RAJADHAMMASANGAHA

By the Yaw Mingyi U Hpo Hlaing

translated by L.E.Bagshawe
from the biographical preface and edition made
by Maung Htin (U Htin Fatt)
and published by the Sape U Publishing House in 1979

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GLOSSARY

Ahmudan	A hereditary unit of the population defined by its duty to the king
Agati	"The Way not to be taken" - the forces that keep us from our proper course, namely, Desire, Anger, Fear and Ignorance.
Alok-yon	"Work-place" translates the East India Co's "factory"
Aparihaniya	"What cannot be diminished" - rules for a stable government
Arahat or *rahanta*	One who is at the final stage of the Path to salvation
Aranyavasi	"Forest-dwelling"
Asura	One of the primal adversaries of the gods
Atta/anatta	"Self" v. "No-self". Buddhism denies the reality of selfhood
Athi	People not bound by special hereditary duties
Atwinwun	A senior official of the *Byedaik*, the king's personal office
Aviroddhana	"Not opposing" "going with the flow"
Balu	A creature somewhere between the Giant and the Ogre
Bayinhkan	Holder of an almost independent provincial government, usually a royal Prince - Office nearly obsolete by 1878
Beidin	A burmanisation of *veda,* often meaning little more than astrology, magic and non-Buddhist ritual
Ceti (*seidi*)	A pagoda - originally a burial mound
Chakkavartin	Universal Emperor
Dei-wun	A temporary palace; also used for a custom house
Dhamma	Basically, the Universal Law, proclaimed by Gotama Buddha, but with wide connotations
Gatha	Pali verse
Hiri-Ottappa	Shame in one's own and for others' feelings
Hluttaw	The four-member executive council of the kingdom
Hsayadaw	"Royal Teacher" - a leading monk, often head of a monastery
Hti	A ceremonial umbrella, particularly that crowning a pagoda
Jataka	A story of the Buddha's previous incarnations
Kadaw	A high-ranking wife
Kadáw (spelt *kandáw*)	The Court ceremony of homage
Kalawun	The official who had charge of foreigners
Kamma	The consequence of past action that is present fate
Mingyi	A high ranking Minister or the King himself
Muddhabhiseka	A king's consecration ceremony
Mu-mat	An official - used to describe a Member of Parliament
Myoza	The assigneee of revenue of an area
Naing-ngan	In modern terms, a sovereign country
Nakshatra	Any of the lunar asterisms
Nat	A spirit
Ngaye	One of the hells

Nibbana	The ultimate aim of the religious: discussion is endless
Nigon	An author's formal conclusion to his work
Nissaya	A word-by-word translation of a Pali text into Burmese
Niti	Versified maxims; usually divided between *loka- (*worldly), *dhamma-* (otherworldly) and *raja-niti* (political)
Nyan/nyanpanya	Knowledge and wisdom
Pacceka Buddha	One who has achieved Buddhahood, but does not teach
Parabaik	A book of stout paper, concertina-folded and usually blackened for writing on with a soapstone crayon
Pazou	A *longyi,* the nether garment used in Burma
Ponna	A Brahmin retained at Court for non-Buddhist ceremonies
Purisamedha	Management of the government establishment
Rahan	A monk
Sammaga	Harmony
Sammapaca	Management of the economy
Sangaha	"Collection", "community", "fellow-feeling"
Sangayana	Convocation of the Buddhist clergy arranged by King Mindon to recite and fix the text of the Tripitaka
Sangha	The general body of Buddhist monks
Sannipata	Unity
Sasana	A "message", especially the Buddha's doctrine as embodied in the Sangha, the whole body of monks
Shweidaik	The treasury office
Thadou (Pali *saddhu*)	The bystanders' response to a work of merit - "Well done!"
Thagya-min	The Commander of all the Spirits - identified with Indra
Thahtei/Thukywei	Non-noble but wealthy classes recognised officially
Thalin	White quartz stone
Thandawzin	One of the court officials who made announcements
Thathameda, Sassamedha	The basic tax on households introduced by King Mindon
Therawada	The opinion of the Elders - the normal Buddhism of SE Asia
Thila (*sila*)	The moral precepts
Tirissan	A beast
Vacapeyya	"Pleasant speech" - one of the four Rules of *Sangaha*
Vinaya	The scripture setting the Rule for monks
Vipassana	Inward vision, introspection
Wundauk	An official one step below a *Wungy*i
Wungyi	One of the four ministers who comprised the *Hluttaw*
Zayat	A rest house - often used as the site for preaching etc.

RAJADHAMMASANGAHA – TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

I

In many parts of the world, the middle years of the nineteenth century were a time of major political changes. There was a growing realisation in many countries that others were doing better than they were and that something should be done if they were not going to be left behind. An idea spread that a long established autocracy was not necessarily the best way of managing a country in the modern world and that matters would run more smoothly if the people of the country could be induced to work with the government and not be a dead weight to be dragged along forcibly. That might involve taking steps to find out the wishes of at least the most prominent of the country's citizens in any matter. Constitutions were drawn up in many countries with this in mind, even in many subject to colonial administrations.

The Kingdom of Burma was no exception. When the Mindon Prince took the throne from his brother, Pagan-min, at the end of 1852, the country had been through more than thirty years, three reigns, of kings of at least doubtful mental stability, and had also been subjected to humiliating defeats by and loss of territory to the British government in India. Great changes were called for if the kingdom was to survive and the new King, with the assistance of his younger brother, the Kanaung Prince, tried to set a new course. Developments for the next fourteen years went in two directions. The King himself attended to matters of morale, to the construction of a splendid new capital at Mandalay as the central point of a newly unified and purified religion, while the business of modernisation - the nuts-and-bolts of learning modern techniques and putting them into practice - was given to the Kanaung Prince, and his staff. Putting modernity into practice involved bringing in the Industrial Revolution in the shape of ironworks, cotton mills, rice mills, saw mills and the rest. Contracting for the supply, installation and working of such machinery called for much work. Other steps were taken also, that do not fit precisely into either of these categories. For one reason or another Burma did not use coined money and all transactions were by barter in kind, which might be odd pieces of metal to be carefully assayed and weighed out at the point of sale. Revenue collections were also made in kind and recompense to government servants was usually by assignment of revenues from a particular source, again in kind. This cumbersome system was a serious hindrance to trade, both internal and external and to reform it a coinage was introduced, with the establishment of government mints. This led the way to a new system of revenue collection, with the institution of the *thathameda* tax, a tax levied in cash upon households. Government servants were now to be paid a fixed cash salary in place of the old revenue assignments, although the old practice of designating officials to be *myozas* of towns, assignees of revenues, continued. Presumably it became more or less purely honorific, but the exact nature of the relationship between a *myoza* and his appanage after the change is not very clear. Steps were also taken to reform the central machinery of government; the chief executive governing body was the group of four Ministers, acting jointly, known as the Hluttaw. There had in the past been some natural tendency for individual ministers to develop separate interests and responsibilities and

this was now formalised. Lines of responsibility were demarcated and separate offices were set up.

In 1866 these changes came to a sudden halt with the murder of the Kanaung Prince in a revolt staged by two of his nephews, the Myingun and Myingondaing Princes. It is not at all clear what their real intentions were, but they escaped with what might seem suspicious ease and found refuge in British territory. No extradition agreement was possible between the jurisdictions since the Burmese did not formally recognise the annexation. Reform made little further progress. The King had been badly frightened by the revolt, which might have been an expression of unsettlement caused by the earlier reforms. It was clear that he was not going to part with anything of his personal power, which he defended with an efficient network of informers in the Court and in the country. Reform would have to wait for another reign.

Discussion of reform did not cease, however, though it might have to be postponed for some years; the King was only about 50 in 1866. One prominent figure in this discussion must have been U Hpo Hlaing, whose biography is set out in U Htin Fatt's preface that follows. He had been prominent in Mindon's entourage since 1846 and from the start of the reign had been associated with the Kanaung Prince's work although he had been dismissed from office in 1865. He was too useful to leave out of office for long and soon returned but was not fully rehabilitated until 1869 and finally lost responsibility for the industrial schemes in 1872.

Another figure was U Gaung - eight years older than U Hpo Hlaing, but not a member of Mindon's household till 1850, four years after Hpo Hlaing entered it. He already had some experience of dealing with the British authorities in his position of Kin Wundauk and governor of Alon, in charge of all the government posts down the river and gained much more in the next two years in his appointment as Ambassador in charge of the Burmese King's missions to Europe in 1872-3, now as Kinwun Mingyi. In the course of these missions he had, and used, many opportunities of examining western institutions, governmental as well as private, and discussing them with prominent members of the Establishment. He does not seem to have formally learned English, but must have understood a good deal by the end of his time in Europe - and no doubt found it convenient not to make his understanding too obvious. In any case, after his return from his missions abroad the King's confidence in him was great and his prestige in the Court pre-eminent, buttressed with his new title *Thettawshei* which in theory gave the holder a guarantee of personal immunity, whatever unpalatable advice he might give to the King.

During King Mindon's final sickness, which began in August 1878, preparations were made for putting reform into action, and this movement was largely led by U Gaung and U Hpo Hlaing. The first task was to arrange for the recognition of an heir, since King Mindon had never dared to fix on any of his sons as his successor. He had too many sons, none of them outstanding enough to pick without risking the start of an endless series of plots, assassinations and coup attempts, and was now deemed incapable of the decision. Towards the middle of September a conference of all senior ministers and military officers in the capital was held to determine the succession. It looks as though there may have some difference of approach between U Gaung and U Hpo Hlaing, but there was no argument when U Gaung forced the Thibaw Prince upon the meeting. We do not know whether U Hpo Hlaing had an alternative to propose since, according to Pagan U Tin, he

had only just started on a recital of the classical qualifications for a Crown Prince when he was firmly shushed by the Yindaw Wundauk. In any case, the Thibaw Prince's appointment was, at least, acquiesced in by the meeting. He was also approved by the powerful Centre Queen, Hsinbyumashin, who needed a suitable, unattached, husband for her daughters, the Suhpaya Princesses, and the appointment was made formal.

Thibaw-min was very young, barely twenty, and inexperienced, and seemed likely to be easily persuaded to accept the changes that were intended in the relative positions of the King and the Ministers. These involved a great expansion of the Hluttaw, the executive council of the Burmese kingdom. Instead of consisting of only four sections under the four Wungyis, jointly responsible to the King, there would now be fourteen separate ministries, each with its own minister and powers. There would also be two lower-ranking committees in which matters might be brought up for discussion to make a total of something over sixty members. The King, presumably, retained a right to be consulted, but probably no right of veto and, particularly, no right of spending tax collections without approval from the finance minister, now U Hpo Hlaing.

King Mindon finally died early in October and a few weeks were devoted to his obsequies and the installation of King Thibaw. The new system of government was in place by the beginning of November and at the beginning of December U Hpo Hlaing was ready to present to the new King the volume of his thoughts upon how the monarchical government of Burma should be exercised. This is the *Rajadhammasangaha*[1] which follows U Htin Fatt's introduction below. It was at this time that U Hpo Hlaing seems to have been rewarded with promotion to a Wungyi's status and the award of his late father-in-law's appanage of Magwe. Perhaps initially the King was pleased, but if so, it did not last long, for at the end of January the King summarily dismissed from office U Hpo Hlaing and two other senior ministers closest to him, the Yeinangyaung Wungyi and the Myothit Wundauk. The reformers seem to have been taken completely by surprise and there was no effort to protest or to present a common front against the King, who had now considerable military force behind him. How and why reform was so quickly and so easily defeated is a question that can be endlessly debated, but there seems to be no good answer. The new structure remained nominally in being up to the end of the kingdom, but it was clear that the King's (and the Queen's) will was not to be gainsaid.

II

In this translation we are concerned with two eminent writers in Burmese. The career of the earlier, U Hpo Hlaing, is described very well and completely by the second, his editor and biographer, U Htin Fatt, in this book. Any addition could only be repetitious. U Htin Fatt, on the other hand, has little to say about himself, and an

1 In the 2500 years of the usage of Pali, its words have worn themselves a wide spread of connotations and this makes precision difficult in translating book titles, particularly where the author wants a wide spread of meaning. *Dhamm*a has a huge range, including "phenomenon", "idea", "norm" and "universal law" and *sangaha* goes from "collection" to "fellow-feeling". *Rajadhammasangaha* therefore can mean either "A Collection of Norms for Kingship", or "Civil Society under Monarchy", or, possibly, both .

introduction is called for. He has been a prominent feature of the Burmese literary scene for most of his long life, mainly under his usual pen name of "Maung Htin" Born in 1909, he started his literary career at the Rangoon University, as an undergraduate, writing in both Burmese and English for various magazines. He continued to write after leaving the University in 1934, as well as performing the duties of a township officer for the government. When the war came, he served as Deputy Secretary in the Information Section of Dr. Ba Maw's Foreign office, where he wrote a play on a story provided by U Nu, the future Prime Minister. With the war's end, he shared the responsibility of organizing the broadcasting service. The great success of his novel *Nga Hpa* and other stories, published in 1947 gave a promise of a more interesting livelihood than government service and in 1949 he turned to full-time literary work, joining the staff of the Hanthawadi newspaper.

Since then his literary production has been large, including short stories and translations from English into Burmese - Lafcardio Hearn, H.G.Wells, and Swift's "Gulliver's Travels" - and he has given much service to literary and historical commissions. As a crowning point, last year he was awarded the National Literary Award for life-long work. I very much hope that he may approve of my translation of his work, but communication has been difficult and I understand that his health is poor. I am given to understand, however, indirectly, that he has at least no objection to my project.

III

It seems appropriate that this account of an earlier attempt to provide a satisfactory system of government for Burma should be made available at this time when at last a new Constitution is under discussion and I hope that it may be helpful in the deliberations.

I have only three final remarks:

1. In the above I have referred to people by their personal names; incorrect for the period, but less confusing than the changeable and multiple official titles used in the records
2. All footnotes to the translation, unless otherwise stated, are my responsibility only. In some I have indicated an uncertainty about a meaning. I shall be glad to be corrected at <lebagshawe@vance.net> .
3. I have to acknowledge the many hours of painstaking editorial work that David Arnott has put into making my efforts presentable.

L.E.Bagshawe
Warrenton, N.C.

July 2004

U Htin Fatt (Maung Htin) in 1995

BIOGRAPHICAL PREFACE by Maung Htin

U Hpo Hlaing, the Wetmasut Myoza and Wunshindaw Mingyi, was the author of the book *Rajadhammasangaha*. Its first publisher was the Thuriya newspaper office[2]. In 1960 U Htein Win told me that he wanted to republish the book, and at his suggestion I wrote an introduction and edited the work (September 18th 1960). It was printed at the Kusalavati Press, 60 Yei-kyaw Road, Rangoon, in December of the same year, and issued by Htein Win Publishing House as No.1 of the Htein Win series under the title "Biography of the Yaw Mingyi U Bo Hlaing and his Rajadhammasangaha". Some years later, U Htein Win decided to produce a second edition and with this in view I undertook the work of revising and correcting my introduction.

U Htein Win, however, changed his mind and withdrew from the production of the new edition. He handed over to me the job of finding and making arrangements with a new publisher. The edition that had been issued as "No. 1 of the Htein Win series" had to be re-edited and given a new introduction. In this edition there is a reference to "second edition" and "Htein Win series", but the first edition was that by the Thuriya office, so that this is in fact the third edition.

When I was writing the introduction to the *Rajadhammasangaha* as "No. 1 of the Htein Win series" it was not easy to study the works of the original chroniclers and to compare them with the well-known works of history and to get them from the publishers of the classics. In fact, to get the full knowledge needed for the introduction took several years of research. For this reason, in this second printing the title of "Htein Win series" is continued.

I am grateful to scholars who have brought to my notice errors that I made in writing the first edition. I am particularly grateful to the Tenth Thathanabaing, head and Mahanayaka of the Shweigyin Nikaya in Burma, to the renowned and reverend Dnyanbhivamsa Mahter, known as the Hsayadaw of Mandalay, and to the second Thathanabaing of the Shweigyin Nikaya, the Hsayadaw of the Visuddha-yon, who have set me right on disputable points. Besides these, after the earlier edition of the *Rajadhamma*, I have consulted the reverend Kumara of Myaungmya, who has advised me on style in editing my own writings. Using the advice of the Myaungmya Hsayadaw, both U Htein Win and I have sought out and corrected many errors. In this connection, I must note that our benefactor, the Myaungma Hsayadaw, passed away on the 2nd waning day of Wazo, 1337 (the 24th July 1975).

Now, in this second printing, I have to acknowledge the advice and rely upon the researches of the Myaungmya Hsayadaw in revising and completing my writing, expanding and curtailing where it was called for.

The editing of the first edition of the introduction was in accordance with the standards of the Kusalavati Press. Now, however, while the second publication was in consideration, the Burmese language committee of the Education Ministry of the Socialist Union of Burma issued its "Standard Spelling of Burmese" and I have written my introduction in accordance with this standard. However, there may still be examples of

[2] About 1915

lapsus calami to be found, leading to errors; if so, I must ask for indulgence.

For all that, one who claims to be an editor has a duty to preserve the content of his original text without distortion, and therefore the text of the Yaw Atwinwun, the Shweipyiwun, U Bo Hlaing, is presented as he wrote it.

Editing the Work

The author of the *Rajadhammasangaha* is well known to leading scholars and historians of Burma as "the Yaw Atwinwun, U Bo Hlaing", "the Shwei-pyi Atwinwun", "the Wetmasut Myoza", or "the Magwe Myoza, the Minister and Mingyi". Later writers refer to him as "the Yaw Atwinwun, U Hlaing (or U Bo Hlaing)", as "the Yaw Mingyi" or as "the Shweipyi Mingyi". Others, following the change in fashion, write "U Hpo Hlaing". In this preface, following my stated intention of following the spelling of his own time, I write "U Bo Hlaing"[3].

When he wrote the *Rajadhammasangaha*, U Bo Hlaing was *Aggasenapati Wetmasut Myoza Wunshindaw Mingyi.* It is stated by scholars who have recorded the biography of U Bo Hlaing that the *Rajadhammasangaha* was written by the Minister, the Wetmasut Myoza, and presented by him to King Thibaw. The Pagan Wundauk, U Tin, says in his "Royal Administration of Burma"[4] that "the book was written as an admonishment to King Thibaw" and that for scholars to deliver admonishments to those in power brings them trouble. The course of U Bo Hlaing's life is an example of receiving such trouble".

The book *Rajadhammasangaha* was completed on Saturday, the 7th waxing of Nadaw[5], 1240. At this date King Thibaw's accession to the throne was only two months old. It is recognised that the craft of printing began in Burma in Moulmein in 1852. In about 1874 a printing press came to the royal capital of Mandalay and in this year the *Yadanabon Neipyidaw* newspaper (the Mandalay Gazette) began publication at King Mindon's wish. Besides this there was also the printing press in the Mandalay palace on which there were printed verses composed on the royal lineage as well as resolutions of meetings of the Hluttaw and the originals of laws passed. The printing work continued after King Thibaw's accession, but the *Rajadhammasangaha*, which might have kept King Thibaw in the enjoyment of his throne, was never printed. Seven years after the writing of the book, the British removed King Thibaw and he was exiled to Madras[6]. After this it was thirty years before the Thuriya Press produced its first printing. This edition has been made on the basis of the *parabaik* volumes in the Barnard Library.

For forty-five years after this first printing the *Rajadhammasangaha* was only known by its high reputation. In the desire to keep the original document safe from damage, the Library did not allow easy access to it.

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3 There is endless confusion in Burmese between the letters *hpa-u-htok* (ph) and *ba-gon* (bh) whose pronunciation in Burmese is, to all intents and purposes, the same.

4 *Myanma-min Okchokpon Sadan* - quoted hereafter as MMOS

5 According to the *nigon*; the Chronicle says that it was presented to the King on that same day

6 He is always *Madras-pa-min,* but Ratnagiri on the west coast, south of Bombay was the place of exile.

For this reason it seemed good that there should be a reprinting, and thus U Htein Win, the publisher, kindly called me in to edit the book and to write an introduction. However, I, the editor, am also a journalist; spare time was scarce and hard to find. The work was therefore delayed by some years. I must say, however, that this delay was lucky for me, as the editor. It was only because of this delay that I had the opportunity of inspecting and examining the *parabaiks* in the National Library.

Editing Methods

There are three *parabaik* volumes of the *Rajadhammasangaha* in the National Library, which is the successor to the former Barnard Library. The order in which I examined them was:--

1. One *parabaik,* given the temporary number Kha 122-124, containing the *Rajadhammasangaha*, preface, part 2 and part 3 to the end, with the *nigon*;

2. One *parabaik*, given the temporary number Kha 125-127, containing the preface, part 2 and part 3 to the end, with the *nigon*;

3. One *parabaik*, given the temporary number Kha 128-133, containing the book, from beginning to the end, from preface to *nigon*.

I was able to make the full acquaintance of these three *parabaik*s. For the purpose of U Htein Win's new edition of the *Rajadhammasangaha* I was given access to the National Library and based my editing on the *parabaik* numbered Kha 128-133, out of the three mentioned. However, where at some points I found that the text seemed to be corrupt, either by grammatical errors or by faded writing[7], I compared the *parabaik* copy with the Thuriya edition for emendation.

Apart from the Pali texts of the Buddha's teachings, the *Rajadhammasangaha* contains Pali *gathas* of the *niti* writers as well as Pali *gathas* composed by U Bo Hlaing himself. In the Pali texts which U Bo Hlaing quotes we do find some slight differences from the authorised texts. Where this was the case, I have made emendations to conform with the texts of the Sixth Sangayana. Apart from such cases, I have preserved U Bo Hlaing's original notes as he arranged them.

Pali texts, other than those of the Buddha's teachings, I have set down as they appear in the *parabaik.* However, where I have found the Pali verses corrupted, I have done my best to correct them, referring to the Thuriya edition. Where I found the passage corrupt both in the *parabaik* and the Thuriya text, I have made amendments, consulting with and getting the agreement of Pali scholars at the Kusalavati Press.

Details appear in the editor's various notes. However, there will be little to be gained from pointing out errors, whether arising from a lack of clarity in handwriting, or from printing mistakes, or from common usage solecisms that have crept in from the notes. In such cases the editor has used his discretion in amending. There are pretty few of these cases.

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7 Writing on *parabaiks* was usually done with a soapstone crayon and was easily rubbed off. It was not really considered permanent.

The Book's Author

A biography of U Bo Hlaing is to be found in the Okgu inscription set up after his death at his funeral. I have not, however, seen and read this inscription myself and have only copied the rubbing prepared by U Maung Maung Tin M.A., the retired lecturer on Burmese inscriptions at the Mandalay University.

In the issue of the *Tou-htet-yei* [Progress] magazine for the 1st October 1936, there appeared a "Life of the Yaw Mingyi" by U Ba Yin of Hanthawadi as a summary of a "Life of the Yaw Mingyi" by the Thandaw-zin, Minhla Minhtinyaza, in a magazine.

Subsequently, the Hmawbi Hsaya Theingyi, in the 1st July 1937 issue of the *To-htet-yei,* makes reference to "Thandawzin U Su Pan's personal account". There also appeared the headings, "Article by the country's leading Hsayadaw" and "Example of the Yaw Mingyi". At about the same time as these articles there appeared a book by the Hmawbi Hsaya Theingyi, "Lives of Ministers under the Kingdom", in which one heading was "The Yaw Atwinwun U Bo Hlaing". The Thandawzin Minhla Minhtinyaza, mentioned by Hanthawadi U Ba Yin in his "Life" is the same man as the Thandawzin U Hsu Pan, who is named by the Hmawbi Hsayadaw Theingyi. The data in the Okgu inscription about the Shweipyi Wungyi shows in detail that the Thandawzin U Hsu Pan received the title Minhla Minhtinyaza. In fact, there is practically no difference between the accounts of the Okgu inscription, U Hsu Pan's notes, Hanthawadi U Ba Yin's article and the Hmawbi Hsayadaw's book. However, in the Hmawbi Hsayadaw's article "The Example of the Yaw Mingyi" and in his book, "Lives of the Ministers of Burma", there are some data that come from what he himself had heard.

In giving his account of the life of U Bo Hlaing, the author will base himself upon the notes, article and book that have been mentioned. However, for some very fine details of the Life, along with these basic authorities I have quoted from both English and Burmese texts where they are in agreement and fill in facts, so as to be as complete as possible.

In editing the *Rajadhammasangaha* while following these authorities, I also hoped to meet and to consult with people who were acquainted with the family and affairs of its author. However, circumstances allowed me no opportunity to consult in this way. People who had been close to the Yaw Myoza at the time of the publication of his work told me firmly that they could give nothing at all new to complete the tale. After this I followed the advice of the Myaungmya Hsayadaw.

As I have said, I do not know what name his parents originally gave to our author. It was as U Bo Hlaing that he gained his fame. In the old usage of Burma, one who had received a special title, special renown, or a special position and office lost his personal name and was referred to only by his title, his special claim to fame, or his office. Now, when I as editor wish to introduce him to the reader, I believe that it will fall better upon the ear if I use today's custom and introduce him by his personal name. For instance, U Bo Hlaing's great-grandfather was once the Shweipyi Wungyi. There are many Shweipyi Wungyis mentioned in the Chronicles and, if you wish to know which Shweipyi Wungyi is intended, it is only by writing the personal name that it will be correct. For this reason I shall make a practice of calling the author of the *Rajadhammasangaha* U Bo Hlaing.

However, whenever there is a question of referring to his position and office, I shall refer to him by his title and rank.

Maung Hlaing

U Bo Hlaing was born to the Yeinangyaung Myoza, Yindaw Wungyi, Thadou Minhlakyawhtin and his lady, Me Ngyein, on Thursday, the 10th waxing of Hnaung Tagu, 1191 [1830], during the reign of King Bagyidaw, founder of the fourth capital at Ratanapura. The land of his birth was the village Ywapule in the upper part of Myingyan, nearby to Talokmyo. His proper name was Maung Bo Hlaing, but some called him affectionately Maung Hlaing.

U Bo Hlaing's family was a line of Ministers as is set out in part of the *nigon* which the author appended to this book. At the time when Bodawhpaya was first elevated to the throne as King, among his soldiers he had as his confidant an important Minister, Shweipyiwun and Warden of the Left Entry. The Warden's son-in-law became a Chief Secretary, and he, in turn, had one son. This son of the Chief Secretary was brought up with the future Bagyidaw in his childhood as his companion and, when they grew up he, as a soldier, became a general with the title Thadou Minhlakyawhtin. This general is best known under the style of the Yindaw Wungyi. The Yindaw Wungyi's son was U Bo Hlaing. U Bo Hlaing, like his grandfather, the Left Entry Warden, became the Shweipyiwun and also King Mindon's companion in arms. From the time of his grandfather down to his own, therefore, there was an unbroken line of military service by three generations to three kings in succession. U Bo Hlaing brought much prestige to his post of Shweipyiwun.

In certain records it is said that the Shweipyiwun and Left Entry Warden had the name U Tàw in his youth, but the Shweipyiwun, U Bo Hlaing, who was the grandson of the Shweipyiwun U Tàw, says that his grandfather "held a position like that of the Kuvera Natmin". We find that U Maung Maung Htin, the retired Wundauk[8], in the first part of his "List of Palace Locutions" says "the Left Entry Warden carries the Sword with the right hand of the Kuvera-nat pressing upon his neck, and records the King's remedies." He says that the officer who is the Left Entry Warden, since his is a high duty, has a place that is to be compared with that of the Kuvera-nat.

Apart from the name of U Taw, there are other differences: in the Shweipyiwun-gyi's book, *Alinka Nissaya*; the editor, the Pali scholar, Hsaya Dnyan, and Hsaya U Htun Nyunt, show in their biography of the author that the father of U Bo Hlaing, the Yindaw Myoza was nicknamed U Pu. The biography mentioned says that U Pu was the nephew of the Yindaw Hsayadaw, who received the title Atulacakka for the introductions that he wrote for religious texts; and that he became the Yeinangyaung Myoza. "Accounts of Scholars", by the Hmawbi Hsayadaw Theingyi, states that the Yindaw Wungyi was the first tutor of the Yeinangyaung Mingyi, U Sou. In the English records it is noted that the Yindaw Wungyi was a good Sanskrit scholar and that he was on good terms with foreigners who visited the country.

8 This is the writer of the Konbaungzet Mahayazawin -- also known as Mandalay U Tin.

Time versus Man

Time lays its authority on a man but if the man accepts time's authority unresistingly, his history has no brilliance: it is a dead thing.

A man can rebel against time, but although in their struggle men wrestle inconclusively, human history advances -- it gains brilliance.

The life of the Shweipyiwun, U Bo Hlaing, is an example of an history of a struggle against time.

Consequently, to understand about U Bo Hlaing it is necessary to understand the time in which he lived.

The time in which U Bo Hlaing was born was a black period in the history of Burma.

Throughout the course of Burmese history the holders of supreme power had never been other than people of Burma. Generally, however, if we look at history with open eyes, we will find that the unity of the peoples of Burma has been broken from time to time and it has sometimes come to seem like a collection of different sovereign kingdoms. The Burmese people once had to accept the chaos which was the penalty when the great kingdom of Pagan was suddenly brought down. They had to accept the penalty of Shan domination -- as in the proverb, "Three Gs and the bael fruit is a hammer"[9]. At Sagaing, Pinya, Ava and Myinsaing the Burmese people had to pay the cost of their disunion and of their several power centers. They frequently waged war upon their own kindred and neighbours, so that they had to pay the cost of the fear of war also. On the other hand, they also made efforts in various ways to avoid these penalties. It is plain from the Chronicles that such efforts were directed towards rebuilding an all-embracing kingdom of Burma with its peoples in unity, so that the name of Burma might not be lost, with the Burmese, the Shans, the Mons and the Arakanese, it might be said, each in their turn holding the power. Just as in Europe, by the laws of history, the territories of feudal lords were little by little brought into union to create a national territory; so the Burmese united their fortified towns and villages so as to make a kingdom.

Thus the Burmese people, as is the way of peoples of a free country, advanced noticeably. They developed a class of rulers, and consequently the customs of the peoples of the various lands to the east merged on equal terms with those of the Burmese.

While in the land of Burma the customs and the course of history of the peoples of the East were becoming increasingly unified, in the West, in Europe, it could be seen that the customs and the course of history were developing similarly. At this period, by a remarkable change in the times, there came about the 16th century turn to new techniques that is known as the "renaissance".

9 *Ga-nge thòn-hkú /ú-shit htú*; meaning?

The First Period of Expansion

Maung Bo Hlaing was born in a time which saw the beginning of imperial expansion. The peoples of Europe -- the Spanish, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Italians, the Germans, the English and the rest, in the course of their ventures to various parts of the world, interested themselves in the lands bordering the seas of the easternmost parts of the world. The Spanish and the Portuguese were the first to cross the Pacific Ocean and to come into the Indian Ocean. They were followed by the French and the English.

The first exponents of this expansion in Burma were the Portuguese.

From about the year 1510 on, envoys were sent from the Portuguese to the kings of Burma with proposals for the establishment of relationships between the countries upon equal terms. By the middle of the 16th century, there were Portuguese living in Yodaya, Pegu, Taungngu, Arakan and other countries of south Asia making a living as mercenary soldiers in the service of the kings for their wars within these lands. The Burmese Chronicles tell the well-known story of how Tabinshweihti grew familiar with his Portuguese and how this was his undoing[10]. Early in the 1700s again, a Portuguese named Philip de Brito (called Nga Zinga by the Burmese) became involved in the affairs of Burma, to their great annoyance. In 1613 King Anaukpetlun laid siege to Nga Zinga in Syriam and eradicated his designs for expansion. From this time the power of the Portuguese little by little disappeared from Burma.

Nevertheless, the advance of empire did not come to a halt. The English, the Dutch and the French moved in to take the place of the Portuguese. In 1599, the year of King Nandabayin's death and of the destruction of the Pegu kingdom, the English established themselves in Pegu and the English East India company set up their factory. In rivalry, the Dutch East India Company was established in 1602. This company was set up to keep the English from getting a foothold in Burma, even if at a loss. The interval gave Burma a time of freedom of action. At this time, the French East India Company too gained a foothold in the country.

In the mid-18th century the rivalry between the French and the English companies began to have violent effects in the kingdom of Burma. After the great Alaunghpaya had restored the kingdom, the English and the French carried on their intrigues in Burma with the Mons.

First of all the English, to keep in line with the French, planted a factory (*alok-yon*) of the East India Company in Syriam as a foothold and then, in 1753, after building a small fort in Syriam, opened up their foothold near to the the Maw-tin Point in the Hainggyi Island. After King Alaunghpaya turned the course of the war in 1756, he destroyed both the factory in Syriam in 1756 and, in 1757-8, its extension in Hainggyi Island, so as to leave no trace behind.

This was not the end of the plans for expansion. In 1797 the English, in hopes of a victory in their rivalry with the French, returned to make a treaty with the Burmese, and in this year the Governor[11] of British India sent Captain Michael Symes as his envoy to King Hsinbyushin at Ava. From this time on, the rivalry between the English and the

10 The Portuguese introduced him to hard liquor, it is said.

11 The word used, *bayin-hkan,* usually is translated "viceroy", but this would be an anachronism. The word only came into use for the Governor-general of India after 1857.

French became deeply entangled in the affairs of Burma, and for the Burmese there were few spells of relief from their prickings. In 1824 came the first war between the English and the Burmese.

Up to this time the Burmese had never had to accept the superiority of other people except to the extent that that of the immediate royal family was accepted. They had never had to accept the superiority of people from another land who were not of royal race. Now, however, it had to be faced.

Therefore, when it came to dealings with people who could not claim royalty, eastern customs and rules of intercourse had to change and allow for different customs used by other peoples. In dealing with the rulers of other lands, the kings of Burma had dealt directly and on equal terms. Now, however, they had to deal with an imperialistic power and it was not a matter of dealing directly and on equal terms between nations, as they had with the Portuguese; they must deal now with the East India Company, now with the Governor. Successive kings of Burma never learned to handle such dealings with skill.

When peace was made to end the first Anglo-Burmese War, the Burmese and the English concluded a treaty at Yandabou. It was a treaty in which the Burmese agreed to follow the custom of westerners in relationships with other lands. In particular, it was a treaty in which the stronger party imposed his ideas upon the weaker. In clause #7 of the treaty it was provided that an agent of the Governor was permitted to live in the Burmese capital (Ava) with a guard of fifty soldiers. Reciprocally, the Burmese king might maintain a guard of fifty soldiers for his agent living in the Governor's capital of Calcutta. As for the Burmese, they had few reasons to want to appoint an agent in Calcutta on a permanent basis. The peoples of the East were accustomed, if any special point of business arose in connection with their dealings with another country, to send an envoy specifically for that business and to see it settled. The English, on the other hand, wished to establish a permanent agency, hoping to extend its scope beyond commerce. Wishing to give life to clause #7 of the Yandabou treaty, the Governor of British India sent as his agent to Ava Major Henry Burney (referred to in the Burmese chronicle as "*Me-se Ba-ni"*). Burney arrived at Ava on the 24th of April 1830. At the time of his arrival, the child Maung Bo Hlaing was only one month old. Maung Bo Hlaing, born at the beginning of the period of imperial expansion, was to live a life always involved in Anglo-Burmese relations.

The Tradition of the Myawadi Wungyi, U Za

If we study as a whole the times of U Bo Hlaing, as they have been described, we can recognise one particular characteristic. This is that as their polity came under pressure from a powerful foreign people, the Burmese were forced to work hard to develop their ability and courage. The times of the Myawadi Wungyi, U Za, are notable for this. After King Alaunghpaya had succeeded in unifying the country, during the reign of Hsinbyushin Burma came to the peak of its power. Under King Bodawhpaya there was a time of peace and prosperity during which Burmese literature and art, customs and culture were displayed; the customs and cultures of neighbouring countries were systematically

studied and the task of expanding the basis of Burmese unity was worked on. In 1151 (CE 1789), on the orders of the Einsheimin, a committee was formed, including the Myawadi Wungyi, U Za, the Pyinse Prince, Rama-yagan U Htou and other distinguished people, to translate the Dantari from Ayuddha (Gwyan country) and from Haribunca (Yun country) into Burmese. Accompaniments for plays and songs in the style of Yodaya were composed. In 1182 (CE 1820) the Myawadi Wungyi, U Za, submitted a report to the King on researches carried out on the subject of the thirty-seven Nat Lords. In this time too there were brought in from India books in Sanskrit, Nagari and English, writings on medicine, science, and astrology, which were translated into Burmese and studied widely. In Burney's notes it is said that the Myawadi Wungyi, U Za, had a great wish that the knowledge and skills of the European peoples should be acquired by the Burmese. At heart, the Myawadi Wungyi had a great wish for progress in mathematics and this wish was shared by many Burmese scholars. Following this wish, during the reigns of Kings Bagyidaw and Thayawadi, the well-known Met-hkara Prince made abridgments of English books and studied them with the help of an English trader named Mr. Rogers. In association with another Englishman named Mr. Lane, he worked on a translation into Burmese of Reece's Encyclopedia. He also prepared an English-Burmese dictionary. Books of physics, algebra and astronomy were collected and handed out to the people as the gift of knowledge.

The Met-hkara Prince was a son of King Bodawhpaya; he was born in 1153 (CE 1792) and named Maung Myou. He held the title of Minyekyawzwa and was given the appanage of Met-hkara in the Ban-kyi district. He died in 1210 (CE 1848)[12]. Study of the works of the Myawadi period shows that the disposition of that time was to establish the traditional Burmese culture on a firm basis, while laying a foundation for knowledge that might come from India and Europe as opportunity offered. This time can be compared with the Renaissance in Europe: U Bo Hlaing was born to the heritage of that tradition. To show the relationship between U Bo Hlaing's lifetime and that of U Za, at the time of U Bo Hlaing's birth, U Za was 63 years old and, when U Za died at the age of 86, U Bo Hlaing was 23.

When Maung Bo Hlaing was of an age to begin his schooling, following the manner of his people and his time, he got his learning in a monastery in accordance with the Burmese custom. His first instructor was a senior monk, whose birthplace was Kyabou village in Talok township. When he was old enough to enter upon the novitiate, he became a novice in the monastery of the Kyabou Hsaya.

Confusion in the Country's affairs and the Yindaw Wungyi

In the year 1200 (CE 1838) the affair known as the affair of the Thayawuti Prince came up. The Prince deposed Bagyidaw and took the throne himself. In this change in the kingship and the ensuing disturbances the Myawadi Wungyi, U Za, lost his position and was confined to his house. In this matter Major Burney, pleading that he was

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12 The Met-hkara Prince was more or less crippled -- spastic, maybe? -- which kept him from the usual occupations of the princes.

mediating between Bagyidaw and the Thayawuti Prince, intervened in the affairs of the state, going far beyond the schedule of duties laid down in the treaty of Yandabou. For this reason, during the reign of King Thayawuti, Burney became *persona non grata* at the Burmese court. The Governor-general of British India, Lord Auckland, reprimanded him and recalled him.

It is unlikely that the nine year old novice Maung Bo Hlaing understood much of the meaning of the country's troubles, but seven years later, as a youth of 16, he came to experience for himself an example of the sort of events that may naturally be met with by courtiers because of such disturbances.

The circumstance was this. King Thayawuti with his own hand killed the Yindaw Wungyi, the father of Maung Bo Hlaing.

Of this, in his "Life of the Shweipyi Wungyi", U Hsu Pan says, "On the 7th waxing of Nayon, 1206, at the fifth hour of the day, the Lord of Life, the Great King, was just going out to the temporary palace, the *deì-wùn* where he was to stay, when U Bo Hlaing's father, the Yindaw Wungyi, reached the fated point at which he must leave this world: his Lord was afflicted with anger -- he paid for the royal favour with his life - the former patterns failed and he departed this life." However, the account in the Konbaungzet Chronicle (vol. III) of the end of the Yindaw Wungyi on the 6th waning of Wagaung, 1207, is as follows:--

> In 1207 King Thayawuti suspected that his son, the Prince of Pyi, might be about to stage a rebellion, and to investigate this matter he had summoned the Prince with the Yindaw Wungyi, the Elephant Wun, the Nyaungbingyi General, the Myowun of Ava, the Sagaing General, General Nat-kyaw, Nga Yit (the retired Zaw Atwin-wun), and the Left hand Thandawzin, to confer. First of all the King ordered the execution of Nga Yit, the retired Zaw Atwinwun, and the Left-hand Thandawzin. On the sixth waning day of Wagaung of 1207 the Yindaw Wungyi was brought to the palace and examined. The Yindaw Wungyi candidly agreed that he had discussed matters with the Pyi Prince. King Thayawuti then on the north stair at the entrance to the temporary palace, himself, with the spear that he carried, wounded the Yindaw Wungyi and ordered him carried outside of the palace. When the Yindaw Wungyi reached a point outside of the left-hand door, he died.

The Education of Maung Bo Hlaing

The widow of the Yindaw Wungyi now had her son, only 17 years old, the novice Maung Bo Hlaing, leave the novitiate and return to the laity. She handed him over, along with whatever gold, silver and other resources she possessed, to the Mindon Prince, who in turn handed him over to the Lord of the Northern House[13]**.** Thus, Maung Bo Hlaing received an elevation by being the client of both the Mindon Prince and of the Crown Prince. It is said that he received an upbringing no different from that of a son of the

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13 The Crown Prince usually had a house to the north of the king's palace - but this is anticipating: Mindon-min was not yet King, nor the Kanaung Prince the heir

Prince himself. On orders of his two patrons he re-entered the novitiate and at first was given in care to the Pin Hsayadaw, who had the title Kavindabhi Sirisadhammadaza Mahadhammarajadhirajaguru. The Hsayadaw's name in the laity was U Lun Pyei and in religion was U Kavinda. Later, Maung Bo Hlaing heard the Medhabhivamsa Pyi Hsayadaw (who had the title Saddhammadaza Mahadhammarajadhirajaguru) ask "Are you going to be so careful in your studies that you'll be fully skilled in the books of grammar, in analysis, in every way of putting words together and rearranging them?" The Pyi Hsayadaw's name in the laity was U Gyi and in religion, U Medha. Later, U Bo Hlaing was attached to the Bagaya Thathanabaing of the Panya-jotabhivamsa, who held the title Siripavaravijayalankara Dhammasenapati Mahadhamma-rajadhirajaguru, from whom he received the wise advice, "Strive with new vigour towards the true mark -- in the area of *dhamma* -- in the area of attention -- in the area of method: Keep strictly to your path, always upward and no negligence". The Bagara Thathanabaing's name in the laity was U In and in religion it was U Panyajota.

Considering the reputation of these teachers we must agree that Maung Bo Hlaing from his youth had the benefit of the very best education.

Before the eyes of this student novice monk, Maung Bo Hlaing, historical events were taking place. During the reign of Pagan-min the country's administration had gone to pieces. In the section of the Konbaungzet Mahayazawin that deals with the reign of Pagan-min, it is said that this king appointed a Muslim *baing-zet*[14], whose name is recorded as Nga Paing That, as a Myowun and gave him high promotion. This Nga Paing That is said to have "habitually raided people's homes by night, to have robbed them of their money and food, and to have thrown them into prison and beaten them" and thus the territory was grievously distressed. When this came to the ears of Pagan-min, he terminated the appointment of the Myo-wun, Nga Paing That, of the town clerk, Nga Pein and the rest of the gang on the 7th waning day of Nadaw, 1213. Even so, because of the mischief of Nga Paing That, both the king, as lord of the country, and the people were no longer united in purpose. This provided an opportunity for encroachers. The Burmese histories tell how Commodore Lambert, the captain of a warship from India, under British rule, claimed that people living under the protection of the British flag had been wronged by the Hanthawady Myo-wun and, in pursuit of his claim, one night surrounded a ship belonging to the King with two steam tugs and hauled it away. From this arose the second Anglo-Burmese War. On the 8th waning day of Tagu, 1213, the English army (after the Burmese New Year) penetrated the Rangoon river with their warships and opened an attack upon the signal station and the forts. They captured Pegu in Nadaw of that year (the 20th December, 1852).

While the English were thus for the second time annexing a part of the Burmese territory, in Amarapura the situation of the administration grew worse and worse. Cases of banditry and such crimes became common. It seemed that in the city and in the palace everything had been left in the hands of those people who could only make mischief. Because of such mischief-making, the Mindon prince and his brother the Kanaung Prince found themselves rumoured to have taken part in some of the dacoities around the capital. For this reason the Mindon Prince and his brother the Kanaung Prince in the evening of

14 Meaning uncertain: Perhaps "of mixed ancestry", or, just possibly, "a filing clerk".

the eighth waxing day of Pyatho left the city by the "four island" gate at the extreme northern end of its east side. At Mattara they influenced the people and, with the intention of raising a rebellion against their brother, Pagan-min, set off for the city of Yadana-theinga (Shweibo).

At about this time Maung Bo Hlaing changed his dress from that of a novice for a layman's. This is what oral history has to tell. From what the Aye-daw-bon has to say, however, the Myawadi Myoza, U Za, with his people came to the Medi monastery where Maung Bo Hlaing was studying and made a search for him. However, the searchers failed to find U Bo Hlaing who was repeating the *pathan 24 paccaya* in the Medi monastery's ordination hall. In any case, Maung Bo Hlaing saw his danger and set off, as it is said, on the tail of the Mindon Prince. In any case we can state, following the chronicle story, that Maung Bo Hlaing followed the Prince.

In the events of 1214, Maung Bo Hlaing's skill and maturity were exemplary. From his first arrival in the sphere of worldly action he showed a capability, a power of planning and authority equal to that of a man of long and valuable experience.

On the 11th waxing day of Pyatho, 1214, the brother Princes had arrived at the Nyaungbingyi campground of Ta-on village close by Yadanatheinga city[15]. At this point it seemed that the Mindon Prince's force was threatened with attack from two sides. From Amarapura a strong body of regular infantry was pressing hard in pursuit of the Princes. At the same time the Governor of Yadanatheinga had brought in a body of armed regular *ahmudan* posted in the villages of the forty-six cavalry units' territories, and was preparing resistance. Looking at the forces involved, Pagan-min was much the stronger and the Mindon Prince the weaker; for this reason it was hard for him to collect followers.

In these circumstances Nga Dok Kyi, the head man of Nganmya village, submitted his ideas. "Half your people are shaky and half are solid", he said. If the Princes wanted to keep them united in mind and in heart, they should push on to the Khasi border country. "There you can plan according to what luck offers you." Maung Bo Hlaing, however, had watched the army men and musketeers in Yadanatheinga and had seen signs that "the service men are essentially disturbed in their minds and hearts"; his advice was that an early attack should be made upon Yadanatheinga to keep up their momentum. In fact, if they went and hid in the villages of the Khasi country and watched events from there, the service men would regard their followers as enemies of their king. The military mind regarded the first strike as best and so long as they planned upon action, their royal schemes would succeed. Nga Shwei Zo, who would later become the Yeinangyaung Wungyi, supported this advice and the Mindon Prince accepted the plan offered.

The Mindon Prince agreed with Maung Bo Hlaing's plans and made his attack upon Yadanatheinga; on the 12th waxing day of Nayon his hopes were fulfilled. Prince Mindon therefore came to rely upon the ability of Maung Bo Hlaing and secretly considered adopting him. He gave him the title of Minhlasithu and made him the Yaw Myoza. Because he was thus promoted along with the King's brother and sons with no differentiation, Maung Bo Hlaing at the age of 23 years became known as "the Yaw

15 Shweibo

Myoza Prince".

Prince Mindon, thus making Yadanatheinga his base camp, advanced to attack Amarapura, which he captured on the 11th waxing day of Tabaung, 1214. On this day King Pagan was deposed and King Mindon began his reign.

The Yaw Myoza's Experience of Foreign Relations

As soon as King Mindon was installed upon the throne, he had to begin negotiations to end the Anglo-Burmese War and to make peace. On the 14th waning day of Hnaung-tagu the Burmese negotiators met the British at Pyi and held discussions. The English demanded a money indemnity, as they had done previously in the Yandabou treaty. In addition, they had annexed Pegu. On this account the Burmese who had come to the discussions could not sign a peace treaty at Pyi.

According to the Shwei-pyi Wungyi's inscription at the Brick Cave (Ok-gu), the Yaw Myoza Prince was the receiver of the tax on horses and he had also received an appointment as *kalawun*[16]. The "tax on horses" means the tax that was charged to traders on the baggage animals -- horses, mules, or oxen -- that they brought in in the course of their business.

The statement that Maung Bo Hlaing had the office of *kalawun* needs examination. The Konbaung Chronicle states that King Mindon, as soon as he was secure in his position, appointed Mackertich[17], previously the Myoza of Zaingganaing, to be *kalawun*, with the title of Mahaminhtin-thihathu. It also states that when discussions for peace were |held at Pyi in 1214 the *kalawun*, Mahaminhtin-thihathu, was included in the delegation. Again, on the occasion of the dispatch of a mission to Calcutta for peace discussions on the 14th waning day of Tawthalin, 1216, it states that the *kalawun*, Mahaminhtin-thihathu, was the second ranking envoy that was sent. Seeing the coherence of the Chronicle statements, we may have to conjecture that "Mahamin-gaung Thiha-thu" and "Maha-min-htin Thihathu" refer to the same man. The English records show Mackertich as the *kalawun*. According to the present day spelling, Mackertich is now written Mokkatit.

Generally speaking, the kings of Burma, in making appointments of the *kalawuns*, used to look to Armenians, Turks, Malays, or other people of foreign origin, other than western, who were born and domiciled in the kingdom and owed allegiance to the king. For this reason, the story in the Okgu inscription that U Bo Hlaing was appointed *kalawun*, however definitely it is stated, places a responsibility upon researchers in our own times of examining it closely in hope of establishing how it was attached to U Bo Hlaing. According to the historical records, *kalawuns* of the type of Mackertich carried on the duty of interpreters. U Bo Hlaing was no interpreter. When the leaders of foreign missions were brought into the king's presence, he used to listen carefully to the interpretation and deliver a summary and estimation of what they said. Later on he would give his advice on the country's policy to the king. In fact U Bo Hlaing was made

16 Official in charge of foreigners

17 Of a long-established Armenian family.

upanissaya[18] to the Magwe Mingyi, who held charge of foreign affairs. It is believable that he had heavy responsibilities in foreign affairs as son-in-law of the Magwe Mingyi.

The Magwe Mingyi

In 1215 U Bo Hlaing, now with the title Minhlasithu and Myoza of Yaw married Khin Hpyu, the daughter of the Magwe Myoza, the Wungyi Thadomingyi Mahaminhla-thihathu. His bride was born on the second waning day of Nadaw, 1195. U Bo Hlaing was now 24 years old while Khin Hpyu was 20.

The personal name of the Magwe Myoza Wungyi, now U Bo Hlaing's father-in-law, was U Kya U. U Kya U had received his appointment as a minister under King Thayawadi; he had been in charge of granaries. He was a person of keen spirit and high energy. The Hmawbi Hsaya Theingyi, in his book "Biographies of Ministers of Burma", speaks of him as follows: "When the Konbaung King (Thayawudi) went mad and with his spear wounded and killed the Yaw Myoza, the Shweipyiwun, the father of U Bo Hlaing, he [U Kya U] put the King under restraint and handed the throne over to the Pagan Prince, the King's son." Under King Pagan, U Kya U had charge of Mindaingbin and was Myoza of Kyaukpadaung. In 1214, in the Mindon Prince's rebellion, when the Prince took Amarapura, it was U Kya U who opened the city gate for him. Under King Mindon, he still held his original lordship of Magwe with the titles Thadomingyi Mahahlasithu and Aggamahasenapati. About this time negotiations were in hand for ending the second Anglo-Burmese war, and in 1217 a mission headed by Major Phayre visited the capital.

From this time on, until the affair of the Myingun and Myingondaing Princes in 1228[19], U Kya U carried on the duty of conducting relations with foreign countries. At a later date, in his article in the Guardian Magazine of December 1964, Vivian Ba, who himself served on a mission to France and Italy, writing in connection with the state scholar, Maung Shwei Ou, who became well-known as the Hpangyetwun[20], quotes correspondence between Aggamahasenapati Minhla Thihathu (the Magwe Mingyi) and the French Foreign Minister, M. Drouyn de Lhuys in 1886.[21]

It is not true that the Magwe Mingyi was directly involved in the affair of the Myingun and Myingondaing Princes. The rebels, however, did take him in the Hluttaw and he was confined by them there. However, he had on occasion helped them with provisions and he admitted this before King Mindon. In the opinion of the Hmawbi Hsaya Theingyi, the King was acting as judge in his own cause when he issued the order, "Live or dead, his property is confiscated; he is dismissed from all offices; all his friends

18 Dict. "support"; perhaps "personal assistant".

19 The nearly successful 1866 rebellion in which the Kanaung Prince was killed.

20 One of the deputy ministers in the 1872-3 mission to Paris and London

21 Something wrong here: Drouyn de Lhuys ceased to be Foreign minister in 1866 and died in 1881 - error for 1866?

and kindred are to be cast into the fire[22], he must kill himself." However, the Magwe Mingyi had bravely confessed his fault and King Mindon allowed him to live. He actually promoted him to the title of Thettawsheimingyi and granted him the right to use a *kyauksi* walking stick. Nevertheless, from this time on the Magwe Mingyi disappears from history.

The Yaw Myoza -- Atwinwun

According to the Ok-gu inscription of the Shweipyiwun, Maung Bo Hlaing, at the age of twenty-eight, with the title Mingyi Minhla Mahasithu, received his promotion to be an Atwinwun and Myoza of Yaw. It says that he drew his revenues from twelve sources, from tolls, earth-oil, markets, entertainments, guard-posts and ferries. In the Okgu inscription for the Shweipyiwun's wife it is said that the Wungyi's wife at the age of 24, as the wife of the Yaw Myoza Atwinwun, had the right to use a gilded carriage and *moklakana*[23], as being one of the four wives of ministers who replied to the King's questions[24]. According to this inscription also, U Bo Hlaing, as Atwinwun, was in charge of cutting the letters of the Tripitaka on to stone.

In the *nigons* of the books *Lilavati* and *Rajadhammasangaha* it is also stated that at the age of twenty-nine U Bo Hlaing was given Yaw to be his personal appanage by King Mindon and an appointment to be *Atwin Senapati*[25].

