observed that king *Alaungpaya* had less interest in religion as there were complicated affairs of nation. As soon as the king had heard about *Ashin Munindaghosa*, he was deported. In other country, he continued counseling to wear the robe formally. Therefore, the king invited him again. He considered that he was about to be killed by the king. Thus, he left the *monkhood* in order that he did not want the king to gain the dept of

¹Maungmaungtin, U. "*Konbaungchat*," volume 1, page 305

sins if he was sentenced to death as a monk who exactly obeyed Vinaya.¹ It is obvious that the Sangha protected both Pariyatti and Patipatti Sasana in line with *Dhammakamma* without considering the king and even their lives.

King *Alaungpaya* imprisoned him and decided to judge according to Buddha's Teaching after he had come back from Thai. Unfortunately, the king passed away on his way back to the palace. Hence, the conflict between *Atin* and *Ayon* was not finished during the reign of king *Alaungpaya*.

4:6 Literatures Emerged during the Reign of King Alaungpaya

Although King *Alaungpaya*'s political leading sector was successful, it was not prosperous in complementing religious affairs because of *Ashin Atulayassa*'s favoritism. He was not only Head of the Sangha but also member of *Atin Gaing*.

Pathamakyaw Nyanadhara Thero compiled *Abhidhammavataratthakatha Nissaya haung* in 1115 ME and *Ashin Saddhamajota Thero* wrote *Buddhavamsa Pali Nissaya haung* in 1122 ME. These were the evidences of Sasana propagation in the reign of King *Alaungpaya*. In 1750 AD, *Sunetar Sayartaw* compiled *Manuyinn Dhammathat* as the king asked him to write.² Emerging such kind of literature was incredible by the time there was the conflict between *Atin* and *Ayon*.

4:7 Well-known Sayadaws during the Reign of King Alaungpaya

There were four well-known *Sayadaws*. The brief biographies of them are as shown in below.

¹⁰ Rajinda, Ashin. "*Sasanabahasutapakasan*," page 120-121.

² Aung Than Tun, U. "*Khetlaykhet Myanmar's Law*," page 85

(1) *Shin Marlar* (1058 ME – 1139 ME)

He was one of the most prominent *Sayadaws*. He was born at *Kantaw* village, *Shwebo* in 1050 ME. His parents were *U Khin* and *Daw Lonma*. *Maung Mho* was his childhood name. As a boy, he studied literature at *U Nyo*, the monk and became a novice. When he was ordained, he was named *Shin Marlar*. After king *Alaungpaya* had ascended the throne, *Shin Marlar* was invited respectfully and offered the title of *MahaatulayassaDhammrajaguru*. Besides, king *Hsinbyushin* continued to worship him. He died in 1139 ME.¹

(2) *Atulayassa Thero*

He was born at *Uship* village in 1076 ME. When he was ordained, he was named *Shin Atula*. In 1115 ME, King *Alaungpaya* offered him the title of *AtulayassaMahadhammarajadhirajaguru*. He was discipline and was well-experienced in literature. He did not like what his disciple, *Watlat Sayadaw*, wrote a treatise with ink. Thus, King *Alaungpaya* disagreed with him. However, he wrote 72 Pali verses of apologue and sent them to the king. He was also considerate the worldly affairs and obligations. In 1146 ME, he left monkhood after fifty years as a monk. He compiled *Yetin Lanka* as well. He answered the king's questions and wrote them. That was famous as *Nannsin Aphyaykyam*.

(3) *Shwe U Mhin Sayadaw* (1075-1135 ME)

He was born at *Tatsar* village near *Ava*. At the age of 16, he studied at *Aungmyinsanlut* monastery in southern *Innwa*. Although *Tatsar* village Headman asked

¹Hlathamein. "*Ganthavan Puggokyawmyar Athuppatti*," page 20

him to write the answers of *Bhuridatzatpaungpyot*, he could not do it because of Mon-Myanmar Conflict. He could compile it when king *Alaungpaya* was pinnacle in ruling the nation. The king offered him the title of *Tilokabhilankara*. However, it was finished after king *Naungdawgyi* had ascended the throne.¹

(4) *Taungtwin Minkyaung Sayadaw* (1086-1124 ME)

He was born at *Taungtwingyi* during the reign of king *Taninganwe*. He was known as *Minkyaung Sayadaw* as *U kwet Phyu* who got the title of *lakyatapana* and *Zeyanandaraja*, revered him. He compiled *Hitasiddhikyam* and the answer of *Kantawminkyaung Mettasaar*.

Those above prominent *Sayadaws* were well-known in connection with Vinayas and Literature in the period of king *Alaungpaya*.

4:8 Situations of Other Religions

According to the record of *Sanco Stepfino*, a merchant from *Ginoa* who had been *Bago* in 1496 AD, one of his partners was buried in the yard of an old, damaged church when he died. Thus, it can be said that Catholic Armenian and Syrian settled down in Myanmar in the same way as in Thai and other islands and built the church.² Similarly, the missionaries entered the nation as well. It is observed in Chronicles that King *Alaungpaya* allowed them to worship their religious freely.³ In worshipping Hinduism, *Konbaung* kings adopted the royal ceremonial occasions shown in *Inyunsartam*. Therefore, the kings made

¹Pemaungti,U. "*History of Myanmar literature*," page 152.

²Bakhin,U, "*Naingngancharsasanaphyu Athinaphwelmyar*," page 11.

³Kyee,U. "*Myanmar Rajavam*," page 131.

offerings to *Mahapinne Deva* deity in *Nattaw* every year. That habit had been followed till the reign of King *Sibaw*, the last king of *Konbaung* Dynasty.

As a conclusion, Theravada Buddhism was mingled with other religious and religious thoughts. It is obvious that they were granted the right to evidence of the propagation of other religions. It is doubtless to say that king *Alaungpaya* was the strong Theravada Buddhist. As he was not only organizing the country to be united and expanded but also taking care of social matters, he could not afford to propagate Theravada Buddhism properly and widely. If Head of State encourages the Sasana, it will be steadfast forever. If not, Sasana will be faded away. Moreover, the conflict between *Atin* and *Ayon* could not be solved.

However, King *Alaungpaya* was able to make the citizens to adhere to Five Precepts. He also gave support to outstanding *Sayadaws* in *Patiyatti* and *Patipatti*. Besides, King *Alaungpaya* built many stupas, monasteries and rest houses.

In considering above meritorious deeds, it is true that Theravada Buddhism had flourished. Although other religions were introduced by the alien merchants, it is observed that no Myanmar citizen transferred to other religions. There were evidences proved that everybody could worship freely what they believed. Nonetheless, Theravada Buddhism flourished prosperously due to King *Alaungpaya's* encouragement and effort of the *Sangha* in learning *Tipitakas*.

4.9 Restructurings of Konbaung

Realising the need to modernise, the Konbaung rulers tried to enact various reforms with limited success. King Mindon with his able brother Crown Prince Kanaung established

state-owned factories to produce modern weaponry and goods; in the end, these factories proved more costly than effective in staving off foreign invasion and conquest.

Mindon also tried to reduce the tax burden by lowering the heavy income tax and created a property tax, as well as duties on foreign exports. These policies had the reverse effect of increasing the tax burden, as the local elites used the opportunity to enact new taxes without lowering the old ones; they were able to do so as control from the centre was weak. In addition, the duties on foreign exports stifled the burgeoning trade and commerce.

Konbaung kings extended administrative reforms begun in the Restored Toungoo dynasty period (1599–1752), and achieved unprecedented levels of internal control and external expansion. They tightened control in the lowlands and reduced the hereditary privileges of Shanchiefs. They also instituted commercial reforms that increased government income and rendered it more predictable. Money economy continued to gain ground. In 1857, the crown inaugurated a full-fledged system of cash taxes and salaries, assisted by the country's first standardised silver coinage.¹ Nonetheless, the extent and pace of reforms were uneven and ultimately proved insufficient to stem the advance of British colonialism.²

4.10 Religious activities of konbaung Kings

The kings of the Konbaung Dynasty, beginning with King Alaungmintaya, promoted the Religion by building and repairing pagodas and temples and by donating monasteries to

¹Lieberman 1996, p. 184-187.

²Myint-U 2001.

monks. There were kings who were zealous in supporting the Religion and education in the Konbaung Period. They were Kings Alaungmintaya, Badon and Mindon. The prosperity of the Religion mainly depended on the relationship between monks and their devotees, in other words— the relationship between monks and kings. The relationship between monks and kings was good during the reign of those kings and, hence, the Religion thrived.¹

There were three necessary conditions for the Religion to prosper: (1) that the Religion enjoyed royal patronage; (2) that the Religion maintained the ethical standards of the people, and (3) that there was an organized *Sangha*.² The Konbaung-period kings supported the Religion well. They appointed Thathanabyu *Sayadaws* (or Supreme Patriarchs) to control the *Sangha*.

4.11 Resolution of Atin ayoun dispute

The *Atin-Ayon* dispute, which began in the Nyaungyan Period, was not settled till the Konbaung period. During the reign of King Alaungmintaya, Ven. Atulayasa, who was a member of the *Atin* faction became the king's teacher and the *Atin* sect become stronger. Alaungmintaya was a king who reunified the kingdom and who was able to assume the title *Sasana Dayaka* (The Supporter of the Religion). He issued an order to unify the Buddhist Sangha, which had splintered into various factions.³ When he appointed the *thathanabyu sayadaws*, he appointed separate *gaingoks* and *gaingdauks* for the *Atin Ayon*

¹Kala, 2006c, 330, 331, 334

² Tin, 1970, 90

³ U Aung Thein Han, *Myanmar Nainggan Thamaingthit* (A New History of Myanmar), Yangon, Sarpe Mwethu Press, 1968, p. 107 (Henceforth: Aung Thein Han, 1968)

and factions. However, the monk he venerated belonged to the *Atin* faction, and hence the influence of the *Atin* faction increased in the reign of King Alaungmintaya. King Alaungmintaya, while reunifying the kingdom, built and renovated pagodas and monasteries. On his return from Mogaung town, he built a pagoda in Tagaung where his turban became unwrapped, hoisted a golden finial on top of it and named it Zina Aungcha Shwebontha. This pagoda, now known as Baungdawkyia pagoda, is still in existence.¹ The construction of pagodas by the Myanmar kings including King Alaungmintaya might have been to promote the Religion or to mark their territories. On 21 June 1753, King Alaungmintaya appointed Ven. Atulayasa as Supreme Patriarch and made other monks obey him.² As he was learned in *dhammasat* (law texts), the Atulaya *Sayadaw* was able to give valuable advice to the king.³ King Alaungmintaya issued an edict, ordering officials to put a stop, after investigations, to everything evil: slaughtering animals for food, butchering cattle, making offerings to spirits, drinking toddy, liquor or *hkaungye* (a kind of rice wine) or taking opium. He ordered that those who slaughtered animals or butchered cattle in the city were to be arrested and made to suffer losses. He appointed a *mahadan-wun* and *mahadan-saye* to interrogate and defrock the monks who violated *Vinaya* rules.⁴ There is a scholar who assumes that King Alaungmintaya named Atulaya

¹ Tin, 1970, 15-16

² U Maung Maung Tin, *Konbaungzet Mahayazawindawgyi* (Great Chronicle of the Konbaung Dynasty), Vol.I, Yangon, Department of Historical Research, 2004, p. 83

³ Daw Khin Khin Sein (ed.), *Alaungmintayagyi Ameindawmya* (Edicts of Alaungmintaya), Yangon, Burma Historical Commission, 1964, p. 99 (Henceforth: *Alaungmintayagyi Ameindawmya, 1964*)

⁴ Maung Maung Tin, 2004a, 84

Sayadaw as his preceptor because he came to the throne with Atulaya's advice on the affairs of the kingdom rather than because he respected the *Sayadaw* for his learnedness or strict observance of *Vinaya* rules.¹

4.12 Making purification of Sangha

King Mindon strove for the purification of the Religion by purging the *Sangha* of *Pwekyauung gamavasin* monks, who were the dregs of the *Sangha*. He forced the sinful monks to leave the Order without apologizing. Some *gamavasins* were scared that they might be caught because they had sinned and left the Order. Some, leaving their possessions behind, defected to the sect of the *araññavasins*. Even the monks who were above suspicion were forced to receive reordination.

The king ordered all the different Buddhist sects, to which the Buddhist *Sangha* had fragmented into in the reign of former kings, to merge into one, after interrogating the monks to dispel suspicions. Nevertheless, when the king conferred the title Atulayasa Mahadhammarajadhirajaguru on Ven. Atulayasa and named him the Supreme Patriarch, the leaders of the Ayon faction informed the king in writing that only the Ayon monks were *dhammavadins* and cited many scriptural texts in support of their practice. Atula *Sayadaw* and his followers argued that the matter had been settled and the judgment had been passed. King Alaungmintaya announced that he would defer deciding the religious disputes until he had dealt with the affairs of the kingdom; thus, the dispute remained unresolved.² The royal preceptor, as he himself belonged to the *Atin* faction, desired

¹Sirisobhana, 1974, 200

²Hteittin Htwe, *Ratanasikha Mahayazawin* (A History of Ratanasikha City),

monks to follow the practice of draping their upper robes over one shoulder. However, there were hardliners in the *Ayon* faction too. For instance, Palaing *Sayadaw* Shin Sujata, refusing to pander to the Supreme Patriarch, instructed his pupils to cover both shoulders with their upper robes when entering villages in accordance with the *Vinaya* rules. On hearing this, the king exercised his power to force this monk to defect to the *Atin* faction, but in vain. Hence he banished Palaing *Sayadaw* Shin Sujata from the royal capital. Later he defrocked and imprisoned the monk. When he conquered Hanthawady, King Alaungmintaya saw many monks who covered both shoulders with their robes and came to realize that he was wrong in forcing the monks to become *Atin* monks. However, he did nothing to rectify the matter. Kings Naungdawgyi and Sinbyushin, who succeeded King Alaungmintaya, also turned a blind eye to this matter. Alaungmintaya built Shwechettho pagoda, Hpaungdaw-Oo pagodas in Myadaung, Pyay and Myan Aung towns, Zina Aungcha Shwebontha pagoda in Tagaung, Natkyun AungmyeNandaw pagoda¹, the covered way of the Shwedagon pagoda, a pagoda at the north-east corner of the city of Ratanasingha and a gilded open hall in Shwebawkyun, and paid the expenses for repairing dilapidated pagodas and temples in Hanthawady, Pyay, Innwa and Sagaing towns and along the river, in both Lower and Upper Myanmar. King Naungdawgyi ascended the throne on 7 June 1760 and assumed the title Siripavara Mahadhammaraja. In the same year, he built a monastery with a three-tiered roof and a pavilion in the northeast of the royal city of Ratanasingha, named it Mahabontha and donated it to Taungdwin *Sayadaw* Ñanabhidhammalankara Mahadhammarajadhirajaguru. He also

Yangon, Shwepyinyunt, 1935, p. 212 (Henceforth: Hteittin Htwe, 1935)

¹Sirisobhana, 1974, 204

made donations, including the eight requisites, to *araññavasins* and *gamavasins*. As the Taungdwin *Sayadaw* belonged to the *Ayon* faction, the monks from the towns and villages around Badon and Kanni sent an epistle to the king, saying that monks should wear their upper robes to cover both shoulders when entering villages. Then *Atula Sayadaw* objected, saying that the case had been resolved in the reigns of the kings of Innwa. Hence, the *Ayon* monks did not get a chance to express their views.¹ The *Atin* faction was able to maintain its dominant position because King Naungdawgyi followed his father's policies. The religious buildings constructed by King Naungdawgyi were Mahabontha monastery in the northeast of the royal city of Ratanasingha, a pagoda in the Mahananda Lake, the Thudhamma open-hall and a covered way in Mansettawya.²

4.15 Religious activities of Kin Sinbyushin

King Sinbyushin became king on 29 November 1763 and assumed the title Siripavarasuddhamma Maharajindadhipati. He donated the Bonkyaw Tulut monastery to Ven. Nandavara, and conferred the title Jambudipa Anantadhaja Mahadhammarajaguru on him. Those who followed Joti views³ emerged during his reign, and the king had to punish them. In 1764, he erected a pagoda in the southwest of the city of Ratanasingha, named it Neibban Seit-oo and donated land to it. On 2 May 1767, he built a forest monastery with a three-tiered roof for the Kyetthungin *Sayadaw*. On 30 May 1768, he hoisted a golden finial on top of the Shwezigon pagoda in Pagan. He also gilded the

¹Mahadhammathingyan, 1956, 187-88

²Maung Maung Tin, 2004a, 263

³The views founded by a monk by the name of Varajoti, who resided in Wutchet, Sagaing, during the reign of King Mahadhammarajadhipati in the Innwa period. This monk held that a man was annihilated after death and would not be reborn.

whole pagoda.¹ King Sinbyushin built the Bonsan Tulut monastery in the city of Ratanasingha and the Aungmye Sanlut monastery in the city of Innwa. In 1771, he constructed the Bonkyaw Tulut monastery, together with forty-six smaller monastery buildings surrounding it, in Innwa. He urged monks to pay meticulous attention to the *Vinaya* rules. He defrocked the monks who could not answer the questions about *Vinaya* rules and who practiced medicine and astrology, because practicing them was unbecoming to monks. Furthermore, he defrocked the monks who were suspected of having committed *parajika* offences, which were the most serious offences, without interrogating them.² Thus, he took tough measures to purify the Religion. King Singu Min succeeded to the throne in 1776 and assumed the title Mahadhammarajadhiraja. He built a monastery with a five-tiered roof at the site of the Modhi monastery in the royal capital and, naming it Aungmyin Sanlut, donated it to the Manle *Sayadaw*. He also presented the *Sayadaw* with the title Gunamunindabhisasanadhaja Mahadhammarajadhirajaguri. At that time Ven. Nandamala, who was a native of Paukmyint in Bantkyi Taik, was spending his monsoon retreat in the Myoshekyang monastery in Salin and teaching his pupils. He explained his pupils that the view of the *Atin* monks that a novice was to place his upper robe on one shoulder when entering a village was not in conformity with the *Vinaya* rules. He wrote a text to explain how to wear robes on the basis of the canonical texts, commentaries and sub-commentaries. The monks of the *Atin* faction made so that the king would know of this text. Then, the king invited Ven. Nandamala to come to Innwa and, when he came, put him up in the palace. The king was pleased with the lecture given

¹Maung Maung Tin, 2004a, 280, 326

²Medi *Sayadaw*, 1966, 155-56

by Ven. Nandamala's on whether novices should cover both shoulders with their upper robes or place their upper robes over one shoulder when entering villages, citing the *Vinaya* rules. Therefore, he made the *Atin* monks and *Ayon* monks debate the matter in the palace, and the *Ayon* faction emerged victorious. On 16 May 1780, the king issued an order that novices were to cover both shoulders with their upper robes when entering villages.¹ Only the practice of the *Atin* faction was approved in the reigns of Kings Alaungmintaya, Naungdawgyi and Sinbyushin.

4.16 Debate on Atin and Ayon problem

In the reign of King Singu, the king made the *Atin* and *Ayon* monks debate the matter in the Thudhamma hall from 1780 to 1781. The *Atin* monks were unable to cite canonical texts and commentaries to support their view, whereas the *Ayon* monks cited scriptural texts in substantiation of their view. Therefore, all the monks were instructed to follow the practice of covering both shoulders.² King Singu *Min* constructed a monastery with a five-tiered roof on the south of the city of Innwa, named it Mahamingalar Shwebon monastery and donated it to the *sayadaw* who held the title Tipitakalankasami Mahadhammarajadhirajaguru. He also repaired and gilded the Mahamuni pagoda, Myodwin Sigon (i.e. the Sigon pagoda inside the city), Shwesayan, Mwe Andaw and Lawkatharahpu pagodas, which had fallen apart. He named the Manle *Sayadaw* as

¹Mahadhammathingyan, 1956, 189-90

²“*Amarapuramyoti Mintayagyi Lethtet Htoatpyandawmuthi Ameindawmya*”

(Royal Orders Issued During the Reign of the King who founded the City of Amarapura),

Palm-leaf MS, no.290868, Yangon, Universities' Central Library (Henceforth:

“*Mintayagyi Lethtet Htoatpyandawmuthi Ameindawmya*”)

Supreme Patriarch and made all the monks follow the *Ayon* practice.¹ The religious buildings erected by King Singu were: The Jetawun monastery in the Wutchet Village, twelve monasteries built on the site where Modi monastery formerly stood in Innwa, a library, the Mahamingala Shwebon monastery which was with a five-tiered roof and a brick wall encircling it, and the Bonkyaw Weyan monastery, with a four-tiered roof and a brick wall encircling it, on the east of Lawkatharahpu pagoda.² King Singu was able to settle the *Atin-Ayon* dispute, which was not solved in the reigns of six previous kings. However, the matter resurfaced in the reign of King Badon.

4.17 King Badon and his religious activities

King Badon was one of the seven Myanmar kings³ who protected and promoted Buddhism. He succeeded to the throne on 11 February 1782. As soon as he came to the throne, he began to deal with matters concerning the Religion. When he founded Amarapura as his new royal seat in 1782, he built four monasteries in the four quarters of the city and donated them to the Min-o, Manle, Sonda and Minywa *Sayadaws* so that the Religion would prosper. He also appointed these *Sayadaws* as *Sangharaja Sasanabyu* (heads of the Order),⁴ i.e. as *thathanabaings*, and promoted the Religion. King Badon paid much attention to religious matters. Concerning the Religion, first he solved the

¹U Maung Maung Tin, *Konbaungzet Mahayazawindawgyi* (Great Chronicle of the Konbaung Dynasty), Vol.II, Yangon, Department of Historical Research, 2004, pp. 370-

72 (Henceforth: Maung Maung Tin, 2004b)

²Maung Maung Tin, 2004b, 373

³Anawrahta, King Kyaswa of Pagan, King Dhammazedī, King Sinbyushin of Hanthawady, Minyaza of Rakhine, King Badon and King Mindon.

⁴Rajinda, 2004, 115

Atin-Ayon dispute and unified the *Sangha*. In order that Buddhism would flourish throughout Myanmar, he dispatched missionaries to different parts of the kingdom. He appointed more *thathanabyu sayadaws*. He conferred with learned monks and brahmins day and night so that he would understand the scriptural texts.¹ King Badon was the Myanmar king whose reign was the longest in history. Myanmar kings usually consulted with eminent monks whenever they dealt with the matters concerning the Religion. In 1786, during King Badon's reign, the king increased the number of *thanabaings* to twelve⁸⁶ On 7 March 1788, King Badon nominated Maungdaung *Sayadaw* as *thathanabyu* and made the monks meet in the Thudhamma hall. At that time, there were 2,835 monks in the four quarters of the city of Amarapura and altogether 17,839 monks and novices in the kingdom. Factionalism within the *Sangha* escalated in the reign of King Badon. Of the kings of the Konbaung Period, King Badon was a king who succeeded to the throne only when he was old. Therefore he had interest in religious matters and desired to cleanse the religion. He was against factionalism in the *Sangha* and wanted the monks to unite in carrying out the tasks concerning the Religion. The first task King Badon carried out for the Religion was that of solving the *Atin- Ayon* dispute. The view of the *Atin* faction was that when entering a village, a novice was to cover his left arm with a furled-up robe, to have one end of the folded robe draped over his left shoulder and to wrap the upper part of his body with a smaller piece of robe; and this view did not agree with the *Vinaya* rules. However, the monks of this faction, like the

¹Dr Than Tun, *The Royal Orders of Burma, AD 1598-1885*, Part. V (AD.1788-1806), Kyoto, The Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1986, p. 395 (Henceforth: Than Tun, 1986b)

Ayon monks, did not wear hats, but only carried fans.¹ The *Ayon* faction held that monks and novices, in entering a village, were to wear their upper robes wrapped around them, covering both shoulders. They were not to wear hats, but were to carry fans. Of these two factions, the *Atin* faction was headed by Ven. Gunabhilankara of Ton village, and hence it was also known as Ton faction. The *Atin* faction split off from the *Sangha* a long time ago.

Of the *Araññavasi* and *Gamavasi* sects, the *Atin* or Ton faction was a group which seceded from the *Araññavasi* Sect. King Badon built many religious buildings: pagodas, temples, monasteries, open-halls and libraries. He constructed the Aungmye Lawka pagoda on the site of his former residence, where he lived before he became king, in Sagaing and the Mingun pagoda on the west bank of Ayeyarwady River and cast a large bell.

Although he did not complete the construction of the Mingun pagoda, he built other religious buildings—monasteries, pagodas and temples.² Because the king constructed from 1790 until 1797, the people suffered. During King Badon's reign, Myanmar had contacts, especially for religious matters, with Majjhimadesa (central India) and Srilanka. The king entrusted Maungdaung *Sayadaw* with the task of translating the scriptural texts brought back from those countries into Myanmar language. After studying the translations, King Badon repudiated some of his former beliefs and formed some new

¹U San Tun, *Kavilakkhanavisodhani* (Exposition to Literature Characteristics),

Mandalay, Department of Buddhist Studies, Mandalay, 1961, p. 481 (Henceforth: San

Tun, 1961)

²Aung Thein Han, 1968, 160

ideas.¹As he had much interest in religious matters, King Badon issued many edicts concerning the religious affairs.

Thinking that the Religion was impure, he strove to cleanse it. In doing so, he had some success; however, he had to throw in the towel sometimes. According to the order proclaimed by the *mahadanwun* on 9 September 1802, the king purified the Religion in accordance with the *dhamma* after checking the views of the monks against scriptural texts to ensure that monks were practising in conformity with the Buddha's teaching. His decision as to what monks were to practise was in conformity with the Buddha's teaching. As regards whether novices were to place their upper robes over one shoulder or to cover both shoulders with their robes, it is learnt that covering both shoulders was in conformity with the *Vinaya* rules.² King Badon punished the monks who could not translate Pali passages into

Myanmar, probably to facilitate the emergence of learned monks. King Badon also sent missionaries to the localities in which the Religion had not taken root. He conferred titles on missionary monks. *Myoshins*, *sawbwas* and *myozas* donated the four requisites including food to those monks.³ He sent altogether two hundred and fifty monks—fifty

¹Dr Yi Yi, “*Myanmar Thamaing Ahtauk-ahtarmya, 1143-1181 Panama Lelagyet*”

(Sources on Myanmar History, 1143-1181—A Preliminary Survey), *Researches in Burmese History, no. 1*, Yangon, Department of Historical Research, 1977, p. 92

(Henceforth: Yi Yi, 1977).

²Maungdaung *Sayadaw, Amedawhpye* (Answers to the King's Questions),

Yangon, Department of Religious Affairs, 2007, p. 683 (Henceforth: Maungdaung, 2007)

³Dr Than Tun, *The Royal Orders of Burma, AD 1598-1885*, Part. IV(AD.1782-

learned monks and two hundred monks who were their followers—with fifty sets of the *Tipitaka* to remote areas. King Badon was the first king to dispatch missionaries with sets of the *Tipitaka* to remote areas. It is learnt from a document submitted by the *Thathanabyu Sayadaw* to the king on 27 March 1789 that there were more than three hundred *gaingoks* and *gaingdauks* who were playing a leading role in religious affairs and education in outstation towns and villages.¹ Titles were presented to those who deserved them. The king also had the old inscriptions in the kingdom gathered and had copies of the ruined inscriptions made. He gathered the inscriptions probably because he desired to learn literature and history² or because he wanted to find out which religious lands were ownerless. He had new inscriptions written in 1793.³ A scholar regards that King Badon gathered the inscriptions to find out the extent of taxexempt religious land by making a detailed list of religious lands.⁴

Each king usually made a copies of the *Tipitaka* when he ascended the throne with a view to ensuring that the Buddha's teachings would last long. King Badon began making copies of the *Tipitaka* on 4 July 1783.⁵ He built the Yadanabon Library in the royal

1787), Kyoto, The Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1986, pp. 352-

53 (Henceforth: Than Tun, 1986a)

¹Maungdaung, 2007, 342

²Maung Thaw, *Konbaunghkit Sittan* (A Survey of the Konbaung Period), Yangon, Tauk Tauk Win Press, 1976, pp. 193-94 (Henceforth: Maung Thaw, 1976)

³Maung Maung Tin, 2004b, 77

⁴Dr Than Tun, “*Kyauksa*” (Inscriptions), *Shumawa*, September 1958, p. 12, 16 (Henceforth: Than Tun, 1958)

⁵U Toe Hla, “*Badonmin Lethtet Myanmar Nainggan Thamaing*” (A History of

capital of Amarapura and a library in Ratanasingha. He promoted *pariyatti sasana*. He built a large library in Amarapura.¹It was the most impressive library in Myanmar in those days. King Badon also built libraries in Shwebo, Pagan, Pyay, Pathein and Taungoo, and made many copies of the *Tipitaka*. Of the three aspects of the Buddhism—*pariyatti* (the study of the scriptures), *patipatti* (the practice of Dhamma) and *pativedha* (the realization of the Dhamma)—*pariyatti* is the foundation on which *patipatti* and *pativedha* rest.

Following the footsteps of his predecessors, King Badon promoted *pariyatti-sasana* and issued an order on 3 June 1783, appointing seventeen monks as *pitakattawma* and four monks to oversee their work. According to this order, monks and laypersons who copied the *Tipitaka* had to be meticulous in their work so that they would not even miss out a *thawe* (a symbol for the vowel *e*) or a *podma* (a punctuation mark comparable to a comma).² Although he made copies of the *Tipitaka* and donated them to monks, there was not a single monk who could commit the *Tipitaka* to memory. Therefore, King Badon, considering that making copies of the *Tipitaka* was a terrible waste of money and palm leaves, thought of burning those copies. He did not do so only because U Paw Oo, one of his ministers, told him to throw away the Sandamuni image he had been casting

Myanmar During King Badon's Reign), M.A. Thesis, History Department, Mandalay University, 1970, p. 45 (Henceforth: Toe Hla, 1970)

¹U Toe Hla, *Konbaungkhit Pitakattaikmya* (Konbaung Period Libraries), Mandalay, Ludu Press, 1973, pp. 128-30 (Henceforth: Toe Hla, 1973)

²Than Tun, 1986a, 257

into the river first.¹ Therefore, some monks probably regarded him as a king who did whatever he wanted to.² King Badon sent Shwetaung Thagathu and officials to India to get more than a hundred works, including treatises on medicine, on dietetics and astrology, and made them translate those works.³ Myanmar officials travelled around India and even visited Punjab. They also brought back two Bodhi trees. Thus, King Badon sent envoys abroad to collect secular and religious works. Pursuant to the royal order that monks were to recite the texts in the presence of the examiners in the *Thudhamma* Hall daily from 28 October 1788 onwards, the *mahadanwuns* had to send *gaingoks* and *gaingdauks* to various towns and villages to invite the monks to come and recite the scriptures. The king ordered that those who could not recite the texts were to be defrocked. In making efforts to purify and promote the Religion, King Badon attempted to replace the old calendar with a new one. When the new calendar was not used throughout the kingdom, the king bowed to public opinion and rescinded the adoption of the new calendar. In sum, it is impossible to find out when and how Buddhism was introduced into Myanmar. Some scholars believe that Buddhism made its way to Myanmar in the 1st century AD. It is impossible to say that Buddhism which came to

¹U Aung, *U Paw Oo Shaukhton Hpyitthaw Kavisettumanjusa Kyan*

(Kavisettumanjusa being U Paw Oo's Words to the King), Mandalay, Pitakat Press, 1957,

p. 263 (Henceforth: Aung, 1957)

²Sirisobhana, 1974, 273-75

³Dr Than Tun, “*Myanmar Thamaing Twin Lokipyinnya Ayepabon*” (The

Importance of Occultism Sciences in Myanmar History), *Myanma Htwe Htwe Ya Ya*

Thamaing (A Miscellany of Myanmar History), Yangon, Hpowa Offset, March 2005,

pp. 48-74 (Henceforth: Than Tun, 2005)

Myanmar first was, as Myanmar today believe, a pure form of *Theravada* Buddhism. The earliest form of Buddhism in Myanmar could be *Mahayana* Buddhism.

4.18 Concept of Buddhism through scholars

Moreover, there are scholars who disagree with the generally accepted view that the Myanmar came into contact with Buddhism only after Aniruddha's conquest of Thaton. Furthermore, it is learnt that the *aris* who were disparaged by the chroniclers did not exist in the early Pagan period, but appeared only in the later Pagan period and continued to flourish in the post-Pagan period. Some regard that the *Ari* sect was a national sect, which gained notoriety because they were denigrated in the chronicles.

There is no evidence that Myanmar kings had ever persecuted the *aris*. Factionalism within the *Sangha* began when the monks who had received ordination in Srilanka came to Myanmar. Secessions resulted not from differences in the monks' behaviour, robes, practice or goals, but from the secessionists' pride in their probity. Kings Aniruddha, Dhammazedī, Sinbyumyashin of Hanthawady, Thalun and Badon were the kings who had safeguarded and promoted the Religion in the history of Myanmar. The people, monks as well as laypersons, found the reforms effected by some kings impracticable, and the kings had to back down. Some reforms were successful to some extent. However, the Myanmar—kings as well as the people—still believed in spirits and occult arts. The kings, even though they were avowed supporters of the Religion, were not able to repudiate their customs yet.

4.19 Situation of Theravada Buddhism in Konbaung Period

Myanmar Kings were involved in religious affairs. To propagate Buddhism was one of the main duties of the Myanmar Kings. Although the citizens who were ruled by an absolute monarch had to pander to the king's every whim, the king's explanation that he was waging wars, collecting taxes and issuing orders with a view to propagating Buddhism made their lives bearable. Therefore, the Myanmar Kings focused their attention on religious affairs. Additionally, each king believed that he became king because of his great merit as he was a Buddha to-be who had fulfilled the *parami* in many previous existences. Hence, he carried out the tasks concerning the religion which the *bodhisattvas* generally fulfilled. In the Myanmar feudal system, religious affairs were directly connected with the king and it was the king's responsibility to promote the Religion. It was only in the colonial period that the government decided that religion was not directly connected with administration. The Myanmar Kings, as was the custom of the feudal lords, concocted prophecies to say that they became kings because of those prophecies; thus, they took refuge in the *Sasana*. The people believed that the prosperity of the *Sasana* depended on the kings who promoted the *Sasana*. The kings usually assumed the title *Sasana Dayaka* (Benefactor of the Religion) when they ascended the throne. It is generally believed that the kings who promoted Buddhism in Myanmar were Anawrahta, Kyaswa of Pagan, Dhammazedī, Sinbyumyashin of Hanthawady, Minyazagyi of Rakhine, King Badon and King Mindon.¹ Two of these kings were Konbaung Kings. Feudal lords usually put religious affairs on the front burner, regarded the duty to promote the *Sasana* as their chief duty and declared themselves as the kings

¹Tin, 1970, 90

who supported the Religion as prophesied by the Buddha. Their main intention was to indoctrinate the citizens that insulting a king amounted to insulting the Religion.

4.19.1 Atin and Ayon problem

Before King Badon ascended the throne, the *Sangha* was disunited and split into *Atin* and *Ayon* factions. Some monks abided by the *Vinaya* rules and studied the scriptures, while others violated the *Vinaya* rules. King Badon came to the throne at a time when the Religion was on the wane. He intended to ensure that concerning the Religion, truth would prevail. When he became king, King Badon entrusted the task of promoting the *Sasana* to Sonda, Minywa, Min-o and Manle *Sayadaws*.¹ Worrying that disunity in the *Sangha* would be detrimental to the administration of the kingdom, he placed great emphasis on religious affairs. Therefore he checked whether monks were observing the monastic rules. He forced the monks who did not abide by the monastic rules to leave the Order and honoured the monks who observed the rules. King Badon was against schism. He desired for the unity of the *Sangha*. First, he purified the Religion. He believed that allowing the monks who were not *Samuti Sangha* to remain in the Order debased the Order. Therefore, he forced the monks who did not know the monastic rules and scriptures to leave the Order. His first move towards purifying the Religion was solving the *Atin-Ayon* dispute. King Badon settled the *Atin-Ayon* issue, which began in the Nyaungyan Period, for once and for all. Monks' observance of the *Vinaya* rules was vital for the purity and prosperity of the Religion. As *Vinaya* was the lifeblood of the *Sasana*,

¹Rajinda, 2004, 115

the king held examinations, in which monks and novices had to recite *Vinaya* rules.¹ Although the king made monks study the *Vinaya Pitaka*, which was the lifeblood of the *Sasana*, most of the monks only learnt the rules by heart. There were very few who understood the rules. The king desired monks to have compunction about doing evil deeds, to respect the monastic rules and to be pure in practice. Probity would greatly benefit the monks who had the four ideals that were hard to attain: (1) to be born as human beings, (2) to be born when Buddhism exists, (3) to have faith in Buddhism, and (4) to become monks. However, it was learnt that many monks entered the order because they wanted to become abbots, because they did not want to become service men or pay off their debts, because they wanted to be freed from slavery, because they would be able to live without working if they become monks, because they wanted to enjoy the privileges monkhood entitled them to, or because they wanted to support their relatives.² Therefore, the *thathanabyu Sayadaw* (Supreme Patriarch) ordered that monks were not to ordain anybody who was a crown slave, a thief or robber, a rebel, a debtor, or a person who was not permitted by his parents to become a monk.³

The king wanted monks to abide by the *Vinaya* rules irrespective of their reason for entering the Order. It is believed that the Religion would prosper if monks observed the

¹Maungdaung, 2007, 444

²(a) Than Tun, 1975, 495

(b) *Vinayasamuhavinicchaya Kyan*, U Nigrodha (ed.), Vol.III, Mandalay, Thathana Mandaing Press, 1940, pp. 57-60 (Henceforth: *Vinaya*, 1940)

³Taw Sein Ko, *Hluttaw Hmattan* (Hluttaw Proceedings), Yangon, Printing and Publication Enterprise, 1977, p. 206 (Henceforth: Taw Sein Ko, 1977)

Vinaya rules as *Vinaya* was the lifeblood of the Religion. Some believe that a monk who does not know the *Vinaya* rules is not a son, but an enemy, of the Buddha and is like an animal.¹ However, as there are 227 *Vinaya* rules, or more than ninety thousand million rules in detail, it is impossible for monks to follow them strictly in any period in history. In general, there were monks who were conscientious, well-behaved and desirous of training (*lajji pesalasikkhakama*) and who respected and abided by the *Vinaya* rules, and those who were shameless and immoral (*alajji dussila*)² and who violated the *Vinaya* rules.

Monks' observance of the *Vinaya* rules was vital for the purity and prosperity of the Religion. King Badon put much emphasis on matters concerning the monastic rules and issued an edict to ensure that monks would follow the monastic rules and that monastic rules laid down by the Buddha would not fade into oblivion.³

4.19.2 King Badon urged monks to study scriptures and practice meditation

In dealing with religious affairs, King Badon even defrocked Maungdaung *Sayadaw*, the then Supreme Patriarch, and the Bagaya *Sayadaw* for schism.⁴ As to practice in accordance with the Buddha's teaching was the monks' main duty, King Badon urged monks to study the scriptures and practice meditation. During King Badon's reign, the

¹*Vinaya*, 1940, 155

²*Alajji dussila* means a monk who violated The *Vinaya* rules knowingly, who covered up their sins and who were unjust.

³"*Bodawhpaya Ameindaw Pyandan*" (King Bodawhpaya's Edict), *Palm-leaf MS*, No. 123292, Yangon, Universities' Central Library, cha (verso).

