

THE MANIYADANABON OF SHIN SANDALINKA

Translated by L. E. Bagshaw



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O F S H I N S A N D A L I N K A

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CONTENTS

	Page
FOREWORD	vii
TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE, by L. E. Bagshawe	viii
BURMANIZED PALI NAMES AND THEIR ORIGINS	xiii
PREFACE TO THE 1968 EDITION, by U Myint Hswei	xvii
MINYAZA	1
THE BOOK OF JEWEL-PRECIOUS PRECEDENTS	3
Dedication	3
Minyaza's Reply to Mingaung the First's Question on the Origin of political power in Burma	3
The Tagaung dynasty	3
The Thayekittara dynasty	4
The Pagan dynasty	5
The Pinya dynasty	10
Minyaza's account of how Ngazishin, when he had come to full mindfulness, gave examples to his officers of falsehood and trutha.....	15
Minyaza's account of a false monk during the reign of Ngazishin	16
Minyaza's examples of speech where speech is proper and of refraining from speech where silence is propera.....	17
Minyaza's examples of proper gratitude	20
Minyaza's examples of loss through lack of proper gratitude	22
The Sagaing Dynasty	24
The foundation of Ava by Thadominbya	25
The thief Nga Tetpya in Thadominbya's reign	25
Mingyizwasawke	27
Precedents offered to Mingyizwasawke in the matter of Yazathingyan and his brother Nga Nu	28
Precedents offered in Mingyizwasawke's reign in the matter of Thilawa, lord of Yameithin	30
Examples offered in Mingyizwasawke's reign by Minyaza on the requests from the lords of Mohnyin and of Kalei for help in fighting	33
Minyaza's submission in Mingyizwasawke's reign about setting up boundary stones between the Shan country and Burma	34
Minyaza's examples in answer to Mingyizwasawke's questions about Tazishin	35
Submission on Fortune	37
Submission on King Ngataba	40
Minyaza's submission to Mingyizwasawke on how, in a crooked place, one must act crookedly and how, in a straight place, one must act straightforwardly.....	41
Minyaza's submission of precedents over the grant of Arakan to Sawmungyi	44
Minyaza's submission of precedents over Sawmungyi's gift of a diadem to Mingyizwa	44
Account of King Duttabaung given to Mingyizwa	45
Sawmungyi's death in Arakan and Minyaza's submissions regarding the grant of Arakan to Sawmei	48
Death of Mingyizwasawke	50
Mingaung the First's accession and an account of his youtha.....	50
Minyaza's submission to King Mingaung on the behavior proper to kings ...	51
Minyaza's submission on the destruction of Htundon Bodet by the Onbaung Shans during Mingaung's reigna.....	54
Minyaza's submissions during the reign of King Mingaung on the grant of Arakan to the King's daughter Saw Pyichantha and his son-in-law Nawrahta	56

	Page
Minyaza's submission in King Mingaung's reign on Kyeitaungnyo	57
Minyaza's submission to King Mingaung on Lagun-ein, Yazadayit's minister	60
Minyaza's submission and precedents in reply to King Mingaung's question on who should and who should not be promoted	60
Minyaza's submission and precedents in reply to King Mingaung's question on whether it is good or not good to have small desires	62
Minyaza's submission on the request of Nga Hkinnyo the companion of King Mingaung's youth, for the grant of Taungngu	66
Minyaza's advice to the lord of Myohla	71
Minyaza's submission to King Mingaung on how it is unfitting to regret what is given, and on giving what is hard to give	72
Minyaza's submission regarding the affairs of Nga Hkinbathe friend of King Mingaung's youth	74
Minyaza's submission about Thihathu the son of King Mingaung	75
Minyaza's reply to King Mingaung's question about his sons Minyekyawzwa and Thihathu	76
Minyaza's submission and precedents to Thihathu, lord of Prome	77
Minyaza's reply to King Mingaung's questions about his son Minyekyawzwa and his drinking	77
Minyaza's examples given in reply to King Mingaung's question on the difficulty of being the parent of good children	82
Minyaza's submission in the matter of Queen Saw Bomei	84
The comparison given to King Mingaung between his father's style and his own	86
Minyaza's submission on the arrival of a messenger from the Talaing king, Yazadayit, bringing presents	86
The useful speech made by Thukyo of Panya when the Talaing king, Yazadayit, advanced upon Ava, during the reign of King Mingaung	89
Submission made to the Talaing king, Yazadayit, by his minister, Dein ...	93
Wise converse between Minyaza and the Talaing minister, Thihapatei at Thitkanyin	93
Minyaza's submissions to the Talaing, Yazadayit, and to his queen, Thupabadeiwi, on the proper behavior for ladies of a royal householde..	96
Examples and advice given by Minyaza during the reign of King Mingaung to the King's brother, Prince Theikdat, lord of Sagaing	102
Minyaza's submission of precedents to King Mingaung, that he should so act that any enmity arising should be short and any friendship long ...	106
Minyaza's submission of precedents to King Mingaung, that in case he planned to attack another land, he must see to the safety of his own first	109
Submission of the minister Sawhkanhkat to the Talaing king, Yazadayit ...	113
Refusal to accept a present of a golden drum and a ruby from a merchant of Myinmu in King Mingaung's reign	115
King Mingaung's question to Minyaza whether he had any equal in respectful treatment of his elders and Minyaza's reply and precedents..	116
Kyanzittha and Alaungsithu in Pagan	116
King Yinnaratheinhka's brother Narapatisithu and his wife Weiluwati in Pagan	118
Narapatisithu's servant Nga Aungzwa	119
The tale of Anandathuriya, son of Narapatisithu's brother's tutor.....	121
Minyaza's submission to King Mingaung on the necessity of examining the truth or falsehood of a report	121
Minyaza's submission to King Mingaung on respect for elders	128
Minyaza's submission to King Mingaung on Thameinparan	131
Death of King Mingaung and regrets of the Talaing king, Yazadarit	132

FOREWORD

Those engaged in the study and teaching of the pre-modern history of Burma find a paucity of materials in translation with which to work. For all the wealth of materials cited in Harvey's *History* and more recent works of scholarship on the period, none but the specialist has been able to approach the original Burmese sources. L. E. Bagshawe's translation of Shin Sandalinka's *Maniyadanabon* is all the more welcome because it represents a type of Southeast Asian literature rarely translated, something that might be termed indigenous works on statecraft. Works like the *Maniyadanabon*, filled with borrowings from Jataka tales and the Hitopadesa, are too easily dismissed as derivative from Indian literature. This text, and the traditional Burmese statecraft it represents, can be seen as an eclectic selection from classical sources known in Burma that was applied to what the Burmese understood their own history to have been. The reader thus is given both a Burmese view of history and a framework of Burmese Buddhist values within which events and personalities were judged.

L. E. Bagshawe approached this translation with an unusual background. A classical scholar of Wadham College, Oxford, he entered the Indian Civil Service in 1941. After Indian independence he joined Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd. and worked in the company's Rangoon office until 1964, when it was taken over by the Government of Burma. He then joined the British Embassy in Rangoon as Commercial Secretary. After leaving Burma in 1968, he gained the M.Phil. degree at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, with a thesis on the introduction of Western education into Burma in the 1860's. Since moving to the United States he has been active in the Burma Studies Group of the Association for Asian Studies, for which he has produced a number of papers for their annual conference.

The Southeast Asia Program is grateful to Mr. Bagshawe for undertaking this difficult task of translation, and is happy to be able to make such an important work available to a wider audience.

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Professor of Southeast
Asian History

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

According to the note with which he, as was the custom, ended the book, the monk Shin Sandalinka finished writing his "Submissions of Minyaza or Precious Jewel Examples" (*Minyaza Shaukhtonhkaw Maniyadanabon Kyan*) on the seventh day of the waxing moon of Thadingyut in the year 1143 of the Burmese era (mid-October A.D. 1781), during the reign of King Singu, "compiling it from the various books of chronicles for the information of generations to come." Nothing, really, is known about him, but the 1871 preface gives the information that he was granted the royal title of Jinalankara-mahadhammaraja-guru; now in his book named *Withadipani* the Meidi Hsayadaw mentions a monk from Ava named Jinalankaradhaja, who was one of the nine monks sent out on a "purification" mission in 1783.¹ This might well represent an earlier stage in the career which ended with the more elaborate title and the date is right, so that it might be a good guess to make the identification. If it is so, we can say that he was a monk from Ava with connections with Taungngu who espoused orthodox views, fitting in with the official religion of the early years of King Bodawhpaya's reign. In common with all Burmese writings for most of the next century his work remained in manuscript, though no doubt often copied in the monasteries. It was certainly read and was used as a source when the Glass Palace Chronicle came to be written about 1820, being frequently cited in that work as "Minyazabondaw."

In 1868, however, a Sino-Burman from Moulmein, H. Ahee, set up the Burma Herald Press in Rangoon and, after a few years of printing a newspaper, embarked in 1870 upon the tremendous innovation of providing printed books for a Burmese public. Many books had, of course, been printed in Burmese since Judson and Hough set up their press at the Baptist Mission in 1819, but, almost or completely without exception, these had been either works of missionary edification or else instructional texts designed for government servants or for schools run on Western lines. Up to 1870 a truly native press did not exist; books were circulated only in manuscript, in spite of the country's traditionally high rate of literacy.

There is good reason to believe that this development was initiated by King Mindon or by his chief minister, the Kinwunmingyi, or by both of them together, as part of a deliberate attempt to maintain the cultural unity of Burma, even if politically the country was divided, with the south all in the hands of the British. They were particularly concerned about the division of the Buddhist Order in the country, when the Thathanabaing's rulings could not be enforced in the British territory and sects consequently proliferated. At this time King Mindon was deeply engaged with, on the one hand, the recension of the Pali scriptures and his Buddhist Congress and, on the other, with his project to install the new *hti* on the Shwei Dagon pagoda in Rangoon at the heart of British Burma, as a demonstration of national and religious unity, even if political unity were lost.

After the book-publishing project was well under way, Ahee was brought to Mandalay, with the rank of Thandawzin, to be the first editor of the *Mandalay Gazette* -- the King's parallel to the British government's *Rangoon Gazette* -- an indication of his close connection with the Court, which may well have existed before the opening of the Burma Herald Press, although this cannot be demonstrated.

The first book to be published by the press was the *Atdathangeik Damathat*, a digest of Burmese customary law written by the Kinwunmingyi himself, followed by another book of legal principles, the *Manuyaza Shaukhton*, and by a compilation of six texts, dominated by a Burmese version of part I of the *Hitopadesa*, an early recension of the well-known Sanskrit book of tales, the *Pancatantra*. The source of this version is not known but it must be earlier than the *Maniyadanabon*, which quotes from it. It is known to have been a favorite book of King Mindon: Phayre told R. F. St. John that the king constantly quoted it in his conversation. Fourth in the series came the *Maniyadanabon*, printed in three separate volumes during 1871. It appears, therefore, that people who were well qualified to judge and were concerned for the perpetuation

1. I owe this information to Dr. John Ferguson.

of Burmese culture considered the book to be of sufficient importance to Burma to give it a high degree of priority in publication, despite its length (a total of 705 pages in the original edition) and consequent cost (a total price of 9 rupees, exceptionally high at that time), which must have restricted its circulation considerably. It is therefore worth considering the qualities which give it that importance.