In the Konbaung Chronicle the first mention of U Bo Hlaing is the note that in preparation for the holding of the Fifth Sangayana the task of inscribing the Tripitaka on to stone was entrusted to the Atwinwun, the Hkanpat Myoza, Mingyi Mahathiriuzana, to the Atwinwun, the Yaw Myoza, Mingyi Mahaminhlasithu, and to the Hkinmaminwun, the Maingkaing Myoza, Mahathirizeyyathu, among others. The work of engraving the Pitaka on to slabs of white *thalin* brought from Sakyindaung ("Alabaster Hill") was begun on the first waxing day of Tazaungmon 1222 and continued until its completion on the 14th waxing day of Kason 1230.

Now he was Myoza of Yaw, Prince, and Atwinwun; it was only five years since Mindon had ascended the throne. Nevertheless, in those five years he had received rapid promotion in the conduct of foreign affairs. In view of this rapid promotion we must consider gains and losses.

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22 Probably the words reported were uttered by the King in a rage - real or assumed. When a formal order was drawn up in the Byedaik and Hluttaw, it would be softened.

23 Something to do with pearls.

24 At the *anaukpwedet* ceremonies for the Chief Queen

25 "Inner lord of the army" - apparently a general charge of Palace security

Foreign Relations in King Mindon's Time

After the end of fighting in the second Anglo-Burmese war late in 1213, the English and the Burmese held discussions about making peace. During these consultations the wrangles of Anglo-French rivalry continued as before. In these circumstances King Mindon, skilled in statecraft, set about establishing a situation from which advantage might be derived for the Burmese, even in their powerless state[26]. With almost half its territory in the hands of the foreigner, Burma was a small state between the two great states of England and France. There had to be a model of conducting foreign relations which would preserve its independence and dignity.

In 1216, on the 14th waning day of Tawthalin, King Mindon appointed the Chief Queen's Wungyi, Minmaha Mingaungyaza, to be his ambassador and sent him to Calcutta to discuss terms on which the Pegu district (also called Hanthawadi) might be returned to Burma. But this had no success. In a return mission, on the sixth waning day of Tawthalin, 1217 (13th September 1853) the Commissioner, Sir A.P. Phayre, came as the envoy and was received by the King. The English gave the Burmese details of the annexation of Hanthawadi and a treaty of peace to terminate the Anglo-Burmese war was discussed. The English, however, did not attain their ends. It is true that later on there was a commercial treaty which opened the way to trade and that the two countries agreed on the exchange of representatives for the preservation of friendly relations, but there is nothing in the subsequent history of Burma similar to the Yandabou peace treaty. This shows how the Burmese have maintained an independent attitude in their foreign relationships.

In 1217 King Mindon appointed Minhtin Mahayaza as his envoy and sent him to the court of the French King [the Emperor Napoleon III]. The purpose of the mission was to form a closer connection with the French, the main rivals of the English. In the meantime an American Christian missionary, Kincaid[27], had audience of King Mindon and presented him with a book, “Burmese History and Arithmetic”. King Mindon, making use of this missionary, dispatched a formal message to President Buchanan suggesting the exchange of goodwill missions, and in 1218 an American mission of goodwill arrived in Mandalay. We can thus see the growth of Burma's relations with foreign lands.

From this expansion of the work of foreign affairs there was a mixture of gains and losses. If we look at the gains, we can see that the connection with the peoples of Western Europe opened eyes to knowledge. However, these same peoples of Western Europe, because of the pressures of imperialism, did not have the same ends in view as the Burmese and the balance was destroyed. Finally, it involved a huge loss when the entire kingdom fell into the hands of others. However, if there is good to be found amid the misfortune, it is that the Burmese, in a desire to distance themselves from the ways of Western Europe, acquired a greater disposition to try to establish the cultures of their own country and peoples. Their pride of race and xenophobia increased. Alongside their xenophobia, in a desire to challenge and do better than the foreigners, they began to try to

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26 Trying to use the English and French ambitions in the area against each other was a dangerous game. Unskillfully played by King Thibaw it led to the loss of the kingdom.

27 Kincaid was much involved in the nonsense that led to the 1852 war. He wanted it.

take advantage of the sciences of the West as opportunity offered.

Looking Forward to a New Age after a Reformation of Burmese Customs

In the years after Maung Bo Hlaing's birth in 1191, Burmese scholars edited the *Hmannan Yazawindawgyi* in five parts and thirty eight sections, from the Chronicle that was written by Maung Kala, the son of the Singaing Thahtei. This "Glass Palace Chronicle" aroused King Mindon's patriotism: he gave great importance to the chronicles of Burma and there is much significance to be found in the presentation of the arguments that he put to the various English missions.

The year 1218 was marked as the coming 2500th year of the Religion **(***sasana*[28]*)* and was designated for the holding of the Fifth Sangayana. Looking at the mere surface of this work we can say very definitely that King Mindon hoped to be regarded and honoured as the supporter of the Religion in a quite special way, beyond all other kings. If we look at the essentials, we will see that the rule was that there was a basic disposition to preserve the culture of Burma and the traditions of its peoples. King Mindon was a patriot and was well versed in the history of Burma and his plans were always to establish firmly the Buddhist religion, as being the basis of Burmese culture.

From the strength of the interest that he always took in the processes of history, King Mindon could compare the rules for the government of Burma that he had before him in the Chronicles with the actualities that had changed with the times; he wished to review the principles and to match them with this different time. We can easily find an example: in 1219 King Mindon made his plans for taxation with the intention of following the rule of not more than 10% -- "the basic rule of taxation is that it must not be obscure or uncertain; it must be collected on a definite basis." According to his plans for reform, in 1223 he established four taxation districts. In charge of the eastern district he placed Mahaminhla Mingaungthihathu; of the southern, Mahaminhtinkyaw; of the western, Mahathirithinhkaya; and of the northern, the Minister for Forests[29]. These were to manage and apportion the *thathamedha* tax. In a similar way, changes were to be brought by stages into the methods of government[30].

One point of the new vision is conspicuous. The economy of Burma, both in agriculture and trade, was based upon barter. As soon as intercourse with Europe began, it was seen that the outdated basis of the Burmese economy could increase production by the use of machinery and of a currency. Mints were established at Sagaing and at Shweitachaung; also weaving mills, rice mills, an arms factory, saw mills, sugar mills, indigo dying plants and others were set up to the number of more than fifty; we can call this the start of an industrial revolution for Burma. The bringing out all these new ideas, the setting up the new era for the Burmese economy, and the new life given to Burmese

28 The word *sasana* "a message" refers to the Buddha's teaching. In general use it refers rather to the institutions of religion, while *dhamma* is the eternal truth behind them

29 Presumably the German, Dr. Marfels

30 The phrase *yazadamathingahataya* is used in the king's order - *Rajadhammasangaha-taya*

culture -- in all these various matters, it is like in the proverb “Salt from Pegu is always salty”; all come back to U Bo Hlaing.

The Kanaung Prince

However, during the time of King Mindon, the leader in action, the sower of the seed, was the Heir Apparent, the Kanaung Prince. From the first move of the Mindon and Kanaung Princes up to the rebellion of the Myingun and Myingondaing Princes, U Bo Hlaing was a great support to the Kanaung Prince, the leader in this time. The Kanaung Prince was a keen and skillful operator. U Bo Hlaing on the other hand had the ideas. Under the combined leadership of these two the sections of the economy that at this point were advancing had reason to expect that the kingdom of Burma would advance to become a modern state.

The Kanaung Prince was the younger full brother of King Mindon. He was born in 1181 to King Thayawadi and his Queen, the Kyaukmaw Myoza. When King Mindon reached the summit of power, the Kanaung Prince became his heir-apparent. It was at this time that English expansion brought about the second annexation of Burmese territory. For protection against the threat of further expansion, the Prince nursed the desire to see the kingdom established as an industrialised and well-armed nation. To establish it in this way, he gave great importance to acquiring the resources and technology of the West. For this purpose he planned, with the agreement of King Mindon, to send state students to foreign countries and he organised young Burmans for this. It is said that during King Mindon's reign ninety such state students were sent under this scheme to France, Italy and England.

Among the earliest of the state scholars was Maung Shwei Ou, who became well-known as the Hpangyet Wundauk[31]. He translated from English a book “Practical Compass Work” into Burmese as *Lettwe Kunpareinikyan* and presented it to the Kanaung Prince as authored by “The Thandawzin, Maung Shwei Bin, Myoza of Tawhsaukywa, whose title is Minhlayazakyawhtin”. In this book the names of five state scholars are mentioned -- Nga Shwei Bin, Nga Shwei Ou, Nga Pauk Kyaing, Nga Htun Aung and Nga Nyunt. In the Kinwun Mingyi's London Diary we can also find the names Maung Aung Thu, Maung Mye as well as others -- Maung Tayok Hpyu, Maung Tha Hta, and Maung Bo Chon. The biographies of these state scholars have been lost in the mists, but we hear that Vivian Ba and others who pursue research into the records of Burma and into its history are engaged in research into the matter of the state scholars and are writing on the subject. In this preface, however, we can do no more than refer to their names and events they were involved in.

While this effort at introducing western technology and making a new age for the Burmese kingdom was going on, in 1228 the Kanaung Prince was murdered in the course of the plot hatched by the Myingun[32] and Myingondaing Princes. With this, all the plans and projects of its leaders for renewal and reformation, for the building of an industrial

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31 Referred to earlier - fn. 16**,** p. 14

32 Text has "Mingwin" - must be an error

country, for the arming of its defence and for the other various enterprises in hand, all melted away like water into sand.

In particular, the goals of a proper defence of the country and the proper relationships with other lands little by little were lost. The hope and expectations for the modernisation of the kingdom all went to waste.

Subjects of Western Science

We should like to demonstrate so far as we know it the foresight of the leaders of Burma in the matter of the Kanaung Prince's scheme for state scholars. We mentioned above the book on "Compass Work" and its author Maung Shwei Bin. He, when he had finished his studies in the West, and returned to his country on the orders of the Kanaung Prince, translated into Burmese the subjects that he had learned. The state scholars therefore produced their "Study Books" and these are listed below. So that children of the time might read them with ease, the Burmese originals were abbreviated to fit the time available. Even so, their manner of writing follows the original.

1. A book on geology -- the science of the earth;

2. A book of mineralogy describing all kinds of rocks, ores of gold, silver, iron, and lead, rock sulphur and limestone, diamond- and jewel-bearing rocks

3. A book of botany, describing the plants that grow in the different soils of various places

4. A book of zoology, describing the animals and fishes of the land and sea

5. A book of anatomy, describing the arrangement of the 32 cavities of the body and so on

6. A book of physiology, describing how energy is produced and exchanged in living creatures -- men, animals and plants

7. A book of chemistry, describing the preparation and compounding of *bhindhu*[33] medicines, the usage of all kinds of porcelain and earthenware, glasses and mirrors, all varieties of colours -- gold and silver pigments, reds, greens, yellows and blues -- the distillation of sulphur, saltpeter, alcohol and other liquids, the different sorts of sand, the various flavours of things that are good to eat or drink, the different kinds of leathers, wirings for electric motors, methods of making photographic prints, different sorts of mercury-filled glass tubes for forecasting thunder, wind, rain, fog, fire and so on; coal-mining methods and the production of coal gas for lighting; and the production of various types of iron.

8. A book of physic, describing treatments of various diseases

9. A book of history including various peoples, with Natural History, Moral History accounting for the rise and fall of rulers, and Geography, describing the large and small land masses that make up continents and countries, their forests and mountains, rivers, seas and oceans

10. A book of mathematics covering methods of calculation such as the gold and silver rules, fractions, decimal fractions, rule of three, square roots, cube roots in

33 The basic meaning of the word seems to be "broken". Might be an error for *bindu* "a drop"

arithmetic; books of geometry dealing with compound and simple curves as well as straight lines, circumferences of circles, figures of three sides and three angles, of four and five sides and angles, variously sided figures; an elementary book of plane geometry covering figures of various boundaries, degrees of angles, the use of squared paper, comparison and calculation of areas, an elementary book of solid geometry, dealing with solid figures of three apices[*sic*], of four and five apices and the basic nature of a solid mass; a book of spherical geometry dealing with spherical triangles and quadrilaterals, as though drawn on the sphere of the heavens; a book of algebra describing methods of making various calculations set out with the use of letters

11. A book on mensuration describing methods of measuring circles, figures of three and four sides and angles. Of solid figures, the surfaces of spheres and cones, their conversions, areas of cylinders, matrices, of four and five sided prisms -- measuring length, breadth and height to obtain a surface area in square inches, hands, cubits, or *ta*, or else to obtain the volume

12. A book on architecture, which is called the *pisuka* science, showing construction methods for buildings, ships, boats and dinghies, of tunnels and bridges and so forth, using iron, timber, bricks or stone

13. A book of Plane trigonometry, which provides the basic principles of accurately determining surface areas of buildings and forested hills, or distances and dimensions of sea areas.

14. A book of spherical trigonometry, which shows how to calculate lengths, breadths and angles, distance and height relationships of figures on a curved surface at a height, such as the sky

15. A book of astronomy, which might be called a handbook of *beidin*, describing the movements of the heavenly bodies -- sun, moon, planets with the *nakshatras,* stars and comets -- and how their risings are calculated

16. A book on navigation, describing how seamen by taking measurements of the sun, moon, planets, *nakshatras* and stars, are able to direct their ships to the port that they want over the oceans where there are no signposts

17. A book on military affairs describing how bombs, artillery, musketry, and rockets go off; and other manoevres that belong in warfare

18. A book on machinery, on the mechanisms of large and small clocks; on the setting up and use of mechanical looms; on steamship and railway engines and so on; as well as various other devices used on the land and the sea.

Books of technology became available by such means.

From looking at these lists of subjects we, who come later, can assess the order of priority in which Burmans of the past, of the time of the Kanaung Prince, made their first efforts to grasp the light of western knowledge. The first to demonstrate the way to knowledge were the Badin Wundauk[34], the Hpangyet Wundauk, the Thangyet Wun and others, who were the strongest students among the youth of that time. The Hpangyet Wundauk was closely associated with U Bo Hlaing in the work of conducting foreign

34 The other deputy envoy in the 1872 London mission

relations and of education and I should like to lay out simply what I have noted about him in the course of my enquiries and later.

The Hpangyet Wundauk (born c. 1837)

I have tried and failed to establish the date of the Hpangyet Wundauk's birth. In 1870 a short biography of the Wundauk was printed in Rangoon in English. Judging from this and from the English records, we can reckon that he was seven or eight years younger than U Bo Hlaing, the Yaw Atwinwun. When he was eighteen, the youth who was to be the Hpangyet Wundauk was sent by the Kanaung Prince to the Doreton College in Calcutta where he studied English. At this time the principal of Doreton College was Dr. George Smith, who later became editor of "The Friend of India", a newspaper put out in Calcutta. It seems, from the incomplete name given in the Kinwun Mingyi's diary of his mission to France, that Dr. Smith later reported for the London "Times".

After the future Hpangyet Wundauk had studied in Calcutta for about four years, he returned to Mandalay. In the course of his travels he had become very friendly with Count Henri de Sercy. This gentleman had been sent by the French Foreign Minister, Count Walewski, to King Mindon as his personal envoy. On his return from Calcutta, the state student was now immediately sent to accompany Count de Sercy to Paris for further studies. His first task was to learn French, studying with an English professor named Johnson. This was at a French college of science known as the Pantheon, where he remained for about five years, obtaining a B.A. Degree and then going on to an M.A.. After three more years of study he obtained a diploma at the Ecole Centrale des Arts et Manufactures.

On this subject, Vivian Ba, who has been making a study of the state students, says that the school was not the Pantheon; it would have been the Lycée behind the Pantheon building. In fact the Pantheon is a Christian church. We can read in the Encyclopedia Britannica that it was built between 1754 and 1790.

In 1228, because of the death of the Kanaung Prince during the Princes' revolt, the state student had to return to Mandalay and during this time it seems probable that he was an officer on the King's personal staff[35]. In 1234 the Kinwun Mingyi was appointed to lead a mission to England and the Hpangyet Wundauk, now with the title Mahaminhtinkyawswa, was appointed to be deputy ambassador along with the Badin Wundauk who spoke English well. His title was Mahaminhlakyawhtin.

I have looked for records of the Panchet Wundauk's family connections but found none. As I have said, his personal name was Maung Shwei Ou and this name figures conspicuously in the Magwe Mingyi's letter to the French Foreign Minister[36] as well as in Maung Shwei Bin's book on compass work. When the Kanaung Prince sent a letter to the French Foreign Minister, Count Walevski, the English translation was made by the Hpangyet Wundauk and the certification that the English truly represented the original was signed by him. In spite of this it seems that the French wrote the name incompletely

35 *Wun-sú-yá*

36 See p.18 and footnote 20

as Maung Shwei, but the correct legal name was Maung Shwei Ou.

In the matter of Franco-Burmese relationships during the time between his career as a state scholar and his term of duty as deputy ambassador, the Hpangyet Wundauk seems to me to have maintained a low profile. In the Kinwun Mingyi's "London Diary" we can read of the two Wundauks' crossings back and forth between London and Paris. Nevertheless, when the Mingyi returned to Paris in 1236, he had no success both because of the effects of internal French politics upon his business and because matters did not fall out in accordance with the King's wishes. On the 1st waning day of Nayon 1236 (31 [*sic*].iv.1874) when the Mingyi returned to his hotel in the Bois de Boulogne, he found himself reading a message from the Capital, saying "The Badin Wundauk and the Hpangyet Wundauk are removed from the office of Wundauk and will revert to their former positions as Wuns." If we have to guess at the reason for their downgrading, we may reckon that it was in connection with the matter of the Franco-Burmese treaty[37], but there is no clear indication of its connection.

The Yaw Atwinwun and the Hpangyet Wundauk were accustomed to consult each other on matters of the relationships with foreign countries. In particular, when missions from foreign countries were due to arrive, the Hpangyet Wundauk would obtain the Yaw Atwinwun's instructions on their reception and, on their arrival, receive them accordingly. At this period there was put into effect a scheme of "*Naingngan-apa ahkwin-ayei*"[38] under which the English and Burmese officials jointly held a court of law; in this the Hpangyet Wundauk worked as a judge.

According to the Konbaung Chronicle, on the accession of King Thibaw in 1240, the Hpangyetwun, U Shwei Ou, became an Atwinwun with the title Mingyi Thirizeyyanandakyawhtin, and we find the name of U Shwei Ou at the head of the list of officers of the Byedaik. Lower down in this list one Maung Pwa, with the title Minhlanarasithu, appears as the Hpangyetwun. We must surmise that Maung Pwa succeeded to U Shwei Ou's post.

In 1241 the Kyaukmyaung Myoza, the Atwinwun, U Shwei Ou, escorted a group of young state scholars to Paris and arranged for their places of study. In 1243 he headed a Burmese mission which was to try to establish diplomatic relations between England and Burma. In this mission U Myu, the Thangyetwun, titled Minhla Mahasithukyawhtin, acted as deputy envoy. Because, it seems, of the refusal of the English government in India to receive this mission, they had to turn back from Simla and return home. In these last years the royal government made continuous efforts to establish permanent missions in France and Italy. To this purpose U Bi, Mingyi Mahazeyyathingyan and Myothit Myoza, and U Myu, Mingyi Mahaminhlasithu and Thangyetwun, went as envoys on several missions to Europe, to France and Italy. When the English annexed the Kingdom of Burma, U Myu, the Thangyetwun, was in Paris as envoy and was stranded there, while he told his hosts what the English were doing and about the Burmese resistance. After the capture of King Thibaw, he returned to Burma in January 1886.

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37 In 1874 Maréschal Macmahon's administration in France refused to ratify the treaty that had been negotiated with its predecessor in 1873

38 The author translates this as "Extraterritorial rights", not quite correctly. He is speaking of the Mixed Court set up under the 1867 treaty

In 1247, on the first waxing day of Tazaungmon, in King's audience the Leigaing Myoza (the Kinwun Mingyi), the Taunggwin Myoza, the Taingda Prince, the Hleithin Atwinwun, the Pinmyo Myoza, the Pauknyaing Myoza, all senior officials, brought up the subject of the imminent English attack. At this point, according to one research scholar, U Shwei Ou, the Kyaukmyaung Myoza and Atwinwun, was deeply depressed during the whole discussion and wept at the prospect that the whole country would pass into the hands of the English[39]. Nevertheless, the Kyaukmyaung Atwinwun, along with the Kinwun Mingyi, spoke in pacific terms, advising that the two sides should not fight but make a treaty. There is no inconsistency in his attitude.

In the time after the kingdom of Burma came into the hands of the English the story of U Shwei Ou fades away. According to some English records, after King Thibaw had been secured, U Shwei Ou lived quietly, but it is not said where.

The Hpangyetwun and the French

It is recorded that U Shwei Ou, the Hpangyetwun, was the son-in-law of Thadou Mingyi Mahasithu Abhaya, the Taingda Mingyi. The Kinwun Mingyi, however, once wrote a *lei-hsit thahpyan* verse accusing the Hpangyet Wundauk U Shwei Ou of abandoning his Burmese lifestyle and dress while taking a wife in France. This verse can be found in "Poems by the Kinwun Mingyi" published by the Hanthawadi Press.

This reference to a French wife of the Hpangyetwun seems to refer to a wife of the Hpangyetwun in his youth. We can find no reference to her after his return to Burma. There are no other references in the Burmese and English literature.

The Book "Lilavati"

In 1225 the Kanaung Prince instructed the Yaw Atwinwun to make a translation into Burmese from the Sanskrit of a mathematical text titled *Lilavati* by Bhaskar, which had been obtained from the *Vanga* [?Bengal] district in India.

In my preface to the first edition of this book I said that nothing but the title of the book *Lilavati* survived. However, in a later search, by a piece of luck, I came across a manuscript of "Lilavati, a New Mathematical Text, by the Shwei Pyei Wungyi", with U Kyaw Hkin, the Chief Editor at the Sa-pei Beikman Press. U Kyaw Hkin had been able to buy this manuscript by favour of Shin Thiri Kundala. I must therefore first express my thanks to U Kyaw Hkin and Shin Thiri Kundala for giving permission to examine this manuscript.

In the book U Bo Hlaing explains the naming of the book -- Lilavati was a lady, famous for her *sampe*[40]. The same enjoyment was to be had from carrying off the book as from carrying off the lady.

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39 See Pagan U Tin, MMOS 299. U Tin's account is slightly different. He says the occasion was a little earlier, when the Taingda Mingyi, the Atwinwun's father-in-law, was pressing for a pre-emptive attack upon the British territory

40 Probably "a beauty spot".

The book is in eight sections. In all, the eight sections cover 337 pages of foolscap paper. The first section describes methods of measurement with reference to the hand -- the "barleycorn", the finger's breadth, the cubit and so on and methods of summing and of addition and subtraction. The second section describes what are now called "fractions". The Yaw Atwinwun describes numbers such as 1, 2, or 3, prime numbers which cannot be reduced to fractions, as *abhinnaganan*. In our day, we call dealing with quantities described as fractional and their division as *bhinnaganan*. The third section deals with the multiplication and division of fractions and so on, with a clear explanation of problems to be calculated. Section four describes methods of weighing -- of gold and silver, of paddy and rice -- calculation of interest, calculation of trading profits, and so on.

Section five is concerned with splitting and conversion of numbers and their arrangement. Taking numbers 1 through 9, if you put 1 with 9, you get 10. If you multiply 10 by 9 the answer is 90. Divide 90 by 2 and you have 45. It describes methods of handling numbers.

The sixth section deals with three- and four-sided, round and elongated, figures and calculation of their areas, large and small, wide and narrow; with how to recognise them, low or high, near or far, without using a measure; with calculations in *pe,* in *zaya*, in *dhanu*, and in *khan.* I don't know the meaning of the terms *dhanu* or *khan*, but it is this section that provides an introduction to geometry. What modern students know as their "notes", in the past, according to U Bo Hlaing's usage, were known as *cihana*. What we now call "lines" used to be called *pin* and the old name for the modern "right angle" was *samakona*. The book also gives a clear explanation of the theorem of Pythagoras on right angled triangles, which is of such importance in algebra. Modern students also have to deal with equations of the form "$a^2 + b^2 = c^2$". In giving an example of such equations, *Lilavati* uses a base of 16 cubits, altitude of 12 to give the hypotenuse as twenty in a right-angled triangle.

Section seven deals with measurement of wells, ponds and pits; of timber planks to be sawn; of how many baskets of paddy are to be got from a heap of such a height; of the calculation of height from a shadow; of the maximum and minimum heights of the sun and moon and of other such calculations. The eighth section handles questions in algebra and calculation of an unknown quantity with a number of different examples.

In my introduction to the first edition of the *Rajadhammasangaha* I said that in the opinion of scholars who have had the opportunity of reading *Lilavati,* the Yaw Atwinwun was a man of quick mathematical intelligence. Now that I have been able to examine it for myself, I do think that those scholars were right.

Loss of office and the matter of the Myingun and Myingondaing princes

In 1227 U Bo Hlaing, the Yaw Atwinwun, was removed from office for what seems to have been the first time. However, there were to be several occasions when U Bo Hlaing advanced in office and several when he fell. He was never a man to follow the King's wishes or to pay court to the King's desires. His firmness was enough to accept the penalties of the world's way, steadfastly and without being moved by them. At

moments when the power of royal rage bursts out, in the sight of wise advisers it is like embers from an exploding furnace. At moments like this, U Bo Hlaing was content to be put away in some quiet spot. However, when difficulties arose for his country, and the man of power brought his advisers back out of their retirement, he was willing to be made use of. At such times, U Bo Hlaing felt no resentment against the wielder of power for the trouble that he had made, but acted again as the adviser without repining.

Although the Yaw Mintha Atwinwun had been treated by King Mindon as though he were one of his own sons, he still was dismissed from office It was not long before he became involved in a new trouble in the Palace.

In 1228, on the fourth waning day of Kason, in the evening, towards the west "a bank of clouds all at once appeared, red as blood and in the evening of the next day the whole sky seemed to be bursting with congealed blood. After this there was a heavy rain and lightning. In the golden city of Mandalay the whole people, from the princes down, were much disturbed."

It was in this situation that, on the seventh waning day of Second Wazo, the Myozas of Myingun and Myingondaing, both sons of King Mindon, revolted. The brothers entered the city from the south side with around fifty followers, all with fire-arms. In this project, the Kanaung Prince, the Heir, was the prime target and he was killed at once. King Mindon had a great store of religious merit to rely upon and escaped, since Nga Maik Kyi, one of the conspirators, carried him away upon his back out of danger to a place of safety. In the palace itself those fated to fall, fell; those destined to punishment, were punished; those due to get away, got away -- all quite at random. The Myingun and Myingondaing Princes avoided capture and got away from where the King was, because all the princes, ministers and army generals who kept their loyalty to the King were engaged in collecting their people to preserve their position and put up a resistance.

That this important rebellion came at a time when he was out of office was a great piece of luck for U Bo Hlaing at least. As we have said, the Kanaung Prince had a great ability in organisation and the Yaw Atwinwun was one who could put this organising into effect with quick intelligence and a knowledge of military matters. Looking at the reorganisation work with hindsight we can see that there was extreme danger both in pressing forward and in stopping to consolidate. In this position the Kanaung Prince chose to go ahead without caution, like the proverbial man who cannot see the gulf before him, and was unable to forestall and defend against his enemies who habitually relied on violence. His life was destroyed at a blow by force of arms along with the new age that he had nurtured. In truth it would not have been easy for the Yaw Atwinwun to follow the path of the Kanaung Prince, if he had been in office.

Return to Office

Records of U Bo Hlaing's activities disappear in the matter of the Myingun and Myingondaing Princes. If future researchers can recover and publish these lost records, it will be possible to learn more details of the plans for establishing a new age for Burma. For the present, only the Okgu inscription gives us to understand that the "Yaw Myoza, Mingyi Mahaminhlasithu, returned to the conduct of great affairs, restored to his earlier

promotions". With this return to office, together with the internal revenues from markets, entertainments, outposts and ferries, he would have been in charge of the industrial projects started by the Kanaung Prince.

While engaged in taking on this service, U Bo Hlaing began work on building the Itakarama brick monastery outside of Mandalay, to the north, east of the Thuyetat village. The newspaper "Light of Burma" says in the series of articles called "Radiance from Minhlagon" that this brick monastery took two years to build, being completed in 1233. It also says that it was copied from the well known *bisuka*[41] plan that was at this time being constructed in Italy.

The statement in the Okgu inscription that in 1228 he received a promotion to restore him to his previous position and that in 1231 he was again to appointed to his previous office of Atwinwun, contains two points that call for examination. The first point is that although it states that in 1228 he was returned to his previous positions, in fact it actually refers only to the grant of Yaw and the tax revenue. It implies that the post of Atwinwun was not restored to him. However, in 1231 his original appanages and posts were restored completely. Which of these two statements is the correct one, it is impossible to say. However, an American, Frank Vincent, who visited Mandalay in 1232-33, recorded that he had heard that shortly before his arrival, all the duties and offices carried out by the Yaw Atwinwun had been transferred to another Atwinwun because of a disagreement with the King. Comparing these statements we can infer that in 1228 he was restored to his emoluments and his control of industrial projects, but that it was not until 1231 that he was reinstated as an Atwinwun. In this year of 1231, besides his post of Atwinwun, U Bo Hlaing was appointed to share in the charge of the granaries.

Consultation on Internal Affairs

The Yaw Atwinwun thus was restored to the King's favour. Now that the Kanaung Prince was dead, King Mindon felt the need of someone from whom he could seek advice. Matters frequently arose in connection with the country's internal affairs which called for consultation. After the matter of the Myingun and Myingondaing Princes, there were commercial and trade questions coming up for negotiation between the English and the Burmese. In 1228 Sir Arthur Phayre, who had led the earlier mission, left a draft of a commercial treaty for discussion, and, on the 13th waning day of Thadingyut 1229 (25.x.1867) Colonel Albert Fytche[42] (referred to in the Chronicle as *arabet hpaik*) and the Pahkangyi and Yeinangyaung Wungyis signed a treaty of thirteen articles[43], regulating trade between the two countries. Before the signature of the treaty, the English mission had had audience with the King to speak of matters that still called for discussion. In this negotiation the King conferred with U Bo Hlaing, the Yaw Atwinwun. He had become an agent with permission to speak.

King Mindon had a wish to keep the Yaw Atwinwun, whom he had virtually

41 Proper transcription and reference escape me

42 Phayre's successor as Commissioner

43 Which Calcutta almost immediately broke

adopted as a son, permanently at hand for quiet consultation. According to the records of the Hmawbi Hsaya Theingyi, although the King wanted to appoint him to be a Wungyi, he once said, "He's too proud and I am putting it off. Once I have installed him as a Wungyi of the Hluttaw, he'll be the only one to discuss things in my presence. I have to knock that pride of his from time to time -- take away his office -- circumscribe him, but I haven't brought his pride down yet!" Judging from these words, the Yaw Atwin must have been a personage whose opinion had very great influence on foreign policy. The speech makes it quite clear.

At the time of the affair of the Myingun and Myingondaing Princes, the British Agent[44], Colonel Sladen, had free entry to the palace and the fact that a foreigner should exercise such special privileges must have been a matter of concern to the Atwinwuns and the Wungyis of the Hluttaw, who had the responsibility of the government. It was natural, therefore, that the King's government should hold an investigation into the activities of Colonel Sladen. About this time, while the enquiry was going on, King Mindon had suspicions about Sladen. In Tazaungmon or Nadaw of 1231, the Christian missionary Dr. Marks came to the palace for an audience with the King, and King Mindon spoke to Marks about the rumours concerning Sladen. Marks submitted that these rumours were false. However,the King put no faith in what Marks said. Later, when Marks paid a second visit to the palace, the Yaw Atwinwun spoke to him in the same terms as had been used by the King, and Marks answered him reproachfully. King Mindon laughed. Looking back at this incident from our own time, we may be sure that when it became apparent that a missionary like Marks was not uninvolved in the affairs of the country and when it could not be ignored that that the British Agent was meddling in these matters, it became the over-riding duty of the King's ministers and generals to take particular care in watching over their people and country. This duty the Yaw Atwinwun carried out well. In truth, his exertions were directed at repelling the efforts of foreigners to meddle.

Although Dr. Marks and the Yaw Atwinwun were not of one mind when they came before King Mindon, their relationship was not broken. When the Christian church was inaugurated in Mandalay on the 31st July 1870, the Kinwun Mingyi[45], the Yaw Atwinwun, and Manook, the Myowun and Kalawun, represented the King at the ceremony, which was attended also by the English, the French and the Italian people living in Mandalay.

In the records of the English side the part played in foreign affairs by the Yaw Atwinwun is mentioned once or twice.

In 1232 the British were looking for a commercial route into Yunnan from a base in Bhamo. From Rangoon, the Commissioner for British Burma, Sir Albert Fytche, directed the search in this matter, while from Mandalay the English Agent, Colonel Sladen and his successor, Major MacMahon and at Bhamo the English agent, Captain Strover, carried on the business inventively and with fixed purpose. In 1870, in pursuit of this project Fytche sent his "atwinwun", named *Gyeitelabwaing Hwila*[46] to Mandalay. On

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44 Officially designated "the Resident"

45 He was, in fact, only a Wundauk until 1872

46 Our author doesn't venture on a transcription, but the name was J. Talboys Wheeler and he was the

the 13th November 1870 (1232 B.E.) Wheeler had audience of the King. On this occasion and for the purposes of this business, it seems that the Yaw Atwinwun was charged with its complete management. It was the Yaw Atwinwun who introduced Wheeler to the King's presence and at the same time the Hpangyet Wundauk, who was at this time responsible to the Yaw Atwinwun, undertook the duty of writing minutes. It seems that it was the Yaw Atwinwun who gave permission for Wheeler to travel on to Bhamo and instructed the Hpangyetwun to accompany him. From his meeting with the Yaw Atwinwun, in the history of India that Wheeler came to write, there is to be found an interesting account of the Atwinwun. Wheeler and the Yaw Atwinwun were both scholarly authors and it seems that they had respect for each other. The Yaw Atwinwun asked Wheeler about such a private matter as his age. Among the English, for someone to question another, even one very closely associated, about private matters, may be taken as rude. The Burmese, on the other hand, are not a people who will make friends only after being introduced by another of the same status. If there is a question of making friends, so that they may know each other properly, they will ask their questions and the friendship is made. They think that a friendship can only be firm if they each know all the intimate details about each other. Wheeler was above all a bureaucrat[47] and it seems that he could accept the Burmese way of doing things; he did not resent the Yaw Atwinwun's questions and answered all that he asked openly. He spoke of Kapilavastu, Magadha and other areas of India and the Yaw Atwinwun was very glad to have this conversation. Later on the Yaw Atwinwun invited Wheeler, McMahon and the interpreter, Nicholas, to appear before the King. From that occasion in the court, Wheeler came to note that very many foreign merchants had been coming and going, attending court in the royal presence. Since the Yaw Atwinwun, from his first entry into ministerial office in charge of the assessment of taxes and of economic affairs, had been the person who dealt with such matters, when these considerations became important, his management and assessments must have been highly valued in the royal administration.

Wheeler noted that at the time when he met the Yaw Atwinwun in the palace, the Atwinwun was wearing a jacket of plain white cotton, a silk waist cloth and a salwe of twelve strings which made him a distinguished figure.

An American Reporter

In 1233 an American named Frank Vincent was staying in Mandalay; he had business with a Chinese named Sein Hko[48] and appeared before King Mindon. Vincent does not seem to have been so well-versed in government affairs as Wheeler. In his notes he raised the question whether King Mindon's white elephant was really white or black and he only wanted to put it in his book. It fell to the Yaw Atwinwun, who was his equal in curiosity, to answer Vincent's questions and Vincent wrote that he was of an irritable disposition. There is, however, better evidence of his inner disposition than the notes of

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Chief Secretary to government in Rangoon. His name must have given grief to compositors

47 ?diplomat. In 1872 he was trying hard to frustrate the Burmese mission

48 Taw Sein Hko, perhaps? Director of Archaeology in Rangoon

travellers and writers like Vincent, who spend a few days in another people's country, write down bazaar rumours and claim to be experts. However we may weigh what he wrote and take into consideration his opinions about the Yaw Atwinwun's character and purposes.

At the time when the Yaw Atwinwun met Vincent he asked many questions, such as how much the journey to and from Mandalay cost? How did Vincent's father make his living? What business and what purpose brought him to the capital? Why could Vincent not stay quietly at home and earn a livelihood there in one place, instead of traveling about as he did? And the Yaw Atwinwun's disposition was always one to ask questions. This disposition he had got from the teacher of his youth, the Pahkangyi Mingyi[49], and because of it, once he had become involved in affairs of state, he constantly asked questions so as to increase his knowledge of the true workings of the administration. The Hmawbi Hsaya Theingyi has written that the Shweipyiwun's constant advice to his pupils was "You must keep a constant awareness. Why do I say this? Because whenever you meet people you must know what is their place, their name, their work, their family, the village they live in, their property, what goods they deal in, how many monasteries are there there, is there a pagoda festival there or not, where is their water supply, is there a forest there, is there a mine, who is their headman, does he rule well or not, which district officer does it come under, what religious sect head and deputy head do they come under -- you must always ask questions and take notes." When the Yaw Atwinwun met Vincent, he deluged poor Vincent with questions, which must have given him trouble. Vincent himself had many questions on Burmese affairs which he desperately wanted to ask the Yaw Atwinwun for the book he was writing, and, when in his turn he pressed them on the Yaw Atwinwun, it does not seem that he was happy with him[50]. Importing his resentment into his notes, he went off, putting his questions to the Atwinwun's personal secretaries. However, in his search for a newspaper story it seems unlikely that he got anything in the way of a story that might be unwelcome to the Atwinwun from these people. According to the gossip that he collected for his newspaper, the Yaw Atwinwun figures as a crooked and cunning worker in the country's affairs; the accounts presented of the King's taxes and dues were all false, so that when Europeans had dealings with his works, the King put a stop to such dealings. Looking at things from our present information, we know that actually his duties had been handed over to another Atwinwun and can recognise other falsehoods. In truth, Vincent cannot be regarded as a person of a quality like the Yaw Atwinwun's. In the records of English people who knew and understood the royal administration, the Yaw Atwinwun, as Shweipyi Mingyi, appears as a strong leader who laid plans for an administration that was on a par with European administrations and tried hard to implement them.

Vincent took offence at the Yaw Atwinwun when he came to the conclusion that the Atwinwun was cross-examining him about his country's affairs. In fact, the Atwinwun was quite correct in his questions. We can say this because when Vincent left Burma he went to Yodaya and there he spoke badly about the King of Burma in the royal court to Chao Phaya Siri Wongse.

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49 U Yan Wei -- as U Visuddha also monastic teacher to U Gaung

50 Two reporters trying to interview each other!

When we look at Vincent's journalistic pieces, we can recognise that the Yaw Atwinwun was surrounded by officials and others of official rank who were of a malicious and mischief-making character.

Translation of a Book on Chemistry

Besides being concerned with international relations, the Yaw Atwinwun interested himself in developments in foreign countries. After the murder of the Kanaung Prince, there fell upon the Yaw Atwinwun the management of the projects that the Prince had initiated -- the mint and all the more than fifty other industrial factories and workshops -- and also the spreading of western technology and knowledge in Burma, with the special purpose of ensuring that the Burmese people should become skilled in up-to-date industrial methods. To fulfill this wish he brought in the Hpangyetwun, Minhtin Pinnyatheikdikyaw, as his associate in writing a book, *Lawgadat Hsei Kyangyi,* on the science that the French call "chimie" and the English "chemistry". This was finished on the fourth waxing day of Wagaung, 1230. (The title, "Minhtin Pinnyatheikdikyaw", seems to be an early distinction of the Hpangyetwun). This book was published in 1290 by the Wamsayetka Pitaka Taik in Rangoon, along with *Dhatu Prasamsa* in a double volume. On the cover it seems to be indicated that the two books, *Lawgadat Hsei Kyangyi* and *Dhatu Prasamsa Kyangyi,* were translated into Burmese by the Shwei Pyi Wungyi, the Myoza of Yaw. However, in the preface to the first section, which is the *Dhatu Prasamsa Kyangyi*, the following appears: "This *Dhatu Prasamsa Kyangyi"*, on methods of "cooking" and "boiling" the minerals, has been prepared in conference in the forecourt of the Kinwun Mingyi's house by U Hmu, Controller of the royal household, by Hsayadaw U Guna of the Sagaing Hill, by the Zawgyi Bo, Hsayagyi of Pokpa, by U Bala, Hsayagyi of the Miba market work place, and by U Kyaw Lun, Hsayagyi of Pin Natmauk; in continuation there will be prepared later a second section describing methods of "teasing" the nine minerals, of "joining up supplies", of "roasting" them, and of "grabbing" the elements.[51] If we can rely upon this, we must have doubts about any statement that the *Dhatu Prasamsa Kyangyi* was a translation prepared by the Yaw Atwinwun. It was a Sanskrit book and must have been subsidiary to the *Lawgadat Hsei Kyangyi* translation. In that book we can find words that in the other refer to alchemy. The chemistry book that was translated by the Yaw Atwinwun is systematic, compact and of a precise nature. In the difficult matter of dealing with the technical words, analogies had to be found in the words used in Burmese alchemy and these were used to translate the technical terms. According to those skilled in Pali and Sanskrit, lead is to be translated as *ghana*, a liquid as *dava*, a vapour as *dhuma*, an element as *suddha*, a chemical mixture as *vilina*, a compound as *missaka,* electricity as *akkhanika,* the male as *dhana*, the female as *ina*, oxygen as *ritija*, and so on. The style of translation used at that period has many pleasant features. Looking back from our own time we shall see that the time of the Yaw Atwinwun was a new era in which there was a beginning to the spread of western technology.

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[51] *Dhatu chet pon, kyou pon, kaza pon, yeikhka htauk dat twe pon, hlaw pon, dat hpan pon.* Meanings obscure to me -- probably mostly terms in Burmese alchemy.

The Burma Telegraph

Returning to the point of developments produced, the Yaw Atwinwun compiled the book *Lipidipika (Light upon Letters)*. The Kanaung Prince and the Yaw Atwinwun had both used the invention of the telegraph in their communications and had decided that this invention must be made available to the working people of Burma. The Burmese alphabet essentially contains 62 characters -- consonants, vowels and other signs -- and for the purpose of telegraphy it was necessary that these should be reduced to a total of 25 consonants and vowels together. This the Yaw Atwinwun personally worked out. The plan that he developed was published in 1231 as a book titled *Lipidipika*. This book was translated into English in Mandalay by Major McMahon, the British Resident, on the 15th October 1870 (1232 BE). In this English translation the translator gave high praise to the Yaw Atwinwun and to the "creative intelligence with which the Akyiwun, the Myoza of Yaw, Mingyi Minhlamahasithu, has written." Nevertheless, it met with criticism on |the ground that foreign scholars would find it difficult to accept the view expressed by the Yaw Atwinwun that the basis of the languages of the world lay in the Pali of Magadha. At the time the leading western philologists might well have found it a heavy burden to agree with him. His opinion, however, was not in any way idiosyncratic: it was derived from the traditional books on language that came in a regular stream from Majjhima Desa [India]. Language scholars of that time had their own standard theories, to which they were used; for them it was accepted wisdom that Sanskrit, Prakrit, Pali and similar tongues were grouped in the Aryan branch and, along with the Celtic, German, Italian (Latin) and Greek groups, were all put into the Indo-European family of languages. Therefore they just could not call logical the Yaw Atwun's theories, which followed the traditions of the East.

The Book Saddasangaha

The time of the Yaw Atwinwun was one in which the intellectuals of the West were invading classical Burmese literature; it was the spirit of the times and the Atwinwun did not resist the invasion. However, so that the inheritance of Burmese culture should not be broken, he took steps to protect it, planning to make sure that knowledge that came from abroad became Burmese property. On the one hand, he made foreign skills fit in with Burma and, on the other, he brought out in turn worldly skills that were embedded in the marrow of the bones of Burma. A book, *Assabeda-kyan*, which the Yaw Atwinwun prepared on the orders of the King in 1231 is a good example of this. This book is an account of the significance of the hair flexures of horses.

Besides this, in the year 1231 the Atwinwun began to write a book that was described as "*Saddasangaha*, like Ashin Buddhaghosa's *Sangaha Athakatha,* eliminating spurious words from various Sanskrit and Magadhi grammars and listing those words that are suitable for use in the Theravada" This was completed in 1235. The words "listing words suitable for use in the Theravada" that he wrote, fitted in very well with King Mindon's cherished plans for the Fifth Sangayana. It is not known for certain whether or not the Yaw Atwinwun wrote the book with the Sangayana in mind.

In connection with the *Saddasangaha,* in his *Chiddavidhanani* the Hsayadaw of | the Mahavisuddha-yon**,** U Visuddhacara, made some criticisms. In his critique he says that Yaw Atwinwun approached the first Shweigyin Thathanabaing, the Shweigyin Hsayadaw, Ashin U Jagara, with a request that he should revise and correct it. The Hsayadaw's opinion was, "This is not a book with any lasting value" and he refused to revise it. Later it was handed over to the Mahavisuddha-yon Hsayadaw, who was to become the second Shweigyin Thathanabaing, and he returned it correcting the text -- "in verb formation the order of words should be reversed". In spite of his criticism he gave praise and, when later on the author asked him to correct the treatment of nouns -- "If the order of the sentence is not right, there will be a restless feeling." -- he returned the author's original script without correction. The Mahavisuddha-yon Hsayadaw's criticism was "The text's true meaning is not given." The Hsayadaw and his supporter could discuss their differences candidly.[52]

When I asked the Mahapanyabala Hsayanyan about this, he replied that the Yaw Atwinwun was a great scholar in Sanskrit, but that in writing this book he had mixed up Pali and Sanskrit. He had not got the Pali *gati*[53] right and this was the reason for the Mahavisuddha-yon Hsayadaw's criticism. The word *gati* means the *athwa ala ahta atho* (rhythm) of words.

When a foreigner speaks or writes our own Burmese language, we will notice that the rhythm of the words is not right. In the same way when we speak or write something in a foreign language, our usage and arrangement of the words may well be wrong. That is what is meant by getting the *gati* wrong.

In spite of the criticisms of the Mahavisuddha-yon Hsayadaw, it cannot be said that *Saddasangaha* is a book to be altogether ignored. As Mahapanyabala Hsayanyan hoped, it has proved of great value for *sotujana*[54] although it is not well-known, like a voice coming out of fog. The book could be called a "sleeper". The Buddha Sasana Council has decided upon a new edition. An introduction to this is being written by Mahapanyabala Hsayanyan. In spite of earnest enquiries the timing of this project is not available. A report will be issued to complete what is said here.

Host to the Sangayana

In 1231 a group of influential people in Rangoon, under the leadership of U Pya, the Tawya Hsayadaw, were discussing the regilding of the *hti* of the Shwe Dagon pagoda. In this charity and merit-making the source and origin was the King, the benefactor of Religion, but plans were actually drawn up by the leaders living in Merchant Street (now known as Konzei Lan). Once the plans were generally agreed, U Htun Aung, of the Pazoudan quarter, the founder of a monastery, visited Mandalay and received notes of the scheme, placed in a small golden box from the Yaw Atwinwun. In 1233 King Mindon sent the Pokpa Wundauk to Rangoon with the *hti* to present it at the Shwe Dagon pagoda. At the full moon of Nadaw in this year the project was successfully completed.

52 I am not fully conversant with the grammatical terms in this passage and may have misunderstood.

53 The etymological relation is with "gait" -- the manner of going - the rhythm

54 Meaning perhaps "direct hearing".

In inaugurating the ceremonies of the Sangayana, King Mindon was constantly engaged in charitable works and the Yaw Atwinwun wrote and presented to him a work on the subject of Nibbana. In the introduction to the *alinka nissaya* "Explanation" it is said that the writing of this work was completed on the fourth waning day of Pyathou, 1231. However, in a 1267 reprinting by the Myanma Auba Press at Lanmadaw, it is said that the book was completed on the fourth waning day of Pyathou, 1323 [55].

Plan for the Administration -- growth and change by stages

As we have already said, by 1232 international contacts had greatly increased, and in this year the telegraph line between the Burmese capital and the British territory in Burma had almost been completed up to Mandalay. The relationship with the British was settled and plans for changes in the government of the Burmese kingdom now moved forward by stages. In this year plans, which later met with much criticism, were made for the government that involved dividing the functions of the Hluttaw between four sections. These were first the "hand work" department (what is now known as the employment department) under the Hkanbat Wungyi; next the department of defence, covering all musketry, artillery and cavalry units, under the Myowun of Myotha; next the agricultural department under the Kani Atwinwun; and finally the Shweidaik (now known as the Treasury) under the Pagan Wundauk. These sections were placed under the four Wuns. These departments were accommodated in four buildings inside the palace. It is not apparent from the historical records what part the Yaw Atwinwun played in guiding these changes, but from the fact that he was an adviser to the King he must have been involved in their planning.

Beer and Mischief in the Palace

The year 1233 was the year of the Fifth Sangayana and in the palace much of the work done was concerned with matters of religion**.** Consequently, King Mindon sent the Yaw Atwinwun to Salin during Tazaungmon of that year. The business upon which he was sent was repairs to a pagoda which had been built by King Kyawzwa of Pagan. However, when he reached Myingyan in the course of his journey, he incurred the King's wrath and was recalled.

On this affair the Hmawbi Hsaya Theingyi has recorded what he was told by U Oun, the King's Reader. His notes are as follows:-

When the Shweipyiwun reached Myingyan, he was heard to say that beer was like an excellent bitter tonic and that there would be no sin in taking small quantities as a medicine; drinking enough to become drunk, however, would not be free from sin. This saying came to the ears of a South Tavoy officer who was a secret agent of the King. This officer, with no knowledge at the time, it seems, of the meaning or context of the conversation, made a report to King Mindon, who immediately recalled the Shweipyiwun

55 He must mean 1233

and questioned him. The Shweipyiwun submitted to the examination, and agreed without evasion that the report was true. “It is perfectly true,” he said; “according to the medical books of the western countries, beer is an important bitter tonic. It can properly be made use of; it is comforting to the chest. Its use is enjoyable, but excessive use causes drunkenness.”

The King replied to him, “What you have said is true, but it is not what you should have said if you had any sense. All my subjects in this land are not scholars like you. It will be said 'So the Shweipyiwungyi drinks liquor and escapes fault!' and the meaning will be distorted and the whole country will be on the way to drinking themselves to ruin. Isn't that what will happen?” He stripped the Shweipyiwun of his offices and put him under house arrest in Amarapura. A story on these lines may be found in the Pagan Wundauk U Tin's, book *Myanma Min Okchokpon Sadan*[56][“The Royal Administration of Burma”].

King Mindon himself had experience of various palace disturbances; in particular, he had received no advance warning of the plot to murder his heir, the Kanaung Prince. The murdered Prince, on the day of the assassination, had received a hint about the plot of the Myingun and Myingondaing Princes and was in conference about how to defeat the attack when he fell into the hands of his enemies. The King was worried about this and, so that reports about anything that happened in the kingdom might reach his ears in good time, he set up a system of informers to collect news reports. Evidence of this is provided in the Pagan Wundauk, U Tin's, book, mentioned above, in which he writes:

> The dismissal of the Yaw Myoza Atwinwun, U Bo Hlaing, was due to a story brought by one of the King's news gatherers. The accusation was that as well as drinking liquor himself, he had told other people that there was no harm in it if you did not drink enough to get drunk. After investigation, the King issued the following proclamation:- “Relying upon the Pali scriptures pronounced by the Lord, the *Bhavitamva* and the *Bahulikatamva*, he has said that drinking liquor is only blameworthy if from quantity or frequency it causes drunkenness, that there is no absolute rule against drinking liquor and that the *vinaya* rules distort the rule against sensual pleasures to include drinking liquor, and that, if one drinks liquor mixed as a medicine there is no harm if it is drunk purely as a medicine. He is sentenced to six months imprisonment. However he was recently appointed to be Shweipyiwun; his appanage of Wetmasut is withdrawn.”

It is true that a system of supervision through informers did assist in control of the country but, looking at it from the other side, this system also provided the malicious with an opportunity of causing injustice through mischief-making. For this reason it was necessary that information coming from informers should be looked at with great care to check its legality. If we look at this case, however, there was no proper investigation of the information that was laid against the Yaw Atwinwun, and his ill-wishers were able to watch and estimate his circumstances so as to bring a charge against him from his casual words. There is a note in the Upper Burma Gazetteer that makes this clear:

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56 MMOS ch. 364 -- p.327 of translation

> When the Yaw Myoza Atwinwun was out of Mandalay, his enemies brought malicious reports to the King. They said that the Yaw Myoza Atwinwun always said that there was no harm in drinking liquor; that he drank it himself; that when he was drunk he spoke against the King and other things. The King was easily roused to anger and sent the Artillery Wun, Mahamin Nawrahta, with instructions to arrest the Yaw Atwinwun. The place of his arrest was Myingyan and he was brought to Mandalay in confinement. The King, without having any enquiry made by his officers, stripped the Yaw Atwinwun of his offices and kept him under house arrest in Amarapura for a time. Later the King learned that the accusations were false and regretted his action; he restored his unlucky official to his original position and reappointed him as the Shweipyi Atwinwun.

The Yaw Atwinwun was a man of keen intelligence in his office. He succeeded in whatever he worked at in accordance with this keen intelligence. It had come about for this reason that from his youth he had carried out duties of great importance. His sharp disposition, however, was one to bring him many enemies, but those who wanted to be at enmity could find no fault with the Yaw Atwinwun's ability. Consequently, it seems that they attacked him with the liquor business, knowing the King's personal prejudices and that he had a particular dislike of it. The Yaw Atwinwun had a good understanding of the life led by those who get close to and manage kings. Because of this understanding he had the strength to bear with his enemies. In the Chronicles, the Histories and other records we do not find him retaliating.

The Hmawbi Hsayatheingyi has some examples which provide a complete knowledge of the Yaw Atwinwun and Shweipyiwun, although in some private matters he writes circumspectly to avoid giving mental distress to those directly involved. In the present instance, he gives two versions of how the South Tavoy officer brought the King’s wrath down upon the Shweipyiwun by not keeping his mouth shut. However, if we think about it, the repair of King Kyawzwa's pagoda was a matter of much greater importance than the question of whether beer was a good medicinal bitters. To fly into a rage and recall him from Myingyan before he had even reached Salin does not seem altogether reasonable. The South Tavoy officer's report was spread widely and we must consider it as intended to make mischief.