⁴Tin, 1970, 122

Maungdaung *Thathanabaing* selected two hundred and fifty able and courageous monks from among all the monks who were residing in the kingdom and made them commit the Ubhato Vibhanga to memory and recite it in the Thudhamma examination. Those who were unable to learn the Ubhato Vibhanga by rote had to learn the two Patimokkha texts, the Khuddasikkha and Catubhanavara and recite the texts in the examinations which were held in the Thudhamma hall. Novices had to learn how to pronounce the words correctly and memorize the ten precepts novices must observe, *linga*, *danda*, *sekhiya* and *khandhakawat* and had to recite these texts in the examinations held in the Thudhamma hall.¹ As the *Vinaya Pitaka* was the foundation of the *Sasana*, Maungdaung *Sayadaw* instructed all the monks and novices in various localities to study the Patimokkha, Aggikhandopama-sutta, ten *lingas*, ten *dandas* and the *sekhiya* rules and to recite what they had learnt in the examinations. There is evidence that some monks were involved in political matters in those days. King Badon issued an order on 10 March 1782 as follows:

Kyaik Bandaing, Thawuthti, Sipa and Htadabin, although they should have observed the *Vinaya* rules with a view to attaining the Path to *Nibbana* and the Fruition (*Nibbana*) as they were monks, and live peacefully, they failed to do so. They fraternized with laypersons, and discussed secular matters as to kingship. Defrock Kyaik Bandaing, make him wear white robes and send him to Kankaw Kalaw. Send each of the remaining three—Thawuthti, Sipa and Htandabin—to one of the four forests.²

Moreover, if a person, who was born while Buddhism existed, entered the monkhood because he desired to attain *nibbana*, he must abide by the *Vinaya* rules set down in

¹Medi *Sayadaw*, 1966, 160

²Than Tun, 1986a, 233

scriptural texts. The king invited *Sayadaws* (senior monks) to the library and requested them to ask monks and novices about monastic rules; and the *Sayadaws* reported to the king that some monks and novices could answer the questions, whereas some could not. It was impossible to regard that a person who had not studied the monastic rules or did not know how many monastic rules were there was practicing according to scriptural texts, and it was impossible to venerate a person who wore robes without practicing according to scriptural texts. Therefore, the king ordered the *mahadanwun* to make a list of the monks and novices who could not answer the questions about the *Vinaya* rules together with the names of the persons who donated monasteries to them, of the teachers residing in those monasteries and of the donor of those monasteries. He also ordered to question all those who had not been questioned and to submit the statements to him. He issued an edict on 12 March 1784, ordering that the monks and novices who could not answer the questions about monastic rules were not to be allowed to live independently in their own monasteries because it would not be beneficial for both the monks and their lay devotees and that they were to be made to study the rules under the guidance of learned teachers in the monastery complexes they were residing.¹

4.19.3 King Badon studied the scriptural texts

King Badon also studied the scriptural texts which were of vital importance for the purification, perpetuation and propagation of the *Sasana*. He believed that in the three Buddha *Sasanas*, *Patipatti Sasana* would flourish only if *Pariyatti Sasana* prospered, and *Pativedha Sasana* would thrive only if *Patipatti Sasana* flourished. Hence, he placed the

¹Than Tun, 1986a, 316

propagation of the *Pariyatti Sasana* on the front burner. He made a list of the monks who promoted and propagated *Pariyatti Sasana* and donated the four requisites to them so that they would be able to study the scriptures and practice meditation. King Badon also had the scriptures copied carefully like other Myanmar kings. Realizing that spelling mistakes could bring about undesirable consequences, he issued an order so that the scriptures would be copied speedily with studious attention as follows:

Of the three aspects—*Pariyatti*, *Pativedha* and *Patipatti*—of the Buddha *Sasana*, *Pariyatti Sasana* is the basis. The Buddhist Canon is to be written in gold and ink or incised on palm-leaves so that it will last long. For this matter, a hundred monks—20 *sakyi*, 40 *sati* and 40 *sama*—as editors. They are to meet four times a month in the library. The *sakyis* are to check the texts before making copies; the *satis* are to edit the texts repeatedly. The *Sayadaw* in charge of the library is to supervise the *Pitakat taikso*, *saye* and *thwethaukkyi* so that the texts would be legible. The *sakyi* and *satis* are not to leave the city. If they need to leave the city, they are to ask permission from the king in writing.¹

The *Mahadanwun* had to check whether the editors attended the meetings and report to the king. Moreover, when the Maungdaung *Sayadaw* reported that the men employed to copy the scriptures were unable to work undisturbed because the leaders in various localities were exacting labour and cash contributions, the king ordered that the men were only to work for the scriptures and were not to be summoned by the heads of

¹Than Tun, 1986a, 359

service groups.¹ However, Maungdaung *Sayadaw* again informed the king in writing that officers, ignoring that the members of the *Pitakattawye asu* (the group of service men employed to copy the scriptures) were exempted from taxation, had enlisted them. The king issued an order to exempt them from induction into military service and to make them only copy the scriptures.² The men employed to copy the scriptures also became dishonest. As the men in the list of the service men employed to copy the scriptures were exempted from military service, people who wanted to evade military service attempted to finagle their way into the *Pitakattawye asu*. This caused the number of service men in the *Pitakattawye asu* to fluctuate, and the *Myinwun* reported the matter to the king. The king ordered that only 100 scribes and 50 *peloats* (men to prepare palm-leaves) were to be employed.³ Knowing what the spelling mistakes in the scriptures could lead to, King Badon issued an edict on 14 December 1785:

If the spellings fixed in the reigns of my ancestors who reigned in Thayehkittaya, Pagan, Myinzaing, Sagaing, Pinya and Innwa fall into disuse, the meanings of the words will be lost. . .

If the meanings of the words are incorrect, scriptural texts would be misinterpreted. . . . Monks and laypersons, who depended on the Religion, suffer if and when they follow wrong views. If the established spellings should be changed, editors, who are supposed to be learned, are to explain why they should be changed and to quote authorities in the

¹Than Tun, 1986a, 414

²Than Tun, 1986a, 482

³Than Tun, 1986a, 488

presence of the *Sayadaws* and ministers and privy councilors.¹ It seems that the scribes and editors changed some spellings. It is learnt from the following edict (which was issued on 29 December 1785) that those who changed the spellings without any good reason were punished:

The *Sayadaw*, minister and privy councilor have informed me in writing that the editors who are supposed to be experts in the scriptures are unable to give any good reason for changing the spellings. The *hlut* Supreme Council is to inflict punishments commensurate with their offences on those who changed the old spellings.² During King Badon's reign, the scribes were made to stay together in a suitable place near the library, to copy the scriptures and to leave the library together. The rules for copying the scriptures also were set down.³ King Badon saw to it that no mistakes would be made in copying the scriptures. As most of the scriptural texts were in *Pali*, there were very few people who understood them. Therefore, he had the texts translated into Myanmar language. He also issued an order to the effect that if there were serious errors and omissions in the translations, the monks who were culpable would be punished.

The order reads:

The canonical texts should be edited and copied with care so that nothing would be omitted. When the Myanmar translations of the passages from the canonical texts are made, they are to be checked against the original *Pali* texts in the presence of the *Sayadaws*, who are to inform me in writing whether the translations agree with the

¹Than Tun, 1986a, 489

²Than Tun, 1986a, 492

³20Yi Yi, 1977, 128

originals. If a *Pali* passage gives more facts than its translation, criminal charges will be brought against the monk who extracted and translated the passage.¹ King Badon also issued an edict to order the monks to write the scriptures in *Pali* language because Magadha language did not exist, although the scriptures should be written in Magadha language according to the canonical texts.

The order reads:

Although the scriptures should be written in Magadha language and script according to the canonical texts, Magadha language and script are now extinct. The canonical texts should not sink into oblivion. The scribes are to continue copying the texts under the supervision of the librarians. Appoint learned ex-monks as editors.² A *pitakat taikso* (librarian), who was to supervise the members of the *pitakat asu*, was also appointed. It is learnt that King Badon conferred titles on the librarian and the members of the *pitakat asu* and gave them land when Maungdaung *Sayadaw* sent an epistle to the king.³ Building a library was an important job undertaken by King Badon. The custom of building a library as one of the seven buildings constructed at the same time when a new city was founded was not practised before. King Alaungmintaya drove in the stakes to mark off the ground plans of seven sites—the city, the palace, moat, a tank, the Shwechettho pagoda, a spirit shrine, and the watch tower—at the same time when he founded the city of Shwebo. A library was not included. The city, the palace, the moat, a

¹Dr Than Tun, *The Royal Orders of Burma (AD 1598-1885)*, Part.VI (AD 1867- 1810), Kyoto, The Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1987, p. 351, (Henceforth: Than Tun, 1987)

²Than Tun, 1987, 774

³Maungdaung, 2007, 361

pagoda, a monastery and a library became “the seven buildings” only in King Badon’s reign. Although each king made a copy of the Buddhist canon when he came to the throne, this custom was not common in the Pagan period, probably because the cost of copying the Buddhist canon was expensive and the literacy rate was low. Attempts were made to copy and donate scriptural texts in King Thalun’s reign. There is no evidence that scriptural texts were copied or donated in King Alaungmintaya’s reign. This custom revived only in King Badon’s reign. The slaves donated to the Religion in King Badon’s reign can be divided into three categories: *hpaya kyun* (slaves donated to pagodas), *kyaung kyun* (slaves donated to monasteries) and *pitakat kyun* (slaves donated to the Buddhist canon). *Hpaya kyuns* had to deal with sundry matters concerning pagodas and temples. They became *hpaya kyuns* because they were donated by their owners or because they donated themselves to the pagodas as slaves, because they married pagoda slaves or because they were born into *hpaya kyun* families. The donors gave cultivated land to the slaves when they donated the slaves to religious establishments. The *hpaya kyuns* were allowed only to eat the food obtained from pagodas and monasteries. A *pitakat kyun* or a *kyaung kyun* who married a *hpayakyun* would become a *hpaya kyun*. They were exempted from military service and crown service and they enjoyed some freedom.¹ *Pitakat kyuns* were slaves responsible to look after the scriptures. They became *pitakat kyuns* for the same reasons the *hpaya kyuns* became slaves. *Pitakat kyuns* were of two types: those who had to look after the scriptures and those who had to make

¹U Tin, *Myanmar Min Oatchoatpon Sadan Hnint Bodawhpaya ei Yazathat*

Hkawthaw Ameindawtangyi (The Administration of Myanmar Kings and Bodawhpaya's

Edict Called Yazathat), Vol.II, Yangon, Government Printing, 1965, pp.49-50

(Henceforth: Tin, 1965)

arrangements for producing new copies of the scriptures. The *pitakat kyuns* who had to look after the scriptures were higher than the *hpaya kyuns* in social status. A *kyaung kyun* or a person from another social stratum who married a *pitakat kyun* would become a *pitakat kyun*.¹ Just like the *hpaya kyuns* and *pitakat kyuns*, *kyaung kyuns* were donated by their owners. The living conditions were the same as those of the *hpaya kyuns*. An *alut lu* (free man) married to a *kyaung kyun* would become a *kyaung kyun*. The *kyaung kyuns* justly enjoyed some freedom. They could be freed from slavery. A service men who was donated as a monastery slave could be redeemed by paying his original price. The daughter born to a mother who was a *kyunthidaw* (slave donated to the Religion) and an outsider could not be redeemed. A son born to these parents, however, could be redeemed. Similarly, if the father was a *kyunthidaw* and mother was an outsider, the daughters could be redeemed, but the sons could not be redeemed. The sons would become *kyunthidaws*.² From 1787 onwards, King Badon scrutinized the monks residing in the monasteries in Sagaing, Tada-oo, Thinbanpinkyawwa, etc. which were in the four quarters of the Golden City, to determine who should and who should not be regarded as *sabhaga*; and he presented a list of those monks to Maungdaung Thathanabaing. Arrangements were made to determine who were *sabhaga*³ and who were *visabhaga*.⁴ Maungdaung *Sayadaw* questioned the monks in forty *thathanabyu* towns, including Taungoo and Yangon, to determine whether they should be regarded as *sabhaga* or as

¹Tin, 1965, 51

²Tin, 1965, 52

³A *sabhaga* was a monk who had not violated the monastic rules.

⁴A *visabhaga* was a monk who had violated the monastic rules.

visabhaga, and sent a report to King Badon. Inquiries were made to find out who were *lajji* and who were *alajji*, who were *sabhaga* or who were not *sabhaga*. The *alajji* or shameless monks and their devotees were the ones who were causing harm to the Religion. The Religion would be pure, last for ever and prosper only if the monks were checked up on with a view to finding out whether they were *lajji*, *alajji*, *sabhaga* or *visabhaga*. There were seven offences connected with following the *atin* practice and venerating the *atin* monks, offences of taking medicine in the afternoon, chewing betel, riding in carts, using umbrellas, breeding cattle and practicing medicine, five offences connected with practicing astrology, and many offences connected with accepting the donation of gold and silver, watching entertainments, etc. A monk who had committed any of those offences would become a *lajji* monk only if he realized that those acts were wrong and pledged that he would not commit those offences in the future. The *gaing-oats* and *gaing-dauks* listed the monks who had violated those offences as *visabhaga* monks. Only the monks who had not committed those offences were true monks, who could be registered as *sabhaga* monks. *Sabhaga* and *visabhaga* monks should be segregated. The *sabhaga* monks must have firm faith in the three Refuges. The king instructed the *gaingoats* and *gaing-dauks* to ordain only the persons who had learnt the meanings of *paccavekkhana*, *linga*, *danda*, *sekhiya* and *khandhakawat* as novices and only those who had learnt the meanings of *paccavekkhana*, *desana*, *Patimokkha* and *Khuddasikkha* as monks. He made the *gaing-oats* and *gaing-dauks* pledge in writing that they would abide by this instruction. Maungdaung *Sayadaw* informed the king in writing that of the 17,839 monks and novices residing in various localities in the kingdom except Taungoo, Yangon and more than forty *thathanabyu* towns, 7,794 monks and novices—1,754 abbots, 1,948

monks and 4,092 novices who were their pupils—were *sabhaga*, whereas 10,045 monks and novices—3266 abbots and 2030 monks and 4749 novices who were their followers—were *visabhaga* and that there were 351 leaders of different fraternities.¹ King Badon issued the following order to prohibit people from making donations to the Taunglelon *Sayadaw* who, despite being a *sabhaga* monk, associated with non-*sabhaga* monks: The Taunglelon monk, after giving his word to the *Sayadaws*, is residing together with the monks who are not *sabhaga* in the monastery he has left. The monks of the Taunglelon (West) and On-in monasteries have informed the king that they desire to turn themselves into *sabhaga*.

Nobody is to make donations to or visit the Taunglelon monk and the monks of the Taunglelon (West) and On-in monasteries. Sever the legs of those who make donations to or visit them.²

However, the Thathanabyu *Sayadaws* interceded, and King Badon issued a new order on the same day on 18 March 1788 to rescind the above-mentioned order. The order runs:

I issued an order because the Taunglelon monk and the monks of Taunglelon monastery (West) and of On-in monastery failed to abide by the pledges they had made. I rescind this order because the *Sayadaws* have made a written request. The Taunglelon monk and the monks of Taunglelon monastery (West) and of On-in monastery are to be treated just

¹(a) "*Bodawhpaya Ameindawpyandan*" (Bodawhpaya's Edict), *Palm-leaf MS*, No.

106273, Yangon, Universities' Central Library, ta (recto)-thi (verso)

(b) Maungdaung, 2007, 232-36

²Than Tun, 1986b, 406

like other monks who are registered as *sabhaga*.¹The king requested the Maungdaung *Sayadaw*, the *Thathanabyu Sayadaw*, to ask monks whether they should be exempted from *kadogun* (ferriage). The *Sayadaw* told him that they should not be exempted from *kadogun*.²However, to do favour to *sabhaga* monks, the king issued an order on 19 October 1789 that no *kadogun* was to be collected from *sabhaga* monks.³ He also issued an edict on 7 May 1795 that *visabhaga* monks could forsake their practices and turn themselves into *sabhaga* monks. The edict reads:

With the agreement of the *thathanabyu Sayadaw* and other *Sayadaws*, the *visabhaga* monks who desire to turn themselves into *sabhaga* by reciting the two Patimokkha texts from memory can do so after repudiating their practice of wearing hats.⁴

This order suggests that the *visabhaga* monks were wearing hats. It can be assumed that the king did not want the *visabhaga* monks to take part in ordination ceremonies. The *mahadanwun* was ordered to question the *visabhaga* monks who had ordained someone as monks or novices and to submit their statements to the king.⁵ It seems that the *visabhaga* monks were not expelled from the Order yet. However, the king ordered the *mahadanwun* to question the monks who spent monsoon retreat together with *visabhaga* monks.⁶ As regards the *upyitze* and *neitthayi sayas*, who were of vital importance for

¹Than Tun, 1986b, 408

²Maungdaung, 2007, 663

³Than Tun, 1986b, 444

⁴Than Tun, 1986b, 496

⁵Than Tun, 1986b, 515

⁶Than Tun, 1986b, 529

monks, it was ordered in an edict dated 28 June 1795 that Kyaw Aung Sanhta *Sayadaw* and the *visabhaga* monks were to be defrocked:

Kyaw Aung Sanhta *Sayadaw* and the *visabhagas* fail to live under the guidance of a *neiththayi saya*. A person who is not an *upyitze saya* must not be allowed to behave like an *upyitze saya* and to remain in the monkhood. Defrock Kyaw Aung Sanhta and all the *visabhaga* monks.¹ Moreover, the number of persons who committed the *Vinaya* texts to memory increased in King Badon's reign. The king held examinations referred to as *sapyanpwe* (ceremonies of reciting the texts) for the prosperity of the *Sasana*. There were three levels of *sapyanpwes*: the *pahtamabyan* examinations for those who wanted to become novices or monks, the *sapyanpwes* in which monks and novices had to recite the monastic rules for monks and novices and the examinations in which the three *Pitakas* or the five *nikayas* had to be recited.² The *pahtamabyan* examinations were held from the month of *Nayon* to the fullmoon day of *Wazo* every year. The officers had to go around the monasteries to make a list of monks—with their lay names, age and educational qualifications.

4.19.4 King Badon issued the syllabus for the *pahtamabyan* examinations

After completing the list, the examinations would be held. The king also issued the syllabus for the *pahtamabyan* examinations. According to the syllabus of 1785, novices had to recite the eight grammatical texts, eight parts of the *Abhidhammatthasangaha*, the

¹Than Tun, *1986b*, 565

²U Tin, *Myanmar Min Oatchoatpon Sadan Hnint Bodawhpaya ei Yazathat*

Hkawthaw Ameindawtangyi (The Administration of Myanmar Kings and Bodawhpaya's

Edict Called Yazathat), Vol.IV, Yangon, Department of Culture, 1976, p.215, (Henceforth: Tin, 1976)

Matika, the Dhatukatha and the Yamaka—both the *Pali* texts and their Myanmar translations. The persons who took the examinations were categorized into good, bad and mediocre candidates. Those who desired to become monks had to recite the eight grammatical texts, nine parts of the Abhidhammatthasangaha, the Matika, the Dhatukatha, the Yamaka, the

Patthana and the *nawa* (the Buddhist scriptures taught in the daytime). The candidates who took these examinations also were categorized into good, bad and mediocre candidates.

The king also set down the rules for the examinations: a person who wanted to become a novice must not be older than 15; a novice could not take the examination after disrobing; the examiners must not give the candidates any hints, a novice-to-be must be made to recite only what he knew, if a novice-to-be refused to recite any text two or three times when asked by the examiners he was not to be allowed to continue reciting the texts.¹ As *Vinaya* was the lifeblood of the *Sasana*, the king held the examinations in which monastic rules for novices and monks had to be recited. This examination was held four times a month. Novices-to-be had to recite the monastic rules for novices, *linga*, *danda*, *sekhiya* and *khandhakawat* and monksto- be had to recite the two Patimokkha texts, the *Vinaya* rules known as Kammakammavinicchaya, four *bhanavaras* (sections of the scriptures divided for purposes of recitation), the Matika, the Dhatukatha, the Yamaka, the Patthana and the Abhidhamma. The *Sayadaws* who were qualified to act as *neitthayi* or *upyitzesayas* had to recite the Ubhato Vibhangha, the Khandhakawat, the *Vinaya* rules

¹“*Sapyanpwe Ameindaw*” (1147) (Edict concerning the examinations), *Parabaik* MS, U Win Tin’s Collection

known as Kammakammavinicchaya and the *suttas* as long as *mulapannasa*.¹ The monks in outlying areas had to recite the two Patimokkha texts, the Khuddasikkha and the Aggikhandhopama-sutta to the *gaing-oats*.² As regards the recitation of the monastic rules for monks, the king held the examinations in which the Ubhato Vibhanga had to be recited. The monks who had spent ten or more *vassas* had to take these examinations. A monk was qualified to act as an *upyitze*³ or *neitthayi saya*⁴ only if he had passed this examination. King Badon held these examinations because it is stated in the texts that a monk who lived independently of an *upyitze* or *neitthayi saya* incurred a *dukkata* (offence of wrong-doing). Following the advice made by the Maungdaung *Sayadaw* in his epistle, King Badon instructed the *taik-oats* in the royal capital and the *gaing-oats* in the provinces to learn the texts so that they would have the qualifications to act as *upyitze* or *neitthayi sayas*. When they had learnt the texts, they had to recite them. Monks had to learn the Ubhato Vibhanga between June and August 1790 and recite the texts in the presence of other monks in the Thudhamma hall in September-October. In mid-October, they had to recite the chapter on Parajika in the Bhikkhuni Vibhanga.⁵ The Bhikkhu- and Bhikkhuni- Vibhanga were collectively called Ubhato Vibhanga. By 5 July 1792, fifty-six *Sayadaws* had recited the Ubhato Vibhanga: twenty-eight from the royal capital and 28 from the outlying towns and villages. The monks who had recited the Ubhato Vibhanga had to mention the names of the works they would continue to learn in the

¹Maungdaung, 2007, 443

²Sirisobhana, 1974, 271

³a monk who has to guide his pupils so that they would not commit minoroffences.

⁴a monk on whom another monk depends.

⁵Maungdaung, 2007, 359-60

presence of the monks in the Thudhamma hall. When they had learnt those texts, they had to recite them. Most of the monks undertook to learn the Dhammapada in this examination.¹The monks who undertook to learn more texts were the title-holding monks from the royal capital and the *gaing-oats* from the provinces. It is mentioned in a contemporary record that Halin *Sayadaw* U Ketu was the only monk who could recite the five texts of the *Vinaya* “like a good horse ran”. However, an author states that there were very few monks who understood the *Vinaya* rules even though it is said that the king made monks learn the *Vinaya* texts because *Vinaya* was the lifeblood of the *Sasana*.²The king also decided what rewards were to be given to novices- and monks-to-be who passed the examinations and how to exempt their relatives from crown service. Those monks and novices also had the right to get donations once a year when the ceremony of offering Kathina robes was held. Because the lay devotees of the monks and novices made lavish donations, the king had to order them to reduce the rewards. Hoping to get rewards from the king, the number of novices- and monks-to-be who took the exams increased. The number of candidates who sat the exams increased from thirty eight in 1782 to 3,249 in 1791-92. In 1806, there were only twenty-eight monks who took the exams for bad candidates.³ As the examinations became popular because of the rewards given by the kings and the donations made by laypersons, some monks asked the examiners sarcastically: “Isn’t the boxing match over?”⁴ King Badon only permitted the monks who had the requisite qualifications to act as *upyitze* or *neitthayi sayas* to act as

¹Maungdaung, 2007, 479-81

²Vinandasabha, 1992, 87

³Toe Hla, 1970, 22

⁴Vinandasabha, 1992, 81

upyitze saya, to ordain novices and monks or to reside in their own monasteries with their followers, and allowed laypersons to invite only the monks from the monasteries, the abbots of which had recited the Ubhato Vibhanga, to the ceremonies of making donations, offering food and of reciting the *parittas*. He denied the monks who were not qualified to act as *upyitze* or *neitthayi sayas* these rights.¹ The king held examinations in accordance with tradition for the prosperity of the *PariyattiSasana*. These examinations were held to test the knowledge of monks. As the king rewarded those who passed the examinations, the number of monks who took the examinations gradually increased. For the increase of religious buildings, the kings mostly built pagodas. King Badon had five hundred and fifty Shwegu temples constructed simultaneously in the towns and villages in the kingdom on 22 May 1784.² He realized that the kingdom would be peaceful and prosperous only if there were relations between the royal capital and the outlying towns and villages on linguistic, cultural and religious grounds. To fulfill this need, King Badon made arrangements to disseminate knowledge and spread Buddhism in remote areas.

Although the documents disagree as to the number of Shwegu temples erected by King Badon, a historian seems to believe that the number was 230.³ The towns in northern

¹Sirisobhana, 1974, 272

²The number of pagodas is 230 according to U Maung Maung Tin's *Konbaungzet Mahayazawingyi* (A Chronicle of the Konbaung Dynasty), Vol.I, Yangon, Universities' Historical Research Department, 2004, p. 398 and 200 according to *Indavajira Cetiyaakahta Myithaw Yazawingyoat* (A short chronicle named Cetiyaakatha), Yangon, Ngweyamon Sarpe, n.d., p. 50

³1Dr Toe Hla, "*Badonmin Lethtet Myanmar Naingandaw*" (Myanmar During King Badon's Reign), Mandalay University, History Department, 2001, p. 40 (Henceforth: Toe Hla, 2001)

Myanmar in which King Badon erected Shwegu temples were important towns. All the towns except Kaungton were the towns in which *myowuns* had their headquarters. There were altogether thirty four towns and villages with Shwegu temples in the Shan states. The fact that the Shwegu temples were built in many localities in the Shan states suggests that King Badon knew the importance of Shan states. The Shwegu temples are found as far south as Dawe and Myeit in Tanintharyi. It can be learnt from the royal orders that King Badon gave special attention to these towns as they were under the threat of Thai invasion. The northwesternmost towns in which the Shwegu temples were constructed were Kale and Thaugthut. These towns, formerly raided by the *Cassy* from Manipur and Assam, were towns of military importance. This probably was the reason why King Badon had the Shwegu temples built there. King Badon carried out the religious affairs together with political matters. The people all over the kingdom, who were living in houses made of timber or bamboo would become interested in the Religion and would be inclined to support the king when they saw gilded temples. These temples would also have civilizing effect on the people. On the other hand, the construction of these temples suggested that the king acknowledged the political importance of the localities, guaranteed peace and security of those localities and honoured the people there. However, it is also possible that the king was trying to mark his territory by constructing Shwegu temples. He would be able to order the people in the towns and villages to construct these temples only if they pledged allegiance to him. Thus, the king's power can be gauged from the number of the Shwegu temples. It is a fact that the number of pagodas constructed varied with each king. Although 550 pagodas were erected in King Badon's reign, King Thibaw was able to build only 156 pagodas.¹

¹Thwe Thwe Sit, "*Badonmin Lethtet Myanmar Nainggan Oatchoatye Thamaing*", (A History of the

Therefore, it can be assumed that the king constructed Shwegu temples not only for religious purposes, but also for administrative reasons. King Badon sent envoys to central India to collect secular and religious texts. Of the group of officers sent to India to obtain treatises, the group sent in 1813 was the biggest. Myanmar received Sanskrit works because of these journeys. When they got new secular texts, Myanmar felt inspired to study secular subjects. The collection of texts began in 1786. When the texts were brought back to Myanmar, they were sent to Maungdaung *Sayadaw*, the then Supreme Patriarch, who had to transcribe and translate them. Although it is said that two hundred and fifty three texts were brought back from India between 1786 and 1818, only 236 texts have been found. It seems that the Myanmar got two copies of some texts. Maungdaung *Sayadaw* translated twenty three works.¹ Some believe that these journeys were made for political reasons. Some scholars are of the opinion that the Myanmar were exploring the possibilities of joining forces with Indian Rajis to drive out the British from Bengal.² As Myanmar had conquered Rakhine, Anglo-Myanmar relations had become strained because of the problems involving Rakhine rebels. That was the reason the East India Company assumed that the journeys were made for political reasons and the collection of texts was just a charade.³

King Badon also solved the problem concerning the mix up between crown land and religious land. With the passage of time, the inscriptions recording the donations made by

Administration of Myanmar in King Badon's Reign), M.A Thesis, History Department, Mandalay Arts and Science University, 1968, p. 303 (Henceforth: Thwe Thwe Sit, 1968)

¹Than Tun, 2005, 62-63

²Tin, 1970, 62-63

³Yi Yi, 1977, 75

former kings ceased to exist and the monasteries and temples to which the lands were donated fell into ruin; and nobody knew which lands were glebe land. Therefore, King Badon sought Maungdaung *Sayadaw*'s advice. The *Sayadaw* told him that only kings owned cultivable land, that only kings should donate land to the Religion, that the land donated to the Religion should remain as glebe land, that a tithe from the persons working on the land donated to a monastery or pagoda should be paid to the monastery or pagoda, that the donation should be cancelled if the monastery or pagoda ceased to exist and if only the land tax was donated to it, that the donation should not be cancelled if the land tax as

well as land was donated to a religious establishment, and that although former kings' making donations by recording their donations on stone was not in conformity with scriptural texts, the donations were valid because there were the donors, donees and the intention to donate the land.¹ With a view to making a new register of glebe lands, King Badon had all the inscriptions in the kingdom collected. The inscriptions, from which it was impossible to find out to which monasteries or pagodas lands were donated, were collected in 1785. The king had new inscriptions written and some old inscriptions re-engraved in 1793. U Tun Nyo, the governor of Twinthin *Taik* and Thetpan *Atwinwun* Balayaza Kyawhtin had to supervise the engraving of the new inscriptions.² Of the over 730 inscriptions in the Mahamuni inscription shed, ninety-five per cent were inscribed in King Badon's reign. They were the inscriptions collected and re-inscribed to determine

¹Maungdaung, 2007, 124-30

²U Tun Nyo, *Twinthin Yazawinthit* (New Twinthin Chronicle), Vol.I, Yangon, Mingalar Press, 1968, p. pha. (Henceforth: Tun Nyo, 1968)

which lands were donated to the Religion by former kings; they were set out in rows according to townships.¹ King Badon's intention was to escheat the glebe lands which were ownerless, to levy taxes on those lands and to use the revenues for copying the scriptures and collecting texts.² It can be assumed that King Badon collected all the inscriptions within reach to make a detailed register of glebe lands with a view to finding out what was the extent of glebe land and who were evading taxes by registering nonglebe land as glebe land. It seems that King Badon tried to get the Supreme Patriarch's support for confiscating glebe land. It is not known whether he did what he wanted or what the *Sayadaw* wanted after getting the *Sayadaw*'s opinion. The royal order suggests that all the lands would revert to the crown if there were no inscriptions recording their donation. What the *Sayadaw* had told the king was that a plot of land should not be escheated if the donation of it was historically valid even if there was no inscription recording its donation. When the king asked the *Sayadaw* again in 1788, the *Sayadaw* replied that the crown should regard a plot of land as glebe land if there was an inscription recording its donation or if there was any concrete proof that it was donated to the Religion, and that the crown could escheat the land if there was no irrefutable evidence that it had been donated.³

King Badon introduced many religious reforms. He strongly believed that monastic rules must be in accordance with the Buddha's teachings. He asked the *Sayadaws* whether his

¹Dr Yi Yi, "Mahamuni Kyauksazu" (Mahamuni Inscriptions), *Union of Burma Literature and Social Science Review*, Vol.I, Yangon, September 1968, pp. 555-559, (Henceforth: Yi Yi, 1968)

²Tin, 1970, 53-54

³Maungdaung, 2007, 237-39

views on some of the Buddhist sermons were acceptable or not. He was against the disagreements over doctrinal matters and *Vinaya* rules.

King Badon believed that monks could not attain Nibbana just by being virtuous. They must have firm belief in the Three Jewels. Shaving the head and wearing the robes would not lead a person to Nibbana.¹ Before carrying out serious religious reforms, King Badon sought the Supreme Patriarch's approval. He checked whether monks were observing the *Vinaya* rules and discussed monks' behaviour. He invited the monks from the royal capital and the *neitthayi Sayadaws* from rural areas to the palace. The following order issued on 7 January 1811 shows that the king himself participated in the discussions about monastic rules:

We will discuss religious matters. Invite the Thathanabyu *Sayadaw*, the Sinda *Sayadaw*, the abbot of Ngazowun's monastery, the Shwegyin *Sayadaw*, the Lawkahmankin *Sayadaw*, the Kyauksauk *Sayadaw*, the Medi *Sayadaw*, Khingyi Shwetaung, Paunglaunggu *Sayadaw* and Letwe *Sayadaw* to the palace in Mingun.²

It is learnt that King Badon invited monks repeatedly to the palace to discuss religious matters. The monks had to write down their discussions made in his presence and submit the records to the king. Concerning this, the king issued an edict on 30 January 1811 as follows:

¹"*Badonmin Ayuwada Sadan*" (A Treatise on King Badon's Faith), *Handscript*, U Toe Hla's Collection (Henceforth: "*Badonmin Ayuwada Sadan*")

²Dr Than Tun, *The Royal Orders of Burma*, Part.VII (AD. 1811-1819), Kyoto, The Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1988, p.165 (Henceforth: Than Tun, 1988)

Religious matters must be discussed truthfully. The *Sayadaw* and monks are to discuss the matters in the Ratanabon monastery and are to submit a report to me when the discussion is over.¹

King Badon held that a monk who wished to attain *nibbana* must reside in a secluded place and meditate on the *dhamma*. Therefore, he instructed monks to practice the *dhamma* in forests. He maintained that wearing a robe was not good enough. To attain *nibbana*, a monk must bear in mind the three Refuges (*saranagamana*), which were the essence of Buddhism. To force the monks who could not practice in this way to leave the Order, he issued an order in 1812 as follows:

Merit and demerit do not hang on age. One can become a monk only if one has *saranagamana* (the three Refuges). As the three *saranagamana* are hard to attain, one must make strenuous efforts to establish the three *saranagamana* in oneself. (The Buddha) expounds in the Anagatabhaya-sutta how to practice to establish the *saranagamana* in oneself in a secluded place, where one cannot get the smell of men. If you desire to establish the *saranagamana* in yourselves, practice in a forest as instructed in the Anagatabhaya-sutta. Do not let a monk who cannot practice to establish the *saranagamana* in himself to live in the Order till he becomes old. Make him disrobe.²

King Badon believes that dwelling in the forest would not benefit the monks who did not know scriptural texts. Therefore, he forced the monks who did not understand the monastic rules and who did not know the scriptures to leave the Order. However, he did not force the monks to leave the monkhood without giving sufficient reason. He invited

¹Than Tun, 1988, 184

²Tin, 1970, 120-21

senior monks to discuss *dhamma* and made the monks from all over the kingdom to recite scriptural texts from memory with a view to finding out which monks were shirking their duties and which monks were observing the *Vinaya* rules. He forced the monks who did not study the scriptures or who could not discuss the scriptures to leave the Order.

Although he tightened his grip on monks, he simplified the procedure for entering the Order. He allowed anyone to enter the Order by taking refuge in the Three Jewels after placing the Suttanta text before a Buddha image. As politeness and calmness were not enough for monks, the Buddha expounded the suttas to guide them to tame their minds. As he desired people to enter the Order according to Suttanta, the king issued an order on 12 August 1812 as follows:

Donors are to build forest monasteries, two to three hundred *tas* apart, in a suitable locality for the monks who practice in accordance with the teachings in the Suttanta.¹ An order was issued in King Badon's reign to permit some persons to enter the Order in accordance with the teachings in the Suttanta as follows:

The eight men, Nga Aw, Nga Pu, Nga Tha Ye, Nga Hkwe, Nga Tha dun Aung, Nga Sein Min, Nga Myat Tin and Nga Shwe Eit, who wanted to enter the Order according to Suttanta like the above mentioned persons, are to enter the Order by placing the Suttanta text before the Sandamuni image and taking the three refuges.²

¹Than Tun, 1988, 297

²Tin, 1970, 131-32

Nga Shwe Yi, who wished to enter the monkhood according to Suttanta may enter the monkhood before the Sandamuni Image like the above-mentioned persons.¹ Entering the Order according to Suttanta was in conformity with the way permitted by the Buddha soon after he attained Enlightenment. U Tin believes that King Badon made this mistake because *Mingyi Minhla Mahanawrahta*, also known as U Paw Oo, told him that the Buddha, after spending the first *vassa* (monsoon retreat) in the Deer Park, sent sixty arahants to various towns and villages to spread the Religion and permitted those who wished to become monks to enter the Order through the three Refuges without visiting the Buddha in person.² King Badon was against the ordinations which were not in conformity with Suttanta. When he set down strict rules, monks were disgruntled. Some disrobed, re-entered the Order according to Suttanta and became forest monks. Some returned to their native villages. Monks became disunited and some monks rebelled against the king. Nga Pu of Taungbalu Nga village and Nga Tha Myat of Kyaungbyu conspired and staged a rebellion with financial support from U Labha of Alenan monastery. The rebels were arrested and the king pardoned them. King Badon defrocked U Labha who gave financial help to the rebels and, saying that he spoke what was true, rewarded him. He conferred the title Yazathingyan on U Labha and made the latter serve him.³ However, it seems that King Badon was not adamant about his reforms; he usually gave in when he faced vigorous opposition. An important reform measure King Badon

¹Than Tun, 1988, 296

²Tin, 1970, 121

³Tin 1970, 129

took was the removal of the cabalistic squares buried at the four corners of the Golden City. He ordered:

Burying cabalistic squares in the foundations of the towers at the corners of the Golden City was wrong. Those that have been placed there, together with their stone containers, must be dug out and thrown away at the confluence of the rivers . . .¹

The view that making bronze cabalistic squares was wrong was a very progressive idea in those days. The kings before and after him encouraged the burying of cabalistic squares at the corners of the royal capital. Each king made cabalistic squares as soon as he ascended the throne, before his coronation so that his reign would be long. King Badon was the only Myanmar king to reject this practice.

King Badon asked monks whether the *sima* (ordination hall), *parisa* (the assembly of monks to perform ordination rites), *ñatti* (ritual announcement made at the inauguration of a Buddhist ecclesiastical undertaking such as ordination into monkhood), *kammavaca* (sacred *Pali* texts to be recited to ordain a person into the monkhood) and monk-to-be were mentioned in canonical texts as the five conditions for a person to become a monk. Monks had to admit that they were not mentioned in canonical texts. The king asked whether it was true that the five qualities of a monk mentioned in the canonical texts were *sila* (morality), *Samadhi* (concentration), *pañña* (wisdom), *vimutti* (emancipation), *vimuttiñānadassana* (vision of emancipation), and the monks told him that it was true. Believing that a person could not become a monk without having firm faith in the three Refuges, the king wanted the monks to disrobe. Some monks begged him not to defrock

¹Tin, 1970, 129

them when they were old because they had been living as monks since they were young. It is possible that they said so because they feared the wrath of the king.

King Badon's strict orders brought about rebellions staged by monks from circa 1812 onwards, and the Religion was seemingly on the wane. A religion would last long only if its followers were united. If the followers were disunited, the king's orders would be fruitless. King Badon made some innovations concerning Buddhism and astrology.¹ However, he rescinded his orders when his views were not accepted by the people all over the kingdom. It can be assumed that his strict rules were in force only between 1812 and 1817. He issued an edict on 7 August 1817 as follows:

Kings of Pagan, Myin Zaing, Sagaing, Pinya and Ava followed Anawyatha and they all went wrong; all the successive religious teachers would know it and they should try somehow or other to correct it but they failed to do so; in the time of Nyaung Yan ten kings, Thalun, 1633- 1648, collected all available Buddhist literature and allowed monks to be ordained as it was introduced by Anawyatha and Arahan and to hold religious examinations annually, but he also allowed all other sects of Buddhism to carry on with their own ways; they would be doing one of several of the following:

Atin Covering only the left shoulder with Robe

Ayon Covering Both Shoulders with Robe

Be Din Haw Reading Horoscopes

Du Gote Tin Hanging on Dousle layer Robe from Shoulder

¹Tin, 1970, 119-20

Gamavasi Living in Village

Gwin Hto Tattooing

Hlay Hlaw Racing Boats

Let Hpwe That Wrestling

Ma Tha Laik Burying the Dead

Mi Hnet Burning incense or Turning Lantern

Ok Htote Hsaung Putting on Hat

Pwe Gyaung Offering to Various Deities

Say Yay Painting the Face

Si Ti Beating Drum

Like Thalun 1633-1648 the King considered it best to allow monks and men to go back to their old ways that their teachers had taught them...¹ King Badon, in introducing religious reforms in line with his progressive ideas had to gauge his power. Even an able king could not stamp out the people's traditional beliefs. Scriptures were copied also in the reign of his successor King Bagyidaw.