The book purports to give an account of various questions which faced Burmese kings of past times and the answers given to these questions by their chief minister. The title implies that the minister referred to is Minyaza of Winzin,² chief minister to Mingyizwasawke and his sons, Tarabya and Mingaung, who ruled successively at Ava between 1367 and 1422 A.D., but in fact not quite half the book is devoted to this period and the rest deals with other kings and other ministers, almost down to the final disaster of the Taungngu dynasty, when Ava fell to the Mons in A.D. 1751. The form, however, is more or less constant throughout: each section begins with an historical account of the situation which gave rise to the problem on which the minister is consulted, followed by his recommendation for dealing with it and his reasons. These reasons consist of a series of examples of the principles of action involved, shown in a set of stories, each ritually introduced with "I will give an example....." and ending with "This is another example." These stories may be historical tales of the doings of kings of earlier times, but are more commonly Jataka stories, stories from the Sutta Pitaka or the Dhammapada Commentaries, stories from the Hitopadesa, or plain folk tales. The long first section forms an exception, being devoted to a summary of a chronicle of the kings of Burma up to Mingyizwasawke's accession. This has been used as a source book for the Glass Palace Chronicle, although the author of that work used other sources as well, and his dates and other facts do not always agree entirely. Whatever source our author used, he does seem to show an especially good knowledge of the tangled doings of the Shan kings of Ava and makes clear how their internecine wars were really family quarrels taken to the limit. He knows, for instance, that Saw Onma, Thadominbya's queen who saved her life by seducing the messenger whom her dying husband had sent to make sure that she should not survive him, was full sister to Mingyizwasawke, who managed to depose her and her paramour. There may therefore be a genuine tradition going back to Minyaza himself.

Apart, however, from any possible interest as an alternative to the Glass Palace Chronicle, there is the further possibility that the book may cast some light upon nineteenth-century policies in Burma. As its publishing history shows, the Court seems to have taken an interest in the book and we may guess that the Kinwunmingyi liked to see himself in the role of Minyaza. It is therefore a legitimate speculation that the ground of at least some of his policies may be found in parallels portrayed here. In particular he must have seen the similarity between his own action in putting the Thibaw Prince on the throne after King Mindon's death and that of the part played by the minister Yazathingyan in the accession of Prince Ahkweichei, as described on p. 102 ff. The exact importance of this precedent in determining his action and, even more, how far the Mingyi's subsequent loss of power and even King Thibaw's own fall represented a conscious or unconscious playing out of the roles set out in the book, can only remain subjects for speculation, but it seems inescapable that possible precedents from here must always have been in the Mingyi's mind when deciding policy. A close examination of this work may well cast light on the basis of policies determined at the court of Mandalay.

Even more interesting is the way in which the tales are used as exemplars of action: their validity is equal whether the story is historical or mythological. Burma under its kings was, in common with most traditional societies, governed principally by custom. The kings, although always reputed to be monarchs of the most absolute power, had in many respects less power over their country than had Western governments. In the West the law could be changed by any government at any time, but in Burma the law was custom and the king had no power to change custom. The royal share, for instance, on which his revenue largely depended, was customarily one-tenth, as laid down in the Rajaniti; the basis of this tenth was open to argument and interpretation -- one-tenth of capital value or of usufruct, for instance, or of something in between? -- but the king had no power to change that figure of one-tenth. In civil, or even criminal law, too, the king's standing was limited by custom. The main principle of decision was to secure agreement between disputants, and private agreement could overrule any royal decision. To secure agreement between disputing equals it was, of course, necessary

2. Earlier editions and the preface to the 1968 edition give the name as Wunzin. I do not know the reason for the change.

to persuade them that any proposed settlement was in accordance with custom, and for these purposes custom was embodied in such tales as these. They constituted precedent, and the question whether the precedent had ever in fact actually taken place simply did not arise: it was custom. Consequently Jataka tales, stories from the Hitopadesa, and the "Decisions of Princess Sudhammacari" could all be cited in any court as a precedent for action. This body of stories, therefore, constituted the body of custom which provided the basic structure of society, and they continued to operate in the same manner at least until quite recent times. An example is the use of the precedent, during King Mindon's reign, of Prince Weithandaya's gifts to the wicked old Brahman in the Jataka to condemn the Sulagandi doctrine that to give alms to a monk who was leading an immoral life was itself damnable. As a whole, therefore, these stories provide an important picture of the motivations and ideals of the society from which they come.

The *Maniyadanabon* collection has in general a closer relation to actuality than some other collections, since the tales are deliberately related to actual practical problems. There is nothing particularly novel about the stories themselves, most of which appear in many other collections; what is interesting is the manner in which, through the stories, actual day-to-day political problems are brought into contact with the ideal world of custom. This, in combination with the historical interest of the chronicle sections and the light cast on more recent history, seems to make the work worthy of study as a portrayal of the structuring mythology of Burmese society of the late eighteenth century. I have, therefore, thought it worthwhile to put it into English, in which it will be more generally available. I have, however, only carried the work up to the death of King Mingaung, where Minyaza himself disappears from the scene. To go further might seem unwarrantably long, and I feel that after this point the quality of the book declines.

II

Dealing as it does with affairs at the royal court, the book is perhaps most interesting in showing the nature of the Burmese kingship and Burmese ideas on its duties and on the qualifications necessary for it, though it must always be remembered that the ideas reflected in the morals drawn from the stories are mainly those of 1781 and do not necessarily have any connection with those of the Shan kings of 1400. In view of the conservatism of Burmese society, however, it would not be surprising if they were much the same.

It is first of all necessary for the candidate for kingship to be of the royal line traceable back to Pyuminhti and the Sun-spirit -- is it, incidentally, purely coincidental that the name used by the ruler of modern Burma refers to the sun? The Konbaung dynasty of Alaungpaya was legitimated by a line of descent carefully traced back to the earlier royal houses.

Physical possession of the palace is also essential; once that is secured, recognition follows almost automatically and with the possession of the palace normally goes possession of the last king's queen or queens, who are regularly taken over by his successor. This is, of course, the explanation of how the same lady is so often the queen of a number of successive kings. Indeed the queen is almost identified with the palace -- the term *nandaw* can be used indifferently for either. We may suspect the underlying existence of some sort of "heaven wedding earth" symbolism, but I do not know of any substantiation; unless it may be found in the number of Naga princesses involved in the ancestry of the early kings.

A third factor was essential too, and a prince did not obtain the throne without acceptance from the notables of the kingdom, the *hmudawmatdaw*, themselves actually or honorarily of royal descent. Our author seems to be thinking in terms almost of a permanent council of the royal family, which was the real ruler and which normally kept the king under control, although the actual situation would be determined by the personalities involved. For all his prominence the king was not necessarily the most important factor in any situation.

As to the actual conduct of the kingship, there is a dilemma which appears constantly in distinctions between a king who is like the sun and a king who is like the moon, between the king who is like a burning fire and the king who is like cool water. A king who is gentle and reasonable may be borne down by an enemy who relies on violence

and the land will suffer; a king, on the other hand, who himself relies on violence will deal with external enemies, but his people will suffer also. The ideal king will be fire to the enemy, but cool water to his own people. It is a dilemma which may still be with us -- in social units smaller than kingdoms too.

III

Burmese and Pali terms and proper names are transcribed here without diacritics, which would perforce be ignored by most readers in any case. Thus, for Burmese, tones are not indicated; for Pali long vowels and retroflex consonants are not indicated. Further, since the Pali is the Burmese version of Pali and is written in Burmese script, it is in most cases transcribed according to the Burmese values of the letters. A list of these terms is however appended which gives the original Pali forms for ease of cross referencing with Pali texts.

In Burmese, final consonants are never fully pronounced; a nasal consonant in a final position only serves to nasalize the preceding vowel and here all nasals are represented by -ng after au- and by -n after all other vowels. All other final consonants merge into a glottal stop. This is conventionally transcribed as

-k after the vowels o, ei, au, ai
-t after the vowels i, u, a, e.

For a few place names there is a recognized anglicization and they are used here since they may carry more meaning for the reader than a strict transcription.

Classical Burmese writing marks no breaks between words -- in a monosyllabic language each syllable is a word -- and any separation of elements in names must therefore be to an extent arbitrary. I have broken up a few very long Pali titles with hyphens for the sake of ease in reading, but generally otherwise names and titles are written as one word (although the common prefixes for names, Nga, Saw, and Shin have been separated). This gives rise to a few juxtapositions of letters which may look odd, particularly -tth-. This represents the Pali -tth-, a doubled dental plus aspirate, which cannot be used thus in Burmese without ambiguity, since the Burmese 'th' is pronounced as in English. It should be remembered, however, that in Burmese an 'h' always goes with the following consonant, if there is one, and is never attached to the final consonant of a syllable.

There are two other small points on pronunciation: *y* is always consonantal; and *ky*- almost represents the 'ti' sound in 'action' -- not quite 'ch' which is written *hky* and has to be distinguished -- and *gy* is the voiced form of this.

IV

Translations of some specific words call for comment:

-- *bhikkhu*, literally 'beggar', is the regular term in the Pali scriptures for a Buddhist monk and I have normally used the word "monk," although it is arguable how closely the social function of the *bhikkhu* corresponds to that of the western monk. The more usual words in Burmese are *rahan* or *hpongyi*. I have not attempted to differentiate.

-- *balu*, the being who fills the part of the "giant" in Western folk tales. There is however no necessary implication of enormous size about the *balu* and I have preferred to use *ogre*, even though a *balu* can behave amicably on occasion.

-- *hti*, both the tiered finial of a pagoda and the ceremonial umbrella carried over a king or others of high rank and usually translated simply as "umbrella." This word, however, seems to have acquired a faintly comic connotation in English which is inappropriate; I have preferred to use "canopy" for the royal appurtenance, though that is not quite right either, and to leave it untranslated for the pagoda finial.

-- *seidi*. This is the Sanskrit *caitya* -- "burial mound" or "memorial" -- and is the normal Burmese word for what is usually called in the West a "pagoda." This word is an English distortion of "dagoba," a Portuguese version of *dhatugabbho*, a term

used in Ceylon. It does not seem possible to better it, however, and it does have the sanction of long usage and I have used it here.

-- *haya*. A term of the very highest respect, applied equally to kings and to the Buddha himself. The nearest equivalent is of course "lord." I have differentiated by capitalizing "Lord" when the Buddha is referred to. The word "lord" is also used to translate the very common *sa* as in Sagaing *sa*, "lord of Sagaing." Sagaing *min* on the other hand is translated "Prince of Sagaing" or "Sagaing Prince."

-- *ponna*. Possibly a Burmanization of the Sanskrit "pandita," but always for the Brahman who performed functions of divination and ceremony about Burmese courts -- an exotic caste; translated "Brahman," but it has to be remembered that the implications are quite different in a Jataka story from India and in reference to a Burmese court.

Certain words relating to Buddhist doctrine seem to be fully naturalized into English in their Sanskrit forms. I have therefore used these forms rather than the Pali or Burmese forms, e.g. "karma," not "kamma" or "kan"; "dharma," not "dhamma."

Finally I must express my thanks to Professor Hla Pe and to Mrs. Anna Allott of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, to U Thaung and Daw Tin Tin Win of Washington, Mo., and to many others for help given to me in making this translation.