If we look at the circumstances of the report described in the second section of the Hmawbi Hsaya Theingyi’s notes, the point is clear that the South Tavoy officer cannot be absolved from responsibility.

It was not long after this that a South Tavoy lieutenant was hit by a firework at the Yadana Gu pagoda festival and killed. U Oun, the King's Reader, went to the Shweipyiwun and said “Sir, the saying is true that the result of past actions comes up in a week, but that the result of present action takes longer!”

The minister reproved him, “Are you as stupid as that? His fate is his fate and my fate is my fate! It is nothing to do with me. Do you believe he died because the South Tavoy officer tried to harm me? Never think that, Maung Oun -- don't put yourself in the wrong. Remember; his fate is his fate and my fate is my fate.”

During the time when the Yaw Atwinwun was under house arrest in Amarapura,

the business of sending an embassy to Britain was raised. Accordingly, in Tabaung, 1233, King Mindon recalled to the capital his officer, stationed at Minhla, the Kinwun Mingyi[57], Mahasithu. He was given the rank of *Aggamahasenapati*[58] and soon after the King appointed him as his ambassador to go to Britain and the countries of Europe, heading a Burmese mission. At this time there was no consultation between the Yaw Atwinwun and the King. If there should be future researchers into the biography of the Yaw Atwinwun, they should bring to light how it happened that, just at the time when a mission was being sent to Europe, the Yaw Awinwun was being kept unprofitably under house arrest[59]. However, as to those responsible, they will only be able to answer with a "perhaps"[60].

The Book *Vimuttirasa*

While he was under house arrest in Amarapura, the Yaw Atwinwun prepared his book *Vimuttirasa* ("The Essence of Emancipation"). It was finished on the full moon day of Tabaung, 1233. This is a book that examines the various criticisms that have been made of the *atta* and *anatta*[61] schools of thought. In this book the Yaw Atwinwun examines the Hindu idea of Brahma, the western ideas of God and Soul and the Muslim idea of the world creator, Khuda, and so on, while criticising them and comparing them with Burmese texts. In it, U Bo Hlaing shows himself |to be well-versed in western studies in his own time, as well as in the objective laws governing western positions and beliefs. In a way we can say that he was well-read in current theories, both eastern and western, on worldly and otherworldly matters.

The Yaw Atwinwun, being a man of learning and an open mind, when he examined a question, was capable of looking at it simultaneously both from the worldly and from the religious angle. He was a modern man, and so was used to comparing the beliefs of earlier generations with those of his own time. Besides having an objective knowledge, distinguishing eastern and western views, he had a knowledge of the sciences and it was his custom to balance eastern against western opinions. In our own time there is a separate branch of science that provides the method of examining outstanding branches of knowledge on a comparative basis to establish a truth. U Bo Hlaing was a man who mastered this science. It is the custom of people who follow scientific enquiry to examine anything that has come down to them from their parents and only to accept it after examination. For us, if it has come down from our ancestors that earth is white, then we take it as white. A scientist, on the other hand, may accept a general assurance that something is white, but may say "Why do you call it white? If you are to call it white, let that be the truth." If he has any doubt about it, he will look at it. Then, whether it is

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57 Actually still only Kin Wundauk -- in charge of frontier posts

58 "Excellent great lord of the army", a standard honour for members of the Hluttaw

59 A good question: he was three years older in service than U Gaung and had much more experience of foreigners. On the face of it, an obvious leader of the mission.

60 A hint that it was arranged by U Gaung maybe?

61 "Self"and "No-self".

really white, or not white, he will be able to say for certain which it is. When he says the white thing is white, it becomes more effectively white and all doubts disappear and there is no room for differences of opinion. Still, when you show that their "white" is not white, however plain it may be that it is not, those who give great weight to custom will give you an argument. In particular, when you put ancient beliefs and certainties to the test, even while you are producing arguments that are axiomatic, logical and with textual support, since they do not fit with the hearers' preconceptions, many criticisms will break out and you will be accused of being a revolutionary. On the path of knowledge, looking closely at such criticisms over and over again will lead you to the truth.

The second Shweigyin Thathanabaing, the Mahavisuddha-yon Hsayadaw, was critical of U Bo Hlaing's *Vimuttirasa* book. In my first preface to the *Rajadhammasangaha* I wrote that these remarks were not checked against the records of monks who knew the truth about the current modes of thought. As evidence of this, I wrote that when the first printed edition of *Chiddavidhanani* was made in 1266, accusatory phrases were leveled against U Bo Hlaing, but that these were not included in the second edition so as not to distress U Bo Hlaing's family. In fact, these remarks were completely wrong. In this matter I was only repeating hearsay and "oral history". Because time was short, I did not weigh properly what I was hearing against the original evidence. I was just going on second-hand beliefs. It is not possible to reach the truth from a basis of falsehood and distortion of facts. For this reason, my thanks are due to the Myaungma Hsayadaw, who has corrected me. At this time I have anew corrected my writing in accordance with the opinions of the Myaungmya Hsayasaw, who has brought me from falsehood to truth, so that what I write may be free from fault.

The Book C*hiddavidhanani*

So that we may come to a clear understanding of what has gone before, I will give a brief account of the book *Chiddavidhanani* which contained the Hsayadaw's criticism of U Bo Hlaing's ideas. In 1260 U Kondanya, the Hsayadaw of the Pokbayon Shweigyin Taik, sent a request to the Hsayadaw of the Mahavisuddha-yon: "Please favour me with your reply -- how must one perform works of merit to win a quick release from and break out of the round of births? How did men of old accomplish it?" Turning his attention to the question, the Hsayadaw wrote his book, *Chiddavidhanani*, completing it in 1264.

"The Book *Chiddaviddhanani"* means "the book about mending holes". In the Pali language a hole in a copper pot, or a brass pot, any kind of breakage, crack or damage, is called *chidda.* Such holes are of six kinds -- laziness, forgetfulness, complete lack of "get up and go", not keeping a guard on one's mouth and heart, sleepiness, torpor from worrying about heat and cold. In worldly matters, too, these six kinds of "holes" are what cause the spillage of prosperity and goods. To cover all these six "holes" and understand them, you can say that they are basically laziness. The book *Chiddaviddhani* was written to close these "holes" by deriving them from laziness. When this composition was published in 1266, U Bo Hlaing had been dead for 21 years.

The book went into three editions in Rangoon at the Pyeigyi Mandaing Pitakat Press, Number 52, 25th Street, Sahsodan. The first edition of 10,000 was in 1266; the

second of 1000 was in 1290 and the third, of 750, in 1323. When I wrote my first preface, the second edition had not yet appeared. Consequently, out of the three editions, cuts, elaborations and amendments made between the first and second editions were not available. In the third edition the Baranasi Hsayadaw of the Visuddha-yon Shweigyin Taik at Pyei says "Further revised as required". However, the original criticisms of U Bo Hlaing and his book *Vimuttirasa* are still there as before.

The Criticism of the Book *Vimutthirasa*

There were critical concerns about the book *Vimutthirasa.* In this book the Yaw Atwinwun raised several points, which were as follows:--

"Right speaking -- right action -- right livelihood -- we have first of all to take good care of these three which are the religious duty which form the right path to proper living. Beyond the Five Precepts, the Eight Precepts and the Ten Precepts that apply to the laity, this Precept for the proper life is directly concerned with the Triple Path. Charity, worship, service, the transfer of merit, joy at the good works of others, hearing teachers of the Law, confession under the Law -- the effort to devote energy, care and thought to all these works of merit as well as loving-kindness; study to learn anything at all other than the triple model vehicle, the natural law of *nama* and *rupa*[62]; all these in truth cannot be the real Path. They are not a short cut to the Fruit of the Path. Among the works of merit which are not the eightfold path, charity, worship, service and so on, those that are called the eightfold path have little power over our fate; that which is called the Will alone has great power. But this Will brings no effect of coming to the four paths and the four fruits which are stream-attainment. Just the effects that come to birth in the three planes of existence which only have sensuality and matter cannot free us from the bonds of existence."

The Mahavisuddha-yon Hsayadaw found fault with this statement; "What he has written is like the Attadattha Elder and the Macchimasavaka Subhadda Elder and others like them; he wants to direct his effort to reducing, by virtuous desire and the eternal Law, the importance of charity and the Five Duties and the rest and to magnify enormously and excessively that of personal morality."

The story of the Attadattha Elder is this: when he heard the news that the Lord was about to enter his Parinibbana the Attadattha Elder decided that he would exert himself to reach the peak of a monk's performance before the Lord entered Nibbana. He kept himself separate from the assembly of all the other monks and without mixing with them and, in a place where he could quiet his mind, by himself he tried to fulfill the Law. The other monks in their assembly found fault with him for keeping himself there, without thinking or caring that the Lord was preparing his Parinibbana. When the Lord heard of this, he called down a blessing and said, "One who makes me, your Lord, an offering of a sweet perfume, cannot be said to be making a full offering. One who makes an offering worthy of my Nibbana by excellent behaviour only, the Fruit of the Path, makes an offering indeed". The Yaw Atwinwun was in fact one who intended to become

62 "name"and "form"

a student of *vipassana*[63]. However, his impulse was so strongly set on this that in speaking he went too far. Although the learned did not concern themselves unduly about such excesses in speech, people of little learning and no knowledge of the meaning of difficult sayings might easily misunderstand what was outside of their usual beliefs.

In these remarks the Mahavisuddha-yon Hsayadaw saw a danger to the faith. He himself said, when he heard of them, "People who like to make a noise and get recognition will produce a lot of sharp words; without looking at the meaning or intention of the *Vimuttirasa,* they will exaggerate whatever it says and proclaim that the Precept of the Good Life, alone bringing one to the Fruit of the Path and to Nibbana, is the true Precept, and that the Five, the Eight Precepts and the rest are no route to the Fruit of the Path and to Nibbana. There are actually some ignorant know-nothing people who will cause differences and start disputes by saying that the Five Precepts are the wrong precepts to follow."

For this reason the Hsayadaw, to settle the question with the truth, wrote his *Chiddaviddhanani* and in it gave his decisions based upon the scriptures pronounced by the Lord. He said, "The writer of the *Vimutthirasa* has drawn his matter only out of the fourth Anguttara, first the Khankhittakamma Sutta, second the Vittharakamma Sutta, third the Sikhamoggalana Sutta, fourth the Sikhapada Sutta, fifth the Ariyamagga Sutta, and sixth the Bojjhanga Sutta, these six texts only; he has not looked carefully at the second Sutta, which carries the whole meaning, and he has only taken random excerpts from the fifth Sutta." He thus characterised the whole book. In its *nigon* he said, "If the Yaw Atwinwun wishes to make his books complete, he will show himself not to be a man who writes such false opinions as that the Five, the Eight and the Ten Precepts, and the will towards charitable giving, religious instruction and the rest, are not the means towards the Fruit of the Path. These are opinions calculated to give encouragement to worthless people, criminals**,** greedy people destitute of integrity, common people and miserly people. The perfections and works of merit established through Time, whether an inborn disposition towards charity or a disposition towards the Five Precepts of the *Saranaguna*[64] and the rest .... It is the truth that these alone are the *dhammanudhammappatipattiya* works of merit and the only good means to the Fruit of the Path and to Nibbana."

Balance

The criticism of the Mahavisuddha-yon Hsayadaw was neither weighted towards belittling the work, nor towards over praise. It was criticism that followed the rule of balance. The Hsayadaw praised the Yaw Atwinwun as a man of good intentions and unshakable faith. In this connection he wrote, "The Yaw Prince is a man who has built the great brick monastery outside the city to the north at large expense and dedicated it." The Visuddha-yon Hsayadaw's own benefactor, the Mahabou Hsayadaw, has "He comes

63 Insight meditation

64 Text has *Sanaraguna* which must be a misprint. "Taking the Three Refuges"

daily without fail to make offerings of *swan*[65]*,* of pan, and of tea," and in the giving of *swan,* "he is one who can offer the gift of food so that it is a gift from his own hand." In the conduct of the King's business, he would go to the palace without fail. When he returned home, "he was not one to follow after the attractions of wantonness or sexual engagements, but made a thorough study of various books of the Law, reading them and taking notes for writing his own books. He was a man who knew how to pass his time." Even when he was in confinement, "he was steadfast in recollection and meditation on *kayagata*[66] and such practices." In his book, "*Vimutthirasa"*, "He considered the beliefs of various peoples, the Khasi, the Muslims, the Hindus, the Brahmans and the westerners, that human life is *atta*, rejecting their wrong beliefs in a soul, in form and in Eden. He made his decision to enter fully into the *anatta* doctrine that was the preference of the Lord." Thus the helpful words of the author of *Vimutthirasa* deserve to be well known and should not fade away.

Thus the Hsayadaws gave him praise where praise was due to him and where they found things to fault, they did not do it lightly. In the holding of the Fifth Sangayana the Yaw Atwinwun had been King Mindon's trusted servant, his familiar from his youth and he was a scholar skilled in the interpretation of Magadhi and Sanskrit texts; because of these facts it was said, "He is to some extent affected by Pride." Later on, when the construction of the new city of Yadanabon was in question and the site was to be determined, the Yaw Atwinwun notoriously was always at King Mindon's hand and making his submissions to him. The King himself said, "Nga Bo Hlaing makes my forefinger conspicuous, but it is still my finger that prods". It appears that there was concern about the grumbling that was caused by his great pride. The Yaw Atwinwun spoke in disparagement about the position of the Maingkaing Atwinwun, U Yan, who was his senior; he openly gave him orders, "Nga Yan, have you been looking at my papers?" There are witnesses that to common people, slaves and insignia carriers his way of speaking was "bring that body here -- take that body there!" addressing them as mere "bodies". The witnesses too write that because of this pride people hated the Yaw Atwinwun.

To compare the Visuddha-yon Hsayadaw's remarks on the subject of this pride with what the Hmawbi Hsaya Theingyi wrote in his *Pinnyashimya Akyaung*, this is quoted below:

> "One day when the Yaw Myoza, the Shweipyi Wunmin visited the inscriptions workshop for an inspection, he asked, 'Maingkaing Wunmin, what it is you are looking at?'
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> 'I am kneeling down to look at a medical text on the enhancement of flavours.' was the Maingkaing Myoza's reply.
>
> 'What meaning do you put on the words 'enhancement of flavours'?' asked the Shweipyi Wungyi.
>
> 'Making the taste come through better.'
>
> 'You'd better read the children's books to get your definitions,' said the Shweipyi Wungyi as he went away, but when he had gone a little way he stopped and looked

65 Food given to monks

66 "The way of the body"

back, '*Pin-yi* - it's only because I outrank you that I can put up with you,' he said. To put at fault later people who found fault with him, U Hsaing, his clerk, said that he had reason to be grateful to the Shweipyi Wungyi. 'I didn't like to accept his corrections and so looked all through the Pitakas, but found that he was quite right, which made me very grateful to him.' He went around near to the Shweipyi Wungyi's house and there bowed down his head three times."

The Mahavisuddha-yon Hsayadaw thus praised in him what deserved praise and put down what deserved putting down; he wrote, "The opinion that he has expressed, that dispositions towards charitable giving, reverence and service cannot free us from the bonds of *sansara"* is one that will lead those who rely upon it "to idleness in the observance of the Sabbath days, to complete disbelief in the operation of *kamma*, to failure to avoid sexual excess, to indulgence in distilled liquor, to a hunger for food and a thirst for goods; it will lead to a fading of faith, to miserliness in men of the future and among men in general to a really huge enormity that will reduce the virtues of charitable giving, of the Five and the Eight Duties and the rest; it will lead to the slander of Religion." This was a warning that came from an anxiety that one opinion expressed in the *Vimutthirasa* might be given a distorted meaning by ordinary laymen. The phrase "indulgence in distilled liquor" was one that was suggested by the general nature of the common man. On the concern over beer and the "important medicinal bitters", this is an example of where U Bo Hlaing's views proved to be wrong, so that words that were spoken as a special case by the Yaw Atwinwun might be taken as general by other people; the belief can go astray and it indeed can go astray.

In connection with this criticism, it may be thought that the Yaw Atwinwun lost the respect of some of those connected with him from it. In this regard, the following appears in the book, *Abaw,* ("Thoughts") by Shin Kumara (of Myaungmya):

> The Yaw Mingyi and some of his thinking had a plan in mind even to prosecute the Mahavisuddha-yon Hsayadaw; they went to the Hsayadaw and told him so. The Hsayadaw said in reply, "I have written according to my knowledge: if you want to prosecute, carry on!" The others went back to the Kinwun Mingyi's house to consult. The Mingyi, in order to put the matter to rest, advised them to approach the Hsayadaw who was formerly the head of the Visuddha-yon Taik. The Hsayadaw soothed them, promising to speak to the Visuddha-yon Hsayadaw, but he gave no undertaking to see that the *Chiddaviddhanani* book would be amended or withdrawn. For this reason the book has been reprinted from time to time in its original form. However, because of the intervention of the former head of the Visuddha-yon Taik, the business was to some extent laid to rest.

Instructor and Benefactor

In actual fact the Visuddha-yon Hsayadaw and the Yaw Atwinwun originally had a mutual relationship of instructor and benefactor. The Yaw Atwinwun was the founder of the Hsayadaw's monastery. The Chief Monk from Ceylon, Ashin Siridhamma, wrote as follows in his commentary on works of merit, *Visuddharamika Theruppatttiradhamma,* which has been translated by the Ledi Pandita, Hsaya U Maung

Gyi:

> This Yaw Mingyi built an extensive brick monastery to the north of the capital. As directed by the King, holder of the Fifth Sangayana, the monastery was given as alms to the first Mahabou Hsayadaw. Then again, as directed by the great Shweigyin Hsayadaw, it was handed over to the Mahavisuddharamika Hsayadaw. The Hsayadaw, however, did not pursue his religious life in the monastery himself, but handed it over to students of the Tripitaka. The big brick monastery thus became a large school.

It is said in the "History of the Shweigyin *Nikaya"* that it was when the Mahabou Hsayadaw removed himself to a forest retreat that the Shweigyin Hsayadaw issued his directive and then the Yaw Atwinwun, U Bo Hlaing, made a new dedication to the Mahavissuddha-yon Hsayadaw

This brick-built monastery was the large monastery named "the *Itakarama"*. In the description of Minhlagonyaung it is said that it took two years to build and was not finished until 1233; that the floral decoration in stucco does not follow the Burmese model, but is copied from the architecture of Rome in Italy; and finally that, at the time in WWII when the Allies entered Mandalay, it was burned down. At the present time the government of the Socialist Union of Burma has taken on the responsibility of restoring and maintaining it.

In order to understand the nature of this relationship between an instructor and a benefactor I should like to take a close look at the customary behaviour and dispositions of the parties involved. The Mahavisuddha-yon Hsayadaw was a religious fully committed to doctrine, conduct and understanding. As a monk, as Wa succeeded Wa, he increased his learning in the Tripitaka. On questions of the highest truth (*paramatta*) he wrote the book that is of all the most complete, the most useful and that which is most capable of bringing one to one's journey's end, the *Paramattasarupabhedani*. Besides this, he wrote many books which are manuals to all *sotujana*[67]. The book, *Paramatthasarupabhedani*, was translated into Sinhalese and students from Ceylon, Ayuthia and other foreign lands could come and study under the Hsayadaw, a teacher very learned in the Tripitaka. When he heard that in Ceylon the last six sections of the book of "Conditional Relations" were lost out of its , the Hsayadaw sent a complete copy of the book to Ceylon. When from England Mrs. Rhys Davis, of the Pali Text Society, who in Burma was given the byname of *Palidevi*, asked the "double question[68]", the Hsayadaw personally wrote his book, "Double Reply" in answer.

From the year 1232, which was before the Yaw Atwinwun had written his *Vimutthirasa*, he retreated to the forests of Daunglegyaung and Shweigun to increase his practice of *vipassana* meditation while leading the life of a hermit. He received the advice of the Shweigyin Hsayadaw and practised austerities -- *nisajja, rukkhamula* and *abbhokasika*[69]**.**

The Hsayadaw had a strict respect for the rules of the *vinaya.* When he had set himself up in the Daunglegyaung forest as an *aranyavasi* hermit, he had arranged for food offerings to be made under a certain tree from a certain village. The wind blew dust into

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67 Perhaps "correct understanding of what is heard"?

68 *Yamaka puccha -- Yamaka vissajjana*

69 "Sitting"-- "living under a tree"-- "living in the open air"

his bowl and after he had cleaned the bowl, he expected the donor to come back with food, but no one came and he spent the whole day hungry without food, devoting himself to meditation. When the Hsayadaw traveled by train or by steamboat, he maintained his religious practices by the "sitting austerity", without lying down to sleep, following the rules of sharing a couch[70].

Because he devoted so much effort to following the rules of behaviour, the Hsayadaw believed that "the *Vinaya* is the life of the Religion" and did his best to provide occasions for the recitation of the scriptures throughout the whole of Burma. In the course of his efforts on behalf of the *Vinaya*, he wrote the book "*Decisions in the Visuddha-yon"*, which resolved questions that been asked in various outside places arising out of the *Samajjadosadipani,* the *Shweigyinvamsanukkhara,* the *Shweigyin nikayacaritta Upadesa,* the *Gihicaritta* and so forth. In all matters where respect for the *Vinaya* was involved, the Hsayadaw was like the Samari bird, which cannot bear its tail being touched -- his spirit could not bear a touch. When the "peacock" coinage appeared in 1323[71], struck in the workshops of the capital, the officials thought that actually giving out the rice allowances for *swan* was a nuisance and reckoned that they could lighten the burden of the duty by giving out the "peacock" coinage to an equal value instead of the *swan* rice. The Mahavisuddha-yon Hsayadaw now wrote his "Peacock Letter", saying that the coinage was a *nissaggiya vatthu*[72] that was not acceptable, and sent the letter to King Mindon. To make his meaning even clearer, he also wrote the "Peacock Commentary" and sent it to the King. He was steadfast thus in taking the lead in a matter concerning the *Vinaya*. "Mister Maung Hmaing", when he took note of the original "Peacock Letter", wrote his "New Peacock Letter" while the Hsayadaw in his "Peacock Commentary" showed that he could not bear that the study of the *Vinaya* should be touched, while "Mister Maung Hmaing" with his "New Peacock Letter" used it as an example -- the peacock of Burma's independence was not to be suppressed.

Thus the Hsayadaw having perfected the rules of behaviour set out in the Tripitaka had the desire to practise his religion as a monk who has come through to *vipassana*, with full care and attention, following the original law pronounced by the Excellent Lord. In connection with the Religion (*Sasana)*, whenever he thought he saw any obstacle arising, no sympathy could be shown to any authority, no relaxation for family or friends, no prejudice in favour of pupils; his nature was to say and write what had to be said. His disposition was to speak briskly and forthrightly. Especially when it was his old benefactor, his was a nature to speak his mind, "to clean the rice very thoroughly".

The Yaw Atwinwun, on the other hand was a man who was the germ of a revolution. His drive was towards investigating the sources from which the laws of learning might advance and towards establishing new ideas. However, words that were in the forefront of the mind in the revolution of ideas might go further than intended. According to his hope and desire that the land and people of his country might become great, the Yaw Atwinwun aimed and worked for the worldly prosperity that might provide greatness. Since he was, however, a man who gave weight to the precepts of the

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70 *Sahaseyya sikkhapada*

71 Misprint for 1233

72 "A thing that should be thrown away"

Buddhist religion, he was not free from considerations of well-being in a future world (success in liberation from the present world). Thus the Hsayadaw, when the words of his old benefactor, a man with too much on his mind, went beyond what was proper, had to criticise them in his desire for the well-being of the religion, without favour towards his benefactor. U Bo Hlaing, the Yaw Atwinwun, looked for but could find no historical precedent for such a challenge from a Hsayadaw to one so highly placed. From this time on, good monks were concerned that the criticism should not break out into an open dispute and denied it. This argument about the proper way of life had been going on through the whole of 1260[73], and to put it to rest the Hsayadaw wrote the criticism in his book *Chiddaviddhanani*. The criticism was thus not a matter solely directed against the Yaw Atwinwun, U Bo Hlaing. When the book was nearly finished the Hsayadaw wrote the following words of warning: "In our days both laymen and monks write books. Books are printed and published and so differences arise. People blame other people's books as detrimental to the Religion. This is not spoken in enmity against any particular person."

From Confinement back to the Palace

Although as we have said above that the Shweipyiwun was confined in Amarapura, the actual place of his imprisonment was Taungmyo. During his imprisonment in Taungmyo, each morning the Shweipyiwun made an offering of one *swan* dish to the Hkinmagan Hsayadaw. As the days went by and he kept receiving these offerings, the Hkinmagan Hsayadaw raised the question, "What's Bo Hlaing doing in Taungmyo? Wouldn't it be better if he were back in the Palace?" When he heard an exact account of how the Shweipyiwun had come to Taungmyo, the Hkinmagan Hsayadaw at once went off to the palace and said to King Mindon, "Even stupids who know anything about the *Kammavaca* accept beer as medicinal bitters!" The King took warning from this and summoned the Shweipyiwun back to the palace and restored him to his offices -- this is according to the Hmawbi Hsayatheingyi.

Since the Pagan Wundauk, U Tin, tells us that the Yaw Atwinwun was only kept in confinement for about six months, we must reckon that it was at the beginning of the year 1234 that he became Shweipyiwun and was given Wetmasut as his appanage. When the Yaw Atwinwun was removed from office, the Atwinwun, Mingyi Minhtingyaw, the Lewun Mingyi, was given the Yaw appanage. It is for this reason that Mingyi Minhtingyaw, the Lewun Atwinwun, appears in the Chronicle as the Myoza of Yaw.

In the month of Nayon, 1234, the charge of the mint and the other 50 industrial projects that had been controlled by U Bo Hlaing, the Yaw Atwinwun, was taken from him and given to King Mindon's son, the Met-hkara Prince, who had the title of Thirimaha Thudamayaza**.** However, it seems as though, after these projects had been taken out of the hands of the Yaw Atwinwun, they all fell apart like bundles of firewood during the time of his successors. In the first part of the "Dictionary of Terms used in the Palace" by U Maung Maung Tin[74], the retired Wundauk at Mandalay, it is said that after the death of the Kanaung Prince, some of these projects were allowed to deteriorate,

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73 1230 perhaps

"dusted by crows", as they say, and went down till they were of no value and were wasted.

The Book *Mahasamata Vinicchay*

In the year 1234 the Aggamahasenapati Pahkangyi Myoza, the Wungyi Thadoumingyi Mahaminhlasithu, in a single day composed the work *Mahassamata Vinicchaya* in the form of a "request". A book by Hsaya Maung Pan U, who was the publisher of the Yaw Atwinwun's book on *nibbana*, has this description of this work**:** "an edited version of the eleven legal decisions offered by Mahasamata". At this time it was usual to write "Mahasamata" for "Mahasammata". I have made a search for this work in hope of reading it, but have not found it in the course of my search. I have only heard the name. Still, we can make a guess at the original contents of the *Mahasamata Vinicchaya* by looking at the general movement of historical writing.

After holding his Fifth Sangayana, King Mindon conceived a desire to receive the *muddhabhiseka*[75] consecration. He had become king by deposing King Pagan and at the time when he became king the Anglo-Burmese war was in progress and the country was in an uproar. For these reasons there was no record of the ritual by which former kings had received the *muddhabhiseka* consecration. In describing a king, a distinction is made between a "king by consecration" and an "ordinary king". A king who has water poured over his head according to custom is called a "king by consecration". Otherwise, he is merely an "ordinary king". King Mindon's desire was to become a "king by consecration".

In providing for the King's wish for a *muddhabisekha* ceremony and following this plan, all the ministers, officials and generals must have put forth great efforts. With this outcome in mind, so that the scriptural story of the selection and elevation of Mahasammata should become a matter of general knowledge, the Pahkangyi Wungyi would have consulted the Yaw Atwinwun. Later on we shall separately make a critical examination of the general drift of the *Rajadhammasangaha* and from this it will be plain that the intention of the Yaw Atwinwun was to establish a plan for the Burmese kingship that would at once conform to the scriptural model and to the requirements of the time. Therefore, the purpose of writing the *Mahasamataviniccaya* would be to promote the plans which the Yaw Atwinwun had in hand.

The Social Contract and the Popular Assembly

In hope of bringing out the basic intention that underlay the production of this *Mahasamata Vinissaya* and of the *Rajadhammasangaha*, I should like now to give a sort of advance preface about the original ethos of the government of Burma.

It is correct that the principle of Burmese kingship was possession by right of

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74 This is Mandalay U Tin, of the Konbaungzet Mahayazawin

75 "Lustration of the head" - formal consecration as king

birth. This "possession by right of birth" meant that the king was the owner of the lives of the people of the country. Because it could be said that he "owned their lives", we must also say that he owned all the property and wealth of the people. Consequently, in the general usage of the Chronicles, the king is referred to as the "Lord of Life" and as the "Lord of Land and Water". Nevertheless, ideas on Burmese kingship never included any sort of belief that the kings' rights by right of birth were conferred by the spirits or by an Eternal God[76]**.** This idea that a king's rights were conferred by an eternal deity belongs to the western countries.

This being so, how would the king acquire this "right by birth"? The answer to this question may be given by the ideas on government contained in the legend of the elevation of Mahasammata in the book *Mahawun*, which is in regular use by the Burmese. Pagan Wundauk U Tin has written an easily understood account of this in his *Myanma Min Okchokpon Sadan,* which is quoted below:

> There was, then, when lies were being told, a need for a man of wisdom and firmness, in order to recognise them and to give decisions. Consequently, a gathering of men of knowledge, dexterity and wisdom raised a teacher named Manu to be Mahasammata. The method of this raising was this: they joined together in urging him, saying, "Be our ruler and lord; so far as the law allows, cast down those who deserve reproof, degrading, or exile and raise up those who deserve help, advancement, or protection. For exercising this control, please to accept, as the means needed for its exercise, a tithe - one part in ten, one branch in ten branches, one weight in ten weights, one volume in ten volumes, one flower in ten flowers - which we will give you according to the estimated value". Those thus elevated, who rule as kings by mutual consent and reciprocal undertakings, and those who are teachers, destined to be kings, are elevated to the monarchy by the three consecrations[77].

It was in this manner then that Mahasammata acquired the right to rule over the people of the country and it was because of this consideration that the parts to be played by the king's family, by the *ponnas*[78] and by the *thahte thukywei*[79] in the *bhisekha* ceremony were laid down in the *Rajasevaka* as shown below:

> "Most excellent king! We, the royal kindred, the *ponnas,* and the *thahtei thukywei* pour out the water of consecration upon you for the sake of prosperity and for our own protection. Lord King! Will you exercise your rule as King in accordance with the Law? Will you keep a mind to serve the prosperity of us all, royal kindred, *ponnas* and *thahte*i *thukywei,* with the same loving care as you give to those of your own golden house? Will you keep a mind of kindly goodwill which is well-being? Will you take care of us all, royal kindred, *ponnas* and *thahtei thukywei*? Excellent Lord King! So long as you rule in accordance with our words, it will be very well. If you fail in this, Lord King, may your head shatter into seven parts!"

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76 Our author is translating "Divine Right of Kings"

77 MMOS ch 171

78 Court Brahmans

79 Literally "A rich and wealthy people" -- in Burma, a class depending on royal recognition.

Considering what has been said above, as the general ideas of the western nations developed, the notion that the rights of royalty were the gift of an eternal god was overturned. The belief that a popular assembly should undertake to be the guarantor of a contract of mutual observance between the State and the People became accepted and this was the general trend of affairs.

The idea of the popular assembly as the guarantor was propounded 400 years before the Christian era by the famous philosopher named Plato and his writings have been studied ever since his time. In England in the kingdom of Wessex in about 920 AD, a form of oath is found: "Lord King! If you guard and protect us suitably to our needs, we shall maintain our faith and loyalty to you." The drift of this recorded oath was to set up the popular assembly to the end that the king and the people might be bound by a mutual commitment. This guarantee from the existence of a popular assembly was proposed in 1250 by St. Thomas Aquinas, in 1690 by John Locke, in 1748 by David Hume and in 1776 by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in various works. Thus, this principle little by little grew firmer and came to prevail. In our country, from the time when the civilising influence of the Buddhist religion entered Burma, the legend of the elevation of Mahasammata was accepted. Nevertheless, if it is looked at against the times when the people of the country made no advance, the kings who ruled forgot the principle and habitually identified government only with power as they drew in sustenance from the people of the land. For a good example of this accumulation of power by ruling princes, the lineage of the *Candravamsa* (Lunar) and of the *Adiccavamsa* (Solar) races devoted themselves to their own glory. There were some kings even who received the title of *Bodhisattva*. When things got to this point, it was getting pretty close to the European idea of a right conferred by an eternal god.

I believe in my heart that when the Yaw Aywinwun wrote his *Mahasamataviniccaya*, he had the purpose of returning to prominence the idea of a popular assembly as a guarantor. I do not wish to say this without qualification, since it is a mere conjecture, a wild guess. However, when you consider the implications of King Mindon's consecration ceremony and the independent ideas of his Master of Ceremonies, it does not seem to be devoid of probability. We will learn more about the ceremony later.

Perseverance in speaking the Truth

In 1235 the Yaw Atwinwun fell from power and was confined in the South Town of Amarapura, but there is nothing in the records about the reason for his dismissal. However, if we look at the Hmawbi Hsayadaw Theingyi's collection of anecdotes, we can understand why he accepted a sentence of imprisonment because of the event described below.

The Yaw Atwinwun, in whatever he said or wrote, asked for no special treatment. In dealing with royalty he never followed the way of fear[80]. On one occasion the

80 *Bhayagati* -- one of the four *agati*, courses not to be followed

Shweipyi Wungyi in course of discussion inside the Palace quoted to the King a verse that made him extremely angry. In a royal rage the King at once said "Nga Hlaing, look at this spear -- who has handled this spear?" to which the reply was, "My lord, that is the spear that your father wielded". The King then asked him, "And who did my father kill with this spear?" He answered, "It was my revered father who was killed." "Do you want to receive your death by this royal spear too?" "Strike then, my lord" answered the Shweipyiwun, baring his breast. On which the King took his spear and left the meeting. The other ministers said to the Shweipyiwun, "You are terribly brave," to which he answered, "If he had struck me with that spear and I were killed, that would have been worthwhile. If kings are to order what they feel like at any point, the country will be lost because of the ill deeds that will be done. If I leave that behind me as my reputation, my death will be of little benefit. It is right to be afraid of that kind of foul smell sticking in the noses of all the people in their thousands. If there is a chance to have your say according to what the ministers order, according to policy, accepting the job given you, directly and straightforwardly, then you can think it brave to wager one's life. That is what ministers are for[81]"
It was on the next day that he was dismissed from office and went into prison.

In Trouble -- "Send for Bo Hlaing"

In the year 1236 a difficulty arose in the kingdom. King Mindon had, for the first time, sent the Kinwun Mingyi as his ambassador to Britain and the countries of Europe. Because of this mission, between England and Burma amity and commerce progressed well. However, between England and France there was a certain heat in the relationship, like a small fire burning, and for this reason a treaty had to be concluded with France like that with England. For this purpose the Kinwun Mingyi went back to France, as ambassador, and while he was there the Mingyi drafted a treaty with France. This treaty contained a provision granting the French a right to prospect for rubies and other minerals. This provision was not acceptable to King Mindon. The King, therefore, was searching for reasons to refuse to ratify the treaty at the time when the French party arrived, that was coming to Mandalay for the purpose of the ratification.

In the absence of the Shweipyi Wun from his side, the King summoned his Queens; "You ladies", he said, "make something out of selling in the market what your looms produce. What happens if you suddenly find that without thinking, you've been and contracted to sell a mine of jewels? There's a contract to complete – if you can't, there's going to be a quarrel". He kept on grumbling like this till the Chief Queen, well aware that if the seller in a contract could be forced to complete against his will, he might well be ruined, gave her advice: "Send for Bo Hlaing."

According to this advice, the Shweipyi Wun was summoned back from his confinement at the South Town of Amarapura, restored to his former offices and granted Wetmasut as his appanage.

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81 Thóhmá hmùmat hnín tu thi

In connection with this affair, the Hmawbi Hsaya Theingyi has the following remarks to make.

> "When the Shweipyi Wun reached the Palace, he went inside and paid his respects. At this time the King and the Chief Queen were both in the Jetavan Building. The Chief Queen explained the crisis that threatened the country and said, 'Maung-yin[82] Hlaing must have a solution worked out and tomorrow he will be going to talk to the foreign mission, of course.'
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> "The Shweipyi Wun submitted in reply that he had no anxiety: he would discuss the matter with the envoys on the morrow, but he requested that he might be allowed to take the great *Ngamauk* ruby from the crown jewels. The King turned the whole business over to him; 'Carry on, as you see fit.'
>
> "On the next day the foreigners from France came to the Palace building. After they had waited a short time, the Shweipyi Wungyi entered the room. He explained to them, 'The rulers of this country are Royalty and the mine of precious stones must be sold according to their promise, but we do not wish to propose an assessment of the price to be paid. Will you give us an estimate of the value of this one stone.' With this he took out the *Ngamauk* stone from the crown jewels and showed it to them. The foreigners examined it carefully and replied, 'We cannot assess the value of a stone such as this.'
>
> "The Shweipyi Wungyi then said, 'If you cannot assess the value of this one stone, how are you going to assess the value of the whole mine? Can you know how many stones of this quality will be yielded by the mine? It would be wonderfully good work if, without being able to assess the value of this one stone you can come and work as distant agents. Give me that contract.' He took the paper, tore it up and threw it away. He then left the palace."

This note is from the Hmawbi Hsaya Theingyi's collection of oral accounts known as "Oral History". Such oral statements can be exaggerated, but there is no error in estimating the wisdom and eloquence of the Shweipyi Wun. We cannot altogether say that it is untrue that the King and the Chief Queen circumvented the treaty, since it, as is customary with the peoples of the West, was one sided and capable of damaging Burmese interests. However, it is not true to say that the Shweipyi Wun, experienced as he was in foreign affairs, would have actually voided the treaty, but it must be said that the action amounted to this. It seems that the exaggerations of oral history came to state that the treaty was actually torn up. In fact, the actions of the Shweipyi Wun in cancelling the treaty were harshly criticised in the records of the westerners (particularly of the English) and this cannot be evaded.

However, there are more notes about the history of this business in the "Gazetteer of Upper Burma", which is quoted below:

> When the Burmese mission returned to Mandalay, the Kinwun Mingyi made his report to the King on its business. The King, however, did not approve of the clause in the treaty that gave the French a right to prospect for precious stones.

82 Dict "term of address when addressing a male younger than oneself" -- affectionately patronising?

He said that he had not given his ambassador the power to make this concession. The King later had the royal jewels and the heirloom rubies and the *Ngamauk* stone shown with their appraisals to the officials and military officers who were attending his court. They bowed their heads and submitted that it would be hard to find such jewels as these anywhere in the world. The King then held up and showed the *Ngamauk* stone. He said "If no one can put a price upon this stone, who can say how many such priceless stones still lie in our ruby mines? There is no country where there are such jewels as come from the mines of my kingdom. Is it right then to grant the right of working our ruby mines to foreigners?" And so the treaty was not ratified.

Looking at the trend of these statements, the King must have first consulted the Shweipyi Wun and then, on his advice, given the decision himself in the presence of the French mission and of the Kinwun Mingyi and the officials and army officers of his party[83]. Later again, a new mission was sent to France with a revised commercial treaty drafted according to the King's wishes and the matter was discussed, but it all came to nothing[84].

The Consecration Ceremony

In 1236, about two years after the Shweipyi Wun wrote his *Mahasamata Vinicchaya,* King Mindon received his consecration, according to the rites used in the elevation of Mahasammata. At the time when the consecration ceremony was held, the Shweipyi Wun was the Master of Ceremonies and carried out many duties in this connection.

When King Mindon ascended the throne he took the regnal title of *Siripavara-vijayanantayasa Pandita Maharajadhiraja.* However for the time of the lustration and consecration, he took the title *Siripavaravijayanantayasa Pandita Tribhavanadityadhipati Mahadhammarajadhiraja.* "When the Atwinwun, the Yaw Myoza, Mingyi Minhlamahasithu had thrice read out the regnal title it was placed in an eight-sided betel cup, set twice over with the Nine Jewels surrounded with nine rows of rubies, and the King's son, Prince Susirimahadhammaraja, Myoza of Met-hkara, holding it close, presented it."

After these titles had been announced, the Suhpaya Princess Siriratana Supabhadevi, Myoza of Yameithin, the King's daughter, on behalf of the royal family -- Brahmacanda, the Ponna-wun, on behalf of the Ponna families -- Mahasiridhanaraja, the leading Thahtei, on behalf of the Thahtei and Thuhkywei groups -- recited the words that are given below and poured out the water of consecration.

First in the ceremony, the Suhpaya Princess, the Myoza of Yameithin, said, "My Lord King, will you firmly adhere to the Law which was followed by Mahasammata, the originator of the line of good Kings in the beginning of the world? My Lord King, will you follow the way of all good kings of this land in not giving way to anger, in promoting

83 Seeming to recognise a division of interests

84 Thiers's ministry had fallen meanwhile and the new ministry under Marshal Macmahon was not interested

the prosperity of all your people, in loving all your people as you love your own children, in guarding the prosperity of all your people, in reckoning your own life as of no more value than theirs? My Lord King, will you perform only actions of honour, say only words of honour, plan only plans of honour?"

The Ponnawun then spoke similarly, modifying the formula, to say "to love all living creatures as you love your own children, to guard the prosperity of your people as your own and their lives as your own" and adding "will you act to bring honour to the Religion? Will you always hold to the guardianship of the Law and to listening to the words of wise counsellors?"

The leader of the Thahteis, Mahasiridhanaraja, completed the speech of the Ponnawun saying, "In taking the people's property as taxes, will you take care that it is in accord with the law, that you keep away from people who are worthless and wicked in their ignorance of the Law, and that you listen to the advice of wise scholars?"

When the consecration ceremony continued after these formulae, eight Thahteis spoke, "Lord King, will you accept the Water of Consecration that we pour out? Will you act according to the precepts that we have spoken? Will you collect from the people's labour one part in ten as taxes for your use? As you enjoy the rights of kingship, will you guard the people with your law? Lord King, through your acting according to what we have said, benefits will increase, both in the present and through the ages; the royal glory will flourish like the new risen sun and the waxing moon as the days pass. All princes of the land will come to bow their heads in full allegiance. Thieves and robbers will keep the peace. The Religion *(sasana)* will be established in brightness, not short of food and drink. While the people bring daily their gifts to the King with their blessings, he will enjoy a life passing the century. If it is not thus, and the kingdom is not set firm according to our words, the consecration oath that is undertaken by good and upright kings is destroyed; on the sphere of the earth great storms fall, the earth quakes, the earth itself splits open and the fires of hell roar out in a blaze, crushing all to powder. Men are destroyed and burned. In rebellions robbers and thieves set up their banners by sunlight and moonlight. Birds of the air, birds of ill-omen, witches, demons, ghosts come upon the palace; they cause trouble and fear. Cobras and hamadryads are drawn in and devour."[85] This was the Thahteis' pronouncement.

In the ceremony of consecration that has been described, the ritual speeches offered at the present time to those who had been appointed to the leadership of the people were adapted from and modeled on those with which the people swore their faith and loyalty to the king, when Mahasammata was raised to that rank and carried the same sense. The point about collection of taxes according to the Law and listening to the advice of men of the Law derives from the Pali *"Dhammensamena rajjam kareti"* -- "The King should rule in accordance with the Law", which is the ancient customary statement. This being so, why should it be necessary to elaborate the observance of the Law in collecting the people's wealth in taxes, or the avoidance of worthless and foolish people, or paying heed to the advice of the intelligent? We can say that it was said in the hope that in future circumstances it might be used to bring out points where reform might be called for.

85 The end part of this recitation is in rough verse. Presumably delivered in a chant

The Yaw Atwinwun personally examined the damaged records of the scheme of administration of the *thathameda* tax and little by little the scheme was reduced to order, but nobody dared to describe the state of things to King Mindon. Only the Shweipyiwun, with his revolutionary frame of mind, was brave enough. It seems as though the senior ministers brought matters that they did not dare raise with the King to the Shweipyiwun and handed them over to him.

The Kinwun Mingyi, who had been Burma's very first ambassador, had had authority conferred upon him and because of his conduct of the business, Burma's relationships with the countries of Europe were advancing. The number of young Burmans who had received their education in the countries of the West was gradually increasing. They were reaching a level of ability that enabled them to carry on the work of administering a district or a country. It was during the reign of King Mindon that in the Meiji era Japan, ahead of Burma in acquiring the western sciences, began to be plainly comparable with the West in those sciences. In these matters the efforts of the Shweipyiwun were relied upon to bring in the light of science for the opening of a new age.

The Book "*Kayanupassana*"

On the ninth waning day of Tabaung, 1237, a book appeared with the title "*Kayanupassana*", described as being by "the Atwinwun and Shweipyiwun, Myoza of Wetmasut and Minister." It was written at the request of King Mindon's daughter, the princess Myoza of Salin. It is a book that describes the arrangement of the human body -- what is called "Anatomy", a knowledge widespread in the west. If it is compared with the Pali texts *Datuwibin* and *Thatipadan*[86] and others and with the "Sanskrit book of Medicine, said to be the thirty second on 'anatomy' from the people of Roma" this book can be said to be one that follows the *kammadan*[87].

The original was a book written in French on the scientific practice of medicine that the Shweipyiwun translated. At the time when he was preparing the present work, *Kayanupassana*, it seems that he also used a book written in the language of Italy (Roma)[88]. See the phrase used above, "the people of Roma".

The Shweipyiwun was not himself well-versed in English, French or Italian, but he had a body of pupils on whom he could rely. An era was established that was brilliant for its learning and for its translations from the older languages -- Pali, Sanskrit, Bangali and Nagari[89]. In our own time we can work to establish a new era by translating works of western science. Looking at his book, *Kayanupassana*, gives us an idea of the Shweipyiwun's learning. We can come to an understanding of how, from translating a scientific book of medicine, the interests of the Shweipyiwun turned from alchemy to

86 Probably = *Dhatuvibhanga* [Distribution of Relics] and *Satipatthana* [Mindfulness]

87 *Kammadan* can refer to a profession or, more commonly, to an object of meditation. I don't know which is intended here

88 This must mean a Latin text.

89 Meaning Hindi, I suppose

science. In the *Kayanupassana* he could cultivate scientific principles alongside the principles of the Abhidhamma.

Death of the Chief Queen

In the year 1238 the Nanmadaw Lady, King Mindon's Chief Queen, became sick and it fell to the Kinsin Wundauk, Myoza of Hlaingdet, Mingyi Mahamingaungthinhkaya and the Shweipyiwun, Myoza of Wetmasut, who were skilled in Burmese medicine, jointly to consult and oversee her treatment. At this time there was a German working in the service of the King as Director of Forestry[90]: He was also versed in western medicine. For this reason the King promoted him with the title Minkyawtheikdi-bithekkapinnya. When the Queen's pain grew worse, the Director of Forests, Minkyawtheikdibithekkepinnya, was called in and treated her. The sickness did not grow less, however, and in the desire to make a good death the Queen carried out her alms giving in the palace. The Chief Queen died on the 11th waning day of Tazaungmon, 1238.

The dead Queen's body was brought into the Brick Tower and was disposed of with ceremony. In the Konbaung Chronicle's account of the funeral the name of the Shweipyi Wungyi is not mentioned for some unknown reason.

It seems that when the Chief Queen died, King Mindon was deeply grieved in his mind. After the Queen had been laid in the vault in the Brick Tower, each day the King used to go by water to where the body was laid in the North Palace garden and for three months he held his military court there. It seems that on each anniversary, feelings of grief came upon him. In 1239 on the fourth waning day of Thadingyut, during his levee at the South Palace, King Mindon summoned the Shweipyiwun and recorded an order that he should write and present an account of the ten points of *vipassana* wisdom. In accordance with the order, the Shweipyiwun wrote an abridgement of the ten points of *vipassana* wisdom and presented it to the King.

The Maha Atulaveyan Monastery

On the 10th waning day of Tazaungmon, 1239, King Mindon left the palace with a military escort and embarked in the royal launch for a trip by water to inspect the Maha Atulavijita building and the Maha Atulaveyan Monastery, which, it is recorded, "lie a little to the east of the capital the construction of which was supervised and completed by the Atwinwun and Shweipyiwun, Mingyi Minhlamahasithu, Myoza of Wetmasut."

At a later time people called the Maha Atulaveyan monastery the "Atu-mashi" (incomparable). The Shweipyiwun had been supervising its building from 1236.

King Mindon was very encouraged and happy with the completion of the Maha Atulaveyan monastery and therefore, with the intention of handing over the monastery with the water pouring ceremony, intending to stay in a temporary palace near to the

90 This was Dr. Marfels. He also had an interest in a concession granted to Halliday, Fox & Co. for construction of a railway from Mandalay to the Chinese frontier, which never came to anything.

monastery, he set out from the palace in the royal "Karaweik" barge. In the course of the journey the barge got into difficulties and struck: its pinnacle was loosened and fell. Then after arrival at the monastery, for fear that he might slip and fall on a stair, one of the princesses took hold of King Mindon to support and help him. The King was disturbed by these omens. However, he carried out the water-pouring ceremony of dedication as usual. The ceremony was attended by people from Europe, from China, from India as well as from Burma itself.

King Mindon's failing health

Because of these untoward happenings, King Mindon was no longer easy in his mind and he remained only in the Palace. At the exhibition of recitations[91] in Nayon, he did not come out as usual to the Thudama or the Patan *zayat*. When the month of Wagaung came, he was really ill. At this time King Mindon ordered all officials, from the Wungyis and Atwinwuns down, to be summoned and he had them read out a form of oath of loyalty.

The Shweipyiwun had enjoyed the position of a child of the family of King Mindon. When the Chief Queen had fallen sick, he himself along with the Hlaingdet Myoza had been placed in charge of her treatment. Working from these facts, it was to be expected that when the King's own health was failing, he would take a position near him. Although this was to be expected, in fact the Shweipyiwun was not allowed to come into the King's presence. It must be supposed that when the King was in sudden and severe pain he was looked after by the Queen and by Thuthiri Mahadhamma Raja, Myoza of Thibaw. Only Hsinbyumashin, now the Chief Queen, and other queens whom the King asked for and the King's physicians were allowed entry to the Palace. Otherwise, "No entry for other Queens, the King's sons and daughters, and officials," was the word.

Hsinbyumashin and the Shweipyiwun

From his youth the Shweipyiwun had been placed by the Mindon Prince himself with the Prince's North Princess. When the Prince himself attained the throne, the North Princess became the North Palace Queen. On the 12th waning day of Kason, 1234, the North Palace Queen died from dengue fever. The new senior Queen, Hsinbyumashin, was not on good terms with the North Palace Queen and, in the same way, the Chief Queen had not been on good terms with her either. The Shweipyiwun was nevertheless a man who had the affection and respect of these two Queens. It seems however that it was on this account that he was not allowed to manage things himself at the time of King Mindon's sickness. From an examination of the historical records it seems that the Shweipyiwun had no opportunity of knowing for certain in advance about the King's intention that his son, the Thibaw Prince, should succeed to his office. According to what is said in the Upper Burma Gazetteer, the Shweipyiwun only learned about the

91 *Sa-pyan pwe*

arrangement by which the Thibaw Prince was appointed to be the Heir and was to marry the Suhpaya Princesses from what the Kinwun Mingyi told him. It is said there that the Kinwun Mingyi managed to persuade the Hkanbat Mingyi, the Yeinangyaung Mingyi and the Shweipyiwun to accept the arrangement.

Death of King Mindon

By the time that the 14th waning day of Wagaung, 1240, was reached, it became apparent that King Mindon's sickness was terminal. From this time onward, affairs in the Palace were in confusion.

Ever since the murder of his last designated heir, the Kanaung Prince, the King had made no arrangement to appoint a successor "to enjoy the White Umbrella and to whom the Palace should pass". The King said "The King has fifty queens; he has fifty one sons and fifty six daughters; there are forty one grandsons and fifty two granddaughters. Queens, sons, daughters, grandsons and granddaughters -- that makes a total of two hundred and forty one." He was seriously concerned lest, if he picked out one of all this throng to receive the appointment as his heir, the one picked should go the same way as the last heir, the Kanaung Prince. Since no decision had ever been made because of this concern, when the time came when the matter was urgent, confusion was heaped upon confusion. Since the death of the Western Palace Queen , the Chief Queen, the authority of the Chief Queen in the affairs of the palace had come to be devolved on Hsinbyumashin. The basic position of Queen Hsinbyumashin was that of the Centre Queen, but since she, the Centre Queen, was a daughter of King Bagyidaw she believed that she alone was entitled to the position of Chief Queen. As soon, therefore, as the Chief Queen died, the Centre Queen made representations to King Mindon that the position of Chief Queen should be given to her. As soon as the other Queens heard about this, they quietly resisted the idea. The King, to keep the Queens happy, while satisfying the Centre Queen, granted the right of using the white umbrella to Hsinbyumashin. It was from this time on that the Centre Queen became known as Hsinbyumashin. When King Mindon became sick, Hsinbyumashin began to manage all the affairs of the Palace herself.

At this time, when the sickness of King Mindon became incurable, all sorts of rumours began to spread around the Palace and it came to a point when no one trusted anybody else. In view of this a summons went out to the King's sons that His Majesty wished them to come into his presence. Reports came out that those of the princes who obeyed had been arrested and imprisoned. On the ninth waning day of Tawthalin, 1240, there was a meeting of Hsinbyumashin, as senior Queen and all the Wungyis and Atwinwuns at which it was announced that by order of the King the Heirship was conferred upon the Thibaw Prince and that this conferment was to be announced in the Hluttaw. In this way, for the conferment of the Heirship upon the Thibaw Prince, the King's sons, grandsons and nephews had to undergo confinement in the north garden secured with fetters and handcuffs. The King learned about this when the Queens appealed to him about these actions, and he summoned the Thonze Prince, the Met-hkara Prince and the Nyaungyan Prince to his presence. He appointed them to be his Viceroys

and ordered them to appropriate areas. However, the plottings in the palace were more confused than ever and the Princes who had been appointed as Viceroys in the end were rearrested. At a time when everything in the Palace was in an uproar, on the sixth waxing day of Thadingyut, 1240, King Mindon died.

Was the Shweipyiwun a Wungyi during King Mindon's reign?