Bagyidaw issued an order on 2 January 1820 as follows:

Copies of Pitaka (on lacquered plaques with letters) in gold, (on paper with letters) in ink and (letters incised) by stylus (on palm leaf) left by former kings in Royal Library, are in

¹Than Tun, 1988, 118-119

(various stages of) decay; the king wants new copies made in all three styles, i.e. written in gold, ink and by stylus; get all good scribes and all experts in preparing the material for writing; there is a register of these specialists and their descendants in all parts of the kingdom; get all of them ehre and put them under Maha Dhamma Thin Gyan, *Min Daing Bin Amat*—Minister King’s Counsellor, for reorientation (in their old art).¹ He had many copies of the Suttanta, *Vinaya* and Abhidhamma *Pitakas* made so that the Religion would prosper. Mondaw *Sayadaw* and twenty one titleholding monks, who were well-versed in the canonical texts, commentaries and sub-commentaries had to supervise the copying of the scriptures. Fifty eight *Sayadaws* had to edit the copies.² There is some discrepancy between the accounts of King Bagyidaw’s appointment of a *thathanabaing*. Although all the documents agree that the king conferred the title Muninandabhisirisaddhammadhaja Mahadhammarajadhirajaguru on Salin *Sayadaw* Shin Paññasiha and named him as *thathanabaing*, they do not agree on the date of his appointment.³ Three halls for copying the scriptures were constructed in the precincts of the Man Aung Yadana Pagoda and on the east side of the pagoda, which was situated to the southwest of the palace, and the copying of the three *pitakas*—

Suttanta, *Vinaya* and Abhidhamma *Pitakas*—on palm leaves, supervised by the *Sayadaws* headed by the Supreme Patriarch, commenced on 8 April 1824. Robes, alms-bowls and

¹Than Tun, 1988, 370

²Maung Maung Tin, 2004b, 179-82

³The date is given as 3 March 1821 in Dr Than Tun’s ROB. VII (p. 374) and as 3 November 1819 in U Tikkhadhammalankara’s *Myanma Yetswe Thamaing* (Konbaungkhit)

(p. 142). The date is not given in U Maung Maung Tin’s *Konbaungzet Mahayazawindawgyi* (Vol. II, p. 179) even though the appointment of the *thathanabaing* is mentioned.

eight requisites were donated to the title-holding *Sayadaws*.¹ By this time, the First Anglo-Myanmar war had begun. Hence, it can be assumed that some scribes were conscripted into the army. Mahadhammathingyan, a minister who had to oversee the copying of the scriptures, requested the king to cancel the conscription of the descendants of the scribes so that they would be able to continue copying the scriptures, and the king assented to his request.² Exemption from military service even when the war was escalating was an inducement of the job of copying the scriptures. Additionally, the king issued an order on 27 April 1829 that the descendants of the scribes were only to be employed in copying the scriptures and were to be exempted from other crown services.³ King Bagyidaw made efforts to carve a marble image. A rock for carving the image was found on the Sagyin hill on 17 May 1829. It is learnt that the king asked the monks how he should name the image, and the monks chose the name Mahathakyananthi. The king himself gave the measurements to carve the image.⁴

In choosing the date for building a concrete temple to house the Mahathakyananthi image, the king followed the advice given by the *thathanabaing* and a learned minister.⁵

It is learnt that a monk who failed to practice according to scriptural texts was defrocked in King Bagyidaw's reign. The king issued an edict as follows:

¹Maung Maung Tin, *2004b*, 261

²Than Tun, *1988*, 430

³Than Tun, *1988*, 531

⁴U Tikkhadhammalankara, *Myanma Yetswe Thamaing (Konbaungzet)* (Chronology of Myanmar History (Konbaung Period)), Yangon, Ingyin Oo Press, 2005, p.194 (Henceforth: Tikkha, 2005)

⁵Than Tun, *1988*, 565

Nga Tha Noe fails to practice according to scriptural texts. He masquerades as a monk and follows wrong practices. He is a menace to the Religion and he follows a wrong view. Although Nga Tha Noe Nge should be executed, I spare his life to show mercy. As his following has grown, the Religion can become impure. Defrock Nga Tha Noe Nge and hand him over to a service group.¹

4.19.5 King Bagyidaw and his activities

King Bagyidaw did not change the texts King Badon prescribed for monks and novices-to-be to recite. Monks- and novices-to-be received robes presented by the king. However, it seems that their sponsors made lavish donations to them. The king prohibited the sponsors from making lavish donations to monks and novices and even threatened them with punishment if they disobeyed. Moreover, it seems that some monks- and novices-to-be cheated in the examinations. The king ordered his servants to keep tabs on the monks- and novices-to-be and titleholding *Sayadaws* who were teaching them to find out whether they were violating rules and to submit reports to him. It can be assumed that the titleholding *Sayadaws* who were serving as examiners did not come to the Thudhamma Hall regularly. The king himself had to urge them to come.² During Bagyidaw's reign the *thathanabyu thathanazaunt Sayadaws* mediated when King Bagyidaw and Prince Tharyarwady vied for throne.³ King Bagyidaw was succeeded by his younger brother Prince Tharyarwady on 15 April 1837.⁴ As soon as he came to the throne King

¹Than Tun, 1988, 577

²Than Tun, 1988, 614-15

³This will be dealt with in detail in Chapter 4.

⁴The date is given as 30 April 1837 in U Maung Maung Tin, 2004b (p. 368) and as U Tikkhadhammalankara, 2005 (p. 214) and as 15 April 1837 in Than Tun, 1988, (p.617)

Tharyarwady made arrangements so that all the monks in the capital, who had to depend on the king for performing ecclesiastical rites, would go into monsoon retreat on 18 July 1837.

King Tharyarwady named the *Sayadaw* who was a native of The-in village in Pahkangyi Township and whom he had been venerating as *thathanabyu* and conferred title Suriyasobhisiripavaralankaradhammasenapati Mahadhammarajadhirajaguru title on him. He also presented the Rajadhirajaguru titles to twelve monks who were the *thathanabyu Sayadaw*'s pupils and who were endowed with *pariyatti* and *patipatti*.¹ He also issued an order to exempt the whole village of Myindin in Pahkangyi Township from crown service. As the monks who were causing the Religion to become impure by giving fruits and flowers to laypersons, by practising medicine and astrology, by accepting the donation of gold and silver, by practising alchemy, or by giving charms, etc. to laypersons could absolve themselves of sins and become *lajji* only by abandoning their possessions, they had to take a vow in the presence of monks so that other monks would have no suspicion and would be able to live in communion with them and so that laypersons would be able to make donations to them without fearing the wrath of the king. Monks had to expiate their sins before going into monsoon retreat. Monks also had to report to the king that they had expiated their sins in such and such a *sima* on such and such a date. The monks who failed to take a vow and perform ecclesiastical rites had disobeyed the orders of the Supreme Patriarch and the king. So, the persons who venerated them and the monks who associated with them would be guilty of a crime. Hence, they had to be expelled from their sects.

¹The date given in U Maung Maung Tin, 2004b (p.372) and UTikkhadhammalankara, 2005 (p. 216) is 31 may 1837 and that mentioned in Than Tun, 1988 (p. 635) is 29 April 1837.

A list of the monks who had committed the Patimokkha to memory had to be submitted to the king. All the monks except those who had only spent a *vassa*, who were older than sixty and who were ill, must learn the Patimokkha if they did not know it by heart.¹

4.19.6 Instruction of King Tharyarwady

King Tharyarwady also instructed the librarians concerned to make copies of the scriptures in gold and ink and with a stylus for the welfare of the Religion. He issued an order to remove the scribes and preparers of the palm leaves from other service groups and to exempt them from crown services and from making cash contributions.² It is noteworthy that scriptural texts which had been donated to the Religion were traded in King Tharyarwady's reign. The king came to know of this and issued an order on 21 November 1837 to prohibit the people from buying and selling the scriptures, saying that they might make new copies if they needed.³ It can therefore be assumed that the number of scriptural texts donated to monks increased in King Tharyarwady's reign. Some people probably bought scriptural texts rather than waiting till new copies were completed so that they would be able to donate them to their monks before others.⁴

King Tharyarwady allowed a monk and his followers to live separately from other monks. He permitted the Kyetsugyin *Sayadaw* to admonish his pupils, study the scriptures and practice meditation and prohibited the *gaing-oats* and *gaing-dauks* from

¹Than Tun, 1988, 661-62

²Than Tun, 1988, 676

³Than Tun, 1988, 688

⁴Than Tun, 1988, 688

summoning him.¹It sounds as if the king was permitting the formation of a new sect. King Mindon's permission to a monk and his followers to live apart from other monks resulted in the establishment of a new sect. However, it seems that the Kyetsugyin *Sayadaw* and his followers, who were allowed to live apart from other monks in King Tharyarwady's reign, did not mutate into a sect.

The-In *Sayadaw*, the *thathanabyu* in the reign of King Tharyarwady's reign, passed away on 4 November 1839. Then, the king appointed The-In *Sayadaw*'s pupil Ven. Ñeyyadhammalankara Mahadhammarajadhirajaguru, who had received the Rajaguru title, as *thathanabyu*.²He had to manage the matters concerning the monks who resided in the entire kingdom. *Sayadaw* U Ñeyya served as *thathanabyu* from 1839 to 1845. On 4 December 1845, Bagaya *Sayadaw* U Paññajota replaced U Ñeyya as *thathanabyu thathanasaunt*.³ It is learnt that the king appointed a new *thathanabaing* not because the *thathanabaing* had passed away; he removed the *thathanabaing* because they had a disagreement and appointed a new one. The king instructed the *thathanabyu Sayadaw* to probe into the matters concerning the ordination of criminals and the monks' detention of the former fief-holder of Amyint who was facing criminal charges. The

¹Than Tun, 1988, 710

²Than Tun, 1988, 726

³U Maung Maung Tin, *Konbaungzet Mahayazawindawgyi* (A Chronicle of the Konbaung Dynasty), Vol.III, Yangon, Universities' Historical Research Department, 2004, p. 51 (Henceforth: Maung Maung Tin, 2004)

thathanabyuSayadaw decided that the monks were not in the wrong. The king was dissatisfied with this and removed the *thathanabaing* from office.¹

CHAPTER-V

ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS OF THERAVADA BUDDHISM IN KONBAUNG PERIOD

¹Ni Tut, “*Amarapurahkit Buddha Thathanawin*” (A History of Buddhism inAmarapura Period), M.A thesis, History Department, Mandalay University, 1982, p. 67(Henceforth: Ni Tut, 1982)

Chapter V

ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS OF THERAVADA BUDDHISM IN KONGBAUNG PERIOD

Before we study the environmental ethics in Konbaung dynasty, we need to know the society, culture, lifestyle and so on of Konbaung period. In this chapter, it is focused how Myanmar judicial administrative role is included in environmental ethics of Konbaung period and how the teaching of the Buddha influenced the people in that period.

5.1 Social classes

During the Konbaung dynasty, Burmese society was highly stratified. Loosely modelled on the four Hindu *varnas*, Konbaung society was divided into four general social classes by descent:

1. Rulers or *Khattiya*
2. Ritualists or *Brahmana*
3. Merchants or *Vessa*
4. Commoners or *Sudda*¹

Society also distinguished between the free and slaves, who were indebted persons or prisoners of war (including those brought back from military campaigns in Arakan, Ayuthaya, and Manipur), but could belong to one of the four classes. There was also distinction between taxpayers and non-taxpayers. Tax-paying commoners were called

¹Myint-U 2001, p. 31.

athi, whereas non-taxpaying individuals, usually affiliated to the royal court or under government service, were called *ahmudan*. Outside of hereditary positions, there were two primary paths to influence: joining the military and joining the BuddhistSangha in the monasteries.

5.2 Sumptuary laws

Sumptuary laws called *yazagaing* dictated life and consumption for Burmese subjects in the Konbaung kingdom, everything from the style of one's house to clothing suitable to one's social standing from regulations concerning funerary ceremonies and the coffin to be used to usage of various speech forms based on rank and social status.¹ In particular, sumptuary laws in the royal capital were exceedingly strict and the most elaborate in character.² For instance, sumptuary laws forbade ordinary Burmese subjects to build houses of stone or brick and dictated the number of tiers on the ornamental spired roof (called *pyatthat*) allowed above one's residence—the royal palace's Great Audience Hall and the 4 main gates of the royal capital, as well as monasteries, were allowed 9 tiers while those of the most powerful tributary princes (*sawbwa*) were permitted 7, at most.³ Sumptuary laws ordained 5 types of funerals and rites accorded to each: the king, royal family members, holders of ministerial offices, merchants and those who possessed titles, and peasants (who received no rites at death).⁴ Sumptuary regulations regarding dress and ornamentation were carefully observed. Designs with the peacock insignia were strictly reserved for the royal family and long-tailed hip-length jackets and surcoats were

¹Scott 1882, p. 411.

²Scott 1882, p. 406.

³Nisbet 1901, p. 15. Cocks 1919, p. 161

⁴Scott 1882, p. 411-412.

reserved for officials.¹ Velvet sandals were worn exclusively by royals.² Gold anklets were worn only by the royal children. Silk cloth, brocaded with gold and silver flowers and animal figures were only permitted to be worn by members of the royal family and ministers' wives. Adornment with jewels and precious stones was similarly regulated. Usage of *hinthapada*, a vermilion dye made from cinnabar was regulated.

5.3 Demography

Throughout the Konbaung dynasty, cultural integration continued. For the first time in history, the Burmese language and culture came to predominate the entire Irrawaddy valley, with the Mon language and ethnicity completely eclipsed by 1830. The nearer Shan principalities adopted more lowland norms. An 1855 watercolour of a *Kathe* horseman from Manipur Captives from various military campaigns in their hundreds and thousands were brought back to the kingdom and resettled as hereditary servants to royalty and nobility or dedicated to pagodas and temples; these captives added new knowledge and skills to Burmese society and enriched Burmese culture. They were encouraged to marry into the host community thus enriching the gene pool as well. Captives from Manipur formed the cavalry called *Kathè myindat* (Cassay Horse) and also *Kathè a hmyauk tat* (Cassay Artillery) in the royal Burmese army. Even captured French soldiers, led by Chevalier Milard, were forced into the Burmese army. The incorporated French troops with their guns and muskets played a key role in the later battles between the Burmese and the Mons. They became an elite corps, which was to play a role in the Burmese battles against the Siamese (attacks and capture of Ayutthaya from 1760 to

¹Scott 1882, p. 409.

²Scott 1882, p. 409-10.

1765) and the Manchus (battles against the Chinese armies of the Qianlong Emperor from 1766 to 1769).¹ Muslim eunuchs from Arakan also served in the Konbaung court.² A small community of foreign scholars, missionaries and merchants also lived in Konbaung society. Besides mercenaries and adventurers who had offered their services since the arrival of the Portuguese in the 16th century, a few Europeans served as ladies-in-waiting to the last queen Supayalat in Mandalay, a missionary established a school attended by Mindon's several sons including the last king Thibaw, and an Armenian had served as a king's minister at Amarapura. Among the most visible non-Burmans of the royal court were Brahmins. They typically originated from one of four locales:

- Manipur - acquired with the conquest of Manipur; perhaps from Bengal, since Manipur was Hinduised by Bengali Brahmins in the 1700s
- Arakan - acquired with the conquest of Arakan in 1785 by King Bodawpaya's son, Thado Minsaw
- Sagaing - long-established lines of Brahmins at Burman and Mon royal courts, who traced their origins to 9th century Sri Ksetra or 14th century Sagaing
- Benares - Indian Brahmins from Benares who arrived in upper Burma between the late 1700s to early 1800s.^[114]

5.4 Literature and arts

The evolution and growth of Burmese literature and theatre continued, aided by an extremely high adult male literacy rate for the era (half of all males and 5% of females).³

¹Findlay & O'Rourke 2007, p. 277.

²Peletz 2007, p. 73.

³Lieberman 2003, p. 202–206.

Foreign observers such as Michael Symes remarked on widespread literacy among commoners, from peasants to watermen.^[106] The Siamese captives carried off from Ayutthaya as part of the Burmese–Siamese War (1765–67) went on to have an outsize influence on traditional Burmese theatre and dance. In 1789, a Burmese royal commission consisting of Princes and Ministers was charged with translating Siamese and Javanese dramas from Thai to Burmese. With the help of Siamese artists captured from Ayutthaya in 1767, the commission adapted two important epics from Thai to Burmese: the Siamese Ramayana and the Enao, the Siamese version of Javanese Panji tales into Burmese *Yama Zattaw* and *Enaung Zattaw*. One classical Siamese dance, called *Yodaya Aka* (lit. Ayutthaya-style dance) is considered one of the most delicate of all traditional Burmese dances.

5.5 Architecture

Since secular structures were historically always built from wood, the only buildings to have survived from Myanmar's golden age are the country's ubiquitous Buddhist temples. Most of these temples fall into one of two categories: stupa-style solid temples of *gu*-style hollow temples, and they were originally influenced by the building techniques of early Pyu civilisations as well as India and Ceylon. Due to frequent earthquakes in Myanmar, many of these temples (including Shwedagon Paya) have been rebuilt multiple times throughout history.

Though stupas can be seen throughout the country, the most memorable examples for most travellers are the temples of Bagan, which cover an area of 13 by 8 kilometres in the Mandalay region of the country. Today there are over 2,500 structures remaining, but at

the height of the Pagan kingdom, between the 11th and 13th centuries, there were over 10,000. Despite the site's impressive historical and cultural wealth, the temples of Bagan have never been awarded UNESCO World Heritage status. This is due to botched restoration efforts made by the Burmese military government in the 1990s, which paid little heed to existing structures or historical accuracy, damaging the integrity of the site sufficiently for UNESCO to withhold their endorsement.

Myanmar's single most famous stupa, meanwhile, is not found in Bagan at all but in Yangon. Shwedagon Paya is the country's most important stupa, and is easily recognisable thanks to its dazzlingly shiny, gold exterior. According to Shwedagon's official website, the structure originally stood just 8.2 metres tall before improvements by successive monarchs raised it to its present height of nearly 110 metres. Tradition dictates that each Burmese king must add his own body weight in gold to the structure, which legend claims is over 2,600 years old - making it the oldest Buddhist pagoda in the world. (Historians and archaeologists, however, put its age at a more modest 1,100-1,500 years old).

Besides Myanmar's ancient religious buildings, the country also has a few excellent examples of colonial architecture dating back to days of British rule. If you are interested in seeing colonial-era Burmese architecture, there are some interesting examples to be found in Yangon, Pyin Oo Lwin, Salay, Mawlamyine and Myeik. Traditionally, most buildings in Myanmar (apart from temples and pagodas) were built from wood, and most Burmese still live in wooden houses today - especially in rural areas. The most famous and photographed wooden structure is U Bein Bridge - a 1.2 km teakwood bridge

that was built in 1850 and believed to be the oldest and longest such structure in the world. Mandalay is Burma's cultural and religious center of Buddhism, having numerous monasteries and more than 700 pagodas. At the foot of Mandalay Hill sits the world's official "Buddhist Bible", also known as the world's largest book, in Kuthodaw Pagoda. The styles of Mandalay Buddha Images and Buddha Statues were many since King Mandon, who was a devout Buddhist, and had filled Mandalay with them and through the years Mandalay Buddhist art became established as the pure art of Myanmar. There are 729 slabs of stone that together are inscribed with the entire Pāli canon, each housed in its own white stupa. The buildings inside the old Mandalay city walls, surrounded by a moat, which was repaired in recent times using prison labor, comprise the Mandalay Palace, mostly destroyed during World War II. It is now replaced by a replica, Mandalay Prison and a military garrison, the headquarters of the Central Military Command.¹

5.6 Religion

Monastic and lay elites around the Konbaung kings, particularly from Bodawpaya's reign, also launched a major reformation of Burmese intellectual life and monastic organisation and practice known as the Sudhamma Reformation. It led to, amongst other things, Burma's first proper state histories.²

5.7 Buddhist ethics in Konbaung

Environmental ethics of Theravada Buddhism was impacted the Kongbaung human society. Buddhist ethics are traditionally based on what Buddhists view as the

¹ (<https://www.insideasiatours.com/myanmar/culture/arts-and-architecture/>)

²Charney 2006: 96–107

enlightened perspective of the Buddha, or other enlightened beings such as Bodhisattvas. The Indian term for ethics or morality used in Buddhism is Śīla (Pāli). Śīla in Buddhism is one of three sections of the Noble Eightfold Path, and is a code of conduct that embraces a commitment to harmony and self-restraint with the principal motivation being nonviolence, or freedom from causing harm. It has been variously described as virtue, right conduct, morality, moral discipline and precept.

Sīla is an internal, aware, and intentional ethical behavior, according to one's commitment to the path of liberation. It is an ethical compass within self and relationships, rather than what is associated with the English word "morality". It is obedience, a sense of obligation, and external constraint.

Sīla is one of the three practices foundational to Buddhism and the non-sectarian Vipassana movement — *sīla*, *samādhi*, and *paññā* as well as the Theravadin foundations of *sīla*, *Dāna*, and *Bhavana*. It is also the second *pāramitā*. *Sīla* is also wholehearted commitment to what is wholesome. Two aspects of *sīla* are essential to the training: right "performance" (*caritta*), and right "avoidance" (*varitta*). Honoring the precepts of *sīla* is considered a "great gift" (*mahadana*) to others, because it creates an atmosphere of trust, respect, and security. It means the practitioner poses no threat to another person's life, property, family, rights, or well-being.

5.7.1 Morality or Fundamental ethics of Buddhism

“Better it is to live one day virtuous and meditative than to live a hundred years immoral and uncontrolled.”¹

¹Dhp.verse no.110

The teachings of the Buddha shows us the correct path which leads to ultimate peace. This path can be classified into three stages. They are *Sīla* (morality), *Samādhi*(concentration) and *Paññaṇa* (wisdom). They are three cornerstones of Buddhism, which lead us ultimate peace. They can be fulfilled over many lifetimes with great effort.

Of these, the first stage is *Sīla*. Discipline, good conduct, virtue, precept and morality are synonymous with this word *Sīla*. This is foundation to lead a religious way of life. If a house is built without laying a proper foundation, it will be very unstable. Modern man had learned how important it is to live in *Sīla*. We must learn how to live as harmless and gentle human beings. In simple language, we must know how to live without disturbing the peace and good-will of others. It means respecting the right of others to live in peace and harmony. If we are able to do this, it will indeed be a great achievement. A good Buddhist has a deep respect and concern for the well-being of every other being. This is *Sīla*.

The meaning of the term ‘Sila’ is morality or discipline. It is divided into two sections. They are *Cāritta Sīla*- the duties that one should perform and *Vāritta Sīla*- abstinences’ from what is prohibited by the Buddha. Performing the obligatory duties towards parents, children, husband, wife, teachers, pupils, friends, monks etc. mentioned in detail in *Singālovāda sutta* is fulfillment of *Cāritta Sīla*. Apart from these, observing five precepts, eight precepts, ten precepts etc. other disciplinary rules is fulfillment of *Vāritta Sīla*.

To be an ideal person or virtuous person, one has to fulfil both *Cāritta Sīla* and *Vāritta Sīla*. Without fulfilling *Cāritta Sīla*, *Vāritta Sīla* won't be fulfilled completely. It is mentioned the scriptures as follow-

1. *Vattam apari purento*

sīlam na paripūrati.

Asuddhasīlo duppañño

cittekaggaṃ navindati.

2. *Vikkhittacitto nekaggo*

sammā dhammaṃ na passati.

Apassamāno saddhammaṃ

dukkhā na parimuccati.

“The one who neglects *Cāritta Sīla* is not perfect in *Vāritta Sīla*. With impurity of *Sīla*, the ignorant cannot focus one's mind.”

“The unconcentrated mind could not see the truth. Not seeing the truth, there is no liberation of suffering”.¹ There are five precepts, which are basic principles for lay Buddhists with regard to *Vāritta*. They are abstaining from killing, stealing, committing sexual misconduct, telling lies and taking intoxicants and drugs. If someone observes

¹Vin.IV-417

these noble precepts, he not only leads religious way of life but also renders a better service to others by allowing them to live peacefully. By leading a pure life according to the noble Eightfold path, we become noble ourselves and our lives become more meaningful. Those who are spiritually advanced see nonsense at all in material possessions and worldly powers. Therefore, they renounce the worldly pleasures and observe the precepts in order to gain more peace and happiness. Some people say that they are forbidden to do certain things just because their religion says so. But that is not the correct way for a mature person to follow as to what to do and what not to do. When we uphold all precepts, we should not think that we are observing them only for our benefit. If we stop killing and disturbing people, they can expect to live peacefully, because we do not create any fear in their mind. Similarly, If we do not rob, lie and swindle others, they can have security, happiness and live peacefully. Therefore, when Buddhists who are spiritually advanced observe the precepts, they are not concerned with any fear of punishment but they consider the danger of cruelty and suffering which they create towards others. By considering the danger of killing stealing etc. they refrain from all evil things. In this way, they give an opportunity to their mind to cultivate virtues such as loving kindness, compassion and sympathy. They observe all other Buddhist principles in the same manner. If every human being in this world could follow the five precepts which are the noble principles of moral conduct, how peaceful and happy we will all be!

This is a study of five precepts, which are able to lead a person to a noble life in peace and harmony. It consists of five chapters expounding each precept. In addition to introduction and conclusion are incorporated. In each and every chapter, definitions and

factors of each precept, consequences and events illustrating the consequences of observing and transgressing each precept, are explained. Moreover, in first chapter varieties of *Sīla*, three kinds of abstinences (*Viratī*) and purity and impurity of *Sīla* are added.

As to the first precept of non-killing, it is the fact that everyone wants to be healthy and happy. No one, at least, wants to have a headache. Bodily suffering and mental suffering caused by pain, injury and illness etc. are the consequences of transgressing the first precept of non-killing. Transgressing the first precept of non-killing would eventually lead to world war spreading bloodshed globally. The first precept of non-killing should not be transgressed because this would cause catastrophe to one and every inhabitant on this earth. By observing the first precept of non-killing, we save the lives of one, two, three and other countless beings and also control our hatred and cultivate loving kindness.

As to the second precept, many people experienced intense distress when their belongings were stolen or robbed. Robbing or stealing causes affliction and misery to the victims. By abstaining from stealing other's properties, we can free all human beings from suffering, woe and create physical peace as well as mental peace. Moreover, we could control our greed and cultivate non-attachment.

As to the third precept of non-committing sexual misconduct, ordinary worldlings are very fond of sensual pleasure, especially, bodily pleasure. Every man is attached to his better half very much and never hesitant to defend her fiercely. He might be able to tolerate loss of material property to a certain extent, but not least misdemeanor on his wife. Therefore to abstain from sexual misconduct means abstaining from causing misery

and suffering to other. Abstinence from sexual misconduct will bring peace and calm to everyone living in this world. Moreover, we could control sensual lust and cultivate our contentment.

As to the fourth precept of non-telling lies, those who had the experience of being cheated or told lies, would suffer from extreme anger. Today, there are many sectarian leaders who propagate their faith professing it to be the absolute truth. Therefore, millions of people are led astray, finally encountering an infinite number of catastrophes. To abstain from telling lies amounts to protecting others from suffering. Moreover, we amount to cultivate truthfulness.

As to the fifth precept of non-taking intoxicants, one who consumes some forms of intoxicant will suffer from bad consequences in this life and the lives hereafter. When most drinkers are drunk, they are no more hesitant to breach the other precepts. They are willing to quarrel, to kill, to steal or to tell lies. Therefore intoxicants cause addicts to commit atrocities without restraint. They would no longer be reluctant to commit murder, rape, arson, theft etc. The alcoholic causes misery to everybody in his community. Those who abstain from taking intoxicants will free the world from such misery and distress. Moreover, we can develop mindfulness by abstaining from taking intoxicants. Therefore a person should try his best to observe all precepts so that all inhabitants on earth are in peace and harmony.

Observance of precepts with earnest mind is certainly a meritorious deed. It brings great benefits to this life and the lives hereafter. These benefits are mentioned in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* like this “One who is established well in virtue acquires great

wealth and possessions Secondly, he earns a great fame and reputation, thirdly, in the midst of public assemblies, he is always assured and self-possessed. Fourthly when facing death, he is not free from any sort of anxiety, but is also blessed with calmness and equanimity and finally after death, he is reborn in the heavenly world.”¹

After understanding the fruits of observing the precept well, everyone should be mindful to observe the five precept. May all human beings be able to observe the five precept and cultivate *Mettā* (loving-kindness) and *Karuṇā* (compassion) towards all sentient beings!

5.7.1.1 Fundamental Moral Conduct For a lay Buddhist

Five precepts are the fundamental moral conduct for a layperson in Buddhism, through which bodily and verbal actions are controlled. The five precepts provide good qualities of life such as prosperities, grace, courage, mindfulness and birth in the happy states after death. Individual and social harmonies also depend on it. There are many kinds of moral precepts: namely- the five precepts, the eight precepts, the ten precepts and the fourfold purity of monastic moral precepts etc. Of these, the five precepts which is fundamental moral conduct for every Buddhist layperson would have been studied from canonical point of view. The original *Pali* word of five precepts is *Pañca Sīla*. Here, *Sīla* means restraint in physical and verbal actions. It means purity in thought, word and deed. The two basic helpful foundations for moral precept (*Sīla*) are *hirī* (shame to evil) and *Ottappa* (fear to do evil). These two causes are the proximate ones to get moral

1, DN .ĪI. 72

restraint or discipline in moral life.¹ Although there are many kinds of *Sīla* given by the lord Buddha, on the whole, it is of two kinds: *Cāritta Sīla*, fulfilling the moral codes prescribed by the Buddha and *Vāritta Sīla* refraining from immoral conducts prohibited by the Buddha.²

Cāritta Sīla

Cāritta Sīla means certain obligations that must be fulfilled. In Buddhist ethic certain moral obligations are incumbent on one such as: Paying respect, welcoming, making obeisance, showing reverence, attending on one's elders, who may be senior in age or in status and not behaving rudely before the *Bhikkhus*, teachers and parents. Every Buddhist lay person is to fulfill them. Such fulfillment is called *Cāritta Sīla*. Further more, fulfilling the duties of parents, sons daughters, teachers, pupils, wives and husbands etc..shown in *Singalovāda Sutta* also mean *Cāritta Sīla*.

A person who is endowed with conviction (*Saddhā*) and effort (*Vīriya*) can follow the practice of *Cāritta Sīla*. Here, conviction means believing that one who practices *Cāritta Sīla* will enjoy its benefits because it is good practice. Effort means making a vigorous attempt to overcome laziness and to keep up the practice of moral conduct patiently. Only when a person can practice the moral conduct out of conviction and effort, can one be called a person who is fully endowed with *Cāritta Sīla*.³

¹Vism.I, 9

²Tha.A. II,210

³Cp-a.301

Vāritta Sīla

Vāritta Sīla means avoiding immoral conduct or demeritorious actions that the lord Buddha prohibited.¹ Abstaining from immoral conducts and observing the five moral precepts constantly can lead one who follows it to *Nibbāna*. Whereas, committing evil conduct can truly lead one who commits it to *Apāya*-neither abode. Therefore, constant observance of the five precepts, etc. should be fulfilled through abstention (*Virati*).

Three kinds of abstention

Virati means abstaining from evils in deed and speech. In keeping the moral precepts well, *Virati* plays an important role. *Virati* is of three kinds.

(1) Abstention from three physical evil actions: telling falsehood, slandering harsh speech, idle talk not relating to livelihood is called *MicchāvācāVirati*.

(2) Abstention from three physical evil actions: killing, stealing, committing sexual misconduct not relating to livelihood is called *MicchākammantaVirati*.

(3) Abstention from three physical evil actions and four verbal evil actions mentioned above relating to livelihood is called *MicchājīvaVirati*.³

Virati in three actions

There are three practical aspects of each three kinds of *Virati* mentioned above. They are

(a) *Sampatta virati*

(b) *Samadana virati*

¹Cp-a. 301
3. Dhs A, 251

(c) *Samuccheda virati*¹

SamādānaVirati means undertaking to observe five or eight or nine moral precepts before the Buddha image or a *Bhikkhu* or elders and refraining from doing evil actions. For example, if a person get a chance to kill an animal but spare it because he or she has taken the precept of abstention from killing, it is called *Samādāna Virati*. It also means that a person has made up one's mind not to do any evil before he or she actually encounters evil and refrains from doing evil actions.²

Once, there was a layman who, after taking precepts from a *Bhikkhu*, went to the fields to search for his lost cow. While he was ascending a hillock, a big python entwined his legs. As he was about to kill the snake with his sword, he remembered he had taken *Sīla*(precepts) from his teacher and thought “I shall accept death if need be;I shall not take other's life. Breaching of moral precepts resembles destroying the *Dhamma*and it is best for me to give up my life.” So he did not harm the snake and dropped his sword. Then, he reflected on the moral precepts he was observing. Due to the power of *Sīla*, the snake let him free and went away.¹

Like that lay person, every one should keep the moral precepts at the risk of one's life and give up one's life instead of breaching one's moral precepts. There is no question about giving away one's property and dignity for the sake of keeping one's morality. The invisible good results always exist behind every relinquishment.

1. DhsA. 146

2. DhsA. 146

¹ DhsA. 147

Sampatta virati means instantaneously refraining from committing evil actions when one is confronted with the cause and the object for committing evil actions.¹

Once in *Sri Lanka*, a youth named *Cakkana* was tending to his sick mother whose physician recommended the fresh meat of a rabbit as a cure. So the youth went into the forest in search of a rabbit. He caught a small one in a paddy field. When he was about to kill it, he suddenly felt pity for the timid or frightened animal and set it free. When he was back home, he told his sick mother the incident and then made a solemn utterance; “Ever since I came to know what was right and what was wrong, I had never taken the life of any living being with a will to do so.”

Due to this solemn truth, his mother recovered from her ailment as if the illness was removed and thrown away from her. In this incident, the youth had not observed any *Sila* beforehand. But at the time he caught the rabbit, instant compassion made him refrain from killing. This is a case of *Sampatta Virati*.²

The abstention that is associated with *Maggacitta*(Path consciousness) is called *Samucceda Virati*, because when *Magga-citta* is attained, the abstention at that moment is for the sake of total cutting off of moral defilements.³

When a poisonous tree together with its roots was ground into powder and burnt to ashes, it will no longer produce any fruits. In the same way, Noble persons (*Ariyas*) are free from immoral actions all times because they have eradicated all defilements through *Samucceda pahāna*. Even a stream- winner (*sotāpanna*) needs not specially observe the

¹ DhsA. 146

² DhsA,146

³ DhsA,147

five precepts in this life as well as in his next existence. The moral precepts have already been established in him for ever.

Impurity and purity of Sīla

In observing the five precepts, if the first or last precept is breached, the *Sīla* is said to be broken, if one of the middle precepts is breached, the *Sīla* is said to have a hole in it. If alternate precepts are breached, the *Sīla* is said to be spotted. If two or three precepts are breached in a row at the beginning, the middle or the end, the *Sīla* is said to be striped. These broken, punctured, spotted and striped *Sīla* are impure *Sīla*.¹

Sīla that is unbroken, intact, spotless and unstriped is pure morality. It is called *Bhujissa Sila* because it can lead one to liberation from slavery to craving (*tanhā*). It is also called *VinnupasatthaSīla* because it is praised by the wise. It is also called “*AparāmatthaSīla*” because it is devoid of strong desire to gain the great wealth and happiness of human beings or *devas* and devoid of bigoted belief that one can realize *Nibbāna* by mere moral practice. Therefore *Sīla* that is unbroken, intact, spotless, unstrained, able to resist craving, praised by the wise and untarnished by craving and wrong view is the pure morality.²

Sīla endowed with these seven factors is conducive to concentration of mind. Therefore, one who wants to develop concentration must exert oneself to be endowed with these seven factors. One should safeguard the moral precepts well just like a female pheasant safeguarding her eggs at the risk of her life. Or just like a yak safeguarding its feather at the risk of its life, or just like a person who has one and only son or daughter

¹Vism.I, 48

²Vism.I.50

looks after him or her tenderly and fondly, or just like one whose one eye is blind safeguarding the remaining eye.¹

Five Precepts-Pañca Sīla

The five precepts prescribed in the *Pāḷicanon* for every lay Buddhist are:

- (1) Abstaining from killing a living being
- (2) Abstaining from taking what is not given
- (3) Abstaining from sexual misconduct
- (4) Abstaining from telling lies
- (5) Abstaining from taking intoxicants.

First Precept

The first of the five Precepts is to refrain from killing a living being. Killing of any living being with intention means a breach of the first precept of non-killing. By observing the first precept of non-killing, we save the lives of one, two, three and other countless beings. *Sīla* ensures the safety of all living beings and augments the flourishing of *Metta*, *karunā*, and *Muditā* towards all living beings. Thus the world will become a more auspicious peaceful and enjoyable abode where all sentient beings will live happily ever after.

Suppose, if a man is killing living being, the victim will suffer terribly. All beings are crying, shaking in fear of death. If we observe this first precept, we save their lives,

¹D.A.I, 55

make them happy and give them freedom. They will live peacefully and harmoniously in the world.

However, some people are killing living beings. The worst thing is that people are fighting and killing each other, waging civil wars, regional wars and world wars where many people die, some become handicapped, some homeless. In some countries people kill each other claiming “ethnic cleansing”. Actually these unpleasant things are created by people who ignore the first precept of abstaining from killing living beings.

Motivated by anger and hatred, they kill. They should control their anger in order to keep this precept by cultivating loving kindness and compassion. Moreover, they should reflect on universal law of *kamma*, the law of action and reaction. According to this law, if one kills others, he will be killed in this life or in the next life. If he abstains from killing, he will have advantages such as being healthy and having longevity etc....

Five factors of the first Precept

There are five factors of the first *Sīla*, which are able to make a decision whether it is *Panātipāta Kamma* or not. Which are-

- (1)The one to be killed is a living being
- (2)One knows that the one to be killed is a living being.
- (3)One has the volition to kill.
- (4)One makes the effort to kill.
- (5)The being dies because of that effort and action.

Any action performed in accordance with the above five factors is called *Panātipāta Kamma*.¹ The penetrator will suffer the bad consequences in this life and he will also be reborn in the four miserable realms after his death.

If anyone of the above five factors is missing, the action can't be called *Panātipāta Kamma*. For instance, if one steps accidentally on insects and kills them as one walks along the road, one does not commit *Panātipāta Kamma* because this incident happens unintentionally. It is just a demeritorious action.

For this action, although the penetrator will not be reborn in miserable realms, he may suffer the evil consequences of his demeritorious action commensurately.¹

The consequences of killing living beings

Whosoever kills any living being will be reborn in one of the four lower abodes after death. Even when he is freed from there and is again reborn as a man, he will encounter the following evil consequences:

- (1) Having physical deformities and disfigurements,
- (2) Being ugly,
- (3) Being pale and feeble
- (4) Being dull and inactive²
- (5) Being easily frightened when confronted with danger
- (6) Being killed by other or facing death in youth,¹

¹Dhs.A,140

²DA.III,180

(7) Suffering from many diseases

(8) Having few friends and

(9) Being separated from beloved ones.

The consequences of killing a living being may be great or small depending on different situations. According to the size and moral virtue of the victim, the consequences may be great or small. With regard to animals naturally, lacking in morality, if the size of the animal is small, the consequence is small; if the size of animal is large, the consequence is great. With regard to human beings, if the victim is of low morality, concentration and wisdom, the consequence is small, if the victim is of high morality, high concentration and great wisdom, the consequence is great. Where the victims are of equal size and of equal morality, the consequence is small if the killer's motive and effort are weak, and the consequence is great if the killer's motive and effort are strong.²

The Benefits of abstaining from killing

A person who abstains from killing any living being will be reborn after his death in a good destination either as a human being or as a celestial being. If he is reborn as a man he will possess good health, longevity etc. All living beings are afraid of death.³ No one wants to have a headache. Physical pain and lack of organs are the consequences of torturing and killing living beings. So everyone should refrain from torturing and killing others by being considerate to them. On the other hand the one who abstains from

¹ M.III,243

² DhsA.140

³ It-a.222

killing living beings will enjoy the benefits which are the opposites of the consequences of killing living beings.

The story illustrating the consequence of killing living beings

Once, a housewife went to the market to buy meat in order to feast a special guest. As she could not get meat from any place she killed a little sheep which was bred in her house. The guest and her husband were very satisfied with the meat. But when she died, she was cast into hell where she had to suffer for a long time. After that, she was born as an animal as many times as the number of hair on the little sheep she had killed. In every animal life, she was killed being cut at the throat as she had killed the little sheep.¹

5.7.1.2 Description of Second Precept and Its Consequences

Second Precept is *Adinnādāna Virati*. It means abstaining from taking what is not given. Taking other's things without asking for permission of owner and taking other's properties by force or by cheating or by trick or by trading with false weight, false measuring basket, or false scale or adulteration are *Adinnadanakamma*.²

If everyone observes this precept, we could keep our house open and unlocked. We wouldn't need the police for our security. Nevertheless, there are some people who violate it, and we live under heavy security forces. Reflecting on world history in the nineteenth century, some powerful countries colonized other countries. Their policy was obviously against this precept. The colonial countries lived unhappily under imperial

¹Dhp.I, 291-2

²DpsA.140, It-A.219

countries because they had lost their country, their culture, their civil rights and their nationality. They did not have freedom and were oppressed in many ways. About a hundred years ago, the English took over our country, Myanmar and dethroned our royal king, *Sibaw*. Since then, the country has suffered for many years without independence. Countries often ruled by corrupted governments become poor. The government officials put the revenues of tax- payers into their own pockets without using them for the welfare of their country. People, therefore, suffer from a shortage of basic needs such as food, medicine, electricity, water, communication and transportation.