L. E. Bagshawe

BURMANIZED PALI NAMES AND THEIR ORIGINALS

<u>Burmese form</u>	<u>Pali form</u>
Amayadeiwi	Amarādevī
Anahtapein	Anāthapiṇḍika
Ananda	Ānanda
Anandathuyiya	Anantasūriya
Anawmadathi	Anomadassī
Andakawinda	Andhakaveṇṭa (Andhakaveṇhu)
Arahan	Arahanta
Athadeiktha	Asadisa
Athaga	Assaka
Athitinzana	Asitañjana
Athuya	Asurān
Ayeindama	Arindama
Ayidazanaka	Ariṭṭhajanaka
Ayokzapuya	Ayojjānapura
Ayukithsa	Ārukaccha
Ayusha	Arusya
Azatathat	Ajātasattu
Baladeiwa	Baladeva
Bandula	Bandhula
Batdayakumaya	Bhaddharakumāra
Bayanathi	Varānasi (Benāres)
Beidayi	Bhedārī
Beikmanwaya	Bimānavara
Beinbithaya	Bimbisāra
Brahmadat	Brahmadatta
Daninsaya	Dhanañjaya
Danyawadi	Dhanyavatī
Datayahta	Dhataratṭha
Dathayahta	Dasarathā
Deiwadat	Devadatta
Deiwagatba	Devagabbhā
Deiwananpiyateiktha	Devanaṃpiyatissa
Digadi	Dīghati
Digawu	Dibhāvu
Dithapamaukhka	Disāpamokkha
Dithapamok	Disāpamokkha
Dwayawadi	Dvāravatī
Ethkawata	Akkhavāta
Etgideiwa	Aggideva
Galon	Garula, Garuda
Gandalayit	Gandhalarāja
Gandayayit	Gandhārarājan
Gatapandita	Ghatapaṇḍita
Gawdama	Gotama
Geikzagok	Gijjhakūta
Girimeihkala	Gīrimekhāla
Hanthawadi	Haṃsavatī
Himawunta	Himavanta, Himavat, Himalaya
Hirannaka	Hiraṇṇaka
Hsatdan	Chaddānta
Inkuya	Aṅkura
Itzuna	Ajjuna

Kaleingayit
Kanbawza
Kanhadi
Kanmalahathti
Kanna
Kantha, Upakantha
Kapila
Katawahana
Kathi
Kathikayit
Kawipandita
Kawthala
Kawthanbi
Keinnaya
Keinnayi
Keithayaza
Kumokdaya
Kuyu
Kuyuyit

Lawnita
Lethkanakumaya
Lethkupattana

Maduya
Mahakantha
Mahakapila
Mahathagaya
Mahathamokda
Mahathanbawa
Mahawthada
Mahayadanadeiwi
Maheinda
Manawza
Maniyadana
Mandabya
Matdayit
Matdi
Maukgalan
Mayisipali
Meiktaweindaka
Midila
Mutika

Nalagiri
Nanda
Nandagawpala
Nandaka
Nandamula
Nanditheina
Nandiwisala
Nandiya
Neikban

Oktayamaduya

Panthubokdi
Patalipok
Patasari
Pateikkaya
Patheinadi
Paukkayama
Pawlazanaka
Petkutha
Pingala
Pinsakalyani
Pinsalayit
Pinsawutda
Pitseika, Pasei

Kāliṅgarāja
Kamboja (Cambodia, Siam)
Kaṅhadī (payana)
Kammalahatthi
Kaṅṅa
Kaṁsa, Upakaṁsa
Kapila (vatthu)
Kaṭṭhavāhana
Kāsi
Kāsikarāja
Kavipaṇḍita
Kosala
Kosambī
Kinnarā
Kinnarī
Kesarāja
Kumudra
Kuru
Kururāja

Lohita
Lakkaṅakumāra
Lakkhupattana

Madhurā
Mahākaṁsa
Mahākapila
Mahāsāgara
Mahāsammudda
Mahāsambhava
Mahosadha
Mahāratanadevī
Mahinda
Manoja
Maṅiratana
Māṇḍavya
Maddarāja
Maddī
Moggalāna
Maricipali
Mittavindaka
Mithilā
Muṭṭhika

Nālāgiri
Nanda
Nandagopa (la)
Nandaka
Nandamūla
Nandisena
Nandivisāla
Nandiya
Nibbāna (Skt. Nirvāna)

Uttaramadhūra

Pansubuddhi
Pāṭaliputta
Paṭācāri
Paṭikkara
Paṣenadi
Pokkarāma
Polajanaka
Pukkusa
Piṅgala
Pañcakalyāṇī
Pañcalarāja
Pañcāvudha
Pacceka

Pitakat
Pitzuna
Ponnamahtei
Ponnyaletkhanadeiwi
Pyitsantayit

Sanda
Sandadeiwa
Sarura
Seiktagok
Sinsamana
Sitragiwa
Sulani
Sulapandaka
Sulathanbawa

Tawateintha
Tetkatho
Tetkariya
Thagaya
Thagya
Thakeita
Thakeitamahtei
Thakiya
Thamokdayit
Thamokdaza
Thandati
Thanthama
Thanthaya
Thanwaya
Thatbameikta
Thatlawadi
Thawmanattha
Thawna
Thawutthi
Tharipoktra
Theikdathta
Theinaka
Theinaka Thuhkamin
Theinsei
Thidadeiwi
Thilawuntha
Thileithalawma
Thingamyitta
Thingayaza
Thingabawāi
Thinhkaya
Thinkatthanago
Thiridamathawga
Thirigokta
Thirihkittaya
Thirimahamaya
Thirizeiya
Thokdawdana
Thokpadaka
Thudamawadi
Thubayit
Thumingala
Thunandi
Thupaba
Thupabadeiwi
Thupyinnyanagarahseinna
Thuya
Thuriyadeiwa
Thuyusi
Thuzata
Tiyithsa

Piṭaka
Pajjuna
Puṇnamathera
Puññalakkhanādevī
Paccantarāja

Canda
Candadeva
Cārura, Cānura
Cittagutta
Ciñcāmāna
Citragivā
Cūlanī
Cūlapanthaka
Cūlasaṃbhava

Tāvatiṃsa
Takkasilā (Taxila)
Takkāriya
Sāgara
Sakka
Sāketa
Sāketamathera (the Elder Sāketa)
Sākiya
Samuddarāja
Samuddajā
Sandati
Saṃsama
Saṃsaya
Saṃvara
Sabbamitta
Sallāvati
Somanassa
Sona
Sāvatti
Sāriputra, Sāriputta
Siddhattha
Senaka
Senakasukhamina
Siñcañña (Sañjaya)
Sitādevī
Sīlavaṃsa
Silesaloma
Saṅghamittā
Saṅgharāja
Saṅkhabodhi
Asankhyā
Saṅkassanagara
Siridhamāsoka
Sirigutta
Sirikhettarā
Sirimahāmāyā
Sirijaya
Suddhodana
Suppādaka
Sudhammavati
Supharāja
Sumaṅgala
Sunandī
Supaba
Supabādevī
Supaññanagarachinna
Surā
Sūriyadeva
Suruci
Sujāta
Tiraccha

Upakayi
Upathagaya
Uyana

Wathakaya
Wathudeiwa
Wayazein
Wayuna
Wayunadeiwa
Wazirakonmayi
Weiluwadi
Weipuyakeikti
Weithali
Weithandaya
Wideihayit
Widurathuhkamin
Wimaladeiwi
Withahka

Yada
Yadanapura
Yadanapyitsawda
Yahula
Yamapandita
Yanyadatta-ami
Yawhineiya
Yawipuya
Yaza
Yazadayit
Yazagyo
Yeiwadi
Yusiyapaba

Zabudeik
Zeidawun

Upakāri
Upasāgara
Uyāna

Vassakāra
Vāsudeva
Varajina
Varuṇa
Varuṇadeva
Vajīrākumārī
Velūvatī
Vepūrakitti
Vesāli
Vessantara
Videharāja
Vidhurasukhamina
Vimaladevī
Visākhā

Rādna
Ratanapura
Ratanapāccota
Rāhula
Rāmapandita
Yaññadātta ami (mother of Y.)
Rohineyya
Ravipura
Rājā
Rājādhirāja
Rājagaha (Skt. Rājagṛha)
Revatī
Rūciyapabhā

Jambudīpa
Jetavana

PREFACE TO THE 1968 EDITION

I

In the written history of India an important chapter is filled by the "Submissions" literature, and such "Submissions" form a similar chapter in the historical writings of Burma. Since the origins of Burmese written history fall under the shadow of Indian literature, the consideration and evaluation of Indian texts will cast more or less light upon Burmese literature. It is apparent that the examples given in the "Submissions" of Burmese literature follow the precedents of the examples previously set out in Indian "Submissions."

In Burmese literature the best known "Submissions" are those of U Paw U and Ayudaw Mingala. These are the sets of "Submissions" that up to the present remain the most popular without ever going out of fashion.¹

The present work, the *Maniyadanabon*, is however older than either of these. The author was Shin Sandalinka, who had the title Jinalankara-mahadhammaraja-guru from the king. We know from the colophon that he wrote that the book was completed on the seventh day of the waxing of Thadingyut of the Burmese year 1143, during the reign of the king titled Mahadhammarajadhiraja, and thus that it was written during the Konbaung era.

Although the book was written during the Konbaung era, the submissions recorded in it do not date from this dynasty. They are submissions from the Ava period and in addition to the submissions of Hpoyaza, the wise man who was minister over a period of fifty-three years to Mingyizwasawke and to his sons Tarabya, also called Hsinbyishin, and Mingaung the First, who succeeded him, the book includes submissions from Yaza-thingyan, Abayagamani, Ponnyawutdana, Binnyadala, Thirizeiyanawrahta, Yazabala, Oktamathiri, Nandakyaw, and others. However, since the submissions of Hpoyaza form the largest section of the collection, it is understandable that the *Maniyadanabon* is referred to as "Hpoyaza's Submissions."

II

The force of the name "Maniyadanabon" is to be seen in the exemplary stories contained in the submissions. If it be asked why, it is because the author, of his own volition, decided that he would compile a record to be named "Maniyadana." The basic meaning of this is that he decided that he would write a book of submissions and exemplars which would have the same value in the records as jewels.

In justification of this name of "jewels," we can see that these "Submissions of Hpoyaza" are based on worldly, on religious, and on statesmanlike considerations. They are, however, not only full of worldly, religious, and political wisdom; they also contain very many maxims of general application:

"If you want to get a kingdom, that is easy; what is very hard is to keep it when it is won."

"Seed paddy, which is carefully cleaned and stored, still may or may not grow; how can you tell the outcome if you use for seed paddy bought in the general market?"

"What starts small can grow big: what quickly grows big can grow small too."

1. These two books were edited, and no doubt largely compiled, by U Aung in about 1915. U Paw U was King Mindon's court jester. Ayudaw Mingala was King Bodawhpaya's reader of omens. His own name was Maung No.

"Do not sleep after the sun is up; do not sleep before the sun goes down."

One can find many such maxims of Hpoyaza in his submissions.

Besides this, these submissions demonstrate the social conditions of the people of the Ava era. This is so since these submissions provide answers to questions on military affairs, politics, economics, and the culture of the period.

For instance, in the year 732 there was a war between Kalei and Mohnyin, and both sides appealed to Mingyizwasawke for help. At this juncture the king sent for Minyaza to consult him. Minyaza's reply was the story of how a man, while ploughing his field, saw two jungle cocks fighting; he made no haste to grab at them but said to himself, "Let them tire themselves out -- I'll see to my ploughing," and waited till both the cocks were exhausted when he could easily catch both of them. He used this tale to give an answer to a military question. The king followed Minyaza's advice and was able to take over both Kalei and Mohnyin at leisure.

In the year 733 again there was a rebellion in Mohnyin and the political question arose of setting up boundary stones to demarcate the territories of Ava and Mohnyin. The king ordered that the duty of setting up these boundary stones be given to Minyaza. Minyaza started out to set up the stones, but after completing only half his journey, he returned without setting them up. When the king asked him why, he replied, "Your Majesty's desires are small and therefore you are content to work within a defined boundary. However the kings of your line who will succeed you will have glory like the Sun and the Moon and they will cast blame upon Your Majesty and myself, if without regard for the future we too easily accept a boundary. For this reason I have come back without setting up the boundary pillars." With this reply he demonstrated his regard for the national interest and the king was satisfied. His son, King Mingaung, when during his reign Kalei and Mohnyin were recovered, said, "It is only because during my father's reign he did not demarcate the boundary that I have won Kalei and Mohnyin again. Minyaza has a true regard for our national interests," and gave him new rewards.

Hpoyaza does not only thus give his answers to questions on military, political, economic, and cultural affairs; we find too in the *Maniyadanabon* many answers to questions on familiar household matters. On one occasion King Mingaung was displeased with the behavior of his Queen Saw Bomei, and made arrangements to displace Saw Bomei from her southern palace and to demote her to the northern palace. The king sent for Hpoyaza to consult him about this and Hpoyaza said, "Son of my master, after you have changed your soiled clothes, once they are washed clean again, do you just keep them by, without wearing them again?" In just such commonplace terms he gave his reply to the question of the household of King Mingaung and Queen Saw Bomei. In truth King Mingaung was no fool; he had made Saw Bomei, his own niece, his queen when she was only eight years old, and as soon as he heard Hpoyaza's plea, couched in such familiar words, indicating how she could not be expected to be too well versed in household matters, he immediately realized their meaning and knew what he had to do. Thus since Hpoyaza's reply was couched in terms that the king well knew, Saw Bomei was restored to her southern palace.