The Shweipyiwun's meritorious actions were quite exceptional. In ordinary terms, his courage was a courage that was familiar with mortal danger When his advice was sought by King Mindon, he did not merely follow the King's wishes or pay court as the King liked -- he only looked for the good of the country along with that of the King. Because of this and because he worked with a strict adherence to the truth, he could exercise leadership with a reputation for having revolutionary ideas. Consequently, when any special circumstances arose in the affairs of the country and it was a matter of life or death, only the Shweipyiwun would have made his calculations and be prepared to face death. However, there are many records of his exceptional meritorious actions. Among these there are two which are specially noteworthy.

King Mindon had no disposition to furious and impetuous action that would result in taking the lives of his servants to no purpose but the satisfaction of pride through what is known as "royal rage". In this he was very different from King Thayawadi. I personally believe that it was this characteristic that saved the life of the Shweipyiwun.

Besides this, at times when the palace could be said to be in confusion and plots were being hatched, the Shweipyiwun, because of his willingness to accept whatever risk there was of incurring the King's anger, was thought to have reached a position outside any plotting. At the time of the Kanaung Prince's murder he was carrying out his duties normally and might very well have gone the same way as the Prince. In fact, he tried to avert the danger and calamity and to free the King and the Prince from them, but his efforts were defeated. However, at a time when it could be said that things in the Palace were in an uproar, the Shweipyiwun remained free of danger. In spite of this there must have been some consideration that saved his life.

At this time, when King Mindon was near death, the story of the Shweipyiwun falls into obscurity again. According to the memoirs of the Hmawbi Hsayadaw Theingyi, after the Maha Atulaveyan Monastery was completed in 1240, at the ceremony of dedication the Atwinwun and Shweipyiwun, Mingyi Minhla Mahasithu, received the new title of Thadou Mingyi Minhla Mahamingaungthihathu and the rank and entitlements of *Aggamahasenapati Wungyi*[92]. The Hsaya Theingyi quotes the record of U Hsu Pan, the *Thandawzin* who had the title of Minhla Minhtinyaza, as his source.

However, in the Konbaung Chronicle there is no mention of the Shweipyiwun being promoted to the position of Minister. Further, there is no mention of this in the inscriptions at the Brick Cave for the Shweipyiwun and his wife; there is only an unemphasised mention of his having received a promotion on the accession of King Thibaw after the death of King Mindon.

92 i.e. one of the Ministers of the Hluttaw

Considering these statements, we cannot accept it as certain that the Shweipyiwun was appointed to be *Aggamahasenapati Wungyi* by King Mindon. It may well be true that the King wished to appoint him but, on the other hand, he would have been worried that if the Shweipyiwun were appointed a Wungyi he would not be at hand, available for informal consultation. While he was in this state of hesitancy, King Mindon became sick and during his illness the influence of Hsinbyumashin, as senior Queen, dominated the Palace. As has been said above, the senior Queen Hsinbyumashin had no kind feelings towards the Shweipyiwun and this led to his becoming one who had to serve the court from a distance. During this time the Kinwun Mingyi, so skillful in intrigues relating to kings, reappears in the chronicles.

Using these facts will permit us to accept the version provided by the Chronicle. According to this, during the reign of King Mindon the Shweipyiwun was plainly just the Shweipyiwun, Myoza of Wetmasut, Mingyi Minhla Mahasithu. When the time for King Thibaw's reign came, first of all he became the Atwinwun, Myoza of Wetmasut, Thadou Mingyi Mahamingaung-thihathu and later the Wetmasut Myoza, Wungyi, Thadou Mingyi Minhla Maha-mingaung-thihathu.

King Thibaw's Attainment of the Throne

Upon the death of King Mindon, the Thibaw Prince, Founder of the Man-aung Yadana Pagoda, became King of Burma.

During the sickness of King Mindon, the Shweipyi Wungyi[93], as we have said above, was not in a prominent position. However, it seems as though, persuaded by the Kinwun Mingyi to follow the arrangement made by the senior Queen, Hsinbyumashin, the Shweipyi Wungyi, like the Hkanbat Wungyi and the Yeinangyaung Wungyi, helped in placing the Thibaw Prince upon the throne. In this matter we cannot know for certain what were the intentions of the Shweipyi Wungyi -- always said to be a straightforward man of short temper. There may well be obscurities in the records. Formerly, criticisms were made against the Shweipyi Wungyi for not involving himself in Palace affairs. Now, however, we cannot really say which of the alternatives was good and which was bad.

This is a matter, however, that calls for consideration, and therefore I give my own thoughts on the matter.

The Hkanbat Wungyi, the Yeinangyaung Wungyi and the Shweipyi Wungyi were those who essentially favored the rule of a king constrained by law. The Kinwun Mingyi, too, from the time of his travels in Europe, had held such a scheme in mind. When we assess his position, it seems that he calculated that, in the matter of reforming the government, King Thibaw was one who could be easily persuaded. It appears that his intention was to work for a reformed government with King Thibaw at its head. The Shweipyi Wungyi, on the other hand, seems to have been disposed to think that the idea of a change in government could be extended to the whole country if the Kinwun Mingyi, with his easy relationship with royalty, were to head the new system. The Hkanbat Mingyi and the Yeinangyaung Mingyi half-heartedly[94] supported the Shweipyi Wungyi

93 *Sic* -- but probably not yet promoted

94 *Hnit-kou tazeik* -- "Half two bodies" -- I guess at the meaning

and seem to have thought that he would take the lead, while they lent him their support from the rear. Each of the four Wungyis then had his own ideas and seem to have thought that once King Thibaw was enthroned a final decision could be made. In these circumstances I believe that the Shweipyi Wungyi must rest free of blame.

One thing is apparent, whatever thoughts come up; this is that once he had accepted the Thibaw Prince as King, until he lost his power and position, the Shweipyi Wungyi kept his faith and loyalty to the King. During the reign of King Mindon, as Shweipyiwun he repeatedly had to accept the penalties of the King's wrath, but he never did anything at all that was in the slightest degree disloyal to the King. It is true that he was criticised for showing disrespect to the King, but he never said anything that was in the smallest degree disloyal.

Although for these reasons the Shweipyiwun did not at first take a conspicuous position, as time went on he was required to attend King Thibaw's court, so that, when on the twelfth waxing day of Thadingyut, 1240, the funeral of the King's father was held, there was placed in charge of the ceremonies the Wetmasut Myoza, Mingyi Minhla Mahasithu, the Atwinwun and Shweipyiwun.

When King Thibaw succeeded to the throne, all the changes in government that had developed during the reign of King Mindon continued to evolve.

Royalty under Law

We must take another look at the system of government that was undergoing change from the beginning of King Mindon's reign. Under this King, the officials and their leaders were working within the law to devolve upon themselves all the powers invested in the absolute monarchy. Foreign relationships, in which the king would have special expertise, would by law be in his personal control, under considerations of prudence. There was therefore a strong movement towards making changes by stages. The evidence for this is that, right from the time when the King assumed the throne, changes were made removing certain of the King's powers, which were taken up by the Hluttaw; for example the improved methods of tax collection and the system of ruling through four separate ministries, among others. To see how far these changes went, we have to say that, in the matter of King Mindon's appointment of the Thonzei, Methkara and Nyaungyan Princes as *bayin hkan,* the appointment, made without the agreement of the Hluttaw, was only effective until the Princes were arrested and placed in confinement.

There was then an intention of changing the mode of government but it cannot be said that the Hluttaw had yet gained complete control of the changes. It might be said that the above-mentioned business of appointing the princes as *bayin hkan* by the King only amounted to a death-bed action and the power of the Hluttaw was fully effective. But it was not quite like that; the influence of Hsinbyumashin must be said to have practically absorbed the power both of the King and of the Hluttaw. In fact, the governing powers had not yet been firmly established in the Hluttaw. However, the basic rules of government by the committee of Hluttaw ministers who had access to the King were beginning to emerge. In particular, the governmental reforms put in place in western countries by their ministers and generals,which had been seen by the ambassador-

minister, the Kinwun Mingyi, influenced minds in that direction. It is hard to say, however, that this frame of mind had emerged in the large body of royal princes[95].

So long as the Kanaung Prince was alive and Heir to the throne, the emergence of a parliamentary system on the basis of a mutual agreement between the Princes, the ministers, and the military officers, such as the Shweipyiwun hoped for, would have been discussed. However, the Princes themselves were opposed to the efforts of those who believed that the rebellion of the Myingun and Myingondaing Princes had improved their own position. Consequently, when it came to the point of King Thibaw actually acceding to the throne, the Kinwun Mingyi and the Shweipyiwun made no approach, open or private, to any of the Princes about arrangements for the changes in government that had been planned. This must have been because of their known objection to these ideas, which was being solidified by Hsinbyumashin, the senior Queen, who was trying to do away with such ideas.

In connection with the plans to reform the system of government, the reports of Major MacMahon, the British government agent, who accompanied the Kinwun Mingyi to Europe, give reliable information. I therefore wish to give some points from these reports.

There is a statement that Dr. Clement Williams[96], the first British agent to arrive, drew up for the Kinwun Mingyi a fundamental law for a system of government with the intention that the pattern of royal government might be one that governed on legal principles. This statement is supported by the sense of Major MacMahon's records.

It may well be true that Dr. Williams was the first to provide the seed of a scheme for reforming the system of government, but when members of Parliament in London described to the Kinwun Mingyi the system of government that had developed in the British kingdom, the Mingyi was very favourably impressed with it. For this reason the Mingyi, with assistance from Major MacMahon, made notes, based upon these descriptions, of whatever in the system seemed to be worth noting. Major MacMahon says that on the basis of these notes the Kinwun Mingyi drew up a fundamental law for developing a form of government in the kingdom of Burma and that he had this printed and published. In his *Myanmamin Okchokpon Sadan* the Pagan Wundauk [U Tin] says that in the Kinwun Mingyi's legislative department there was printed a fundamental law. Since this agrees with what Major MacMahon says, it is worthwhile to make a guess at what this fundamental law was. Since it has not survived for a later generation to study, this editor cannot say for certain, but the circumstances that we have described provide good evidence that all in the government, from the Shweipyiwun to the Kinwun Mingyi, were engaged in a great effort to reform and change the system of government.

Fourteen Departments of Government

We have shown above how King Mindon devised the system in which the four Wungyis controlled the four departments into which government business was divided.

95 It is interesting that in 1885 in Bangkok a body of princes petitioned King Chulalongkorn that the government should be reshaped on the lines of western parliaments. This was refused.

96 Williams later acted as the Kinwun Mingyi's buying agent during the 1872 mission

However, only a part of the royal power was actually handed over to the four departments. The four Wungyis who were at the head of these four departments were only established in a right to be consulted. It was only when the time of King Mindon's sickness came that the four Wungyis could override the King's power, as has just been demonstrated.

Now, when King Thibaw had just come to the throne, it seemed that there was an excellent opportunity for changing the system of government and, therefore, the plans for government gradually expanded.

Pagan Wundauk U Tin says that in his view the distribution of business between fourteen departments was a separate decision taken at the meeting in the North Garden in Thadingyut 1240. The fourteen departments were what are now called "Ministries". They were

1. Agriculture
2. Handwork industries
3. Land warfare
4. Taxation
5. Religious knowledge
6. *Purisaneha*
7. *Sassamedha*[97]
8. Criminal Justice
9. Civil Justice
10. Water-borne warfare
11. Foreign Affairs
12. Partnerships[98]
13. Town and village affairs
14. Mechanised industries

If we look at how, in modern times, ministries are formed, we shall be able to recognise these fourteen departments, but I believe that it will be best to give a clear explanation of the old usages and an explanation follows.

The department dealing with "Handwork industries" is that which dealt with public building works. What is now called the "Defence Department" is that which was called "Land warfare" and it now includes "Water-borne warfare", which was then separate. The duty of the "Human Resources" department (*purisameda*) was that of supervising the King's personal estates. The "Crop Resources" department had responsibilities, from the time of King Mindon, that were much the same as those of the *shweidaik* [99]. In King Thibaw's reign, however, its duties were expanded. In modern times it would be referred to as the Treasury. The "Foreign Affairs Department" still dealt with foreign affairs, but the department dealing with "Partnerships" was then separate. Its duties were to deal with legal cases involving foreigners in co-operation with the Agent of the appropriate foreign country. In particular, at this time when a British

97 *Purisamedha*, "wisdom in handling men" refers to outgoing payments (mostly in salaries). *Sassamedha,* "wisdom in handling crops" refers to money coming in from taxation

98 Explained below

99 The King's treasury

subject was the subject of a criminal case in a foreign country, the British had the right of an extraterritorial jurisdiction in association with the local authorities. This was the origin of the "Partnership" department. The "Town and Village Affairs" department was the department concerned with the administration and control of territories outside of the capital area. The remit of the "Mechanised Industries" department was that of the present "Department of Industries".

In these fourteen departments, Agriculture was under the Yeinangyaung Wungyi, Handwork Industries under the Hkanbat Wungyi. The Land warfare department came under the Legaing Myoza (the Kinwun Mingyi), while Taxation fell to the Wetmasut Myoza, the Atwinwun, Thadou Mingyi Minhla Mahamingaung-thihathu (the Shweipyiwun). Religious Knowledge was given to the Atwinwun, the Saw Myoza, U Waik; "Human Resources" to the Atwinwun, the Yaw Myoza, U Pu Gyi, and "Crop Resources" to the Atwinwun, the Shweidaikwun, the Myoza of Taunggwin, (U Shwei Thaing). The remaining departments were distributed variously to Myowuns and Atwinwuns to run.

The Konbaung Chronicle says that it was on the third waning day of Tazaungmon that King Thibaw approved the distribution of functions among the fourteen departments. Comparing this with what the Pagan Wundauk, U Tin, says, that the meeting in the North Garden came to its decisions on that day, we shall be able to conclude that the arrangement was established on that day.

Once the division of government functions between the fourteen departments had been devised, the meetings of the Hluttaw took a different shape. Formerly the Hluttaw held three sessions in the day -- the morning session, the midday session and the evening session. In the new arrangement ministers did not attend to make individual decisions, as the Wungyis of the Hluttaw had done. Rather, as the *Rajadhammasangaha* shows, the sessions were called on the lines of western countries' Parliaments. According to the *Myanma Min Okchokpon Sadan* there were 64 officials who attended the meetings of the Hluttaw. These officials were divided into three grades; those who attended the first level, the second level and the third level meetings. The first level was for the Wungyis, the Atwinwuns and the Wundauks, who had the prime responsibility and, according to the MMOS, it was a meeting of 15 officers. Since the business of government had been divided between fourteen ministries, it seems that this should have been 14 officers. Why the number should be fifteen I cannot say, since, in spite of a diligent search of the records to make sure, I have been unable to find any explanation. The second level meeting was held between members of the group of executive Wuns, such as the Cavalry Wun, the Athi Wun and the Infantry Wun. The third level meetings were attended by the officers guarding the palace compound, army officers and, always, the officer guarding the palace's Red Gate. Officials attending these three levels of meetings had the responsibility of making laws and therefore all these officials can be compared with the old Hluttaw ministers. They were not, however, appointed by popular election.

Among the chief pieces of legislation instituted during the reign of King Thibaw we find the Law of the Assembly. This law was passed as a regulation by the three sections of the Hluttaw that we have described.

After the system of dividing the responsibilities between the ministries had been instituted, King Thibaw appointed the Atwinwun, the Wetmasut Myoza, Thadou Mingyi

Minhla Mahamingaungthihathu, to be aWungyi of rank equal to the Laungshe Wungyi, the Yeinangyaung Wungyi and the Legaing Myoza, and the Kinwun Mingyi. The Wetmasut Myoza, as the new Wungyi, was granted privileges equal to those of the Laungshe Wungyi, Thadou Mingyi Mahathirisithu, along with a provision of 12,000 kyats per annum for salary. In the Chronicle it is said that at the time of King Mindon's funeral, the ceremonies were in the hands of the Sheipyiwun and that the Shweipyiwun was granted the appanage of Wetmasut, with the ordinary title of Minhla Mingaungthihathu. It is only in the reign of King Thibaw that the "Thadou" title appears. Upon this evidence we can say that it was under King Thibaw that the Wetmasut Myoza gained the "Thadou" title.

The Book "Rajadhammasangaha"[100]

On the seventh waxing day of Nadaw, just a week after the division into fourteen ministries had been carried out, the Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi finished the writing of his book *Rajadhammasangaha* and presented it to King Thibaw[101]. The author describes it pleasantly as "a book of the proper behaviour for Kings and other high officers of government". The Pagan Wundauk U Tin, however, says "it is a book of admonishment addressed to King Thibaw." And in this he speaks the direct truth. In this book the Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi documents the proposals for changes in the system of government that were planned from the time of King Mindon. His intention in writing the book, he says, is, "In bygone times of the Buddha-to-be there were good and excellent Kings who guarded the well-being of all living creatures; like them may our own King, Lord of the Saddanta Elephant and Lawful King, under the Law guard the well-being of all living creatures like that of his own beloved children."

This expressed intention has a further meaning. Under an autocracy we cannot really say that the monarch rules with the single-minded wish to rule all living creatures on the same terms as his own children. If he is brought to the point where he must consult the "living creatures", we may be able to say that he regards them on equal terms with his own children. If there is no law requiring consultation, his guardianship becomes dubious. For this reason the Wetmasut Myoza expressed hopes about guardianship. This intention looked forward to the new system of government with high hopes.

Source Books for this Book

The Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi wrote his book *Rajadhammasangaha* holding very strongly to the basic ideas of the politics and government of western countries. We cannot say that it follows from this that it is only a book that copies western ideas; in it the author compares the past with the present, the old with the new, western notions with eastern, in his search for objectivity. In the book we will find ideas coming out,

100 This is reading the title in Pali style. Transcribed in Burmese style it is "Yazadamathingaha"
101 It covers 273 pages of Burmese text and he must have been writing it for a considerable time

appropriate to the time, from the Pali scriptures of the Lord's sayings, from the Commentaries, from the book *Kamantaki* which is basic to Burmese culture, from the Abhidhamma Commentary, from the *Milinda Panya*, from the book *Amarakosa*, from the *Hitopadesa*, and from the *Rajaniti*. Out of these, the *Niti* books and the *Hitopadesa* are still well-known in our own time, but although I made a careful search for the books *Kamantaki* and *Amarakosa*, I have been unable to find them[102].

It does not seem as though later generations have taken good care to preserve the meanings and implications of the *Niti* books in Burmese literature. They are books that give the means of control of the organisation of all the peoples of Burma. It is similar to the "*dassana*"[103] on government that have appeared at various times among the western nations, dealing with questions that had to be faced about the country and the country's power. An examination of the *Niti* literature can provide an approximately correct idea of the politics of Burma in the past.

A Revolution in Ideas

The *Rajadhammasangaha* was an overturning of the old ideas about the Burmese polity. We have seen how U Bo Hlaing, the Yaw Atwinwun, in his *Vimuttirasa* turned over for examination the ideas and beliefs received by the people in general. Such an inspection would be in a way to affirm the *Kalama Sutta*[104] which was pronounced by the Lord. In the *Vimuttirasa*, in giving an independent demonstration of the Law of Dependent Origination[105] he overturns the notion that "The Lord himself uttered this and so I dare not discuss the idea"; any rule at all might be examined in the light of one's own intellect. This means that such an examination might be made by the scientific methods of the time, even though those methods had been rejected by some important people of the past. Those who disliked such methods could not reject them as being unfounded.

In the *Rajadhammasangaha* the Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi applied the scientific methods of enquiry used in the *Vimuttirasa* to his enquiry into the basic ideas of the Burmese polity and scheme of government. This enquiry was not a matter of erasing the old to install a new replacement; in the *Rajadhammasangaha* there appears:

> 'New' and 'Old' do not apply to the Law -- it is right to hold that good that meets your need."

and:

> "People say that if you go to make new rules and regulations when things in the country are working well, you destroy the law of what must not be done, but don't be in a hurry to believe them."

If we rely upon what is said in the *Rajadhammasangaha* we will find that, in what is old,

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102 Kammantaki, "conduct of business?" : Amarakosa, "immortal treasury?".He must mean that they existed primarily in a widespread oral tradition

103 *Dasana* means "tenth" and *dassana* means "seeing" - "darshan". I don't know what is intended

104 The Sutta in which the Buddha stresses that truth-seekers should not follow authority, but know for themselves. See http://www.cains.com/bucha/kalama.html

105 *Paticcamupada*

anything that should be discarded must be discarded; in the new, what merits adoption, should be adopted.

In the *Rajadhammasangaha* the Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi compared the ideas held on the government of Burma with the history of its people and modified them them so as to fall in line with the truth.

For this reason, on the authority of the Lord's scriptures, he rejected the offering of the "Five Great Sacrifices". However, he brought out the deeper meaning of the "Four Rules of *Sangaha*[106]" with a new idea that related them to actual experience. He expanded the meaning of the *Sammapaca* Rule[107] in the manner of practical students of politics who explain the wisdom of "while there is no call for merchants and farmers to form attachments to the rulers of another country, to the rulers of one's own country their minds must be bound as though taken in a snare".

In considering the relationship between principles and experience, he could recognise and describe four rules in the practice of which the peoples of the West had advanced -- *sacca* (loyalty) -- *dhamma* (lawfulness) -- *dhiti* (firmness) -- *caga* (generosity). In connection with the *Caga* Rule, the Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi wrote, "In this world, if there is any business that calls for action and the government does not do its part and provide what is needed to put it right, there will be no one else to do it. In truth, if a government uses its power to cause oppression, if rebellion is possible, there will be rebellion; if rebellion is not possible, people will escape it by running away." In these remarks lay his exhortation to the King to consider the laws of government that experience has provided.

The nature of the Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi in dealing with such matters was to think about their essential basis and to reach his conclusions from the wisdom so derived. In the time after the British had annexed one part and another of the Kingdom of Burma, the population of Upper Burma was much reduced[108]. When he considered this circumstance, even though the English were a different people he had always to keep in mind the Three Rules for dealing with underpopulation in a country that are given in the *Tika Nipata* of the *Anguttara Nikaya* scripture. On normal considerations we should only have regard to the fact that the English, after they had taken over Lower Burma, had worked to spread prosperity by governing in accordance with laws and by raising up the people by establishing new lands for them, and in this had outdone the Burmese rule. The Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi, however, as he considered these facts and their basic causes, determined that the system of rule set up by the Kings of Burma was pervaded by lawless passion, corrupt gains and false beliefs. The cause of this had to be thought about. Coming to the truth, the fact was that the principles that had been followed for more than 2400 years were principles that only fitted their original time. In his *Rajadhammasangaha* the Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi repeatedly showed this disposition of his.

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106 Roughly the rules of civility -- "charity, kindly speech, goodwill and sympathy"

107 The dictionary only says "a kind of sacrifice", but see MMOS ch.39. Here it means economic encouragement

108 The rapid loss of population to the British territory in the 1860s was a great worry to Burmese authorities

The Wetmasut Myoza's ideas always went and stayed ahead of his time. In discussing the war of words between Thagya-min and the Asura Lord Vepacitti[109], he considered the opinion "*balam* -- fools -- *bhusena* -- violent -- *dantena* -- by punishment -- *nisedhaye* -- are checked". He rejected this view. The governing rule of the Asura Vepacitti and his legal principle was that to put an end to criminality, the imposition of severe punishment was needed. In the time of the Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi this would have been the view that was in vogue. Thagya-min's view with which he attacked it was not as yet well-known. It is not possible for ideas that belong to a later time to come to birth. Still, from the point of view of today, it is hard for progressive nations to hold to the opinion of the Asura Vipaciti.

The Wetmasut Myozawun had studied the natural laws of capitalism and in the *"Rajadhammasangaha"* he demonstrated that "Among the peoples of the West[110] wars will commonly take place; since in their encouragement of trade and economic development they accept no barrier or limit, there will be many wars.".

As has already been said, the Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi also showed how the idea of the elevation of Mahasammata by a popular assembly entailed oaths of mutual obligation between the ruler and those who accepted his rule. "'If the people of our country are engaged in mutual quarrels, there will be no one to make the decisions that bring order. Give up, then, looking after your fields and carrying on your trade of buying and selling; out of the profits that we make from our agriculture and trade, we will provide you with what you need on the same scale as ourselves' -- under this agreement he, who was to be the Lord and who had the wisdom to guard the land, was made King". This sentence was the sort of sentence that would rouse the people of that time to an interest in the country's affairs. It is clear that the Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi by one remark and another was driving towards a legal change in the system of government.

Asevanaca Balanam[111]

In spite of being a man of very great learning, the Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi occasionally might fail badly, if he found himself in an environment of shaky wisdom. For this reason the Wungyi seems to have had great apprehension of being faced with ignorance. In the *Rajadhammasangaha* we find in the Wungyi a disposition to hate the sight of stupid people.

Yassa -- any fool
yambalam -- the strength of utter stupidity
atthi -- has
abalam -- the five powers of kingship and the seven powers of virtuous men cannot penetrate it; they have no force
ahu -- so the Lord and good men say

109 See Part II sect. 10 of main text below
110 *Thousaung lu-myou* -- lit. "Wearers of woolen hats"
111 "Escape from Folly"

In this[112] the phrase *"maik lòn gyi*"[utter stupidity] indicates a dislike of folly that goes to the limit.

Besides this, the Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi explains the meaning of the Lord's scriptural pronouncement, "There is a rule of tolerance that when one's own benefit is also that of another, two people are benefitted. One should therefore act so as to benefit both. Fools think this is foolish." He uses this to go on the attack, and repeatedly takes "the strength of folly" as the target of his criticism.

In his memoirs, the Hmawbi Theingyi Hsayadaw remarks that the Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi had a great fear of and shrinking from words of praise from stupid men.

The horse keeper, Nga Ta, pretending to wisdom, used to speak of writing the *Vimuttirasa*, the *Kayanupassana* and the *Udubhojana* as being like setting up a house of offerings or an infirmary in a place where people congregate. When he heard about this, the Shweipyi Wungyi begged him to stop. He took out 16 pyas in "peacock"money and gave it him, saying "Here - take this money and go and buy yourself a *pazou*[113] and put it on. After today I don't want anybody to go praising my books. You've no business to be looking at them -- D'you hear me? Then remember!" It is true that he put a stop to it. For the unlettered Nga Ta to be praising the work of a scholar was a good as murdering the scholar. For this reason the Wungyi avoided people like Nga Ta.

The Wungyi had several times lost his official position through stupid people. At these times he had not been disheartened -- he would get the post back again soon enough. But regaining his position brought no gladness; he took no revenge upon those who had plotted against him. He seems to have regarded it in his heart as good fortune enough to have got away from such people. By avoiding common stupidity, up to the end of his life he devoted himself to the spreading of knowledge.

Burma's Native Democracy

In the Mahanibbana Sutta of the Pali Sutta scriptures the Lord gave his attention to the Licchavi princes and pronounced the seven rules of *aparihaniya*, which are

1. Consultation in a body
2. Acting by consensus
3. Behaviour in accordance with the law
4. Respect for the admonishments of superiors
5. No oppression of women
6. Respecting the rites of the spirit guardians of the towns and villages
7. Protection for the monkhood.

The meaning of the word *aparihaniya* is "what cannot be diminished or destroyed". It can be said therefore that the rules of *aparihaniya* are the rules of progress. Among these elements of progress, that which is called *sannipata,* the rule of the assembly; that which is called *samagga* on the conduct of business in agreement; that which is called *panyatta* on the drafting and enactment of laws, are all essential parts of what in our own time is the legal system known as "democracy". In his book, *Rajadhammasangaha*, from its

112 In the Burmese of the *nissaya* above

113 "A waistcloth" - "Go, buy yourself a pair of pants!"

beginning to its end the Wetmasut Myoza explained these essentials. "If a country is ruled by the authority of only one or two men, there will be much wrong and distress done to what common people there are, and therefore the authority must not lie with one or two men. If there is a general meeting between the Prince and his ministers and officials, there will be no chance of wrong and distress." He adduces this as good evidence of how the aim should be government by the will of the majority. A basic law that government is carried on by the will of the majority is of the first importance. For this reason the Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi in his *Rajadhammasangaha* gives persuasive examples of the systems of government and of legislation in western countries.

The first part of the *Rajadhammasangaha* is designed to show that the function of the officials[114] is to act as representatives of the people before the King and his Ministers. At the time that the book was written, for more than two hundred years -- nearly three hundred -- such officials in England had acted as representatives of the people and had demanded their rights from the King and his Ministers. The Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi thus took up the fight for rights.

However, while the institution of government by the will of the majority and the rights of the people are both of great importance, of no less importance is the responsibility lying upon the people. For those who submit to the government to be in debate with the governors is a distribution of rights, and the responsibility is equally divided.

The Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi kept these considerations firmly in his mind and, after dealing very elegantly with the question of rights in the first part of the book, in the second and third parts he went on to demonstrate the duties mutually incumbent upon the rulers and those who accept their rule. In this demonstration he gave the words of the book an up-to-date meaning.

The British Parliamentary System

The Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi gave great importance to the legislative system, and in explaining it out he based himself on the experience which the Kinwun Mingyi had accumulated of the British parliamentary system. He explained how the British parliament consists of two Houses, one of a "group of important people selected by agreement from the towns and villages of the country", and the other of "a group of people who entered it according to their lineage". In their legislating duty the two Houses had to work so as to preserve *sannipata* and *samagga*, to be united in keeping the rule of *aviroddhana*, and to set in place the four rules of *sangaha*. In this demonstration he also showed how in forming a consensus of the will of the majority of the people, both government newspaper houses and popular newspaper houses had responsibilities.

In the matter of newspapers, in 1230[115] under King Mindon the *Yadanabon Thadinza* first appeared. Regarding this, he showed in the *Rajadhammasangaha* that the purpose of this was to bring popular opinion before the King.

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114 *Hmù-mat* -- In his London Diary the Kinwun Mingyi always refers to members of parliament by this term

115 1868 - the year in which Ahee opened the *Burma Herald* operations in Rangoon

Among the Burmese the virtue of *hiri-oppattana* is recognised. This is a double rule and in the *Rajadhammasangaha* the Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi separated out the two parts for discussion of their essential natures. *Hiri* applies to oneself. It means to be ashamed for oneself. *Ottappa* on the other hand applies to the external, the outside, another person; it is the fear arising from bad conduct when an ill deed is brought into the open by another. Put otherwise, *hiri* is the shame that is felt when you know that you have behaved badly; *ottappa* is the fear from knowing that you will be blamed by others for your bad behaviour. To speak in modern terms, it is the respect that one has for public opinion. The *Rajadhammasangaha* makes this distinction clear.

Rajabacca Vimuttako[116]

At the time of his accession, King Thibaw had not quite completed his twentieth year. In the course of his life, in extreme youth he had succeeded in passing the *Padamabyan* examination, which had greatly pleased his royal father, King Mindon. A reasonable consideration of King Thibaw's defects, however, forces us to concede that the type of literacy that passes the *Padamabyan* examination has no relevance to the ability to handle the affairs of a country; that is a worldly matter.

In such circumstances, what is needed is a minister-instructor who is a student of politics. The Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi was 29 years older than King Thibaw; he had a wide knowledge of both worldly and of religious matters. Besides his general knowledge of what might be met with in the succession of princes, he was completely equipped with ideas on what must be done in foreign affairs. He had the courage to lead his time. To look back at that period is to see, from the days of the Kanaung Prince onward, a time for seed planting, a time that had the potentiality for the materialisation of revolutionary changes. It was a time when the Kingdom of Burma had a good opportunity of making great progress. At this time there was a possibility that, relying on Thibaw as the "Philosopher King", the plans laid out in the *Rajadhammasangaha* might be realised and Burma might at least have been left her independence under her own King. However, we cannot establish a truth in history by guessing. We can in fact only meditate[117] upon the events that happened.

What did happen in fact was that the Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi was unable to influence King Thibaw. Only Hsinbyumashin, the Queen, could manipulate him. At the bottom of this was that, as the Taingda Mingyi's influence grew again, the revolutionary path that the Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi had designed was diverted.

Thus King Thibaw never attended to what was said in the *Rajadhammasangaha* which the Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi, as a learned guide to the affairs of state, had prepared for him. Just 50 days after the book had been presented to him, the Wungyi was dismissed from office. This was the very last time that he found himself so dismissed. About this last dismissal, he felt no concern. His feeling about it seems to have been "I'm free! I'm free!". After his dismissal, in the *nigon* to the metrical translation that he

116 Explained at the end of the section

117 Vipassana tin

prepared of the Great Jatakas[118], he gladly wrote: "*Rajabacca* -- after being a courtier to a king -- *vimuttako* -- there is freedom."

The Magwe Myoza Wungyi

Regarding this happening, the Chronicle has this to say: "On the 13th waning day of Pyathou of this year (1240) the King in anger dismissed from their posts the Yenangyaung Myoza Wungyi, the Magwei Myoza Wungyi and the Wundauk, the Myoza of Myothit. Their titles, their privileges and their appanages were withdrawn from them." The Magwei Myoza here mentioned is not a different person -- he is the Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi. The Hmawbi Hsaya Theingyi relies on what the Thandawzin U Hsu Pan says when he explains that during the time of King Thibaw the Magwei appanage was granted to the author of the book *Rajadhammasangaha*, but in the *nigon* to the book nothing of this kind is said about a grant of the Magwei appanage. In truth the grant of the Magwei appanage to the Wetmasut Myoza is extremely odd. The original Myoza of Magwei, U Kya U, was father-in-law to U Bo Hlaing, the Wetmasut Myoza. He was also the one who had removed King Thayawudi and placed King Pagan on the throne. To succeed a man of such distinction in his position would be something to be proud of. However, from the fact that nothing is said in the nigon of the *Rajadhammasangaha* we must infer that the Wetmasut Myoza received the Magwei grant after he had finished his book and submitted it. It may well be that it was after this again that he was dismissed from office. . The Yenangyaung Myoza and the Myothit Myoza Wundauk were also caught up in some way in the dismissal of the Magwei Myoza (U Bo Hlaing). In fact, during the reign of King Mindon these three had been like three comrades-in-arms in making plans for the country's affairs. For this reason, when any one of these comrades--in-arms was selected for punishment, it was felt that all three should be dealt with as a group. The Yenangyaung Wungyi's case was not isolated; when the Mindon Prince withdrew to Shweibo, he carried on the Prince's business in constant consultation with Maung Bo Hlaing (now to be the Magwei Wungyi), along with Maung Sou, once the Yameithin General.

In the matter of the dismissal of the Yenangyaungmyo Wungyi, it is said that his dismissal came from a rivalry between his son, the Kanni Atwinwun, and King Thibaw for the daughter of an Atwinwun, the Wun of the Extra 40 Shield unit, named Daing Ma Hkin,. In connection with the dismissal of the Myothit Myoza, the Wundauk U Aung Kou, various stories have been investigated to no purpose[119]. However, as to the essential basis of the dismissals of these three personages, the Pagan Wundauk U Tin sets it out: "It was not a question of the power of knowledge, of wealth, or of followers; they were men who had worked for a basic law and a parliamentary assembly."

118 The ten long stories of the Buddha's previous births, often treated as a special group

119 His remit included charge of the printing press, in which he might have given offence

Plans for the Treasury

We can say generally that with the dismissal of the Magwei Wungyi, the plans for change and reform set out in the *Rajadhammasangaha* were also dismissed. We can show outright from the records that a particular cause of the dismissal lay in the scheme set up for the cash accounts in the Treasury.

During King Mindon's reign, out of the four departments that distributed between them the functions of the four Wungyis, the Treasury office, the *Shweidaik,* stands out. We do not have the method by which it exercised control over taking in and spending the royal funds, but at the most I imagine that an account was kept of receipts and expenditures. Now, however, with the scheme for the fourteen departments being set up, the Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi in his *Rajadhammasangaha* gave a precise description of the method of clearly appropriating funds in the Treasury. When, for instance, the Wungyis' salary was set at 12,000 kyats per year, this would be clearly apportioned in the statement of expenses.

From what important men and women have said, we do know that among the common people of the country there was much criticism of the fact that their hard-earned money that was taken in taxation was spent, without accountability, upon the King's donations according to his whims. In the *Rajadhammasangaha* the Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi showed that money paid in taxation, with the intention that the transport of goods for trade and agricultural work might be carried on safely under protection, was a voluntary expense, being a contribution by traders and farmers for their safety in the absence of other protection. The use of such contributions at will for making offerings could not be excluded from the 25 forms of theft[120]. After this he made the suggestion that the *shweidaik* should be managed openly and that a bank should be established.

In the memoirs of the Hmawbi Hsaya Theingyi it is said that once the Shweipyi Wungyi criticised the practice of the Kings of Burma of night by night in the palace, paying expenses and making gifts to Parsi entertainers, saying that there was nothing gained. "Giving money derived from our land to people of another land will impoverish our own people. Using our country's money for the growth of our country will strengthen the Kingdom. It will be for the good of the country to submit this warning to the King whenever there is an opportunity."

On one occasion in a meeting of the Byedaik, the Shweipyi Wungyi[121] made a speech advocating:

1. Making a law setting monthly salaries for the King, the Queens, the Princes and the Princesses and also for all grades of officials and officers;

2. Setting up a bank to hold any surplus money and to establish proper funding;

3. That this was the only way in which collections and expenditure could be managed easily;

4. That by the use of this money, weapons could be provided and the military given training;

5. That if the country were fully armed, no enemy would dare attack and the country's prosperity would increase;

120 See U Tin, MMOS ch.402

121 *Sic* but a Wungyi would not be speaking in the Byedaik; must mean "Atwinwun"

6. That if this were not done, long-nosed foreigners would kiss the women of Burma;

7. That if this plan were followed, within five years it would be possible to plan for the Kingdom of Burma to regain its former position.

When this speech, made within the palace itself, came to the King's ears, he was very angry and dismissed him from his post, saying, "That's enough! So I can't use my money as I want? If I want to spend it I have to get an order from the Shweipyi Min before I can! If that's really so, then I am pushed off the throne!" The Shweipyiwun was not concerned for the post; what concerned him was the decline of the country.

The Hmawbi Hsayadaw Theingyi gives no clear indication of the period of these two events, but if we say that they were in King Mindon's reign it could be right, but it could also be right to put them in the reign of King Thibaw. The Pagan Wundauk U Tin in his MMOS says that at a celebration Suhpayalat[122] made a present of 1000 kyats to an entertainer. He says that with the breakdown of the division between fourteen ministries the tax money was spent and wasted as the King or the Queen fancied, and that palace servants were brought into the government of the country. If we compare this statement with events that we have experienced in our own time, we have the ability to speak of King Thibaw's reign.

Restrictions on the King's Power over the Treasury

In connection with the the Magwei Myoza Wungyi's dismissal, the account in the "Upper Burma Gazetteer" shows the broad history. It says that the Wungyis established a scheme for government under law; they set up an assembly under the name of the Hluttaw for ruling the country. According to the document establishing this assembly, no proclamation of an order or of an appointment might be issued by anyone without the agreement of the assembly. This system, however, did not accord with the wishes of the Centre Queen or of King Thibaw and his Chief Queen and it is said that for three months there were no meetings of the assembly. The Hluttaw assembly had ordered that the *Shweidaik* should be supervised and controlled. The Shweipyi Wungyi himself objected to the lavish expenditure of the King and the Queen It was for this reason that the Shweipyi Wungyi and the Yenangyaung Wungyi were dismissed from office. The Yenangyaung Wungyi was a man as freely spoken as the Shweipyi Wungyi, and from time to time spoke openly in the King's presence of the good religious practice of the Met-hkaya Prince and the scheme for a government under law was lost sight of in the blame laid upon the Wungyi. Relying upon these notes from the "Upper Burma Gazetteer", we can say that the Yenangyaung Myoza Wungyi with the Shweipyi Wungyi and the Myothit Myoza Atwinwun tried to take control of the King's power over the revenue and, as the result of their failure, were dismissed from office.

122 Note -- no honorific

Treasury Balances

Even though the Wungyis of whom we have spoken had been removed from their offices, the plans laid out in the *Rajadhammasangaha* did not go for nothing and for the rest of the reign some checks remained. We can say this because even after the Wungyis had been dismissed, when the accounts were made out, called "treasury balances", there was a balance in hand. We can see an account of the treasury balances for the year 1244 in the last part of the Chronicle and in the *Myanma-min okchok-pon sadan* In that year, according to the main statement, it is set out for general information that receipts in taxation came to 9,598,182 Kyats and 2 mu, against which the annual expenditure on *purisamedha* (salaries) came to 5,474,556 Kyats. The balance of 4,123,626 Kyats and 2 mu was the King's own property, from which he had to provide for himself, the Queens, the Princes, the Princesses, the royal attendants, nurses and nursemaids, the royal pages, myozas and ywazas. From any surplus remaining the King was expected to provide without fail monthly and yearly support to monasteries, pagodas, scriptural publications, to monks, novices, devout laymen and *thila*[123].

In the distribution of functions among the fourteen ministries of government, by far the most important reform instituted by the Wungyis was in the power of controlling income and expenditure in the treasury. From the start, regulating this was a very basic part of the plan. As an example, King Thibaw's two barbers were each paid 120 kyats per month and the attendant of the Taungpyon Nat had a monthly salary of 36 kyats. Nevertheless, as the time went past in which the Wetmasut Myoza Wungyi tried to get the ground cleared to establish some discipline, it seems that the planned discipline slipped. The Pagan Wundauk U Tin complains, "At no time did the (treasury accounts) show the budgeted surplus. Sums collected in advance for the next year and borrowings were entered separately."

The Book "Udubhojana Sangaha" (Diet for the Seasons)

U Bo Hlaing, the ex-Magwei Myoza Wungyi, was now left free of any obligation to attend the King's court and could be at liberty to work, without interference, on a book according to his own tastes. In 1241, therefore, he put together a handbook of the sayings and writings of those who had set up the *Alankanaccaya*, under the title *Navasiddhanta*. I have made a search for this book but have found no copy.

After completing this *Navasiddhanta*, U Bo Hlaing wrote his book *Udubhojana Sangaha* at the suggestion of the Legaing Myoza Wunshindaw Mingyi, who in later times is better known as the Kinwun Mingyi. He finished this work on Thursday, the eighth waxing day of Nayon, 1242. Out of the books that he wrote after his dismissal, this book, to speak in modern clichés, has been the most steadily in the bookshops.

Udubhojana Sangaha is a book that has been compiled by comparing various books of medicine dealing with the health and the ill-health of a population, with their length of life and so on, from the two principles of climate and nutrition. It explains how

123 Probably meaning *thila shin*, nuns

people ought to eat and drink from the point of view of good health. Some scholars have called it a book of diets but it is not to be called a simple book of diets. It is a book that gives a complete explanation of how one's eating and drinking should be arranged each day, as one's body changes, for the preservation of health, looking to changes in the weather, in one's surroundings and in one's age. Speaking from the point of view of our own time, the book is a guide to the public health of Burma in that era. It gives exact advice on what has to be done in looking ahead and providing for health generally, on the use of perfumes, on scrubbing off dirt, on bathing, on eating, on taking exercise after a meal, on the use of bedding and such subjects.

When he set himself down to write the book he had little skill to rely upon, but generally. as he wrote it, his knowledge grew. Whether he was writing on science, on medicine, or on the thirty-two levels of meditation, we can watch U Bo Hlaing's understanding steadily increasing. In writing the present work, *Udubhojana Sangaha*, he sets out, making the proper distinctions, the various individual forms of nourishment and their suitability to circumstances. For this reason the book is the basic book of Burmese medical skill.

Even though this is true, the book makes no claim to be altogether independent of a long line of earlier books on medicine in Burmese. In addition to the Pali scriptures, the author names eighteen earlier books as his sources; the names are:-

1. *Suriya Siddhanta*
2. *Magadha Abhidhan*
3. *Bhesajja Mancusa*
4. *Sarakomudi*
5. *Sussata* medicine
6. *Bhavaggakasa* medicine
7. *Rajanighantu* medicine
8. *Dabbaguna Pakasa* medicine
9. *Saratthadipani*
10 *Visottaridasa*
11 *Athottaridasa*
12 *Cakkadatta*
13 *Raja Vallabh* medicine
14 *Kappaduma Abhidhan*
15 *Ratanamala*
16 *Abbuta Sagara*
17 *Samut*i
18 *Baddi*

However, these books do not yet have the insights of western medical knowledge. It is true that he refers to them and there are to be found brought together in these books the names of many of the substances used in the west. By examining the names and classifications of these substances, U Bo Hlaing was able to update his estimate of their properties. The following terms appear in his book -- Cinchona, Quinine, Peppermint, Nitric Acid, Turpentine oil, Hydrogen, Laudanum, Vinegar, Acetic Acid, Rectified spirit,

Alcohol, Sauce[124], and Drachm. This shows that U Bo Hlaing had a wide knowledge.

In western medical practice, when the power of a drug is to be introduced into the veins or the breathing system of a patient, use is made of alcohol, the spirit that can be distilled from some types of liquor. "Vehicle" means the medium which can convey people, animals, or any kind of material from one place to another. Similarly, alcohol can carry the power of a medicine and to disperse it through the body. So that Burmese doctors might be able to know and understand this principle and put it to use, he described the properties of the various liquors that western medicine uses. "[T]he liquors that there are, are hot.... They can enter into small apertures of the body..... and disperse rapidly through the whole body and, if the blood is made to rise up, can cause drunkenness. They can relax the muscles." In this, U Bo Hlaing's intention must have been to increase Burmese medical knowledge with some science. If the course of U Bo Hlaing's revolution had not been broken up in the reign of King Thibaw, Burmese medical knowledge might have advanced more scientifically.

Alinka Nissaya

In the account book for the year 1242 of U Wun (Min Thuwun), the Director of the Rangoon University office of Translation and Publishing, we find an entry for a *Abhidhammattha Sangaha Vannana Tikanaccaya*, said to be written by U Bo Hlaing, but we cannot trace the book. We can only mention it to place it on record; there is, however, another book published in the same year that is famous, namely his *Alinka Nissaya*.

On Friday the tenth waxing day of Tazaungmon, 1242, U Bo Hlaing finished the writing, at the suggestion of the Legaing Myoza Wunshindaw Mingyi, of his *Alinkaya Nissaya*, a new *nissaya* translation of the book *Subodha Lankara*. This work was written in the Pali language by Ashin Sangharakkhita Mahasami, a pupil of Ashin Sarittara of Ceylon. A succession of Hsayadaws in Burma, before U Bo Hlaing's time, had made several *nissaya* translations of the book. There are also translations more recent than U Bo Hlaing's. There is a *nissaya* translation by Ledipandita Hsaya U Maung Gyi M.A. that was produced in 1285. Nevertheless it is U Bo Hlaing's translation that stands out from the others.

Up to now, we have only actually encountered U Bo Hlaing's ideas and beliefs on politics. Now that we have come to his *Alinka Nissaya* translation, we shall have a better chance of knowing the breadth of his writings. In this book his mixed style of writing shows both his intention and his direction. Ordinarily, it is said of a mixed style of writing, that rules cramp a creative poet, tying him up in their bonds. It is believed that a mixed style, by limiting the poet concentrates his creativity. U Bo Hlaing, however, held that "towns and villages, the ocean, the seasons, forests, hills, moon, sun, morning, night, day, twilight, playing with water, rivers, having a good time drinking, loving association with friends, partings, man and woman together, agreement between two kings, alliance breaking and war, victory over enemies", all subjects he believed could be used to embellish verse. U Bo Hlaing gave careful thought to the notion that even "the writings of

124 This is our editor's transcription. I feel that "Salts" (like Epsom) is more likely

western scholars and their treatises" might be a basis for the elevation of poetry As it became freed of the elaborations of earlier writings, there was a desire not to believe that poetry elevates. Nevertheless the drift of U Bo Hlaing's writings, both in formal treaty documents and in "hybrid" compositions, were calculated to elevate. U Bo Hlaing takes a middle course in showing the disposition of one who opens up the essential meaning of poetry.

In addition to this, U Bo Hlaing showed that "when a good *pyazat* has been made, western scholars will pay one or two thousand kyats for the book and stage it in the West" as a great encouragement to the love of poetry.

The Mahasujataka

Just as the *Udubhojana* stands out among books on medical matters and the *Alinka Nissaya* among books of literature, so does U Bo Hliang's book *Mahasujataka* stand out among among books on *beidin*[125]. He completed it on the full moon day of Wazo, 1234.

Scholars who have studied the principles of *beidin* have written books on astrology so that people coming after them can say whether a man's life is to be long or short, lucky or unlucky, good or bad. However, almost all of these books were written in Sanskrit and the Burmese had never been able to be certain whether what was predicted was good or ill. U Bo Hlaing, therefore, compiled his book called *Mahasujataka* so that the Burmese might be able to make a sure distinction between a good and a bad fate. It is not a book that anyone urged him to write; it is a book written according to U Bo Hlaing's own desire.

It is a book of the actual experiences of students of *beidin*. In the book he shows the salutary directions that are called *ayudaya* results or *cutira*[126]. While U Bo Hlaing was a man well skilled in matters of *beidin*, and his stated purpose was to enable those who came after him to tell maxims of good fortune from maxims of bad, in fact in the book *Mahasujataka* he checked and rechecked the *ayudaya* calculations. To be able to say this makes the book stand out.

The Ending of a Life

Towards the end of the year 1243, after the writing of the *Mahasujataka*, U Bo Hlaing seems to have written no more. Although we have looked for other books written later, we have found none. The Hmawbi Hsayadaw Theingyi says that U Bo Hlaing once wrote *dòn-chìn-pyet*[127] writings, but no trace of this is to be found and we who come

125 The word *beidin* is a Burmanisation of the Sanskrit *veda,* but in general use covers little more than astrology, fortune-telling and the reading of omens. In more learned discourse, however, it can be used to cover much more, such as grammar, philology and such studies. This wide usage makes precise translation impossible

126 *ayudaya* and *cutira* (Pali) mean "coming into life" and " passing away", birth and death.

127 I have no idea what this means

afterwards may think that it has only been mentioned for the sake of completeness. To be historically accurate, we cannot say that after writing his *Mahasujataka,* U Bo Hlaing was in poor health, but for most of us, up until we pass away, that is the natural course for the body. However, if we can rely upon the drift of what the Hmawbi Hsayadaw Theingyi says in his history of the "Ministers and Officials of Burma", it seems that U Bo Hlaing did expect that the last part of his life was coming to its end. Although we can say that he lived in this expectation, the prospect of a confrontation with death did not disturb nor frighten him. The ability to face the inevitable law of death from day to day is a quality that is befitting to a man. Reading the Hmawbi Hsayadaw Theingyi's account makes this disposition apparent.

> The Shweipyi Wunmin, when he came to realise that a term of about one month had been set for his life, sent for one U Tu, living at Sagaing, who was his old school fellow and friend of his childhood. When he arrived he said to him, "Maung Tu, you and I were great friends when we were children, but this title of Minister still sticks in my mind. Don't call me "Sir" -- just call me Bo Hlaing just like when we were at school and I'll just call you Maung Tu. Stay by me for a month talking as we did when we were schoolboys. Find someone or other and send 200 kyats to your wife and children to live on. You support me and find whatever you like for yourself. Don't ask what I want to eat -- I'll eat whatever you do and whatever you say, I'll listen to. Don't let the Minister's wife[128] or anyone like that into this room." With this set up, the two of them, the way they were as children, chatted and laughed, swapping school stories. Sometimes what came up was ridiculous. Each day when it got to be bedtime they came together and he would ask U Tu to recite from the *Mahasadipathan Sutta* while he listened. Finally he would say "*Thadou*[129]" and go to sleep.
>
> There came a night after about a month when some time after six o'clock he said "Maung Tu, I want to go to sleep early. Reading the *Mahasadipathan Sutta* will be a bit too much for me. If I listen to it I shall just go to sleep. Wake me up after three o'clock," and so he went to sleep. As he had asked, U Tu did not read the scripture, but after three o'clock went to wake him, but he did not wake. U Tu touched him to see and he had to realise that his life had ended.

The Hmawbi Hsayadaw Theingyi believed that at the end of his life U Bo Hlaing wanted the company of good friends and so sent for U Tu, his good friend from past times to keep him company. To put it otherwise, when one's appointment with King Death comes up, it is right to prepare oneself for a good change of existence. The Hmawbi Hsayadaw Theingyi says that U Bo Hlaing began his preparations a month in advance. However, two years before his death, U Bo Hlaing wrote his book *Mahasujataka*, which tells about the individual span of life, and in writing that book he must have calculated his own life span. More than this, even before he wrote the book, he will have known what his own length of life would be. Thus we may guess that U Bo Hlaing wrote his *Mahasujataka* from knowing his own affairs and having calculated the horoscope for his own affairs.

In the Chronicle there appears, for the sixth waning day of Wagaung, 1235 "The

128 *Wun-kadaw* - presumably his own wife
129 Roughly "Amen"

Wetmasut Myoza, the ex-Shweipyi Wungyi, Thadou Mingyi Minhlamahamingaung Thihathu, died. The Hluttaw ordered the provision of a coffin and a funeral for him and according to the order a funeral was held."

U Bo Hlaing owed gratitude to King Mindon and he similarly owed gratitude to the Kanaung Prince. To King Thibaw also he was grateful[130]. Nevertheless, while he had obligations to these personages, his prime obligation was to his people and his country. U Bo Hlaing's disposition was always towards the love of his people and his country. He did not bend this disposition in favour either of his life or of his office. Always he sought for the right rule by measuring it against the standard of wisdom. Once he had found the right rule, his duty towards the people and the land was plain to him, without any fear or shrinking from it. The anger of kings could not shake him; he bore no malice towards kings who grew angry, but he persisted in sowing his seeds of revolution without benefit to himself.

His only reward for all his work was the above-quoted notice in the Chronicle.

Our Debt to U Bo Hlaing

The Chronicles deal only with the affairs of kings, but the one-line note on U Bo Hlaing shows a willingness to honour him. It cannot be said that a single line mention has no value, but he has a permanent source of honour in the condition of his people and nation. Ninety-five years have gone by since his death, but the revolutionary elements that were planted by U Bo Hlaing have dwelt in the hearts of the people, and have germinated on any occasion when time and place called for them. During his illustrious lifetime that internal spirit of revolution lived as though hidden underneath the militarism[131] of monarchic affairs in the palace, but it was never lost to sight. During the course of Burmese history the revolutionary hope, though its head might be cut off, seems to live on in the heart. Although in the succession of kings U Bo Hlaing could only benefit a single generation, we can see what is owed to him in the course of history by the nation and the people.

In our new era, the parliamentary democracy has been overturned and a socialist democracy installed[132]; looking back to the source of this in the old histories, we will find that U Bo Hlaing was the prophet who was at the beginning.