People also violate this moral precept because of their extreme greed which motivates them to do corrupt acts. They should try to control greed in order to keep the precept of abstaining from stealing. In order to control greed, they should reflect on the disadvantages of stealing as mentioned in the Buddhist scriptures.

Five factors of the second precept

- (1)The thing stolen is possessed by other.
- (2)One knows that it is other's property.
- (3)One has the intention to steal it.
- (4)One makes bodily or verbal actions and effort to steal it.¹

Any action accompanied by these five factors is called *Adinnādāna kamma*.

¹1. Dps.A,140

The consequences of taking what is not given

One who commits stealing will suffer evil consequences in this life and he will also be reborn in *Apaya*-lower abodes when he dies.² Even when he is freed from there and is again reborn as a man, he will encounter the following evil consequences:

- (1) Being poor
- (2) Having bodily and mental suffering
- (3) Being tortured by hunger and starvation³
- (4) Having unfulfilled wishes
- (5) Having unstable and easily perishable fortune
- (6) Having properties destroyed by the five enemies, namely, food, fire, thieves, bad inheritors and bad rulers.

The consequence of theft may be grave or minor depending on the morality and virtue of the owner and the value of the stolen properties. Stealing things from one who is endowed with morality and virtue is a grave consequence whereas stealing things from one who lacks morality and virtue is a minor consequence. If the stealing thing is of less value, the consequence of theft is minor whereas if the stealing thing is of great value, the consequence of theft is grave because if the property stolen is of less value, the amount of loss is small to the owner, whereas if the property stolen is of great value, the amount of loss is great to the owner. Therefore, the consequence of stealing the valuable thing is greater than the consequence of stealing the property of less value.

2. A.A. II, 183

3. A.A.II, 188

In a case of theft that one steals two things of different value from two owners, if stealing things are of equal morality and virtue, the consequence of theft may be grave or minor depending on the condition of defilements in the thief, if the defilements in the thief are strong, the consequence of theft is grave, whereas the defilements in the thief are weak, the consequence of theft is minor.¹

The Benefits of Abstaining from stealing

One who abstains from stealing others` properties will be reborn in a celestial abode after his death, and in whatever existence he may be, he will enjoy the following benefits:

- (1)He is wealthy,
- (2)He does not have to work hand for a living,
- (3)He has plenty of food and drinks,
- (4)He easily gets what he wants;
- (5)He is skillful in trade and prosperous
- (6)His wealth is not destroyed by the five elements, namely flood, conflagration, tyrant, thief, and son and daughters who are unworthy heirs.²

The story illustrating the consequences of stealing other`s properties.

Once upon a time, four women in *Rājagaha* amassed riches through malpractice of short changing and adulteration in selling their goods. They died in their prime life and

1 DhsA.140, It-a.220

2 It-a. 222

became **Petas**, miserable being, outside the city. At night they entered the city looking for scattered food remnants or saliva or phlegm spat out by human beings. As they went along one street after another, they came to their former houses and saw their husbands enjoying with new wives. They felt so painful that they cried out. “We have been suffering miserably for having amassed wealth unlawfully while our husbands are enjoying to their heart’s content with their new wives.”³

5.7.1.3 Description of Third Precept and Its Consequences

The third precept is abstaining from committing misconduct in sexual relations. A man having sex with a woman other than his wife, or a woman having sex with another man other than her husband is sexual misconduct, *Kāmesumicchācāra*, which is, indeed, a heinous crime.¹

This precept is very effective in making a perfect family life. If the husband and wife are faithful to each other without committing sexual misconduct, their marriage will be solid and happy. Otherwise, they will have a family feud. This precept seems particularly weak in big cities, because news of sex scandals are heard often from televisions and newspapers. People are living in danger of rapists. Extreme sexual desire is the cause of violating the precept of abstaining from committing sexual misconduct.

To control this desire, one should contemplate on the thirty-two parts of the body. He has to contemplate like this; “This body has hairs of the body, hairs of the head, nail, teeth, skin, flesh, sinews, bones, marrow, kidneys, heart, liver, diaphragm, spleen, lungs,

3 Pv, 216, Pv.A, 261

1. DhsA,141

intestines, bowels, stomach, excrement, brain, bile, phlegm, pus, blood, sweat, fat, tears, grease, spittle, nasal mucus, oil of the joints, and urine.

Four factors of third Precept

(1)The woman belongs to one of the twenty types of women whom one should not have sexual relationship.

(2)One desires to have sex.

(3)One makes the effort to have sex.

(4)One takes pleasure in having sex.

If these four factors are involved in committing adultery, one is said to have committed *Kāmesumicchācāra*kamma.¹

Twenty types of women whom one should not have sexual relationship

A man observing moral precepts must avoid twenty types of women in order to keep his moral precept of abstaining from sexual misconduct. The twenty types of woman are

(1) A woman who is under the guardianship of her mother,

(2) A woman who is under the guardianship of her father,

(3) A woman who is under the guardianship of her parents,

(4) A woman who is under the guardianship of her elder and younger brothers,

(5) A woman who is under the guardianship of her elder and younger sisters,

¹ DhsA, 141

- (6) A woman who is under the guardianship of her relatives,
- (7) A woman who is under the guardianship of her tribe or clan,
- (8) A woman who is under the guardianship of her Dhamma friends,
- (9) A woman who has been engaged to a certain man,
- (10) A woman who is to be married to the king,
- (11) A woman who has been purchased by a man and living with him as his wife,
- (12) A woman who is willingly living together with a man,
- (13) A woman who on being given properties is living together with a man,
- (14) A woman who on being given clothing is living together with a man,
- (15) A woman who is married to a man with the approval of the elders,
- (16) A woman who formerly has to gather firewood and carry water but has now been taken as a wife,
- (17) A woman who is a slave as well as a wife,
- (18) A woman who is an employee as well as a wife,
- (19) A woman who is a prisoner of war who has been forced to become a wife,
- (20) A woman who is a prostitute.¹

If a man has sex with any woman who is under the guardianship of someone, he commits *Kāmesumicchācāra*, which is a heinous crime. The perpetrator will suffer the evil consequences such as being reborn in the four miserable realms, being reborn as a

¹Vin.I, 20, Sp .141

sexual pervert in the human world for many existences, and being separated from his loved ones.²

The consequences of sexual misconduct

Whosoever, has sexual relation with any person other than one's spouses is said to have committed sexual misconduct. That person will be reborn in one of the lower abodes when he dies. Even if he is freed from there and is again reborn as a human being, he will encounter the following evil consequences:-

- (2) Being disgusted by others,
- (3) Having many enemies,
- (4) Lacking of wealth and property,
- (5) Being deprived of happiness,
- (6) Being reborn as a woman,
- (7) Being reborn as a sexual pervert,
- (8) Being reborn in the inferior lineage,
- (9) Encountering disgrace,
- (10) Having physical deformities
- (11) Being separated from beloved ones
- (12) Being inflicted with the loss of wealth.¹

2A.I,180

¹A.II.180; A.III, 78; AA.202

The consequence of sexual misconduct may be grave or minor depending on the morality and virtue of the person whom one has sexual relationship. If one commits adultery with a person of high morality, the consequence is serious; if the person has no morality, the consequence is not serious. For example, the youth *Nanda* who committed adultery with a female *Arahat, Uppalavanna*, fell into a fissure in the earth and was immediately reborn in *Avīci niraya*. Even if the victim lacks morality, the consequence will be serious if the adultery is committed forcibly.¹

The benefits of abstaining from sexual misconduct

A man who never has sex with another man's wife or with a damsel under someone's guardianship, and a woman who ever has sex with another man other than her husband will enjoy the following benefits:

- (1) They have no enemy
- (2) They are loved by all beings
- (3) They get food, drinks, clothing, etc..
- (4) They sleep soundly
- (5) They wake up peacefully
- (6) They will not be reborn in the four miserable realms
- (7) They will not be reborn as a woman or as a sexual pervert
- (8) They can control their temper
- (9) They can act and speak boldly and frankly

¹ Kan.A, 237

(10) They can live in dignity

(11) They can live cheerfully and happily without having to cast down their eyes

(12) They love and adore only the opposite sex.

ie. they never become homosexual.

(13) They are born with complete sets of organs and limbs

(14) They possess prominent marks and features

(15) They can live in confidence

(16) They can live happily

(17) They have no anxiety and no worry

(18) They are free from danger

(19) They are never separated from their loved ones.¹

The story illustrating the consequences of committing adultery

Ānanda, the younger brother of the lord *Gotama* Buddha fulfilled ten perfections for a hundred thousand worlds. In one of his lives in this world, he became a rich goldsmith's son. In this life he associated with bad companions and committed adultery several times.

When he died he was cast into *Roruva* Hell where he was tortured for many years. After that he was born as a monkey who had its genital bitten off as soon as it was born. After that life, he was born as a goat and then as a calf which were castrated when they grew up. In the next existence he regained the human life but was born as a sexual

1. It-a, 222

pervert. After that he attained celestial existences as female deities for five lives with the support of wholesome *kamma*, but he did not attain male hood because of unwholesome *kamma* of committing adultery. Then he was born as princess *Ruca* in the human realm. Only after that he regain man hood.¹

5.7.1.4 Description of fourth Precept and Its Consequences

The fourth precept is abstaining from telling lies, cheating or deceiving. Telling what is not true by gesture or by words with malicious intention is committing the fourth precept.² A lot of people speak untruths, more or less, so it is said that lying is common. Telling a lie, nevertheless, degrades one's moral value because he is not a trustworthy person. People do not want to associate and work with him. Being kept away by people he will live a lonely life.

In addition, everyone should be aware of self-cheating which is more dangerous than cheating others because we would be hypocrite. A hypocrite won't achieve in practice of morality and spirituality. That's why a meditator should practice meditation honestly and report and discuss honestly his experience with his teachers. Apparently hatred and greed are the causes of telling a lie, some people never tell the truth to those whom they hate and dislike: some deceive their rival business men or politician.

Four factors of fourth precept

There are four factors which make this action complete...

(1) The statement is not truth.

(2) There is intention to lie

¹Ja-A.VII.105

²Dhs.A,141

(3) It is actually spoken and

(4) Others understand what has been spoken.

If these four factors are involved in committing telling lies, one is said to have committed *Musāvāda Kamma*.¹

Consequences of telling lies

Telling lies with malicious intent can lead one to *Niraya*. The gravity of that offence corresponds to the amount of harm done on others. The liar will have to suffer in miserable realms after his death. If he were to be reborn in the human world, he will be afflicted with the following defects:

- (1) Poor enunciation
- (2) Uneven teeth
- (3) Foul breath
- (4) Unhealthy complexion
- (5) Poor eye sight and hearing
- (6) Defective personal appearance
- (7) Lack of influence on others
- (8) Harshness of speech and
- (9) A flippant mind ¹

¹Dhs.A, 142

On the other hand, the one who abstains from stealing will enjoy the benefits which are the opposite of the above consequences.

The benefits of abstaining from telling lies

- (1) One who refrains from telling lies will reach a good destination. Moreover, one will enjoy the following benefits:
- (2) clear pronunciation
- (3) even teeth
- (4) sweet smelling breath
- (5) a well-built physique
- (6) good eyesight and hearing
- (7) good features, and fair complexion
- (8) influence on others
- (9) effective speech
- (10) calmness of mind.²

They story illustrating the consequences of falsehood

In the time of *KassapaBuddha*, in *Kimila*, there lived a male lay-devotee who was a stream winner. He did the meritorious deed of planting trees, building bridges and monasteries etc., with his five hundred followers who were of the same view. This group lay –devotees went to the Buddha’s monastery frequently to listen to the *Dhamma*. Their

¹Ja-A, III, 431

²It-A.222

wives also went to the monastery occasionally to listen to the *Dhamma* and to make offerings.

One day, some drunkards saw them and were attracted by them. They argued among themselves as to who would be able to destroy the morality of those women. One of them said that he would be able to do so. This man tried to seduce the wife of the leader of the lay devotees in many ways and finally succeeded.

The drunkard who lost the bet informed the leader of the lay devotees about the matter. And the latter asked his wife whether she had committed adultery. She lied that what he had heard was not true. As her husband did not believe her, she pointed to a black dog nearby whose ears were cut off and swore: “If I have committed adultery with another man, may I be eaten by this black dog in the next life.” Still, he husband did not believe her and he inquired her companions. Although her companions knew the truth, they also swore. “We do not know, if this is not true, may we become her slaves.”

When they died, they all became miserable beings near the lake *Kanna munda* in the *Himavanta* forest. Because of their meritorious deeds in their past lives, they enjoyed the celestial luxury in a very grand golden mansion in the day time. But at night the leader of the group, in accordance with her swearing to her stream-winner husband, was eaten by a black dog. Her five hundred companions also became her servants as they had sworn in lie in their past lives. Moreover, although they could enjoy the luxury of *Devas* they did not get married. They felt lonely and boring for being apart from men.²

Falsehood is the greatest demeritorious deed while truthfulness is the most beneficial meritorious deed!

² Pv-A.140

5.7.1.5 Description of Fifth Precept and Its Consequences

Fifth precept is abstaining from taking intoxicants. Everyone should observe this precept because if we break it, we would violate other precepts too. We have found many criminals who committed drug-related crimes in the world. Drug addicts dare to kill, to rape, or to lie, and they are socially and morally unacceptable people. Because of them, there is no peaceful environment.

Being addictive substances, we should not even try to test the drugs. We can see many patients who are suffering from drug abuse. We should, therefore, avoid using drugs and drinks in order to be healthy mentally as well as physically. According to the Buddhist scriptures, the alcoholic or drug addict, having mental weakness, can not distinguish right from wrong, he is careless, does not express gratitude to those who gave him help, is shameless and fearless in doing evil, dares to do any evil, and is afflicted with mental illness.

Generally, people with a temperament of ignorance and delusion enjoy using drugs. In order to avoid the suffering of their lives, some of them drink alcohol to be drunk, some use cocaine or heroin to dream a fantasy world. To be free from the situation of drug use, one has to control and subdue ignorance and replace it with wisdom. He should practice mindfulness meditation regularly for increasing wisdom which leads him on the right path.

Four factors of the fifth precept

There are four factors which make this action complete.

(1) It is on alcoholic drinks or intoxicants

- (2) One has the intention to take it
- (3) One makes the effort to take it
- (4) One actually takes it¹

If these four factors are involved in taking intoxicants, one is said to have committed *Surameraya kamma*.

The consequences of indulging in intoxicant

Intoxicants and narcotic drugs such as alcoholic, liquors, opium, cocaine and heroin are addictive. Consuming any of these leads to the drunkenness, forgetfulness and lack of common sense. These in turn lead to murder, lying and adultery .etc.. Moreover, the user of intoxicants or narcotic drugs will enjoy poor health, die young and will be reborn in woeful abodes.

Even when he is freed from there and is again reborn as a human being, he will encounter the following evil consequences:

- (1) Lack of intelligence
- (2) Being lazy
- (3) Lack of mindfulness
- (4) Being ungrateful
- (5) Lack of moral shame and moral dread;
- (6) Insanity and
- (7) Tendency to commit all evil deeds.¹

¹ Dhs.A,142

Six evil effects of taking intoxicants

The Buddha told the youth *Singāla* about the six evil effects of taking intoxicants which the perpetrator has to suffer in this present life.

They are

- (1) Loss of wealth
- (2) Quarreling and fighting with others.
- (3) Suffering from various diseases
- (4) Lack of fame
- (5) Lack of moral shame and moral dread and
- (6) Lack of knowledge and wisdom.²

The benefits of abstaining from taking intoxicants

If one abstains from taking alcoholic drinks and narcotic drugs, one will attain a blissful existence after one is dead, and also enjoy the following benefits

- (1) being intelligent
- (2) being diligent
- (3) being mindful
- (4) being grateful to one's benefactor
- (5) having moral shame and moral dread and
having propensity to do good deeds.²

¹AA.III, 232, A.A. III, 61

²D.III, 148

The story illustrating the consequences of indulging in intoxicants

Once, the *Bodhisatta* was born in a wealthy family possessing eighty crores of silver coins. He performed the meritorious deeds of giving charity and keeping good morality. When he died, he was reborn as *Sakka*, the king of *Devas*, in *Tāvatiṃśā*.

His son squandered the wealth left behind by him indulging in intoxicants. When the son had used up the forty crores of silver coins, he dug up the forty crores buried underground. He built a liquor house and led an easy life associating with drunkards and indulging in intoxicants. When he was drunk, he let acrobat and dancers entertain them and presented one thousand silver coins to each. Soon he had spent all the money and was reduced to a poor beggar. Finally he died miserable³

The story illustrating the consequences of keeping the five precepts

Once in a village in *Kāsī* Province, all the villagers gave charity, maintained good morality and kept Sabbath on Sabbath day. Consequently they never died young. They usually died in their old age.

The son of the headman in that village went to study at *Takkasīla* city. While he was studying there, a young son of the professor died. The young *Dhammapāla* inquired why the professor's son died young. The others asked him: "Don't you know that everyone must die one day either in the early age or in the old age?" The young *Dhammapāla* replied, "of course, they die but they never die young." When the professor heard the strange words of the young *Dhammapāla*, he was surprised and he wanted to

2 It.A, 222

3 Jā.A.II, 389

find out what the young *Dhammapāla* said was true or not. So he left the youth to look over his pupils while he himself went to the *Dhammapāla* village, taking along some bones of a goat. On reaching there, he went to *Dhammapāla*'s father, and showing the bones, said "Your son *Dhammapāla* has passed away and has been cremated. Here are his bones." His father and other relatives replied laughing: "These bones can not be my son's. They must be the bones of a goat or a dog." "Although every man is subjected to death at any age, why are you an exception to his rule?" asked the professor.

The headman explained thus: "Here in our village of *Dhammapāla*, all the villagers usually give charity and keep the precepts; we abstain from all evil deeds. Beside the youth obey the elders. We all perform voluntary work for welfare of our community. Thus no one dies young in our village".

Then the professor paid obeisance to the headman and admitted; "Your son doesn't die I came here to inquire the truthfulness of your son's remark that no one dies young in this village". The professor inquired about the meritorious deeds performed by *Dhammapāla* villagers in further detail and returned home. If the precepts are conscientiously and faithfully observed, we will have to surely reap the fruits of strenuous effort sooner or later.

In conclusion, Lay Buddhist morality embodies in the five precepts. It may be considered at two levels. First, it enables men to live together in civilized communities with mutual trust and respect. Second, it is the starting point for the spiritual journey towards liberation. Unlike other religious commandments, Buddhist precepts are accepted voluntarily by the person himself with understanding the usefulness of adopting some training rules for disciplining his body and speech. The precepts are basic practice

in Buddhism. They are guidelines for human beings to follow on right path to future security, happiness and welfare. The purpose is to eliminate rude passions that are expressed through thought, word and deed. The precepts are also indispensable basis for people who wish to cultivate their minds.

When a person observes the precept of not killing, he controls his hatred and cultivates loving-kindness. In the second precept, he controls his greed and cultivates non-attachment. He controls sensual lust and cultivates his contentment in the third precept. In the fourth precept, he abstains from false speech and cultivates truthfulness. He abstains from unwholesome mental excitement and develops mindfulness through the fifth precept. When a person follows the precepts through faith, he will realize that the observance of the five precepts does not cause him to be self-critical and negative, but to earn great fame and reputation. The scent of the virtue excels all scents and the reputation of the virtuous ones wafts in all directions. Therefore, the Buddha says;

“There are the scents of Sandalwood, rhododendron, lotus and jasmine, but the scent of virtue surpasses all scents”.

*“The scents of rhododendron and of sandalwood are very faint: but the scent of the virtuous is the strongest; it spreads even to the abodes of the Devas”.*¹

Every country has its codes which are considered to be moral actions within its contexts. These codes are often linked to the society’s interests and its code of law. These man-made codes are flexible and amended from time to time to suit changing circumstances. This man-made standard cannot serve as a reliable guide to some

¹Dhp. Verse –N0-55-56

principles of morality which can be applied universally. By contrast, Buddhist morality is not the invention of human mind. It is based on the universal law of cause and effect.

The precepts based on the universal law of cause and effect should be observed by every one for happiness in this world and the next also, it is like a daily meal which has to be had. If one does not take it, he will die. Likewise one who neglects the five precepts will lose his noble human life and go to woeful states. Although there are many precepts, we can easily keep the five precepts through sympathy treating others as we would like to be treated by them. If we love all living beings unconditionally, we have already kept them. Therefore, we should cultivate loving-kindness towards all living beings in order to observe the five precepts.

5.8 Applying threefold training in every day life of Konbaung period

In this heading, it is examined the method to be used for daily life of Konbaund. Most of the Konbaung Kings are Buddhists and so they are influenced by the teachings of the Buddha such as threefold training, noble eightfold path and Ten Rājacarita dhamma, four Saṅgaha dhamma, seven Aparihāniya dhamma, so on.

First and foremost, the method based on three practical steps, namely the path of Morality (Silamagganga), the path of Concentration (Sammadhimaganga), and the path of Insight (Pannamagganga), known collectively as the Threefold Training that is derived from Noble eightfold part will be described here.

5.8.1 The path of Morality

The first step is morality (Sila). Morality is simply suitable behavior, behavior that conforms with the generally accepted standards and causes no distress to other people or to oneself. It is coded in the form of five moral precepts, or eight, or ten, or 227, or in other ways. It is conducted by way of body and speech aimed at peace, convenience and freedom from undesirable effects at the most basic level. It has to do with the members of a social group and the various pieces of property essential to living.

The three path factors -- right speech, right action, and right livelihood -- may be treated together, as collectively they make up the first of the three divisions of the path, the division of moral discipline (*silakkhandha*). Though the principles laid down in this section restrain immoral actions and promote good conduct, their ultimate purpose is not so much ethical as spiritual. They are not prescribed merely as guides to action, but primarily as aids to mental purification. As a necessary measure for human well-being, ethics has its own justification in the Buddha's teaching and its importance cannot be underrated. But in the special context of the Noble Eightfold Path ethical principles are subordinate to the path's governing goal, final deliverance from suffering. Thus for the moral training to become a proper part of the path, it has to be taken up under the guidance of the first two factors, right view and right intention, and to lead beyond to the trainings in concentration and wisdom.

Though the training in moral discipline is listed first among the three groups of practices, it should not be regarded lightly. It is the foundation for the entire path, essential for the success of the other trainings. The Buddha himself frequently urged his disciples to

adhere to the rules of discipline, "seeing danger in the slightest fault." One time, when a monk approached the Buddha and asked for the training in brief, the Buddha told him: "First establish yourself in the starting point of wholesome states, that is, in purified moral discipline and in right view. Then, when your moral discipline is purified and your view straight, you should practise the four foundations of mindfulness" ¹

The Pali word we have been translating as "moral discipline," *sila*, appears in the texts with several overlapping meanings all connected with right conduct. In some contexts it means action conforming to moral principles, in others the principles themselves, in still others the virtuous qualities of character that result from the observance of moral principles. *Sila* in the sense of precepts or principles represents the formalistic side of the ethical training, *sila* as virtue the animating spirit, and *sila* as right conduct -- the expression of virtue in real-life situations. Often *sila* is formally defined as abstinence from unwholesome bodily and verbal action. This definition, with its stress on outer action, appears superficial. Other explanations, however, make up for the deficiency and reveal that there is more to *sila* than is evident at first glance. The Abhidhamma, for example, equates *sila* with the mental factors of abstinence (*viratiyo*) -- right speech, right action, and right livelihood -- an equation which makes it clear that what is really being cultivated through the observance of moral precepts is the mind. Thus while the training in *sila* brings the "public" benefit of inhibiting socially detrimental actions, it entails the personal benefit of mental purification, preventing the defilements from dictating to us what lines of conduct we should follow.

¹ SN 47:3

The English word "morality" and its derivatives suggest a sense of obligation and constraint quite foreign to the Buddhist conception of *sila*; this connotation probably enters from the theistic background to Western ethics. Buddhism, with its non-theistic framework, grounds its ethics, not on the notion of obedience, but on that of harmony. In fact, the commentaries explain the word *sila* by another word, *samadhana*, meaning "harmony" or "coordination."

The observance of *sila* leads to harmony at several levels -- social, psychological, kammic, and contemplative. At the social level the principles of *sila* help to establish harmonious interpersonal relations, welding the mass of differently constituted members of society -- with their own private interests and goals -- into a cohesive social order in which conflict, if not utterly eliminated, is at least reduced. At the psychological level *sila* brings harmony to the mind, protection from the inner split caused by guilt and remorse over moral transgressions. At the kammic level the observance of *sila* ensures harmony with the cosmic law of kamma, hence favourable results in the course of future movement through the round of repeated birth and death. And at the fourth level, the contemplative, *sila* helps establish the preliminary purification of mind to be completed, in a deeper and more thorough way, by the methodical development of serenity and insight.

When briefly defined, the factors of moral training are usually worded negatively, in terms of abstinence. But there is more to *sila* than refraining from what is wrong. Each principle embedded in the precepts, as we will see, actually has two aspects, both essential to the training as a whole. One is abstinence from the unwholesome, the other

commitment to the wholesome; the former is called "avoidance" (*varitta*) and the latter "performance" (*caritta*). At the outset of training the Buddha stresses the aspect of avoidance. He does so, not because abstinence from the unwholesome is sufficient in itself, but to establish the steps of practice in proper sequence. The steps are set out in their natural order (more logical than temporal) in the famous dictum of the Dhammapada: "To abstain from all evil, to cultivate the good, and to purify one's mind this is the teaching of the Buddhas"¹The other two steps -- cultivating the good and purifying the mind -- also receive their due, but to ensure their success, a resolve to avoid the unwholesome is a necessity. Without such a resolve the attempt to develop wholesome qualities is bound to issue in a warped and stunted pattern of growth.

The training in moral discipline governs the two principal channels of outer action, speech and body, as well as another area of vital concern -- one's way of earning a living. Thus the training contains three factors: right speech, right action, and right livelihood. These we will now examine individually, following the order in which they are set forth in the usual exposition of the path.

5.8.1.1 Right Speech (*samma vaca*)

The Buddha divides right speech into four components: abstaining from false speech, abstaining from slanderous speech, abstaining from harsh speech, and abstaining from idle chatter. Because the effects of speech are not as immediately evident as those of bodily action, its importance and potential is easily overlooked. But a little reflection will show that speech and its offshoot, the written word, can have enormous consequences for

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good or for harm. In fact, whereas for beings such as animals who live at the preverbal level physical action is of dominant concern, for humans immersed in verbal communication speech gains the ascendancy. Speech can break lives, create enemies, and start wars, or it can give wisdom, heal divisions, and create peace. This has always been so, yet in the modern age the positive and negative potentials of speech have been vastly multiplied by the tremendous increase in the means, speed, and range of communications. The capacity for verbal expression, oral and written, has often been regarded as the distinguishing mark of the human species. From this we can appreciate the need to make this capacity the means to human excellence rather than, as too often has been the case, the sign of human degradation.

1. Abstaining from false speech (*musavada veramani*)

Herein someone avoids false speech and abstains from it. He speaks the truth, is devoted to truth, reliable, worthy of confidence, not a deceiver of people. Being at a meeting, or amongst people, or in the midst of his relatives, or in a society, or in the king's court, and called upon and asked as witness to tell what he knows, he answers, if he knows nothing: "I know nothing," and if he knows, he answers: "I know"; if he has seen nothing, he answers: "I have seen nothing," and if he has seen, he answers: "I have seen." Thus he never knowingly speaks a lie, either for the sake of his own advantage, or for the sake of another person's advantage, or for the sake of any advantage whatsoever.¹

¹ AN 10:176; *Word of the Buddha*, p. 50.

This statement of the Buddha discloses both the negative and the positive sides to the precept. The negative side is abstaining from lying, the positive side speaking the truth. The determinative factor behind the transgression is the intention to deceive. If one speaks something false believing it to be true, there is no breach of the precept as the intention to deceive is absent. Though the deceptive intention is common to all cases of false speech, lies can appear in different guises depending on the motivating root, whether greed, hatred, or delusion. Greed as the chief motive results in the lie aimed at gaining some personal advantage for oneself or for those close to oneself -- material wealth, position, respect, or admiration. With hatred as the motive, false speech takes the form of the malicious lie, the lie intended to hurt and damage others. When delusion is the principal motive, the result is a less pernicious type of falsehood: the irrational lie, the compulsive lie, the interesting exaggeration, lying for the sake of a joke.

The Buddha's stricture against lying rests upon several reasons. For one thing, lying is disruptive to social cohesion. People can live together in society only in an atmosphere of mutual trust, where they have reason to believe that others will speak the truth; by destroying the grounds for trust and inducing mass suspicion, widespread lying becomes the harbinger signalling the fall from social solidarity to chaos. But lying has other consequences of a deeply personal nature at least equally disastrous. By their very nature lies tend to proliferate. Lying once and finding our word suspect, we feel compelled to lie again to defend our credibility, to paint a consistent picture of events. So the process repeats itself: the lies stretch, multiply, and connect until they lock us into a cage of falsehoods from

which it is difficult to escape. The lie is thus a miniature paradigm for the whole process of subjective illusion. In each case the self-assured creator, sucked in by his own deceptions, eventually winds up their victim.

Such considerations probably lie behind the words of counsel the Buddha spoke to his son, the young novice Rahula, soon after the boy was ordained. One day the Buddha came to Rahula, pointed to a bowl with a little bit of water in it, and asked: "Rahula, do you see this bit of water left in the bowl?" Rahula answered: "Yes, sir." "So little, Rahula, is the spiritual achievement (*samaya*, lit. 'recluship') of one who is not afraid to speak a deliberate lie." Then the Buddha threw the water away, put the bowl down, and said: "Do you see, Rahula, how that water has been discarded? In the same way one who tells a deliberate lie discards whatever spiritual achievement he has made." Again he asked: "Do you see how this bowl is now empty? In the same way one who has no shame in speaking lies is empty of spiritual achievement." Then the Buddha turned the bowl upside down and said: "Do you see, Rahula, how this bowl has been turned upside down? In the same way one who tells a deliberate lie turns his spiritual achievements upside down and becomes incapable of progress." Therefore, the Buddha concluded, one should not speak a deliberate lie even in jest.¹

It is said that in the course of his long training for enlightenment over many lives, a bodhisatta can break all the moral precepts except the pledge to speak the truth.

The reason for this is very profound, and reveals that the commitment to truth has

¹ MN 61.

a significance transcending the domain of ethics and even mental purification, taking us to the domains of knowledge and being. Truthful speech provides, in the sphere of interpersonal communication, a parallel to wisdom in the sphere of private understanding. The two are respectively the outward and inward modalities of the same commitment to what is real. Wisdom consists in the realization of truth, and truth (*sacca*) is not just a verbal proposition but the nature of things as they are. To realize truth our whole being has to be brought into accord with actuality, with things as they are, which requires that in communications with others we respect things as they are by speaking the truth. Truthful speech establishes a correspondence between our own inner being and the real nature of phenomena, allowing wisdom to rise up and fathom their real nature. Thus, much more than an ethical principle, devotion to truthful speech is a matter of taking our stand on reality rather than illusion, on the truth grasped by wisdom rather than the fantasies woven by desire.

2. Abstaining from slanderous speech (*pisunaya vacaya veramani*)

He avoids slanderous speech and abstains from it. What he has heard here he does not repeat there, so as to cause dissension there; and what he has heard there he does not repeat here, so as to cause dissension here. Thus he unites those that are divided; and those that are united he encourages. Concord gladdens him, he delights and rejoices in concord; and it is concord that he spreads by his words.¹

¹ AN 10:176; Word of the Buddha, p. 50.

Slanderous speech is speech intended to create enmity and division, to alienate one person or group from another. The motive behind such speech is generally aversion, resentment of a rival's success or virtues, the intention to tear down others by verbal denigrations. Other motives may enter the picture as well: the cruel intention of causing hurt to others, the evil desire to win affection for oneself, the perverse delight in seeing friends divided.

Slanderous speech is one of the most serious moral transgressions. The root of hate makes the unwholesome kamma already heavy enough, but since the action usually occurs after deliberation, the negative force becomes even stronger because premeditation adds to its gravity. When the slanderous statement is false, the two wrongs of falsehood and slander combine to produce an extremely powerful unwholesome kamma. The canonical texts record several cases in which the calumny of an innocent party led to an immediate rebirth in the plane of misery.

The opposite of slander, as the Buddha indicates, is speech that promotes friendship and harmony. Such speech originates from a mind of lovingkindness and sympathy. It wins the trust and affection of others, who feel they can confide in one without fear that their disclosures will be used against them. Beyond the obvious benefits that such speech brings in this present life, it is said that abstaining from slander has as its kammic result the gain of a retinue of friends who can never be turned against one by the slanderous words of others.¹

¹ Sub-commentary to Digha Nikaya.

3. Abstaining from harsh speech (*pharusaya vacaya veramani*).

He avoids harsh language and abstains from it. He speaks such words as are gentle, soothing to the ear, loving, such words as go to the heart, and are courteous, friendly, and agreeable to many.¹

Harsh speech is speech uttered in anger, intended to cause the hearer pain. Such speech can assume different forms, of which we might mention three. One is *abusive speech*: scolding, reviling, or reproving another angrily with bitter words. A second is *insult*: hurting another by ascribing to him some offensive quality which detracts from his dignity. A third is *sarcasm*: speaking to someone in a way which ostensibly lauds him, but with such a tone or twist of phrasing that the ironic intent becomes clear and causes pain.

The main root of harsh speech is aversion, assuming the form of anger. Since the defilement in this case tends to work impulsively, without deliberation, the transgression is less serious than slander and the kammic consequence generally less severe. Still, harsh speech is an unwholesome action with disagreeable results for oneself and others, both now and in the future, so it has to be restrained. The ideal antidote is patience -- learning to tolerate blame and criticism from others, to sympathize with their shortcomings, to respect differences in viewpoint, to endure abuse without feeling compelled to retaliate. The Buddha calls for patience even under the most trying conditions:

¹ AN 10:176; Word of the Buddha, pp. 50-51.

Even if, monks, robbers and murderers saw through your limbs and joints, whosoever should give way to anger thereat would not be following my advice. For thus ought you to train yourselves: "Undisturbed shall our mind remain, with heart full of love, and free from any hidden malice; and that person shall we penetrate with loving thoughts, wide, deep, boundless, freed from anger and hatred."¹

4. Abstaining from idle chatter (*samphappalapa veramani*).

He avoids idle chatter and abstains from it. He speaks at the right time, in accordance with facts, speaks what is useful, speaks of the Dhamma and the discipline; his speech is like a treasure, uttered at the right moment, accompanied by reason, moderate and full of sense.²

Idle chatter is pointless talk, speech that lacks purpose or depth. Such speech communicates nothing of value, but only stirs up the defilements in one's own mind and in others. The Buddha advises that idle talk should be curbed and speech restricted as much as possible to matters of genuine importance. In the case of a monk, the typical subject of the passage just quoted, his words should be selective and concerned primarily with the Dhamma. Lay persons will have more need for affectionate small talk with friends and family, polite conversation with acquaintances, and talk in connection with their line of work. But even then they

¹ MN 21; Word of the Buddha, p. 51.

² AN 10:176; Word of the Buddha, p. 51.

should be mindful not to let the conversation stray into pastures where the restless mind, always eager for something sweet or spicy to feed on, might find the chance to indulge its defiling propensities.

The traditional exegesis of abstaining from idle chatter refers only to avoiding engagement in such talk oneself. But today it might be of value to give this factor a different slant, made imperative by certain developments peculiar to our own time, unknown in the days of the Buddha and the ancient commentators. This is avoiding exposure to the idle chatter constantly bombarding us through the new media of communication created by modern technology. An incredible array of devices -- television, radio, newspapers, pulp journals, the cinema -- turns out a continuous stream of needless information and distracting entertainment the net effect of which is to leave the mind passive, vacant, and sterile. All these developments, naively accepted as "progress," threaten to blunt our aesthetic and spiritual sensitivities and deafen us to the higher call of the contemplative life. Serious aspirants on the path to liberation have to be extremely discerning in what they allow themselves to be exposed to. They would greatly serve their aspirations by including these sources of amusement and needless information in the category of idle chatter and making an effort to avoid them.

5.8.1.2 Right Action (*samma kammanta*)

Right action means refraining from unwholesome deeds that occur with the body as their natural means of expression. The pivotal element in this path factor is the mental factor of abstinence, but because this abstinence applies to actions performed through the body, it

is called "right action." The Buddha mentions three components of right action: abstaining from taking life, abstaining from taking what is not given, and abstaining from sexual misconduct. These we will briefly discuss in order.

1. Abstaining from the taking of life (*panatipata veramani*)

Herein someone avoids the taking of life and abstains from it. Without stick or sword, conscientious, full of sympathy, he is desirous of the welfare of all sentient beings.¹

"Abstaining from taking life" has a wider application than simply refraining from killing other human beings. The precept enjoins abstaining from killing any sentient being. A "sentient being" (*pani, satta*) is a living being endowed with mind or consciousness; for practical purposes, this means human beings, animals, and insects. Plants are not considered to be sentient beings; though they exhibit some degree of sensitivity, they lack full-fledged consciousness, the defining attribute of a sentient being.

The "taking of life" that is to be avoided is *intentional* killing, the deliberate destruction of life of a being endowed with consciousness. The principle is grounded in the consideration that all beings love life and fear death, that all seek happiness and are averse to pain. The essential determinant of transgression is the volition to kill, issuing in an action that deprives a being of life. Suicide is also generally regarded as a violation, but not accidental killing as the intention to

1. ¹AN 10:176; Word of the Buddha, p. 53.

destroy life is absent. The abstinence may be taken to apply to two kinds of action, the primary and the secondary. The primary is the actual destruction of life; the secondary is deliberately harming or torturing another being without killing it.

While the Buddha's statement on non-injury is quite simple and straightforward, later commentaries give a detailed analysis of the principle. A treatise from Thailand, written by an erudite Thai patriarch, collates a mass of earlier material into an especially thorough treatment, which we shall briefly summarize here.¹The treatise points out that the taking of life may have varying degrees of moral weight entailing different consequences. The three primary variables governing moral weight are the object, the motive, and the effort. With regard to the object there is a difference in seriousness between killing a human being and killing an animal, the former being kammically heavier since man has a more highly developed moral sense and greater spiritual potential than animals. Among human beings, the degree of kammic weight depends on the qualities of the person killed and his relation to the killer; thus killing a person of superior spiritual qualities or a personal benefactor, such as a parent or a teacher, is an especially grave act.

The motive for killing also influences moral weight. Acts of killing can be driven by greed, hatred, or delusion. Of the three, killing motivated by hatred is the most

¹HRH Prince Vajiranavarorasa, *The Five Precepts and the Five Ennoblers* (Bangkok, 1975), pp. 1-9.

serious, and the weight increases to the degree that the killing is premeditated. The force of effort involved also contributes, the unwholesome kamma being proportional to the force and the strength of the defilements.

The positive counterpart to abstaining from taking life, as the Buddha indicates, is the development of kindness and compassion for other beings. The disciple not only avoids destroying life; he dwells with a heart full of sympathy, desiring the welfare of all beings. The commitment to non-injury and concern for the welfare of others represent the practical application of the second path factor, right intention, in the form of good will and harmlessness.

2. Abstaining from taking what is not given (*adinnadana veramani*)

He avoids taking what is not given and abstains from it; what another person possesses of goods and chattel in the village or in the wood, that he does not take away with thievish intent.¹

"Taking what is not given" means appropriating the rightful belongings of others with thievish intent. If one takes something that has no owner, such as unclaimed stones, wood, or even gems extracted from the earth, the act does not count as a violation even though these objects have not been given. But also implied as a transgression, though not expressly stated, is withholding from others what should rightfully be given to them.

¹ AN 10:176; *Word of the Buddha*, p. 53.