With this preliminary we can see in Minyaza's submissions his skill in handling problems, how he approached the problem, how he handled it, and how he solved it. By examining the points in question in depth, we have the opportunity of assessing the abilities of Hpoyaza.

The submissions in the *Maniyadanabon* can be seen also as providing some view, beyond the society of the Ava period, of that of the Konbaung era also. Out of the divisions of matters military, political, economic, and cultural, submissions are most numerous on questions on military and political matters. The year 1142, when the work was composed, was a time when the Kingdom of Burma was not at peace, by reason of disturbances both military and political. At this time, while the Singu Prince reigned with the title Mahadhammarajadhiraja, the Badon Prince, who was to become so well known as Bodawhpaya, was gathering strength in weapons, followers, and soldiers for his attempt upon the throne. At the same time Maung Maung, the lord of Hpaungga, was watching secretly for a good opportunity to slip in to the kingship. During Thadingyut of 1143, while the book was being finished, such agitation as this existed both in military and political affairs, and we may expect to see this agitation reflected in these submissions, both in respect of the throne and of the people.

In Tabodwe of that year, when the Singu Prince had gone to the Anyasihato pagoda to pray, Maung Maung, the lord of Hpaungga, entered the palace in secret and made himself king. The Badon Prince then swept away both the Singu Prince and the lord of Hpaungga and became king himself.

III

The importance attached to the exemplary stories in these submissions raises another question. The reason for it is that at that time the king along with his whole people were accustomed to follow such examples and precedents, which had the force of law.

Today, in our modern times, we are used to seeing children rather than adults devoted to reading such fables; we may call it a good introduction to their future life. However, we must not forget that fables that can attract the affection of children are fables that can show the way and lead on to high achievement as a permanent disposition of their minds.

I myself, when I was young, took an especial interest in such fables. In pursuit of this special interest I published each week during 1940 and 1941, in a special Tuesday issue of the *Thuriya* newspaper, a set of fables under the title "Proverbs and Fables." Such proverbs as "Great hopes - small achievement"; "If the snake's not dead, don't break your stick"; "Without meaning to, Sawke became King"; and "The shade remains though the branch was broken" were printed, followed by appropriate stories, and these proverbs became and remained guiding rules for children. As a result, at a time when there was a dearth of books for children and not such abundance as there is now, the late editor U Thein Maung (then known as Thuriya U Thein Maung) urged and encouraged me to write books for children. The late Katun U Ba Gyan actually drew illustrations for my tales. Although arrangements were made with U Thein Maung for printing them as a book for children, the Second World War intervened and the book was never published.

The stories contained in this *Maniyadanabon* were once rules of guidance for generations of kings and commoners to follow, and in modern times both young and old can find great value in reading and studying their weight and meaning.

IV

This wise minister, Hpoyaza, who gave quick answers in his submissions to questions on military matters, on the national interest, on economic and other matters, was actually not a man born and brought up in a great city. He was a villager who was born and grew up in Wunzin village beneath the Meiktila dam. Though he was from an *athi* family, his way of life was a farmer's.

We can find a certain amount about Hpoyaza's life in the Great Chronicle, but fifty or sixty years ago U Maung Maung of Prome wrote "The Story of the Wise Minister, Minyaza of Wunzin" and it can be found there at greater length. U Maung Maung began his account in volume I part 5 of the *Burma Magazine* published by U Si and continued the publication in serial form.

Although we cannot say exactly how many wives Hpoyaza had, it is stated in the *Maniyadanabon* that the Talaing King, Yazadayit, in recognition of Hpoyaza's wisdom gave him a daughter of the Talaing Chief Minister, and so we know that Hpoyaza had the Talaing Minister's daughter as his wife in addition to his chief wife, Mei Chit. Besides this, we know from references in the *Maniyadanabon* that he had a daughter named Saw Pulei and a son named Paukhla. The daughter Saw Pulei became the lady of Thadothingathu who became lord of Badon and Dipeyin. The son, Paukhla, was to become lord of Yameithin. It is also recorded that by the daughter of the Talaing minister he had another daughter, who is still famous, named Badon Sawyin.

Hpoyaza passed away in the year 783, after working to the limit of his powers for the good of the country and of Religion for the whole of fifty-three years as minister to three kings in succession. At this time he must have been over eighty years old and we can reckon that he was no young man.

Three hundred and sixty years after Hpoyaza's death came Shin Sandalinka's collection of his submissions and his making a book of them under the name *Maniyadanabon*. Although it was his stated intention to write down a collection of Hpoyaza's submissions from palm-leaf and *parabaik* records and from the oral tradition that had been passed down from one generation to another, it is possible that during these three hundred and sixty years there may have been included in the tradition some items from story-tellers' own mouths, in the belief that, since they would have liked them to be among Hpoyaza's original submissions, they must have been so. In fact, if there are any such inclusions, we must admit that they are well included. If it be asked why, it is because all these submissions are worth taking guidance from.

Although we had never seen or used Hpoyaza's submissions in Shin Sandalinka's version, we had seen for ourselves the same tales and examples in U Paw U's submissions. Sixty-four years after U Paw U's death, a Burmese historian, U Aung, wrote up his submissions as a book. However, since he could find no publisher, U Aung brought the work to an end in one book and did not continue with the writing. At the time when the war was approaching, however, U Aung returned to writing in monthly instalments for the *Burma Tawun Magazine*. At this time I joined the *Burma Tawun Magazine* as a writer and I had the opportunity of seeing for myself the exemplary tales of U Paw U's submissions in U Aung's version.

Although U Aung claimed that his book of U Paw U's submissions was written from the original "white *parabaik*" records in daily use at the palace, we can see that it contains much oral tradition. Since U Aung was the son of Mingyiminhlamaha-oksana, an important prince of the ruling house, and in his youth had been on familiar terms with the other princes, he himself said that he had obtained much in the way of oral tradition.

It may indeed be felt that all these submissions should have been recorded exactly as Hpoyaza made them, but in these submissions there are to be found tales which deserve to be used for guidance, maxims worth recording, and illustrations of the state of affairs at that time in the military, political, economic, and cultural fields; and we can read the *Maniyadanabon* as a source of examples to be followed, of maxims to be selected, or as an historical source for study of the condition of the country in the Ava era.

There have been previous editions of the *Maniyadanabon*, one in 1901 from the Hanthawadi Press and one later in an unstated year, and we estimate that it has been printed at least twice before. If this is correct,² the present will be the third edition.

Myint Hswei
Mingala Press
16 June 1968

2. It is not: the first edition came from the Burma Herald Press in 1871. Subsequent editions were in 1883 and 1910. The 1901 date given above may be the result of calculation from the erroneous dates given in the 1871 preface.

MINYAZA

The story of Minyaza is this: He was a commoner of the village of Winzin, beneath the Meiktila dam, seventy-two English miles to the south of the capital city of Ava. From his childhood he devoted himself to learning, and when he grew up he and the daughter of the chieftain of his village fell in love. It did not seem to the chieftain that this was a man who would work enthusiastically or accept hardship in earning a living, but he said nevertheless, "We don't care for him, but if my daughter wants him, he can take these bullocks and work such-and-such a piece of land; when he's cleared it they can live there." So he and the girl were married, and each day in the way of the village he worked at ploughing and clearing the land, until, just 533 years ago, in the Burmese year 730 or A.D. 1338,¹ the Meiktila dam broke. Mingyizwasawke, Lord of the Sunrise, set out with all the men that he could muster to carry out repairs. On his arrival, he asked if anyone knew what the building was upon the dam, which contained the statue of a woman and seemed to be a spirit shrine.² No one could tell him, so he asked whether there was or was not in this village anyone capable of intelligent observation. It was then suggested that the Winzin chieftain had a son-in-law who was clever and observant, so the king summoned the chieftain and the chieftain sent for his daughter. "It seems that your husband's name has by some mischance come up and been spoken of before the king. His Majesty wants him," he said, and he spoke as though he were frightened, which made the girl nervous. She hurried out to the field. When her husband saw her coming in great distress with her hair all dishevelled to where he was ploughing, he stopped and asked her what the matter was. "The King has sent for you," she answered. When he heard what he would have to speak about, he said nothing at all. He just climbed a *thabyei* tree that grew upon the dam, picked flowers from it, and with them decorated the horns of the pair of bullocks with which he had been ploughing. "You, my children," he said to them, "won't have to work for daddy any more!" and with that he loosed them from the yoke. When his wife asked him what this was all about, he answered, "Don't worry, wife; this is where I get a return from my learning!" and went happily back to the village.

When he appeared before the king and was questioned about the spirit shrine, he gave his answer. "That is not a spirit shrine; when your ancestor Anawrahtaminzaw came here from Pagan to build the dam to make the lake, an important Prince from the Kanbawza country brought him his daughter, a most beautiful princess. Although the king kept her constantly in his presence a sickness suddenly came upon the young queen, and she died. Anawrahtaminzaw was so intoxicated with the beauty of this young queen that he could not bear to cast it away; he remained gazing at the corpse. Finally his counsellors had an image of pure gold cast in the exact form of the corpse, and they offered this image to him saying, "Gaze upon this image instead of on the queen. Summer is at hand, and she has become a body subject to corruption. Hold her funeral."

"So she was buried, and Anawrahtaminzaw always kept the golden image with him. He planned to carry it back to Pagan, but his counsellors submitted that images of the dead are not lucky, and do not assort with the golden canopies and palaces of a king of great glory and renown. The king therefore wished, not to destroy it, but to set it up properly under a spire. It was, however, of pure gold, and it was feared that in time to come people might break it up and steal it. The king therefore had

1. *Sic.* 730 B.E. is not of course A.D. 1338, and this date has to be wrong since Mingyizwasawke succeeded in A.D. 1364 (726 B.E.). The figure of 533 has to be wrong also, since this would take us up to 1263 B.E. or A.D. 1901, too late for this preface, which appeared in the 1871 edition. It is necessary to read "A.D. 1368" and "503 years ago." These dates, though garbled, indicate that this preface was written expressly for the 1871 edition. Ahee had his own; this was therefore probably written in Mandalay. The *Hmannan Yazawin* has a less romantic version of these events.
2. This was, of course, a matter of great importance, not idle curiosity. Any local spirits, who might for their own reasons have caused the failure of the dam, would have to be propitiated before repairs could begin.

carefully constructed within the dam a chamber of hard stone of sufficient size and placed the golden image in it, so that it would not at once be destroyed. He also had a wooden image carved which was an exact copy of the golden one, and had it set up on the dam under a proper spire. Long afterwards people who came to the dam thought that it must be a spirit, and made offerings of flowers, of betel, of tea, and of other things to eat and drink.[†]

When Mingyizwasawke had the dam opened, he found the golden image and he thought, "This man certainly has excellent powers of observation; the image is very beautiful. His manner is confident but polite and decorous; it does not really belong in a remote village but belongs rather to the golden canopies and golden palace. It is right that any king who wishes to extend his country to involve the responsibility of a wide territory and to reign abroad in the sovereignty of the golden palace should, just as hunters cherish their bows and arrows, and astrologers their charms and calculations, cherish those of stout heart and strong arm."[†]

Tradition has it that the king rewarded him richly, ennobled him as a middle-grade official with the title of *Sitapyit*, and summoned him to Ava. A year after he came to Ava, the king had reason to be angry with Yazathingyan, his brother-in-law, and planned to withdraw all his appanages from him as well as his sister, Saw Onma. On further consideration, however, it seemed to him that those who cannot control their anger cannot perfect their ends; that kings, for the sake of their brilliant glory that dazzles the world, must perfect their ends; and that, therefore, kings must control their anger above all others. He came to recognize that, whether he proposed to help or harm, he must consult first with a counsellor with the wisdom to tell the truth of the business and act accordingly. He therefore consulted with this *Sitapyit* officer, who submitted to him the essence of the matter in various precedents and examples. He thus learned to be a wise king and grew to love that officer and gave him many rewards, including an elephant, and made him his chief counsellor with the title *Minyaza*.³ By 1143 B.E. [A.D. 1781] four hundred and thirteen years from the start of his service, no comprehensive collection of the precedents and examples given by *Minyaza* during his fifty-three years' service to three successive kings of Ava as their chief counsellor had been put together as a book of "*Minyaza's Submissions*"; they existed only as scattered notes. For fear they might be lost, as the words of wise men should not be lost, the good monk named Shin Sandalinka, who had the title *Jinalankara-mahadhammaraja-guru*, for the general benefit, made from them the book of precedents called *Maniyadanabon*.⁴

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3. *Minr*= (Burmese) prince; *yaza* =rRajar= (Pali) King; an exalted title therefore -- used throughout, in the Burmese manner, as a personal name, or in familiar address by royalty of the younger generation as *Hpoyaza* -- (grand)father *Yaza*.
 4. The precise meaning of this is ambiguous. On the face of it, it means "heap of precious jewels," but *pon* also means "example" or "precedent" -- therefore "Precedents Precious as Jewels."[†] The author must have picked his title with both meanings in mind.