The people and the nation owe an enormous debt to U Bo Hlaing for what he accomplished.

Therefore, the last words to this edition of the *Rajadhammasangaha* must be used by the editor to repay in some part the obligation that is owed to U Bo Hlaing and the reader will appreciate that in writing this history I have gained knowledge.

130 For promotion to be a Wungyi, I suppose, even if it was short-lived
131 *Letnet-kaing wada*
132 Written in 1978 or perhaps a little earlier

Acknowledgements

Earlier biographies of U Hpo Hlaing are shown below, including complete notes comparing their details. However certain notes that were incomplete have been omitted.

Some sections contain speculations based upon original documents and the editor must accept the entire responsibility for deciding whether such speculations are or are not valid.

I must record my thanks first of all to U Htein Win for his constant assistance and encouragement in the work of editing this book, but also I cannot leave out the help in editing that was given by Hsaya U Ba Hmi and I am very grateful for his bringing up various Commentaries and Subcommentaries, his searching them out and for his collating them. I am also in debt to the late U Ba Kyaw of the Kusalavati Press, who when the first edition was in preparation waited so patiently for my manuscript and who gave particular attention to its correct setting.

For this new edition of the book, I am very grateful to the printers and publishers for their encouragement and for patiently waiting for the writing of the preface. Without the help of all these people the production of a book of this sort would have been very difficult.

I must record my obligation to the Pali Master Mahapinnyabala Hsaya Nyan, to U Yaw (Zeiyya), to the Sayei Hsaya Magha, to Shin Tejobhaya of the Hpypon-ok Monastery in the Mogaung Taik in Mandalay who holds the title of *Minhlagonyaung,* to U Maung Maung Tin, lecturer in Burmese literature at Mandalay University, to U Than Htut, Director of the National Library, and to U Wun (Min Thuwun), to all these for searching out and providing me, the editor, with data for the preface, for discussing differences, for giving their opinions and criticisms and so on, for which I am thankful.

In the present revision and correction of the preface, I must express my very great gratitude to the Mahanayaka and Thathanabaing of the Shweigyin Nikaya, the Myaungmya Hsayadawgyi, Ashin Nyanabhivamsamather for his advice and corrections. The Hsayadaw passed away on the second waning day of Wazo, 1337, while I was actually making a final revision of my preface. I am extremely sorry not to have had the benefit of the Hsayadaw's verdict upon the final version. Nevertheless, since the ideas and approval of the Hsayadawgyi Ashin Kumara of Myaungmya have been conveyed to me, my mind has been set at rest. And I must express my gratitude to the Hsayadaw Ashin Kumara for this.

I have already expressed above my debt to U Kyaw Hkin, Chief Editor at the Sarpay Beikman Press and to Shin Thiri Kuntala for the help that they gave over the book *Lilavati.*

New details of the Panchetwun are given in the *Guardian* Magazine by Vivian Ba who has carried on diplomatic duties in various places. My preface is more complete because I was able to refer again to this account and must thank Vivian Ba for this. On the Thanchetwun's proper name I was put right by his granddaughter, Daw Ma Ma Gyi, who lives at "Friendship House" in the Civil Lines, Mandalay. There are many others to whom I have similar obligations. Although I have been unable to acknowledge all these in detail, I must ask them to accept this as my acknowledgement. I acknowledge all who have helped me in this single line of writing.

I shall also be grateful if any scholars will point out to me for future reference any points, either of subject, or of conclusion that have been left out of what has been written in vernacular style.

I must also record my special thanks to the directorate of the National Library for permission to consult their manuscripts of the Rajadhammasangaha and to collate them

Maung Htin

Rangoon,
1336 the fourteenth waxing day of Pyatho
(Sixth of February, 1978)

The Rajadhammasangaha

Namo Tassa Bhagato Ahahato Sammbuddhassa

Dedication

Sasadhammaganuttamam/ Mahakarunam/ Sabbanyum//

Namissitvana Vakhissam/Rajnam Dhammasangaham//

That is to say:-- In reverence toward the most excellent Lord who is renowned above all renown, who dispelled Ignorance, whose company was the most admirable monks, who far surpassed the followers of *pacceka* Buddhas, who had pity for all living beings, who had perfect knowledge of all Laws -- the Law of those good men who are admirable monks, the Law that is marked out by surpassing excellence, the Law that is always to be praised -- this collection of the Laws by which Kings, Masters of land and water, Masters of their countries, should rightly be bound in their behaviour is composed.

1. The seven rules of *aparihaniya* by which the well-being of a kingdom is to be increased

The Mahaparinibbana Sutta of the Mahava scripture[133] sets out as follows the seven rules of *aparihaniya* through which the prosperity of Princes is to be increased, the well-being of the Excellent Order to be improved and the wealth of a country is to be made to grow without any falling away.

> "It fell to me, Ananda the Elder, to hear and to note down what was going to be said. At that time the most Excellent Lord was living in Vesali, in the monastery that had been built on the ground of the spirit named Sarandade. In the time when he was living there, many of the Licchavi Princes came to this monastery named for Sarandade in which the Lord was carrying on his practice of Religion and came to the place where he was. They greeted him with great respect and seated themselves properly. Once the Liccavi Princes were seated, the Most Excellent Lord addressed them, saying:--
>
> "Princes of the Licchavi, there are seven rules of *aparihaniya* which can never be lost and these I shall tell you. Listen carefully to what I shall say and hold it in your hearts." When the Lord had spoken thus, he thought and the Licchavi princes sat before him and listened carefully. The Lord then went on:
>
> "Licchavi Princes, if you ask what are the seven rules, they are these
>
> 1. The Licchavi Princes and the Vajji people will meet together as needed and for so long as may be needed. They will meet and consult for long hours if necessary. So long as time is devoted to meeting and consultation, the well-being of the Licchavi princes and that of the Vajji people will increase. This is to be desired; this will not be diminished. This is one rule of stability."

There is no question of one man alone dealing with the affairs of the Religion or of the State, once, twice, or thrice in a day. Consultation and discussion are essential. The meaning is that if affairs call for meeting for discussion twice, thrice or even more times, the meeting must be held.

> 2. The Licchavi Princes at their meetings will always come to an agreement. They will rise up from their councils in agreement on what action is to be taken in the Vajji country. For all such time as they act in agreement, the well-being of the Licchavi Princes and that of the Vajji people will increase. This is to be desired; this will not be diminished. This is one rule of stability.

When notice has been given of the time and place of the meeting, the meeting can be called a meeting by agreement. When, after adjournment of a meeting, there has been

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133 Editor's note: The *aparihaniya* rules were announced by the Lord in the *Parinibbana* and the *Sarandada Suttas*. Although in this book the Shweipyiwun shows the text as from the *Parinibbana Sutta* of the Mahava scripture, actually his text is from the Sarandada Sutta in the Sattanipata of the Anguttara Nikaya. It is given according to the recension of the Sixth Sangayana. Where its differences from the parabaik copy are noted the differences are explained.
[I have not included the notes on textual variants - LEB.]

discussion and agreement on the adjournment and on the time and place of its resumption, the adjournment can be called an adjournment by agreement. If some members leave the meeting while others remain, those who have left will have no knowledge of what the rest have been saying and will have doubts about their agreement. Therefore, if a meeting is to be adjourned, it must be by general agreement. In one particular matter, if there is a question of making war, every effort must be made to achieve unanimity, so that the meeting can be called unanimous. In other matters, of public health, of public affairs, sentences of death or life, there must be discussion, leaving out individual prejudices, aiming for agreement. In such cases it can be said that agreement has been reached.

3. The Licchavi Princes will not decide upon the issue of an order unless the Vajji people have consented to the law before it is made; they will not change a law that is made with this consent. They will consider what laws will be required to be made in the Vajji country before the need arises and behave accordingly. For all the time during which they follow such agreed law, the well-being of the Licchavi Princes and that of the Vajji people will increase. This to be desired; this will not be diminished. This is one rule of stability.

Princes and ministers who have conferred and reached agreement in a meeting and come to drafting and passing legislation will find that interested parties may use fawning speech or offer bribes to see that their interests prevail. Since such bribes will lead to bias according to their standing, legislators must carefully consider and reach agreement in council on what the business actually is before action is taken, what orders are to be made when action is to be taken, and what action demands what legislation. Then, when it comes to promulgation of the law, their action will be in accordance with the law and will achieve its purpose. If they act in this manner there will be no transgression of the law and amendments will not be necessary.

The rules of *Aparihaniya*[134] do not apply to the individual only: Kings, Ministers and People must meet in consultation upon how the country's welfare is to be secured and draw up legislation accordingly. If it is objected that an old law is being violated, since it is the country's well-being that is the purpose, old laws and prohibitions that were made according to the circumstances of past time should not be considered before meeting to consider the land's present well-being. Before taking action it need only be noted that there is an old law drawn up according to past circumstances. In explanation of this text, it is said in the *Sumingalavilasani* Commentary that, when action is to be taken, the rule should be drawn up according to the law that applies to the circumstance provided for. People who do not know the meaning of this believe that it means that it is not right to make a new rule that supersedes an old one that is covered by the seven *Aparihaniya* rules. They think that it is only right to follow old law and custom and that the *Aparihaniya* rules will be nullified if there is an idea of making new rules that will improve the country,. That opinion is not to be too readily accepted. But we should not speak only of the country; those who desire to act so as to realise the law of deliverance

134Aparihaniya - "not causing decay"; "stabilising" perhaps? See section 3 below and elsewhere

must altogether discard the old customs of the worldly who are bound in the misery of the endless round of rebirths in this age and by thus working towards this realisation will be able to attain it. There is no way to reach this realisation if they only follow the precedents of the worldly.

After the Lord Kassapa entered into *nibbana*, for the whole of the intervening age the Religious Order did not exist. The way to attain the Fruit of the Path and *nibbana* was lost. It was only after men had acted to show their desire that the Lord Gotama came and proclaimed the Fruit of the Path and *nibbana* and the true Law. With this there was a new manifestation of the Lord and the Law. In this world there are many ancient books of the Vedas, pronounced by learned teachers. In truth, if we are to use the age of the source to determine our actions, it is the Vedas that we should follow. If it is the Vedas that we follow, immediately after death what we get to is one of the Four Netherworlds[135]. This shows that in any matter of law, there is no question of newness or age; it is right to give the first priority to the question whether its sense is true and whether it is good.

4. At all times the Licchavi Princes will act with respect towards whatever old people there may be among the Vajji people. They will regard them as important. They will treat them with respect and love. They will honour them and remember to listen to their words. For all such time as they act thus, the well-being of the Licchavi Princes and that of the Vajji people will increase. This is to be desired; this will not be diminished. This is one rule of stability.

This tells us that, though we must pay heed to the words of our elders, it is not by long life only that the position of "elder" is to be seen as reached. Regard must be had both to wisdom and age. In fact, if we pay attention to what some fool says, even if he is an old fool, there is no chance of reaching the truth. One cannot go wrong with the rule "*asevanaca balanam/ panditananca sevana"*. (Associate yourself with wise men, not with the ignorant).

Hamsa konca manura ca|
hatthiyo pasadmiga||
sabbe sihassa bhayanti|
natthi kayasmi tulyata||

Eva mevam manussesu|
daharo cepi panyava||
sopi tattha mahahoti|
nevabalo sarirava||

That is to say :-- The *hamsa* bird (note that the word *hamsa* here means geese and ducks; the present Burmese usage of *hamsa* for the brahminy duck is wrong), the crane, the peacock, the bull elephant and the spotted deer -- all these animals and birds fear the lion. Bodily they have nothing else in common.

In the same way, among men it is true that even in youth some have wisdom. Those who show such wisdom in carrying out their business will be counted as of full |

135 The Four Netherworlds are the levels of Hell (*ngaye*), of the Beasts (*tiraccha*), ghosts (*pritta*) and Asuras

age. Some again of great age and great in body are ignorant and these will never be reckoned adult.

We can rely upon this *gatha* from the *Vaggasamyutta* scripture and others like it.

5. The Licchavi Princes will not abduct or wrong the wives or daughters of the Vajji people. They will not force them to pass their lives in the houses of the rulers. For all such time as they act thus, the well-being of the Licchavi Princes and that of the Vajji people will increase. This is to be desired; this will not be diminished. This is one rule of stability.

6. The Licchavi Princes will at all times render honour to whatever guardian spirits there may be, both within and without the cities of the Vajji people. They will make offerings to them and they will in no way reduce the food offerings and the drink offerings that have been customary in the past, save for the taking of life. For all such time as they act thus, the well-being of the Licchavi Princes and that of the Vajji people will increase. This is to be desired; this will not be diminished. This is one rule of stability.

7. The Licchavi Princes will see that good provision is made for the arahats who are honoured in the Vajji country and for other arahats, who have not yet visited their lands. They will consider in their hearts how these may carry out their religious duties in peace and how they should be guarded so that they may be secure in accordance with the Law. For all such time as they act thus, the well-being of the Licchavi Princes and that of the Vajji people will increase. This is to be desired; this will not be diminished. This is one rule of stability.

In this we are instructed that, as is set out in the four rules of *sangaha*, even as we guard and watch over our country, especial care must be taken of the religious order. Even in cases where there is no religious order (*rahanta*), the ordinary people must be looked after.

For all such time as they follow these seven rules of stability, the Licchavi Princes will remain in the Vajji people's country. In these seven rules of stability the Vajji people will win glory. For all such time the well-being of the Licchavi Princes and that of the Vajji people will increase. This is to be desired; this will not be diminished. These are the seven rules of immunity to decay (stability - *aparihaniya*)".

2. The power of an individual and the power of a general assembly

For a summary of the meaning of the statement that from following the seven *aparihaniya* rules the prosperity of a country will grow, we can say that, since the people in general will be led astray if the country's government is in the power and authority of one man, it should not be carried on through a single man, or even through two men. If it is in the hands of the King and his officials in an assembly, they will not go astray. On a

different point, among the people living in the country, the officials will have their own separate policies and adherents. If the government is in the hands of only one or two of overwhelming influence, people who are the adherents of the other officials, having no powerful patron, will be discontented at heart. For these two reasons, the whole body of officials must make it their first duty in arranging the administration of the country to come together in council. It is only by governing in this way that the country will advance and prosper. There is no possibility of failure. Thus, if the land is to be rich, the first thing is keep the government from falling into the hands of one or two rulers; government must be carried on by the whole body of officials meeting in council. This is the first basis of the *aparihaniya* rule that is known as *Sannipata* (unity).

In the same way, even when a king and his officials meet together in council, it is only from their agreement that advantage is derived. If they fail to agree, there is no benefit. However many people compose the assembly, if they fail to reach agreement, the assembly will fall apart. Not to speak of animals, even a child can break a single fibre of hemp or flax, but if these fibres are laid up together and twisted into a rope even a bull elephant cannot break it in two. Kings and their officials, who are holding an assembly, must take into their hearts this example of the hempen rope as their guide. They must come to agreement. The means of reaching agreement are:--

1. holding the meeting at the given time and place
2. setting the time for the adjournment
3. setting the intended agenda and arranging for an opportunity of speaking for everyone who wishes to speak. Thus it will be possible to reach agreement on the best course.
4. making an effort to ensure that when action is to be taken, it is with the general consent and that there is no secrecy. Only when agreement is reached in this way will wealth increase without a downturn. This is the rule of *aparihaniya* that is called *Samagga* (harmony).

3. The advantages of consensus in a meeting

These two rules of *sannipata* and *samagga*, consensus and harmony, do not apply only to kings and their officials; merchants and agriculturists also get much benefit from following them. Therefore in parts of ancient Majjhimadesh, like-minded merchants would get together, forming groups of five hundred or a thousand merchants, to carry on their business. In this way they benefitted greatly. To this day merchants in Majjhimadesh[136] form associations for their businesses and we can see for ourselves today how the Indian and Chinese people make large profits by following this example. Thus when a king and his officials, who have agreed among themselves in council, have decided upon an action and have provided for its cost, they will define the nature of the action and the planned course of events, since a bias might be introduced by bribes or presents and by the status of people involved in the action,. If the decisions are set out in an instruction, the action will be carried through in accordance with the instruction and

136 i.e India

there will be no room for influence through bribery. In truth this is the only way to profit. For this reason it was necessary to set out the *aparihaniya* rule that is known as *panyattipatipajjana* [description of procedures].

The wisdom appropriate to a king's minister of the highest rank is acquired by such ministers by dint of making their own decisions over many years and by their experience of what turned out well and what badly. If the wisdom of such senior men is valued and if they are given a prominent place and their advice is listened to, there will be no decline. The *aparihaniya* rule that is called *vuddhapacayana* [trusting in the ancient] had to be pronounced because only this can lead to increased prosperity.

Since doing violence to people's wives and virgin daughters, their abduction and having them dragged away, causes much resentment in the people of the land, the rule that this must never be done must not be broken and so it was necessary to repeat the *aparihaniya* rule against so using women.

Whatever may be the spirits that protect the city, they only desire the prosperity of its king and officials and they rely upon the offerings of *nat* food that these kings and officials make to sustain their life. Along with the king and officials, such spirits protect the country's welfare in whatever business is being carried on, and they are dealt with according to the customary laws in the same way as the military are provided for under *purisamedha*[137] principles. The provision of the customary food offerings for the spirits must not be allowed to be neglected. That it might be properly provided, it was necessary to repeat the *aparihaniya* rule called *dhammatabali* [prescribed offerings].

Religious people, from *arahats* downward, may settle themselves when they are provided for. Such religious who settle will increase the country's welfare both in this world and in the next by their preachings. This must never diminish and therefore it was necessary to repeat the *aparihaniya* rule that is called *arahanta rakkha varanagutti*. [settlement and protection of monks]

If then the meaning of the benefits of the seven *aparihaniya* rules are fully realised and the rules are followed, benefits both in the present and in the future worlds will be increased and will never fail.

4. The way to *mithubeda* -- the breaking of unity

We are told in the Mahava scripture and the Commentaries that after the most excellent Lord had announced the seven rules of *aparihaniya* in the Sarandada monastery, the Vajji district of the Vesali country advanced greatly as the result of following these rules. Years later, when King Ajatasatru decided to bring war upon the Vajji district, he sent his priest, Vassakara Punna, to addess the most Excellent |Lord. The Lord's younger brother[138], Ananda, told him, "While the Lord was living the |religious life in the Sarandada monastery, he announced the seven *aparihaniya* rules, |and it is from following these rules as he announced them that the Vajji district has |become so rich." Vassakara Punna was told the further explanations that had been given along with the *aparihaniya* rules and he reported to King Ajatasatru that if he wished to destroy the Vajji

137 "Personnel management", roughly - see section 8 below

138 I have made a slight emendation, *ka* for *kou.* It must be Ananda speaking

district, there was no way of carrying this out except by breaking the common purpose of their assembly: he must cause a split by *mithubeda,* causing divisions in their companionship. After this, Vassakara Punna went by himself to the Vajji district and through the devices of *mithubeda* caused a break in the unity of their assembly, so that when King Ajatasatru made his attack, the Vajji district was sacked.

5. How the people of the West are ruled through the consent of their assembly

The people of the West have been able to see that there are benefits to be got from agreement in an assembly and that losses come from divisions and therefore, so as not to work against the people of the country; and so that their assemblies might be in unity and harmony, they have worked to establish a principle of *avirodhana* [not going against the current] through

1. An assembly of like-minded people of importance from the towns and villages of the country;

2. An assembly consisting of officials[139] chosen for their lineage.

Since the establishment of these assemblies, the monarch and the assemblies of officials, with the concurrence of religious figures respected in the culture of the people, deal with the affairs of the country, with making and unmaking of appointments, collection of taxes, military dispositions for the protection of the country, payment of salaries and all the multifarious business of the country. This is not done following the wishes of king or queen alone, or of one or two ministers: the members of the two assemblies take an oath to act only after consultation and in accordance with the will of the assembly, and they are selected on the basis of their trustworthiness. Newspapers are established for the affairs of the monarchy as well as for the affairs of the nation, and discussions held in the assemblies on the affairs of the country are completely made known by these -- collection of the various sorts of taxes, military and naval dispositions in the interests of the country's power -- as the two assemblies deliberate on how to make everything fit in with the *sassamedha* [the budget position] and the other four rules of *sangaha*[140].

At times when the two assemblies of officials are in session, deliberating on the conduct of state affairs, newspaper reporters attend the meetings and listen to the discussion. They print whatever is said in the discussion in their news sheets and reports and once these have been distributed through the land the people will know what the official assemblies have been discussing. The newspapers will report back from the country what moves are popular and what are not; these reports will reach the officials of the two assemblies who can reconsider the matter. Once a decision is made, it is placed before the monarch, who signs his agreement and it is issued to the country. No business is done solely on the authority of a king, a queen, or one or two ministers. The king or queen just lives pleasantly, enjoying the reign and traveling wherever it may seem called for. They spend their whole time as they will, traveling and eating and drinking enjoyably. Things have gone on in this way for over five hundred years up to our time

139 Members of both Houses of Parliament are regularly referred to as "officials" - *hmu-mat*

140 See section 8 below - roughly "rules for a civil society".

without breaking the consensus or the assemblies and, since the seven rules of *aparihaniya* have been observed, the peoples of the western countries are at present the most advanced of all lands.

In the matter of making the world better for the country, the action of one or two ministers can, indeed, be effective, but among all the people who are involved in the affairs of the country, only those who fit in with those out of all the ministers who have the influence will be happy with the situation: those who adhere to the others will be unhappy On the other hand, if many take action in consultation with the country, they will not be wrong, and it is because it is only thus that things can be carried on well that the most Excellent Lord proclaimed that unity demands that there must be an assembly of many people and the harmony of consensus.

It is not good that the work of improving the world should be in the hands of one or two; that it should lie in many hands is good. In otherworldly affairs and the attainment of the Path, on the other hand, only by a man working by himself can the Path be found. It is for this reason that the Lord placed establishing unity first among the seven rules of *aparihaniya*. For the attainment of the Path, he said:

ekayano bhikkhave ayammaggo sattanam visuddhiya
(monks alone on the way in purity)

and:

eko care khaggavisana kappo.
(Solitary as the horned rhinoceros)

Each man, he said, must take the sole responsibility for his conduct, but he said too that in the Vajji country, whatever had to be done must be done by common consent. The four rules of *sangaha* that he was still to pronounce also entail the ten rules that are to be followed by kings.

6. How laws can be made strong and substantial

In worldly affairs, even though there is the meeting together in assembly, which is *sannipata,* and there is a good outcome from it, if there is no consensus in the assembly, which is *samagga*, that good outcome cannot endure for very long. Our earlier kingdoms – Arakanese, Talaing and Burmese – failed to obtain both these types of agreement together, *sannipata* as well as *samagga*, in their meetings and consultations. Among the people concerned, the ministers might have their own purposes, but the hangers-on of the kings and the queens would bring up and press their own separate interests in disagreement. So far as each man could gain power over others, he would do so, so that the ministers could establish no permanent basis for prosperity and all collapsed. Hence the ministers' happy condition would not be long lasting, but would be broken. Even if the king had counsellors of great integrity and trustworthiness, this did not last beyond one generation, and the kingdom would be lost in a later reign. Actions taken by the king that did not find favour with the majority, because they were forced through with the power of the government, were nullified in a later reign as the acts of a past king and there could be no permanent body of law. The ministers of kings could not establish their wealth for permanent enjoyment with their wife and children and household on any long

term basis. At most they could set themselves up for a single reign. Because a king by himself, with a reliable minister, could follow his own wishes, those who did not agree with him would be resentful. Dissidents would look for a leader to fit their wishes and many times there would be a rebellion. The peoples of the West, for more than five, perhaps even six, hundred years have preserved the *sannipata* and the *samagga* in the rules of *aparihaniya* of which we have spoken. Therefore for six or seven hundred lives of men[141] kings and their ministers have been established firmly and have not been overthrown. Princes and ministers, not of the line of succession and who were not fit for the part, rose in rebellions, but could not rule. Taking into consideration, first, that ruling thus by agreement in the assemblies leads to a long-term accumulation of wealth; next, that laws established by agreement between the King and his ministers on the one hand and the people on the other will be established for a long time; again that without agreement the royal authority, wealth, and laws that have to be made, all have no long life; they will soon be done away with -- if we think carefully about all that we have heard, seen, or experienced at various times, we shall see that rule by consensus in an assembly is desirable, is to be longed for, and must be introduced. The flourishing reign that is brought about by ruling by agreement with an assembly is what is to be desired and longed for. A position of power that is held in confident belief that "I, myself, alone and on my own, am omnicompetent" is like honey mixed with poison in the mouth; it may be sweet for the instant, but it will kill when it reaches the belly. Such thoughts as these will bring care to avoid such a position.

There is gain in a consensus in an assembly; there is prosperity with freedom from fear. The most Excellent Lord wished to show this truth in this *gatha* and that without consensus there is danger and an easy overthrow.

Vivadam bhayato disva|
avivadanca khemato||
samagga sakhila hotha|
etam buddhana sasanam||

That is to say:-- There is danger to be seen in the bitterness that comes from lack of agreement - We can see that where meetings are held without rancorous disagreement, there is no pervading fear but peaceful well-being. Where there is agreement, things go smoothly -- the Lord gives this advice about concord.

It is said that people who do not recognise that harmony in a meeting provides its benefit, while discord only brings trouble, are more stupid than some beasts. If you ask why, it is because we can see for ourselves that in this world animals like the jackal, the wolf and the elephant gather together in peaceful agreement to stay safe and, at the other end of the scale, the worm, the termite, the bee and the carpenter bee do the same.

141 That's what he says, but I think he's being a bit carried away and just means six or seven generations

7. False belief in the five great sacrifices

While the Lord [142] was staying in the Jetawan Monastery for the performance of his religious duties, King Pasenadi of Kosala carried out great and famous sacrifices. In the course of these sacrifices five hundred bulls, five hundred bull calves, five hundred heifers, and five hundred goats were tied up at the place of sacrifice and after they were killed the King caused the Ponnas[143] to make offering of the blood drawn from their throats to Sandi and other such godlings.

After this he devoted great offerings to the Ponnas. Monks who had come in for their *swan* heard about this and told the most Excellent Lord. He, wishing to explain to them that this sort of sacrifice was wrong and that the only good sacrifice was one that did not involve killing, pronounced the following *gatha,* which is recorded in the scriptures:

assamedham purisamedham|
sammapasam vajapeyyam||

Niraggalam maharambha|
na te honti mahapphala||

Ajelaka ca gavo ca|
vividha yattha hanyare||

Na tam samaggata yanyam|
upayanti mahe sino||

Ye ca yanya nirarambha|
yajanti anukulam sada||

Ajelaka ca gavo ca|
vividha nettha hanyare||

Etam samaggata yanyam|
upayanti mahesino||

Etam yajetha medhavi|
eso yanyo mahapphalo||

Etam hi yajamanassa|
seyyo hoti na papiyo||

142 In the text this sentence has no subject - I think that the Buddha himself must be understood

143 In common with other southeast Asian courts, the Burmese court employed "Brahmins" for various duties, mainly connected with matters not strictly belonging to the Buddhist world, mostly falling under the general head of *beidin* (Burmanised "Veda") -- astrology, non-Buddhist ritual and magic. The term "Ponnas" applied to them in Burma may derive from "Brahmin", but they would hardly be recognized in Varanasi -- we even find *sudra ponnas* spoken of. It is hardly translatable.

Yanyo ca vipulo hoti|
yasidanti ca devata ti||

That is to say:-- There is a belief that there are ornaments known as the Five Jewels, among which is counted the *assamedha* sacrifice which involves the slaughter of a horse along with nine thousand seven hundred other animals and their offering up; the sacrifice which is called *purisamedha* involves dedication of a man and killing him along with nine thousand seven hundred wild animals and offering them up; that the sacrifice that is called *sammapasa* means offering the burden of a train of loaded waggons by casting them into the waters of the Surassati river and dedicating a sacrificial pillar at the place where this was done; that the sacrifice called *vajpeyya* involves killing seventeen kinds of wild animals and making offering to the Ponnas and then drinking *ghi;* that the sacrifice known as *niraggala* consists in leaving all doors open without bolt or bar, for the Ponnas to take whatever they want -- a sacrifice like that described as the *assamedha.* All these "Five Great Sacrifices" involve killing large numbers of animals and offering them up and it is claimed that great benefits derive from them. This belief is utterly false.

Whether it is sheep or goats or cattle that are called for, the special |characteristic of these sacrifices is that the animals are to be killed. All the Buddhas[144] unite in rejecting such offerings of the death of animals.

All their sacrifices are innocent of the death of animals. Making offerings in ways like *niccabhatta* (providing food for monks) are the ways that befit them. In making such sacrifices as these, there is no killing of sheep and goats or of cattle. Only when there is no deprivation of life involved in the offering can the Excellent Lords approach the sacrifice.

Men of wisdom will make their sacrifices in the form of offerings like these, |free of killing. Such sacrifices that do not involve killing bring great benefits. An offering that is free of destroying life is right for a wise man; it is a matter to be proud of and carries no fault. It appeases the *nats*[145].

Sandi [Candi], Paramithwa [Parameshwar] and Peikthano [Vishnu] and other Hindu deities are the chief *nats* whom the Ponnas reverence. They are held to be supreme and in the belief of Ponnas of high rank, who are steeped in the books of their rituals, when an offering is made, animals must be killed and the blood from their throats offered to these spirits, believed to be the greatest. This offering is the proper sacrifice, called *yit*. They falsely believe that the great spirits are pleased with this blood offering and will provide benefits according to what the sacrificer wants. In fact, a sacrifice that is an offering made by killing animals can provide no important benefits. Only if the offering made is free of destroying life can the benefits derived be great. This means that the king of the Gods is satisfied.

These five "Great Sacrifices" are not of great antiquity. It is said in the Brahmanadhammika Sutta of the Suttanipata that they date from the time of King Ukkakaraj of the Saki dynasty.

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144 Samaggata mahesino - I am uncertain whether this refers to the four Buddhas of the present *kappa* or to all past lives of Gotama Buddha

145 Reading *kin:* for *kan:* is required by sense

8. The four rules of *sangaha* concerning praise and advancement through the whole kingdom

In the time before that of King Ukkakaraj there were the four principles of *sangaha*, called:
1.*Sassamedha*
2. *Purisamedha*
3. *Sammapasa*
4. *Vacapeyya*.

Those who carry on the work of government, kings who are masters of states, follow these principles in recognising and promoting those who guard the welfare of the lands which they rule. If they desire to advance any particular person, to give him a special appointment or to do him a favour, this can always be done. If, on the other hand, it is hoped to advance the whole country, these principles will be followed. Out of the four, the first is that of *sassamedha* and under this ministers and people consult together on the proportion of the land's production that can be extracted. The law is passed and taxes are collected without trouble, with no question of over- or under-collection.

For the collection of taxes under this *sassamedha*, there is a Pali commentary:

mayam pana vo salinam bhagam anuppadassa mati||
(as a mother providing a share of the rice)

In the Pateyya Sutta text and the Agganya Sutta

salinam bhagam anuppadassa mati mayam eke lassa khettato ambanampana aharitva tuhyam sali bhagam dassama||
(?providing a share of the rice looking to the state of the fields and the part needed for food[146])

If we rely on these commentaries, there is no prescriptive ten percent laid down. The general state of the country and its economic strength are considered and agreement is reached on the proper rate of collection.

In the "Samyutta Commentary" and in the "Itivutta Commentary" it is said that in past times, at the institution of the "Five Great Sacrifices", the rate of collection of the *sassamedha* tax was one part in ten. In the Pali scriptures however, no precise proportion is prescribed and we must note that only so much as is right for the country's condition should be collected. As for the meaning of the word, although strictly the word *sassa* refers to the rice plant, in its usage it has to be taken as meaning whatever can be properly taxed like the rice crop. It means the data basic to a taxation system. For this reason the opinion "*sassasampa dhane medha vitati attho*" [agreement over *sassa* means wisdom in wealth] appears in the new long *tika* of the Commentary on the Chatukanguttara as well as in the Abhidhan Tika and the Itivut Commentary.

What is called *purisamedha* is the distribution, out of the taxes collected, of their subsistence to the king, ministers and military, whether high or low in rank, all who have the duty of safeguarding the country. It means the knowledge of how to order those who have the duty of guarding the country in their ranks and in the hierarchy of their

146 There is room for differences of opinion over *dasa*, "ten", and *dasa* or *dassa* "to see" or "watch"

emoluments.

What is called *sammapasa* is giving support in their work to the merchants and farmers, to make them effective, to give them facilities and remove obstructions; giving aid where aid is called for. Much more important than these is help in obtaining capital for traders and farmers who lack it for their work in the shape of interest free loans. All this is *sammapasa*. Small traders and farmers must not be tempted towards loyalty to the rulers of foreign countries. They must only feel affection and loyalty to the rulers of their own land. *Sammapasa* means the skill of holding the minds of the small traders as though in a net or snare.

Vacapeyya means the use of cheerful language and of speaking so as to inspire love.

1. *Sassamedha*

In this world a country may be rich and happy, but it may be invaded and destroyed by a neighbour. It can also be attacked and destroyed from within by its own criminals and thieves. In such a state of insecurity merchants will be unable to carry on their trade properly. Country people too, who cultivate the cropland, will not be able to work well. Support for their trade and agriculture will keep them from interruption and it is right that support and protection should be given to these activities in cooperation with the country's rulers. With this cooperation proper support may be given to trade and agriculture. If solid support is given by the king and his ministers and the country's armed forces, trade and agriculture will be carried on where previously it had been impossible. Support for such government forces, maintenance for government servants and military, and provision for military stores must, however, be found and money for this will come from the rice crop. This is what is called the *sassamedha* tax.

2. *Purisamedha*

It is not right that after this tax money has been collected for providing support for the country's traders and cultivators, it should be handed out at will in religious offerings. Tax money that has been collected for protecting trade and agriculture must be spent only for the maintenance and expenses of the government servants and military who have the duty of protecting traders and farmers from danger. There is no justification for its being used up, with no intention of giving protection, in offerings to sources of falsehood and sources of oppression, who are included among the 25 classes of thieves[147]. The distribution of tax money thus collected to those who will actually provide the protection is what is called *purisamedha.* If kings and ministers wish to make offerings according to their status, it is right that they should use their inherited wealth, while tax money levied for protection should only be used for this other purpose after fully providing for protection[148].

147 Cf MMOS ch.402. U Tin is actually quoting this passage

148 He does actually allow for switching between heads of account

3. *Sammapasa*

If there is an intention to advance the country, or to dominate another country, this can be done by collecting a strong military force. In order to provide a strong military force, tax collections are called for. To increase the tax collections, help must be given to country people and traders and they must be encouraged to increase their productivity. Since this will increase their capacity for payment of taxes, the king, his ministers and other rulers of the land must constantly take watch the interests of these traders and farmers and encourage them. To give such encouragement will be to advance the country. The rule of *sammapasa* is that the work of traders and farmers must be carefully supervised and their production encouraged.

4. *Vacapeyya*

The world's rule is that people only like to hear themselves addressed in pleasant and friendly fashion. This is not true only of people, it applies to the animal world too. Because his master drove him roughly and abusively, the bullock Nandivisala refused his burden and lost his master a large bet. Addressed politely and considerately when driven in a second attempt, he won the bet back again. Because rough speech causes demerit and evil and must be avoided, pleasant speech is not only advantageous in this world, but in the next it provides a good passage to the world of the spirits. Such pleasant speech constitutes *vacapeyya.*

9. The formative idea of the Burmese kingdom

In the beginning of the world, before the elevation of Mahasammata to be king, when people squabbled among themselves, there was no one to resolve the problem. [They said to him] "If you agree to guide us and adjudicate in our disputes, we will give you for your sustenance as much as we gain ourselves from our own commerce so that you need not concern yourself with working in the fields or at trade" The future Buddha, a model of the wisdom required to guard the country, accepted the proposal and was elevated to the kingship. Since he had been chosen by the body of the people to be king, he became known as King Mahasammata[149].

The pattern of behaviour that was begun by the people at the world's beginning was continued uninterrupted to later times, with the people collecting and handing over their taxes, and the ruler providing protection. Thus the rules of *sangaha*, the *sassamedha,* the *purisamedha* and the rest were continued without a break from one generation to the next. They were followed in Baranasi, Savatthi, Rajgrha and other great kingdoms, where their merchants were men of enormous wealth. Kings and ministers were supported by the power of their armies, of 22 or even 28 *khobanis*[150]. There was no

149 *Maha* - great, *sammannati* (pp. *sammata*) - "select" and *sammuti* -"common consent"

150 On *khobani* see MMOS ch. 503. U Tin reckons it to be 656,100 men, subject to dispute. See also Part 2 sect.35 below.

one who could secretly steal from the people of a country grown to such a degree of wealth and power: doors into their houses or their strong places needed no bolts or bars -- they were left freely open. They were set up but remained purely for ornament. This lack of bolts and bars that came from following the rules of *sangaha* is called *niraggala*. The *niraggala* benefit of not needing to bother with bolts and bars that comes from conduct that puts the four rules of *sangaha* in their proper place may come to any country -- it can certainly be realised in our own time. If it is not yet with us, we must see that this is because the four rules of *sangaha* are not yet established.

10. How the Ponnas corrupted the meaning of the four rules of *sangaha* into the Five Great Sacrifices

Thus from the time of King Mahasammata, the four rules of *sangaha* descended through the generations down to King Ukkakaraja and the people enjoyed widespread prosperity. Wily Ponnas, however, wanted to get their hands upon the possessions of these people. They went to King Ukkakaraja and said, "We are learned Ponnas, and there have come down to us in our family traditions certain secrets, which are not for everybody to hear. They are a very special interpretation of the Vedas." They presented a false idea to King Ukkakaraja that, if he wished, by following their system he would be able to enter the world of the spirits as a living man without undergoing the dissolution of death. King Ukkakaraja believed them and did as they told him. From this the four rules of *sangaha*, that had been handed down to him were nullified and became the Five Great Sacrifices. The four rules were thus misinterpreted:

1. The word *sassamedha* was, it was claimed, not correct; it had been corrupted from *assamedha,* the true word. In this interpretation, *assa* means "horse" and *medha* means "to kill". What was really called for was a sacrifice of killing horses of five breeds; large offerings to the Ponnas would be involved.

2. Similarly, the word *purisimedha* indicated that a man should be killed and made an offering of -- with, again, large offerings to the Ponnas.

3. The meaning of *sammapasa* they took to be the making of offerings to the Ponnas and a sacrifice, by loading as much wealth as they could carry upon carts and driving them into the Surassati River on the mainland to a place where they would be engulfed. When this point was reached, the yokes and all bolts and fastenings on the laden carts would be broken open and everything cast into the river to be carried away. At the point where the fastenings were broken, a pillar commemorating the sacrifice would be set up and the sacrificial offerings completed. According to this view, the word *samma* means the yoke and bindings, while *pasa* is *asa*, or a magical casting away, with the letter "p" prefixed.

4. As for the meaning of *vacapeyya*, the "c", they said, is a mistake; it should be "j" and the word is *vajapeyya.* In this, *vaja* means "butter" and *peyya* means "drinking". The sacrifice is made by presenting good butter to the Ponnas and making a sacrifice of it.

5. The meaning of *niraggala* is doors without bolts or bars. He who wishes to make this kind of sacrifice leaves all the wealth of his house unprotected and the doors open for the Ponnas to come and help themselves.

From the time when King Ukkakaraja gave a hearing to these corruptions and distortions of the meaning of the words and started offering the Five Great Sacrifices, the five rules of *sangaha* were lost sight of in the world and the Five Sacrifices were prominent everywhere. In the time before Ukkakaraja became King, the world knew of only three diseases. After these sacrifices began to be offered, ninety eight diseases came upon the world. With the intention that all this might become known, the Most Excellent Lord pronounced the following *gatha* in the Brahmanadhammika Sutta of the Sutta Nipat:

tayo roga pure asum|
iccha anasanam jara||
pasunanca sammarabba|
paccha athanavuti agamum|| ||

That is to say:-- In the time before the Five Sacrifices were instituted, there were only three ills - Desire, Hunger and Age. In the time since sacrifices were introduced involving the killing of cattle and other four-legged beasts and making offerings of them, ninety eight varieties of disease have come to us.

(In the Temi Jataka and other texts the number is given as ninety-six. The basic Pali text says ninety eight and this is authoritative.)

In the countries to the west of us, beginning with India, which includes such great countries as Rajgrha and Savatti, which once had their Buddhas, *pacceka* Buddhas, Arahats, *cakravartins* and men of the greatest possible wealth, great strong countries, in them too the Ponnas cut off the four rules of *sangaha* at the root. They instituted instead their Five Sacrifices and for this reason their countries gradually declined. The rules of *sangaha* became established among peoples in the wilderness and found their way to the countries of the West. These countries of the West have followed the four rules of *sangaha* and they have therefore been able to overwhelm the sixteen once-great lands, like Magadha, Rajgrha, Kosala, Savatti and the rest. The peoples of those lands have lost their kings and ministers and are now, because of the coming of the western people, in servitude. Almost all of the remaining lands live in terror of the peoples of the West.

11. How the western peoples have followed the four rules of *sangaha*

Since, in our own day, the peoples of the West have made it a matter of great importance to follow the four rules of *sangaha*, the rulers of those countries wish to ensure that there should be no failure in the collection of taxes and in the handling, by *purisamedha*, of the taxes collected under *sassamedha.* For this reason, consultations are held with the houses of the elected[151] officials and of the officials by right of position, to make sure that no one is adversely affected. Once the tax has been collected, a sufficiency for current use is handed over once a year to the government. The balance for which there is no immediate use is, with the agreement of the officials, placed on reserve in the treasury. The treasury remains in the charge of the officials. The treasury does not only take charge of tax money collected in the country; it also holds surplus funds of ministries, of the wealthy and of traders, including their gold silver and jewels. Careful

151 Pyeithu thabaw tu pei thei hmu - "officials given the people's agreement"

accounts are kept of all such moneys and valuables and, whenever it may be in the interest of the country's defence or advancement, after consultation with and with the assent of the assemblies, following the *sammapasa* rule, budget balances that have been collected from the people in general may be used for making loans at appropriate rates of interest to merchants and farmers[152]. It empowers the commercial world and assists mutual trading groups. Since there is more to be gained from international trading than from trading within one's own country alone, no barriers are placed to the encouragement of trade with other countries and so associations are formed and travels undertaken. Countries that will not discuss the legal provision of such encouragement may be attacked and ruined. If one country alone has not sufficient strength for this, the attack may be made by two or three western countries in alliance. For the most part among the peoples of the West, wars are undertaken, following the rules of *sammapasa,* on account of hindrances put in the way of their traders. Wars may be begun and wars may be ended only with the agreement of the merchants and farmers. For making war, money has to be provided by merchants and farmers.

Because they thus in their actions give the greatest importance to the four rules of *sangaha* and to their promotion, among all the nations the peoples of the West stand out for their prosperity. As the great kingdoms of the Middle Land were in the past, so now the west is preeminent in power -- economic, military and industrial.

12. Law keeps those who keep the Law

There is no way in which they can prosper in this world who stay outside the Law and who do not act in accordance with it. If there is any place in the world that can be said to have been reduced to nothing, in truth it is one that has itself set the Law at naught. If any has prospered, it is indeed one that has kept the Law. The people of such a place will always be trusted as people who abide by the Law. It is said

dhammo have rakkhati dhammacari

That is to say:-- "the Law protects those who keep the law". It is also said

dhammakamo bhavam hoti|| dhammadessi parabhavo||

That is to say:-- "Those who love the Law thrive; those who hate the Law lose their well-being." It is also said

dhammo have hato hanti||

That is to say:-- "Anyone who destroys the Law is destroyed by the Law." these are the Lord's sayings on whose truth we can rely.

(NOTE:-- "In the line *phalam ve kadalim hanti* --'the banana plant killed by its own fruiting' it is as though in the word *hanti* the affix -*ti* indicates the singular. In *hanati* the vowel sound is dropped so that *ti* is joined on to give *hanti."*)

The law is like a medicine. The drug that will send away a belly ache does not cure a fever and the one that cures a fever won't fix a belly ache. In this way the rule of behaviour in this world holds good both for the present and for future lives, but it is not one to follow for the other world. If you follow a rule that is good for the other world, it

152 Presumably he is thinking of the Bank of England, but generally he does have a basic understanding of the banking system as a whole

will not help in this world. The Path, its Fruit and Nibbana, belong to the other world. The rules that do you good in this world and the rules that bring you to the Path, its Fruit and to Nibbana are in truth opposite. If you want to be well-set for the other world, you have to fix yourself in a tranquil spirit, take to the forest, live under a tree and practise in solitude. It is not a practice for two together. For this reason the Lord has said

eka yano bhikkave ayammaggo sattanam visuddhiya and
eko care khaggavisana kappo

If it is a question of doing well in the world, the action to take is to form many connections and to work in common consultation; it is not for one man alone to accomplish. For this reason a belief that is false from the otherworldly point of view can be profitable, if it works in this world. Though there may be a rule which is good for the other world, if this world's rules are not followed, you will not win what called good in this world -- wealth in gold and silver, or military power. For this reason *yathei* and *rahans*, who work under the rule which holds good for the other world, cannot be masters of gold and silver, or of weaponry. Our rule of *avirodhana* and *sangaha*, on the other hand, are rules for doing well in this world and, if we follow them, we can be confident that they will hold good in this world, whether, in an absolute sense, they are false or true.

13. Pursuit of the Four Rules of *sangaha*

The Four Rules of *sangaha* were pronounced by the Lord, not only for the benefit of princes, but for all men in general; they are recorded in the Singalovada Sutta of the Patheyyavagga of the Dighanikaya as well as in the Anguttara Nipata, as follows:--

dananca peyyavajjanca|
atthacariya ca ya idha||
samanattata ca dhammesu|
tatthatattha yatharahan||
ete kho sangaha loke|
rathassaniva yayato||
ete ca sangaha nassu|
na mata puttakarana||
labhetha manam pujam va|
pita va puttakarana|| ||
yasma ca sangahe ete|
sammapekkhanti pandita|
tasma mahattam papponti|
pasamsa ca bhavanti teti|| ||

this is from the Singalovada Sutta.

That is to say:-- "In this world, out of the obligations of behaviour that lie upon men, that of charitable giving, that of speaking in friendly fashion, that of working toward a common economic interest, and that of giving others an equal regard with oneself, these are to be thought of as the four rules of civility which peoples of all sorts must follow according to their ability since they are like the linch-pins of chariot wheels.

"In any place whatever, if these four rules of *sangaha* do not exist, mothers will not receive the love and respect of their children; fathers will not receive the love and respect of their children.

"Since in places where the four rules of *sangaha* are absent parents do not receive love and respect from their children, it is for wise men to practise and teach these four rules, so that they become known. By practising the four rules, such men of wisdom attain to a great accomplishment and receive praise from all men."

On either end of the axle of a vehicle a wheel is set with its hub and in the part of the axle that projects beyond the hub a hole is bored and, to prevent the wheel from coming off, a linchpin is set in this hole. In the Pali, this linch-pin is called *ani* but it is known as the *napan* keeper. Without the *napan* keeper, the vehicle cannot move. If it tries, the wheel will come loose and fall off. This keeper set to keep the wheel from falling off is the linch-pin. The four rules of *sangaha* are the *napan* keepers of the vehicle that is the world. If there is no keeper, the vehicle cannot travel -- it will be shattered. In the same way, without the four rules of *sangaha* the world falls apart. Since the Lord has told us that the various peoples of the world must follow the four rules according to their ability, we must consider four types of people.

1. Some people are engaged by the distribution of wealth and goods. They have no interest beyond this.

2. Some people are engaged by friendly speech. They have no interest beyond this.

3. Some people are engaged with guarding and watching over the well-being of others. They have no interest beyond this.

4. Some people are engaged with treating all as on a level with themselves. They have no interest beyond this.

The Lord pronounced his four rules of *sangaha* to correspond with these four types of people in the world. For the most part, it is members of the class of servants and poor people who are motivated only by gain. Rich merchants, who are satiated with wealth, will be motivated rather by hearing pleasant and persuasive speech. Men who are rich enough to stay at Court have cash in hand and have plenty of nice things said to them -- their motivation lies in grants of forts and towns and territories, in titles and promotions to special offices. By such considerations they are influenced and they will work to gain these benefits since it is self-regard that leads them. Certain important merchants and bankers also may in the course of their business be influenced by self-regard to take care of the interests of others. If one notes the arrival of another who is on equal terms with himself, in position, in riches and property, in power and in reputation, he will place him on a level with himself, he will dine with him and walk with him -- he will be influenced to give all such marks of equality with himself to show his equanimity. People in the world are thus influenced by different inclinations and the four different rules of *sangaha* are needed. If they are followed, that society will grow great and will gain a reputation in the world.

In a family with children too, it is right that the parents should enforce the rules of *sangaha* according to the children's age and inclinations. The children too should follow them in regard to their parents. In other relationships too -- friends and relations, master and servant, teacher and pupil -- the four rules of *sangaha* are to be mutually observed.

As for the children, while they are small they have to be given their provisions and to be fed; as they grow older they have to be given clothes and beads and earrings and other such things for decoration. When they are of age, mates have to be found for them and when they set up their own separate households, it has to be contrived that these sons and daughters are comfortable and happy. Sons and daughters, from infancy to full age, have to be given gifts and to be watched over. If they are not, their parents will get no love and respect from them.

14, Three courses that end societies

If you want to provide food, drink, goods, buildings and housing widely over most of the country, you devote yourself to ensuring a growing and richer population. You must consider immigrants, and, since they will work, the most Excellent Lord has laid down three rules to be applied to minority groups in a country and to depopulation in the country, which must be carefully considered. These three rules occur in the Paloka Sutta of the Tikanipat of the Anguttara Nikaya.

[Three pages of Pali text follow, not transcribed]

That is to say:-- I, Ananda, heard and noted down the following that was said. At this time the most Excellent Lord was staying in the Jetavan Monastery in the Savatti country on the estate of Anathapindika, the rich merchant. While he was staying there, a Brahman merchant, whose name and origin are not recorded, arrived at the monastery. He came to where the Lord was, made a respectful salutation and took a seat. After he had seated himself, the Brahman merchant addressed the Lord. "Sir Gotama, the aged and learned of the past, Brahmans who were teachers of our teachers, understood that the world and the Avici hell were packed full with mankind. The villages, towns and kingdoms were only so far from each other as a chicken can fly. This is what we have heard tell. Now, for whatever reason, mankind is diminished and this is plain. Our villages are no villages, our towns, no towns, our cities, no cities -- even our hamlets are no hamlets. How is this and what is the remedy?"

"Brahman," replied the Lord, "In our day, people wrongly take their parents' sisters to be their wives and into other relationships: they take riches and property that it is not right to take and these wrong actions weigh them down. They do not perform the duties that they should. They devote themselves to a false Law. Weighed down by these wrong desires for incestuous relationships, for improper gains, people who are devoted to a wrong Law take sharp weapons into their hands and deprive each other of life. Because they attack each other in this way, many men die. Brahman! Because of the state of society in our time, it is clear that the human race is withering away and is being brought low. Villages have become no villages; towns , no towns and cities, no cities. Even hamlets have become no hamlets. The cause, as I have said, is from their killing each other.

"Brahman, to say it again -- people of our time have wrongful incestuous lusts for close relatives and for others' wives -- they have desires for wrongful gains of riches and property which weigh them down -- they do not carry out the duties which laymen should and they are held to a false Law. In the lands of such people the rain does

not fall in a good and regular fashion and because the rain does not fall as it should, rice becomes scarce, rice, wheat and bean plants do not grow properly and, because of insect pests, they become wormy. There is no crop and the people are reduced to bare bones[153]. From this many people die.

"Brahman, in our day, because of all these facts, it is plain that humanity is withering away and is much reduced. Its villages are no villages; its towns, no towns, its cities, no cities. Even its hamlets are no hamlets. It is from all this comes the drought, with the shortage of irrigation water and of food and drink.

"Brahman, to say it again -- people of our time have wrongful incestuous lusts for close relatives and for others' wives -- they have desires for wrongful gains of riches and property which weigh them down -- they do not carry out the duties which laymen should and they are held to a false Law. In the lands of such people the Spirit Lords set free the rough demons, who in their freedom slay many men. Brahman, in this way it is clear that humanity is reaching its end and is withering. Its villages are no villages; its towns, no towns, its cities, no cities. Even its hamlets are no hamlets. This is the cause for which the demons are loosed."

In speaking thus of the loosing of the demons, the most Excellent Lord, the Lord Gotama, was much moved; because of this he spoke in parables -- of how a water pot that has been overturned is set upright again; of how things that have been covered over may be opened up to view; of how one who has lost his way may be told his proper road; of how people whose eyes have been covered up with dirt may be wiped clean and then see the forms round them; of how holding these thoughts in the heart will work like the brightness of a lamp -- with many such examples the Lord Gotama demonstrated three principles by which men become scarce.

As he spoke, I stayed close to him in reverence. I stayed close also in reverence for the Ten Laws and for the eight excellent members of the Order. The Lord Gotama addressed me as "Devotee" and asked if I remembered what he had said. "From this day forth, for the whole length of your life, you must remember it."

The basic meaning of this Pali text is:--

1. Incestuous lusts for women of one's close kindred and desire for twenty other types of women and such transgressions are called *adhammaraga* -- wrongful desires
2. Dishonest gains taken by cunning tricks, that are beyond one's due, or taken by oppressive means are called *visamalobha* (unfair profit).
3. The master's duty, the servant's duty, the teacher's duty, the pupil's duty, the husband's duty, the wife's duty, all such duties are set out in the Singalovada Sutta and they are to be followed. The fault that lies in not following them is called *micchadhamma* (wrong course of life).

Since these three wrongful principles abound in the world, men oppress each other; they attack each other, ruin and loot each other. One country wars upon another, invades and annexes, its soldiers cut and kill. Because of this, men are diminished and in lands where these three wrong principles prevail, the rain does not fall duly, rice becomes

153 The Pali text has *salaka-vuttam* meaning "eating grass"

scarce and there are deaths from famine. People emigrate to lands where there are food and drink. Since the rain is not regular, diseases spring up among the cattle, which have to live upon fodder that has no strength; they have to be treated with remedies that have no strength and the diseases do not disappear. People die out and populations become thin. The lords of the spirit world get ready to loose upon the world the demons that seize and eat men, but may only send them out upon lands where these wrong principles prevail. It is their custom not to send them into lands where the Law is kept, but since these fierce demons are sent out into the lands where these three vile principles are followed, the people there die and disappear. Thus, because of these three vile principles the three types of extermination come upon the people: their towns fall into ruin and revert to forest.