Commentaries mention a number of ways in which "taking what is not given" can be committed. Some of the most common may be enumerated:

1. *stealing*: taking the belongings of others secretly, as in housebreaking, pickpocketing, etc.;
2. *robbery*: taking what belongs to others openly by force or threats;
3. *snatching*: suddenly pulling away another's possession before he has time to resist;
4. *fraudulence*: gaining possession of another's belongings by falsely claiming them as one's own;
5. *deceitfulness*: using false weights and measures to cheat customers.¹

The degree of moral weight that attaches to the action is determined by three factors: the value of the object taken; the qualities of the victim of the theft; and the subjective state of the thief. Regarding the first, moral weight is directly proportional to the value of the object. Regarding the second, the weight varies according to the moral qualities of the deprived individual. Regarding the third, acts of theft may be motivated either by greed or hatred. While greed is the most common cause, hatred may also be responsible as when one person deprives another of his belongings not so much because he wants them for himself as because he wants to harm the latter. Between the two, acts motivated by hatred are kammically heavier than acts motivated by sheer greed.

¹*The Five Precepts and the Five Ennoblers* gives a fuller list, pp. 10-13.

The positive counterpart to abstaining from stealing is honesty, which implies respect for the belongings of others and for their right to use their belongings as they wish. Another related virtue is contentment, being satisfied with what one has without being inclined to increase one's wealth by unscrupulous means. The most eminent opposite virtue is generosity, giving away one's own wealth and possessions in order to benefit others.

3. Abstaining from sexual misconduct (*kamesu miccha-cara veramani*)

He avoids sexual misconduct and abstains from it. He has no intercourse with such persons as are still under the protection of father, mother, brother, sister or relatives, nor with married women, nor with female convicts, nor lastly, with betrothed girls.¹

The guiding purposes of this precept, from the ethical standpoint, are to protect marital relations from outside disruption and to promote trust and fidelity within the marital union. From the spiritual standpoint it helps curb the expansive tendency of sexual desire and thus is a step in the direction of renunciation, which reaches its consummation in the observance of celibacy (*brahmacariya*) binding on monks and nuns. But for laypeople the precept enjoins abstaining from sexual relations with an illicit partner. The primary transgression is entering into full sexual union, but all other sexual involvements of a less complete kind may be considered secondary infringements.

¹ AN 10:176; *Word of the Buddha*, p. 53.

The main question raised by the precept concerns who is to count as an illicit partner. The Buddha's statement defines the illicit partner from the perspective of the man, but later treatises elaborate the matter for both sexes.¹

For a man, three kinds of women are considered illicit partners:

1. A woman who is married to another man. This includes, besides a woman already married to a man, a woman who is not his legal wife but is generally recognized as his consort, who lives with him or is kept by him or is in some way acknowledged as his partner. All these women are illicit partners for men other than their own husbands. This class would also include a woman engaged to another man. But a widow or divorced woman is not out of bounds, provided she is not excluded for other reasons.
2. A woman still under protection. This is a girl or woman who is under the protection of her mother, father, relatives, or others rightfully entitled to be her guardians. This provision rules out elopements or secret marriages contrary to the wishes of the protecting party.
3. A woman prohibited by convention. This includes close female relatives forbidden as partners by social tradition, nuns and other women under a vow of celibacy, and those prohibited as partners by the law of the land.

From the standpoint of a woman, two kinds of men are considered illicit partners:

¹ The following is summarized from *The Five Precepts and the Five Ennoblers*, pp. 16-18.

4. For a married woman any man other than her husband is out of bounds.
Thus a married woman violates the precept if she breaks her vow of fidelity to her husband. But a widow or divorcee is free to remarry.
5. For any woman any man forbidden by convention, such as close relatives and those under a vow of celibacy, is an illicit partner.

Besides these, any case of forced, violent, or coercive sexual union constitutes a transgression. But in such a case the violation falls only on the offender, not on the one compelled to submit.

The positive virtue corresponding to the abstinence is, for laypeople, marital fidelity. Husband and wife should each be faithful and devoted to the other, content with the relationship, and should not risk a breakup to the union by seeking outside partners. The principle does not, however, confine sexual relations to the marital union. It is flexible enough to allow for variations depending on social convention. The essential purpose, as was said, is to prevent sexual relations which are hurtful to others. When mature independent people, though unmarried, enter into a sexual relationship through free consent, so long as no other person is intentionally harmed, no breach of the training factor is involved.

Ordained monks and nuns, including men and women who have undertaken the eight or ten precepts, are obliged to observe celibacy. They must abstain not only from sexual misconduct, but from all sexual involvements, at least during the

period of their vows. The holy life at its highest aims at complete purity in thought, word, and deed, and this requires turning back the tide of sexual desire.

5.8.1.3 Right Livelihood (*samma ajiva*)

Right livelihood is concerned with ensuring that one earns one's living in a righteous way. For a lay disciple the Buddha teaches that wealth should be gained in accordance with certain standards. One should acquire it only by legal means, not illegally; one should acquire it peacefully, without coercion or violence; one should acquire it honestly, not by trickery or deceit; and one should acquire it in ways which do not entail harm and suffering for others.¹ The Buddha mentions five specific kinds of livelihood which bring harm to others and are therefore to be avoided: dealing in weapons, in living beings (including raising animals for slaughter as well as slave trade and prostitution), in meat production and butchery, in poisons, and in intoxicants (AN 5:177). He further names several dishonest means of gaining wealth which fall under wrong livelihood: practising deceit, treachery, soothsaying, trickery, and usury (MN 117). Obviously any occupation that requires violation of right speech and right action is a wrong form of livelihood, but other occupations, such as selling weapons or intoxicants, may not violate those factors and yet be wrong because of their consequences for others.

The Thai treatise discusses the positive aspects of right livelihood under the three convenient headings of rightness regarding actions, rightness regarding persons, and

¹ AN 4:62; AN 5:41; AN 8:54.

rightness regarding objects.¹ "Rightness regarding actions" means that workers should fulfil their duties diligently and conscientiously, not idling away time, claiming to have worked longer hours than they did, or pocketing the company's goods. "Rightness regarding persons" means that due respect and consideration should be shown to employers, employees, colleagues, and customers. An employer, for example, should assign his workers chores according to their ability, pay them adequately, promote them when they deserve a promotion and give them occasional vacations and bonuses. Colleagues should try to cooperate rather than compete, while merchants should be equitable in their dealings with customers. "Rightness regarding objects" means that in business transactions and sales the articles to be sold should be presented truthfully. There should be no deceptive advertising, misrepresentations of quality or quantity, or dishonest manoeuvres.

5.8.1.4 The path of Concentration

The second aspect of the threefold training is concentration (Samadhi). This consists in constraining the mind to remain in the condition most conducive to success in whatever he wishes to achieve. Just what is concentration? No doubt most of you have always understood concentration as implying a completely tranquil mind, as steady and unmoving as a log of wood. But merely these two characteristics of being tranquil and steady are not the real meaning of Concentration. The basis for this statement is an utterance of the Buddha. He described the concentrated mind as fit for work

¹The Five Precepts and the Five Ennoblers, pp. 45-47.

(kammaniya), in a suitable condition for doing its job. Fit for work is the very best way to describe the properly concentrated mind.

5.8.1.4.1 Applying Mindfulness in Everyday Life

One of the most important part of the noble parts is mindfulness, sammasati. In our everyday lives, we can apply it for everything. Mindfulness is a state of being deliberately and actively present in the moment, acknowledging and accepting your thoughts and emotions. When you are mindful, you are paying attention to what is happening, both internally and outside of yourself, in the present moment. Your focus is on accepting your thoughts and feelings about what is occurring and how you are feeling, without judgment. You can incorporate mindfulness into your everyday life to reap the benefits of living a happier, healthier life.

For instance, when you are performing a boring, routine task, like sweeping the floor, instead of doing this without thinking or while only thinking of being finished, pay careful attention to the movement of your arms and how it feels and sounds to whisk the floor clean. As soon as you wake up in the morning, set the tone of the day by practicing meditation before you turn on the television or look at emails. Instead of being attached to your phone or computer, let your mind wander every so often. You may be amazed at how relaxing and simultaneously stimulating this “daydream” state can be.

If you have to wait in line somewhere, bring yourself into a mindful state using a prompt, such as picturing an object that you’ve used to meditate on. It will be time well spent in relaxation. You can learn meditation techniques through counseling, an instructor, or by

trying out digital instructional materials. Mindfulness is important for reducing stress, removing distractions and improving overall focus.¹

5.8.1.4.2 The Benefits of Practicing Mindfulness, Sammasati

Mindfulness is a form of meditation that has become a mainstream part of psychotherapy, providing stress reduction, self-control and concentration improvement. Some of the benefits of practicing mindfulness include:

- An improvement in psychological and general well-being
- Stress relief
- Lowered blood pressure
- Improvement in sleep quality
- Decreased symptoms of depression
- Help with substance abuse issues
- Improved self-esteem

5.8.1.4.3 Techniques for Practicing Mindfulness

There are different ways to practice mindfulness. All of them can be applied to everyday situations. You can sit quietly and focus on your breathing as you think of a specific word or mantra. This meditation can be done on its own or at the end of a yoga practice. You will allow your thoughts to drift by without judgment as you let them go and return your focus on the breath or mantra. Another technique is to pay attention to any physical

¹ Article Apr 26, 2017 by High Focus Centers

sensations you are feeling, without judgment, and then let the thoughts pass. Go over your entire body, being aware of each muscle, letting it relax and then releasing that focus as you pay attention to the next body part. Mindfulness can also be sensory, as in noticing every sound, taste, odor and touch sensation in your environment, then leaving these impressions behind. Let your emotions be present, without judgment. Be aware and name each emotion you are experiencing, and then let them be.

If you are experiencing cravings for drugs or alcohol following addiction treatment, you can use mindfulness techniques to cope. Note how your mind and body feel as the cravings come over you. Be mindful that you want the cravings to disappear, and then know with certainty that they will subside.

5.8.1.4.4 A Brief to contemplate Insight meditation

The meditators have to do the five kinds of Preliminary functions and then he or she has to contemplate the insight meditation with concentrated consciousness. The development of absorption concentration provides him or her with the benefit of insight by serving as the proximate cause for insight, and so too does access concentration. Hence, the Buddha said; 'Bhikkhus, develop concentration; a bhikkhu who is concentrated understands correctly.

The meditator has to place his mind at the heart base and practice saying, "matter, matter, matter (Rupa, Rupa, Rupa)" in his mind. It means that he will have to know watching his mind at the chest cavity where the heart base is always vibration. This is called Analyst of matter or body (rupa pariggaha).

When his mind can be on the heart base only, that is very good. However, the mind has the tendency to wander. If his mind wanders or goes out and he is aware of it, he has to be mindful of the going out. On the other hand, he may say to himself, "going out, going out, going out," two or three times and then go back to the heart base.

If the meditator sees something or someone in his thoughts, he will have to be mindful of seeing or he will have to say himself, "seeing, seeing, seeing," until that object disappears from his mind, then he has to go back the heart base. If the meditator hears somebody talking in his thoughts, he will have to be mindful of hearing or he will have to himself, "hearing, hearing, hearing," and then he has to go back to the heart base. If the meditator talks to someone in his thoughts or if he talks to himself, he will have to be mindful of talking or he will have to say himself, "talking, talking, talking," and then he has to go back to the heart base.

If the meditator speculates about something, if he analyzes something, he makes judgments; he will have to be mindful of making judgments. If the meditator remembers something in the past, he will have to be mindful of the remembrance or he will have to say himself, "remembering, remembering, remembering" or "thinking, thinking, thinking," and then he has to go back to the heart base. If the meditator thinks of the future and makes plans, he will have to be mindful of his it or he will have to say to himself, "planning, planning, planning," and then he has to go back to the heart base.

If the meditator becomes lazy, he will have to be mindful of his laziness or he will have to say himself, "lazy, lazy, and lazy." The laziness will go away after some moments, then he will have to go back to the heart base. If the meditator feels bored, he

will have to be mindful of boredom or he will have to say to himself, "bored, bored, bored," until boredom goes away, then he has to go back to the heart base.

If the meditator has resistance, he will have to be mindful of it or he will have to say to himself, "resisting, resisting, resisting," When resistance disappears, he has to go back to the heart base. If the meditator has thoughts of attachment or greed or lust, he will have to be mindful of these thoughts or he will have to say to himself, "attachment, attachment, attachment," or "greed, greed, greed," or "lust, lust, lust," until they disappear and then he has to go back to the heart base. If the meditator is upset or angry for any reason, he will have to be mindful of that anger, in other words, he will have to make that anger the object of meditation. He will have to concentrate on his anger or he may say to himself, "anger, anger, anger," or "angry, angry, angry," or "upset, upset, upset." After some moments, the anger will disappear and when it has disappeared, he has to go back to the heart base.

If the meditator wants to swallow his saliva, first he will have to be mindful of the intention or desire to swallow, saying to himself, "intension, intension, and intension, "or" desire, desire, desire." And when he has gathered the saliva in his mouth, he has to be mindful of gathering or he has to say to himself, "gathering, gathering, gathering." When he swallows, he will have to be mindful of swallowing or he will have to say to himself, "swallowing, swallowing, swallowing," then he has to go back to the heart base.

If the meditator has an itching sensation, he will not have to scratch it right away. He has to concentrate on the place of that itching and be mindful of it, saying to himself, "itching, itching, and itching." In most cases, itching will go away after some time. When

it goes away, he will have to return to the heart base. Sometimes, the itching will not go away. It may become more intense, then he has to be with it, taking note of it and he has to be aware of it, as long as he can. If he thinks, he cannot bear it any longer he may scratch. However, before scratching, he will have to be mindful of the intention or he will have to desire to scratch. When he moves his hand to the place where he experiences the itch, he will have to be mindful of the moving. He will have to move his hand slowly, following the movement with mindfulness. When his fingers touch the place, he has to say "touching, touching, touching." When he scratches, he has to say "scratching, scratching, scratching." When he takes the hand back, he has to say "taking, taking, and taking" or "moving, moving, moving." When his hand touches his lap, the knee or the other hand again, he has to be mindful of touching or he has to say himself, "touching, touching, touching." Then he has to go back to the heart base.

If the meditator has painful feelings in the body, numbness, stiffness, heat, focus his mind on the place of these feelings and he has to be mindful of them. If he has pain somewhere in the body, focus on the place of that pain, he has to be mindful of that pain and say to himself, "pain, pain, pain." He will have to be very patient with painful feelings. Pain will not easily go away or it may become more acute. He has to stay with it as long as he can. Actually pain is a very good object for meditation. It is a there is pain. So he has to be mindful of it and try to see that it is first of all a sensation. He must not identify pain with himself. He must not say either, "It is not his pain" or "He feels pain." There is just the pain, just the sensation. If the pain becomes so intense, he thinks he cannot bear it any longer, he may ignore pain altogether and he has to go back to the heart base. Or he may move and change posture to ease pain. But when he moves or

changes posture, first he will have to note the intention to change, to be mindful of the intention to change and then to make movements slowly, one at a time, following each movement with mindfulness. And when he has made changes, he has to go back to the heart base.

So the heart base is the whole object of his meditation. Whenever there are no other objects to be mindful of, he just continues with being mindful of the heart base. If there are more prominent objects, then he takes note of them, becomes aware of them, mindful of them, and then he has to go back to the heart base. He must not use force, must not strain himself. He must just watch calmly the objects, take note of them and be mindful of them. He must not try to push distractions or feelings in the body away, he has to watch them and let them go by themselves.

For some people, it is difficult to concentrate on the heart base. Such people can keep their mind by putting his hand on the chest to feel the beating of his heart. After some time, the meditator may be able to follow the beating of heart without his hand on the chest.

The meditator must not have any exceptions at this time of practice, must not expect to experience something strange or to see visions or whatever. Expectation is a mild form of greed or attachment which is a hindrance to concentration and has to be eliminated. If he has expectations, he will have to be mindful of them or he will have to say to himself, "expecting, expecting, expecting." Then he has to go back to the heart base.

Having meditated for ten or more minutes, the meditator can practice walking meditation. When the meditator practice vipassna meditation, it is important to keep mindfulness with him always. So, when he changes from sitting to standing, he will have to keep mindfulness with him. Before standing up, therefore, he will have to be mindful of the intention to stand up or to get up. He may say to himself, "intention, intention, intention," or "desire, desire, desire," Then he will have to get up slowly, keeping his mind on his whole body, on the upward movements of his body or saying to himself, "getting up, getting up, getting up." And when he is standing, he will have to be mindful of the standing position or he will have to say to himself, "standing, standing, standing." When the meditator walks, it is better to chose a walking path and stay on it. He must walk on it back and forth. When he walks, he walks slowly, keeping his mind on the foot or the movements of the foot, being aware of at least four stages of each step.

In order to make a step, first he has to raise his foot. He has to keep his mind on the foot and be mindful of the raising or lifting, "lifting, lifting, lifting." The he has to push his foot forward; he has to move his foot forward. He will have to be mindful of that moving, saying to himself, "moving, moving, moving." When he put his foot down on the floor, he will have to be mindful of the putting down or he will have to say, "putting, putting, putting." The he has to shift weight to make the other step. He has to keep his mind on the whole body and say, "shifting, shifting, shifting." Then he has to make the next step, being mindful of lifting, pushing, putting down, and shifting, moving slowly. He has to keep his eyes open and look at the floor about four or five feet in front of him. He must not close his eyes. He may fall if he closes his eyes. He has to keep them a little open and look at the floor, and look down.

When he reaches the end of the walking space, he has to stop and be mindful of stopping or he has to say to himself, "stopping, stopping, stopping." When he wants to turn around, he has to be mindful of the desire or he has to intention to turn around or he has to say to himself, "intention, intention, intention," or "desire, desire, desire," then he has to turn slowly. He must be mindful of the turning movement or he has to say to himself, "turning, turning, turning." Then he has to walk again, taking note of the different stages in each step, lifting, pushing, putting down, shifting, and so on, until he reaches the other end of the walking space. He has to stop there and be mindful of stopping. Wanting to turn around, he has to be mindful of turning around and then walk again. In addition, when he walks, he may keep his hands in front, in the back, or on the sides. So, he walk back and forth until the end of the walking period.

Walking is designed to exercise the body. When he is practicing for half an hour or one hour, walking may not be necessary but when he is on a retreat and practice the whole day, he needs to move his body. At the end of the walking period, the sitting period begins again. So he has to go back to the sitting place, walking slowly; making notes, being aware of the different stages and steps. Before lowering himself, he has to be mindful of the desire to sit down. Then lower he slowly, keeping his mind on the whole body. When the body touches the floor, he has to say "touching, touching, touching." He has to arrange his legs and hands, and say "arranging, arranging, arranging." An then, he has to go back to the heart base and be mindful of the beating of heart. When eating he has to do with meditation. Everything has to be done with mindfulness. Even the activities in the bathroom should not escape his mindfulness.

After meditation, the meditators share merit. It is a good practice to share merit with all beings whenever they have done some meritorious deeds as mentioned above. It takes him for about seven days to develop the *rupapariggaha*.

After contemplating the matter of heart base he also places his thought at the heart base and he has to develop saying "knowing, knowing, knowing" in his mind. This is known as the Analyst of Mind (*namapariggaha*). Likewise, his mind is placed at the heart of the base and he has to develop saying "the mind and body is conditioned by the five causes pertaining to the past – *AvijjA* (ignorance), *Tanha* (craving), *Upadana* (grasping), *kamma* (action), *Ahara*(Nutriment)." This is termed the discerning conditionality (*paccaya pariggaha*). In the same way, he has to contemplate saying, "the mind and matter is conditioned by the five causes pertaining to the past and so the mind and matter is arising." This is called the Analyst of period (*AddhAna pariggaha*). And also he has to practice saying, "the mind and matter is conditioned by the five causes pertaining to the past and it is rising and passing spontaneously. It is impermanent; it is impermanent and it is impermanent – (*Anicca, Anicca, Anicca*)". This is known as the contemplation of the mind and matter for the Knowledge of Comprehension (*Sammasan Nanna*). And then the meditator has to continue to practice saying, "the mind and matter is conditioned by the five causes pertaining to the past and they are always arising and passing away automatically. This is called the contemplating for the Knowledge of Arising and Passing Away (*Udayabbaya- Nana*).

By doing so, for the followings: Knowledge of Dissolution (*bhanga nana*); Awareness of Fearfulness (*bhayatupatthana-nana*; Knowledge of Misery (*adinava-nana*); Knowledge of Disgust (*nibbida-nana*); Knowledge of Desire for Deliverance

(*muncitu-kamyata-nana*); Knowledge of Re-observation (*patisankhanupassana-nana*); Knowledge of Equanimity about Formations (*sankharu-pekkha-nana*); Insight Leading to emergence (*vitthana-gamini-vipassana-nana*); Knowledge of Adaptation (*anuloma nana*); Maturity Knowledge (*gotrabhu-nana*); Path Knowledge (*magga-nana*); Fruition Knowledge (*phala-nana*); Knowledge of Reviewing (*paccavekkhana-nana*) and Attainment of Fruition (*phalasamapatti*) the meditator can contemplate placing his thought on the heart base at the chest.

We can found that the meditators can easily change the Concentration Meditation into the Insight Meditation and they can observe the arising and passing away of mind and matter well. It is main point only to try to experience and practice the meditation of *samatha* and *vipassna*.

5.9 The third path of Wisdom

The third aspect is the training in insight (Panna), the practice and drill that gives rise to the full measure of right knowledge and understanding of the true nature of all things Normally we are incapable of knowing anything at all in its true nature. Mostly we either stick to our own ideas or go along with popular opinion, so that what we see is not the truth at all. It is for this reason that Buddhist practice includes this training in insight, the last aspect of the threefold training, designed to give rise to full understanding of and insight into the true nature of things.

5.9.1 Applying them in our daily life

In the religious context, understanding and insight are not by any means the same. Understanding depends to some extent on the use of reasoning, on rational intellection.

Insight goes further than that. An object known by insight has been absorbed; it has been penetrated to and confronted face to face; the mind has become thoroughly absorbed in it through examination and investigation so sustained that there has arisen a non-rational but genuine and heartfelt disenchantment with that thing and a complete lack of emotional involvement in it. Consequently the Buddhist training in insight does not refer to intellectual understanding of the kind used in present day academic and scholarly circles, where each individual can have his own particular kind of truth. Buddhist insight must be intuitive insight clear and immediate, the result of having penetrated to the object by one means or another, until it has made a definite and indelible impression on the mind. For this reason the objects of scrutiny in insight training must be things that one comes into contact with in the course of everyday living; or at least they must be things of sufficient importance to render the mind genuinely fed up and disenchanted with them as transient, unsatisfactory and not selves. However much we think rationally, evaluating the characteristics of transience, unsatisfactoriness and non-selfhood, nothing results but intellectual understanding. There is no way it can give rise to disillusionment and disenchantment with worldly things. It must be understood that the condition of disenchantment replaces that of desiring the formerly infatuatingly attractive object, and that this in itself constitutes the insight. It is a fact of nature that the presence of genuine, clear insight implies the presence of genuine disenchantment. It is impossible that the process should stop short at the point of clear insight. Disenchantment displaces desire for the object, and is bound to arise immediately.

Training in morality is simply elementary preparatory practice, which enables us to live happily and helps stabilize the mind. Morality yields various benefits, the most

important being the preparing of the way for concentration. Other advantages, such as conducing to happiness or to rebirth as a celestial being, were not considered by the Buddha to be the direct aims of morality. He regarded morality as primarily a means of inducing and developing concentration. As long as things continue to disturb the mind, it can never become concentrated.

Training in concentration consists in developing the ability to control this mind of ours, to make use of it, to make it do its job to the best advantage. Morality is good behavior in respect of body and speech; concentration amounts to good behavior in respect of the mind, and is the fruit of thorough mental training and discipline. The concentrated mind is devoid of all bad, defiling thoughts and does not wander off the object. It is in a fit condition to do its job.

Even in ordinary worldly situations, concentration is always a necessity. No matter what we are engaged in, we can hardly do it successfully unless the mind is concentrated. For this reason the Buddha counted concentration as one of the marks of a great man. Regardless of whether a man is to be successful in worldly or in spiritual things, the faculty of concentration is absolutely indispensable. Take even a schoolboy. If he lacks concentration, how can he do arithmetic? The sort of concentration involved in doing arithmetic is natural concentration and is only poorly developed. Concentration as a basic element in Buddhist practice, which is what we are discussing here, is concentration that has been trained and raised to a higher pitch than can develop naturally. Consequently, when the mind has been trained successfully, it comes to have a great many very special abilities, powers and attributes. A person who has managed to derive these benefits from

concentration can be said to have moved up a step towards knowing the secrets of nature. He knows how to control the mind, and thus has abilities not possessed by the average person. The perfection of morality is an ordinary human ability. Even if someone makes a display of morality, it is never a superhuman display. On the other hand the attainment of deep concentration was classed by the Buddha as a superhuman ability, which the bhikkhus were never to make a display of. Anyone who did show off this ability was considered no longer a good bhikkhu, or even no longer a bhikkhu at all.

To attain concentration necessitates making sacrifices. We have to put up with varying degrees of hardship, to train and practice, until we have the degree of concentration appropriate to our abilities. Ultimately we shall gain much better results in our work than can the average man, simply because we have better tools at our disposal. So do take an interest in this matter of concentration and don't go regarding it as something foolish and old-fashioned. It is definitely something of the greatest importance, something worth making use of at all times, especially nowadays when the world seems to be spinning too fast and on the point of going up in flames. There is far more need for concentration now than there was in the time of the Buddha. Don't get the idea that it is just something for the people in temples, or for cranks.

Now we come to the connection between the training in concentration and the training in insight. The Buddha once said that when the mind is concentrated, it is in a position to see all things as they really are. When the mind is concentrated and fit for work, it will know all things in their true nature. It is a strange thing that the answer to any problem a person is trying to solve is usually already present, though concealed, in

his very own mind. He is not aware of it, because it is still only subconscious; and as long as he is set on solving the problem, the solution will not come, simply because his mind at that time is not in a fit condition for solving problems. If, when setting about any mental work, a person develops right concentration, and insight that is, if he renders his mind fit for work, the solution to his problem will come to light of its own accord. The moment the mind has become concentrated, the answers will just fall into place. But should the solution still fail to come, there exists another method for directing the mind to the examination of the problem, namely the practice of concentrated introspection referred to as the training in insight. On the day of his enlightenment the Buddha attained insight into the Law of Conditioned Origination, that is, he came to perceive the true nature of things or the "what is what" and the sequence in which they arise, as a result of being concentrated in the way we have just described. The Buddha has related the story in detail, but essentially it amounts to this: as soon as his mind was well concentrated, it was in a position to examine the problem.

It is just when the mind is quiet and cool, in a state of well-being, undisturbed, well concentrated and fresh, that some solution to a persistent problem is arrived at. Insight is always dependent on concentration though we may perhaps never have noticed the fact. Actually the Buddha demonstrated an association even more intimate than this between concentration and insight. He pointed out that concentration is indispensable for insight, and insight indispensable for concentration at a higher intensity than occurs naturally, requires the presence of understanding of certain characteristics of the mind. One must know in just which way the mind has to be controlled in order that concentration may be induced. So the more insight a person has, the higher degree of concentration he will

capable of. Likewise an increase in concentration results in a corresponding increase in insight. Either one of the two factors promotes the other.

Insight implies unobscured vision and consequently disenchantment and boredom. It results in a backing away from all the things one has formerly been madly infatuated with. If one has insight, yet still goes rushing after things, madly craving for them, grasping at and clinging on to them, being infatuated with them., then it cannot be insight in the Buddhist sense. This stopping short and backing away is, of course, not a physical action. One doesn't actually pick things up and hurl them away or smash them to pieces, nor does one go running off to live in the forest. This is not what is meant. Here we are referring specifically to a mental stopping short and backing away, as a result of which the mind ceases to be a slave to things and becomes a free mind instead. This is what it is like when desire for things has given way to disenchantment. It isn't a matter of going and committing suicide, or going off to live as a hermit in the forest, or setting fire to everything. Outwardly one is as usual, behaving quite normally with respect to things. Inwardly, however, there is a difference. The mind is independent, free, no longer a slave to things. This is the virtue of insight. The Buddha called this effect Deliverance, escape from slavery to things, in particular the things we like. Actually we are enslaved by the things we dislike too. We are enslaved insofar as we cannot help disliking them and are unable to remain unmoved by them. In disliking things, we are being active, we are becoming emotional about them. They manage to control us just as do the things we like, affecting each of us in a different way. So the expression "slavery to things" refers to the reactions of liking and disliking. All this shows that we can escape from slavery to things and become free by means of insight. The Buddha summed up this principle very briefly

by saying: "Insight is the means by which we can purify ourselves." He did not specify morality or concentration as the means by which we could purify ourselves, but insight, which enables us to escape, which liberates us from things. Not freed from things, one is impure, tainted, infatuated, passionate. Once free, one is pure, spotless, enlightened, tranquil. This is the fruit of insight, the condition that results when insight has done its job completely.

Have a good look at this factor, insight, the third aspect of the threefold training. Get to know it, and you will come to regard it as the highest virtue. Buddhist insight is insight that results in backing away from things by completely destroying the four kinds of attachment. Those four attachments are ropes holding us fast; insight is the knife that can cut those bonds and set us free. With the four attachments gone, there is nothing left to bind us fast to things.

Will these three modes of practice stand the test? Are they soundly based and suitable for all in practice? Do examine them. When you have another look at them you will see that these three factors do not conflict with any religious doctrine at all, assuming that the religion in question really aims at remedying the problem of human suffering. The Buddhist teaching does not conflict with any other religion, yet it has some things that no other religion has. In particular it has the practice of insight, which is the superlative technique for eliminating the four attachments. It liberates the mind, rendering it independent and incapable of becoming bound, enslaved, overpowered by anything whatsoever, including God in heaven, spirits, or celestial beings. No other religion is prepared to let the individual free himself completely, or be entirely self

reliant. We must be fully aware of this principle of self-reliance, which is a key feature of Buddhism.

As soon as we see that Buddhism has everything that any other religion has and also several things that none of them have, we realize that Buddhism is for everyone. Buddhism is the universal religion. It can be put into practice by everyone, in every age and era. People everywhere have the same problem: to free themselves from suffering---suffering which is inherent in birth, aging, pain and death, suffering which stems from desire, from grasping. Everyone without exception, celestial being, human being, or beast, has this same problem, and everyone has the same job to do, namely to eliminate completely the desire, the unskillful grasping which is the root cause of that suffering. Thus Buddhism is the universal religion. ¹

5.10 Administration of Konbaung

Furthermore, the sources for the ethics of Buddhists around konbaund period are found as follows.

- Ten Rājacarita dhamma,
- four Sangaha vatthu,
- seven Aparihāṇiya dhamma,

¹Article from Mahidol University 2002

In the administrative system of Konbaung period, the king is the most authority person and he is different from public according to word of “ Universal monarch and the clan of son and military. Because of difference from public, he is found as AThat oo san pain. He always practice four Saṅgaha dhamma, seven Aparihāṇiya dhamma, Ten Rājacarita dhamma.

5.10.1 Ten Rājacarita dhamma

Almost all the countries in the world today are facing various political chaos as each country tries to deepen and strengthen its power over another. In recent years, many established peaceful countries have seen turbulent times involving their governments with claims of corruption, breaching social codes, spying, incompetence, and neglecting poor while creating space for greedy corporations to thrive stealing public wealth & resources etc. (sound familiar?). If any nation is to progress in the future, it requires sound political leadership. But, how should the world expect its future elected leader to behave? Well, Buddhism does have a set of guidelines for kings, which in the modern context includes prime ministers and presidents. They are called the ten duties of a king, or dasavidha-rajadhamma in Pali (or rajadhamma for short). They were taught by the Buddha over two thousand years ago, but are as valid a set of principles now as they were all those centuries ago. Let's take a brief look at them:

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1. Dana – charity – having a willingness to sacrifice one's interests for the people.
 2. Sila – morality – maintaining a high moral order in one's personal conduct.
 3. Pariccaga – altruism – being generous towards the people, avoiding selfishness.
 4. Ajjava – honesty – fulfilling one's duties with loyalty and integrity.

5. Maddava – gentleness – being kind and gentle, never arrogant.
6. Tapa – self control – to perform one’s duties with dispassion.
7. Akkhoda – non-anger – remaining calm in the midst of confusion.
8. Avihimsa – (non-violence) – being non-violent, not persecuting the people.
9. Khanti – (forbearance) – practicing patience in one’s duties.
10. Avirodhana – (uprightness) – respecting public opinion, promoting harmony.

Historically, there was a man who exemplified the ten rajadhamma, and that man was called King Ashoka (304-232 BCE), who ruled India for forty-one years (pictured above). Initially, he was a great warrior general, winning many battles, and continued to expand the Indian empire during the first eight years of his reign. After one particularly bloody campaign, King Ashoka wandered the sight of his army’s victory, and seeing the carnage all around him, famously cried out, “What have I done?” Following this, he embraced Buddhism, establishing a just kingdom along Buddhist lines and was known as ‘Dhammashoka’ – “Pious Ashoka.” He promoted wildlife protection, banning hunting for sport, built universities, hospitals for people and animals, and constructed irrigation systems for trade and agriculture. He also renounced the use of violence, ceasing all military campaigns against his neighbours, instead sending monks and nuns abroad to spread the Buddhist Teachings on wisdom and kindness.

Indeed, a son and daughter of King Ashoka’s who were monk and nun took Buddhism to Sri Lanka, where it remains the predominant faith to this day. This is not to say that he promoted Buddhism at the expense of other religions, however, as he also encouraged tolerance and understanding between different creeds and ethnic groups. King Ashoka is

remembered by Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike as an example of a truly compassionate and just ruler, who lived according to the ten rajadhamma.

Now, this tenfold list of kingly responsibilities is surely a set of qualities that would make any ruler a great leader of their country today, just as King Ashoka was in ancient India. But do such leaders exist nowadays, one might ask, considering the many examples of politicians that have been exposed as anything but charitable, moral, or honest? Scandals have involved so many political and royal figures that it seems nigh on impossible to find one that comes anywhere near the ideals in the Ten Duties.

Rather than speaking on the subject of the Ten Royal Duties, we can simply apply them to our presidents and prime ministers, to see if they're really up to the job of governance, we can reflect on them with regards ourselves. We can contemplate our own behavior, as well those who are in positions of power, to see if we are ruling our own lives in the spirit of the rajadhamma. After all, what's the point of having a good constitution, a great leader and government, if we the people are selfish, unwise, violent, and ignoble?

Good Governance is the good principles for right practice for governors and managers on all levels. The principles are accuracy, appreciation, purity and justice. It is the practical principle for releasing suffering and maintaining happiness for benefits of majority and for achieving objectives with high effectiveness and efficiency.

The Good Governance can be classified as the good and right practices for kings or monarch to rule the kingdoms rightly for happiness of people. They are Ten Royal Virtues (rajadhamma). Furthermore, there are other dhamma principles taught by sages

from the past. They are *raja-sangaha-vatthu* or a Ruler's Bases of Sympathy, *cakkavatti-vatta* or Duties of a Great Ruler, and *bala* or Strengths of a King. These principles are also considered Good Governance for governors and administrators on all levels to practice for leading organization, companies, religion, society and nation to achieve the objectives for benefits of majority.

Here in Myanmar, society is subject to the same political vicissitudes found the world over. In recent years, this lovely country has seen turbulent times involving successive governments. Claims of corruption, incompetence, and favoritism are thrown around on a daily basis (sound familiar?). If this predominately Buddhist nation is to progress in the future, it requires sound political leadership. But, how should Thailand expect its future elected leader to behave? Well, Buddhism does have a set of guidelines for kings, which in the modern context includes prime ministers and presidents. They are called the ten duties of a king, or *dasavidha-rajadhamma* in Pali (or *rajadhamma* for short). They were taught by the Buddha over two thousand years ago, but are as valid a set of principles now as they were all those centuries ago. Let's take a brief look at them:

The kings from Konbaung period do have a leader that is considered to be the embodiment of these qualities. With their numerous development projects to help the Konbaung people, and their reputation for helping those in need, the Kings are figurehead that gets directly involved with the concerns of their people. Their work in the area of rain-making to help the millions of people working the land is well documented.

They are deeply loved men, whose popularities are directly related to the public perception that they exude the Ten Kingly Duties.¹

The sayadaws of the kings have spoken on the subject of the Ten Royal Duties, saying that rather than simply applying them to our presidents and prime ministers, to see if they're really up to the job of governance, we can reflect on them with regards ourselves. We can contemplate our own behaviour, as well those who are in positions of power, to see if we are ruling our own lives in the spirit of the rajadhamma. After all, what's the point of having a good constitution, a great leader and government, if we the people are selfish, unwise, violent, and ignoble?

5.10.2 Four Sangaha vatthu

Sangaha-vatthu means qualities that bond people in unity or principles for helpful integration. The four principles are:

1.1 Dana: giving; sacrificing, sharing his own things with others; not being stingy and selfish. This principle helps people to be free from selfishness. We have to realize that the wealth that we earn is not permanent. When we pass away, we cannot take it with us.

1.2 Piyavaca: amicable speech; speaking words that are polite; sincere, abstaining from harsh speech; speaking the words that are useful. The Buddha gives much importance to speech because speech is the first step for producing harmony and friendship.

¹Buddhism by Numbers: 10 Duties of a King

1.3 Atthacariya: helpful action; performing actions that are useful to other people.

1.4 Samanattata: participation; behaving consistently and impartially; behaving equitably toward all people. This principle helps us to have a firm mind, and in addition it produces admirableness and truthfulness.

5.10.3 Seven Aparihāṇiya dhamma,

The Seven Conditions of Welfare (Satta Aparihaniya Dhamma) show how they are particularly useful to govern a country successfully. After having attained the supreme Enlightenment, the Buddha went from place to place, tirelessly spreading the Teaching until He reached eighty years of age. In the *Digha Nikaya* of the *Sutta Pitaka*, the *Mahaparinibbana Sutta* mention on that King *Ajatasattu* of *Magadha* wanted to attack and conquer the *Vajjian* state. Before he proceed, he had requested one of his minister to visit the Buddha and ask the minister to ask the Buddha view on regard of his idea.

Instead of giving a direct answer, the Buddha spoke about the seven conditions conducive to the growth of a nation's welfare. He said that people should assemble in harmony, discuss their national affairs together, follow the established laws and not change them unreasonably. In addition, they should honor their parents, teachers and elders, lead a moral life, respect their religion, and follow the advice of the wise and the virtuous. As long as people followed this advice their nation would prosper. Satisfied with the answer, the minister left, promising to convey the Buddha's reply to his king.

The Buddha declared that:

- (1) as long as the *Vajjians* meet frequently and hold many meetings;
- (2) as long as they meet together in unity, rise in unity and perform their duties in unity;
- (3) as long as they enact nothing not enacted, abrogate nothing that has already been enacted, act in accordance with the already established ancient *Vajjian* principles;
- (4) as long as they support, respect, venerate and honour the *Vajjian* elders, and pay regard to their worthy speech;
- (5) as long as no women or girls of their families are detained by force or abduction;
- (6) as long as they support, respect, venerate, honour those objects of worship — internal and external — and do not neglect those righteous ceremonies held before;
- (7) as long as the rightful protection, defence and support for the Arahants shall be provided by the *Vajjians* so that Arahants who have not come may enter the realm and those who have entered the realm may live in peace — so long may the *Vajjians* be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

Hearing these seven conditions of welfare which the Buddha Himself taught the *Vajjians*, the Prime Minister, *Vassakāra*, took leave of the Buddha, fully convinced that the *Vajjians* could not be overcome by the King of Magadha in battle, without diplomacy or breaking up their alliance.

The Mahaparinibbana Sutta, while enunciating the seven factors which arrest socio-political decay [i.e. *satta aparihaniya dhamma* of the Vajji] specifically stresses respect

for the elders of the community, adding that due attention be paid to the counsel they can offer.