THE BOOK OF JEWEL-PRECIOUS PRECEDENTS

Namo tassa Bhagavato Arahato Sammasambuddhassa.

DEDICATION

Cirañ titṭhatu Saddhamo

which means "Long may Religion endure" Just like the gift of a ruby which will satisfy any man's desire, I compile the book of records and precedents called *Maniyadana* which brings benefits both in the present and future worlds.

Minyaza's submission in reply to the first Mingaung's question on the establishment of authority in the land of Burma--the Tagaung dynasty

In 826 B.E. [A.D. 1464], in the time of Mingyizwasawke, the brother-in-law of Thadominbya who founded the city of Ava, there lived Minyaza of Winzin, who was famous as a wise minister who could work for the advantage both of his king and of the people of the country, whether laymen or monks. He was charitable, observant of duties and well-conducted; he was also watchful, wise and energetic. He knew how to recognize the king's hints of his wishes. He had the learning to reflect and to draw conclusions about the outcome of affairs by comparisons with the past. At all times he loved and respected the Three Jewels.² He was the complete model of a king's counsellor and knew well how to speak in precedents and instances.

On this occasion the king's middle son, Prince Mingaung, also called Minswei, asked Minyaza, "Father Yaza, how did authority become established in Burma, and how did the rulers obtain their power?"

"Son of my master," was his reply, "On the seventh day of the waxing moon of Natdaw³ in the year 88 of the Great Era, five years from the year in which Prince Theikdaththa, who was to become our Lord Buddha, ascended his throne, Prince Thakiya, son of the King of Thinkatthanago, together with his advisors and officers, numbering in all 27,000 people, left the Middle Country. He crossed the Thatlawadi river and settled his people on the west bank of the Irrawaddy. Later again he crossed the Irrawaddy and founded the city of Thanthaya, also called Thindwe, and ruled there. This is the city now called Tagaung. He was the founder of the city of Thanthaya, also called Thindwe and now known as Tagaung, and established his kingdom; he took possession of the palace and was crowned as king under the title Thado Mahajambudipadhajaraja. He bestowed titles of honor upon his officers and servants and kin and upon his elephant men, his cavalry, and his infantry. The manner of these titles was inscribed along the palace walls, and these records can be seen clearly right up to our own times.

"This King Mahajambudipadhajaraja had two sons named Kanyaza the elder and Kanyaza the younger. These two princes had each a great household of officers and, after the death of their father, it seemed unsuitable that the two princes should both remain and both rule over one city and one kingdom. The elder Kanyaza therefore resigned the city's crown and throne to his younger brother and himself left the city of Thanthaya founding the great city which he named Danyawadi⁴ to the southward on the western side. There he had his capital.

1. *Sic*; but Mingyizwasawke acceded in 726, Minyaza came to Ava in 730, and the king died in 762. An emendation to read 726 does not quite fit, but is probably best.
2. The Three Jewels are the Buddha, the Religion and the Order.
3. Natdaw corresponds more or less to December.
4. The Arakan kingdom.

"His brother, Kanyaza the younger, succeeded to his father's office in the city of Thanthaya. He took up his crown and enjoyed his power. This was the start of the first ruling dynasty established in the land of the Burmans; and the line of kings who ruled in the city of Thanthaya, running from Thado Mahajambudipadharaja down to Thadominbya included seventy-seven individuals.

I
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I

The Thirihkittaya Dynasty

"During the lifetime of the Lord, there existed the three kingdoms, Tagaung, then called Thanthaya; Danyawadi; and Thahton, then known as Thudamawadi; and in these kingdoms the towns and villages had spread over the whole country in conspicuous prosperity. Of these kingdoms, in Tagaung, also called Thanthaya, Thadomaha, the representative of the line of Thadothakiya, the king, had two sons named Mahathanbawa and Sulathanbawa. These two brothers were blind and they were set to drift down the river on a raft. By a lucky chance their sight was restored through a monstrous ogre and they could see. Later they encountered their mother's brother who was living as a hermit and Prince Mahathanbawa married his daughter, Beidayi. In the sixtieth year from the passing of the Lord into nirvana he became King in the land of Thirihkittaya, which is also known as 'The Hermit's City.' Mahathanbawa became king at the age of twenty and ruled for six years; he passed away at the age of twenty-six in the year 66.

"After this king's passing, his brother Sulathanbawa took his elder brother's queen and in that year 66 became king at the age of twenty-six. He reigned for thirty-five years and died at the age of sixty-one. Upon his death his⁵ son Duttabaung became king in the year of the Religion 101. In that year on the eleventh day of the waxing moon of Tagu, a Saturday, he established his capital together with his palace with pinnacled turrets and a moat, concentrating the populace into one place instead of the previous four towns. The city was three leagues around, with thirty-two main gateways and thirty-two minor ones and was one league across.⁶

"The king also acquired the Nalagiri white elephant,⁷ in appearance like the Girimeihkala elephant. Thagya⁸ gave him the Ayeindama spear and the Thilawuntha sword, a spirit army and a great drum, so that he had great glory and power. King Duttabaung became king at the age of thirty-two and ruled for seventy years, dying at 102. King Duttabaung's son Duttayan, King Duttayan's son Yanbaung, King Yanbaung's son Yanman, King Yanman's son Yethkan, King Yethkan's son Hkanlaung, King Hkanlaung's son Lethkaik, King Lethkaik's son Thirihkan, and King Thirihkan's son Thiriyit became kings in their turn. After the reign of King Thiriyit, in the year 433 Ngataba became king and the line of the Tagaung kings was broken in the ninth generation.

"During the reign of King Ngataba it is said that there were many excellent sages who compiled books of astrology, law and medicine. According to tradition, he was a king who, like King Duttabaung, received tribute from all over the island of Zabudeik.⁹ It rained jewels three times during his reign. During the same reign too the king who descended from Kanyaza the elder of the Thado kings' dynasty of the line of Tagaung and who ruled over all the lands of the west under the title of King of India, this king decided to match strength in war with Ngataba of Thirihkittaya

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5. According to Phayre's sources Duttabaung was Mahathanbawa's son, but, if as stated later he was 32 at his accession, this is not possible.
 6. This ratio indicated that the city was circular, not foursquare in the regular Burmese tradition. Excavation confirms this; the circumference of the ruins is said to be 8 1/2 miles. Probably the statement that the city was founded "as one and not as four" reflects this change of tradition. Perhaps there was an attempt at forcibly unifying the peoples, which failed.
 7. The original Nalagiri elephant was the fierce creature that Deiwadat maliciously loosed against the Buddha and which was tamed by him. (Dhammapada Commentary, i, 12)
 8. Thagya (= Sakka) equated with the Hindu god Indra, is the king of the Burmese spirit world.
 9. Zabudeik = Jambudipa, the "Island of the Rose-apple Tree," which according to Burmese cosmography is the one of the four islands making up the world in which men live; thus, the habitable world.

and marched upon him. When he arrived, he was defeated and had to retire. King Ngataba became king at the age of fifteen, ruled for fifty-one years, and died at the age of sixty-six.

"King Ngataba's son Papiyan and King Papiyan's son Yanmokhka became king in turn. During this reign, King Wuttagamani of Ceylon named as his heir his elder brother's oldest son and set him to rule. His own son Soranaga therefore became associated with brigands, and attacked and murdered him, thus becoming king himself. He also murdered his uncle's son. His conduct in government was lawless and irreligious, and so for twelve years no rain fell and there was a great famine which ruined the country. Many *arahats* therefore came over from the island of Ceylon.

"King Yanmokhka's son Yantheinhka, King Yantheinhka's son Yanmusaleinda, King Yanmusaleinda's son Beiyeinda, King Beiyeinda's son Monsala, King Monsala's younger brother Ponna, King Ponna's younger brother Thahka, King Thahka's younger brother Thahki, King Thahki's younger brother Kannu, King Kannu's elder brother Kantet, and King Kantet's elder brother Beiksa became king in turn. After thirteen successions the line of King Ngataba was broken, and in the year 617 a descendant of the line of the Tagaung kings, Thumondayi, became king. Upon his death his son Atitya became king. King Atitya was of a mind to wrong his own mother and therefore, in this present life, was changed into a monkey. After his disappearance, his brother Thupyinnyanagarahseinna became king. In Thirihkittaya, therefore, which is also called Hermit's City, twenty-five kings ruled in succession from Duttabaung down to Thupyinnyanagarahseinna, and the kingdom lasted 607 years.

"During Thupyinnyanagarahseinna's reign, a winnowing basket was picked up by a dust-devil and was carried up skywards in the swirl of the wind. The owner of the basket ran after it shouting and crying out, "My basket, my basket!", and a panic ran through the whole city with a rumor that the army of the Sgawsh⁰ was upon them. They rushed out of the city, split into three bands, and the city of Thirihkittaya was broken up. Of these three divisions, one was of the Pyu, one of the Kanyan and one of the Burmesen. Later the Pyu warred with the Kanyan and the Pyu won. Later on again they fought with one another and were again divided into three. Of these three parts, one was formed by the Kyapin, one by the Thet, and of the third Thamokdayit, the nephew of Thupyinnyanagarahseinna was the leader. He founded a large town at Taungnyo and settled there. Three years later they were raided by the Talaings and so migrated from Taungnyo to Pandaung for relief. Six years later they were again attacked by the Kanyan and broken up, so that they finally migrated to and settled at Mindon.

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The Pagan Dynasty

Three years later again, after further attacks and devastation by the people of Danyawadi, the king, in the year 26 B.E., [A.D. 664], established the territory of Pagan, with its nineteen villages, which is also called Arimaddana, from Mindon.

The nineteen villages were Nyaungu, Nagabo, Nagakyei, Mankyei, Htokchauk, Saga, Mutathein, Nyaungwun, Anuyada, Tazaungkyun, Shabok, Kyinlo, Kokko, Taungma, Myeihkedwin, Thayet, Ngazingu and Yonhlutkyun, nineteen villages in all. Originally Thamokdayit made his seat at Yonhlutkyun.

Thamokdayit was of the royal line, being the nephew of Thupyinnyanagarahseinna, but during his reign they were much annoyed by the destruction caused by cranes, flying squirrels, wild boars, and tigers. They found themselves constantly providing food for these four enemies, until Pyuminhti, who was the son of the Sun spirit and the grandson of Thagyamin himself, struck at them with the supernatural weapons which Thagyamin, his grandfather, had given him. The power of these enemies was subdued and there was prosperity in the land. Thamokdayit was pleased with him; out of his five children -- four sons and one daughter -- he gave him his daughter, Princess Sanda, in marriage and made him his heir apparent. As heir apparent and second king

10. A winnowing basket is *sagaw*, which in pronunciation is almost the same as the name of the Sgaw Karens from the mountains.