15. Fall in number of houses in the villages of Burma

During the reign of King Hsinbyushin of Hanthawadi[154] in Burma, his armies, drawn just from Burmese and Talaing territories for the expedition against Ayuthia, included between 40 and 50 divisions of 12,000 men each, besides those left to guard the kingdom,. When Your Majesty's great great grandfather, the founder of Amarapura[155], marched against Ayuthia, his armies amounted to 40 divisions of 10,000 men. In 1219 (1857 CE) the number of separate households in the Shan country was 400,000; today only just over 200,000 are left. In the time of Your Majesty's great great grandfather, the founder of Amarapura, in the four quarters of the city and its four suburbs, there were 70.000 houses, but only 40,000 were left in the reign of his great grandfather[156]. When Your Majesty's father moved his capital to Mandalay, there were no more than about 20,000 left. During the time of the Burmese kings' rule over the three districts of one division the taxation register was 70,000, worth about K 1,000,000. At present, the collection is K10, 400,000[157]. It is because of those deplorable three principles that our towns and villages are being destroyed and it must be the constant object of our kings and their ministers to devote all their efforts to their eradication. It is right that they should be suppressed.

Places that have no regular market or town wall are called *gama* in Pali, which translates as "village". If it has only a market, but no town wall, it is referred to as *nigama*, or "nigon" in Burmese. With both market and town wall it becomes *nagara* or "city". A city in which a king resides is *rajathani*; one in which no king lives is *sakhanagara*. A place in which people of a single classification live together is *janapada* or "zanapok", though it may also be called *ratha,* which means "division". The Burmese quarter, the Talaing quarter and the Ayuthia quarter are all *janapada*. A territory over which a king has the sole rule is called *rajja*, which has the meaning of "country" (*naing-ngan*).

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154 Otherwise Bayin-naung (1551-1581)
155 Alaunghpaya (1752-1760)
156 Badon-min (Bodawhpaya) (1781-1819)
157 (Editor's note) "An area under British rule is indicated"

16. The principles that sustain the world (*lokapala taya)*

Among the three principles that destroy societies in this world, two, as we have said, are easy to recognise, namely improper gain and unlawful lusts. The fact that such destruction is also caused by the failure of a people to follow the rules of behaviour in the "Layman's Vinaya", as the Gihivinaya scripture is called, is not to be found pronounced in the books that spread false doctrine. It may therefore be difficult to accept and it will be necessary to expand some extracts, but these rules must be remembered and followed.

The Cariya Sutta of the Dukanipata of the Anguttara scripture deals with the two guardian principles that save the world from destruction:

> Monks! There are two pure principles that I shall now tell you which protect the world. If you ask what they are, they are *hiri* (shame) and *ottappa* (fear). Monks! In truth if it were not for the protection given by these two pure principles in this world, mothers, and grandmothers, uncles' wives and aunts, our parents, to whom the greatest respect is due, and our own wives would not be distinguished. The whole world would fall into promiscuity. It would be a farmyard of sheep and goats, chickens and pigs, wild dogs and house dogs. Monks! In truth, it is because of this that these purifying principles of *hiri* and *ottappa* exist. They give protection to the world so that our mothers, grandmothers, uncles' wives and aunts, our teachers' wives, our revered parents and our own wives can be distinguished and recognised.
>
> This may be paraphrased:
>
> There is the shame that is called *hiri*
> There is the fear that is called *ottappa*

These two principles sustain and nurture the world; they provide its discipline. In truth, if these two principles did not exist, our property would be stolen, our children and people of our households would be wronged, our virgin daughters would be abducted, liquor would be drunk, lies would be told, mothers, aunts and others of our women who should be respected would be taken as wives - the world would be ruined, a place of dogs, pigs and fowl. Like a bamboo without knots, or a book without a binding, it it would fall apart.

Since this double principle of *hiri-ottappa* is very pleasing to the spirits, it is also called *devadhamma,* the divine principle. The great Princes of the spirit world, |when they place their servants, their soldiers, their officers or their rough demons[158] may give them such-and such a place or tree to guard with leave to devour whoever comes into the shade of that tree. Certain of the demons are told not to act immediately, but are permitted to devour them only if they damage the tree. Certain other demons are set to guard such-and-such a place or a *zayat*; they go to it with instructions not to devour anyone who says "Long Life to you" if a sick man sneezes. They are permitted to devour anyone who fails to. Certain demons again are set over a reservoir or a lake with permission to devour anyone who comes down to the water to drink or to bathe; others, again, have orders not to devour those who come to drink or to bathe, unless they fail to answer questions about the *devadhamma.* Prince Suriyakumar, the Buddha-to-be, came to a forest with his

158 Balu - a type of Being that occupies a place somewhere between the "giant" and the "ogre" of western tales

younger brother, Prince Candikumar. Before they could go down to the lake to bathe and drink, its guardian demon seized them and questioned them about the *devadhamma*, saying:

hiri ottappa sampanna|
sutta dhamma samahita||
santo sappurisa loke|
devadhammati vuccare||

Prince Suriyakumar, the Buddha-to-be, was able to explain fully the divine principle and the demon released him.

Out of the two types of instruction given by the Lord, one is known as *puggala desana,* instruction aimed subjectively at an individual, and the other as *dhamma desana*, setting out the Law objectively. In the present case the Lord's teaching was given describing the basis of the Law for the benefit of an individual and is therefore is described as *puggala desana*[159]. The double rule of hiri-ottappa is therefore truly called the "divine principle". Virtuous men, who are filled with the principle are called metaphorically *devadhamma.*

17. The conception (*panyat*) and reality (*paramat*) of *hiri* and *ottappa*

Hiri and O*ttappa* appear in two separate modes; the one is *panyat* and the other is *paramat*.[160] There is the kind of shame which might be felt if you feel your waist-cloth coming loose and liable to fall off - without actually dancing, you feel abashed at the idea of dancing. To start from this point, the shame that you would feel at the idea of doing in the world something that is not right for yourself, is what gives *hiri* its name (*panyat*), while the shame, that you would feel at being reproached by someone you respect, for the ill deed that you have done is the *paramat* mode of *hiri.* On the other hand, the fear that you feel at the possibility of being punished by the authorities for something that you have done that violates the laws that have been set, and so on, constitutes the *panyat* mode of *ottappa.* There is also the fear that you might feel that the ill deed that you might do would bring you into the domain of the Four Hells; this is the *paramat* kind of *ottappa.* In both its versions *hiri* means the shame that attaches itself to your self. The fear that is *ottappa* comes from outside. The shame that is *hiri* looks at oneself and gives the self a high importance. The fear that is *ottappa* regards the outer world and gives the importance to that. We have to remember that any question of *samvega* (remorse) belongs in *ottappa.* The disposition to look at the matter as exclusively affecting oneself arouses the shame that is *hiri;* the fear of doing wrong and foreseeing the danger that results is the caution that is *ottappa*.

The four considerations that attach *hiri* to the self are these:

1. Thoughts of your high family honour
2. The thought that you are of full age

159 I think that this may be just a bit of pedantry, but am less than clear about it.

160 Dictionaries gloss *panyat* as "name" or "concept" and *paramat* as "absolute reality" - "essence" and "existence" perhaps, but I am not really clear about this.

3. The thought that you represent famous and valiant ancestors
4. The thought of your own high education and accomplishments.

These four considerations can arouse the sense of shame that is *hiri.*

Among these four, the man of good family will think, "People like me, men of a race that has produced princes, ministers, distinguished men of wealth, monks and brahmins, do not, like fishers, hunters and outlaws, commit murder, robberies and such crimes. Such low deeds are for such low people." The shame that is *hiri* will keep him from such things.

The man of full age will think,"Revelry, drinking, deceiving his own daughters and sons - these vices are only for the immature. People like us, with grey heads and broken teeth, do not behave like that!" The old who refrain from an ill deed from such considerations are held back by *hiri*.

"Killing animals, that ought not to be killed, for food, small-time theft of petty goods and such ill deeds are for low people who have no power or strength. Those like us, who have great power and strength, good soldiers, concern themselves with public affairs, celebrations and deeds of daring"- those who cherish a disposition towards valiance in their hearts will refrain from ill deeds and it is the shame that is *hiri* that holds them back.

The thought of the wise books that teach that it is only the stupid and uneducated who cannot tell the difference between right and wrong, that will do wrong and that "people like us, the educated, well versed in the scriptures, should not commit crimes." gives rise to the *hiri* that holds such people back.

Thus the feeling of shame for their own inner self may take four forms of *hiri*. Looking at the other side of these four forms of *hiri,* we must say that it is those of low family, the immature, the impotent and weak, those without education in books and the scriptures, all these feel no shame in wrong-doing, no shrinking from evil, but dive directly into it.

Fear of wrong-doing that relates to others outside of the self is called *ottappa*. One who thinks "In truth, if you do that wrongful thing you will become a reproach in the four quarters of the community", is afraid of something outside of himself and *ottappa* keeps him from the ill deed. Thus *ottappa* is something that belongs in the community outside of the self. To look at it from the other side, this means that those who have no feeling for the community and have no fear of the community's reproaches, will not fear to do wrong. They will not shrink from nor fear wrong-doing, but will carry on without thought.

This means that there are in the world some sons and daughters of good family, in full authority, of high prestige and great wealth, who therefore have pride. They will hold in their hearts the belief, "It is wrong for people like us, who have status, to involve themselves in low and wrong acts like catching fish or killing fowl and the like." This shame, that comes from their own estimation of themselves, is *hiri.* As the converse of the shame that is *hiri*, people of low class, who have neither status nor wealth, develop no pride and will perform wrong actions without shrinking or |thought.

Even though there are in the world some sons and daughters of good family who do wrong without ordinary people getting to know, there are in this world the eyes of the gods who can know the minds of others, there are monks and brahmins of great repute,

there are the Lords of the Spirit World with their vast glory, Thagya, Sahampati, Saninkumar, and all the spirit princes; these glorious monks, brahmins and spirit princes will know that such-and-such a son or daughter of good family has done something wrong and unbefitting. If he bears this thought in his mind and refrains from his wrong-doing, he will respect the world, and his fear of doing wrong will be what is called *ottappa.* To look at it from the other side, this will mean that it is one who has no respect for his house spirit, who knows the minds of others, for the spirit of the palace, for his own guardian spirit, for glorious *rishis* and *arahats*, who will disregard them all and fearlessly and thoughtlessly will plunge into doing wrong.

As an illustration of the difference between *hiri* and *ottappa,* if there were a matter of handling two iron bars, one all besmeared with filth and the other glowing in a blazing flame, by people who were affected by shame and by fear, the bar that was besmeared with filth would inspire revulsion and they would not handle it. This is like the one who is repelled from doing wrong through shame and this is called *hiri.* Like one who will not handle the bar for fear of its blaze of heat, the one who fears to do wrong and refrains, is subject to *ottappa*.

To put it otherwise

1. The thought of one's high descent
2. The contemplation of the Lord our Teacher, the Teacher unlike all other peoples' teachers, the truly All-Knowing, the Strong, High and Excellent
3. The thought of our strong and high inheritance of the belief given by out Teacher, which we must hold to
4. The thought of the strong and high quality of our associates

The capacity for feeling shame through holding tightly to these thoughts is *hiri* and some will be held back from doing wrong by it. However, it has its reverse side:

1. One of low birth
2. One who has no reverence for the Most Excellent Lord
3. One who does not accept the Lord's belief
4. Those who associate themselves with low and worthless company

These will have no revulsion, second thoughts or shame about doing wrong.

18. The impossibility of reaching the fruit of the path without *hiri* and *ottappa*[161]

The Sixth Nipata of the Anguttara scripture has the following on the impossibility of attaining the fruit of the path without the influence of both *hiri* and *ottappa*.

> Monks! If both the principles *hiri* and *ottappa* are absent, in him who lacks them the virtue that is restraint of the senses has been destroyed. In him who has lost his restraint of the senses, that virtue (s*ila*) has been lost. Without that virtue, he who has lost the virtue of restraint can reach no proper level of concentration (*samma samadhi*). Without concentration, in him whose concentration is broken, objectivity and the ability to recognise truth and falsehood will have been killed. In him whose ability to distinguish truth from falsehood is destroyed, the weary

161 I do hope that someone will correct me over this section

recognition of the burdens and suffering in *samsara* is lost. Without this knowledge, the knowledge of the Path also will have been lost.

In effect this means that without *hiri* and *ottappa*, because they are the way to restraint of the senses, in their absence this restraint cannot exist. If there is no restraint of the senses, which is the way to virtue, without restraint there can be no virtue. Without this virtue, which is basic to sense restraint, the senses cannot be restrained. Without this restraint, which is the way to *sila*, since it is not there, there can be no s*ila. Sila* is the way to proper concentration and therefore without *sila* there can be no proper concentration. Proper concentration is the way to *vipassana*[162] wisdom, but since there is no proper concentration, there can be no *vipassana* wisdom. If there is no objective *vipassana* wisdom, which is the way to *nibbida viraga*[163], without this wisdom there can be no *nibbida viraga*. Without *nibbida viraga* which is the way to the revelation of pure wisdom (*vimutti nyan dassana*) there can be no revelation (*dassana*) of wisdom, since the *nibbida viraga* is not there.

19. Four rules for well-being in this world and the next

On one occasion the Most Excellent Lord was living the life of religion in the dwelling place of the demon Alavaka in the country of Alavi when Alavaka asked him how one could increase one's well-being both in the present world and in the next. The Lord replied:

hasse te caturo dhamma|
saddhassa ghara mesino||
saccam dhammo dhiti cago|
save pacca nasocati||
ingha anyepi pucchassu|
puthusamana brahmane||
yadi sacca dhamma caga|
khantya bhiyyodha vijjati||

That is to say: There are four principles: first, speaking truth to everyone, whether they are devoted to religion or are searchers for sensual pleasure; next, skill and knowledge; next, unremitting energy; and fourth, discarding and giving away all possessions - one's life itself in wartime. One who practises these principles need have no anxiety about passing from this world to the next. Demon Alavaka! I, your Lord, urge you! Ask any of the many *arahats* and brahmins if there is any principle that can truly be thought higher in the world than the four of true speech, skill and knowledge, never ceasing diligence, and discarding property, including one's own life.

Both in this present world and in the next, these four principles are those which lead to well-being.

The four principles then are:

1. *Saccha* - speaking the truth

162 Vipassana - insight, particularly in meditation
163 *Nibbida viraga* - disenchantment with the world

2. *Dhamma* - the acquisition of skill and wisdom;
3. *Dhiti*- the complete performance of incumbent duties without idleness, without evasion, and without interruption
4. *Caga* - the giving away of property at any time when it is right to give property away and to discard it; particularly in wartime when it is right to give up one's own life to throw it away without favouring oneself.

These are the four principles and the meaning of the verse is that in this world there exists no higher principle than these. If you do not believe this that the Lord himself has said, you may ask any other learned *arahat* or learned brahmin.

After the most Excellent Lord had said this, the demon Alavaka praised the verse and pronounced this *gatha*

katham nu dani puccheyyam|
puthusamana brahmane||
svaham ajja pajanami|
yo attho samparayiko||

That is to say: "When you, Lord, have spoken, should I ask any *arahat* or brahmin other than my Lord? There will be benefit in the world to come and today I have realised that benefit.

20. About *sacca*

In this world telling the truth brings an immediate and solid advantage. In the time of the Quail Prince who was destined to be the Lord, by uttering a true oath the Prince escaped a forest fire in the woods where he lived. When the dear son of Suvannahsyam was struck by an arrow and the arrow was poisoned, his parents, together with the nymph Bahusundari, took a true oath and so saved his life. In the time of the great king, King Dhammasoka, the courtesan took oath on her truth and so was carried upstream on the river Ganga. Once in the past, in the land of China, the Chinese princes took oath on their truth and so could ride in their chariot upon the surface of the sea. Sotthisena, the Crown Prince, was afflicted with leprosy until the Princess Sambhula took a true oath and when he was washed with water the leprosy disappeared. The King Snakehead fish could make it rain with his true oath. In this world there is no action, not subject to *kamma,* that cannot be brought to completion by truth. Therefore Shin Nagasena has written:

saccena wadenudakam dhavati|
visampi saccena hanati pandito||
saccena devo thanayam pavassati|
sacce thita nibbutim patthayanti|| ||
yekeci me atti rasa pathabya|
saccam tesam sadhutaram rasanam||
sacce thita samana brahmanaca|
taranti jati maranassa paranti|| ||

That is to say: By words of truth you can run even upon the water's surface. Wise men by their truth can make even poison disappear. From words of truth rain comes with the thunder: Wise men, who are firm in truth, can hope from this to reach Nibbana. In the

world outside there are so many flavours, but above all these flavours there is none that surpasses in sweetness words of truth. Monks and brahmins, who are firm in truth from their birth to their death, may cross the stream to the side that is Nibbana.

This means that it is not only in this world that speaking truth brings benefits, but, since it is included in the ten *parami* perfections, it may bring benefits, even so far as Nibbana.

Why should it be thought that the taste of truth is above all others? In this world there are five flavours that are esteemed when eaten - butter, oil, eggs, meat and fish; just as these produce better blood, flesh, power and strength, so one who speaks truth increases his welfare. It is for this reason that speaking truth is said to have a noble flavour.

Firmness in speaking the truth is the *parami* of *sacca*. Those who desire to be complete in this *parami* have to conduct themselves in the way of the planet Thaukkya (Venus). It is for this reason that the Buddha-to-be, the hermit Sumedha, heard it said:-

yathapi osadhi nama|
tulabhuto sadevake||
samaye utu vasse va|
na vokkamati vidhito|| ||
tatheva tvampi saccesu|
ma vokkamati vidhito||
sacca paramitam gantva
sambotim papuniccaci|| ||

That is to say:- The planet that is called Thaukkya follows its course without wavering through winters, summers and rains. Since in this world it goes its way with its own spirit it sets a standard of measurement. In the same way, if you, Sumedha the hermit, come to be filled with the *parami* of Truth, not wavering from this course, you will come to the Path to Aranatshi.

21. The benefits of *dhamma* or *nyana-panya*

The search for wisdom, that is known as *dhamma,* will often be said to bring benefits, both in this world and in the next.

In our own time the countries of the west and Japan and China in the east are the sources of much that is new: all sorts of machines, steam ships, railway trains, power looms and the like - mirror glass, porcelains, silk and cotton fabrics and so on are the products of their technology[164]. For the other world too, there is too the *nyana*[165] which brings the Fruit of the Way. Even the omniscience of the Lord, who knew everything, is *nyana*. The knowledge of small-arms, artillery, explosives and such materials is *nyana.* We have to remember also that the telegraph and photography are made possible by

164 For the first half of King Mindon's reign, U Hpo Hlaing was deeply concerned with technological projects, working under the Kanaung prince - see p.18 of introduction

165 N*yana* (Bur. *nyan*) derives from the same root as "gnosis","know","ken" and so on. All of them have rather different areas of meaning. *Nyana* includes, I think, more of active cognition than "knowledge" in which the acquisition of content is complete.

nyana. Because such benefits can endure until the coming of the Lord, the Buddha-to-be is the Lord of Wisdom *(Panyadhika)*

22. The benefits of the energy that is called *dhiti*

The constant exertion of the energy that is known as *dhiti* also brings many benefits, both in this world and in the next. It is only in the worlds of the spirits and of the *brahmas* that it is easy to gain kammatic goods. In the world of men they are not easily to be gained. In this life Prince Siddhatta, Buddha-to-be and actually on the point of attaining Buddhahood, could reach it only by the strenuous practice of austerities and deep meditation. If men did not take steps to modify the state in which they are born, they would be like monkeys, not like men, with long toe and finger nails, long hair and pelts. In this world men have to exert themselves to get their food and drink. Without labour, the fields would not be tilled and there would be no rice for food. If they did not exert themselves to weave their clothing, there would be no cloth to dress themselves with and they would go naked. If they did not build, they would have no towns, villages, houses or monasteries to dwell in and would have to live in the cold open field. We do not have heavenly mansions at a thought or "wishing trees" growing, provided by the merits of our *kamma*, for us to live with in our mountains and islands. Even if we have learned by our study how to design and make the kinds of machinery, weaponry and textiles that we have spoken of, if we do not exert ourselves to make them, there will be no production. We have to remember that it is only by putting forth our full effort in work that it will come about. Gold, silver and diamonds too do not come forth out of the earth to the human world of their own will; it is only by man's making the effort of digging them from out of the earth that they come to man's world. We have to believe and know for certain that we live and enjoy these benefits only as the result of a total effort in the world. It has therefore been said:

yo vassasatam jive|
kusito hina viriyo||
ekaham jivitam seyyo|
araddha viriyo dahlam||

That is to say: People whose energy is small and the lazy, they may live long, even passing an hundred years, but the strenuous man, who exerts himself, if he lives only a day, will do more than these idlers.

Such benefits, and more, may last until the coming of the Lord, so that the Buddha-to-be is the Lord of Energy (*Viriyadhika*)

23. The benefits of the divestment that is called *caga*

Discarding and giving away wealth and property is known as *caga*. It is included in the four rules of *sangaha* that apply to all peoples. It is also included in the ten duties of kingship and is the *parami* perfection of *dana.* In this world there is no one who will

not act appropriately in any situation if an authority does not complete its function of charity to the extent that it should. If indeed government power is used in oppression, if revolution is possible, revolution will occur; if it should not be possible, people will escape from the jurisdiction. In any case work will be ill done. For this reason it has been said:

adanta damanam danam|
danam sabattha sadhakam||
danena piya vacaya|
unnamanti namantica||

That is to say: Giving away and discarding things can bring the uncivil to civility (this does not only mean humans - we can see that the wild beasts of the forest are tamed if we feed them); free giving brings the benefits which we desire both in this world and in the next. By giving and by friendly speech all living creatures are made glad. Those who give freely and those who speak gently gain influence.

The benefits spoken of, and more, are called "giving away and discarding" and can come from religious faith (*saddha*[166]). They can last until the coming of the Lord and the future Buddha is therefore the Lord of *Saddha* (*Saddhadika*).

The sacrifice of one's own life too may be *caga*. In a time of perceived danger, or when death is near, if you do not dare to toss away your life, but stay stuck in anxiety, you will do nothing good. If you cannot foresee an outcome, but when danger comes you do not dare to risk your life, only loss and destruction will face you. When the Videharaj country was under siege, Mahosadha, at risk of his life, made his way into the besieging army of King Sulanibrahmadat and showed the heirloom ruby to the brahmin Kevat and hung it on his forehead. Because it had been rubbed upon the ground, the army of twenty-eight *khobhani* was destroyed. If death is near and you are afraid, if you do not hold the Law firmly in your heart, you will find yourself on the way to one of the four bad rebirths. It is therefore said "If you are brave, you won't die: if you do die, you won't go to hell." In this world, when warfare and battle are in question, the brave win and the nervous lose.

24. How these four qualities have developed among the western nations

As we have said, if in this world all intelligent action is taken in full consciousness, effort that is profitless will be avoided; all efforts will be directed, without relaxation. towards beneficial ends. Gifts must be made as is needed; words must be made good; where it is right to sacrifice life, it must be sacrificed. When action is taken in conformity with these four rules, there is nothing that cannot be accomplished. For this reason, if these four rules are followed there will be nothing to worry about, either in this world or in the next -- so the Lord proclaimed. In the present age the countries of the west are pre-eminent in their prosperity, and they hold closely to these four rules. We can see how they advance and prosper through the equal weight they give to all four.

In the Vanarinda Jataka, the crocodile, who was to be Devadat called out to the Buddha-to-be, the monkey Vanarinda who had just beaten him

166 Saddha according to my dictionary has a secondary meaning of "generosity".

Yasse te caturo dhamma|
Yatha tava Vanarinda||
Saccam dhammo dhiti cago|
Dhithamso ativattati||

That is to say -- “Anyone in whom these four principles are settled can overcome all enemies. You, monkey King, since you embody these four, have been able to overcome me, the crocodile, known to be your enemy."

In consequence of this saying, they are called "the four Enemy-beaters". This saying is called “The Four Enemy-beaters”. In the same way, the *Thanwara Pyou* says, “Truth, Wisdom, Energy, Charity -- these are the four deeds that beat the enemy. They are the metal crushers and in any affair will keep you safe.”

25. Five Principles for bringing affairs to a successful conclusion

There appear in the Narada Sutta in the Fifth Nipata of the Anguttara scripture, and other texts, the five rules that can bring affairs to a conclusion:

jappena mantena subhasitena|
anuppadanena paveniyava||
yathayatha yattha labhetha|
attham tathatatha tattha parakkameyya||

That is to say: first, speaking with pride[167]; second, reciting charms of great power; third, speaking words of love and friendship; fourth, giving away possessions; fifth, making a show of local custom; in any affair, using whichever of these five modes of speech suits best will gain an advantage. In such business using these five rules properly will bring success.

26. Four rules for defeating the inferior

In the matter of defeating the inferior, the Dhammapada has

akkhodena jine khodam|
asadum sadhuna jine||
jine kadariyam danena|
saccena lika vadinam||

That is to say: You may defeat an angry man by not answering his anger with yours, but with forgiveness (Thagyamin's words to the *asuras'* leader demonstrate this[168]). You may

167 The *nissaya* writer translates *jappena* as *gon kyei:zu: pyaw*, but the Pali dictionary makes it "to speak indistinctly - to whisper". I can only guess

168 See section 10 of part 2

defeat one who is of no standing by showing your own standing. You may defeat one who is miserly and unwilling to give by your own generosity. You may defeat the liar by your own truth. To defeat such people as these in these ways is a victory good in both worlds, our present world and the next. It is a victory gratifying to the Lord and the virtuous. It is right to remember these four modes of gaining the victory all one's life.

In this section the seven rules of *aparihaniya*
and other rules that are to be followed by kings and their ministers
the book named *Rajadhammasangaha* sets out.

PART TWO

1. Three tendencies to be avoided by kings -- from the Tesakuna Jataka

While the Most Excellent, All-knowing Lord was living the religious life in the Jetavan Monastery, advising all living creatures, men, spirits and brahmas on the good life, he gave the following admonishment on staying firm in legality to King Kosala of Pasenadi:

maccuna sankaro natthi|
lanjaggaho na vijjati||
yuddham natthi jayo natthi|
sabbe paccu parayanati||

That is to say: King Death does not make appointments for the time to die; no gifts or offerings taken by King Death can win freedom from death. No one can fight against King Death. No one can defeat him. All creatures come to no other end but to lie in death.

No ruler can order it that a particular man shall not die. There is only one Ruler who ordains that no creature will avoid death, and so Death earns his title of King. Dealing with the impossibility of avoiding death, the ninth *khana* of the Buddhuppada states the law that anyone who has attained humanity must come to his death. In times past before the Religion (*sasana*), there was no other law laid down to be observed but the law of Death. At a time when no organised Religion (*sasana)* existed, there was no one to expound any law with authority, and those who wished to follow the law had to listen and follow what was told them by wise birds and animals. In the Tesunaka Jataka, in the forty-sixth *nipata*, there is a description of hearing and following such an omen and of the benefits won by doing so. It is told there how Brahmadat, King of Baranasi (the future Ananda, brother to the Lord), asked the Owl Vessantara (the future Sariputta) what a king must do to be a good king, and received the answer:

pathameneva vitatham|
kodham hasam nivaraye||
tato kiccani kareyya|
tam vatam ahu khattiya||

That is to say: One who is called a king, lord of the land, in administering his country must above all restrain himself from false and deceitful speech, from wrath, from neglecting the country's concerns for indulgence in shows and other sensual pleasures. He should govern the land following these three rules.
The Lord and other wise men have pronounced these three rules to be those to be followed by kings.

2. Truth for kings

There is no fertility in the lands of kings who do not keep faith and who lie. The land's productiveness falls off by seven cubits[169] from where men work in their fields and gardens. Consequently the rice, paddy, vegetables and other tasty foods that are grown in these lands, the medicinals such as oil, butter, honey, palm and cane sugars, and the three hot spices, and the animals that have to live upon devitalized foods, all will suffer from many diseases. If medicines are given for these diseases, the medicines that are given will have sprung from ground that has no virtue and so they will have no effect and many will die. Crops will fail and this will lead to difficulty in collecting taxes in full. Kings and rulers who thus cannot collect their taxes will be unable to pay enough to their ministers, officers and soldiers to keep their cities secure. Ministers, officers and soldiers who are inadequate for keeping their cities secure will be unable to perform their offices properly. They will be unable to frustrate their enemies and to defeat them.

Kings who lie are not people to be trusted - their reputation will be bad. Truly, not only will their kingdoms be lost, but earth will swallow up in the tomb[170] kings who speak untruly. It will never be believed that one who is given to falsehood in his words and his actions, who lies, will turn away from the demerit of ill deeds, as the most Excellent Lord has said in the Dhammapadapa scripture.

Ekam dhammam atitassa
musavadissa jantuno||
vitinna paralokassa|
natthi papam akariyam||

That is to say: One who speaks untruly, who dares to violate a single contract, is one who dares to defy the next world - there is none among other creatures who would do such evil.

This means that the one who dares to break his word and lie will boldly do it, not fearing to fall into the ten states of evil and ill-doing.

A *gatha* in the Sivi Jataka in the twentieth *nipata* spoken to King Sivi says that one who breaks a promise to give is destined for hell, even though it was his own property:

Yo ve dassanti vatvana|
adane kurute mano||
papa papataro hoti|
sampatto yamasasanam||

That is to say: Whoever really has said "I shall pay" and has said this clearly, but intends in his mind not to pay, is lower than the lowest. He is exceedingly low and is on his way to the admonishments of King Yama in Hell.

In the Parabhava Sutta too there is:

yo brahmanam samanamva|
anyamvapi vanibbakam||
musavadena vanceti|
tam parabhavato mukham||

169 Perhaps a misprint - *taung* for *taùng*. Yield down by seven baskets
170 *Cetiya min* - ?"entombed king" - seems a strange phrase

That is to say: When a brahman or a monk, or even a non-religious, asks for food, anyone who says "I shall give it you" but deceives them with lies, is on his way to ruin.

For this reason, future Buddhas who have received the prophecy always shun lies and untruths. The reason for this is that they cannot be held back from their way to Enlightenment whether by their own death, through the robbery of their property, through the violation of their children or the people of their households, or through the drinking of liquor. Expressed otherwise, drinking liquor to excess, violation of their children or wives, robbery of property by burglars, all may cause their deaths, but, once they have received their call, they will not lie, since one who lies can never attain Enlightenment.

3. How the peoples of the west abide by contracts

The peoples of the western countries know that speaking the truth and keeping faith bring great benefits, while untruth is a great fault. They give much importance to keeping faith. Whatever they have agreed in joint consultation to enact into law cannot be begged off; there are no exceptions and the law is so enacted. If one or two officials fail to be present at the time when it has been agreed that they should be[171], whether for a true reason or for a false one, they are seen as ones who spoil the business. Any official of one party who fails to be present according to his instructions at the time stated, will prejudice the passage of the law and this may be irreversible.

In this world there are times set for working to achieve benefits. If the work is not done at the proper time, the time will go by and the opportunity will be lost. If, at the time proper for sowing a particular crop, the time is let slip, there will be no fruit and all will be in vain. If the work is not done that would bring in a thousand kyats on a particular day, it will be lost; if it is done on the next day, it will have taken two days and the thousand that might have been made on the first day is lost. In the life of men, too, from their birth to their death, nothing of their youth that slips away into the past ever comes back. Therefore what has to be done must be done without taking time off. It is not right to let time get away from us. Therefore, there are proper times to work for making the best of this and of the next worlds. It has been said therefore: *mogha kalam nakhepaye* - that is "do not let time pass uselessly."

In this world, if, of two men engaged in a project one says exactly what he will do and later forgets and fails to do it, the whole of the work on which they are engaged becomes useless and fails. If in a major project you speak without meaning it, you will get much blame. Such blame is not the same as that for speaking untruly, but one who has spoken cannot recall his words. When duties are assigned in the presence of an enemy and sectors for guarding are clearly accepted, if one fails to guard as he had promised and the enemy breaks in in his sector, all is lost. If you are known to have undertaken to do a particular thing, you must not work for any other purpose; if you do not do as you have said, not only will many of those who hoped to profit from the project gain less, but the deceived will become an enemy and in return will work to reduce the deceiver's profit. In

171 For a Parliamentary division I think he means

carrying on the business of the world, you must keep to what you have undertaken in the first instance. If you do not keep your word, it will not be possible to carry through the business and all will be lost.

Thus the peoples of the West, recognising the important principles that speaking the truth brings profit and lying brings loss, that failing to keep properly to time brings loss, and punctuality brings profit, do not go beyond a promised time and, so that work may be done quickly, make use of telegraph lines, steam ships and steam trains. They also make use of machinery in their work so that it may be done quickly. Everybody -- women, men, important and unimportant people, all carry watches so as not to miss an appointment. For quick movement, both inside and outside the cities, roads are well kept. At night, no time is wasted in sleep. At night in every city, lights are kept burning as bright as day, so that as far as possible trading, services and work may be carried on without interruption and so that thieves and brigands cannot rob nor enemies make an entrance. We can see for ourselves that it is by this style of work that the western peoples have surpassingly increased their well-being.

For this reason, the first consideration of kings must be to speak truly and to avoid lying, even to save their own life.

4. Anger in Kings

Those in authority cannot bring any action to a conclusion, or fulfill a destiny if they are subject to what is called wrath. If one in authority shows wrath, it is not the same as if someone armed with a gun, a sword or a spear uses it, - the ruler can destroy another by a single word or by a sidelong glance[172]. For this reason the wrath of ruling princes is placed among the four life-destroying evils and quickly increases the burden of *kamma*. It can ruin others. For this reason, those who have authority, even when they are not actually exercising it, must, more than anyone else, control and hold back their anger. Even if someone speaks or acts in a way to arouse anger, he must be forgiven, looked upon and embraced as a beloved son. In the Suladhammapala Jataka King Mahapatapa failed to control his anger and so killed his own son, which he bitterly regretted. In his grief he cast himself from his throne and on the spot his heart broke and he died. Thus, while ruling princes should hold as their first consideration the avoidance of falsehood, the second must be the avoidance of anger. This is set out in the Commentary on the Jatakas.

5. Believing what is heard at entertainments

It is not right for ruling princes to behave triflingly and to rely upon the empty chatter of worthless people[173]. It is not right to take heed of what is said by one or two of the people who are taking part in entertainment and to take any sort of action upon it. Action should only be taken upon the advice of wise ministers who have consulted one

172 The author's father, a wungyi, was killed by King Thayawadi in a fit of anger

173 Picking casual phrases out of general chatter was a favourite way of finding an omen

another and given careful consideration to the country's affairs. In the Sarabhanga Jataka the *rishi* Kissavanccha was condemned by King Dantaki upon the word of a certain priest and as the result that kingdom was brought to ruin and the King was cast into the Pyabu hell. In the Matanga Jataka again, because the *rishi* Matanga was condemned upon the word of some worthless brahmans the land was ruined and its king Majja was cast into hell. In the Ghatapandita Jataka the *rishi* Kannidipayana was condemned upon the word of a youth in the King's following, as the result of which Vasudeva and a full ten of the King's own brothers were slain so that his line was cut off. These examples must be borne in mind. For this reason a king's first object will be to avoid falsehood; next, to keep control of his anger and third, to avoid putting any reliance upon what people of no substance say when they are involved in sensual pleasures. The Jataka Commentaries show that only after these are out of the way should the country's affairs be dealt with. These then are the three rules of priority in what is to be avoided.

6. Rules of behaviour for kings

After that great king Brahmadat in the Tesunaka Jataka had questioned the owl, the Lady named Kundalini asked Salikama, who was to be reborn as Upalawun, about the duties of a king and Salikama replied in these two gathas:

dveca tata padakani|
yattha sabbam patithikam||
aladdhassaca yo labho|
laddhassa anurakkhana||

amacce tata janahi|
dhire atthassa kovidhe||
anakkhakitave tata|
asonde avinasake|| ||

That is to say: "O King, my father, whoever puts forth an effort to win a country that he does not already hold, or else is in constant watch over the country that he does hold, such as these have two rules to follow. Both these rules set a firm foundation for all sorts of well-being.

"Can you, O King, my father, recognise ministers who know how to avoid ruining the country? Who do not exceed in liquor, or in sensuality with wives and children? Who do not gamble or play games of chance? Who do not use deceit or fraud? Who are skilled in providing for the country's economy and who are wise?"

This means that if you can recognise such a minister, you may entrust the country to him. The gatha goes on to say:

matata issarohmiti|
anatthaya patarayi||
itthinam purisananca|
mate asi kukhudrayo||

That is to say: O King, my father, in your authority do not expand the glory of power without working for the well-being of all creatures. Do not act to increase the misery of

women, or of men either. Do not use the glory of authority to cause misery.

7. A king's five sources of power

It is then told how King Brahmadat asked the parrot, Jambuka, who was to be reborn as the Lord, which of all the kinds of power should be best regarded and the parrot replied:

1 *balam pancavidham loke*|
purisasmim mahaggate||
tattha bahu balamnama|
carimam vuccate balam||

2 *bhogabalanca dighavu*|
duttiyam vuccate balam||
amacca balanca dighavu|
tatiyam vuccate balam||

3 *abhijacca balanceva*|
tam satuttham asamsayam||
yani cetani sabbani|
adhigahnati pandito||

4 *tam balanam balamsetham*|
aggampanya balambalam||
panyabalenu patthaddho|
atthamvindati pandito||

5 *apice labhati mandho*|
phitam dharanim muttamam||
akamaka pasahyava|
anya tam patipajjati||

6 *abhijatopi cehoti*|
rajjam laddhana khattiyo||
duppinyo hi kasipati|
sabbenapi najivati||

7 *panyava sutam vinicchani*\
panya kittisi loka viddhati||
panyasahito naro idha|
api dukkhepi sukhani viddhani||

8 *panyanca kho a sussussam*|
nakoci adhigacchati||
bahussutam anagampa|
khammattam avinibbhijam||

9 *hoca dhammavibhanganyu*|
kaluthayi atantito||
uthahati kalena|
phalam tassa samijjhati||

10 *anayatana silassa*|

anayatana sevito||
na nibbindiya karissa|
sammadattho vipajjati||
11 *yoga payoga sankhatam*|
sambhatassa nurakkhanam||
tani tvam tata sevassu|
ma akammaya raddhayi||
akammuna hi dhummedho|
nalagaramva sidatiti|| ||

That is to say: 1. In this world, among those who are respected kings, power takes five forms. Of these, the first, bodily strength and weight of arm, is said to be the least important.

2. For kings who are long-lived, there is also the resource of their armed forces and their solid revenues, which is called the second.

For kings who are long-lived, association with wise ministers of long experience is a source of strength and this is called the third

3 One who descends by both parents from an untarnished line and has the force of a good family will not be wrong in taking confidence from this source of strength, which is the fourth.

4. Those who have all these four sources of strength will still be mastered by a wise man through his wisdom. Therefore, wherever the power of wisdom appears it will be a power that masters the other four sources of power. Why is this? Because a wise man, trusting in the power of his wisdom, can bring prosperity.

5. Those who do not have the power of wisdom, even though they may be lords of excellent countries, rich with gold, silver and peoples will lose their lands when there comes one who is wise and unwilling to be ruled by fools; he will master them and rule their lands.

6. The kings who ruled in the land of Kasi in the country of Baranasi had all the power of a pure and noble line, but their princes were poor in wisdom and, after they had won the country, there was no long life for the country that they had won. (This means a splitting of the country and death for themselves.)

7. It takes wisdom to interpret the texts of the Scriptures. Wisdom brings good fame and can bring increased wealth to enjoy. In this world, one who is endowed with wisdom may find himself in poverty, but he will find his way to comfort. (To illustrate, when the learned Mahosada was besieged in the city of Upakari and was in danger of death, he could save himself as well as all the princes.)

8. Attaching oneself to a teacher of wisdom, and failing to learn from him leaves one with no part in the many benefits of learning. Those who cannot take part in the discussion of books and of the scriptures cannot win any good in this world or in the next.

9. Scholars who can apply a critical analysis to the texts of the Law (this does not include mere smatterers) will get the results that they want from their studies, as they are never idle, never letting the time for study pass by and always, at the proper time exerting themselves to the utmost. (This means that it is only the wise who gain their ends by devoted study - fools may devote themselves to study, but they will gain nothing from it.)

10. Those who follow a bad way of life and those who associate with such people will never achieve the good results that are achieved by those who act well at the proper time and those who associate with such people.

11. One who devotes effort to applying the Law of Impermanence and the rest of the Law to his own self and who associates with monks of the same principles and conduct and, when the time comes for a good action, will not act to the contrary, will gain many benefits.

12. My lord King! There is a set of wise principles for the exercise of strength at the right time for such action; for lawfully protecting territories and wealth won in time past by one's past virtues. Will you not, O King, in protecting them, follow the way of the five sources of strength of which I have spoken? Do not waste yourself in improper actions! This is the truth - one who has no wisdom and acts wrongly is like one who builds a house of reeds; it will easily be thrown down.

So kings must be complete in the sources of their strength. Among these five sources the least important is bodily strength; above this there is a gradation, with Wisdom at the top: this was the pronouncement of the parrot Jambuka, who was to be born as the Buddha.

8. Strength of hand and strength of heart

We can understand that wisdom is more powerful than strength of arm from how the skylark slew the bull elephant by his cunning and from how men can capture the elephant and make him do what they want. We can also see how the strength of wisdom ranks above the power of wealth and the other four sources of strength from how King Sulanibrahmadat joined in waging war with an hundred kings and how he, with the brahmin Kevat, was worsted by the learned Mahosadha.

These powers are not the only ones that are surpassed by what is called wisdom *(panna)*. The principles of *saddha* (faith)*, sati* (truth)*, samadhi* (concentration)*, viriya* (energy) and other such virtuous principles are all subordinate to the power of wisdom. Of all the virtues that brought the Lord to his enlightenment, there are three that are prime; faith, energy and wisdom. Out of these three, energy is of very high importance - energy, that drove the future Buddha to enlightenment through sixteen ages and ten

thousand worlds. The future Buddha was perfect in the rule of faith which includes alms-giving, charity and detachment from property and he reached his enlightenment through the perfection of faith in eight ages and ten thousand worlds. In the cultivation of wisdom to reach his enlightenment he strove to win mastery of wisdom through four ages and ten thousand worlds. We believe and know that it was through perfection in these that he won enlightenment. As we work to obtain the Fruit of the Path, the first among the four stages on the Path[174], the stage of Stream Attainment, can be reached by discarding scepticism and the illusion of self. But we cannot discard scepticism and the illusion of self just by alms-giving, by establishing a religious life, or by working over the forty subjects of insight meditation. They can only be discarded through the ten stages of *vipassana* (insight) knowledge (*nyan*). We have to realise that in this world, just as one relying on a sailing ship or a steam ship will travel faster than a row boat or a paddleboat, so knowledge (*nyanpinnya)* will go ahead of mere energy. In weaving a fabric of wire or cotton or silk, the product of a skilled worker will be many times more valuable than that of an ignorant worker.

In the eightieth *nipat,* the Mahahamsa Jataka, relates how Devadat urged on King Ajatasatru to use the Nalagiri elephant to attack the Most Excellent Lord while he was living the life of religion in the Jetavan Monastery, preaching the good life to spirits, men, brahmas and all living creatures, and how the Lord's brother, Ananda, stood in front of the Lord, ready to give his life in his stead; the Jataka goes on to tell that an earlier age the Buddha of the future, then the Royal Golden Goose, met the great King Samyama, ruler of Baranasi, and gave these replies to the King's questions:

1 *kacci nu bhoto kusalam*|
kacci bhoto anamayam||
kacci ratha midam phitam|
dhammena manusasasi|| ||

2 *kusalanceva me hamsa*|
atho hamsa anamayam||
atho ratha midam phitam|
dhammena manusasasi|| ||

3 *kacci bhoto amaccesu*|
doso koci navijjati||
kacci te tava atthesu|
nava kankhanti jivitam|| ||

4 *athopi me amaccesu*|
doso koci navijjati||
athopi te mamatthesu|
navakankhanti jivitam|| ||

5 *kacci sadisi bhariya*|
assava piyabhanini||
puttarupayasupeta|
tava chandavasanuga|| ||

174 Traditionally the four stages of the Path are, 1. Stage of Entering the Stream 2. Stage of the Once-Returner, 3. Stage of the Never-Returner, and 4. Stage of the Arahat

6 *atho me sadisi bhariya*|
assava piyabhanini||
puttarupa yasupeta|
mama chandavasanuga|| ||
7 *kacci ratham anuppilam*|
akutoci upaddavam||
asahasena dhammena|
samena anusasasi|| ||
8 *atho ratham anuppilam*|
akutoci upaddavam||
asahasena dhammena |
samena anusasasi|| ||
9 *kacci apacita santo*|
asanto parivajjita||
noce dhammam nirankatva|
adhammam anuvattasi|| ||
10 *santo apacitaca me*|
asanto parivajjita||
dhammam yeva nuvattami|
adhammo me nirankato|| ||
11 *kaccinu nagatam digham*|
samapekkhasi khattiya||
matto madaniye kacci|
paraloke nasantasi|| ||
12 *aham anagatam digham*|
samapekkhami pakkhima||
thito dasasu dhammasu|
paraloke nasantase|| ||
13 *danam silam pariccagam*|
ajjavam maddavam tapam||
akodham avihimsanca|
khantica avirodhanam|| ||
14 *iccete kusale dhamme*|
thite passami attani||
tato me jayate piti|
somanassanca anappakam|| ||

That is to say: The King asked the Golden Goose, "Can your royal power indeed secure public health? Can you really avoid epidemics? Your people in this Kasi area are loaded with wealth and jewels; Can you truly instruct them through the Law (*Dhamma*)?"
The royal Golden Goose replied, "My power depends entirely upon health and so the city of the Golden Goose is free from sickness. Through the Law I instruct the city of Kasi, so filled with wealth, jewels and people in public health.
The King - "Can you, as King, really be sure that there is among your ministers no trace of greed or envy? Can you be sure that your ministers will be prepared to sacrifice their lives without hesitation for your advantage?"

The Golden Goose - "I fully test my ministers and make sure that they have no trace of greed or envy in them. They have been well examined and will, without hesitation, give their lives for my interests."
The King - As King, have you truly found a Chief Queen of a line equal to your own, who will pay heed to her lord's words and give a loving answer, who will give you a wealth of sons and daughters to succeed you and who will follow her lord to whatever land he wishes?
The Golden Goose - Indeed I have in truth a Chief Queen who is of a line equal to my own, who takes heed of what I say and who replies lovingly, who provides me with a wealth of sons and daughters and who follows me to whatever land I wish.
The King - Do you really manage, as King, to squeeze out, like a sugar cane press squeezing the juice from the cane, the taxes, the fat of the land, the wealth from the people of your lands, without imposing fear upon them? How do you instruct them to pay lawfully, without playing the tyrant?
The Golden Goose - Indeed to get the taxes, the fat of the land and the wealth I do not squeeze the peoples of my lands as a cane press squeezes the cane. I do not put them in fear or play the tyrant. I bring them to agreement following the law.
The King - Can you truly respect the eminent and virtuous among your scholars and pick them out for promotion? Can you manage to avoid the company of the foolish and the stupid? Could you ever really reject the ways of virtue and follow the way of the wicked?
The Golden Goose - I promote eminent and virtuous scholars and respect them. I do not associate with fools or the stupid and I avoid them. I follow only the ways of virtue and I reject the ways of the unvirtuous.
The King - How should one who is a king, master of the land, look upon the life that stretches far before him? (This means that nowhere in the world is a man's life secure: before long he will die. He must carry his death in his heart.) If he looks for forgetfulness in drunkenness and sensuality, how can he look to the future without fear?
The strong-winged royal Golden goose replied - I look at my life far into the future. (This means meditation upon death.) I am firm in the ten rules of kingship and I have no fear of falling into the four evil states in the future.
King Samyama, wishing to remind himself more firmly of the ten rules of royal behaviour, repeated the *gatha* of *danam, silam* and the rest, saying - "*Danam*, the distribution of alms, *silam*, the five and the ten points of morality; *pariccagam*, giving generously a livelihood to the ministers and soldiers; *ajjavam*, never to be deceitful and to be honest and upright; *maddavam*, being gentle and courteous in speech; *tapam*, making Religion firm; *akodham,* bearing hostility and anger against no living creature, treating all as one's own children; *avihimsanca*, having pity for all living creatures, just as for one's own sick children, so as not to oppress them; *khantica*, refraining from speaking less than respectfully with one's own mouth; *aviroddhana* , not acting against arahats, monks, laymen, officials and the people of the land."
The Golden Goose -. "For myself, I act thus. I observe these ten established rules of good deeds and for this reason I am loved and of this I am not a little glad."

If you set these ten rules of royal behaviour firmly in yourself and observe them, you need have no fear of death, or of falling into an evil state in a future life. Besides this

you will have a straight course to the country of the spirits, which will be no small cause for gladness - this is the meaning.

9. Ten rules for royal behaviour, included in Catudhammasara's *pyou*

Taking a lead from this conversation between the Golden Goose and King Samyama, we can say that the business of ruling a country and the selection of a Queen and of ministers are governed by the ten rules of royal conduct. The purport of these ten rules of royal conduct is set out in the poem, known as the *Koganpyou* in the *Hattipala Jataka,* written by Catudhammasara; this may be paraphrased:

1. *dana* - in a land that seeks to use its wealth properly, religious charity and giving to the virtuous; is never forgotten. Even the royal revenues may be so used in giving.
2. *sila* - all religious duties are maintained in public practice.
3. *paricchaga* - in addition to the respectful giving of religious alms to deserving recipients, support is provided beyond the religious obligation, whether to the king's ministers or to the street begger.
4. *ajjava* - the king is upright, speaking without ambiguity or deception.
5. *maddhava* - the king shows a disposition to act gently and kindly with good intentions.
6. *tapa* - besides the public following of religious practices, there must also be an internal religious life.
7. *akodha* - the king is always ready to restrain his anger and to conciliate his people in general loving-kindness.
8. *avihimsa* - the king must be free of any taint of cruelty and show mercy in a spirit of compassion towards the common people.
9. *khanti* - the king shows forgiveness of the actions of his women, courtiers and ministers, according to what is right.
10. *aviroddhana* - the king must never antagonise his people, but must try to carry them with him in his plans.

The last of these ten rules for royal conduct, called *avirodhana*, does not apply only to *padesarajas*, monarchs or even Thagya-min - the Lord himself when formulating his Law fell in with the inclinations and capabilities of living beings. If he had not preached according to the hearers' learning capacity, all creatures would not have been able to receive the Law of Release. For this reason the three sections of the *Pitaka* contain instructions -- somewhat at length for those that asked for a full explanation, at medium for those that preferred it moderate, and brief for those that needed a short course.

10. Kings should not oppose their people, but conciliate

If a ruler does not observe the principle of “non-opposition”, but goes against his own people, they will hate him and, finding a leader to their own mind, will bring down that ruler. If he is a ruler too powerful for his people to bring him down, they will leave

for another country and their own country will be diminished[175]. It is not possible to calculate how much has been lost by going against the people of the country. It will mostly be found in the 550 Jatakas and in the Chronicles. We can even see for ourselves pretty well too.

The most Excellent Lord formed the intention of showing that, out of the ten rules for the behaviour of kings, that of conciliation, called *khanti,* is not only observed by tributary kings, sole rulers and emperors, but that in the spirit world too, its king, Cakra, gives it the highest importance. Accordingly, while he was leading his religious life in the Jetavan Monastery in the Savatti country, the Lord uttered the words:

Bhuta pubbam bhikkave deva surasangamo samuppabyulo ahosi

followed by the rest of the story, which is:

Monks, in times long ago, the *Devas* and the *Asuras* were at war and were attacking each other. At this time the king of the Asuras set aside his plans for a direct attack on Thagyamin and said: "We will gain victory in this war with pleasant speech." Thagyamin replied to Vepacitti, the leader of the Asuras, "Very well, then; win this war with pleasant speech!" and he gave him leave to start. On both sides the soldiers, the *devas'* officers and generals, crowded in together to find out who was going to say what and Vepacitti, the king of the Asuras, said to Thagyamin "Go ahead, you speak first." Thagyamin replied, "You, the Asuras, came before we, the Devas, did. Will you please speak first!" Vepacitti, king of the Asuras then, intending to speak well, recited

bhiyyo bala pakujjheyyam|
nocassa patisedhako‖
tasma bhusena dantena|
dhiro balam nisedhayeti|| ||

That is to say:--"When fools go wild and cannot be dissuaded from their folly, then the wise must restrain them with the heaviest punishments."

Monks! When the Asuras heard the *gatha* pronounced by Vepacitti, their king, they were delighted and gave him much praise. The Devas on the other hand were quiet. Vepacitti, the Asura king, then said, "Go on, Thagyamin, say your piece!" After he had spoken, Thagyamin recited his best *gatha*

eta deva aham manye|
balassa patisedhanam||
param sankupitam natva|
yo sato upasammatiti|| ||

That is to say:-- "If he be mindful, the wise man in face of a fool who is angry recognises that the fool is angry and does not respond with anger on his side, but tries for a peaceful conciliation. Such peaceful conciliation without anger, he believes, will admonish and restrain the fool."

Monks! When Thagyamin had recited this *gatha,* the Devas praised him while the Asuras stayed quiet. Thagyamin invited Vepacitti, the Asura king, to recite another *gatha* and the Asura king responded

eta deva titikkhaya|
vajjam passami vasava||

175 A constant problem for the Burmese government during C19

yada nam manyati balo|
bhayamyayam titikkhati||
ajjharuhati dummedho|
gova bhiyyo palayinanti||

That is to say:-- Thagyamin fears our power and so is conciliatory. Whenever some fool sees him in this light, just as the herd-leader runs ahead of a runaway cow and makes her follow in line, so that fool will get ahead of him and give him a rough time. Our Asura King sees it a fault to accept insult from trying to conciliate a fool.