The Buddha thereupon availed Himself of this opportunity to teach seven similar conditions of welfare mainly for the benefit of His disciples. He summoned all the Bhikkhus in *Rājagaha* and said:

(1) “As long, O disciples, as the Bhikkhus assemble frequently and hold frequent meetings;

(2) as long as the Bhikkhus meet together in unity, rise in unity, and perform the duties of the Sangha in unity;

(3) as long as the Bhikkhus shall promulgate nothing that has not been promulgated, abrogate not what has been promulgated, and act in accordance with the already prescribed rules;

(4) as long as the Bhikkhus support, respect, venerate and honour those long-ordained Theras of experience, the fathers and leaders of the Order, and respect their worthy speech;

(5) as long as the Bhikkhus fall not under the influence of uprisen attachment that leads to repeated births;

(6) as long as the Bhikkhus shall delight in forest retreats;

(7) as long as the Bhikkhus develop mindfulness within themselves so that disciplined co-celibates who have not come yet may do so and those who are already present may live in peace — so long may the Bhikkhus be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

As long as these seven conditions of welfare shall continue to exist amongst the Bhikkhus, as long as the Bhikkhus are well-instructed in these conditions — so long may they be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

With boundless compassion the Buddha enlightened the Bhikkhus on seven other conditions of welfare as follows:

“As long as the Bhikkhus shall not be fond of, or delight in, or engage in, business; as long as the Bhikkhus shall not be fond of, or delight in, or engage in, gossiping; as long as the Bhikkhus shall not be fond of, or delight in sleeping; as long as the Bhikkhus shall not be fond of, or delight in, or indulge in, society; as long as the Bhikkhus shall neither have, nor fall under, the influence of base desires; as long as the Bhikkhus shall not have evil friends or associates and shall not be prone to evil — so long the Bhikkhus shall not stop at mere lesser, special acquisition without attaining Arahantship.”

Furthermore, the Buddha added that as long as the Bhikkhus shall be devout, modest, conscientious, full of learning, persistently energetic, constantly mindful and full of wisdom — so long may the Bhikkhus be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

5.10.4 Royal Order of Bodawphayar on Garudhamma

In Buddhism, and Buddhist literature there are three types of Garudhamma Sutta which Lord Buddha discoursed on the full moon day of Tawthalin. They are as follows in

brief.

Firstly, eight Garudhamma Rules for Mahapajupati Gotami who was the foster mother of Prince Sidhartha [Buddha to be] who became a bhikuni [female monk] at her request and with the consent of Lord Buddha. Secondly four Parajikas and 13 Samghadisesas is also called Garudhamma in Vinaya Discipline. Thirdly Five Pancha Sila [moral Precepts] is also Garudhamma or Kurudhamma [Jataka athakatha. Vol.2.p.331.] This article is on the third type. Garudhamma which Lord Buddha discoursed on full moon day of Tawthalin. In the kingdom of Kalinga, there was frequent visits of natural disasters, flood, draught, too much rain, no rain, scarcity of food and outbreak of contagious diseases and crimes, armed conflicts and no peace and no security.

In the kingdom of Kuru, there was no natural disasters, good climatic condition, more than enough food, no diseases, no crimes, no armed conflicts only peace and security. The King of Kalinga thought that because of the white Elephant in the kingdom of Kuru, they enjoyed peace security and plenty of food. The King sent his envoys to lend him the white Elephant to his kingdom. But to no avail, in spite of the white Elephant's presence there. Upon another equirey of the King for the real causes of peaces, plenty, progress and security of the kingdom of Kuru, the King found out Five moral precepts then known as Garudhamma Sutta. So he issued a royal order that himself his entire court and his people should observe and pratise Garudhamma Sutta. This Sutta in essence is nothing but to-day Pancha Sila.

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- (1) Abstain from Killing
 - (2) Abstain from taking what is not given you [stealing]
 - (3) Abstain from Sexual misconduct

(4) Abstain from telling lies and

(5) Abstain from taking intoxicants of all Kinds

After the king, the whole court and his people throughout the kingdom, observed and practiced. The precepts of Garudhamma Sutta, natural disasters ceased. Good rain, good harvest and plenty of food, contagious diseases disappear. No crime, no stealing no armed conflicts. The entire kingdom enjoyed peace, security and harmony. Full moon day of the month Tawthalin [September] had been ceremonially held and observed as Garudhamma day successively by Myanmar Kings. King Thalun [1629-48 A.D] of Nyaung Yan dynasty [1605-1752 A.D] of Myanmar history issued a royal order to celebrate and observe and practice Garudhamma by the King at the top to the grass root people at the bottom. The happy impact of the observances and practice of Garudhamma Sutta was his kingdom enjoyed, peace, progress and prosperity, politically, economically and socio-culturally. Agricultural production increased every year, trade and commerce boomed at home and abroad road. The Arabs (Moors) merchants and the Dutch traders came to his kingdom. King Tha Lun personally welcomed them by holding acrobatic and performing arts displays ahead of the business dialogues which followed. The King personally conducted the auction of his country's main agriculture product— rice, and mineral products precious stone ruby, saphaire and jade and lead, bronze and silver. In the conduct of business the King proved a shrewd diplomat. When the Dutch East India delegation tried to bargain the price of rice, the King replied that rice buyers should know not only the quality of rice but also how to cook good quality rice. Regarding Myanmar rubies he said that he knew Myanmar rubies have demaning market in Europe. Ruby merchants obtain many fold gains. As to Myanmar rice it is on great demand and the price is rising in the Dutch. East Indies [Now Indonesia] where the Dutch

had to feed farm workers on spice plantation. The Dutch East India Company was surprised to know that the King was well informed of current international relations. Later they found out the Arab merchants, brought information for which the King rewarded them handsomely. Trade and commerce with China flowed through peaceful border areas. To gather with them, Myanmar domestic products easily went down to Hamsavadi Kingdom Lower Myanmar and thence to overseas countries like India, Lanka dipa and Europe by fleets of galleons. King Tha Lun made a good monarch in Myanmar history. He carried out Tha Lun Sittan Revenue Inquest land, Gabe Land [religious land] Public Land were examined and systematically enlisted. Types of crop grown in three seasons and professions of the members of a family were recorded. He was very strict in using revenue tax and public money. He openly reprimanded his daughter princess who was leaning against an unclean post in the palace saying that her dresses were bought with public money. On one incognits occasion, as he was touring country side, he found a rural girl was draining off the boiling water in which she was cooking rice. She not only wasted the boiled rice water but also made the road dirty. She was given caning as punishment. After telling to her the mistakes the King pitied her and so gave her some cash.

Today some of pagodas, monument and villages Tha Lun had founded and built can still be seen in Sagaing. The famous Sagaing Kaung Hmutaw Stupa is a dome shaped on the model of Sanchi Stupa of Emperor Asoka. Close by in its precinct is Metta kan or water tank to supply water for the maintenance of the Pagoda. A big Lake emerged where earth was dug to make fired bricks for the Pagoda. It is now called Yey Myet Kyi In around

which many fishermen villages cropped up. For division of labour needed for the annual festival of Kaung Hmutaw Pagoda three villages were founded,

1. Siti village which provided music and musical performance at the Pagoda festival,

2. Lethlote village which provided dancers and

3. Swan chet village which provided rice cookers for donating cooked rice to the monks during the festival.

Rajah mani culla is the official name King Tha Lun gave to the Pagoda. Stone Inscription the King set up at the western entrance of the Pagoda gives a full account of why, when, how and total cost of the building of the Stupa. We can glean political, economic and socio cultural data of that time. In the time of King Bodawpaya [ME 1146 — 1784 A.D] royal order of Garudhamma Sutta Day was proclaimed by an officer on the back of the elephant at all corners and directions of inside and outside of the Palace City and across his kingdom to the public [both clergy and laity] to observe and practice. The happy results of it there were peace, progress and prosperity. His reign was long lasted. Many foreign envoys arrived including English and French who witnessed peace, progress and prosperity of the country. Four colossi of this King which survive till today are;

- (1) the biggest monument Mingun Pagoda

- (2) two gigantic Lion statues

- (3) the biggest ringing Bell in the world [Mingun Bell] and

(4) the largest water tank into which water is pumped by means of Myanmar traditional mechanism at high tide.

The message of Garudhamma Sutta is that if Pancha Sila is observed and practised by the highest authority at the top [King] to the grass roots peace, progress, prosperity and security would reign.¹

5.10.5 The judicial system of the Konbaung period

By studying the judicial system of the Konbaung period, it is learnt that different levels of courts were constituted in the royal capital and the towns and villages in the provinces for smooth and expeditious administration of justice. The courts in which the civil and criminal cases that arose among the people at the royal capital were heard, were the *hluttaw*, the *she-yon*, the *nauk-yon*, the *taya-yon* and the *pyin-ein wun-ein* concerned. In the towns and villages in the provinces, the courts

of the headmen of towns and villages, of the *awemyowuns* and of the *khayaingwuns* were established. The *hluttaw*, *she-yon* and *nauk-yon* and *taya-yon* at the royal capital but could also hear the appeals against the decisions made by provincial courts and could try the civil and criminal cases which were outside the jurisdiction of the courts of *myowuns* and *khayaingwuns*. Among the courts of law, the courts of the *thugyis* of towns and villages were the lowest courts, which only had jurisdiction over the cases not exceeding five hundred *kyats* in value. Appeals from the courts of the *thugyis* lay to *awemyowuns*' courts. An *awemyowun*'s court had jurisdiction over cases up to a value of a thousand

¹article Posted by Dr. Khin Maung Nyunt Date: September 04, 2017

kyats and could try all the criminal cases except disputes over the succession to hereditary offices, lese majesty, robbery, cases of underreporting population, bribery and corruption involving *myowuns* and *sitkes*. Appeals against the decrees and decisions made by a *myowun yon* could be filed to the court of the *khayaingwun* concerned, which could try cases not exceeding ten thousand *kyats* in value. Legal cases that arose in the towns and villages could not be filed directly to the *khayaingwun's* courts, which served as the highest provincial courts.

However, complaints as to the oppression of the *thugyis* of towns and villages could be filed directly to the *khayaingwun's yons*. The *she-yon*, which served as the criminal court at the royal capital could try criminal cases. The *myowuns* tried the criminal cases at the *she-yon*, which had to refer the cases to the *hluttaw* if the crimes called for severe punishments. The *myowuns* could inflict pecuniary penalties, flogging, detention, or imprisonment for a short period by themselves. The *Anaukyondaw* (Western Court) tried the legal cases such as verbal abuse, assaults, robbery and pecuniary disputes involving the service men under the charge of *Anaukwun* and the cases involving queens. This custom was abolished in the reign of King Thibaw, who ordered that civil cases had to be heard at the *taya-yon* (civil court) and criminal cases had to be tried by the *sheyondaw* (Eastern Court); hence, the *naukyondaw* was deprived of its power to try civil and criminal cases. In cases involving common citizens, both parties were required to be present at the court. Especially, the *taya-yandaw* heard the cases involving slaves, verbal abuse, land dispute, loans, family cases and inheritance disputes. All the civil suits had to be filed to the *taya-yon*, and only the appeals against its decision could be filed to the

hluttaw. The *hluttaw* was the highest court subordinate only to the king, and it could try suits of any value and could inflict severe penalties.

Although there was no change in Myanmar judiciary in the early and middle Konbaung period, more courts were constituted in the later Konbaung period. Pressured by the British in the reign of King Mindon, Myanmar had to form a mixed court in which Myanmar and British judges jointly tried the civil cases (involving British subjects). Moreover, for the speedy administration of justice, King Mindon appointed legal experts as *khondaws* (judges). Therefore, administration of justice would have become speedier due to King Mindon's efforts.

5.10.6 Rajathat and Dhammathat in Konbaung period

Although Myanmar was an absolute monarchy from the Bagan period until the end of the Konbaung period, Myanmar society had a fair judicial system which was in conformity with Myanmar culture and customs. To establish such a fair judicial system, Myanmar scholars had produced *dhammathats*, and Myanmar kings had issued *yazathats* or royal orders. Although the periods—Bagan, Pinya, Innwa, Taungoo, Nyaungyan and Konbaung—differed, Myanmar administrative system was a system that pivoted on the king, and there were no fundamental changes till the Konbaung period. There were, however, a few changes in Myanmar judicial system in the later Konbaung period. The king was at the apex of the judicial machinery in the monarchical days. The King himself was a judge according to the *Dhammathats*. Therefore, the kings endeavoured to be regarded by the citizens as just kings. It seems that the reason was because the people accepted a King

and held him in high regard only if he was a just King and because the people believed that the judicial system would be fair.

In the Myanmar judicial system, there were two legal standards *yazathat* and *dhammathat*. Cases involving the king's personal matters had to be decided according to the king's orders, and cases involving common citizens – theft, disputes over the succession to hereditary offices, family cases and inheritance disputes, etc., – had to be determined in accordance with the *dhammathats*. The Myanmar had systematic administrative system and various courts of law for trying legal cases were established since the Bagan period. Concerning the administration of justice, central and local judicial organs were established. The civil cases that arose among the people in the capital and surrounding areas were tried in the civil courts at the royal capital. The buildings in which such courts were held were referred to as *kunthaya*. The major goal of the judicial administration in the Bagan period (1044- 1287) was to establish a fair judicial system by using rulings and *dhammathats*.

Therefore, in hearing civil cases, the judges paid special attention to the statements made by witnesses and to the exhibits, and made their decisions after considering those statements and exhibits depending on the nature of the cases. In deciding civil cases, the customary law represented by the *dhammathats* served as guiding civil laws. For trying criminal cases, however, the royal orders known as *yazathats* had to be mainly relied on. These royal orders or *yazathats* are comparable to modern criminal law. However, modern criminal laws were codes enacted especially for administering criminal justice. The royal orders or *yazathats* are comparable to criminal code, which is the aggregate of statutory enactments pertaining to criminal law. The royal orders called *yazathats* were

not a code of law. They were just instructions (the judges had to follow) in trying criminal cases. Therefore, the *yazathat* was the most important law in determining criminal cases for the ancient Myanmars. In trying the criminal cases with no witnesses, the litigants had to undergo one of the *kaba le yat* (the four types of trial by ordeal) –*ye-la* (submerging in water), *san-wa* (chewing rice), *hkehtauk* (dipping one's finger in molten lead), and *mipyaing* (lighting tapers). An inscription from Nyaungbintha village, Nahtogyi township, Myingyan district, refers to a trial by ye-la. Although the accused persons should be acquitted in cases when there were no witnesses or when there was no sufficient evidence, the trials by ordeal were resorted to as the people of those days accepted them as fair trials. Although the trials by ordeal (*kabal le yat*) were not just, they were followed as they were accepted by the majority of the people in those days.

Although no strong evidence has been found as to the administration of justice in the Pinya period (1312-1364), the poems of the Innwa period (1364- 1555) mention the ethics of judicial administration. According to these poems, when the litigants approached a judge for making a legal decision, the judge would have to decide the case honestly, without hoping for bribes, without considering the influence of the litigants, without fearing the wrath of his superiors, without anger or folly, with integrity, and in accordance with the pledges one had made.

As the *Dhammavilasa Dhammathat* was in existence in the Taungoo period (1531-1597), there is evidence that the legal concepts mentioned in this *dhammathat* were followed. This *dhammathat* explains which witnesses are trustworthy and which witnesses are not. It values the statements made by the witnesses who has firsthand knowledge of a case, i.e. who himself or herself has seen what happened or has heard what the litigants

themselves said. As regards hearsay evidence, it states that a witness whose testimony is based on what he or she has heard from another person “should not be relied on, such a witness should not be questioned as he or she is not a witness who has direct personal knowledge of the case. “ It also asserts that the number of witnesses is not important; even if there is only a single witness, his or her testimony could be trusted if he or she is trust-worthy. If both parties have the same number of witnesses, however, the statements agreed to by more witnesses should be accepted. The administration of justice based on witnesses can be regarded as fair.

In the Nyaungyan period (1597-1752), too, legal cases were categorized into criminal and civil cases as in the Bagan period judicial administration. The words used in the Nyaungyan period, however, were: *yazawut-kyaung* (criminal) and *taya-gyaung* (civil) cases. In trying the cases when there were no witnesses, the *kaba le yat* were resorted to as in the Bagan period. Moreover, the word *tayathe* (final judgement) was used in the Nyaung-yan period.

There is evidence that the idea of *tayathe* was accepted as an advanced idea. For instance, it is stated in a royal order issued in 1001 that *tayathe* means the end of a legal case. Moreover, there is an explanation on the legal principle: *dhammathat ko yazathat choat thi, yazathat ko gatiwut choat thi* (*Yazathat* or royal ordersupersedes the *dhammathat* or customary law; a promise or agreement overrides the *yazathat*.). Hence the saying “*Dhammathat ko yazathat choat thi*” came into being. Even when a decision was to be made in accordance with the *yazathat*, if the litigants had made an agreement, they could not litigate the matter, but would have to follow the agreement whether it agrees or contradicts with the *yazathat*. The guiding principle of Myanmar judicial administration

was “to mitigate major cases and to dissolve minor cases” so that the common citizens would not be burdened. The ancient principle that justice had to be administered justly with a view to please the citizens was followed in the Nyaungyan period too. Moreover, as there were the *hluttaw*, the *she-yon*, the *nauk-yan*, the *taya-yan* and the *byedaik* in the Nyaungyan period, this period can be regarded as a period for which the literary evidence concerning the *hlut-yon nga yat* (the five officers of *hlut-yon*), which served as the pivot of Konbaung period judicial administration, has been discovered.

In the Konbaung period judicial administration, there were two legal standards: *yazathat* and *dhammathat*. Cases involving the king’s personal matters had to be decided according to the king’s orders, and cases involving common citizens—theft, disputes over inheritance of hereditary offices, family cases and inheritance disputes—had to be determined according to the *dhammathats*. For the smooth and expeditious administration of justice, different levels of courts were established both at the royal capital and in the provinces in the Konbaung period. The courts in which the civil and criminal cases that arose at the royal capital were tried and determined were the *hluttaw*, the *she-yon*, the *naukyon*, the *taya-yon* and the *pyin-ein wun-ein* concerned. In the towns and villages in the provinces, the courts of the town or village headmen, of the *awemyowuns* (outstation *myowuns*), and of the *khayaing wuns* (provincial governors) were established. Although the judiciary remained unchanged in the early and middle Konbaung period, more courts of law were constituted in the later Konbaung period. Moreover, in the reign of King Mindon, Myanmar had to yield to the political pressure from the British and form a mixed court jointly presided over by Myanmar and foreign judges. Furthermore, for the speedy administration of justice, King Mindon appointed legal experts as *khondaws*

(judges). In King Thibaw's reign, however, the *khondaws* (courts) established in the reign of King Mindon were abolished, and a *taya htanagyoat* (Department of Justice) and the court of the *asi awe win hmu mat* (councillors) were constituted in addition to the *hluttaw*, *she-yon*, *nauk-yon* and *taya-yon* which were established customarily at the royal capital.

Thus, it is learnt that various classes of courts were established in the Konbaung period, and justice was administered in these courts in conformity with the Myanmar traditional principle: "to mitigate major cases and to dissolve minor ones" especially practised in civil cases.

5.10.6.1 Criminal cases in Konbaung period

In the Konbaung period, crimes were categorized into major and minor crimes. Major crimes included the crimes that would stun the entire country such as rebellion or lese majesty, having sexual relationship with a palace lady, theft, robbery, armed robbery, rape etc.¹ In 1784, Badon Min issued an order to class adultery (with a married woman) as a major crime.² Causing disorder or turmoil in a region also was a major crime.³ Minor criminal cases were those called *myethnanyihum*, which had a complainant or an accuser and a defendant or an accused person such as involuntary manslaughter, assault, verbal

¹Tin, 1976, 255

²U Aung Than Tun, *Myanmar Min mya Taya Siyinye (Judicial administration under Myanmar Kings)*, Yangon, Kalaungbyan, 1968. p. 79 (Henceforth: Aung Than Tun, 1968 b)

³Dr.Than Tun, *The Royal Orders of Burma, AD 1598-1885 Part v. AD 1788-1806*, Kyoto: Centre for Southeast Asian Studies. Kyoto University, 1986, p.696 (Henceforth: Than Tun, 1986 b)

abuse etc.¹ In trying criminal cases, the judges had to follow the royal orders or *yazathats*. The royal orders collectively served as Myanmar criminal law which was comparable to the modern penal code. The offenders were punished by death, banishment, imprisonment and *maungkyawdan* (proclamation) depending on the severity of the crime.²

In a criminal case with no witnesses, one of the four ordeals (*kaba le yat*)–*ye-ngoate* (submerging in water), *mipyaing* (lighting tapers), *san-wa* (chewing rice), and *hkehtauk* (dipping one's finger in molten lead) would be resorted to, or the trial would be conducted by means of oaths upon the scriptures. A royal order was issued that in legal case where there was no sufficient evidence or witness, the court would have to recourse to a trial of ordeal as follows:

If the two litigants' statements differ, and both sides failed to call witnesses because the incident happened along time ago or to present old records including inscriptions as evidence, and if the documentary evidence presented was not trustworthy, the precedent was to conduct the trial by one of the four ordeals...³ If a trial was conducted by one of these four ordeals despite there was sufficient evidence, the responsible officers would be punished:

It came to my notice that Sithu Thinkaya, the judge, decided to conduct trial by *ye-ngoate* (water ordeal) even though there was a witness who knew the matters concerning the

¹Tin, 1976, 255

²Tin, 1976, 254

³Than Tun, 1986 a , 230

dispute over the ownership of a slave between Dhammawethu's mother-in-law Mi Ya and Mi Yaw. If there is a witness, the decision must not be made by water ordeal. It was breaking with precedent. Moreover, the pleaders, who would have to record the matter and report if the judicial process was improper, they failed to do so they had followed a wrong judicial process. Prosecute judge Sithu Thinkaya and the pleaders.¹ Thus, the judge Sithu Thinkaya and the pleader were punished for deciding this case by *ye-ngoat* (water ordeal) although there was a witness. Of the four ordeals, *ye-ngoat* is a form of trial to determine whose statement was right by making both the accuser and the accused to submerge under water. First they would be taken to a waterside, and jail officers would search them for amulets and cabalistic squares which they might have in their hair, between their fingers or toes. Then, a sacred book would be placed on each of their heads, and they would have to swear an oath as follows:

I vow that neither I nor anybody on my side would use tattoos, amulets, cabalistic squares, charms, sorcery or mantras. If my statement is false, may I fall under the curse contained in this book. If it is true, may I be able to submerge under water.²

After that, ropes would be tied around their waists. Then the words of *achuat adeithtan* (the binding oath) would be read out three times, and with the *achuat adeithtan* document wrapped around each of their necks, they would be brought down to the water. A bamboo pole would be placed upon their shoulders and pushed down. The person who surfaced first would lose, and the litigant who came out later would win the case. If both the litigants stayed under water for the prescribed period of time, they would be taken out of

¹Than Tun, 1986 a, 772

²Than Tun, 1986 a, 426-427

the water, and the litigant who was in a worse condition would lose the case.¹ Of the four ordeals used by the courts at the royal capital, the ordeal by water was also used in the Shan States in the Konbaung period. In 1763, during the reign of King Sinbyushin, a dispute arose between the *Sawbwa* of Thibaw and *Thonse-sa* the hereditary chief who held Thonze in fief over the control of the frontier regions of Tikyit, Naungdaw, Naunghlaing, Pyingyi, and Lonka. The case was determined by *ye-ngoat* ordeal, and the *sawbwa* of Thibaw lost the case because he came out of the water first, and had to cede the frontier regions of Tikyit, Naungdaw, Naunghlaing, Pyingyi, and Lonka to *Thonse-sa*.² The water ordeal was resorted to in a case heard at the *Sheyondaw* (Eastern Court, i.e. the criminal court at the royal capital) in 1793 (Nga Myat Ya vs. Mi Toat). As Mi Toat surfaced first, Nga Myat Ya was taken out of water, and the case was decided in favour of Nga Myat Ya. Therefore, Mi Toat lost this case. However, it is not known what the case was about.³ In using the ordeal by water to decide the cases if there was no evidence, a litigant could ask someone else to submerge under water on his or her behalf. In a legal case Pondaung Kyawhtin, the *kyunthidawgyi* (pagoda slave) of Shwe Yin Hmyaw pagoda vs Nga Kaung Pye who held the title Shwedaung Thura Kyawswa that arose in 1777, during the reign of King Singu, the court allowed an outsider to submerge under water on behalf of litigant to determine whether. Pondaung Kyawhtin was a *hpayakyn* (pagoda

¹Tin, 1976, 273-274

² Tetkatho Winthan, “*Nemye Asu Anyin Hpyatsa Dazaung*” (“A written decision on territorial disputes”), *Hanthawady Daily*, 18 June 1978 (Henceforth: Tetkatho Winthan, 18 June 1978)

³*Yazatheikpa Thatta Kyangyi*, Inn-ywa Mothit, Pyilonghmanu press, 1929, pp.129, 130 (Henceforth: *Yazatheikpa Kyan*, 1929)

slave) or a *minkyun* (crown slave).¹ In King Mindon's reign, a Shan trader lost his money bag while he was inspecting fabrics in a Chinese store, and he took the matter to court. Then, as the Chinese shopkeeper and the Shan customer could not present evidence, they were ordered to undergo *ye-ngoat* (water ordeal), although the Chinese shopkeeper objected saying that it was not a custom among the Chinese. But, the court did not change its decision, but let the Chinaman ask someone else to submerge under water on his behalf.² It seems that litigants were allowed to nominate proxies to undergo the ordeal for them because the ordeal was severe and could kill them. Therefore, when there were no witnesses, the water ordeal was used in every case, whether it involved only natives or both natives and foreigners. According to the court fees prescribed in 1878 during the reign of King Thibaw, the fee for *ye-ngoat* to be collected from the litigants was only 5 *mu* for compiling the binding oath.³ Therefore, it is clear that *kaba le yat* (that four types of trial by ordeal) were practiced till the reign of King Thibaw. As the cases could be decided by water ordeal when there were no witnesses, they could also be determined by *mipyaing* (the ordeal of lighting). In a trial by this ordeal, the litigants would have to pay obeisance to the guardian spirits of the stupa and of the Sasana on the plinth of a stupa, and would have to take an oath that they would not use magic potions, sorcery, charms, amulets, cabalistic squares, etc. Then, they would have to light candles of the same size and weight. The litigant whose candle left the wick would lose the case, and the litigant

¹Ba Thaug, *KonbaungKhit Taya Upade (Law of the Konbaung period)*, M.A thesis,

Mandalay Arts and Science University , 1975, p.155 (Henceforth: Ba Thaug, 1975)

²Ludu U Hla, *Thadinzamyathi Thanaingko Pyawpyaneyathi (Newspapers reflect history)*, Mandalay, Kyipweye press, 1963, p.277 (Henceforth : U Hla, 1963)

³“1240 *Ameindaw*” (Royal Order of 1878), *Purabaik MS 286*, Yangon, National Library (Henceforth: “1240 *Ameindaw*”, *Pu MS 286*)

whose candle burnt out completely would win. If the sizes of the stumps of both candles were the same after they had gone out, the litigant whose candle left more wick would lose the case.¹ A case involving ten ticals of gold (Mi San vs Nga Hla) was decided in 1792 by the lighting ordeal because there was no evidence or witness. In this trial, both litigants had to swear an oath as follows:

“The people from our side including me do not use magic potions, sorcery, charms, *amulets*, cabalistic squares.”²

Then, the *achuat adeithtan* document (binding oath) would be wrapped around each of their necks, and they had to take two candles of the same weight and size and plant them in two bowls at the Singyo Shwegu temple. The name of each litigant was written on the candle that would represent him or her, and an illiterate child was made to stand in front of the candles. Then, Nga Paw Tha, a jail officer ordered the litigants to light their candles, and neither of the candles burnt down till the end. Therefore, the wicks of these candles were weighed. The wick of Nga Hla’s candle weighed 1 *mu*, while that of Mi San’s candle was 3 *mat*. As the unburnt wick of Mi San’s candle was heavier, she lost the case.³ In this case, if both the candles burnt down till the end, the litigant whose candle went out first would win the case. However, they did not. Hence, the unburnt wicks had to be weighed, and the person whose candle left the most wick lost the case.

¹Tin, 1976, 268-270

²Yazatheikpa Kyan, 1929, 134

³Yazatheikpa Kyan, 1929, 133-134

One of the *kaba leyat* (four types of trial by ordeal) was *san-wa* (chewing rice). First, the litigant would have to pay obeisance to the guardian spirits of the stupa and of the Sasana on the plinth of a stupa and would have to take an oath. Then, the *achuat adeithtan* document (binding oath) would be wrapped around each of their necks. Then, the same amount of unbroken rice would be poured through a cone-shaped leaf into their mouths, and both litigants would have to chew the rice at the same time. If a litigant finished first within the prescribed period of time, he or she would win. If both the litigants finished together, they would have to gargle with water and spit into spittoons. The litigant whose spittoon had clearer water would be the winner, and the person who had broken scraps remaining would be the loser.¹ The rice-chewing ordeal was used in a case of rape (Mi Nyein, aged 12 vs Nga La, aged 33) in 1797, during the reign of Badon Min. Mi Nyein won the case because she finished chewing the rice completely. Nga La did not finish, and broken scraps remained in his mouth; hence he lost the case.²

Another type of trial by ordeal was *hkehtauk* (the ordeal by lead). First, the litigants would have to pay obeisance to the spirits as in the *san-wa* ordeal, and would have to take an oath that neither they nor those accompanying them had magic potions, amulets, etc. with them; and the *achuat adeithtan* document (binding oath) would be wrapped around each of their necks.³ The litigants would have to pay for the cost of 3 *viss* 30 *kyats* 3 *mu* and 3 *ywe* needed for this ordeal. The *letmayunt* (armed messengers) would melt the

¹ Manu Amat, *Manukye Dhammathat (The Enlarged (Dhammathat) Code of Laws on Manu)* Yangon, Hantharwady, 1903, p.258 (Henceforth: Manu Amat, 1903)

² *Yazatheikpa Kyan*, 1929, 141-142

³ Tin, 1976, 271

lead.¹ Then, an index finger of each litigant would be covered with a thin palm-leaf; and they would have to thrust their fingers into molten lead. A litigant would win if the palm-leaf covering his or her finger was not burnt and if his or her finger was not injured. The litigant who burnt his or her finger would lose the case.² If the injury was not clearly visible, the litigants would be put under observation for seven days. The litigant whose finger became blistered would lose the case. If it is not noticeable till then, their fingers would be pricked. The litigant whose blood flowed freshly would be the winner, and litigant whose blood flowed dark would lose the case.³ The *hkehtauk* ordeal differed from the other types of ordeals in that the accusers were not subjected to this ordeal; only the accused had to be subjected to *hkehtauk*. In 1807, during Badon Min's reign, Nga Maung and Thapaw accused Nga Myat Ya and Nga Shan of stealing their possessions—gold, silver, fabrics, etc. As there was no evidence, the case was decided by *hkehtauk* (the ordeal of lead), and Nga Myat Ya and Nga Shan had to dip their fingers into molten lead. As their fingers were not burnt by molten lead, they won the case and were acquitted.⁴

Thus, in criminal cases where there were no witnesses, the four types of trial by ordeal would be resorted to in the Konbaung period. However, there was no direction as to which ordeals should be used for which cases. Hence, the type of trial by ordeal was decided by the judge for each case. Compared to modern judicial system, the four types of trial by ordeal (*kaba le yat*)—*ye-ngoat* (submerging in water), *mipyaing* (lighting

¹han Tun, 1986 a, 425

² Reverend Father, Sangermano, *A Description of the Burmese Empire*, Yangon, Government Press, 1962 (Reprint), p.72 (Henceforth: Sangermano, 1962)

³ Tin, 1976, 271

⁴*Yazatheikpa Kyan*, 1929, 137-138

tapers), *san-wa* (chewing rice), and *hkehtauk* (dipping one's finger in molten lead) were not the reliable methods to determine guilt or innocence of an accused person, and were primitive and uncivilized methods. Although lighting and rice-chewing ordeals would not cause suffering to the litigants, the ordeal by water and that of lead could result in serious injury or death, and the court decisions would not be well-founded. However, as the cases had to be heard and decided even though there were no witnesses, the Myanmar probably used these ordeals (*mipyaing*, *san-wa*, *ye-ngoat*, and *hkehtauk*) as they traditionally believed that justice would be guarded by the *nats* (spirits or deities). Some criminal cases could also be decided by means of oath upon sacred texts¹ if there were no witnesses. Cases involving loans between 10 and 60 *kyats* were not to be decided by *kaba le yat*, but the litigants were to be ordered to take oaths. The judges normally believed the statements of the litigants under oath. The methods of taking an oath varied according to the value of the cases and the social status of the litigants. There were fifteen ways to take an oath. The litigants would be categorized into low, middle and high classes. There were five different places where an oath could be taken: *nemye neya* (wherever the litigant was), *myebaw* (upon the ground or below a pagoda), *hlega-oo* (at the head of the stairway) leading to a pagoda, *hlegayin* (at the foot of the stairway) leading to a pagoda, and *zedidawdwin* (at the pagoda). As there were five places for men of each of the 36 three social classes (high, low and middle), there were altogether fifteen different methods of taking an oath.² For a case the value of which was ten *kyats*, a man of low class, of middle class, or of high class would have to swear an oath at the pagoda, on the

¹The Buddhists had to swear upon the Tipitaka, and the followers of other religions had to swear upon their own sacred texts. U Tin , 1976, 264

²Tin, 1976, 265

ground below the pagoda, or at the place where he was, respectively. For a case of 30 *kyats* in value, a man low class, of middle class or of high class have to take an oath at the Natye Zedi, at an ordinary pagoda, or at the place where he was, respectively. In a case the value of which was 60 *kyats*, the places where a man of low class, of middle class and of high class would have to take an oath were at a famous pagoda, at the Natye Zedi (a pagoda with a fierce guardian spirit) and at an ordinary pagoda, respectively.¹

In the courts of law, not only the litigants, but also witnesses had to testify under oath. The oath was written as follows: May the ills mentioned befall on the witness who testifies that he or she

did not know, did not see, or did not hear although he or she knew, saw or heard, that he or she knew, saw or heard although he or she did not, that there were not many things although there were many, that there were many things although there were not, because he or she dislikes one

of the litigants, because he or she is biased in favour of or against a litigant who has a high or low social position or a litigant who has or has not done much favour to him or her, or because he or she has taken bribes from a litigant.² However, there were some who were exempted from taking an oath: monks, the king, queens, princes and princesses and high-or low-ranked *wuns*. It seems that they were exempted from swearing an oath because they were regarded as the ones who would not give false statements. In other words they were exempted from taking an oath because of their positions of honour,

¹Tin, 1976, 265

²Khin Maung Hte, 1975, 100

because swearing an oath amounted to being convicted and the person who had to take an oath would normally be shunned by the people. According to the royal orders King Mindon and Thibaw issued to fix court fees, the practice of deciding a case on the basis of an oath was followed in their reigns. Concerning trials conducted by means of oaths, the law was inequitable as some persons were exempted from taking an oath and the methods to take an oath varied according to the ranks of the litigants or witnesses. In fact, the law should be equitable and nobody should be above the law. Therefore, it seems that the law in the Konbaung period was not equitable, and there was discrimination of the grounds of social class. As the cases were decided by *kaba le yat* if there were no witnesses, the persons accused of being witches were thrown into the water to torture the truth out of her. The difference between this and *ye-ngoat* (the trial by water ordeal) of the *kaba le yat* was that here only the accused was thrown into the water.¹ In 1795, a certain Mi Thu was accused as a witch. However, when she was thrown into water, none of the knots of the rope tied around her waist submerged under water. Hence, she was acquitted.² Concerning the ducking of witches, the accused person had to undergo personal suffering. In trying major crimes, theft, robbery, armed robbery, rebellion or lese majesty, first the judges would instruct the accused persons to confess. As no judgement could be passed unless the accused himself or herself admitted to the crime, the officials would torture the accused to extort a confession. He would be confined in the stocks which normally had four holes, by holding his legs in adjoining holes or by holding his legs a hole apart. Then, he would be tortured by holding his legs tightly in a bamboo

¹When a person accused as a witch was thrown into the water a robe with seven knots would be tied around her waist, and whether she was a witch or not would be decided by the number of knots submerged under water.

²*Yazatheikpa Kyan, 1929, 132*

clamp, by driving a needle under his fingernail, by holding his head in a clamp with betel nuts between his temples and the clamp, by flogging him with a cane or a bamboo stick, and by *kwesigyin*.¹ If an accused person did not survive torture and died, a report would be made to the Hluttaw, and the corpse would be set up on a cross for the public to see.² Only when the accused admitted to a serious crime, the judge could inflict a penalty allowed by law. The punishments for different crimes- lese majesty, murder, rape, armed robbery, and theft-differed: flogging, confinement in iron chains, severance of a limb, banishment, etc.³

Concerning major crimes, the punishment imposed on a thief depended on the value of the stolen property.⁴ Local administrative officials were responsible for the arrest of thieves. If they failed to catch a thief, they would have to make recompense for the loss suffered by the victim:

The record of investigation submitted indicates that a thief broke into Nga Ku's house to steal at night in Palaing ward, northern part of the city of Shweku, and the responsible personnel of the ward failed to catch the thief. The person whose possessions have been stolen is to say what he has lost. The *htaunghmu*, *kin-oat*, *kin-gaung*, *kin-zaung*, *kinne*

¹A kind of torture when two hands and two legs were bound together and forcing down the rod inserted between hands and legs in order to exact information from the victim.

² Tin, 1976, 267

³U Aung Than Tun, *Myanma Taya Upade Ei Ahittaramya (Essence of Myanmar Law)*

Yangon, Shwezigwet Upade Publications, 1987, p.20 (Henceforth: Aung Than Tun, 1987)

⁴"1146 *Htoatpyanthi Ameindaw*" (Royal Order promulgated in 1784), *Purabaik MS*

1497, Yangon National Library (Henceforth: "1146 *Ameindaw*", *Pu MS 1497*)

thwegyi thwesaw and the inhabitants of the ward are to recompense the victim for the loss of his possessions as he says.¹

When the house of Taungbet Taikwun was broken into, the thieves were not caught because the people in the ward did not help catch them. Therefore, the people had to compensate the victim for his losses. The watchmen of the Taungbet Taik also were punished with five strokes of the lash for being remiss in their duties.²

As to robberies too, the administrative officials of a town or village had to recompense the victim for a robbery committed within their jurisdiction if they failed to catch the robbers. For instance:

Law Haluk, Lawran, Law Twin and Law Ma, the merchants from the town of Tali, Law Sho, Lawsa, Lawwe, Lawwin, Lawyanngin and Lawteinton from Yonsin town who hired out packs bullocks, were robbed of their possessions—gold, silver and fabrics in Thibaw township, while they were on their way to royal seat for trade, and they reported the matter to the *Shwetaik Wun*. The *Shwetaiki Wun* ordered: The town of Thibaw (ie the administrative officials and the inhabitants of Thibaw town collectively) is to arrest the robbers and hand them over to the responsible personnel; otherwise, it was to recompense the Chinese merchants for everything robbed.³ The administrative officers, such as

¹ Dr. Than Tun, *The Royal Order of Burma, AD 1598, 1885, Part vii, AD 1811-1819*,

Kyoto, The Centre For South East Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1988, p.692 (Henceforth: Than Tun, 1988)

² Than Tun, 1988, 278

³ Than Tun, 1986 b, 807

myowuns and *sitkes*, were responsible to apprehend the criminals including thieves for the thefts and crimes committed within the localities under their charge and to send them to the royal capital. If they failed to catch the criminals including thieves, they would be punished. Within Tabayin township, the *myowun* and *myothugyis* of Tabayin are to arrest the thieves and robbers. Within Bagan Township, the *myo-oak* and senior and junior thugyis are to catch them in Bagan Township. If they failed to catch the criminals, bring criminal charges against them.¹ If the criminals and thieves who were arrested stated the names of their accomplices, the *myowuns* would have to arrest those accomplices too. If a *myowun* failed to catch the criminals and thieves, he not only would be removed from office, but also would be imprisoned at the royal capital. Yehla Kyawswa, the *myowun* of Tabayin, did not apprehend and hand over all the accomplices mentioned by the thieves and rebels. Shwedaung Nandameit Sithu the *myowun* of Yadanatheiga failed to report that the *thugyi* of Mutha obstructed the efforts of the officers responsible for apprehending thieves. Remove Yehla Kyawswa and Nandameit Sithu from the office of *myowun*, and bring them over to the royal capital and put them in jail.² Thus, the punishments were not commensurate with the crimes. Theft carried a penalty of death.³ In 1806, Nga Mauk and his accomplices who committed the robberies were sentenced to death:

¹ “1146 *Ameindaw*”, *Pu MS* 1497

² Dr. Than Tun, *The Royal Order of Burma, AD 1598, 1885, Part vi, AD 1807-1810*,

Kyoto, The Centre For South East Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1987, p.683 (Henceforth: Than Tun, 1987)

³ Than Tun, 1988, 217

Execute Nga Mauk and his accomplices-Nga kyi, Nga Thanyogyi, Nga Ywegyi and Nga Hkwegyi-and a band of robbers.¹ Moreover, administrative officers responsible for apprehending thieves and robbers would be imprisoned, removed from office, or sentenced to death if they failed to catch the thieves and robbers who committed crimes in the locality under their charge. When Kyawswa of Pyanchi village caught the robbers Nga kauk and Nga Shwemin on 8 June 1810, they informed him that their accomplices were in Saku Township. Kyawswa demanded Nga Kyaing, the *myo-oak* of Saku to hand those persons over to him. However, Nga Kyaing failed to do so, and Kyawswa reported the matter to the Hluttaw. The Hluttaw sentenced Nga Kyaing to death for this case.² After appointing security officers in towns and villages, it is stated in a royal order that the officers in charge of towns and villages would be sentenced to death if thefts and robberies occurred because of their derelictions of duty as follows:

Thiri Sithukyaw is to be attached to the Shwepandan boat (Boat squadron) and is to be ordered to go from Thawa to any towns or villages downstream if he learnt that there were thieves, robbers and criminals to arrest them. No thief or robber is to be allowed to enter the towns and villages in Pyi, Thayarwady, Kanaung, Shwedaung, Myede, Taungoo, Yamethin and Taungdwin. The headmen of the towns and villages are to arrest the criminals for the security of the towns and villages. If there are thieves and robbers or if the thieves and robbers enter a town or village and if they were not caught, the headman of the town or village are to be executed.³ If the criminals pledged that they

¹ Than Tun, *1986 b*, 1006

² Than Tun, *1987*, 764

³ Yi Yi, “*Konbaung Khit-Oo Myone Oakchoatpon*” (“Township administration in the

would not commit crimes anymore, they would be pardoned would be allowed to become crown servicemen:

The lives of Netmyaung Nga Aye, Nga Aye of Wayon, Nga Pon, and Nga Luyi and their accomplices, who had pledged that they would not commit no more crimes as thieves or robbers and that they would serve for the crown, would be spared. Let them serve under the crown prince.¹ Thus, those who expressed repentance for their crimes and expressed their desire to expiate for their wrongdoings, they were not only pardoned, but allowed to become crown servicemen. However, when the king needed labour for nation building, the criminals who were arrested were made to scoop out sand with iron chains fastened around their necks. Bring the thieves and criminals imprisoned at the capital and, after fastening iron chains around their necks, let them scoop out sand. Make the thieves and robbers interrogated in remote village scoop out sand too, after fastening iron chains around their necks.² When the king needed labour for reconstructing the palace, although he believed that those criminals should be sentenced to death, he made them atone for their crimes by prying out rocks to be used in building the Glass Palace.