1. Reading *hsaung hnin* "give in marriage" for the text's *hsauk hnin* "give a house." The Naga are a serpent people with much in common with the Chinese *lun* dragon. Note also that Sanda means "moon" and that she marries the son of the Sun.

under the name of Pyuneinat², he became famous even beyond the boundaries of Zabudeik.

Thamokdayit came to the throne at the age of thirty-two, reigned for forty-five years and died at seventy-seven. On his death his son-in-law, before he would take the throne himself, had a certain hermit, who was a reader of omens, change his habit for lay dress and become king; he meanwhile continued to be heir apparent and carried out the duties of this position. The hermit became the substitute king in the year 74 B.E. [A.D. 712]. He was then ninety-one years old, but reigned for fifteen years before dying at 106. Pyuminhti then became king in 89 B.E. [A.D. 727]. He was a king of great glory and power, owning the Wayazein bow and arrows, the Ayeindama spear, the Thilawuntha sword, and the White Elephant, which Thagyamin had given him: he was the ideal of mankind. His mother was Zanthi, a Naga princess, and his grandfather, the king of the Black Nagas gave weapons and tools to make him strong. Pyuminhti's height was fifteen cubits and his girth four cubits. In the year 111 B.E. [A.D. 749] during his reign the Chinese made the long journey to descend upon Kawthanbi, and there is a play about how he slew more than 100,000 of them who had fallen upon Leigaing, Salin and Kyapin. There is another of his mother Zanthi, the princess of the Black Nagas, coming to pay respects, another of playing games upon Mount Popa, and one about the rain of jewels and gathering them up. There are another four plays celebrating how, before he became heir apparent, he gave a great boon to all the people of the country by striking down the Four Enemies, making eight plays in all, and these are plays well-known over all the island of Zabudeik.³ Pyuminhti was thirty-five when he came to the throne, ruled for seventy-five years, and died at 110.

Pyuminhti's queen, the Princess Sanda, had a daughter, Minyin; and Minyin's son Yinminbaik, Yinminbaik's son Paikthinlei, King Paikthinlei's son Thinleigyaung, King Thinleigyaung's son Kyaungtuyit, and King Kyaungtuyit's son Theidan became king in turn. The minister Mokhkaman rebelled against Theidan, his king, and led a coup against him, actually becoming king for three months. Then however his minister Thuye assassinated Mokhkaman. Thuye was thirty-three when he won the throne, enjoyed it for fifty-five years, and died at eighty-eight. After his death in 446 B.E. [A.D. 1084] his counsellors sought out Thayamunbya, the son of the eldest son of King Theidan of the Sun Kings' line, who had gone into hiding in the forest. They found him in his place of refuge, living without any royal entourage, and placed him upon the throne. During the reign of this King Thayamunbya we find King Mahanama ruling in Ceylon, the 64th of his line, which was established in the 540th year of the Religion. During the reign of this Mahanama the reverend monk Buddhaghosa crossed over into Ceylon from the mainland, in order to translate into Pali the Pitaka which was written in Sanskrit.⁴

Thayamunbya came to the throne at fifty-five, ruled for twenty-two years and died at seventy seven. King Thayamunbya's son Thaiktaing, King Thaiktaing's son Thinleigyaung the younger, King Thinleigyaung's brother Thinleibaik, this king's younger brother Hkanlaung, this King's younger brother Hkantet, King Hkantet's son Htuntaik, King Htuntaik's son Htunpyit, and King Htunpyit's son Htunchit became kings in their turn. In King Htunchit's time the royal line was again broken, and in 275 B.E. [A.D. 913] the queens agreed that Saw Rahan of Popa, the head of the monastic Order, should leave the Order and they made him king. He was versed in the Pitaka and astrology and was a man of wisdom, caution, and energy. This monk-king was conscious that he was not of the royal line and felt that the royal line ought not to disappear. He therefore sought out the place where King Htunchit's son, Shwei Onthi, was hiding, and when he had found him he married him to his daughter Shwei Einthi and laid upon him the duties of heir-apparent. This monk-king came to the throne at the age of thirty-two, ruled twenty-seven years and died at fifty-nine. On his death, Shwei Onthi became king. After Shwei Onthi his younger brothers Peikthon and Peiktaung became kings and then King Peiktaung's younger brother Prince Saw Hkwei. While King Saw Hkwei was walking the forest, he was murdered by a horse-herder⁵; this horse-herder dressed himself in the king's robes of office, took the throne, and became king.

As for this horse-herder, a slave woman of a rich man of Kokkotaungma village was guarding an open field when she had to do with an ogre; when the son she bore was of an age to work, he was put to pasturing and caring for the horses, but he lost a horse.

2. I.e. "Sun spirit of the Pyu."¹

3. The mention of Burmese historical plays at this early date is interesting, but it may only mean "Songs of Celebration": *pwe* has a rather wide range of meanings.

4. A remarkable statement, but this is no place to do more than to draw attention to it.

5. Reading *myin kywei* for *min kywei*.

Being afraid of his master, he ran away. He came to the court where, being strong and quick, he was set to herding the king's horses.

The counsellors killed this horse-herder, and put Prince Theinhka, of the royal line of the Sun-kings, upon the throne. King Theinhka's son Theinhkun and his younger brother Nga Hkwei of Salei deprived him of the throne and remained upon it for three months. The younger brother escaped to Dala and remained there in hiding. Theinhkun's son Shweilaung, King Shweilaung's son Htundwin, King Htundwin's son Shweihmauk, Shweihmauk's brother Htunlut, King Htunlut's son Sawhkinnit, Sawhkinnit's son Hkelu, Hkelu's son Pyinpya, and Pyinpya's son Kannel became kings. Nga Hkwei of Salei made submission to King Kannel, but as the king was on his way to his stables Nga Hkwei of Salei murdered him and became king himself. This Nga Hkwei of Salei was a harsh and violent man, and since by oppression and murder he reduced whole families which had been noble to destitution, the counsellors assassinated him and placed his son, Prince Theinhko, upon the throne. It was this King Theinhko who went into a field belonging to the chieftain of a hill tribe above Nyaungu and picked his cucumbers and ate them, for which the hill chief struck him with a pitchfork and killed him. The king's groom took the chieftain away and told the queen what had happened; she, being afraid that the people might panic, placed the hill chief upon the throne.

During the reign of this hill chief, in 312 B.E. [A.D. 950] the day came when Kwanzawya of Kyaungbyu was destined to become king. Thagyamin handed over to him the Ayeindama spear, the Ayeindama sceptre, the Thilawuntha sword, the ruby head ornament and the spirit horse that flies, and as he rode upon his way all through the city the rumor ran that the king-to-be was coming. The hill chief came out to the front of the palace and said, "What king can come while I live?" but someone, in fear but seeming bold, strangled him and threw him down from the palace. As soon as he was dead, the new king entered the palace and took over the kingdom.

The ancestry of the Kyaungbyu prince was this: At the time when Nga Hkwei betrayed King Kannel, King Kannel's chief queen, to protect the child she carried, took flight and hid. She eventually gave birth at Kyaungbyu. They continued to live in that place and became known as the Kyaungbyu queen and prince. When the prince grew up he used to bring *pan* leaves in to market. After he had sold them he used each day to make an offering of a handful of the rice that he was going to eat to the spirit of a certain *shisha* tree, and, for this grace, the tree spirit brought it about that he should become king. He married the three queens of the hill chief, the Northern Queen, the Center Queen and the Southern Queen, who were sisters, and made them his own queens. Of the three, the Southern Queen was the mother of Kyizo -- she was with child by the hill chieftain and gave birth to Kyizo after the Kyaungbyu Prince gained the throne. The Center Queen was the mother of Sokkatei while the Northern Queen was the mother of Anawrahtazaw. Kyizo and Sokkatei conspired together, went in to where King Kyaungbyu was hearing a sermon and forced him to become a monk.

After King Kyaungbyu's abdication Kyizo became king followed by his brother Sokkatei who took possession of the Northern Queen before Anawrahta was ever weaned; Anawrahta he called his brother's son. When he was thus addressed, he went to his father the Kyaungbyu Prince and questioned him. "Your brother Sokkatei," he was told, "has taken your mother for himself and placed her upon the throne; for this reason he calls you his brother's son." At this he was furious with his brother; he demanded the spear and sword that his father still had and took them and went to live in the valleys of the Kyaukpadaung hills. There a band of warriors joined him, and he sent a letter to his brother saying, "If it is to be war, let us fight; if it is the palace, hand it over!" A reply was sent saying, "If you say I am to war with one whose mother's milk is not yet out of him, come on! We will fight in single combat, but come quickly!"

Now, in the year 376 B.E. [A.D. 1014], Prince Anawrahtazaw took the Ayeindama spear which his father had given him and came down from Kyaukpadaung with 3,000 followers. He drew up his force south of Pagan and sent a message, "Your brother has come. Come out, Brother!" Sokkatei issued from the city with a great force of cavalry, infantry, and elephants and offered battle. His brother Anawrahtazaw came out from among his guard and said, "Brother, make your cast quickly," and Sokkatei took a spear and hurled it. But Anawrahta with an ordinary spear turned it aside so that it hit nobody. "Throw once again," he said and seven more times he cast. Though his brother thus kept on casting, just as at first, he used his ordinary spear to turn the casts aside, so that they hit no one and no danger or injury was caused. Then Prince Anawrahta, saying, "I have stood up to many spear-casts from my brother;

now I will make one cast; make yourself ready for it," let fly with his spear. The spear pierced him straight through the throat. Sokkatei fell dead and was thus totally worsted.

Anawrahtazaw became king in the year 1561 of the Buddhist era and 379 of the Burmese [A.D. 1017]. Before accepting the crown himself, he went to his father and begged him to return to the laity, giving up his monkhood, and to take the throne himself. The Kyaungbyu Prince, however, replied, "I will not change my robes and I will remain a monk." He was therefore given the title of "Great Monk and Elder Prince" and the right to use the white canopy; he was made Prince of the monks and from that time to this he has been famous as the "Elder Prince."

Nine years after Anawrahta's accession, a high monk came, named the lord *arahat*, Dwe Arahan, and the king honored him greatly. He was much devoted to the Religion and therefore conveyed the Lord Buddha's tooth relic from China to Ceylon for worship. The Religion flourished greatly. In the year 416 [A.D. 1054] the King, ministers, officers, people, and monks of Thahton carried the three Pitakas of the scriptures upon thirty-three white elephants to Pagan Arimaddana and brought them there.⁶ In the year 421 [A.D. 1059], when he had built three stages only of the Shweizigon Pagoda and had not yet finished it, the king died.

Anawrahtazaw's son Saw Lu became king, but Ngayaman took the throne from him and caused his downfall. But even after Saw Lu's abdication, Ngayaman could not enter the city because the ministers closed the gates and told him that he would have to deal with his enemy Kyanzittha first; he might be king only if he could beat Kyanzittha. He obeyed and without entering the city went upriver to Myitnya, Kyanzittha's headquarters, with all his land and river forces. Kyanzittha gathered a great army at Htihlaingshington, the place where he won his kingdom, and attacked. Ngayaman's infantry broke and fled from the battle, down the river. As they fled, they were hard pressed both by land and water and Ngayaman took to a boat to go down. A hunter named Nga Zin lived at the top of a hill below Pagan. He saw Ngayaman come out and in confusion thought that the noise he made was a bird. The hunter Nga Zin loosed an arrow which hit Ngayaman and he died. After this, in the month of Tagu, Kyanzittha entered Pagan; the ministers and officers consulted together and invited him to be their king. He swore to keep faith with the ministers, officers, and soldiers and accepted the charge; he ascended the throne on the full moon day of Kahson.