After this, to resolve the matter Thagyamin recited another *gatha:*

1 *kamam manyatuva mava*|
bhaya myayam titikkhati||
sadattha parama attha|
khantya bhiyyo navijjati|| ||

2 *yo have balava santo*|
dubbalassa titikkhati||
tamahu paramam khantim|
niccam khamati dubbalo||

3 *abalantam balam ahu*|
yassa bala balam balam||
balassa dhamma gutassa|
pativatta navijjati|| ||

4 *tasseva tena papiyo*|
yo kuddham patikujjati||
kuddham appatikujjhanto|
sangamam jeti dujjayam|| ||

5 *ubhinna mattham carati*|
attanoca parassaca||
param sankupitm nyatva|
yo sato upasammati|| ||

6 *ubhinnam titicchantanam*|
attanoca parassaca||
jana manyanti baloti|
ye dhammassa akovidati||

That is to say: **1.** Whether or not you believe that it is because we are afraid of you that we are conciliatory, you still think that your good is yours and yours only. (This means believing that between the good of another and one's own good, one's own is to be preferred). But among all the benefits that you yourself gain, there is not one that is better than the benefit of reconciliation. (This means that the benefit of reconciliation is greater than any of your personal benefits.)

2. In truth, if one who has great strength concedes to one who has less strength, that concession of the stronger to the weaker is the more valuable concession, so the Lord and other good men have told us. The weaker will always be in his debt. (This means that, since if the stronger overbears the weaker, the weaker who submits to being thus overborne cannot reverse the situation; he will have to submit to being permanently overborne. Even if he does not want to submit, there is nothing that he can do about it.

And so, if there is a reconciliation, it will not be for *khanti*. If he actually has any strength, any reconciliation will be a reconciliation with the violence and rebellion of the weaker. A reconciliation through goodwill and *khanti* is better.)

3. . A fool with strength is still a fool. Since none of the five strengths of a king and none of the seven strengths of the virtuous enter into his strength, he has no real strength - so the Lord and other good men have told us. Only one who has great power of wisdom and who follows the Religion has real strength, which will never grow less.
4. . One who loses his temper in response to one who has lost his, since his loss of temper is a reaction, will be ruled by the one who grew angry first - he will be his inferior. The one who does not lose his temper in response to a loss of temper by the other will be the winner in the battle.
5. . A wise man watches himself and he will recognise when the fool he is dealing with is losing his temper and will not lose his in return, but quietly accept the situation. Only by such quiet acceptance of another's anger can the well-being of both, his own and the other's, be saved.
6. . There are fools who know nothing of the rules of conduct of the virtuous. Such people consider foolish the good men who have regard for the well-being both of themselves and of others. (To act upon the principle that one's own benefit and the benefit of another can both be secured is the basis of conciliation. Fools think those are foolish who work to secure both - this is the meaning)

Thus Thagyamin and the Asura King, witnessed by the generals and soldiers of their armies, contested which of them could speak best. They swore oaths and made their speeches. That of the Asura King concerned punishments; it concerned weapons; it concerned how resistance could not be ended except by force. Thagyamin's speech brought in no punishments; no weaponry, no forceful attack upon resistance; it concerned ideas of bringing enmity to an end by conciliation. The leading warriors on both sides drew their conclusions.

The most Excellent Lord thus told how in this way the King of the Asuras was defeated.

> "Monks! It was thus that the ruler of the Devas, Thagyamin, gained the victory, by his good speech."

On the strength of this text we must realise that tributary kings, monarchs, emperors, the Supreme Lord himself, all possible ranks of royalty from Thagyamin down must hold conciliation as of the greatest importance.

11. Seven means of gaining an advantage

The *Kamantaki* book of *niti* describes seven devices for getting the better of an enemy:

samam dananca dandoca|
bhedoceti cakukkakam||
mayo pekkhinda jalanca|
sattopaya pakkitita||

That is to say: *sama,* the device of "agreement"; *dana*, the device of "giving"; *danda*, the device of "punishment"; *bheda*, the device of "breaking an agreement"; these are four devices of one kind. *Maya*, the device of illusion, the glamour that comes from the *Asuras*; *upekkha,* the device of "unconcern"; *indajala*, the conjuror's art, making one's appearance greater, to terrify the enemy - these are said to be the seven devices.

"Arivijaya mupa gacchanti etehiti upaya." Since, according to the meaning of these words, these are the ways to defeat an enemy, they are called the "Seven Devices".

12. The device of agreement (*sama*)

Among these seven, the device of *sama* has five modes, thus:

paramparopakaranam|
kittanam gunakammesu||
sambaddhassa samakkhanam|
ayatim sampakasanam||
pesalaya sadhuvaca|
aham tava pakkho iti appanamca||
iti sama yoganyuhi|
sama pancavidham matam||

This is stated in the books of *niti* and also in the *Abhidhamma* Commentary. The text in the scripture is a little different. The meaning is: If two people wish to negotiate an agreement, then wise men who know how to exert themselves in the *sama* device must use the five methods that are included in it - that is, by exchange of gifts and assistance; by propaganda, building up the reputation of the one who wishes to make the contact; by propaganda again, magnifying the advantages of agreeing to negotiate; after agreement on negotiations has been reached, by praise of the benefits expected from them; by friendly messages from the one who negotiates from a distance, such as "I am at your side". These are known as the five modes of the *sama* device.

Two parties who want to negotiate an agreement through the *sama upaya* will speak of benefits and help to be given one to the other, They will praise the good qualities of those who thus negotiate and also the work being done in the negotiations. This is all a part of the *sama upaya.*

Where strengths are equal but an agreed assessment has broken down; where there has been a defeat by an enemy; or where there has been a realisation that there would be a positive advantage from entering into an agreement with another prince - it is in such cases as these that the *sama upaya* comes into use. In its use the five modes of which we have spoken are employed.

13. The device of giving away (*dana*)

The *dana upaya* also has five separate modes, described in the *Kamantaki Niti* and in the *Abhidhamma* commentary as follows:

Yo sampatta dhano saggo|
uttama dhamma majjhimo||
patidanam tathatassa|
gahitassanumodanam|| ||
dabbadananamapubbanca|
sayam gahappavattanam||
deyyassa patimokkhoca|
danam pancavidham matam|| ||

That is to say: relinquishing or handing over whatever has been won, cities or wealth, great, medium or small; the making of a return gift; giving praise to one who wishes to exchange something of yours for something of his, saying that you would be delighted to do it; giving away a special, novel and unique material for use and accepting whatever he who wants it has brought; releasing a debt that should be paid - these are the five modes of the *dana upaya.*

This *upaya* is to be used if there is an enemy of equal power who intends to attack you; or if there is one of greater power. Among the five modes, that of making an immediate grant of something and that of voluntarily granting something when a desire for it has been expressed - these two are particularly useful.

14. The device of punishment (*danda*)

According to the texts, the *danda upaya* has three modes, thus:

vadhottha gahanamceva|
parikleso tathevaca||
iti danda vidhanyuhi|
dandopi tividho mato|| ||

That is to say : People recognise as modes of the *danda upaya,* first, killing, whether openly done, or in secret; then, depriving him who is to be punished of his well-being or of his possessions; in addition and lastly, harassing him by generally confining and attacking him. The *danda upaya* then is said to have three modes.

Of these three modes, killing is referred to as *vadha* and openly killing is *pakasavadha*, while secret killing is *apakasavadha*. This mode of the *upaya* serves to dominate an enemy who is to be conquered by insulting him and putting him in fear.

In the use of the *danda upaya,* the punishment delivered must be proportional to the offence - he who deserves death is killed - he who deserves deprivation of property is deprived - one whom it is right to bind and beat is attacked or imprisoned In this way, action must correspond to the offence. It is not right to inflict punishment on one who gives no offence, whether from relying on the word of another, or from accepting a bribe from another, or in accordance with one's own private grudge. You may ask why. It is because if punishment is inflicted on one who does not deserve it, he who is so punished

will get it back ten times over. King Kosala captured five hundred brigands who had taken a thousand pieces of money from heretics to kill Shin Moggalana, but when the Lord heard of their being killed he said "Because of this punishment that has been given to the five hundred robbers who killed my dear son, Moggalana, there is a ten-fold penalty to be paid." So the story is told in the Dhammapada scripture.

[1] *Yo danda adandesu*
appadutesu dussati||
dasanna manyataram thanam|
khippameva nigacchati|| ||

[2] *vedanam pharusam janim*|
sarirarassaca sedanam||
garukamvapi abhadam|
cittakkhepanca papune|| ||

[3] *rajatova upasaggam*|
abbhakkhananca darunam||
parikkhayanca nyatinam|
bhogayanca pabhanguna|| ||

[4] *athavassa agarani*|
aggidahyati pavako||
kayassa bheda duppanyo|
nirayam sopapajjati|| ||

That is to say: 1. In the matter of imposing punishments, anyone who blames and punishes one who is blameless and does not merit punishment, himself falls into the depths of what are called the ten states of punishment. 2. A violent sickness may fall upon him - his body may be broken - he comes heavily into an evil condition from which he cannot be freed and falls into a distracted madness. 3. Calamity will fall upon him if he is a king; false accusations may be strongly urged against him; his kindred may fail; his property will be destroyed. 4. Besides all this, one who punishes where no punishment is deserved, and has cleared away houses to clean, bare ground, may see a cleansing flame himself. One who lacks the wisdom to distinguish between what calls for punishment and what does not, and punishes where he should not, his body will waste and after his death he will land in hell.

Therefore extremely careful consideration must be given to cases where punishment is to be inflicted. Because of their ability to impose punishments on many people, kings and their ministers in power, more than anyone else, must consider such matters carefully.

There are six matters that kings and ministers have to think about carefully: 1. rewards 2. punishments 3. blame 4. praise 5. demotions 6. promotions.

If one who does not deserve punishment is punished, not only will the punisher incur the Ten Punishments of which we have spoken in the gatha above, but he will be hated by all who hear of it. If, again, one who does not deserve it is rewarded, those of the like ability will be discouraged. It is the same with blame and praise, demotion and promotion, and this must be kept in mind.

It is said, therefore, *anisammakari raja nasadhu,* which is to say "A king who hands out punishments without thought and consideration, along with the rest of the Six, is no good king."

15. The device of breaking up an alliance (*bheda*)

According to the Kamantaki Niti as well as the Abhidhan Commentary, the *bheda upaya* has its own three modes:

sneha ragapanayanam|
samhassoppadanam tatha||
santajjananca bhedoyam|
tanyuhi tividho mato|| ||

That is to say: Those skilled in the Devices know that the *bheda upaya* has three different modes; First, tale-bearing to break up the friendly relationship between two parties who are in agreement; second, inducing one party in a friendly relationship to feel more favorably towards oneself than towards his original partner; third, insinuating suggestions that will cause fear that one of the parties is seeking his own benefit and that when he has got what he wants he will break the relationship.

The *bheda upaya* is clearly a matter of falsehood and *pisunavaca*, or slander. It is therefore counted in religious books as one of the four types of evil speech.

Regarding the four types of *pisunavaca*, it is said in the Athasalini and other commentaries:

> Among these four types of evil speech, there is the dirty mind of the man who hopes either to break up a relationship between others, or to win love for himself, and so energetically uses all the resources of his mind and body for this purpose. This is called *pisunavaca*. (In this connection, the word *vaca* does not refer to speech: it refers to will and disposition of mind) In this *pisunavaca* , if the association that is severed was of small value, the blame i*s* slight: if it was of great value, the blame is heavy.

Arahats and monks should act in accordance with the precepts of the *Vinaya* as a united body, and their union is therefore known as the *Sangha*[176]. Among all the the unions in the world, the union that is the *Sangha* is of the highest value. If it were to be divided so as to break up the community of the *Sangha,* that would be a *bhedakam* of the *Sangha.* Its perpetrator would have no reincarnation; he would truly have fallen into the greatest of all sins, the *anantariyakam.*

If there has been a breakup of an association by means of one of the three modes of the *bheda upaya*, such as *pisunavaca*, those who were once united become separated. But those whose association is thus practised against may come to realise that the whole purpose of the operation was to divide them. They will then see that their enemy believes that once the association is broken he will become popular and will be able to enter into

176 Although in *Theravada* countries the word *Sangha* has the very specific meaning of the whole body of monks, its basic meaning is “a coming together” or “junction”. Causing a break in the religious community is one of the unforgivable sins.

it. Once they realise that he is using all his energy in the *bheda upaya* as one of the four modes, just for popularity, and that this is the meaning of the attempt, the association will not be broken by mere words. If they allow themselves to be divided, it will be a victory for words.

As I have said, there are two ways of so working for division. Of the two ways, one is to work on creating divisions in the minds of its members when their association is in agreement and so too strong to defeat. The other way is, when the association has one or two powerful members, to create devoted factions.

This is how divisions are made: as I have said, there are three methods, and one of these methods has to be selected.

16. The device of illusion (*maya*)

In the device of illusion, there are very many modes. The Kamantaki Niti says:

devata patimathambha|
susirantaga narehi||
puma thivathasamvito|
nisi abhuta dassanam|| ||
vetalo kva visacanam|
devananca surupata||
icchadimaya vinyeyya|
manusi narehi caram|| ||
kamato rupadharittam|
sattasattasmambu vassanam||
tamoni linataceva|
iti mayaca manusi|| ||

That is to say: Deceptions through people who can get inside the hollow image of a spirit; or of a pillar and make it move; through males who can play a woman in dress; by making impossible marvels appear at night; by appearances of cremations of dead bodies in various places; of demon shapes from out of the earth, or of spirits - such illusions as these are recognised among men as *maya*. Taking what shape one pleases, creating a real or illusory rain of gunshot or stones; hiding in a pall of mist - such illusions as these too are recognised among men as *maya*.

The meaning of this verse is that there are two types of *maya upaya*, the device of illusion: one is that which can be carried out by men, the other that which can only be done by spirits. Of these two types, that which can be done by men, is that of the illusions which naturally lie in man's capacity - the other is of those which depend upon charms, spells, incantations and *mantras* and drugs. Those which men can encompass include using men slim enough to get inside the hollow images of spirits or of the Lord, hollow pillars and hollow trees and making them speak as they will to people who come to worship; dressing men of womanly appearance in women's dress and sending them into places where men may not go, but women may, in order to spy; in the dark hours of night scaring the enemy by making unheard of and impossible images to appear; producing

appearances of earth demons in the enemy's cities and armies, so as to cause panic - such illusions as these are within men's abilities.

The ability to change shape at will, to a parrot's or a tiger's, by means of charms, incantations, spells and drugs, and so to get into any place and do whatever one wants; the ability to send upon an enemy's city a shower of weapons or rocks; such illusions as these do not lie within the power of normal people. Only those skilled in the use of charms, incantations and drugs can produce them. Because he did not think that an attack upon King Utena would succeed, King Candapajjota worked upon the desire of King Utena. He produced a mechanical image of a white elephant and set men inside the body of the elephant to turn the machine so that it seemed to be going about here and there. When King Utena heard about this, he himself pursued the elephant to capture it. Little by little he was lured into the power of King Candapajjota, and in this way an enemy was defeated by an illusion.

When King Sivi lost his wits on seeing Ummadanti, the King's general proposed that an approach should be made to ask the spirit guardian of the tree for an answer to what had caused the king to lose his wits and how his wits might be restored. The general placed a trusted servant in the hollow of the tree and when the question was asked he replied that King Sivi's wits would be restored if the general's wife, Ummadanti, were given to him. This was an instance of the device of *maya*.

17. The device of unconcern (*upekkha*)

In the *niti* books it is said that the illusion[177] known as *upekkha,* the refusal to be provoked, has three forms, thus:

anyaye byasane yuddhe|
pavattassa nivaranam||
iccupekkhatta viduhi|
upekkha tividha mata|| ||

That is to say: Those wise men who know the u*pekkha upaya* tell us that this *upaya* may take three modes: when the enemy acts in a lawless and unbecoming manner; when the enemy causes destruction; when the enemy makes a direct attack - and we do not prevent them, but ignore them.

The meaning of this is that when an enemy acts lawlessly and we do not prevent him, but ignore him; when the enemy causes destruction we do not try to prevent him, but ignore him; when the enemy procures others to attack us we take no steps to negotiate peace with these others, but ignore them - this is the *upekkha upaya.*

177 This is a mistake: *upekkha* is included among the "devices"; not a variety of illusion, *maya*

18. The device of magical illusion (*indajala*)

In the *niti* books it is said that there are many types of *indajala*, conjuring:

meghandhakaravuthuggi|
pabbata abbhuta dassanam||
durathananca senanam|
dassanam dhajasalinam|| ||
chinnapatita bhinnanam|
sankharananca dassanam||
itindajalam disassa|
bhiccatta mupakappeyya|| ||

That is to say: Causing impossible marvels to occur, like darkening the sky, bringing rain, even making fire blaze up; making armies appear from far away, showing massed standards, or mountains of paddy; demonstrating buildings collapsing and arising again - all such illusions can be used to terrify an enemy and constitute the *indajala upaya.*

At the time when King Sulani Brahmadat and the Brahman Kevat had surrounded the city of Mitthila with their army of eighteen *akhobani,* an appearance was made of planting rice upon the city wall and making it grow to harvest and one of planting lotus seeds in the hollow of a bamboo and then plucking lotus flowers from the bamboo and throwing them at the besiegers - these were examples of the *indajala upaya*.

Among these seven "devices", the four which are *sama, dana, danda* and *bheda* are those which are known as the four greater *upaya.* . The others, *maya, upekkha* and *indajala* are called in some accounts the "lesser". The Hemacanda Hsaya therefore says:

maya pekkhinda jalanca|
khuddo maya ime tayo||[178]

In the Abhidhan commentary, however, *maya* and *upekkha* are included in *danda upaya* and *indajala* in *bheda*. It is for this reason that in speaking of the four "greater" *upaya* the three "lesser" are included.

19. Three strengths of kings

In the Abhidhan books it is said that kings and other rulers have three strengths:

pabha vussaha mantanam|
vasa tisso hi sattiyo|| ||

That is to say: The strength of majesty (*pabhavasatti*); the strength of the military (*ussasatti)*; the strength of wisdom (*mantasatti*) - these are the three strengths that are spoken of in the *Thokthiletkhan Athakatha* and the *Udan Athakatha.*

The strength of majesty depends upon the power that comes from storehouses and granaries filled with paddy and rice, with gold silver and jewels, upon the ability to keep things in place by punishments - the *danda upaya* of which we have spoken - and upon being both loved and feared. It was therefore said by the Hsaya known as Bharata:

178 "*Maya, upekkha* and *jala* are the three lower devices.'

"pabhuttasadhakatta| dandakosopabhusatti" or "Because of its power to complete the glory of the ruler, the *danda upaya*, which fills granaries and storehouses with wealth, is called the strength of majesty.

Valour, the unremitting effort in any kind of duty and a strong force of armed soldiers constitute the strength of *ussaha.* The Bharata Hsaya therefore said: "*vikkamabalam| mussahasatti"* or "Valour, unremitting effort and a strong army make up the *ussahasatti."*

The wisdom which knows the ten rules of royal conduct, the four rules of *sangaha* and the rest and can so manage the proper government of a whole country, which does not place high regard on personal wishes and is willing to consult and discuss with scholars - these make up the *mantasatti*.

20. Places for confidential discussions

In the discussion of matters in deep secrecy, if there are only two people involved with four ears open between them, it is called "counsel of a double field with four corners." If there are three people with six ears between them, it is said to be a triple field with six corners. These are the two modes. However, in the *Amarakosa Abidhan* text, discussion between three people is ruled out.

In the *Milinda Panya* it is said that there are eight places that must be avoided for discussion of a secret:

visamam bhayam abhivato|
paticchanna deva nissitam||
pantho sangamo titamca|
athete parivajjita|| ||

That is to say: Rough ground, a place of danger, a windy spot, a place too much concealed, a spirit shrine, a frequented high road, the edge of a battle field, a cart stand or a boat dock, - these eight places must be shunned.

Among these eight, the outcome of discussions held upon rough ground will be in disorder and may be lost; if the discussion is held in a dangerous place, because of nervousness the issues will not be well thought out; in a windy spot words will be hard to hear; in a place that is too well hidden, eavesdroppers may hide and listen to the discussion; in a spirit shrine one cannot speak as one wills; there will be no proper outcome of a discussion held upon the high road - it may be all in vain; there can be no quiet discussion on the edge of a battlefield - there will be constant disturbance; at a cart stand or at a boat[179] dock any discussion will be out in the open - there can be no secrets.

The *Milinda Panya* also gives eight types of men who can ruin any discussion:

ratto duthoca muhthoca|
manaluddho tatholasso||
ekacintica baloca|
ete attham vinasakati|| ||

179 Text repeats *lei* but this must surely be for *hlei*

That is to say: a man of a passionate disposition; a man given to anger; a foolish man; a rude man, a man of great vanity; besides these too, a lazy man, a man who has only a single idea; a child - people of these eight types can destroy the benefit of any discussion. If such as these enter into the discussion, there can be no discussion and all will be in vain.

The *Milinda Panya* also says that there are nine types of men who are bound to disclose any discussion if they get to know of it:

ratto durathoca muhthoca|
bhiru amisagaruko||
itthi sondoca pandako|
navamo bhavati darako|| ||
nave te puggala|
loke ittara calita cala||
etehi mantitam guhyam|
khippam bhavati pakatantica|| ||

That is to say: The greedy man; the angry man; the foolish man; the frightened man; the man open to bribes and presents; the woman; the man addicted to food and drink, to whoring and liquor; the effeminate man; the child - there are these nine types of person and they will put an end to rational considerations, since they are of unstable mind. People of these nine types will quickly make known any confidential matter.

21. Six points of merit (*guna*) for kings

The Amarakosa and Hitopadesa say that there are six merits that kings and other rulers have, namely:

sandhi na viggaho yana|
masanam dvedha massayo chaguna||

That is to say: S*andhi guna* is the virtue of bringing things together in reconciliation; aggressiveness in warfare is the *viggaho guna*; setting out to battle is the *yana guna;* staying at home to defend one's own land without setting out for battle is the *asanam guna;* when two enemies are pressing you from two sides, negotiating appropriately and separately with both sides is the *dvedha guna;* when afraid of being beaten by an enemy, taking refuge with another king of great power is the *asaya guna;* these are the six *gunas*.

Among these six *gunas* the *sandhi guna* comes into play when one king of great power is about to be defeated and crushed or where he has been extremely discomforted in a great war.

22. Sixteen types of *guna* from the Kamantaki Niti and the Hitopadesa

In the *Kamantaki Niti* and the *Hitopadesa* texts these merits are described as sixteen, thus:

kapalo upakaroca|
sandano sangaho tatha||
upanyaso patikaro|
samyogo purisantaro|| ||
adithanaro aditho|
attamiso upeggaho||
parikkharo tatho chinno|
tathaca paribhusano||
khandapaneyo sandhica|
solaso parikittito||
iti solasakam pahu|
sannim sandhivicakkhana|| ||

That is to say: There is the *sandhi guna* called *kapala*, generally concerned with agreements and alliances, described as part of the *sama upaya*; there is too the *sandhi guna* called *upakara*, concerned with parting with gifts for making friendships, part of the *dana upaya*; the *sandhi guna* called *santano*, concerned with giving away one's daughters, sisters and so on in marriage for friendship's sake. There is also as a manifestation of the *sandhi guna* the acceptance of an agreement of friendship, unbreakable through a whole lifetime, whether in riches or in poverty, and this is called *sangaha*

> Digression :- this form of the *sandhi guna*, which accepts the responsibility of undertaking a companionship for better or worse, with no change of mind, that is not to be cast off for a whole lifetime, is for the purpose of making a friendship as solid as the centre of a bar of purest gold, never to be cut in two. Since friendship is like gold, it is known as *kancanaguna sandhi guna* (golden)".

If a friendship is made for a particular purpose, with each openly declaring the benefits to be derived, this is known as the *upanyasa* (studied) type of the *sandhi guna.* If a friendship is made on the basis of declared benefits - that "I shall bring you such-and-such new means and I shall rely on your bringing me comparable benefits" then this is the *patikara* (reciprocal) form of the *sandhi guna.* Making an alliance on the basis of associating with a certain king and stating the particular benefits that will arise from it and of taking steps to complete it is known as the *samyoga* (bond on even terms?) version of the *sandhi guna*. When two army generals make an alliance in writing, each setting out his desires, this is known as the *purisantara* (between men) type of the *sandhi guna*.

And "It is called *adithanara* (the blind man's) *guna* when agreement is reached on such terms as 'you may go ahead and do whatever our enemy's leader requires and enter into a treaty with him on his terms, but our friendship still holds'".

Making an agreement by transferring by treaty a quarter of the country is the *aditha* form of the *sandhi guna.* Handing over one's whole army to the enemy and so making an alliance is called the *attamisa* (mingled selves?) version of the *sandhi guna.* Making an agreement to hand over one's entire wealth to be dealt with at will, only one's life to be spared, is known as the *upeggahi* (?) type of the *sandhi guna.* Handing over a quarter, a half or even the whole of the wealth that is in your granaries and your stores and so coming to agreement is called the *parikkhara* (equipment) type of the *sandhi guna.* Making the agreement by giving away the taxes and profits arising from the richest lands is called the *ucchinna* (break-up) form of the *sandhi guna.* Besides this, there is the giving away the whole tax revenue of the country to reach agreement, which is the *paribhusana* (use and enjoyment?) form of the *sandhi guna.* Making an agreement to serve and oversee the separate movement of tax collections in each year is the *khandhapanaya* (mass leading forward?) form of the *sandhi guna.* Thus the *sandhi guna* has sixteen separate forms, so it is said, and thus scholars call it sixteen-fold.

23. The virtue of *viggaha* -- skill in waging war

In the *Abhidhan* commentary **i**t is said that the *viggaha guna* has three forms:

apahara lakkhano viggaho| sopi ividho|| pakasayuddham|| kutayuddham| tuhniyuddhami ti||

That is to say: The disposition to make war is called the *viggaha guna.* This *guna* has three forms. One of these is to attack openly in open warfare, *pakasa yuddha*; the next is to make the attack with a concealed force, practising secrecy and deception in *kuta yuddha.* The third is to make the attack without warning, bringing the army forward in a night raid, *tuhni yuddha.* These are its three separate parts. This *viggaha guna* is to be practised when an opponent of equal or lesser strength behaves rudely and insultingly.

24. The virtue of *yana* -- skill in offensive warfare

If there is great strength in the power of wealth, in the numbers of valiant men and bearers of arms, victory will usually follow. A king who has the ability to be victorious can turn from one country to another so as to broaden his dominions. This power to advance to the attack and gain victories is called the *yana guna.* In the *niti* books it is said that this *yana guna* takes five forms:

viggahyo sandhayo tatha|
sambhuyotha pasankato||
upekkhaceti nipuno|
yanam pancavidham matam|| ||

That is to say: The ability to make war and to envelop the whole army of an enemy with one's own force of men and weapons is that part of the *yana guna* that is called *viggahya.* Put otherwise, the ability to bring face-to-face the whole strength of an enemy with all his allies and all one's own strength and the strength of one's own allies and to be the superior is *viggahya.* Going out with the intention of attacking another country, finding

that the road was cut off and that a return was necessary, and consequently joining in an alliance with the remaining enemy is that part of the *yana guna* that is called *sandhaya.* Joining in an attack with kings who have great power, near to oneself and who are good warriors is the part of the *yana guna* that is called *sambhuya.* Put otherwise, if an enemy king comes to make war and one advances to meet and challenge him, so that on the two sides the royal nature of both is at a deadlock and they come to personal combat, that is a form of *sambhuya.* In a version different again, if, being left with very little wealth, one gets together the remaining scraps on one's own to attack and defeat an enemy king and to gain much wealth, it is said to be *sambhuya*. Besides these, to gather one's force and cause disturbance in one area and then make your attack in another is the form of the *yana guna* that is called *pasanka.* Going out to attack an enemy's city and on arrival to realise that to attack would bring little profit, and so to switch the attack on to an ally of the enemy is the form of the *yana guna* that is called *upekkha.* Thus those who have studied the *yana guna* say that it has five different modes.

25. The virtue of *asana* -- skill in defensive warfare

This *gatha* should be remembered in connection with the *asana guna:*

viggahyo sandhayo tatha|
sambhulayotha pasankato||
upekkha ceti nipuna|
sanam pancavidham matam||

That is to say: To ask for an armistice when mutual fighting has become too burdensome is the *viggahya* form of the *asana guna.* Put differently, when one has attacked and enveloped the enemy, to desist further is the form of the *asana guna* that is called *viggahyo.* Or differently again, when one is unable to sustain the enemy attack, to retreat into fortifications and hold him there is also the *viggahyo* form of the *asana guna.* When the strength of both sides is exhausted from their mutual attacks and they can fight no further, to discuss and arrange an agreement is the *sanaya* form of the *asana guna.* King Udasinga formed an association of all his allied kings which stood so that no single enemy could break it; this was the *sambhuya* form of the *asana guna.* Next, a king who goes to war against one country and remains at peace in alliance with another is an example of the *pasanka* form of the *asana guna.* One who goes out intending to attack his enemy, but finds the enemy too strong for him and so retreats without fighting and stays so, is an example of the *upekkha* form of the *asana guna.* Thus those that have studied the *asana guna* say that it has five different forms.

26. The virtue of *dvedha* -- skill in dealing with a double attack

One form of the *dvedha guna* is, when squeezed between a double attack by enemies on both sides, to open negotiations in suitable terms with both sides, offering personal negotiations. Another form is to come to an agreement with the enemy on one side and to fight in alliance with him against the other. Another form again is to use a part

of your force to defend your city and to attack with the rest. Acting in such ways suitable for dealing with a double threat is the *dvedha guna.*

27. The virtue of *asaya* -- skill in finding shelter from superior force

Of the *asaya guna,* one form is to take refuge with and subject oneself to another prince of great strength because there is a danger that the enemy will be victorious; the other is to take refuge thus when it can be seen that there will be much personal advantage in doing so. This *guna* has these two forms.

28. Eight royal qualities to be exercised by lords of territories

According to the *Rajaniti* there are eight kingly qualities on which the rulers of countries must base their conduct:

indassakassa vayussa|
yamassa samuddassa ca||
candabhumi paccunnanam|
ranyo athaguno bhave||

That is to say: The king's power must rest upon the qualities of eight models – Thagya-min [180], the Sun, the Air, Death, the Ocean, the round Moon, the Earth itself, and the Sky.

From among these eight models, Thagya-min puts down those among all his spirits that deserve to be put down and raises up the deserving; just so a king must put down the ill-doers among all his people and reward the deserving.

For the saying that the Sun must be his model, just as the Sun with a thousand rays softly draws up the water from the rain, so must a king of a great country gently and graciously absorb the tax moneys from his land.

Modeling himself upon the Air, just as the Air enters into and leaves the bodies of all living creatures, so must a king work to know, as though entering into their very selves, all that is done by his ministers and people, their poverty and their wealth and the secrets that they hide.

He must model himself upon King Death, for King Death makes no distinctions whether of love or of hate. He sets his coming by *Kamma*[181], so must a king turn his regard, not according to his love or his hate, but according to what has been done.

He must take the Ocean for his model, for just as Ocean indifferently receives the waters of the five great and the five hundred small rivers just as they come, so the lord of a great country dispassionately receives exactly the proportion of its wealth that custom prescribes.

He must be like the Moon, for whenever they see the circle of the full moon all men are made glad and happy; so when the lord of a great country shows a glad countenance and speaks words of good cheer that they are pleased to hear, he makes his

180 The Burmese version of Indra, the King of the spirit world: cf Pt. II, sect 10 above
181 Text is *kan-a lyaw-zwa* - "according to the force of *kamma*" - the consequence of past actions.

ministers and all his people happy.

He must be like the solid Earth, which gives shelter and support to all living creatures; so it is right that he, as their lord, give shelter and support to all his people through following the four rules of *sangaha.*

He must take the way of the Sky; during all the four months[182] the Sky satisfies all the people with the water from its wells and so must his servants and officers be satisfied by the sustenance, the robes of office and the gifts that they receive from their lord and give him their love.

This is the explanation of the Rajaniti text. Following this text the *Gambhisara* has "Waters of Ocean; soft sweeping Wind; full of the Moon; Sunrise and Moonrise; the World of life; Thagya, lord of the Spirits - these eight are to be remembered".

29. The Nine Limbs of a country

The *Min-zin Linka* speaks of the nine "limbs" of a country that have never been mistrusted, put to the test or broken by kings in our history.

> They are these Nine Jewels: the Order of the Salwe, his own kindred to be consulted in times of confusion, who can restore abundance - these, with the golden canopy and the golden drum, may be called the kingdom's frontlet:
>
> the senior monks, firm in their religion, bright in their wisdom and teaching, props of the throne - these may be called the pennant;
>
> students of the Vedas, skilled in seeing ahead, both near and far, pondering the outcome of actions, judges of the law, honest and upright men, all actions in proper form - all these may be called the eyes of the land;
>
> those going about from place to place, from town to town, wherever men live, edging in and listening, men good with secrets who keep track of events – these are called the country's ears;
>
> the royal kindred, patrolling the country's borders, cutting off the enemy's shoots, the kin and companions of the king - these are called the country's teeth;
>
> liquid gold, the wives, not dazzling the sight, their daughters and sons, beautiful to see, ornaments of the land - these are the country's face;
>
> the merchants, confident in their wealth, traders in goods and workers of the fields, firm and strong - these are the land's belly;
>
> men of the elephants and cavalry, brave men of good family, executors of the

182 Of the rainy season

king's will, firm in effort and never yielding - these are the feet of the land;

those who hold the centre of the lands, like the quoit of Thagya-min, their weapons their adornment, their equipment their defence, spreading out confidence, these are the hands of the land.

Of these, the ring of nine jewels, the frontlet must not be shaken, the pennant not torn, the eyes not put out, the ears not stopped, the teeth not broken, the face not disfigured, the belly not upset, the feet not hurt and the hands not cut; if this is followed, you will be wearing the nine jewels and your land will not fail in success.

30. The seven Organs of a country

The *Kamantaki* and other *niti* books refer to the seven "limbs" of the state, which appear in the Abhidhamma:

samyamaccanca rathanca|
duggam koso balam sakha||
paramparo pakaridam|
sattangam rajja muccate||

That is to say: The lord who rules the land, the united council of ministers, the towns and villages, the fortified cities, the storehouses filled with gold and silver, with paddy and rice, the valiant soldiers (*bala*), the network of allies, bound to mutual assistance - these must be called the seven limbs of the land. (This means that the body which is formed from these limbs is that which is, in Burmese, *naing-ngan*[183] and in Magadhi, *rajja*. If any one of these limbs is broken, the state cannot stand firmly, just as a man cannot stand firmly with a broken limb.)

Elsewhere in the *Kamantaki* and other *niti* books it is said that the number of the "natural assets" (*pagati*) of the state is five instead of these seven:

amacca ratha duggani|
koso dandoca pancamo||
etapakatayo tanyu|
vijigisassu dahata||
eta panca tatha mittam|
sattamo pathavipati||
sattapakati kam rajjam|
iccuvaca brahapati||

That is to say: The company of ministers, the villages of the land, the fortified cities, the storehouses filled with gold, silver, jewels, rice and paddy and, fifth, punishments *(danda)* fitted to faults - wise men who have studied these natural assets say that they are those that must be held by the king who hopes to overcome his enemies. The teacher

183 *Naing-ngan* originally has the meaning "subject to conquest" and apparently referred to outlying territories not directly controlled by the central power. Later, however, and up to the present day, it covers the whole sovereign territory.

named Brahapati adds to these five assets, that have been named, relatives and allies who will help in any difficulty, great or slight, and a seventh, a king who will control the state. If all these seven assets are there, it will indeed be a *naing-ngan.* (The difference between the previously listed seven *inga* "limbs" of the state and the present seven *pakati* "natural assets" is that one has *danda* - the power of punishment - and the other *bala* - military force.)

The Pali Abhidhamma has:

samya macco sakha koso|
ugganca vijitam balam||
rajjanga niti sattete|
siyyum pakati yopica||

giving the seven natural assets of a state.

31. The ruling king

These seven assets thus include the ten-fold law of royal conduct and the four rules of *sangaha* of which we have spoken[184]. The ruler who is perfect in them, may indeed be called a king. If, however, a single one of the country's "limbs" is lacking to him, the kingdom cannot amount to much and he may lack the respect of its people as a whole. The mass of the people will be divided into separate interests. People with special skills in civic affairs, ethics, religion, technology and the like, who could give good care to the interests of the state will be named as military commanders and other grades of officials. People whose interest is in buying in the course of a widespread trading system and those whose interest is in selling in foreign lands, since they do not know each other will lose their trade, since they do not dare to hand goods over. Large-scale trade does not allow of simple cash payment**s**. People are needed who know the business both of the buyer and the seller and who undertake to accept the seller's goods on behalf of the buyer and to act as brokers in such transactions. By setting up the sale once a sufficient deposit has been paid, they enable the sellers to dispose to their satisfaction of the goods that they have brought to market, while the buyer buys according to his wishes. Foreign traders coming into a country will not know the prevailing prices well and they will not dare to trust in what would-be buyers tell them. It is by relying on a broker and enquiring from him that sellers can sell and buyers can buy. It is by the brokers working in the middle and providing information that buying and selling can take place. If there were no brokers to mediate between buyers and sellers in large-scale trade, trade could not take place. Brokers must therefore be knowledgeable both in the goods of the sellers and the buying prices of the goods. They must also know what buyers will want and the going price in the buyers' market. Since they know both sides of the business, brokers are relied upon to speak to both buyers and sellers and to bring them together, thus working for the benefit of both buyer and seller. The broker therefore has the credit of a beneficial action. It is in just the same way that the ministers in any state will know well the disposition of their ruler and what is likely to reduce and what to advance his well-being. They will also

184 See Part 2, sect 9 and elsewhere

have a good knowledge of the minds and desires of the people of the state and of what will improve and what reduce their well-being. Thus, ministers are people who stand in the middle, knowing both what is above and what is below them[185]. If they work for the well-being both of the ruler and of his people, they will bring them into a good relationship. If the state lacks the "limb" that is the body of such officials, it cannot be a *naing-ngan*. Separate areas will become the domain of separate nationalities - each will become a separate district - Shan, Burmese, Chinese, Turks, English, French and so on. They may also be called *janapada* (Bur. *zanapok*.) In each of these divisions there will be villages, hamlets and towns, more or fewer, according to the size of the territory. In a real *naing-ngan* there can at most be one or two such separate districts (*taings*).

32. The fortification

In former times fortresses were built with vertical walls, foursquare, protected with three lines of earthworks, water-filled, mud-filled, and dry with thorn barriers. At present, however, in our age of decline, since the power of musketry has so greatly increased, fortifications can no longer stand up to the weaponry that exists among western nations. In modern times, long, pointed bullets are fired from the hollow barrels of breech-loading rifles and artillery to destroy forts and warships. These may be iron missiles of two of three hundred *viss* by Burmese weight which, after striking the city's bulwarks, will explode. The city wall will be destroyed and splinters will do damage four or five hundred *ta* away - even two miles. On striking the wall, they can penetrate ten or fifteen cubits before they explode. For this reason any new fortifications built in western countries have star shaped[186] outworks[187], protected with steel armour. It is only so that they are of any use, since they can stand the attack. It is pointless to place such fortifications as these in the middle of the country, near where the king is. When an enemy invades, once he has got so far as the fortress he can, without ever attacking the defences, ravage the rest of the country as he pleases. For this reason, such fortifications should be sited either in the borderlands where there is a good access for an attack, or in a territory where it will dominate and threaten another state. In such an operation on another people who do not submit willingly, if there is no fortress to house the officials and soldiers needed to control the country, the people of the land unwillingly under your domination may rise and rebel, and the country that you have taken will immediately be lost to you. If there is a fortress sufficient to stop them, you can hold them from inside the fortifications and, if it is possible, make your counterattack to regain your position. If, however, the rebel force is greater than yours, you can hold out inside the fortifications long enough for a report to be sent to the king and for him to send a relief force of soldiers and officers sufficient to subdue the rebellion. The English have been well aware of all this and in the Indian territories that they have attacked and taken - Bengal, Bombay and Madras - they have built various fortifications. At three entry points of the

185 Contrary to his usual practice, U Hpo Hlaing gives no scriptural authority for this view, which suggests that it is novel in his tradition, derived perhaps from European ideas.

186 *Hmaw-pwin, kya-pwin than-dan* - "magic flower, lotus flower?", I guess

187 *Thaye-hkou* - "ghost shelter?"

Talaing territory that they have conquered and taken from the Burmese kingdom, they have built fortifications - at the Shwe Dagon pagoda to the west of the Irrawaddy - in the Syriam district at the mouth of the river - and at the Thilawa beacon. In the year 1219 [1857] the whole of the land of India at once rose in rebellion against the English. They were able to retreat inside the fortifications that they had built while they reported to the home government and eighty thousand out of the three hundred thousand European soldiers that were enlisted were immediately dispatched; their position was recovered in less than two years. In truth, if they had not had their fortifications, all the English in India would have been destroyed.

At the present time in Burma, we should take good note of the fact in the Shan country which we have attacked and conquered we do not yet have any fortifications in the middle parts of the Theinni country. The Anguttara and other Pali texts of the Seventh Nikaya describes the seven "city limbs" and the four "provisionings" that there should be in this fortification, as follows:

[*There follows a very long Pali text, which is not transcribed here. The following is from U Hpo Hlaing's nissaya translation of this text into Burmese* - LEB]

> Monks[188], border fortifications owned by kings and rulers of countries must be well fenced by the seven "limbs" of cities and they must not be in want of the four sorts of provisions that they require. They cannot be left in want or in distress.
>
> Monks, why is it that we say that a fortification set near the border of a king's territory cannot be successfully attacked and destroyed by an outside enemy moving against it, if it is furnished with the seven protecting "limbs" and the four "provisionings" and what are they? Monks, in a fortification at the border of the king's territory there must be a good well, deep dug; there must be a strong wooden breastwork around the bank over the moat, too strong to be shaken or moved; to provide a safe refuge for the people manning the fortress at his boundary and for those living in the area, the king must first provide an adequate stockade.
>
> Monks, the next point - in a fortress sited near the border of the king's territory there will be a moat, dug both deep and wide. This will provide a place of refuge both for those manning the fortress and for those living outside and will hold back an enemy besieging it outside. This will be the second provision required for a fortress sited at the border of the king's territory. With this barrier the fortress will be well defended.
>
> Monks, next again - for our fortress at the boundary of the king's territory there will be a sheltered walkway made both high and wide. This is the third requirement, to protect those who are manning the fortress at the boundary of the king's territories, for the fortress to be well protected.
>
> Monks, next again - our fortress sited near the boundary of the king's territory will be stocked with plenty of missile weapons, such as bows and arrows, artillery and muskets, which are classed as *salaka* weapons, as well as weapons which do not discharge missiles, such as cutlasses and swords, which are classed as *jevanika*

188 It is notable that in translating the Pali text U Hpo Hlaing writes "*dou"*, a generic plural, for "*bhikkhave"* - "monks" - in the Pali text, which I have used in my translation. Perhaps he felt that this was not a subject appropriate to the Sangha.

weapons. This is the fourth type of provisioning that will be required to make the fortress at the boundary of the king's territory a safe refuge for the people manning it and for those living in the area.
Monks, next again - our fortress sited at the boundary of the king's territory will be manned by a large force of officers and men. Soldiers of what types? There will be elephant riders, cavalry, charioteers, bowmen, spearmen to drive home their attack, soldiers to set up accommodation for officials, officers and men, scouts who can secretly penetrate the enemy, decapitate one of them and bring the head back. Further, there will be a commissariat, princely bards to spread abroad news of victory in battle, soldiers who can carry out their promise to go out and bring back a head, dashing into the midst of the enemy, taking a head and returning, soldiers who will go forward without flinching even when confronted by a great bull elephant in *musth*; soldiers skilled in the water, who can swim an ocean carrying their shields; soldiers who will make their attack under cover of animal hides; soldiers who are the king's own servants, people who are ready to take extreme risks in full confidence - these are the thirteen types of soldier.
This is the fifth of the defending "limbs" of a fortress sited near the border of the king's territory to give shelter to its garrison and to repel any enemy outside making it well protected
Monks, next again - in a fortress sited near the boundary of the king's territory there will be a doorway designed to admit the wise and the intelligent and to exclude the silly and the inexperienced. This is the sixth of the defending "limbs" of a fortress sited near the boundary of the king's territory to give shelter to its garrison and to repel any enemy outside, making it well protected.
Monks, next again - in a fortress sited near the boundary of the king's territory there will be a city wall, high and wide, of tree trunks seated in the ground, well treated[189]. This is the seventh of the defending "limbs" of a fortress sited near the boundary of the king's territory to give shelter to its garrison and to repel any enemy outside, making it well protected.
Monks, with these seven defending "limbs" which have been described, a fortress sited near the boundary of the king's territory will be well protected.
What then are the four types of provision that must be given so that the fortress may be well victualled and not go in want or in distress?
Monks, in this world, in a fortress sited near the boundary of the king's territory there must be a great store of fodder, of firewood and of water, so that those within it may be happy and should not be distressed, but live well, while they repel any enemy outside.
Monks, next again - in a fortress sited near the boundary of the king's territory there must be a good store of rice and barley so that those within it may be happy and should not be distressed, but live well, while they repel any enemy outside.
Monks, next again - in a fortress sited near the boundary of the king's territory there must be a good store of sesamum, mung beans, big beans and other sorts of beans so that those within it may be happy and should not be distressed, but live

189 *Lein-kyan* literally "smeared", perhaps with earth-oil as a preservative or to hinder climbing

well, while they repel any enemy outside.

Monks,next again - in a fortress sited near the boundary of the king's territory there must be a good store of medicaments so that those within it may be happy and should not be distressed, but live well, while they repel any enemy outside. What should be included in these medicaments? Butter, grease, oil, honey, raw sugar and salt - all these should be included. Monks, in the city all four of these supplementary foods should not be stinted but be provided as needed - they should not be begrudged, but issued without causing distress. Monks, if a fortress sited on the borders of the king's territories is thus provided, no hostile force from outside, whether of rebels or of a foreign enemy, will be able to attack and destroy it.

The seventh Nipata of the Anguttara scripture thus describes the seven protective "limbs", the four types of provisions and the thirteen types of soldiers that must be provided for a fortification placed near the border of the king's territory to make it complete. It is necessary to consider the countries where in the past it has been proper to construct fortifications near their boundaries and how any one of the seven "limbs" entered into them and what part each one of the seven played. As we have said, fortifications properly sited and fulfilling their purpose are very beneficial, but it must be realised that if any one of the seven is lacking, the kingdom will lack stability.

33. The working of the Treasury

A royal storage system should be set up filled full with gold, silver, jewels, paddy and rice, whether according to the precepts of the four rules of *sangaha*, which call for building royal granaries, and storerooms under the name of *kosa*, so that the rule of *sammapasa*[190] may be well established, or so that there may be a ready availability of gold, silver and other wealth in case of widespread war. If arrangements are made so that, as in western countries, the treasury can be the concern of the whole people, in addition to the benefits that have been described, the people as a whole will be one in wealth with the king and ministers and will partake in the general prosperity. Each one therefore will desire the success of each other, and the whole country, including the poor, will be at one in prosperity, forming a single consensus in *sannipata* (union) through *samagga* (harmony), and the law of *aparihaniya*[191] will be reinforced. This will ensure a very strong country which no foreign ruler will be able to shake. If a single fibre of cotton, of silk, or of hemp is strained, it can easily be broken, but if a number of these slight fibres are got together and twisted into a rope, they become very strong and it will be difficult to break it. In exactly the same way we must realise that a united community has great strength. The way in which the treasury system is set up in western countries is this: all the tax money that comes in from the country as well as such of the wealth of the king and his ministers as may be suitable is kept all together in a large and strongly made building. Only from this building are issued funds that may be needed for expenses. Money in excess of expenses may be issued as loans, large or small, to traders who help

190 One of the four Rules of *sangaha* - see section 1.8

191 "not leading to decay" - see section 1.1

in the business of agriculture, according to the needs of the farmer by trading in grain, so that the rule of *sammapasa* is confirmed. When goods and valuables over and above what is kept in the house is placed in the treasury, since the king and his ministers have only one place to watch and guard, there is none of the difficulty and loss like that from having to guard many places where valuables are deposited.- they can be guarded in perfect security. In fact, in case any loss is incurred, the government accepts responsibility for making it good. Since the people of the country realise the benefits of the system, whatever bullion and valuables they have, they deposit in the treasury, so that the people suffer no losses of their valuables. Since their well-being increases from one day to another, the government and people, in their concern for their valuable possessions, increase their *metta* (loving-kindness), *karuna* (compassion), *mudita* (sympathy) and *brahmacarya* (morality). No single one can bear that even one other should be ruined and their desire is only that each other's prosperity should grow. No enemy in a foreign country can oppress a single one of their land**s.** In fact, if such an incident should occur, they may put together the power of their money and the power of their men to put down and attack the oppressor. If ambassadors from a foreign country should visit, western governments will stage a demonstration of their wealth and strength, which are a part of the five royal values. The establishment of this treasury system, which is just one of the country's "limbs" that is called *kosa*, brings these advantages. Their *sannipata* and *samagga* from among the *aparihaniya* laws are made strong and the country becomes very stable. If a treasury system is set up in Burma on the lines of that in the West, the benefits that have been described will certainly result. It is therefore right that the government should adopt a policy of making this their special aim, and devote their efforts to establishing a treasury system. This particular "limb" of the country brings many advantages and we must be warned that without it all these advantages are lost.

34. Six types of military arms, called “the Force” (*bala*)

The Kamantaki and other *niti* books say, in dealing with military force, that there are six types of armed soldiery:

molam bhutam seni sakha|
ripuva tavikam balam||
pubbam pubbam garavo tu|
balanam byasanam tatha||

That is to say: These are the six types of soldier - the soldier from an elite *suyin* unit, serving for his food; the soldier who serves for pay; the soldier enrolled in a group to deal with a cause that concerns his own district; the soldier of an allied country; the soldier of an enemy country who has been taken in battle and enrolled in the captor's army; wild men, forest hunters of the Chin and Karen enrolled to bear arms. Soldiers out of these six types may be expended in the reverse of the order given.

Explaining this, first is the soldier of a service unit by hereditary descent, an *ahmudan*[192], a loyal and assured servant of the king. Such *ahmudan* soldiers are referred to as *mola.*

Second, in Burma there are some people to be found who are more than usually strong, and like the elite *suyin* service men among the six ranks of the *ahmudan* of the *sugyi.* These are given greater importance and must be held in reserve. Such people can be armed and salaried to fight against their own people in their own country and they are referred to as *bhuta.*

Third, there are people who can be enrolled as armed guards on an occasional basis when trouble arises in their own country. The word for these is *theni.* They are called "an armed group".

Fourth, there may be subjects of an allied kingdom available for hire in sufficient number who can be properly enrolled into an armed unit, or an allied king may find circumstances calling for provision of armed help. Such soldiers are referred to as *sakha*, and should be called a friendly armed force.

Fifth, there may be people of a race different from one's own, whose country has been attacked and annexed, who will be properly employed and enrolled into an armed unit. Such people are referred to as *ripu* and may be regarded as armed enemies. Among the Burmese, since the country of the Shans has been conquered and annexed, armed groups enrolled and stationed in the Shan country must be regarded as "armed enemies". The "sepoys" and "black foreigner" units enrolled in the territories annexed by the English in India, Arakan, Tavoy and the Talaing country must be called "armed enemies".

Sixth, for scouting ahead of the army in country fit for the birds, with forests and great mountains, people of the Chin, the Karen, Taungthu, hunters who know the forests and mountains and are fit to be set in the advance guard, may on occasion when there is an affair be enrolled as an armed *atavika* (forest) unit. They may be called "armed foresters".

> A digression - The people of the West dress such "armed forester" units in green, arm them with muskets and use them as scouts in advance of the army. In the "Elephant King" jataka, one of the 550, it is written that out of sixty thousand hillmen hunters in Kasi in the land of Baranasi, well acquainted with the mountains and forests, Queen Subhadda chose the hunter Sonuttara, guilty of eighteen crimes, to kill the Elephant King and send his tusks back to her. This man had eighteen crimes upon his conscience and after considering and deciding to kill the Elephant King without mercy, he did indeed slay the future Buddha, so the story is told.

Out of these six types of soldiers, in a battle the hillmen and hunters may be expended first; the protection of the armed ex-enemy forces against loss should be given weight; next after them the men of the friendly armed force should be carefully protected against loss; next after them, men of the armed groups should be protected against loss; next after them, men serving for pay should be protected against loss; even more than them, the king's servants, the men of the *asu-yin* must be carefully protected against loss.

As is said in this seventh Nipat of the Sattangura scripture, there should be

192*Ahmudan* - "classified by (hereditary) duty"

thirteen skills of soldiers in each group. This totality of armed men is the *bala* (force) which is one of the limbs of the state. If this one, armed, "limb" is lacking, the state cannot be stable.

35. Nine types of army grouping up to the *akkhobani*

The methods that, according to the books, were used for uniting this mass of armed men which formed the *bala* and ordering them as an army are not generally known in our time and I shall therefore give some account of this matter so that it may be understood.

Out of the books that give accounts of the "four limbs" of an army, the book "Amarakosa" says

hatthyassaratha padati|
senangam tu catutayam||

That is: elephants, cavalry, chariots and infantry - these four are the limbs of an army; they are called the "four limbs".

The "Amarakosa" says also that there are nine ways of organising an army;

1. *eke ekaratha tyassa*|
   patti pancapadatika||
   pattyangeti gunesabbe|
   kama akhya yattotaram|| ||
2. *senamukham gumbhagana*|
   vahini mutana camu||
   anikini dasaniki|
   nyakkhobini|| ||

That is to say: 1. One elephant, one chariot, three horsemen and five infantrymen make up the section called *patti* . Units above the *patti* in their order all consist of the four "limbs", elephant, chariot, cavalry and infantry, each larger group having three times the numbers of the group below it.

2. The next group above the *patti* is called *senamukha,* the next is the *gumbha,* then there come the *gana,* the *vahini,* the *mutana, the samu,* the *anikini,* and the *akkhobhiniti*.

In the *Pacittiya* book of the *Vinaya* there appears:

The elephant men, the charioteers the cavalry and the infantry are called "the military". The elephant riders with the men that follow at the elephant's foot making twelve - the elephant, its rider and the spearman make three; the horse, its rider, its driver and the four men who are the flank guards make up the chariot unit; four men with their arms make up the infantry section.

In any army there will be an elephant section, a cavalry section, a chariot section and an infantry section. There must be at least three elephants to be called an elephant unit; there must be at least three horses to be called a cavalry unit; there must be at least three chariots to be called a chariot unit; there must be at least four armed men to be called an infantry unit.