Nga Kyaw Oo, Nga Po and others have been made to dig rocks after pardoning their crimes. They are to obtain more than eight lakhs of rocks for building the Glass Palace by the month of Tabodwe. If they failed to deliver the rocks fully, inflict penalties on them.³

early Konbaung period”), *Journal of literature and social science, Union of Myanmar*, Vol I, no.ii, 1968, pp.343-395 (Henceforth: Yi Yi, 1968)

¹Than Tun, 1988, 163

²Than Tun, 1987, 659

³Than Tun, 1987, 853

Thus, the criminals were to be executed only if they failed to deliver rocks fully within the stipulated period; and hard labour was imposed on them, to utilize their labour. On 7 June 1801, Nga Shwe Htin and his son Nga Aung Hmat were sentenced to death for committing a serious crime that caused uproar in the locality. However, for humanitarian reasons, their lives were spared, and they were made to serve in the *lamaing* (group of crown cultivators) at Aungpinle together with his their families and were placed under Thiriweyan, the Lamaing Wun (the *wun* in charge of crown cultivators).¹ Although the punishments for theft and robbery were severe, the punishments varied according to the nature of these crimes. Moreover, the punishments were not proportionate to the crimes. Although someone who stole from crown revenues was to repay ten times what he had stolen, Nga Kan Pe, a minister who stole from crown revenues was pardoned on 19 October 1810 because this was his first offence.² All the kings of the Konbaung period sentenced the persons who were guilty of lese majesty—an attempt to usurp the throne or rebelling against the reign king to death. In the reign of King Alaungmintaya, the person who held Dawe in fief, was sentenced to death because he rose in rebellion.³ The prince of Sitha, the younger brother of Badon Min, who attempted to usurp the throne, and Mahathihathura, who was famous in the Sino-Myanmar war and his followers who sided with the prince of Sitha, were arrested and

¹Than Tun, 1986 b, 696

²Than Tun, 1987, 780

³*Alaungmintaya Ameidawmya (Royal Orders of Alaungmintaya)*, Yangon, Myanmar Historical Commission, 1964, p.149 (Henceforth: Laung Mein, 1964)

sentenced to death.¹ In 1783, Nga Myat who held the title Inyi Theinhka, Nga Myat Tha who held the title Kyawgaungpyanchi and Nga Hmaing who held the Yethkaye title, were executed for attempting to dethrone Badon Min. Nga Hme, the astrologer, who helped them was deported to a forest. Those who failed to inform the king although they knew this attempt were also imprisoned,² and those who instigated them to rebel were sent into banishment. Kyaik Bandaing, Thawuthti, Sipa and Htadabin, although they should have observed the *vinaya* rules with a view to attaining the Path to *Nibbana* and the Fruition *Nibbana* as they were monks, and live peacefully, they failed to do so. They mixed up with laypersons, and discussed secular matters as to kingship. Defrock Kyaikbandaing, make him wear white robes and send him to Kankaw Kalaw. Send each of the remaining three—Thawuthti, Sipa and Htadabin—to the remaining three of the four forests used as penal colonies.³ Thus, although they were monks, they were defrocked and banished to Gangaw Kalaw because they had abetted the pretenders to the throne. In the reign of King Mindon too, Padein Mintha (the prince who held Padein in fief) was executed for rebelling against the king in 1867.⁴ It is learnt that the successive kings of the Konbaung period sentenced everyone who rebelled against them to death. It seems that this was what a man in power normally did to liquidate anyone who posed a threat to his

¹Dr. Kyaw Thet, *Pyidaungzu Myanmar Nainggan Thamaing (History of the Union of Myanmar)*, Yangon , Khit Myanmar Press. nd, p.330 (Henceforth: Kyaw Thet, *nd*)

²Than Tun, *1986 a* , 311

³Than Tun, *1986 a*, 233

⁴*Konbaungzet Maha Yazawidawgyi (Great Chronicle of Konbaung Dynasty)* edited by

U Maung Maung Tin, Vol.III, Yangon, Universities Historical Research Centre, 2004,5th printing, pp.243-244 (Henceforth: *Konbaungzet, 2004 b*)

throne. A royal order was issued in 1784 as to how to punish those who were guilty of rape or of other sexual offences, which were serious crimes as follows:

If a man has sex with a young maiden who is still under the care of her parents, reduce the number of lashes and punish him with *manugkyawdan* (proclamation).¹

As to adultery, which was a major crime, the judgement pronounced on 12 September 1787 in the case involving Nga Taloat, who had an adulterous relationship with Mi Naw, wife of Thayewun Minhla Kyawswa as follows: Hand over Nga Talop, who had an adulterous relationship with Thayewun Minhla Kyawswa's wife and Mi Naw, the wife of Thayewun Minhla Kyawswa to the grave-diggers, and make them stay at the openhall at the cemetery unclothed so that they would be noticeable, let all those who come to the cemetery see them.² However, the punishments were mitigated on 13 September 1787—Mi Naw was imprisoned and Nga Talop was made to gather elephant food.³ On 8 November 1788, Nga Tha Mya who had raped his step daughter who was only eight years old was punished by proclamation and banishment.⁴ In the reign of Badon Min, an order was issued that rape carried death penalty.⁵ Pursuant to this order, Hkinlubo and his lackeys who raped the wives and daughters of the villages were sentenced to death on 15 October 1806.⁶ The promulgation of royal orders to penalize rape and sexual offences was

¹ “1146 *Ameindaw*”, *Pu MS* 1497

² Than Tun, *1986 a*, 59

³ Than Tun, *1986 a*, 595

⁴ Than Tun, *1986 a*, 646

⁵ Yi Yi, 1968, 343-395

⁶ Than Tun, *1986 b*, 1006

to protect the women in the society. It can be assumed that these orders were issued in accordance with Myanmar ethics which attached importance to women's propriety. A list of serious criminal cases is given in appendix (3) . In 1789, a royal order was issued as to murder, a serious crime like lese majesty, theft, armed robbery, rape, etc. According to it, the murder of a person should not be solved by making the murderer pay compensation to the victim's family; murder carried death penalty.¹ Thugyi Nga Pe, beat Nga Nyo, an inhabitant of Konkan village in the tract of Sinyin Town, to death on 3 July 1801. Nga Pe was found guilty, and pursuant to the royal order issued in 1789, was sentenced to death.² The punishments to be inflicted for the crimes such as assault, verbal abuse, bribery and embezzlement also were prescribed. Formerly, if the victim of an assault was a poor person, the offender would have to give three slaves³ to the victim in recompense for the injury: and if the victim was a wealthy man, the offender would have to give six slaves⁴ to victim in compensation for the injury he had suffered.⁵ Badon Min issued an order on 5 October 1789 as follows:

If someone was assaulted in the royal capital, give the offender 50 severe lashes and make him clean elephant dung and horse manure. Also require him to give one, two, or three slaves to the victim depending on the injuries the latter has sustained. If someone is attacked by two, three, four of five persons, punish the person guilty of assault with fifty

¹ Than Tun, *1986 b*, 445-458

² Than Tun, *1986 b*, 735

³ or 180 *kyats* as the value of a slave was fixed at 60 *kyats*.

⁴ or 360 *kyats* as the value of a slave was fixed at 60 *kyats*.

⁵ Tin, *1967*, 45

strokes of the lash, and make him clean elephant and horse dung. The accomplices are to be required to give slaves to the victim in compensatory damages.¹ As to Nga Hpyu and Nga Thu assault on Nga Paw Tin of Ma-u village, Maung Hmaing, judge and *myowun* of Yadanatheinga, decided on 20 August 1796 that the offenders were to give the value of two *asume* slaves² to the victim.³ In another case (Nga Tha vs Nga Hle), which arose in 1798, Nga Hle, the offender, had to give ten *asumes* slaves to Nga Tha whom he had attacked.⁴ In 1805, Yandameit Kyaw Htin decided that Nga Bya Hin who had beaten up Nga Sandayaw was to give the latter the cost of *asume* slave.⁵ Therefore, the punishments for assault varied with each case. The punishment probably depended on the judge. Insulting someone harshly or coarsely, falsely accusing someone, or traducing someone's character was *hnoatlunhmu* (verbal abuse), and was legally punishable. Verbal abuse was compoundable by giving gold, cloth, tea, *ondwe* and bolts of fine calico to the victim who was an officer of the "five ranks" (*neyadawnga thwe*) honoured by the king, depending on his rank. The compensation to be given to an officer of *tawneya* (first out of the five blocks of seats to which courtiers attending an audience given by the king area assigned according to protocol) was five ticals of gold and that be given to a *hnigaukne* (or courtier

¹Than Tun, 1986, 448

²The value of an *asume* slave was fixed at 60 *kyats*.

³Yantamaik Kyaw Htin, *Yezagyō Khondaw Hpyathton (Rulings by the Judge of Yezagyō)*, Yangon, Hantharwati Press, 1964, p.28 (Henceforth: Kyaw Htin, 1964)

⁴Kyaw Htin, 1964, 24

⁵Kyaw Htin, 1964, 26-27

of the lowest rank) was half a tical.¹ Thus, the compensatory damages an offender was required to pay for the same offence depended on the victim's rank.

Moreover, the *thugaungs* (or nobles) who were honoured by the king enjoyed some privileges, and the Dhammathats prescribed the punishments based on the ranks of the peoples. On 29 November, 1789, Mi Nyein Aung was found guilty of verbal abuse because she used the pronoun *nin* (meaning 'you') in addressing Mi Min Aung. In this case, Hmaung Hmaing, the *myo-oak* of Halin pronounced his judgement, as follows:

As Mi Nyein Aung has offended Mi Min Aung, she was to be required to pay compensatory damages. However, the legal expenses incurred by Mi Min Aung exceeded compensatory damages awarded to her. Revoke the compensation awarded to the victim, and let Mi Nyein Aung pay Mi Min Aung all the legal expenses incurred.² In 1795, Nga Shwe Bin sued Nga Hpyu and wife Mi Kaung, for defaming his wife Mi Oo by saying that she had an abortion. Maung Hmaing, the *myowun* of Yadanatheinga decided as follows:

There were three, five or ten ways of attacking someone with verbal abuse; in deciding on the punishment that seems to suit the offence in conformity with the ruling that "if the compensation exceeds legal expenses, all the legal expenses are to be paid by the offender, Nga Hpyu and wife Mi Kaung are to compensate Nga Shwe Bin for the legal expenses incurred."³ As to cases of bribery and embezzlement, Badon Min issued an order

¹ Tin, 1967, 43

² Kyaw Htin, 1964, 2-3

³ Kyaw Htin, 1964, 11-13

in 1783 that the offenders were to be punished by *maungkyawdan* (publicizing their crimes) both inside and outside the city, and molten silver, the amount of which equalled to the amount an offender had taken as bribes, was to be poured into the offender's mouth so that everybody who saw it would be afraid to commit these crimes.¹ However, in a case of bribery committed by a group of people, the following judgement was pronounced on 13 June 1795: The *myinzi*²—Nga Nyo, Naga Ein, Nga Hmaing, Nga Htwe, Nga Kyan, Tuyinpyanchi Letya Thiri Kyawgaung, Nga Wa, Nga Nwe, Nga Myatkaung, Nga Oo, Nga Tha Tun Nyo, Nga La, Nga Chin Hlaw and NgaTha—who were sent to bring the *atwinwuns* (privy councilors) from Taungoo took bribes though they should not. They should be executed. However, as this was the only crime they have committed, release them after publicizing their crimes by striking gongs and flogging them brutally so that everybody who see them being punished would be afraid.³ It is learnt Badon Min's edict dated 22 March 1806 that the *kindaings*⁴ had embezzled the duties collected from the boats which the Kyauktalon *Kin* (custom post) had permitted to pass through it. Therefore, the *kindaings* were made to return the funds that they had embezzled. It is stated in the royal order issued four months later, on 22 August 1806 that “*Kindaing* Nga Thu, together with his family and his relatives⁵ were to be burnt alive in a

¹Than Tun, 1986 a , 284

²A *myinzi* was a cavalry officer who, with the same rank as *thugyis*, had to rule a locality inhabited cavalrymen.

³ Than Tun, 1986 b , 535

⁴A *kindaing* was the leader of the servicemen posted at a *kin* (or watch post) who were responsible to collect customs duties.

⁵The Myanmar word used in this document is *swe hkunnit set* “seven degrees of ancestors and seven degrees of descendants removed from oneself.”

fire chamber,” and that “Naratheinhka, the *kindaing* of Kyauktalon, was to be removed from office”.¹ Moreover, it was decided on 10 November 1807 that the *tathmu* (commander), *sitke* (second-in-command) and military officers who had embezzled the funds from Mone regiment were to be executed so that others would be afraid.² The persons who took bribes had to return whatever they had taken to the persons who had bribed them. Among the statements made by Nga La, Nga Taw and Nga Mauk when they were questioned, there are inconsistencies in Nga Mauk’s statement. It should not be regarded as true. Nga La and Nga Taw’s statements must be true. Nga pu, the chief clerk of the *athiwun*⁸⁰, who took bribes and who produced the statements from the prisoners, is to be removed from office. Make him return all the money, horses, cattle he had taken as bribes.³ Moreover, on 5 August 1813, Badon Min issued an order that the hands of the officers who collected imposts in excess of the prescribed rates at markets, brokerage or landing stages, were to be severed.⁴ It seems that this order had to be issued to protect and safeguard the interests of the people because some officers tried to circumvent the rules by overcharging the taxpayers so that they would not be accused of taking bribes. The Myanmar Criminal Code was compiled in 1864, during the reign of King Mindon, and the crimes and the prison sentences for each crime were laid down clearly.⁵ The Indian criminal code was introduced in British Myanmar (Lower Myanmar) since 1861. As the Myanmar criminal law was compiled only three years later, i.e. in 1864, it can be

¹Toe Hla, 2002, 148

²Than Tun, 1987, 525

³Than Tun, 1986 b, 1006

⁴Tin, 1970, 128

⁵Ba Thaug, 1975, 141

assumed that it was based on the Indian criminal code. Moreover, the Myanmar also followed the system of punishing the criminals by imprisoning them. However, the principles underlying imprisonment in British law were not fully practiced. In the British legal system, the inmates were trained in a vocational subject systematically so that he or she would be able to earn his or her keep after he or she was released. However, that no vocational training was given to inmates in Konbaung period Myanmar suggests that the Myanmar had not been able to follow the principles of imprisonment in the British legal system. The prison sentences to be imposed on the servicemen and officials who took bribes, based on the amount of bribes and 80 Officer in charge of the crown department responsible for administering the athi (the people were not registered in crown service a groups and who lived permanently in one locality). the ranks of the offenders, are prescribed in this criminal code.¹The enactment of this law suggests that the punishments for bribery varied. Some offenders got prison sentences too severe for the crimes they had committed. Sometimes, however, a convict would be imprisoned for an unlimited period, and would be released only when the king gave his order. It can be regarded that new law was promulgated to eliminate these flaws and to protect the convicts from the sufferings caused by the weaknesses of the existing laws. Punishments for taking intoxicants, illegal slaughter of horses, buffaloes or cattles and gambling also defined. As to taking intoxicating, King Alaungmintaya issued an order that those who drank liquor were to be beheaded.² A royal order was issued in 1837 when Prince Thayarwady was rebelling against Bagyidaw that bootleggers and those who drank liquor were to be

¹“*Min 6 Pa Upade*”, *Pu MS 379*

²*Laung Mein, 1964, 137*

executed.¹ According to a royal order issued on 10 February 1869, whoever dealt in or took any intoxicants— opium, liquor and fermented toddy, etc.—was to be confined in chains and to be banished to Bamaw, and to be made to clean the platform or flat ground around pagodas for a year; those who were guilty of slaughtering horses, buffaloes or cows also were to be punished in the same way; the gamblers, who played cards, playing pachisi, gambling in cock fights, etc., were to be punished with *maungkyawdan* for a year.² Concerning cardplaying, a decision was made on 31 July 1872 as follows:

To determine whether the report made by Nga Yan Nin and his son Nga Thaik that Nga Theinnaw, the village headman of Kaungkwe village, without abiding by the law and without fear, has been playing *hpe-15* (auction pinochle) as a banker, responsible personnel summoned Nga Theinnaw and questioned; and Nga Theinnaw admitted that he has been playing *hpe-15*. As Nga Theinnaw was a person who did not abide by the law and was disloyal to the crown by playing *hpe-15* even though he was a village headmen, he was to be removed from office. Imprison him for three months as playing *hpe-15* was punishable with three months' imprisonment by law.³

A decision was made on 30 January 1873 that Nga Aung Kala and Nga Po Oo who distilled and drank liquor were to be punished according to the law concerning liquor by publicizing their offences in the wards in and outside the golden city; and Nga Aung Kala

¹ Ba Thaug, 1975, 139

² Dr. Than Tun, *The Royal Order of Burma AD 1598-1885, Part ix, AD 1853-1885*,

Kyoto, The Centre For South East Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1989, p.691 (Henceforth:

Than Tun, 1989)

³Than Tun, 1989, 691

and Nga Po Oo were to be imprisoned for six and three months respectively.¹ Although the persons who violated the rules laid down in the royal orders were punished as criminals, receivers of stolen goods were not punished, and involuntary manslaughter was not regarded as a crime. A court decision in a case of theft was made as follows:

Fasten iron chains around the necks of Nga Po Tu and Nga Myat Hla and make them dig canal by handing them over to the persons responsible for digging the western canal. As to Mi Shwe Pu, Mi Shwe At, the persons who sold the stolen gold jewellery, and the goldsmiths, as the sellers of gold and goldsmiths sold and made gold jewellery because they deal in gold, do not let them incur any expenses, but free them.² As regards involuntary manslaughter, the court decided as follows:

It is stated that Nga Hke, who lived in the Atwin Yan Aung ward in the northern part of the Golden City, was drunk, and he and Mi Hkwe had a fight. Mi Hkwe, grabbing the sword Nga Hke was holding, hurt Nga Hke; Nga Hke's injuries went septic and consequently, Nga Hke died. The decision that Mi Hkwe was not to be charged with a crime is acceptable.³

Thus, Mi Hkwe was not charged with a crime. As the kings themselves pardoned some convicts, they also let princes, queens and princesses to absolve some convicts from time to time. In making works of merit, the kings normally granted a free pardon to many

¹Than Tun, 1989, 691

²Than Tun, 1987, 822

³Than Tun, 1988,413

prisoners. In 1795, Badon Min pardoned the people who had stolen royal treasures as his *athetahludaw* (“donation of lives”).¹ Moreover, he issued an order as follows:

From now on, spare the life of a convict if Prince of Sagaing, my grandson, absolves him or her even though he or she has been sentenced to death deservedly.² Similarly, he ordered as follows:

I will give the *kathe kalas* (khasis) of Weapon to the consort of the crown prince. Let the consort of the crown prince redeem the Indians from prison.³ He also issued an order on 29 October 1817 as follows:

A couple had a fight in Zegyo ward of the Golden City, and the wife was killed, and it has been ordered that Nga Ye was to be executed. I will spare Nga Ye’s life. Let the princess of Badaung, my granddaughter, redeem the convict.⁴

As the princes, queens and princesses absolved some convicts, the monks also requested the king to pardon some convicts who were on death row. When Nga Nu and his minions were arrested for criminal concealment concerning a cattle theft at Hkanseit village in the tract of Myedu town in 1869, the *gaing-oak* of Myedu saved them by making a request to the king.⁵ Moreover, when Nga Aung Myat, who stood surety for Letwe Myingaung, was

¹ Yi Yi, 1968, 343-395

² Ba Thaug, 1975, 151

³ Yi Yi, 1968, 343-395

⁴Than Tun, 1988, 466

⁵U Thaug, “*Mindon Min Lethet Shwebo Tawaik Hmuhkinmya*” (“ Legal cases around Shwebo in King Mindon’s reign”), *Working People's Daily* , 2 February 1970 (Henceforth: U

Thaug, 2 February 1970)

imprisoned when the latter led downstream without paying taxes in 1872, the *gaing-oak* of *Shwepyi YanAung* (West) saved him by requesting the king for his release.¹ Many *yazathats* or royal orders were issued in the Konbaung period, and legal cases were decided according to them. However, in the cases where there were no witnesses, the litigants had to undergo *kaba le yat* (the four ordeals)– *yengoat* (submerging in water), *mipyaing* (lighting tapers), *san-wa* (chewing rice), and *hkehtauk* (dipping one’s finger in molten lead). In some cases both the litigating parties had to undergo the ordeals; in *yosuthmu* (allegations), however, only the accused had to undergo such ordeals. It is impossible to regard these four kinds of trial by ordeal as just. However, as the people in those days customarily believed in the *adeithtan-choat* (binding oath) and *thitsadawkyan* (Treatise of Oaths), some decisions could have been just because the wrongdoers would feel insecure and their lack of confidence could lead to their failure.

Many *yazathats* were issued in the Konbaung period for trying criminal cases. As the kings were absolute monarchs, it is not surprising that the pretenders to throne, those who rose in rebellion and those who had sexual encounters with palace ladies were sentenced to death. However, there were some weaknesses in the royal orders concerning thieves and robbers. The administrative officials were ordered to apprehend thieves, robbers and their accomplices. However, whether the persons implicated by the criminals in those crimes really were their accomplices should be investigated. If the criminals incriminated law-abiding citizens as accessories to their crimes, the matter should be considered

¹ Win Maung, “*Mandalay Khit Yahan Hnint Pyithu*” (“Monk and people in the Mandalay period”), *Than Tun, 75 Mwene Letsaung, shasha Hpwephwe Myanmar Thamaing, Vol.II*, Theinhteik Yadana Press, 1999, pp.219-236 (Henceforth: Win Maung, 1999)

carefully and investigated. Sometimes, such investigations might take time. Therefore executing the local administrative officials for their failure to catch and hand `over the alleged accomplices of the thieves and robbers was unfair to them. From the royal orders concerning theft, it seems that the king's intention was to deter the people from committing theft and robbery, and to make the administrative officials arrest and punish thieves and robbers. However, it seems, that the kings were using violent means to prevent theft, rather than finding out the cause of theft. As poverty begets hunger, and hunger begets crime, some people must have become thieves or robbers because of poverty. As a thief was indistinguishable from an upright person, it would not be easy for the administrative officers to know whether a person was a thief or an honest man. It seems that when the kings heard the news about thefts and robberies, they issued royal orders to punish the administrative officials, thinking that these crimes resulted from their failures to catch criminals. To sum up, although the successive kings of the Konbaung period issued many orders for judicial administration, and made the judges try and determine criminal cases in accordance with those orders, the people would not have much faith in the Konbaung period justice system in criminal cases because of the administrative officer's corruption and incompetence in administering justice.

5.10.6.2 Legal cases involving Buddhist monks

It is interesting to state that like laypersons, monks also were involved in legal cases in the Konbaung period. If both parties were Buddhist monks, the case would be decided by the *kyaungdaing sayadaw* (the head of the monastery) concerned. If the *kyaungdaing sayadaw* was unable to solve the problem, either side could take the matter to the *taik-oak* (presiding monk of a group of buildings in a monastery complex) or *taik-choat*

sayadaw (abbot or the presiding monk of a monastic complex). Appeals against their decision could be made to the *Thathanabyu Sayadaw* (the Supreme Patriarch), whose office served as the Court of Final Appeal for monastic cases.¹ Thus, the law cases involving Buddhist monks were adjudicated by the different levels of judges—from *kyaundaing sayadaw* to the *Thathanabyu Sayadaw*. However, unlike laypersons, neither party incurred legal expenses even though their case would be heard by a trial court as well as different levels of appellate courts.²

The *Thathanabaing* (the most Supreme Patriarch), referred to as *Tathanabyu Sayadaw*,³ who acted as the judge of the highest appellate court, was nominated by the king.⁴ The king also appointed the *Thudhamma Sayadaws* who were placed under the *Thathanabaing*. They were first appointed in the reign of Badon Min.⁵ The *Thathanabaing* and the *Thudhamma Sayadaws* appointed the *Sayadaws* from the monastic complexes in the capital who commanded respect as *taik-choat*, *taik-oak*, *taik-kyat* (assistant to a *taik-oak*) to hear the cases involving Buddhist monks. The *taik-choat* was appointed only in King Thibaw's reign.⁶ In addition, *gaing-choat* (head of a Buddhist sect), *gaing-oak* (head of a Buddhist fraternity in a locality) and *gaing-dauk* (assistant to a *gaing-oak*) were appointed in the towns and villages distant from the capital to decide the cases involving

¹ Ba Thaug, 1975, 92

² Tin, 1976, 253

³ The *Thathanabyu Sayadaw* will be referred to as *Thathanabaing* for the sake of convenience.

⁴ Win Maung, 1999, 219-236

⁵ Tin, 1970, 188

⁶ “*Yahando Kyintsauing yan Upade 1880*” (Rules to be followed by monks 1880), *Purabaik* MS 82, Mandalay University Library (Henceforth: *Yahan Upade, Pu* MS 82)

Buddhist monks in their respective localities. The post of *gaing-choat* was created only during the reign of King Thibaw as the work concerning religious affairs increased considerably.¹ The *gaing-oak* and *gaing-dauk* were appointed by the *Thathanabaing* and the *Thudhamma Sayadaws*. In appointing each of them, a *sagyundaw* (royal order of appointment written on palm-leaf) stamped with a seal was used.² A candidate for *Thathanabaing*, who would be nominated by the king, must meet the following requirements;

(1) he must be well versed in the three Pitakas,

(2) he must be able to promote the Thathana (Pali Sâsana, "Religion"), and

(3) he must be *lajji pesala sikkha kama* (scrupulous, well-behaved and anxious for training). The word *lajji* means "having hiri and ottappa", ie scrupulous or conscientious; *pesala* means "lovable, amiable, well-behaved", *sikkha* means training, ie the three trainings: *adhisila-adhicitta*-and *adhipaññasikkhas* ("the training in heightened virtue, the training in heightened mind, the training in heightened discernment".) and-*kama* means "desirous of anxious".³ Although these requisite qualifications were laid down there were instances in which the monks who had taught the kings or queens when they were young were appointed as *Thathanabaing* even though they failed to meet these requisite qualifications. In the reign of king Mindon, U Sandima, the monk who had taught King

¹Tin, 1970, 129

²Win Maung, *Mandalay Khit Buddha Thathanawin (Buddhist religion in the Mandalay Period)*, M.A. thesis, Mandalay Arts and Science University, 1978, p.169 (Henceforth: Win Maung, 1978)

³"*Thathanaye Ameindaw 1855*" ("Royal Order on religious affairs 1855"), *Purabaik* MS 626, Yangon, National Library (Henceforth: "*Thathanaye Amein*", Pu MS 626).

Mindon when he was young, only became a member of the Thudhamma Committee, whereas U Nyeyya, who had been the teacher of the queen of Nanmadaw (Central Palace), was nominated as *Thathanabaing*.¹ Concerning the reason for nominating the Taungdaw *Sayadaw* as *Thathanabaing* in the reign of King Thibaw, Ivan Pavlovich Minaye who had firsthand knowledge of the matter, recorded on 7 February 1886 that he was appointed *Thathanabaing*² only because he was the monk who taught King Thibaw when the latter was young.³ Thus, it is clear that even though the requirements for the post of *Thathanabaing* were laid down, in reality, the monk who had taught the reigning king normally was appointed to the post. The monk nominated as *Thathanabaing*,

the head of the Buddhist Order, had to swear an oath at a *ceti* that “he would administer justice in secular as well as religious matters without taking into consideration the bribe given to him and without prejudice”.⁴ Moreover, the main duty of the *Thathanabaing* was to strive for the purity of the *Thathana* (Pali *Sāsana*” Religion”). For the purification of the *Thathana*, he had to arrange to prevent the monks from becoming immoral, to decide

¹ Myaketu, “*Mindon Bayin Lethtet Thathanabaing Sayadaw*” (“Supreme patriarch of king Mindon's reign”), *Myawadi*, Vol. XII. no.x, August, 1964, pp.56-61 (Henceforth: Myaketu ,1964)

² Kanni Sitke Minhtinyaza, *Mandalay Yadanabon Maha Yazawindawgyi (the great history of Mandalay Yadanabon)*, Mandalay, Tetnelin Press, 1969, p.162 (Henceforth: Minhtinyaza, 1969)

³ Than Tun, *Nehle Yazawin (Peripatetic history)*, Vol.III, Yangon , Nantha Press, 1969, first printing, p.423 (Henceforth: Than Tun,1969)

⁴ “*Sangha Vinicchaya Hpyathton*”, *palm-leaf MS 41 (ka to ngau) 4 inga, 10 leaves*, Mandalay University Library, ki (recto), (Henceforth: *Sangha Vinicchaya , pa MS 41*)

the cases involving monks, and to promulgate laws and orders to ascertain that the monks would follow the Vinaya rules.¹

As there were monks who lived in conformity with the Vinaya rules, there were those who disregarded them. Some monks were breaking the rules by playing pachisi, taking part in pitch game (played with the seeds of *Entada pursaetha*), betting in gambling games, committing theft, or by being overfriendly with laywomen. Therefore to purge the Thathana of corruption, the *Thathanabaing* had to order the *taik-oak*, *taik-kyat*, *gaing-oak*, and *gaing-dauk* concerned to take disciplinary measures when ever necessary. If the monks disregarded their decisions, the *Thathanabaing* himself would decide the matter. A list of the immoral monks, with the name, age, address, monastery of each monk and the offence he had committed, was made; and they would be summoned to the Thudhamma Committee to face the charges.² An order was issued in 1853 to the monks entrusted with administrative powers to act in concert to purge the Order of immoral monks.³ Furthermore to cleanse the *Thathana* of immoral monks, many law had to be issued so that the monks would follow the Vinaya rules. This clearly indicates that there always were some immoral monks. In the laws issued by the *Thathanabaing* for the moral rectitude of the monks, concerning *pariyatti* (study) the monks were directed to

¹Win Maung, 1978, 146

²“*Mandalay Akyauung Aya Ayap-yap Zagazu*” (Words on various facts about Mandalay), *Purabaik* MS 746, Yangon , National Library (Henceforth: “*Mandalay Zagazu*”, *Pu* MS 746)

³Win Maung, 1978, 147

study the *Patimokkha*¹ and the novices were instructed to study the *sekhiya*,² and they were to discuss what they had read with one another. With regard to *patipatti* (practice) it was ordered that the trainers were to teach the methods of meditation to their trainees (*ganthadhura*), and to practice *Vipassana* or insight meditation (*vipasanadhura*).³ Concerning the monks' relations with their lay devotees, it was ordered that the monks were not to visit layperson's homes without a good reason, not to jostle each other to receive offering,⁴ not to give fruits or flowers to laypersons, not to give medical care to laypersons, not to practice divination, not to go in a boat or ride a cart without a reason, not to indulge in debauchery, not to watch *pwe* (public entertainments),⁵ not to visit the palace and the *hluttaw* to ask for offerings without being invited, not to recite the suttas in whining or singsong tone, and were not to swim in the river. The monks were not to hold any grudge against one another or speak to one another insinuatingly. In addition, they were exhorted not to fight with one another or cause schism in the Sangha, but were to live in harmony.⁶ In entering towns or villages, the monks were urged to wear their robes properly and to avoid using an umbrella or wearing slippers.⁷The *Mahadanwun*¹ had to

¹The basic code of monastic discipline, consisting of 227 rules for monks (bhikkhus) and 310 for nuns (bhikkhunis).

² The seven training rules for the novices () to follow.

³Taw Sein Ko, 1977, 206

⁴Taw Sein Ko, 1977, 202-204

⁵ Taw Sein Ko, 1977, 203-205

⁶ Taw Sein Ko, 1977, 204-209

⁷Taw Sein Ko, 1977, 202-203

keep watch over the monks and had to arrest those who violated the rules. The lawbreakers, together with their teachers, would be tried at the Thudhamma hall.² Thus, actions were taken not only against the offenders for breaking the law, but also against their leaders for being remiss in their duties of enforcing discipline. It seems that the leaders were held responsible for the conduct of the monks over whom they had control so that they would be strict in enforcing discipline.

¹ The *Mahadanwun* had to urge the monks to act in conformity Vinaya rules. He was responsible to detect those who broke the Vinaya rules and to apprehend them and hand them over to the adhipati *Sayadaws*. He also had to inflict punishments on the offenders—*thedan* (carrying sand) or *yedan* (carrying water) in penance. He was also responsible for the administration of slaves and land donated to the religious establishments, and to maintain order in the religious establishments.

²*Dhamma-Vinaya Ameindaw Pyandangyi (Royal Order of Dhamma and Vinaya)* Yangon, Hanthawady Press, 1968, p.50 (Henceforth: *Dhamma-Vinaya, 1968*)

CHAPTER –VI

CONCLUSION

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CONCLUSION

To recapitulate, it has been drawn conclusion regarding the whole my dissertation. It is undeniable that approximately 90% of people in Myanmar are Buddhist, and virtually all of them practice Theravada Buddhism. This branch of Buddhism adheres most closely to the oldest texts in the Buddhist tradition and generally emphasizes a more rigorous observance of the monastic code than other schools of Buddhism. Theravada Buddhists ultimately aim to be released from the cycle of suffering, *samsara*, and to achieve *nirvana*. To achieve success in this world—and to advance to enlightenment in subsequent rebirths—they must build positive karma, or merit. Lay people accumulate merit by making offerings to the Buddhist monastic community, or Sangha. This is done during monks' morning procession through neighborhoods to collect alms or in the form of donations to temples and monasteries.

According to the evidence of history, Buddhism had been the state religion of Burma beginning with the Kingdom of Bagan in 1044, and was briefly reinstated as the state religion under Prime Minister U Nu in 1961 until the military coup in 1962. With Buddhism closely affiliated with Burmese identity, particularly Burman identity, nationalism took on specific Buddhist associations. Buddhist Burmans rallied behind slogans such as “To be Burmese is to be Buddhist.” Buddhist monks who opposed colonialism, some dying in prison, became powerful symbols for the nationalist movement. Though opposition has never been uniform among the Sangha, thousands of

monks have engaged in political activism over the past century, most recently in the 2007 Saffron Revolution.

In this thesis titled Theravada Buddhism in Myanmar and Environmental Ethics of Konbaung Period, how and when Buddhism was introduced into Myanmar is discussed. Some scholars are of the opinion that Buddhism was introduced into Myanmar in the 1st century AD. It is impossible to accept that the earliest form of Buddhism which made its way to Myanmar was a pure form of Theravada Buddhism as modern Myanmar believe. It could be Mahayana Buddhism. Moreover, the views of some scholars who disagree that the Myanmar had their first encounter with Buddhism only after King Anuruddha of Pagan conquered Thaton. Furthermore, there were no *aris*, who are vilified in Myanmar chronicles, in the early Pagan period. They emerged only in the late Pagan period and were influential even in the post-Pagan periods. Myanmar relied considerably on Sri Lanka soon after Buddhism was introduced into Myanmar. Monks from Myanmar went to Sri Lanka to study scriptural texts. The monks who returned from Sri Lanka enjoyed the king's favour and became influential. Then, they had to compete with local monks. As only the sect supported by the king won, the national sect was vilified and the *aris* gained notoriety. There is no evidence that the Myanmar kings persecuted the *aris* as stated in the chronicles. Schism within the Myanmar *Sangha* was brought about by the monks who returned from Sri Lanka. Secessions resulted from the monks' pride in their purity, not from the differences in their robes, behavior, practices or goals.

In the history of Myanmar, Kings Anuruddha, Dhammazedī, Sinbyushin of Hanthawady, Thalun and Badon safeguarded and promoted the *Sasana*. The religious

reforms introduced by King Dhammazedi helped the Sinhalese sect to have ascendancy over the local sect. It seems that King Dhammazedi had doubts about monks' moral behavior because he himself was an ex-monk. King Badon was a king who had progressive ideas concerning the Religion. However, the majority of monks and citizens refused to accept some of King Badon's views and reforms, and he had to back down.

While the Myanmar were professing Buddhism after it was introduced into Myanmar, Myanmar's relations with Sri Lanka brought about schisms within the *Sangha*, probably because some monks from Myanmar believed that the Religion in Sri Lanka was purer than that in Myanmar. On account of Chappada's study in Sri Lanka, a Sinhalese sect came into being. From then on, the national sect and the Sinhalese sect fought for ascendancy. There were some monks of the national sect who wielded power. Of them, Mahakassapa was the best-known. How he endeavored to compete with the Sinhalese sect and to own land can be learnt from the inscriptions. The monks of his lineage came to be known as forest sect. After competing with the Sinhalese sect for about two hundred years, the forest sect was defeated because the kings supported the Sinhalese sect. Then, the forest monks were given a bad name and referred to as *aris*. The forest monks contributed to the economy of the kingdom which was primarily an agricultural country. These monks were able to hang on to the land they owned in the reigns of the successive kings. After the fall of Pagan, cultivated lands reverted to jungle either because there was nobody to cultivate them or because there was no security. Forest monks led the people to reclaim land—the virgin land and the cultivated land that had reverted to jungle—for cultivation. Thus, they were able to contribute to the peace and prosperity of the kingdom and to the increase of food production. Their influence

declined probably because kings, ministers and laypersons could not donate land to them as people were reclaiming land, because the monks of the Sinhalese sect were opposing them and because the crown controlled land and wealth of the kingdom to prevent forest monks from interfering in political matters.