After Kyanzittha became king, the Shweizigon Pagoda, Anawrahta's benefaction, which had only been completed up to the third stage on his death in 421, was extended and actually finished at sunrise on Wednesday, the 13th day of the waxing of Tazaungmon, in 438 B.E. [A.D. 1059]. The daughter to whom Kyanzittha's queen, Yadanadeiwi, gave birth was married to Saw Lu's son, Saw Ywan, the heir apparent, and she gave birth to a grandson, Alaungzithu. When he was fifteen years old, Kyanzittha placed him upon the throne, although his father was still living. Kyanzittha also brought out and summoned to the palace along with his mother the son, Thanbula, whom the high monk's niece had borne to him when he had lived in hiding in Anawrahtazaw's time. There is a common saying that "When the son is close, the grandson is distant." In this case, since the grandson had been put on the throne, it had to be said that, "When the grandson is close, the son is distant." He gave his son the seven districts to the south of Sagu which have the name Thirihkittaya and made him live in Sagu. King Kyanzittha made many benefactions; he came to the throne at sixty, ruled for twenty-five years and died at eighty-five.

His grandson Alaungzithu became king in 450 B.E. [A.D. 1088]. He is said to have owned the enchanted skiff, the Ayeindama spear, and the Ayeindama sceptre. In his magic boat, the enchanted skiff, he sailed all round the Zabudeik island and in 470 B.E. he reached the golden *thabyei* tree. Thagyamin gave him the title of Siri-taribhavanaraditya-pavara Pandita-dhammaraja Mahadhipati Narapati-sithu and also gave him his blessing. From the Indian country of Pateikkaya a princess was given to him. Thagyamin also gave him two images known as "the Fair Lord" and "the Beautiful Lord;" he installed these and did worship to them.⁸ Besides this, he performed many benefactions of building pagodas in all parts of the country.

6. The author does not mention that this was a military looting.

7. The Zabudeik island is marked by a golden *thabyei* tree at its end.

8. These stories are told at greater length on p.117 ff.

Alaungzithu's queen was Yadanabon, the youngest grandchild of Anawrahtazaw. The sons whom she bore were Prince Lyinzaw and his younger brother Nayathu. Their father Alaungzithu, when he had reason to be angry with the elder of these two sons, sent him away with an escort of 100,000 officers to Aungbinlei. When they reached their destination, he founded a city called Yathit on the Monkey Hill and they settled there. He found, however, that his horses, elephants, and farms did not thrive in that place and so he moved to a settlement nearer to the river. This settlement was called Myothit (new town), while the old city was known as Pyintha. He moved again from that place and settled to the south of the Myitngei river, and again to Bodet. He lived in this town, which is in the north; the town south of the Myitngei river was called Tabyettha. While at Bodet, he established the big reservoirs at the Kyunhla dam, the Tamokhso dam and Aungbinlei on a permanent basis. The Aungbinlei reservoir was completed at the end of 510 B.E. [A.D. 1148]a He was living at Tabyettha when his father died, and he failed to gain the throne since his younger brother Nayathu betrayed him. Nayathu invited his elder brother to come to Pagan and he came but he lived for only one night after taking the throne, for in the early morning next day Nayathu poisoned some food and gave it to him: he ate it and died. This brother became king in 520 B.E. [A.D. 1158]. During his reign he murdered the Indian princess who had been given him in marriage during his father's lifetime. The Indian king of Pateikkaya sent eight good soldiers to be revenged upon Nayathu of Pagan, disguised as astrologers and furnished with plenty of money to support themselves. They came and paid respects to Nayathu in all appearance as eight astrologers. These eight soldiers kept offering him charmed flowers; each day they offered them and when the opportunity arose, they set upon King Nayathu and killed him. For this reason he is known as the Kalakyamin (the King who fell to the Indians).⁹

The elder of the Kalakyamin's two sons, Prince Yinnayatheinhka, became king. In his reign there was found a girl spontaneously generated in a bamboo thicket in Hsingaung Wetwin and she was given to him. Since, however, he did not care for the size of her ears, which were large in the way of her people, he handed her over to his younger brother, Zeiyatheinhkathu. Later he lusted for her again and after three years his younger brother attacked him and deposed him. This brother, Zeiyatheinhkathuya became king in 536 B.E. [A.D. 1174] and assumed the name of Nayapatizithu

NOTE Nayapatizithu is said in some chronicles to have come to the throne in 526 B.E. In another chronicle known as *Samanta-cakku-dipani*, by the Shweigyaung Hsayadaw of Monywa Zeitawun, and in accordance with the *Pwinngonthit*, the date is given as 526 B.E. In four or five places in the *Maniyadanabon* it is shown as 536, and this must be taken into consideration.

When Nayapatizithu became king, seeing how easy it had been for him to conspire against his brother, he formed two separate bodies of his personal guard and his rowers. This king's chief queen gave birth to four sons, and the junior queen to one son and two daughters. He made a gift of the throne to his youngest son and when his father died this son, Zeiyatheinhka, became king. This Zeiyatheinhka's mother was a junior queen but he kept demanding the throne, and for this reason he is known as Nandaungmya (Importunate Demander of the Throne).¹⁰

King Zeiyatheinhka's son Kyazwa later became king. This King Kyazwa learned nine sections of the Tripitaka and taught many of the women of the palace. The country's affairs prospered. After King Kyazwa's death his son Okzana became king. During this king's reign the country's affairs prospered. He took great pleasure in elephant hunts and he had three sons. In the end, when he was engaged in taking a particularly violent elephant at Dala, he slipped and fell from his own elephant landing heavily upon a tree-stump. It was realized that he would die, and his eldest son, Thihathu, was making arrangements to take over the kingdom; the ministers and officers, however, were against him. Deceitfully they submitted to him that they all should go to Dala to the king's death-bed, there to make offerings and to pray for the royal family; he could arrange for his coronation at leisure when they got back, the prince and his nobles and generals all together. He made the mistake of listening; after he had gone to Dala and while he was doing reverence to his father's body on the funeral ground, he was attacked by these nobles and generals and there Thihathu died. From this they returned to Pagan and placed the younger son, Prince

9. Burmese chroniclers are in the habit of giving nicknames, often ironic, to the kings, the best known being Tayokpyemin, "The King who ran from the Chinese."
10. These tales are retold more fully on pp. 118, 120 and 125.

Hkweichei, upon the throne in 624 B.E. [A.D. 1262].¹ On becoming king he took the name of Nayathihapatei. He had four queens and three sons, but the chief queen, Bwazaw, was childless.

During this king's reign, in 636 B.E. [A.D. 1274], an embassy of 370 men came from the Chinese and arrived at court. Since the ambassadors did not comport themselves respectfully, the entire delegation were put to death and their bodies were thrown outside the city. When this news reached China, the Chinese immediately appointed a staff of generals over an army and marched in. King Nayathihapatei went out to meet them and offered resistance, but could not stand up to them; he returned to Pagan and in 647 B.E. [A.D. 1285] he fled down to Dala. When the Chinese found no one of the royal line in Pagan, and that the King had fled, they returned home. When King Nayathihapatei heard that they had gone, he decided to go back up from Dala immediately, without waiting to concentrate his army. His queen, Bwazaw, urged that he should not be in too much hurry, but he would not listen to her. He went up without taking any precautions and so Thihathu, his son, the lord of Prome went out to meet him with all his strength and surrounded him. Though he realized that poison had been prepared and put into the food which his son offered him, since he had fallen into his hands he had to eat it, and so died.

Pagan and Prome

Thihathu of Prome now fought his younger brother, Prince Kyawzwa of Pagan, and three years later Thihathu, lord of Prome met his end. Kyawzwa, his younger brother, became king in Pagan in 649 B.E. [A.D. 1287]. He took charge of the queen and other ladies of his father the king's palace, but though he cared for their support in this way, in his heart he took no pleasure in thus keeping them.

There were three brothers, named Yazathingyan, Thinkkaya, and Thihathu, who attended the king's court and served him. They after consultation and permission founded the city of Myinsaing and there established many chambered pagodas and cave monasteries. In 662 B.E. [A.D. 1300] the dams, pagodas, and monasteries which the king's grandfather and great-grandfather had built in the Five Districts were repaired in their name by the three brothers. They sent a deceitful submission to the king suggesting that he should come to inspect the caves and monasteries which they had repaired on behalf of the royal family. Believing in their good faith, Kyawzwa, king of Pagan, came to the rice lands with only a few advisors and guards; he entered the cave and they forced him to become a monk, and so they deposed him. While this was going on the Chinese came, and at Myinsaing they threatened war unless King Kyawzwa were handed over to them. For this reason the king was killed in 666 B.E. [A.D. 1304] and when they had been shown his head, the Chinese army withdrew.

After King Kyawzwa's deposition the three brothers took over the care of the ladies of the palace whom he had supported. Yazathingyan became ruler of Myinsaing, Thinkkaya of Methkaya, and Thihathu of Pinlei as three separate kingdoms.

In Pagan, however, Kyawzwa's son, Saw Nit, assumed the governance of the Golden Canopy and the Golden Palace.

Thus the three brothers remained in their three seats of Myinsaing, Methkaya, and Pinlei. Thinkkaya of Methkaya began his rule in 662 B.E. [A.D. 1300] and died in 667 [A.D. 1305]; Yazathingyan began to rule and died twelve years later [A.D. 1312]. After his two elder brothers were gone, Thihathu of Pinlei took over their principedoms and ruled them as King of Myinsaing. He made expeditions to found a city at Ava. He was not successful: the reason for this lack of success was on one occasion an ogre; on another a flood; on yet another interference and destruction by water creatures.

The Pinya Dynasty

After this, on a Wednesday in Tabaung in 674 B.E. [A.D. 1312] he founded, all at one time, seven cities -- Pinya, which is called Vijayapura; Shweigu, Shweizigon,

11. For a fuller account of these events see pp. 102 ff. This king has had a bad press. His personal name means -- or has been distorted to mean -- "dog's dung;" he is said to have been the son of a low-born concubine; finally he is forever the Tayokpyeimin, the "King who ran from the Chinese."

Atwinkyaungdaw, Nandaw, Kanhla, and Htauksheigan. In 679 B.E. [A.D. 1317] at Pinya in Nga Mwe's garden he caught a white elephant and is therefore known as the "Lord of One." He caught this white elephant before the city of Pinya was properly established.

Before all this took place, Pyawtheinhkabo, the father of the three brothers, had taken a spade and gone to the rice fields so that they might prosper. As he was going, lightning struck the back of the spade, and Pyawtheinhkabo said, "You son of a bitch, lightning! Strike in front and it's for me; you struck the back and the good luck is for my sons and grandsons." This Pyawtheinhkabo was the son of the Sawbwa Beinnayit.

To return to Thihathu, the Master of One, King Kyawzwa of Pagan had raised Minkhinzaw, the daughter of the eldest sister of Bwazaw, his father's queen, to be his own queen, also under the style of Bwazaw. When he took possession of the throne Thihathu, King of Pinlei, took this queen Bwazaw to himself, when she was three months and ten days pregnant of Okzana. This Okzana, the future founder of the Seven Monasteries,¹² his younger brother Kyawzwa, and the youngest of the brothers, Nawrahta, all were born in the palace of the Southern Queen. Thihathu also took the daughter of the chief of Linyin in the north and raised her to be queen under the style of Mahayadanadeiwi. The son whom she bore was Thinkkaya Saw Ywan. His daughter while she lived at Pinlei gave birth to two sons in the Northern Palace -- the Taungdwin Prince, Thihapatei, and Saw Pule.

He gave his eldest son the Eastern Palace as heir apparent.¹³ He gave Pinlei to Kyawzwa, his middle son, and to the youngest, Nawrahta, he gave the town of Shisha. To Saw Ywan, who was born in the Northern Palace, he gave Sagaing. Thinkkaya Saw Ywan was the original founder of Sagaing.

At about this time, Thihathu, the Master of One, wished to learn more about the dispositions and abilities of his sons. As he thought about them, he said, "My eldest son behaves to all men as a pot of cool water: the whole people have no fear or awe of him -- indeed it is as though they greatly love him. My son Kyawzwa, on the other hand, behaves like a hot fire and all men respect and fear him. Any prince who presents an aspect like the full moon high in the heavens seems to shine out from his retinue only, but all men are like to love him. My son's nature is not to blaze forth. A prince, on the other hand, who presents an aspect like that of the sun rising in splendor is not one to be beloved by men, but his brilliance is shown forth by the weight of his arm and by his glory and honor." He thought thus about the qualities of his sons and then summoned the eldest and made trial of him. He asked, "How many retainers do you have, my eldest son?"