Comparing these statements from the *Amarakosa* and from the Pacittiya, the composition of an army can be calculated thus - the elephant has three riders; there are two tusks, two ears, four legs and the tail and these nine limbs must be guarded, making nine men by the elephant's feet - a total of twelve men as the complement for each war elephant unit. The commentary on the *Pacittiya* has four elephant riders and two men at each of the four legs, or eight men, making the same complement of twelve men for each war elephant. For the cavalry, each horse would have one rider with two spearmen, one on each side. This complement of three men would go with each of the three horses in the group. For the chariots, there would be one charioteer with a driver and two flank guards, one on each side, so that each war chariot would have a complement of four men. There would be five infantry men with their weapons. As we have said, the elephants, horses, chariots and footmen, the riders and guards would make up the minimum army unit called the *patti*. Tripling the numbers in this *patti* unit of elephants, horses, chariots and footmen made up the unit called *senamukha.* Tripling the numbers again of elephants, horses, chariots and footmen makes the unit called the *gumbha.* In the same way, tripling the *gumbha* produces the *gana* and successively the *vahini*, the *mutana*, the *samu*, and the *anikini*. Multiplying the numbers of elephants, horses, chariots and footmen in the *anikini* by ten we finally reach the great army which was the *akkhobhini*.
[Note - our author calculates that an *akkhobhini* would consist of 21,870 elephants, 65,610 horses, 21,870 chariots, and 656,100 men of various functions]

Thus an *akkhobhini* might be divided into three types. In ancient times in this world of men the lives of men were longer and men were numerous, so that the great *akkhobhini* could be expanded. In our later diminished times, men are fewer in the world and the calculation of the *akkhobhioni* by the "limbs" of the army must be less. Nowadays we must realise that in the lands of the West an army of an hundred men can be called an *akkhobhani.*[193].

36. Power from alliances

When there is a need for naval action, an ally who will be associated with and give help in it becomes one of the seven "limbs" of the state. Even though your own territory is small and has no great revenue resources, if you can place sufficient reliance on kings of large states with strong revenues and ally yourself with them so that they will regard aid given as their own defence in naval matters, enemy rulers of foreign states with power greater than your own will not be able to get the better of you. Further, if your merchants and traders have only their own country, whatever it is, to function in, their profits will not be large and they will not be able to operate on a wide scale. If your commerce is not on large scale, you will never be in a position to collect substantial revenues from it. If your economy is integrated with that of a more extensive territory through an alliance, your people will be able to make good profits and, because of this, your revenues will increase. Because of the benefits so derived, if an alliance, which is

193 Is he assimilating *akkhobhani* with "company"?

the seventh "limb" of this state, is made, the state will grow and be strong. If not, it will remain feeble and easily destroyed.

As we have said, the authors of the *niti* books could see the benefits arising to states where the rulers, kings or others were fully involved in their alliances and cherished the seven "limbs" of the state; they could also see the detriments when they were not and concluded that when the seven "limbs" were cultivated the state grew and was strong. If, however, one or other of them was damaged, the result would be that the state would be like a man with a crippled arm or leg and would never be able to be extensive or sound.

> Part Two of the *Rajadhammasangaha* ends here, in which are described the Ten rules for the conduct of kings, the five powers of kings, and other such rules that must be observed by kings and their ministers

PART THREE

1. Four types of false friends and four types of true friends

In the world there are four types of pretended friends that are to be avoided as one would a mortal danger and four types of true friends that are to be loved and kept as close as one's own children. People must recognise among these eight types the false friends and avoid them. The *Singalovada Sutta* will be our guide to these four types, as follows:

cattarome gahapatiputta amitta mitta patirupaka veditabba|| anyadatthu haro amitto mitta patirupako veditabbo| vaciparamo amitto mitta patirupako vedi tabbo|| anuppiyabhani amitto mitta patirupako veditabbo| apayasahayo amitto mitta patirupako veditabbo|| ||

That is to say: Sons of householders, those who show a seeming friendship while not being true friends are of four kinds, which must be recognised. There are the ones who come with empty hands to your house, and by means of giving high praise to your dress and ornaments, really seek to get possession of your goods; they must be seen as seeming friends and no true comrades. There are the ones who excel in talk, but their words come from the mouth only, not from the heart, and they must be seen as seeming friends who are no true comrades and whose words have no generosity or effect. There are the ones who have no truth in their nature, who may speak affectionately, but must be seen as seeming friends who are no true comrades. There are the ones who are only good for wasting property and must be seen as seeming friends who are no true comrades.

Among these four types of pretended friends, the one whose interest lies in taking the goods of others is called the *anyadatthuhara* (rapacious) type and must be seen as one of the four types of false friend. The text continues: -

catuhi kho gahapatiputta thanehi anyadatthuharo amitto mitta patirupako veditabbo || anyadatthuharo hoti appena bahu micchati|| bhayassa kiccam karoti| sevati attha karana|| imehi kho gahapatiputta catuhi thanehi mitta patirupako veditabbo|| ||

That is to say: Sons of householders, the *anyadatthuhara* must be seen as one of the four types of false friend. He comes empty-handed to his friend's house and praises the beauty of his clothes and ornaments, but only hopes to get hold of someone else's property. His own possessions are small and he covets another's greater wealth. If danger comes and action is called for, this sort of friend will play a slave's part - he will not act as a friend . He is only looking for his own profit and will not stand firm as a friend should. Sons of householders, it is thus that you may recognise the *anyadatthuhara* type of pretended friend among the four types.

Among pretended friends of these four types are others whose generous actions, it seems, lie on their lips only; they are to be recognised as *vaciparama* (excelling in words), as the text says:

catuhi kho gahapatiputta thanehi vaciparamo amitto mitta patirupako veditabbo|| atitena patisantharati|| anagatena patisantharati|| niratthakena sangahnati| paccuppannesu kiccesu byasanam dasseti|| || imehi kho gahapatiputta catuhi thanehi vaciparamo amitto mittarupako veditabbo|| ||

That is to say: Sons of householders, in truth you may recognise by four characteristics friends who are *vaciparama,* talkers*,* not true friends but friends in words only. They will speak well of the past; they will speak well of the future, they will speak well of whatever is empty and valueless. For present action, when it comes to deeds, they break. Sons of householders, it is by these four characteristics that the *vaciparama* friends are to be known.

There are four marks by which you may know this worthless *vaciparama* seeming friend.

1. When you meet him, he will tell you that you, his friend, are not of common stock - he will tell you what a great family and name you come from - handed down from grandfather and great grandfather - he will tell you how rich they were, always exaggerating the past. But you, his friend, have not yet reached that standard; he, your companion, will see that later you will be brought up to the past levels of well-being. He has set up a store of paddy and rice which he will give to you, his friend; there is a store of all sorts of goods. But that is for the future - he can't give it just now - next month, or next year will be a good opportunity. Please come back then. That is the way he will talk about the future.
2. He will tell you that you, his friend, are no common man - you are both remarkably strong and learned - your abilities are high - he will exaggerate in this way in words of no weight.
3. When you, as his companion, go back to this bragging "friend" - oh! He's afraid that at the moment he's short himself - he can't spare anything just now. The time is not yet right. He will dodge giving anything with excuses like this.
4. If you go to your "friend" to ask to borrow or to hire a cart, or a boat, or any property, he will make excuses - the cart or the boat or anything else that you ask for have been damaged - it isn't available at this moment - he's afraid that he can't let you have it.

This sort of beginning shows the way to losses. It means that if this kind of sweet talk, on the lips only, has any part in the business, there will be no help to be had, either in property or in words to make things turn out right.

Out of the four types of false friend, the type that is called *anuppiyabhani* (flatterer) does not follow a straightforward course of action but speaks endearingly of friendship and he is to be recognised by this, as the text explains:

catuhi kho gahapatiputta thanehi anuppiyabhani amitto mittapatirupako veditabbo|| papakampissa anujanati| kalyanampissa anujanati| sammukhassa vannam bhasati | parammukhassa avannam bhasati|| || imehi kho gahapatiputta catuhi thanehi anuppiyabhani amitto mittapatirupako veditabbo|| ||

That is to say: Sons of householders! The one who is marked by this out of the four indications as a flatterer, is no true friend and must be recognised as one who only

pretends friendship. This sort of friend will do nothing to keep his companion from sin and bad behaviour. He will give no good advice. He will pleasantly find ingratiating excuses for you and say "It's all all right - come on, we'll have a game!" Such a one will not make occasions for meritorious actions for his companion - rather he will prevent and discourage them Such a one in his companion's presence will praise his virtue, but out of sight he will never cease to keep the cards in play.
Sons of householders! The flatterer is recognised as one by this test out of the four, as no true friend. His friendship is a mere pretence.

The text continues, describing the class of false friends that is called *apayasahaya* (spendthrift), association with whom is only good for the destruction of property. They must be recognised thus among the four types of false friends.:

catuhi kho gahapatiputta thanehi apayasahayo amitto mitta patirupako veditabbo|| surameraya majjappamadathano nuyoge sahayo hoti| vikala visikha cariyanuyoge sahayo hoti| samajja bhicarane sahayo hoti| jutappamadathana nuyoge sahayo hoti|| imehi kho gahapatiputta catuhi thanehi amitto mitta patiupako veditabbo|| ||

That is to say: Sons of householders! those that are called spendthrifts are no true friends and must be recognised as false friends by these characteristics. Over and over again in their behaviour they will not give up getting drunk on liquor which is the root of their failure to engage in any activity which is either meritorious or useful, as they join in drinking parties. They join in parties indulging in constant movement and going about at irregular times. They join in parties that go about looking for dances and other entertainments. Over and over again they join in dicing parties and in gambling, which keeps them from either meritorious or useful actions. Sons of householders, by these four marks you may recognise the spendthrifts who are called *apayasahaya.*

As the following text advises, members of these four types of false friends are especially to be avoided:

anyadatthuharo mitto|
yoca mitto vaciparamo||
anuppiyanca yo aha|
apayesuca yo sakha|| ||
ete mitte cattaro|
iti vinyaya pandito||
araka parivajjeya|
maggam patibhayam yatha ti|| ||

That is to say: The false friend who is spendthrift; the false friend who is a friend in his words only; the false friend who is a flatterer, pretending love, who gives praise regardless of whether the house is handsome or poor, to cover up what he is doing; the spendthrift who hangs around you to waste your property -- these are all not true friends but false and pretended friends. Teachers who know what is good have shown how to recognise each of them and how to avoid them as a road into danger.

2. Four friends to be kept all one's life

The same text says that there are four true friends who are to be cherished and kept close like one's own children. According to this scripture**:**

cattaro me gahapatiputta mitta suhada veditabba|| upakaro mitto suhado veditabbo| samanasukha dukkho mitto suhado veditabbo| atthakkhayi mitto suhado veditabbo| anukampako mitto suhado veditabbo|| ||

That is to say: Sons of householders! You must recognise four types of friends who are proved good. You must recognise as good friends, first, those who are good in heart and who can provide special assistance; second, those of good heart who will be your good friends in good times and in bad; third, those of good heart who will be good friends, only speaking to your moral benefit; fourth, those of good heart who will be good friends who will give you love, honour and sympathy.

The text also gives the following marks by which to recognise out of these four types those true friends, your support, who are of good heart and who can provide you with special assistance,

catuhi kho gahapatiputta thanehi upakaro mitto suhado veditabbo|| pamattam rakkhati| pamatassa samateyyam rakkhati| bhitassa saranam hoti| uppannesu kiccakarani yesu taddigunam bhogam anuppadeti|| imehi kho gahapatiputta thanehi upakaro mitto suhado veditabbo||

That is to say: Sons of householders! By these four marks you may recognise a good friend of good heart, who is your support. He will protect his friend from drunkenness and carelessness. He will protect from loss the property of his friend when he is neglectful. In any crisis, when his friend is afraid, he will tell him, "What is there to be afraid of when you have so stout a companion at your side as myself?" and so encourage him to think better of himself and dismiss the danger. When there is any enterprise to be undertaken, he will ask his friend how much he needs to spend upon it and, unasked, will offer more help than is estimated from his own resources. Sons of householders! By these four marks you may recognise the good friend of good heart who will be your support.

The text continues with the four marks by which to recognise the friend of good heart who will not part from his friend, either in good times or in bad, who will be called *samana sukha dukkha* (company in joy and sorrow):

catuhi kho gahapatiputta thanehi samanasukha dukkha mitto suhado veditabbo|| guhyamassa acikkhati| guhyamassa pariguhati|| apadasu navijahati| jivitampissa atthaya pariccattham hoti|| imehi kho gahapatiputta catuhi thanehi samanasukha dukkho mitta suhado veditabbo|| ||

That is to say: Sons of householders! By these four marks you may recognise the good friend of good heart who can be called a companions in joy and in sorrow. He will keep from being spread abroad anything confidential which you may consult him about. When danger threatens, such as a *yei-leik*, a bear, a lion or lioness[194], such a friend will not give you up. Such a friend will even give up his own life for his friend's benefit, as did

194 *Yei-leik* , a "water tortoise", presumably a turtle, seems out of place in this company and must mean something more formidable - a crocodile, perhaps?. The lions are *thein-hpou* and *thein-ma*, a Burmanisation of *sinha.*

Sumukha. Sons of householders! It is by these marks that you will recognise the friend who will stay with you through good times and bad times, in joy and in sorrow.

The text continues with the four marks by which to recognise the friend of good heart who will deserve the name of *atthakkhayi* among the four types, who will speak for your moral benefit:

catuhi kho gahapatiputta thanehi atthakkhayi mitto suhado veditabbo|| papa nivareti| kalyane niveseti| assutam saveti| saggassamaggam acikkhati|| imehi kho gahapatiputta catuhi thanehi atthakkhayi mitto suhado ve[di]tabbo|| ||

That is to say: Sons of householders! By these four marks you may recognise good friends of good heart who will be called *atthakkhayi* (showing what is profitable). He is the friend who will keep you from an action that is a demerit, telling you that it is unbecoming to do paltry things which may bring blame upon you, disgraceful and dirty things that low people do. He is the friend who persists like a potter in shaping you in the *pancasila,* in the ten meritorious actions, such as Charity (*dana*). He will hold you always to paying attention to small points of old custom. Such a friend will keep your attention on the Way to the Land of the Spirits. Sons of householders! It is by these marks that you will recognise the friend who will bring you moral benefits.

The text continues with the four marks by which to recognise the friend of good heart among the four types, who will deserve the name *anukampaka*, the friend who will give you love and honour:

*catuhi kho gahapatiputta thanehi anukampako mitto suhad**o** **v**editabbo|| abhavenassa nanandati| bhavenassa nandati| avannam bhanamanam nivareti| vannam bhanamanam pasamsati|| imehi kho gahapatiputta catuhi thanehi anukanmpako mitto suhado veditabboti|| ||*

That is to say: Sons of householders! By these four marks you may recognise good friends of good heart who will be called *anukampaka.* They will have no fondness for waste through the display of wealth and restless travel: they will prefer to cultivate their own well-being in their own place. When people speak ill of their friends, they will check them and they will encourage those who speak well of them. Sons of householders! It is by these four marks that you will recognise the friend who will deserve the name of *anukampaka*, the one who is kind and loving.

Into these four types of friends will fall one's parents and other benefactors who will be in the class of friends who are called *upakara* (helpers). Family servants, brothers, sons and other such loving family are those who will stand by you in poverty or in prosperity and are the class of friends who are called those who will endure both grief and joy. Great sages have said that they count their family servants among their *anukampada* friends because they have shown where their welfare lay and have admonished them.

The seventh Anguttara text has the following on the kinds of friends with whom one should usually associate oneself:

duddasam dadati mitto|
dukkarancapi kubbati||
athopissa duruttani|
khamati dukkhamanica|| ||
guhyanca tassa akkhati|

guhyassa pariguhati||
apadasu najahati|
khinena nati manyati|| ||
yahmi toni thanani|
samvijjantica puggale||
somitto mittakamena|
bhajitabbo tatha vidhoti|| ||

That is to say:- One who is a proper friend will give away to you wealth and position which it takes an effort to part with: in a situation that is hard to bear, he will endure. Besides this he will stand up against harsh words and in unbearable situations .
Such a friend will advise you in matters of confidence; this friend will keep matters that are secret separated from other matters. If there is danger, he will not abandon you. If his friend's wealth or position should diminish, he will not despise and reproach him.
These seven characteristics will be found anywhere there is real friendship. Anyone who wishes for a good friend must hold firmly to his friend who had these seven qualities.
The Singalovada Sutta describes how good friends of the four sorts that have been spoken of here described, are to be loved and held close as one's own children, as follows:

upakaroca yomitto|
sukhe dukkheca yosakha||
atthakkhayica yomitto|
yocamitto nukampako|| ||
etepimitte cattaro|
itivinyaya pandito||
sakkaccam payirupaseyya\
mata puttamva orasam|| ||
pandito silasampanno|
jalam aggiva bhasati|| ||

That is to say: The true, good companion who can bring you special grace - the companion for whom good times and bad are the same - the companion who will bring you moral benefits - the companion who will give you kindness and love - when you find companions truly of the four sorts that we speak of, wise and learned men say, you must hold on to them as you hold on to your own children, or to your mother and keep them close every day. By always holding to such good associations, good men, strong in religion, blaze out brightly as the beacon on the mountain's summit shines out over the surrounding land in a time that has fallen into darkness and folly.

3. Six points from the Singalovada Sutta

Of the three courses that diminish the peoples of states and cities of the world, it is easy to understand and explain those of wrongful rage and wrongful gains. It is not, however, easy to understand the *micchadhamma* (wrong course) which perverts and destroys proper action in duty. But if you do not understand the proper duties of a master, of a servant and other such duties, you will not be able to act correctly. Another point: you will not be able to put at ease a stranger coming from outside. If servant and master,

husband and wife, child and parent, if these break the *pitakat's* rules of behaviour, enmities may arise which it may be difficult to end. For this reason the Singalovada Sutta sets out the rules that the Most Excellent Lord prescribed to be followed by people:

Kathanca gahapatiputta ariyasavako cha disa paticchadi hoti|| cha ima gahapatiputta disa veditabba||

1. puratthimadisa matapitaro veditabba||
2. dakkhinadisa acariya veditabba||
3. pacchinadisa puttadara veditabba||
4. uttaradisa mittamacca veditabba||
5. hethimadisa dasakammakara veditabba||
6. uparimadisa samanabrahmana veditabba||

That is to say: You, sons of householders and pupils of the Lord, may find yourselves befogged by fears of dangers coming from any of the six directions. First, in the East, acknowledge your mother and father to whom you owe that at the start of your life they with gentle heart nourished and corrected you - second, in the South, acknowledge your teachers who merit gifts and honour since early in your life they taught you the ways of wisdom and skill and demonstrated to you human courtesy - third, in the West, acknowledge your wives and children, who will succeed you and in future times give meaning to your life - fourth, in the North, acknowledge your good friends and companions, since it is they who will bring you out of grief - fifth, in the downward direction, acknowledge your servants and those who work for you and bow before your feet - sixth, high above you, acknowledge the monks and brahmins, who have suppressed in themselves all anger and passion that lead to useless inquietude, all stupidity, all desire and dissatisfaction, and in addition, those religious who refuse and cast out sinful deeds and error.

4. Five duties of sons and daughters and their parents' reciprocal duties

Out of the six directions the East is that of the mother and father; whose children have five obligations to fulfill. If these obligations are fulfilled by the children, the mother and father have five reciprocal duties towards them, prescribed in the scripture:

pancahi kho gahapatiputta thanehi puttena puratthimadisa matapitaro paccupathatabba| bhato nesam bharissami| kiccam nesam karissami| kulavamsam thapessami| dayajjam patipajjissami| athavapana petanam kalankatanam dakkhinam anuppadassamiti|| ||imehi kho gahapatiputta pancahi thanehi puttena puratthimadisa matapitaro paccupathita pancahi thanehi puttam anukampenti| papa nivarenti| kalyane nivesenti| sippam sikkhapenti| patirupena darena samyojenti | samaye dayajjam niyyadenti|| imehi kho gahapatiputta pancahithanehi puttena puratthimadisa matapitaro paccupatitha|| imehipancahi thanehi puttam anukampenti|| evamassa esa puratthimadisa puticchanna hoti khema appatibhaya|| ||

That is to say: Sons of householders! There are five points of duty that those who have parents must perform over and over again for their their mothers and fathers. Our mothers and fathers have nourished us with milk; they have made our legs and arms grow; they kept our face clean; they washed our clothes themselves; they kept us dressed and gave us

ornaments; they gave us our upbringing. We, who then received their service, now that our parents are old must repay our benefactors - 1. We provide them with massages for their legs, we bathe them, give them rice porridge and give them clothing - in our turn, we give them support. 2. We busy ourselves in conducting the business of our parents, our benefactors, letting our own go by, whenever they have trouble in government offices or elsewhere. 3. We guard the property of our parents, our benefactors - pasture land, arable land, gold and silver, so that it is not lost; we reject any family tradition that departs from the Religion and keep them firmly in the true religious tradition; we make arrangements that our parents' regular donations are continued without a break; we make sure that the family line is carried on into the future in unbroken honour. 4. In giving this support to our parents we always behave so as to satisfy them. 5. Last of all, when they are released from this life and. have passed beyond in death, we pay the expenses and make the offerings for the funeral meal to the religious. It is right that we should always observe these five points.

Sons of householders! You who are sons and daughters! The parents to whom in these five points you give support, named earlier, in their turn in five points give support and raise up their children who fulfill their duty. 1. They close the way to bad deeds - to destroying life, to ill-gotten gains, to adulteries, to habitual lying, to drunkenness. 2. Like Anathapindaka the rich merchant they give presents and they establish their children in religious practice and charity. 3. In nourishing their growth, they educate their children in good skills and wisdom, until they are familiar with them. 4. They provide their children with mates, suitable by upbringing and family, meeting the fourteen points of appearance. 5. At the proper time or the time of a marriage they provide a share in the family property to their children. In these five ways, parents guard and raise up their children.

Sons of householders! All you who have parents! It is in these five ways that fathers and mothers in their turn, by nourishing and raising them, repay their children for the five duties that they fulfill. It was thus that religious men heard the instruction of our Lord. It is thus that the eastern quarter that belongs to the parents must be closed off from danger, so that danger may be set at rest and that the east may be free from danger.

(Note: In translating the Singalovada Sutta the translator has introduced more into his work than the Sutta itself contains)[195]

5. Five duties of pupils and their teachers' reciprocal duties

Out of the six directions, it is in the South, ascribed to the Teacher, that the text places the five duties that the pupil owes to the teacher and the five which the teacher must observe towards the pupil who has fulfilled his duties. According to the text, they are:

pancahi kho gahapatiputta thanehi| antevasina dakkhinadisa acariya paccupathatabba|| 1. uthanena|| 2. upathanena|| 3. sussusaya||

4. paricariyaya|| 5. sakkaccamsippa patiggahanena|| imehi kho gahapatiputta pancahi thanehi antevasina dakkhinadisa acariya|| paccupathita pancahi

195 It is not clear whether this is U Hpo Hlaing's note or U Htin Fatt's. It is a normal feature of *nissaya* translations, most Pali texts being highly compressed.

thanehi antevasim anukampenti|| 1. samvinitam vinenti|| 2. suggahitam gahapenti|| 3. sabbasippassutam samakkhahino bhavanti 4. mitta maccesu patiyadenti|| 5. disasu parittanam karonti|| imehi kho gahapatiputta pancahi thanehi antevasina dakkhinadisa acariya paccupathita|| imehi pancahi thanehi antevasim anukampenti|| evamassa esa dakkhina disa|| paticchanna hoti|| khema appatibhaya|| ||
That is to say: Sons of householders! Students! You should care for your teachers, to whom there belongs the south quarter. 1. By giving them a proper welcome. 2. By paying them respect thrice each day. 3. By believing and listening to what they say without resisting their instruction. 4. Whether the matter is important or not, by working to complete it, without abandoning it. 5. Once a little has been learned, by being respectful in reading it over and chanting it over and over. You must care for your teachers by these five points of conduct.

Sons of householders! Students! There are five ways in which a teacher to whom belongs the South quarter, must serve his students, who have served him in five ways. 1. First, he must instruct them properly in their behaviour, omitting nothing, and lead them to comply[196] with the writings on the world's rules. 2. He must teach them very carefully the laws which they must know and explain in the utmost detail and without any possible doubt the meaning of these laws. 3. He must give them a complete account of all that he has seen and heard in his life, all the knowledge in his grasp, omitting nothing. 4. He will confirm them in their ways by giving praise when they are among their friends, saying "My pupil knows as much as I do!" 5. He will escort them in any direction. In these five ways he will raise up his pupils.

Sons of householders! Students! Teachers, to whom belongs the South quarter, are to be served in these five ways by their pupils and they in turn must bring up their pupils in these five ways. It is thus that the sages heard the advice that was given by our Lord and it was by these sages that the South quarter was guarded from danger. Fears are lulled and the South quarter is at peace.

6. Husbands' and wives' duties to each other

In the western quarter, out of the six, lie the five duties which those who are husbands owe to their wives and also the five duties which wives owe to their husbands who observe their duties properly. These duties are described in the followng text:

pancahi kho gahapatiputta thanehi samikena pacchima disa bhariya paccupatha tabba|| 1. sammananaya|| 2. anavamananaya|| 3. anati cariyaya|| 4. issariya vossagena 5. alankaranuppadanena||

imehi kho gahapatiputta pancahi thanehi samikena pacchimadisa bhariya paccupathita|| pancahi thanehi samikam anukampati|| 1. susamvihita kammantaca hoti|| 2. sangahita parijanaca|| 3. anaticarinica|| 4. sambhatam anurakkhati|| 5. dakkhaca hoti analasa sabbakiccesu|| imehi kho gahapatiputta pancahi thanehi samikena pacchima disa bhariya paccupathita || imehi pancahi thanehi samikam anukampati|| evamassa esa pacchima disa paticchanna hoti|| khema appatibhaya||

196 According to the dictionary, *kyou-kya* means "to be sentenced to be hanged" but this seems unlikely. I have to guess

That is to say: Sons of householders! To husbands is assigned the western quarter and they must cherish their wives in five ways. 1. They must address them in sweet terms that give them honour, such as *ami* and *ame,* 2. not in a derogatory and disrespectful way that might be used to a low-class servant. 3. He must not pay for his excessive pleasures with money sponged from others. 4. He must maintain a sufficient supply of rice and food in the kitchen. 5. He must provide his wife with ornaments and jewelry on a level with his own. It is in these five ways that a husband must cherish his wife.
Sons of householders! Wives who are cherished by their husbands, to whom the western quarter is assigned, in these five ways, in their turn support their husbands in five ways: 1. By not being late in preparing his food and by arranging all matters well, giving them their proper importance. 2. By treating him with loving respect, by providing him with excellent food, by treating highly placed members of her family on level terms with members of his family, and so on. 3. By giving her love to no one but her husband, by keeping out of intrigues, by transgressing in nothing and by not exceeding in her behavior. 4. By keeping careful watch over the field work, arranging matters of trade, performing acts of charity and so making sure that her husband's valuable property does not go to waste. 5. By learning the complete skill of cooking food and all other matters of household management. She must be skilled in all manner of things - in field work, reaping crops, fencing cattle, irrigation and all other work - not putting the work on to the husband, making no excuses, energetic by day and by night, early and quick to rise, taking no idle time. In all these five ways she supports her husband in her turn.
Sons of householders! A husband in his five ways and a wife in her five ways guard and support the western quarter. It was thus that the sages heard the advice given by our Lord. It is thus that a wife keeps danger away from the western quarter and this quarter is at peace and free from danger.

7. Seven types of wives demonstrated in literature

Since Sujata, the daughter-in-law of Anathapindaka, the great merchant, paid no heed to the words of husband, or of her father-in-law, and did not behave respectfully, he wished to ask the most excellent Lord into which of the seven classes of wife did Sujata fall. The Lord replied in the seventh Nipata of the Anguttara scripture:

padutha citta ahibhanukammini|anyesu ratta ati manyate patim|| dhanena kitassa vadhaya ussuka| ya eva rupa purisassa bhariya||vadhaca bhariyatica sa pavuccati|| yam itthiya vindati samiko dhanam sippam vanijjanca kasim adhitaham|| appampi tassa apahatu micchati| ya eva rupa purisassa bhariya||

corica bhariyatica sa pavuccati|| akammakama alasa mahagghasa| pharusaca candi durutta vadini|| uthayakanam abhibhuyya vattati| ya evarupa purisassa bhariya|| ayyaca bhariyatica sa pavuccati|| ya sabbada hoti hitanukampini| matava puttam anurakkhate patim|| tatho dhanam sambhatamassa rakkhati| ya evarupa purisassa bhariya|| mata ca bhariyati ca sa pavuccati|| yathapi jethabhagini kanithaka| sagarava hoti sakahmi samike|| hirimana bhattu vasanu vattini|| ya evarupa purisassa bhariya|| bhaginica bhariyati ca sa pavuccati|| yacidha disva napatim pamodati| sakhi sakharam vacirassamagatam|| koleyyaka silavati patibbata| ya eruvapa purisassa

bhariya|| sakhi ca bhariyatica sa pavuccati|| akkuddhasanta vadhadanda tajjita| aduthacitta patino titikhati|| akkodhana bhattu vasanu vattini| ya evarupa purisassa bhariya|| dasibhariyatica sa pavuccati|| yacidha bhariya vadhakati vuccati| cori ca ayyati ca ya pavuccati|| dussilarupa pharusa anadaya| kayassa bheda nirayam vajantita|| yasida mata bhagini sakhitica| dasica bhariyatica sa pavuccati|| sile thitatta ciraratta samvutta | kayassa bheda sugatim vajantitati|| ima kho sujate satta purisassa bhariyayo| tasam tvam katamati|| ||

That is to say: A wife who has a mind to wrong her husband, a wife who does not think of her husband's well-being and has no kindness for him, a wife who fancies a man other than her husband, who is rude and disrespectful to him, who gives herself to the task of making a show of being busy by abusing the servants paid for with her husband's money - such a wife as this might be called a murderess of men. (This sort of wife is the "murderess-wife")

When a woman, whose husband has by his energy won his skills, his trade, and his cultivated land and has accumulated property, wants to steal the smallest portion of the property that he has won - if a man has a wife of such a disposition, that wife can be called a "thief-wife" (This sort of wife is like a thief.)

When there is a woman who is slothful and disorderly in managing the household and is a greedy eater, who uses rough and unpleasant language to the hardworking servants and sons of the house and overbears them, the man who gets a woman of this nature for a wife, has a wife who must be called a tyrant. (This sort of wife is like a tyrant.)

When there is a woman whose only desire at all times is that her husband should do well, and who watches over her husband, as a mother does her children, she will watch over the property that he has accumulated to make sure that it is not wasted in unbefitting ways. A man who has a wife of such a nature may be in doubt whether to call her "mother" or :wife". (This is the sort of wife who is like a mother.)

Just as a sister, as a child or of full age, feels a respect for her brother, just so a woman may feel respect for her husband, showing a modesty of mind and heart, and closely follow her husband's wishes. A man's wife who is of such a disposition might well be called "sister". (This is the sort of wife who is like a sister.)

The wife who is a friend and companion, when she sees her husband coming towards her will feel the same joy as one feels when seeing a friend approaching, from whom one has been long parted. The duties that are the wife's five duties are those which are always practised in the household and she thus cherishes her husband. The wife follows her husband's disposition and a wife of such a disposition may be said to be not only a wife but a friend and companion as well. (This is the sort of wife who is like a friend.)

A woman who shows a respect and fear of her husband, even when he is not angry, who, even if he abuses her, punishes her, or threatens her, does not blame him, but forgives him, who does not need his anger to do what he wants - such a wife for a man will be a wife like a servant. (This is the sort of wife who is like a servant.)

In this world, a wife may be like a murderess; a wife may be like a thief; a wife may be like a tyrant - wives of these three types have no moral grounding in religion. They are prone to violence and have no respect for their husbands and after their lives in

these present bodies are ended they are destined for hell fire. In this world there are also wives who are like mothers, wives who are like sisters, wives who are like friends, wives who are like servants. Wives of these four types will stay by their husbands for a whole long life. Since they are firm in religion, after they come to the end of their lives in these bodies, they will have a good passage on to the world of the spirits.

"Sujata, whereabouts in these seven types of wives for men do you think you stand?" the Lord asked her.

When the Lord put this question to her, Sujata replied, wishing to answer what sort of wife she was;

ajjatagge mam bhante bhagava dasisamam samikassa bhariya dharehi|| ||

That is: "Most excellent Lord, from today count me as a wife who is as a servant to her husband."

8. Five duties of good friends

In this scheme of the six directions, the northern quarter is that of good companionship where there lie the five duties owed by sons and daughters of good families and the reciprocal duties owed to them by their well-bred friends and companions: These duties are set out in the following text:

pancahi kho gahapatiputta thanehi kulaputtena uttaradisa mitta macca paccu pathatabba|| *danena peyya vajjena atthacariyaya samanatthataya avisamvadanataya*|| || *imehi kho gahapatiputta pancahi thanehi kulaputtena uttaradisa mitta macca paccupathita pancahi thanehi kulaputtam anukampenti*|| *pamattham rakkhinti pamattam assa sapateyyam rakkhanti*|| *bhitassasaranam honti*|| *apadasu na vijahanti*|| *aparaparapajacassa patipujenti*|| *imehi kho gahapatiputta pancahi thanehi kulaputtena uttaradisa mitta macca paccu pathita*|| *imehi pancahi thanehi kulaputtam anukampenti*|| *evamassa esa uttaradisa paticchanna hoti khema apatibhaya*|| ||

That is to say: Sons of householders! As men of good family you need to cultivate your good friends and companions, who are said to occupy the northern quarter, in five ways. First, *danena.* For those who like to receive gifts, the way is to provide them appropriately with goods. Second, *peyya vajjena.* For those who only like to listen to pleasant words spoken, it is to talk to them in friendly and cordial terms. Third, *atthacariyaya*. For the one who likes to hear words that are profitable, even if they are harsh criticism, because they lead to a gain, to such a one there should be given help and instruction, like "do this"; or "don't do that", "join up with someone like this", "keep away from someone like that!"; or again, he should be offered help and assistance when any particular business comes up - anything that promises to advance his interests. Fourth, *samanatthataya.* With one who is of an ascetic type, who likes to live in just one place, to stick to just one sort of diet, to whom poverty and wealth are all the same, the way is to follow his example and to make no distinction between wealth and poverty. Fifth, *avisamvadanataya.* This way is to accept freely any obligation that he may name and to pursue ungrudgingly any duty. It is in these five ways that friendships should be nourished.

Sons of householders! Sons of good families! It is these five ways that companionship should be nourished with good friends of good families, who are said to belong to the northern quarter, and should be safeguarded and developed. When your friend is drunk or careless, you must guard him. When he is neglectful, you must take care of his property. If any kind of danger arises and he is afraid, you must be ready to encourage him and to say "What is there to be afraid of when you have so bold a companion as I beside you?" You must guard him with such words that can dispel fear. When danger is extreme, do not give up, Remind your companion of the sons and grandsons, all perfect in the five duties, that will follow him, like the cubs of the aged lion in the presence of the jackal. Do not bring him into harsh despair, but give him honour. It is in these five ways that you must safeguard and develop your friendships.

Sons of householders! Sons of good families! It is said that friendships that are to be cherished belong to the northern quarter. It is in these five ways that such friendships with men of good families are to be developed. With such friends of good families, perfect in the five duties, ascribed to the northern quarter, you will be shielded against the approach of danger. Danger will be put to rest and the northern quarter will be free from fear.

9. Five duties of a master

Out of the six quarters, to that which is below there is said to belong the duties which servants owe and in this quarter come the five duties of right conduct which masters must follow. There are also five duties that servants owe their masters. The scripture says:

> *pancahi kho gahapatiputta thanehi ayyikena hethima disa dasakammakara paccupatha tabba|| yathabalam kammanta samvidhanena bhatta vettananuppa danena gilanupathanena acchariyanam rasanam samvibhagena|| samaye vo saggena|| imehi kho gahapatiputta pancahi thanehi ayyikena hethima disa dasakammakara paccupathita|| (ayyikam hethima disa dasakammakara paccupathita)|| imehi pancahi thanehi ayyikam anukampenti|| pubbuthahino honti|| pacchanipatinoca|| dinnadarinoca|| sukatakammakara|| ittivannaharaca|| imehi kho gahapatiputta pancahi thanehi ayyikena| hethima disa kammakara paccupathita|| imehi pancahi thanehi ayyikam anukampenti|| evamassa esa hethima disa paticchanna hoti|| khema appatibhaya||*

That is to say: Sons of householders! For one who is a master, there are five means which he must use to hold to and sustain the servants working for him, who are said to belong to the lower quarter. These means are first, work that is right for the young should be done by the young; adult work should be done by adults; it is not right for the young to do adults' work, nor for adults to do the work of the young. Women should not be made to do men's work, nor men women's. The way is to arrange work loads according to the capacity of each servant. The second point lies in making a fair distribution of rice and other provisions. Thirdly, in case of sickness, servants must be given proper care. Fourthly, from time to time some valued novelties should be distributed generously, with

an appearance of love, to each of the servants, to be put away and kept for their own. Finally, when they are tired and worn, or when they are specially happy over a festival, they should be given, according to one's own standing, presents of clothes and ornaments. By these five means servants can be kept loyal.

Sons of householders! Those who are masters have these five ways to maintain and keep their servants, to whom there is assigned the lower quarter, and who in turn have five points of duty in protecting and supporting their master. These are: each day after the night to be awake and busy so as to finish their work before the master rises, without having to be urged on, working with quiet energy. If the master sleeps late, they will eat and sleep only when the assigned work is finished. They will not sneak off with so much as a piece of string without the master knowing. They will take and use only what he gives them. They will not talk discontentedly and say "What do we get out of working for this master? There's nothing in it for us!". They will not belittle their work but go at it positively, so that in making a joint the parts will be smooth and fit closely. At a *paritta* ceremony they will speak in praise of their master and advance his honour by saying, whether in his presence or not, that his aura is like a soft breeze bringing the scent of flowers. It is in these five ways that his servants should make their return by protecting and supporting their master.

Sons of householders! It is in these five ways that a master should hold and nourish his servants, to whom there belongs the downward quarter, and in their own five ways that the servants should protect and support their master. So long as masters and servants carry out their mutual duties in this way, masters and servants, perfect in their duties, will be shielded from the approach of danger. Danger will be put at rest and the lower quarter too will be free from danger.

10. Five duties of monks and *ponnas* and the six duties of the laity

Towards monks and *ponnas*, who are said to belong to the upper quarter of the six directions, men of good family have five duties in their conduct. Monks and *ponnas* in turn owe six duties to men of good family. These are described thus in the scripture:

pancahi kho gahapatiputta thanehi kulaputtena uparima disa samanbrahmana pacchupatha tabba|| mettena kayena kammena| mettena vacikammena|| mettena manokammena|| anavata dvarataya|| amisa nuppadanena|| || imehi kho gahapatiputta pancahi thanehi kulaputtena uparima disa samanabrahmana paccupathita|| ||chahi thanehi kulaputtam anukampenti|| papa nivarenti|| kalyane nivesenti|| kalyane manasa anukampenti|| assutam saventi|| sutam pariyodapenti|| sagassa maggam acikkanti|| || imehi kho gahapatiputta pancahi thanehi kulaputtena uparima disa samanabrahmana paccupathita|| imehi chahi thanehi kulaputtam anukampenti|| evamassa esa uparima disa paticchanna hoti|| khema appatibhaya|| ||

That is to say: Sons of householders! Men of good family should support and honour the monks and brahmans, to whom the upper quarter is assigned, in five ways: in their own actions such as the performance with loving faith, without dodging or evasion, of the duties, big or small, that may fall upon them; in words spoken with loving faith, without deception or lying, encouraging monks who come for food, saying to them "Turn in here!

Here is good rice porridge for your *swan!";* in thoughts in loving faith, believing that the Rule of the monks is laid down in the scriptures given by the actual hand of our Lord; in action, when a monk comes to you plainly to receive an offering, by not trying to hide and hoard up things saying "I don't have anything much here", but rather in laying out the offering and saying "Come by the door, here is water to drink and food"; in rushing forward, gladly and willingly to make offerings of good *swan* with dressings. It is in these five ways that they are supported and honoured.

Sons of householders! The monks and brahmans, to whom is assigned the upper quarter, and who receive this support and honour in these five ways from men of good family give in return to them support and help in these six ways: They check sin - killing and the rest of the Five Great Enemies - and keep them from the tenfold path of the life without merit. They confirm them in the five moral precepts and the tenfold path of the life of merit. They support and help them in heartfelt kindness and love with *sabbesatta averahontu* and *abyapajjahontu*[197] . They carry on research into old and forgotten customs so that rules of gentleness may be brought to the ears of men of good will. They demonstrate confidence in the well-known precepts of the Law and as they tell the stories, so as to raise their hearers' level of culture, they explicate difficult points in their meaning, Their hearers are thus freed from the cycle of rebirths and are brought to an easy passage to the land of the spirits. In these six ways they help and support the laity.

Sons of householders! In these six ways monks and brahmans, to whom is assigned the upper quarter, should give support and help to men of good family who support and honour them. When these duties are performed between men of family and monks, the upper quarter will be closed off from the approach of danger. Fear will be set at rest and the upper quarter will be out of danger.

11. Decline of those who follow the four *agatis*[198]

There are four roads not to be followed by those who exercise government. Even though those who do follow the *agati* ways may claim that they are successful, it is not possible that they should be. The *Singalovada Sutta* says that their well-being will fall away as the moon does in the second half of the month, thus:

chandagatim gacchanto papakammam karoti|| dosagatim gacchanto papakammam karoti|| mohagatim gacchanto papakammam karoti|| bhayagatim gacchanto papakammam karoti|| ||

It continues:

chanda dosa bhaya moha|
yodhannan ativattati||
nihiyyati yaso tassa|
kalapakkheva candima|| ||

That is to say: He who, because of love or favour, goes the way that is not to be followed does a work of sin. He who takes that way because of anger does a work of sin. He who

197 These must be *paritta* texts for protection

198 *Agati* - "the road not to be taken"; specifically the weaknesses that keep you from following your proper course, namely, Desire (*chanda*), Anger (*dosa*), Fear (*bhaya*) and Ignorance (*moha*).

takes it through ignorance does a work of sin. He, too, who follows it because of fear does a work of sin. Whoever acts outside of the way of the Law that sets down men's duties, either because of love, because of a flash of anger arising from a remembered grudge, because of fear of someone who is a lord of great power, or because he does not know what he is doing - he is following the path that is not to be taken. One who leaves the path of the Law for the *agati* path will find his entire fortune wasting away, like the waning moon in the month's end.

12. Increase of those who avoid the four *agatis*

The *Singalovada Sutta* describes how the wealth of those who do not follow the *agati* course grows from one day to the next, like the moon in its waxing days, thus:

chanda dosa bhaya moha|
yo dhammam nati vattati||
apurati yaso tassa|
junha pakkheva candimati||

That is to say: Whoever does not transgress the way of the law that lays down men's duties, either from love, from a flash of anger arising from a remembered grudge, from fear that the other is a lord of great power, or from ignorance of the nature of his act - such an one, who avoids the ways that are not to be followed, will see his accumulated wealth grow from one day to the next like the moon in its waxing days.

Those who have positions in government must take particular care in watching these four paths to avoid. People in ruling positions may agree that the four *agati* ways are to be avoided, but for the average person in government service there is no way of avoiding these four wrong ways in his work; there will either be someone that he loves, or that he hates - he will not know the whole story - he will be afraid of someone's stubborn anger. As has been said on the seven rules of *aparihaniya,* if a number of people get together for any sort of action, there can be no question of following the *agati* way. In such assemblies what one man does not know another will; when one man has feelings of hate, another will not; when one is angry, another will be calm. When people have agreed in a meeting and preserve their solidarity, there will be no need for fear. For these reasons, we must affirm that if a number of people conduct their business in an assembly there is no way in which the four wrong ways can be followed.

In this book *Rajadhammasangaha*, besides describing right courses of action which kings and their ministers may recognise and thereby perform well both from the point of view of the present life and the next, I have introduced the layman's rules, described in the *Mingala Sutta,* the *Parabhava Sutta,* the *Singala Sutta,* the *Lokavicarana Sutta,* the *Vasala Sutta* as well as other texts which those in government should study constantly and always keep in mind.

With this, part three of the book named
RAJADHAMMASANGAHA
which contains advice on the recognition of the four types of false friends
and ill-wishers among the King's associates and ministers
is concluded

CONCLUSION[199] BY THE AUTHOR

amaradibhimapassa|
chaddantassa ca samino||
visasiko anucaro|
kuverasseva thaniko||

varopi mahamantino|
tasseva mahalekhako||
ahosi porana pure|
devata pura namake||

tassa chaddanta samino|
natta vicitra nyaniko||
chaddantassa ca samiko|
dutiyo deva puriya||

tam mahalekhaka sutam|
positvana kumarakam||
sattiddharadi lancena|
senani thana nuggaho||

sahayo sabbakammiko|
aggasenapatisu so||
kuladesena visuto|
kulappaveni agato||

putto tasseva rajono|
rajavamsa dhajupamo||
ratana punnam pathamam|
mapeti dibbamva puram||

dvinnam chaddantanam pati|

199 Bur. *Nigon* - Pali , *Niggama*

senani puttam daharam||
positva yonaka ratham|
bhojetva mam kulagatam||

ekuna timse jatiya|
uccinitvana nuggaha||
anto senabi thanena|
tatiyo so anucaro||

ratana punniko raja|
patikattiya kovidham||\
amacca gana samaggam|
abhirajjam sumaddavam||
puttesu uccinitvana|
rajjam datva divangato||

tasmim jaya masanteva|
tam antoca musakikam||
aggasena pabhukena|
thanena nuggaho bhupo|| ||

bhojapurena vissuto|
bahussato mahamatto||
lokatthaya ayam kato|
so nanasattha uddhito|| ||

sake kham addhisuriye|
jahnapakkhami gassire||
sattamyakka sutadine|
jayavasse samattova|| ||

lokassatthaya mekato|
rajadhammasangahoyam||
pattam vepullam kusalam|
anubhavena tassaca|| ||

ye ananta tantannava|
mantanena matta mati|
varena laddhasarati|
mata teca me garavo|| ||

sukhayantu sadaceva|
sabbam no jayatam raja||
ciram jivatu kappamca|
samijjatu manobhavo|| ||

kalena samma devoca|
pavassatam patithatu||
ciramdhammo dhamme hontu|
sagara vacapanino|| ||

sadhammarajassa dhammam|
patinyatva sukhavaham||
nibbanam sukhamuttamam|
yantu supatipattiya|| ||

yatharakhimsu porana|
surajano tathevimam||
rajarakkhantu dhammena|
attanova pajaamsutam|| ||

That is to say: On one level with Kuvera, Prince of the spirit world, the great Minister stood, Shweipyiwun and Left Gate Commander, beloved comrade in arms of the King who first set his capital at Amarapura[200].

In the ancient city of Amarapura that great minister's son-in-law was the Chief Secretary.

That royal Founder of Amarapura had a grandson, brilliant in his understanding, who, when he became King, refounded the capital and became the second builder[201] of Amarapura.

The son of that Chief Secretary in his youth was brought up by the King, who honoured him with high titles which included the word "*Thadou*", such as Thadouminhlakyawhtin and appointed him to General Officer's rank

The General became the comrade in arms of the King who refounded Amarapura and to him was entrusted the whole administration of the land. As the descendant of a line of Ministers of the Palace, the General was appointed to be *Aggamahasenapati*[202], one of the Four of that rank. He was well known in his position and was famous as the Yindaw Wungyi.

The Second Founder of Amarapura had a beloved son, who became King, the pinnacle and glory of the royal line. He became the First Founder[203] of Ratanapunnam (Yadanabon), a city rivalling Ayujjapura in the Land of the Spirits.

200 Commonly, Bodaw-hpaya , r.1781-1819
201 Commonly, Thayawadi-min, r.1838-1846 (In fact, he personally killed the Yindaw Wungyi)
202 i.e. to be a Wungyi in the Hluttaw
203 This was Mindon-min, founder of Mandalay

This King, Founder of Ratanapunnam and Lord of two White Elephants, took me, the son of the Yindaw Wungyi and a descendant of the line of Ministers of the Palace, and brought me up when I was still a child, assigning me the Yonaka country for my support.

When I was twenty nine years from my birth[204] the King selected me for promotion to be his *atwin senapati*[205]. I was the third in line of succession:to hold this post: my grandfather, my father and myself all held it as the king's comrade in arms.

From among all his sons, the royal Founder of Ratanapunnam chose the Prince. Lord of Thibaw, learned in the scriptures, excelling all the others of the King's sons in the honour of his line, mind-filled with intellectual grace, and at the time of his death handed over the Kingdom to him, with the agreement of all the Ministers that it was fitting that he should be King.

Having become King, this royal son, lord of Thibaw, victorious over all enemies, after he had been King and Monarch, master of land and water, for just one month, in the second month of his reign entrusted me, his *atwin senapati* with the care of the whole country, promoting me to the rank of *aggamamasenapat*i.

He distinguished me with the title of lord of Wetmasut, and I, now Wunshindaw Mingyi, lord of Wetmasut, have written this book, *Rajadhammasangaha*, to guide the conduct of all future kings and rulers, as well as many other books on many subjects, of religious as well as worldly knowledge, for the benefit of those who live in this world.

In the year of the accession of this royal son, I completed this *Rajadhammasangaha* in two hundred pages on Saturday the seventh waxing day of Nadaw in the Burmese calendar.

I have composed this book, named *Rajadhammasangaha*, with the aim of benefitting the world of living creatures. It is a work that gains much merit. The merit of writing this work (apart from the slight verbal merit, there are other types of merit gained) must be acknowledged as due to

my teachers, who corrected me with their knowledge of books, both worldly and religious, unsurpassed knowledge that can go through the scriptures like the Churning of the Ocean, men like the essence of thickened oil.

May they always be fortunate and happy! May our King, Lord of Land and Water, overcome the pride of all his enemies! May his life be long! May all the desires of his golden heart be accomplished!

When he wishes for rain, may it rain plentifully! May the study of the ancient Law

204 In 1859
205 "Inner General" - function uncertain - perhaps in charge of Palace security

be well established! May all creatures become respecters of the Law proclaimed by the Lord!

May all those who come to rule by way of the Law come to realise through study of the Law that they can by degrees achieve the happiness of Nibbana and the Land of the Spirits, of which the Lord spoke. May they come to it by careful observance of the Middle Way.

Virtuous kings of ancient times and enlightened kings of the future are guardians of all living creatures. Following their example, may our present lord and King be the protector of all living creatures through the Law, with a heart-felt love love like that for his own true children

Note on the composition of his conclusion

Earlier philologists said, and wrote, that if the development of the word *catva* is pursued, it yields the title *thadou* and that the word *catva* means a substance. But the title *thadou* was one only given to members of the royal family -- the King's brothers or sons - although in later times, when it was intended to make an exceptional grant, it might be given to high-ranking ministers. To princes who held junior posts titles based upon *min-ye* (valiant prince) were granted, relying upon Pali texts such as *manussesu khattiyo suratamo* (courage gives a man rank). As for the *thadou* title outranking the *min-ye* title, it is not appropriate that it should hold a meaning higher than *min-ye*. In the Burmese version of the Pali word *Sattiddharo* (weapon holder), the letter *tawunbu* becomes *athat* and the *yagauk* in *dhara* is also *athat,* resulting in the abbreviation *dou* [spelled *da-auk-chaik longyi-tin tachaung yin*] heard simply as *doù,* so that spoken quickly the word becomes *thadou*. The word *sattidharo* is applied to the *deva* Kattikeya, the military leader of the *devas,* the brother of the *devas* Paramiswa, their lord, and Mahapeinne[206]. It is Kattikeya to whom one who wishes to make war must appeal as is explained in the worldly texts. It is so stated in the book *Chagatidipani*. In the *Amarakosa* Commentary and elsewhere the word *sattidhara* is applied to a man of strength and courage or to one who holds his spear firmly. The *deva* Kattikeya rides in a peacock car as he carries his spear; the *deva* Mahapeinne on the other hand rides on the head of a single-tusked elephant or in a rat car. It is said that when war broke out between him and his brother Kattikeya, wishing to avoid a fight he removed one tusk, so that Mahapeinne has only one tusk. I have not found these references in the history books or in the Puranas, but the Pali dictionaries and so on give the meaning of *kumara, canda* and *sattiddhara* as well as the *deva* Mahapeinne. It is for this reason that I have used the Pali form *sattidhara* for *thadou* in my Pali *nigon* to this book.

Scholars of the past have translated the word *kaliyuga* [decadent age] as *thetkayit* [the present era] and I have therefore written *kaliyuga* for *thetkayit* in my Pali *nigon*

206 Paramiswa is Siva and Mahapeinne is Ganesa

Sakena vahantuvessa nayutthe kalabhavatyabda ganamyugasya
is said in the *Rahassa* and other books of astrology. If this is confused with the Hindu year 3179 that is in use to our west, it can be used to define the *kaliyuga.* According to the history books the start of the *kaliyuga* in the year 3179 was the time when Salivanasaka came to be king and from this time the Saka era was named, but this cannot be credited owing to a lack of consistency. The only right way is to derive *thetkayit* [written *sakkaraj*] from the words *saka* and *sakaraja*. Up to our own time *saka* is the only way in which the word is written. For this reason the word *kaliyuga* should be settled as spoken – *kaliyok.* If you want to make the *kaliyok* come out right, use the long era of the Burmese -- *kha-cha-pañ-ca.* This is the era of the Hindu Bengali people to our west. This era is said to start with the reign of King Salivahana-saka and so in the west is called the Saka era. As I have said already, the Hindus of Bengal have set up their own era and in this era the date is 3179; this is the year number since the start of the *kaliyok.* For this reason, it was not right to use the word *thetkayit* in place of *kaliyok* and only this is written.

The word *amara* is what the Devas use for Amarapura City. The term *padumuttara* (?"lotus-born") is interchangeable with *jalajuttara* (?"water-born") in the Pali text *Apadan*, while in the Chronicle the words *devanampiyatissa* and *marunpiyatissa* are synonymous. Similarly the words *deva* and *devata* are both used for spirits and so in my Pali envoi I have written Devatapura for Devapura.