As regards the Pagan-period Buddhism, there is a fact which is against a traditional statement accepted by the Myanmar. Myanmar nowadays believe that there were no *bhikkhunis* after AD 456. However, there were *bhikkhunis* in the Pagan period or after the 1600th year of the Religious Era. There were some *bhikkhunis* who enjoyed the same status as monks. Thus, the Myanmar tradition was wrong and there was the *Bhikkhuni Sangha* (Order of Female *Sangha*) in Myanmar in the latter half of the 13th century AD. The donation of land to monks increased the sundry matters monks had to deal with. This inhibited them from carrying out their main duties of *pariyatti* and *patipatti*. Hence some went and dwelt in the forests, leading *ekacara* (a life of solitude). This split monks into *arannavasins* or forest monks and *gamavasins* or village monks (those who resided near towns and villages). The *arannavasins* put great emphasis on *vipassana* (insight meditation), whereas the *gamavasins* were more interested in secular subjects. However, it would be wrong to regard all the *gamavasins* as immoral monks. Some monks, despite their being *gamavasins*, were able to write works that were valuable for the Religion. The controversy over whether monks and novices should place their upper robes over their left shoulder or cover both shoulders with their upper robes in entering towns and villages began in the reign of King Sane of the Nyaungyan Period. This controversy stretched into the Konbaung Period. In King Singu's reign, the king ordered the monks to debate the matter, and decided in favour of the *Ayon* faction.

Myanmar monks placed great emphasis on the lineage of their teachers. Although they had to cover both shoulders with their robes because of the king's order, they eventually reverted to following the tradition of their teachers. Hence, the *Atin- Ayon* issue resurfaced in King Badon's reign. King Badon was able to settle the issue for once and for all. The *Ayon* faction emerged victorious. The *Atin-Ayon* issue was not an important issue for the Religion. The monks did not change the *Vinaya* rules. The problem resulted from the misinterpretation of *Pali* texts. The dispute had nothing to do with monks. It was a dispute over how to train novices. The king had to issue edicts and suppressed it by inflicting stiff punishments on those who held it in King Badon's reign. However, King Badon was unable to stamp out the view. It survived till King Mindon's reign in the late Konbaung Period. During Mindon's reign, new sects like the Shwegyin sect came into being with the king's support. King Mindon issued the *Dhamma-Vinaya* Edict with the avowed purpose of purifying the Religion. This edict met with opposition when it was put into operation. It is learnt that Mindon's *Dhamma-Vinaya* Edict was issued partly for political reasons even though its avowed purpose was to cleanse the Religion. This edict brought about disputes over whether making donations to an immoral person would be beneficial to the donor and whether laypersons should study the *Vinaya* rules so that they would be able to distinguish virtuous men from immoral ones.

More reforms were affected in the reign of King Thibaw. First he abolished the *khondaws* constituted by King Mindon. Then he established new courts—the *taya htanagyoat yon* (Department of Justice) and the court of the *asiawe win hmu mat* (councillors)—in addition to the existing courts—*hluttaw*, *sheyon*, *naukyon*, and *taya-yon*. In the early and

middle Konbaung periods, appeals against the decisions made by the judges of the *taya-yon* could be filed to the *hluttaw*, where the *wungyis* (ministers) of the *hluttaw* would decide the cases. In the reign of King Thibaw, however, appeals against the decisions of the *taya-yon* had to be filed to the *taya htanagyoat yon*, and only the appeals against the *taya htanagyoat yon* could be filed to the *hluttaw*. It seems that King Thibaw emulated the constitutional monarchy in the West in establishing the *taya htanagyoat yon* and the *ais awe win hmutaw mattaw yon*. Moreover, in King Thibaw's reign, the British had already annexed Lower Myanmar, and were finding a pretext to annex Upper Myanmar. Therefore, it seems that these offices were established to reduce the workload of the *hluttaw* so that the *hluttaw* would be able to focus on the administration and security of the kingdom. Establishing the *taya htanagyoat yon* and the *asi awe win hmutaw mattaw yon* for the judicial administration in the royal capital could be regarded as an innovation in judicial administration. Although there were no noticeable changes in Myanmar judiciary in the early and middle Konbaung periods, more courts were established in the later Konbaung period. As the number of courts increased, the judicial administration would have become speedier. It seems that this was done to be in step with the times.

Concerning criminal cases, many *yazathats* or royal orders were issued in the Konbaung period, and criminal cases had to be tried in accordance with them.

In the reign of Badon Min, the *Thudamma Sayadaws* were appointed to assist the Supreme Patriarch in hearing and determining legal cases involving monks. The *Thudamma Sayadaws*, following the orders of the Supreme Patriarch, had to try such cases and had to relay the Supreme Patriarch's orders around the kingdom. The cases involving monks in the Konbaung period were decided either according to the Vinaya

texts or in conformity with the *dhammathats*. The cases involving both monks and laypersons also were decided according to the *dhammathats* if the litigating monks agreed. It is undeniable that environmental ethics in Konbaung is based on the teachings of the Buddha, Rajathat and Dhammathat.

All in all, in case of viewing the whole Konbaung period, there could be seen that it includes happy and sorrowful events and facts. We are proud to have been the kings such as Alaungmintayar, Shinphyushin, Bodawphayar, Padon and Mindon. They could try to organize to extend the area of Myanmar. They especially tried to focus the Buddhist religious affairs. Not only do they perform the various kinds of meritorious deeds but they prohibited the people from eating largest meal and fish and using alcohol as well. In that period, there emerged a lot of monk and lay scholars. The texts such as medicine and element which were brought from Majjima-desa could be translated into Myanmar. With reference to education, there had been people who studied not only Myanmar language but also French and English. There were English schools in Mandalay. In the king Mindon period, he sent the student to foreign country to study engineering subject. These events and facts are to be proud for Myanmar people. On the other hand, it can be seen the sorrowful events. In the Konbaung period, younger brothers revolve elder brothers. Sons and grandsons were against their fathers and grandfathers. There were biases in royal palace and a lot of groups. Because of favoring French, English who had agreement contacts for economy was angry with Myanmar and they occupied the upper Myanmar for fear that French might influence in Myanmar. In this way, our country Myanmar became the lives of other country's slaves disappearing royal umbrella, royal palace and royal king. In conclusion, in this research paper, we have tried to explore the

entire of theme of this work as much we could, collection sources or evidence from several treatises, as well as geographical contact and historical record. However, sometimes we may notice that it was far beyond the historical, geographical and archaeological events, losing behind the natural against the realities. The literature developed and changing the urbanization periodically makes the history record disappearance or absence of recording and mixed culture, religion, nations. Therefore, my research work may not be completed.

I would like to express my gratitude to my teachers for their supervision, guidance and advice. Without their advice and guidance, this dissertation would not be as complete as this. All the shortcomings are of cause my own responsibility.

We therefore can not deny that Ethics is essential for the society of the world. Any person who practices ethics will feel taste of the peace more and more. Critical studying of this dissertation will be helping to economical field, social circle and government affairs. We find that our country inclines flourish Theravada Buddha teaching and preservation environmental issue because of practice of the teaching Buddha.

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To,

Dhammasara

Research scholar

Department of History

Babasaheb Bhimaro Ambedkar

University, Lucknow

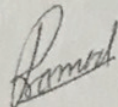
Dear Sir/Madam,

With reference to your article "Origin of Religion in Myanmar" Which, was received for publication in the *PARIPREKṢYA*,

I have to communicate you the decision of the Editorial Board, follows as :--
:- We are very happy to inform that the Editorial Board has accepted your article which will be published in one of the coming issues of '*PARIPREKṢYA*' .

With best wishes,

Yours Sincerely,



Editor

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Origin of Religion in Myanmar

Abstract

This article is explanation about the religions in Myanmar early period of Myanmar Buddhism was also assimilated with others religion. Early Buddhism of Myanmar was not only the purely Theravada Buddhism. Also Mahayana and Tantrayana were also mixed in their pay homage's. After the Bagan periods there were changes and only Theravada Buddhism was more encouraged.

Introduction

The origin of religion in Myanmar was many assimilated with Brahmanism and different kinds of Buddhism. In Myanmar there are traces of many other religions besides of many types of Buddhism. Buddhism in those days was far from pure. Thaton was the home of Theravada Buddhism. When the Myanmar came into the plains of Myanmar in the 9th Century A.D., they first met the Mon who were Buddhist in Kyaukse district. They converted the Myanmar to Buddhism. But it is also possible that Pyu were one of their early religions preceptors. Gold leaf manuscript unearthed at near the site of Srikhetra strongly suggest that Pyu's Knowledge of Buddhism was by no means slight. Myanmar were already Buddhist before the said conquest of Thaton. The Myanmar obtained both their religion and their alphabet through the Mon. The history of the Buddhist Church in Ramana or the country of the Mon, begin with the third council convened by Asoka in 309 BC. At the conclusion of this council, Missionaries were sent forth to various countries to propagate the Religion. Mahinda was dispatched to Ceylon, and Sona and Utara were sent to Suvannabumi, which land both Mon and Myanmar writers agree in identifying with Thaton, the Mon Kingdom conquered by Anawrata in 1054 AD. The introductions of the Buddhism must have taken place not later than the 6th century, but the actual circumstance are unknown. The earliest epigraphic record found in Myanmar hail not from Thaton, but from the small village of Hmawza, six miles north of the modern town of Prome. The epigraphic records, besides being the earliest evidences of the introduction of Buddhism in

Myanmar, are also the earliest documents of the Indo-Myanmar relations. It is also worth mentioning that the earliest documents of Bhramanism in lower Myanmar from Proem.

Origin of religion in Myanmar

Before the Pagan period, the religion in Myanmar was many assimilated with Brahmanism and different kinds of Buddhism. Sasana is a Pali loan word used by the old Myanmar for religion, especially that of the Buddha and for the year of the religion reckoned from the death of Buddha, In Myanmar there are traces of many other religion besides Buddhism. Of the many types of Buddhism, which existe the type which modern Myanmar called the pure Theravada, was the most popular.

As a matter of fact, Buddhism in those days was far from pure if we still insist on using the word 'Pure'. Buddhism during Buddha's lifetime would be considered in a sense pure but as time and place. According to the Sasanavamsa of Panasami written in 1861, it was lower Myanmar known as Ramanna which received the religion first. Perhaps it dates back to the very lifetime of Buddha.

Then in A.D 235, Sona and Uttara led a mission to Ramanna known as Suwanabumi which is partly on the southern edge of Mount Kelasa. Unfortunately the Rock Edicts of Asoka do not mention this mission. Tradition, however, maintains that henceforth Thaton was the centre from which the Religion spread up country.¹ The conquest of Thaton in 1057 by king Aniruddha (Anaryatha) resulted; it is said, in the introduction of Theravada Buddhism to central Myanmar.

¹ 1 Tun,Than "Religion in Burma, A.D.1000-1300," *Journal of Burma Research Society*, (Rangoon) vol, XLI, Part ii, Dec.1959, p.47(Hereafter cited as Tun Than, "Religion")

Unfortunately there is no contemporary evidence to support this famous episode. The Siamese say that it was from Nakorn Pat'om {not from Taton} that Aniruddha got his Buddhism.²

Nevertheless the spread of the 'seals' of Aniruddha from Twante in the South to the Irrawaddy, Shweli junction in the North supports the fact that with the centre at Bagan, Aniruddha expanded north and south and in this general sweep Thaton was included. His attack on the southern lands was not motivated, as alleged, by religion alone. It was pure aggression. It is doubtful whether Thaton was the home of Theravada Buddhism and whether it reached Pagan only after the aforesaid conquest. When the Myanmar came into the plains of Myanmar in the 9th century A.D, they first met the Mon who were Buddhists in Kyaukse district.³

It is not unlikely that they converted the Myanmar to Buddhism. It is also possible that Pyu were one of their early religious preceptors. Gold leaf manuscripts unearthed at near the site of Srikhestra strongly suggest that the Pyu's knowledge of Buddhism was by no means slight.⁴ One might even assume that Pali Buddhism had thrived at Srikhestra and that after its fall towards the close of the 8th century the centre moved north to Hanlingyi which again fell early in the 9th century. Thus it was left to the Myanmar to foster it a century or two later.

It seems that the Pyu and the Myanmar mixed freely until the Pyu were absorbed. Excavations at the Petlaik Pagoda, which is generally attributed to Aniruddha revealed some moldings of older structure beneath. It shows that Buddhist buildings existed at Bagan before

² Hall, D.G.E, *A History of South-east Asia*, London, Macmillan & Co., Ltd, 1964, p. 124. (Hereafter cited as Hall, South-east Asia)

³ *Report of the Director, Archaeological Survey of Burma*, 1938-39, Rangoon, G.P.O, pp.17-22

⁴ Ray, Niharranjan, *Theravada Buddhism in Burma*, Calcutta, Calcutta University Press, 1946, p.84.

Aniruddha and a considerable portion, if not all, of the Myanmar were already Buddhists before the said conquest of Thaton. From the inscriptions of Thaluin Man's reign we know the extent to which Buddhism was modified to fulfill the requirements of the time and how tolerant it was of the existence of other beliefs and practices.⁵

The Burmese (Myanmar) obtained both their religion and their alphabet through the Mon. The Myanmar alphabet is almost the same as the Mon, and the circular form of both strongly indicates the influence of the Sinhalesa, or the Tamulic type of letter. The history of the Buddhist Church in Ramanna or the country of the Mons, Talaings) begins with the Third Buddhist Council convened by Asoka in 309 B.C. (According to Myanmar chronology, the Buddha's Nivana took place in 544 B.C, and the Third Buddhist council was held 235 years after that event, that is in 309 B.C).

At the conclusion of this council, missionaries were sent forth to various countries to propagate the Religion. Mahinda was dispatched to Ceylon, and Sona and Uttara were sent to Suvanubami, which land both Mon and Myanmar writers agree in identifying with Thaton, the Mon kingdom conquered by Anawrata in 1057 A.D An account of the dispatch of these missionaries, and of the miraculous conversion of the countries visited by them is given in Mahavansa.⁶ Myanmar writers are not willing to acknowledge their indebtedness to the Mons, whom they had conquered, for their knowledge of Buddhism. They say that Sunaparanta, the classic name of their country, should be indentified with Aparataka, that the Buddha himself visited Sunaparanta during his life-time, and there established his Religion, and that, at the end of the Third council, missionaries, were sent to Aparantaka to propagate the 'Faith'. They add

⁵ Than Tun, 'Religion', p.47-48.

⁶ Taw sein ko, *Introduction of Buddhism*, p.1

that, as early as 443, B.C, Buddhism was established at Prome as attested by the ancient Pagodas still in existence.⁷

Myanmar looks as if it were an outstretched land of the Indian continent rather than a part of the Southeast Asiatic countries bordering the Indian ocean, which collectively we know as Further India indeed, ethnologically and linguistically and also geographically, Myanmar is more a component part of the whole area now covered by Myanmar, Siam (Thailand), Indo-China and the Malay Peninsula, than of India proper to whose cultural influence Myanmar, like the rest of the countries of Indo-china and the Malay Peninsula, than of India proper to whose cultural influence Myanmar, like the rest of the countries of Indo-china, submitted herself for centuries. But not withstanding that strong cultural domination by India, mainly exerted through the all pervading faith of Theravada Buddhism. Myanmar maintained from the very beginning of her history a distinct political, social, and even cultural character.

Unlike Sri Lanka, Myanmar, hardly ever merged herself into the currents and cross-currents of Indian historical and Cultural Revolution.⁸ Her history runs a parallel course, so far as relations with India are concerned, with that of the other countries of further India, and the islands of the Malay Archipelago, collectively known to historians as Indonesia. The Indo-Burmese chapter of the history of Myanmar can be understood in its proper perspective and real significance only when we take this vital historical fact into account. Nowhere an Indian faith is deeper significance, or wields a stranger influence in the Scio-political life of the people than Buddhism does in Myanmar.

⁷ Taw sein ko, Introduction of Buddhism, p. 2

⁸ Ray, Niharajan, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, Leiden, Kern Institute, Calcutta, 1936, p.1 (Hereafter cited as Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism*)

Indeed, Myanmar owes her spiritual and cultural existence to the undying appeal of Theravada Buddhism which has remained the chief factor in the life and character of the average Myanmar as the entire Burmese nation.⁹ The introduction of the faith must have taken place not later than the 6th century, but the actual circumstances are unknown. The earliest epigraphic records found in Myanmar hail not from Thaton, but from the small village of Hmawza, six miles north of the modern town of Prome.

The village which is scattered over with ancient remains has been identified with the old capital city of the Pyus, the P'iao of the Chinese; indeed it was the heart of the country known to the Chinese as Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo and to the Burmese as Tharikhittara (Sanskrit; Sriksetra).

The inscription referred to consist of two gold plates discovered at Maunggan, a small village close to Hmawza; three fragments of a stone inscription found while clearing some debris round the base of the Bawbawgyi Pagoda in Hmawza proper, a line of inscription around the rim of the lid of a small relic casket, also discovered at Hmawza; a book of twenty leaves of the old palm-leave manuscripts of India, placed within two covers of the same metal, and an inscribed gold leaf from the Kyundawza village, also near Hmawza.¹⁰

The language of this inscription is Pali and what is more significant, they are all written in a character which is closely akin to the Kadamba-Telegu script of Buddha but which Finot prefers to call Kadamba. Paleographically, these epigraphic records cannot be dated for out of the 6th century of the Christian era, if not earlier. But the most

⁹ Ray, Niharajan, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, Leiden, Kern Institute, Calcutta, 1936, p. 2 (Hereafter cited as Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism*)

¹⁰ *Annual Report of Archaeological survey of India*, Rangoon, Government Printing Office, 1926-27, P.172-173.

interesting fact is that all these records contain extracts from well-known Pali texts like the vibhāṅga and the Anguttara Nikaya, and one of them, the gold-leaf book contain, among other things, the Payicca samuppada sutta, because the sutta itself with its nirodha but without the vibhāṅga.¹¹

The evident conclusion to be drawn from these records is that Pali Buddhism was already an established religion at least as early as 5th or 6th century A.D. that Pali Buddhism as the language of the Theravada was known and understood in ancient Prome by at least a section of the people, that Pali canonical texts were studied in their doctrinal aspects, and finally, what is most important, that the original home from where this Pali Buddhism was introduced in lower Burma was evidently the Andhra-Pallava region of south India, from such centers as Amaravata, Nagajunda, Kanopuram, Kaveropattanam and Uragapuram where Theravada Buddhism during these centuries had established famous and flourishing strongholds, and which places, particularly the last three, are intimately associated with the Buddhaghosa tradition.¹²

The epigraphic records, besides being the earliest evidences of the introduction of Buddhism in Burma, are also the earliest documents of the history of Indo-Burmese relations. It is also worth mentioning that the earliest documents of Brahmanism in lower Burma, from old Prome, images of Brahmanical gods and goddesses stylistically dateable in about the seventh century, owe their inspiration to the Vega Pallava art tradition, and those from Thaton, belonging to about the 9th and 10th centuries, seem to be affiliated to the Orissa tradition of sculpture.

In any case, available evidence at our disposal tends to show that during the early centuries the current of Indian colonial enterprise in

¹¹ Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism*, p.4

¹² Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism*, p.4

lower Burma flowed mainly from the eastern coasted regions of south India, extending from ancient Kalinga down to the Cola country.¹³ Buddhist Sanskrit inscriptions written in North-east Indian Nagara characters, discovered at the ruins of ancient Prome and belonging to about the sixth and seventh centuries, through it has been recognized that they owe their inspiration to a school of Buddhism other than the Theravada, no attempt has yet been made to interpret their significance in the history of Buddhism in Burma.

¹³ Ray, Niharayan, *Brahmanical Gods in Burma*, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1932, P.75-79

Conclusion

In my conclusion of origin of religion in Myanmar article is explained about early religion spread to Lower and Upper Myanmar. Buddhism in Myanmar was early dominated in Myanmar before the Bagan Period. Buddhism was already arrived in Pyukingdoms of Siriketra, Beikthano and Hanlin. But at the time of Pyu Kingdoms, the Buddhism and other religions of Bramanism were assimilated in their faiths. Pure Theraveda Buddhism was spreaded after the Bagan Period.

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To,

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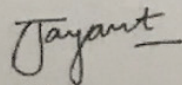
Dear Sir /Madam,

With reference to your article "The History of Buddhism in Bagan" Which, was received for publication in the *ANUŚĪLANA*, I have to communicate you the decision of the Editorial Board, follows as :-

--- We are very happy to inform that the Editorial Board has accepted your article which will be published in one of the coming issues of '*ANUŚĪLANA*'.

With best wishes,

Yours Sincerely,



Editor
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The History of Buddhism in Bagan

Abstract

Buddhism in Bagan was assimilated in early period. Various kinds of religion had Bagan. Before the Anawratha period most of the people were pay homage in Mahayana, Hinduism and Nat worship After the Anawratha reigned and later period were pure Theravada Buddhism was flourishing in Bagan dynasty. This article is explanation of religion in Bagan early to later period.

Introduction

Buddhism in Bagan was a very prominent in South-East Asian region. Many of Buddha's cultural heritages were still left in Bagan area. Early Buddhist religion in Bagan was assimilated with Hinduism and traditional nats worships. After the Anawratha's reigned Theravada Buddhism was first contacted from Thaton kingdom. Shin Araham was a pioneer of Theravada Buddhism from Thaton. Later Bagan was contacted from Siri Lanka and Tipitaka text was arrived to Bagan by some of missionaries. After the Anawratha period, Theravada Buddhism was gradually flourishing in Bagan.

Bagan was the capital as well as the political, economic and cultural nerve center of the Pagan Empire. Over the course of 250 years, Bagan's rulers and their wealthy subjects constructed over 10,000 religious monuments (approximately 1000 stupas, 10,000 small temples and 3000 monasteries) in an area of 104 square kilometres (40 sq mi) in the Bagan plains. The prosperous city grew in size and grandeur, and became a cosmopolitan center for religious and secular studies, specializing in Pali scholarship in grammar and philosophical-psychological (abhidhamma) studies as well as works in a variety of languages on prosody, phonology, grammar, astrology, alchemy, medicine, and legal studies. The city attracted monks and students from as far as India, Sri Lanka and the Khmer Empire.¹

The culture of Bagan was dominated by religion. The religion of Bagan was fluid, syncretic and by later standards, unorthodox. It was largely a continuation of religious trends in the Pyu era where Theravada Buddhism co-existed with Mahayana Buddhism, Tantric Buddhism, various Hindu (Saivite, and Vaishana) schools as well as native animist (nat) traditions. While the royal patronage of Theravada Buddhism since the mid-11th century had enabled the Buddhist school to gradually gain primacy, other traditions continued to thrive throughout the Pagan period to degrees later unseen.

The Pagan Empire collapsed in 1287 due to repeated Mongol invasions (1277-1301). Recent research shows that Mongol armies may not have reached Bagan itself, and that even if they did, the damage they inflicted was probably minimal. However, the damage had already been done. The city, once home to some 50,000 to 200,000 people, had been reduced to a small town, never to regain its preeminence. The city formally ceased to be the capital of Burma in December 1297 when the Myinsaing Kingdom became the new power in Upper Burma.²

1. Aung Thwin, Mi chael : The Origin of Modern Burma, Hondulu, Hawai University Press, 1985, P.196-197

2. Tun Than: Studies in Burmese History, Yangon, Maha Dagon Press, 1964. P. 117-118

Early Chinese texts of about the same date speak of a "Kingdom of Liu Yang", where all people worshiped the Buddha. This kingdom has been identified with a region somewhere in the 6th and 7th centuries, has been recovered from Central and Lower Burma (Pyay and Yangon). From the 11th to 13th centuries, the Myanmar kings and queens of the Pagan Kingdom built countless stupas and temples.

The Ari Buddhism era included the worship of bodhisattvas and nagas.

Theravada Buddhism was implanted at Bagan for the first time as early as the 11th century by Anawrahta (1044-1077). In year 1057, Anawratha sent an army to conquer the Mon city of Thaton to obtain the Tipitaka of the Pali Canon. He was converted by a Mon bhikkhu. Shin Arahan, to Theravada Buddhism. Shin Arahan's advice led to acquiring thirty sets of Pali scriptures from the Mon king Manuhal by force. Mon culture, from that point, came to be largely assimilated into the Myanmar culture based in Bagan.

Despite attempts at reform, certain, features of Ari Buddhism and traditional nat worship continued, such as reverence for the bodhisattva Avalokitesvara (Lawka nat).

Successive kings of Bagan continued to build large numbers of monuments, temple, and pagodas in honour of Buddhism, and there is inscriptional evidence of a Theravadin vihara for bhikkhunis from 1279.¹

The religion prevailing among the Myanmar before and during the early reign of Anawratha was some form of Mahayana Buddhism, which had probably found its way into the region from the Pala kingdom in Bengal. This is apparent from bronze statues depicting Bodhisattas and especially the "Lokanatha," a Bodhisatta believed, in Bengal, to reign in the period between the demise of the Buddha Gotama and the advent of the Buddha Metteyya. Anawratha continued to cast terracotta votive tablets with the image of Lokanatha even after he embraced the Theravada doctrine.

1. Tun Than: "Religion in Burma, AD.1000-1300", Journal of Burma Research Society, Vol.42, Part 2, 1959 P.125

In India, Buddhism had split into numerous schools, some of which differed fundamentally from the teachings of Pali Buddhism, which is also called Theravada Buddhism (the doctrine of the Theras). The Ari, the monks or priests of this Mahayana Buddhist form of worship, are described, in later chronicles of Myanmar, as the most shameless bogus ascetics imaginable. They are said to have sold absolution from sin and to have oppressed the people in various ways with their tyranny. Their tantric Buddhism included, as an important element, the worship of Nagas (dragons), which was probably an ancient indigenous tradition.¹

Shin Arahan arrived in the vicinity of Pagan and was discovered in his forest dwelling by a hunter. The hunter, who had never before seen such a strange creature with a shaven head and a yellow robe, thought he was some kind of spirit and took him to the king, Anawratha. Shin Arahan naturally sat down on the throne, as it was the highest seat, and the king thought : " This man is peaceful, in this man there is the essential thing. He is sitting down on the best seat, surely he must be the best being." The king asked the visitor to tell him where he came from and was told that he came from the place where the Order lived and that the Buddha was his teacher. Then Shin Arahan gave the king the teaching on mindfulness (appamada), teaching him the same doctrine Nigrodha had given Emperor Asoka when he was converted. Shin Arahan then told the monarch the the Buddha had passed into Parinibbana, but that his teaching, the Dhamma, enshrined in the Tipitaka, and the twofold Sangah consisting of those who possessed absolute knowledge and those who possessed conventional knowledge, remained.

The king must have felt that he had found what had been missing in his life and a genuine alternative to the superficial teachings of the Ari monks. He built a monastery for Shin Arahan, and according to some sources, stopped all worship of the Ari monks. Tradition has it that he had them dressed in white and even forced them to

1. Tun Than : "Religion in Burma, AD.1000-1300", Journal of Burma Research Society, Vol.42, Part 2, 1959
P.12

serve as soldiers in his army. The Ari tradition continued for a long time, however, and its condemnation is a feature of much later times, and not, as far as contemporary evidence shows, of the Pagan era.¹

The Sasanavamsa gives an alternate version of Anawratha's conversion according to which Shin Araham had originally come from Sri Lanka to study the Dhamma in Dvaravati and Thaton and was on his way to Sri Ksetra in search of a text when he was taken to Anawratha by a hunter. The king asked him, "Who are you?" ___ "O King, I am a disciple of Gotama." "___" Of what kind are the Three Jewels?" ___ " O King, the Buddha should be regarded as Mahosadha the wise, his doctrine as Ummagga, his order as the Videhan army.

This version is interesting in that Anawratha is portrayed as being a Buddhist with knowledge of Jataka stories, such as the Mahosadha Jataka referred to above, even before meeting Shin Araham. This assumption that he was no stranger to Buddhism is supported by the fact that earlier kings had been followers of Buddhism in varying degrees. Caw Rahan, who died about 94 years before Anawratha's accession, is said to have built a Sima and five Pagodas, and Kyaung Pyu Min built the white monastery outside Pagan. Kyaung Pyu Min is believed to have been Anawratha's father.²

Through Shin Araham had now found the religion he had been yearning for and he decided to set out and procure the scriptures and holy relics of this religion. For he wished his kingdom to be secured on the original teaching of the Buddha. He tried to find the scriptures and relics of his new religion in different quarters. In his enthusiasm he did not limit his quest to Thaton, but also searched among the Khmer in Angkor, and in Tali, the capital of the Nanchao, a kingdom in modern day Yunnan, in China, where a tooth of the Buddha was enshrined. But everywhere he was refused.

1. G.H Luce : Old Burma Early Pagan, New York, New York University Press, 1969, P.184

2. G.H Luce : Old Burma Early Pagan, New York, New York University Press, 1969, P.201

He then went to Thaton, where his teacher Shin Arahan had come from, to request a copy of the scriptures. According to the tradition of Myanmar, Anawratha's request was refused, and unable to endure another refusal he set out with his army in the year 1057 to conquer Thaton and acquire the Tipitaka by force. Before conquering Thaton, however, he had to subjugate Sri Ksetra, the Pyu capital. From there, he took the relics enshrined in King Dwattabaung's Bawbaw-gyi Pagoda to Pagan.

Some think that the aim of his campaign was mainly to add the prosperous Indian colonies of Lower Myanmar to his possessions, while others think he may have actually been called to Thaton to defend it against the marauding Khmer. Whatever the immediate cause of his campaign in the lower country, we know for certain that he returned with the king of Thaton and his court, with Mon artists and scholars and, above all, with Thaton's bhikkhus and their holy books, the Tipitaka. Suvannabhumi and its Mon population were now in the hands of the Myanmar and the Mon culture and religion were accepted and assimilated in the emergent Pagan with fervor.¹

Initially the fervor must have been restricted to the king and possibly his immediate entourage, yet even they continued to propitiate their traditional gods for worldly gain as the new religion was considered a higher practice. Theravada Buddhism does not provide much in the way of rites and rituals, but a royal court cannot do without them. So the traditional propitiation of the Nagas continued to be used for court ceremonials and remained part of the popular religion, while the bhikkhus were accorded the greatest respect and their master, the Buddha Gotama, was honored with the erection of pagodas and shrines.

There were contacts between the new kings of Myanmar and Sri Lanka that are recorded not only in the chronicles of the two countries but also in stone inscriptions in South India. As the Hindu Colas had ruled Sri Lanka for more than half a century, Buddhism had been weakened and King Vijayabahu, who had driven out the Vaishnavite Colas, wanted to re-establish his religion. So in 1070, he requested King

1. G.H Luce : Old Burma Early Pagan, New York, New York University Press, 1969, P.215

Anawratha of Myanmar, who had assisted him financially in his war against the Colas, to send bhikkhus to re-introduce the pure ordination into his country. It is interesting to note that the Culavamsa refers to Anawratha as the king of Ramanna, which was Lower Myanmar, also called Suvannabhumi. He was approached as the conqueror and master of Thaton, a respected Theravada center, rather than as the king of Pagan, a new and unknown country. The bhikkhus who traveled to Sri Lanka brought the Sinhalese Tipitaka back with them and established a link between the two countries which was to last for centuries.¹

Anawratha is mentioned in the Myanmar, Mon, Khmer, Thai and Sinhalese chronicles as a great champion of Buddhism because he developed Pagan into a major regional power and laid the foundation for its glory. He did not, however, build many of the temples for which Pagan is now so famous as the great age of temple building started only after his reign. It is important to realize that his interest was not restricted only to Pagan. He built pagodas wherever his campaigns took him and adorned them with illustrations from the Jatakas and the life of the Buddha. Some maintain that he used only Jatakas as themes for the adornment of his religious buildings because that was all he possessed of the Tipitaka. Such a conclusion is negative and quite superficial. After all, during A soka's time Jatakas and scenes from the life of the Buddha were used for illustrations in Bharut and Sanchi, the great stupas near Bombay. We cannot therefore deduce that the builders of Bharut and Sanchi, the great stupas near Bombay. We cannot therefore deduce that the builders of Bharut and Sanchi were acquainted only with the Jatakas. These edifying stories which teach the fundamentals of Buddhism so skillfully are singularly suited to educate an illiterate people beset by superstitions through the vivid visual means of the stone reliefs depicting these stories. It is almost unthinkable that the Mon Sangha, who taught Anawratha, had no knowledge of at least all of the Vinaya. Otherwise, they would not have been able to re-establish a valid ordination of bhikkhus in Sri Lanka.

1. Old Burma Early Pagan, Part 1, P-79

Anawratha left behind innumerable clay tablets adorned with images of the Buddha, the king's name, and some Pali and Sanskrit verses. A typical aspiration on these tablets was: "By me, King Anawratha, this mould of Sugata (Buddha) has been made. Through this may I obtain the path to Nibbana when Metteyya is awakened." Anawratha aspired to become a disciple of the Buddha Metteyya, unlike many later kings of Myanmar who aspired to Buddhahood. Is this an indication that this warrior had remained a modest man in spite of his empire building?

Anawratha was succeeded by a number of kings of varying significance to Buddhism in Myanmar. His successors inherited a relatively stable and prosperous kingdom and consequently were able to embark on the huge temple building projects for which their reigns are still remembered.

This is the time when kings such as Kyanzitta and others built pagodas, libraries, monasteries, and ordination halls. These kings must have possessed coffers full of riches collected from their extensive kingdom which they lavished on the religion of the Buddha. Their palaces were probably built of wood as was the last palace of the Myanmar dynasty. Though the palaces must have reflected the wealth and power of the rulers, the more durable brick was not deemed necessary for such worldly buildings. This is similar to views still found in rural areas of Myanmar today. The only structure adorned to any extent in a village is the monastery and the buildings attached to it, such as the rest house. The villagers are very modest with regard to their private houses and even consider it improper to decorate them. Their monastery, however, is given every decoration affordable.¹

Kyanzitta (1084-1113), who had been Anawratha's commander-in-chief and had succeeded Anawratha's son to the throne, consolidated Theravada Buddhism's predominance in Pagan. In his reign, such important shrines as the Shwezigon Pagoda, the Nanda, Nagayon, and Myinkaba Kubyauk-gyi temples were built.

With the three latter temples, Kyanzitta introduced a new style of religious building. The traditional stupa or dagoba found in India and Sri Lanka is a solid mound in which relics or other holy objects are enshrined. The area of worship is

situated around them and is usually marked by ornate stone railings. In the new style of building, however, the solid mound had been hollowed out and could be entered. The central shrine was surrounded by halls which housed stone reliefs depicting scenes from the Buddha's life and Jataka stories. Kyanzitta's aim was the conversion of his people to the new faith. Whereas Anawratha had been busy expanding his empire and bringing relics and the holy scriptures to Pagan, Kyanzitta's mission was to consolidate this enterprise. Enormous religious structures such as the Nanda Temple attracted the populace and the interiors of the temples allowed the bhikkhus to instruct the inquisitive in the king's faith.

Professor Luce writes:

The Nanda (temple)... he built with four broad halls. Each hall had the same 16 scenes in stone relief all identically arranged. The bhikkhus could cope with four audiences simultaneously. The scenes cover the whole life of the Buddha. When well grounded in these, the audience would pass to the outer wall of the corridor. Here, running around the whole corridor are the 80 scenes of Gotama's life up to the Enlightenment. The later life of the Buddha is shown in hundreds of other stone reliefs on the inner walls and shrines.

Kyanzitta's efforts for the advancement of Buddhism were not limited to his own country. For in one of his many inscriptions, he also mentions that he sent craftsmen to Bohgaya to repair the Mahabodhi temple, which had been destroyed by a foreign king. The upkeep of the Mahabodhi temple became a tradition with the kings of Myanmar, who continued to send missions to Bodhgaya to repair the temple and also to donate temple slaves and land to the holiest shrine of Buddhism.¹

Kyanzitta also initiated an extensive review and purification of the Tipitaka by the bhikkhus. This was the first occasion in Myanmar's history when the task of a Buddhist Sangayana or Synod, comparing the Sinhalese and Suvannabhumi's

Tipitaka, was undertaken. It is possible and even probable that this huge editing work was carried out along with visiting Sinhalese bhikkhus.

By nature of Myanmar's geographical position, external influences swept in predominantly from northern India, and therefore tantric Buddhism, dominant especially in Bengal, remained strong.

However, Kyanzitta succeeded in firmly establishing the Pali Tipitaka by asking the bhikkhus to compare the ancient Mon Tipitaka with the texts obtained from the Mahavihara in Sri Lanka. In this way, he also made it clear that confirmation of orthodoxy was to be sought in Sri Lanka and not in any other Buddhist country. Though Mahayana practices were tolerated in his reign (his chief queen was a tantric Buddhist), they were not officially regarded as the pure religion. It is characteristic of Pagan that these two branches of Buddhism co-existed--the religion of the Theras, which was accepted as the highest religion --and the tantric practices, which included the worship of spirits or nats and gave more immediate satisfaction. Pagodas are often adorned with figures of all types of deities, but the deities are normally shown in an attitude of reverence towards the pagoda, a symbol of the Buddha. The ancient gods were not banished, but had to submit to the peerless Buddha. Tradition attributes to King Anawratha the observation: "Men will not come for the sake of the new faith. Let them come for their old gods, and gradually they will be won over."¹

An approach such as this, whether it was Anawratha's or Kyanzitta's, would suggest that the practice of the old religion of the Ari monks was allowed to continue and that the conversion of the country was gentle and peaceful as befits the religion of the Buddha. Although later Myanmar chronicles refer to the Ari monks as a debased group of charlatans who were totally rooted out by Anawratha, this is far from the truth. A powerful movement of "priests" who incorporated magic practices in their teachings continued to exist throughout the Pagan period, and though they may have

Than Tun Essays on the History and Buddhism of Burma, Yangon, Nay Chi, 1968, P-85
Hereafter this book may be referred to as Than Tun Buddhist Religion.

respected the basic rules of the Vinaya and donned the yellow robes their support was rooted in the old animistic beliefs of the Myanmar. It should not be forgotten that the Myanmar first started to settle in the area of Kyauksai in the sixth century AD and that the "man in the field" was in no way ready for such highly developed a religion as Theravada Buddhism. The transition had to be gradual, and the process that started remains still incomplete in the minds of many people, especially in the more remote areas of the hill country.

The example of Kyanzitta's son Rajakumar, however, shows how even in those early days the teachings of the Buddha were understood and practiced not only by the bhikkhus, but also by lay people and members of the royal court. Rajakumar's conduct is proof of his father's ability to establish men in the Dhamma and survives as a monument just as the Ananda temple does.

Rajakumar was Kyanzitta's only son and his rightful heir. Due to political misadventures Kyanzitta was separated from his wife and therefore not aware of the birth of his son for seven years. When his daughter gave birth to his grandson he anointed him as future king immediately after his birth. Rajakumar grew up in the shadow of his nephew, the crown prince, but neither during his father's reign nor after his death did he ever try to usurp the throne through intrigue or by force. He was a minister zealous in the affairs of state, prudent and wise. He was also a scholar of the Tipitaka and instrumental in its review, vigorously supporting his father in his objective to establish Buddhism. But he is best known for his devotion to his father in his last years when his health was failing. In order to restore the king's health he built five pagodas which to this day are called Min-o-Chanda, "The Welfare of the Old King." When the king was on his deathbed:¹

Rajakumar, remembering the many and great favors with which the king had nourished him, made a beautiful golden image of the Buddha and entering with ceremony presented it to the king, saying: "This golden Buddha I have made to help my lord. The three villages of slaves you gave me, I give to this Buddha." And the king rejoiced and said "Sadhu, sadhu, sadhu." Then in the presence of the compassionate Mahathera and other leading bhikkhus, the king poured on the ground the water of dedication, calling the

earth to witness. Then Rajakumar enshrined the golden image, and built around it a cave temple with a golden pinnacle.

Rajakumar's nephew was King Alaungsithu (c.1113-67), who continued the tradition of his dynasty of glorifying the Buddha's religion by building a vast temple, the Sabbannu Temple, probably the largest monument in Pagan. During his many travels and campaigns, he built pagodas and temples throughout Myanmar. The faith that Shin Araham had inspired in Anawratha and his successors continued to inspire Alaungsithu. Shin Araham, who had seen kings come and go and the flowering of the religion he brought to Pagan, is believed to have died during the reign of King Alaungsithu, in about 1115.

After the death of Alaungsithu, Pagan was thrown into turmoil by violent struggles for the throne. Several kings reigned for short periods and spent most of their time and resources in power struggles. One even succeeded in alienating the great king of Sri Lanka, Parakramabahu, by mistreating his emissaries and breaking the agreements between the two countries. Eventually Parakramabahu invaded Myanmar, devastating towns and villages and killing the king. The new king, Narapati (1174-1210), blessed the country with a period of peace and prosperity. This conducive atmosphere was to allow outstanding scholarship and learning to arise in Pagan.¹

In conclusion, history of Buddhism in Pagan is very flourishing in Pagan. Many of stupas, images and architectural buildings were the evidences of Pagan Buddhism.

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