"I estimate that I have ten thousand men with arms," his son replied.

His father congratulated him, saying, "What a son have I! With such force as that, what country could you not succeed in taking?"

He then summoned his middle son and asked, "When you need a force of arms, my son, how many men can you raise?"

"My lord, if there were a sudden outbreak of trouble, I, your son, can raise a thousand townsmen,¹⁴ he replied.

He congratulated him again saying, "With such a force as that, what country could you not succeed in taking?"

When he had thus established the forces and dispositions of the sons of the Southern Queen, he wished to find out about the abilities, intentions, and desires of Thinkkaya Saw Ywan, whom the Northern Queen had borne, and so summoned him and questioned him, "When you have need, young Ywan,¹⁵ how many followers can you get together?"

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12. These are the seven Saga monasteries which, according to the *Thathana linkaya Sadan* of Mahadama Thingyan, developed into the *pwegyaung* of later times. The Saga tree is the champak and the reason for this designation is obscure, but there may be a connection with the Mahagiri Nat.
 13. The Eastern Palace was always the place of the heir apparent who had a regular position and duties.
 14. Reading *ywa tha do* for *ywa ka tho* (Prof. Hla Pe's suggestion).
 15. Literally 'My little Ywan', a regular form of address from a King to inferiors.

"I, your son," Saw Ywan of Sagaing answered, "can raise eighty men, including personal guards, besides myself."

"My little Ywan," said Thihathu, Master of One, "after I am gone, they are certain to oppress you!"

Later he sent for Saw Ywan again and said to him, "You have elder brothers and so I cannot promise you a throne, and if you want horses and elephants, you will have to go before your brothers and ask them to allow that you should be given horses and elephants." Saw Ywan accordingly went before his elder brothers, Okzana and Kyawzwa and said, "If you will only ask our father, he'll let me have horses and elephants." The elder brothers, since he was their own little brother and they were fond of him, told their father what he had said, and the Master of One answered, "Is a grant of horses and elephants to him any business of my elder sons?"

They answered, "Even though you, our father and lord, do not want to give them, there is good grass and water at Sagaing; at least have them herded there where they will be healthy"

Pretending to be irritated with them, the King said, "Elephants are not for him; if you, my elder sons, want me to give them, however, let him take them."

Saw Ywan realized the drift of his father's intentions, chose what seemed to be the best of the elephants and took them.

Later the Master of One again sent for Saw Ywan, and again said to him, "If you want followers, young Ywan, get your two brothers to come to speak to me again."

Saw Ywan again spoke to his brothers in the same sort of terms as before, and the two princes spoke to the king. The Master of One replied, "Because my elder sons asked me, I have let him have horses and elephants; but, young Ywan, if I let you have an armed force, you will be plotting against me!"

The two elder princes put in, "Father and lord, while we are here, how could anyone like him dare?"

"If that is so," said the king, "let him take them." At that Saw Ywan picked out and led away a band of retainers who seemed to be good men

Since Thinkkaya Saw Ywan now had a large force of cavalry, infantry, and elephants, the Master of One thought it best to test out his disposition and accordingly sent for Okzana. "On the advice of my sons I have given an army with cavalry and elephants to Nga Ywan. Now that he has succeeded in getting a military force, when I summon him he does not come but stays at home. Since this has arisen, will you please bring him here with his wife, leaving his retainers with their horses and elephants behind," said the king. Okzana took his followers at once, crossed the river at Shweikyetyet, and set out to bring him back, but the Master of One sent word ahead saying, "Your brother Okzana is on his way; be ready to receive him well." Saw Ywan went out to meet him, forestalled his attack and broke up his force with all its cavalry and elephants. After this defeat Okzana went back. On his return the Master of One asked him, "Have you brought them both, husband and wife?" Okzana had to report that his brother had come out to meet him and routed him by his attack.

His father expressed disgust and reprimanded him. Then he sent for Kyawzwa and said, "Your young brother, now that he has horses and elephants, will not come when I send for him." He dispatched him to bring his brother back with his wife.

Kyawzwa, with a large force, including cavalry and elephants, crossed over at Tabeihtaukyit, and as soon as he had gone, the Master of One secretly sent word to say, "Your brother Kyawzwa is on his way; receive him well." Saw Ywan found Kyawzwa in a narrow place, attacked him, and broke his army. When his father the Master of One heard of the defeat of this army too, he pretended to be angry, but from that day he knew that he need have no concern or worry about Thinkkaya Saw Ywan, and rested well content.

The Master of One was a very intelligent king, and therefore, although he loved him above all his children, he could handle all the people and nobles who might be troubled by this so that they should not be disheartened. He dealt with foreign peoples and kings of other lands just like the sun which burns more fiercely than

any lantern, but he handled the people of his own country just as though he were carrying a jar of cool water in his hands.

The Master of One came to the throne at the age of thirty-three, ruled for twenty-two years and died at fifty-five.

After his father's death Okzana, of the royal line of the sun, came to the throne in 683 B.E. [A.D. 1321]a He confirmed his brother Nawrahta in the lordship of Shisha; he also confirmed his brother Kyawzwa in his lordship of Pinlei and his brother Thinkkaya Saw Ywan at Sagaing. During their father's reign Thinkkaya Saw Ywan had founded Thittat in 680 B.E. [A.D. 1318] and had had his house there. After Okzana came to the throne he founded Okmyo and settled there.

Prince Kyawzwa of Pinlei caught his first white elephant at Mondaw in 673 B.E. [A.D. 1311] and called it the Haingpule elephant. Later, again in Mondaw, the prince himself trapped and took the Pitsayanaga white elephant. He took the white elephant called Chitswamaye at Lunke island, the white elephant called Upawthada of the Right near the Samon river and that called Keithayaza again at Lunke.

King Okzana had never yet called Kyawzwa "brother." The reason for this was that when Thihathu, lord of Pinlei, became king, he took to be his queen Minhkinzaw, the daughter of the elder sister of Bwazaw, Nayathihapatei's queen. She had already been raised to be queen by Kyawzwa, of the line of the Pagan Kings,⁶ and when Thihathu became king she was already three months and ten days pregnant. She bore Okzana while she was Thihathu's queen, but he would never call Kyawzwa "brother" since their fathers were different.

Kyawzwa now sent a messenger to report these captures at the court. When he reported to Okzana that five white elephants had been taken, the king asked, "Has my young brother really taken five white elephants?" The messenger returned and reported these words to Kyawzwa, who was delighted at being referred to as "young brother" and made a gift of a young elephant to the messenger. He sent him again to court upon an errand and when he came back he reported that the King had again, just as before, referred to Kyawzwa as "my young brother;"⁷ he was presented with another bull elephant. Kyawzwa was very glad indeed that he was now called "young brother" by the king, since he had never been called so before. Since acquiring his principedom he had owned a bay horse, swift as a white elephant in its paces; its name was Cloud-spurner.

King Okzana when his young brother Kyawzwa took five white elephants became nervous and afraid. He took two points into consideration; first that, when it is necessary to deal with some flaming roaring fire, it can only be prevented from destruction by putting it out before it has taken a firm hold and that after it has taken hold it can no longer be extinguished; second, that a king's power is only established for a short time, like a sudden freshet of water -- that there is no one who does not covet his rule and that he meets with nothing but envy -- all that he can do is to act to enlarge the love and to curtail the hatred that he experiences. Consequently he sent for his brother and said, "I am handing over to you my golden canopy and throne. I wish to continue my life in almsgiving and good works. Take, brother, the crown and throne."

Kyawzwa accepted the charge and returned to Pinlei where he got his retinue together, along with his cavalry and elephants and set out for the capital. King Okzana left by the East gate⁷ and went to live in Methkaya, while, at the same time his brother entered by the West and occupied the palace. King Okzana had a precedent for his action, in that King Athadeiktha¹⁸ upon his father's death resigned the throne to his younger brother; Okzana knew of this precedent and followed it. After his abdication he founded the Sigongyi in the southwest quarter of Methkaya; he begged land for a religious foundation from Kyawzwa and donated it, dedicating it as an ordination ground. King Okzana came to the throne at the age of twenty-two, ruled for twenty years and was forty-two when he abdicated. He lived for seven more years and died at forty-nine after performing many works of merit. He left three sons.

16. This is of course the earlier Kyawzwa whom Thihathu and his brothers deposed, not the Kyawzwa who was Thihathu's son.

17. Cf. Dhammapada Commentary, xx, 6.

18. In the Asadisa Jataka (no. 181).

Ngazishin Kyawzwa became king in 744 B.E. [A.D. 1382] and ruled the country. To his brother Nawrahta, the Lord of Shisha, he gave Pinlei as well. Not long afterwards this brother, having a grudge against Ngazishin, joined his younger brother Thinkkaya Saw Ywan of Sagaing. The Sagaing prince gave him the town of Kanni and he became known as Nawrahta of Kanni. The line of descendents of this Nawrahta of Kanni received the title of Sithukyawhtin in Salin and later one of them became king under the title of Nayapati.

Ngazishin's three sons were called, the eldest Okzana the Eunuch, the middle Kyawzwa and the youngest Mawba ("Taken by the Maw" -- his original name was Nayathu). He also had three daughters who were Pahtonigadaw, Myinsaing Kodawgyi and Shwei Einthi. The Pahtonigadaw was married to Gonnandayin, lord of Nyaungshwei and Thagaya. The Myinsaing Kodawgyi was married to the younger Thetdawshei. It was the intention of their father that Shwei Einthi should be dedicated as an unmarried princess, but before she was dedicated she was struck by small-pox and she became blind. She was therefore known as Mimyethla (Miss Pretty-eyes). She was married to Minpule, the son of Lanbuyandathu. In this condition she gave birth to Prince Diga and Prince Pu. Prince Diga married the daughter of Saw Munnit, lord of Nyaungyan, and in this marriage she gave birth to the Mohnyin Mintaya. This Mohnyin Mintaya, because he was born in Nyaungyan, after he became king over his birthplace, founded and dedicated the Shwezigon pagoda and monastery there.

About this time Lanbuyandathu, the Myinsaing Thetdawshei, Saw Munnit of Nyaungyan, Watithinkkaya, Gonnandayit of Thagaya, Theikpateigy of Yameithin, and Hpayinbanyagyi, the lord of Yindaw came to pay respects to Ngazishin. After the tea which was to be placed before these princes had been put into the serving vessel, the king himself cut out the covers made of leaf, set them on and handed them to the princes. Carelessly, for two or three days together, he gave his share to Theikpatei of Yameithin without setting the cover upon it. Theikpatei felt insulted and refused to take from the vessel set before him, but would only take from Saw Munnit's of Nyaungyan. There was a close friendship between these two princes, and when Saw Munnit asked Theikpatei about his refusal to take his own tea, he replied, "Brother, Ngazishin, the Master of Five White Elephants, has in front of this assembly put to shame a man like me, who am the master of sixty war elephants. While he is prepared to recognize special help and favor given by others, he does not recognize mine, and so I am thinking about withdrawing my support from him."

Saw Munnit of Nyaungyan answered, "Brother, this leafcover business is not worth a bean. I will go and see what our lord the King has to say about it."

When he spoke to Ngazishin, Ngazishin replied, "I didn't put on the cover because I quite forgot about it."

He answered, "My lord King, your servant Theikpatei is resentful because he thinks that he has been shamed in the assembly by being given his vessel uncovered when everyone else had his covered, and that though the banana leaf may not be worth a broken grain of rice or a bean this did happen, even if it is of no material consequence. Therefore he is entertaining thoughts in his mind which have no business there."

Ngazishin said, "Prince Saw Munnit, thoughts of a man in his position against one such as I am, Master of Five White Elephants, can come to nothing. I know well how to keep in control even men of the greatest strength and temper. People will naturally say that he is purely insolent. Just as a little hare has no chance of escape from the clutches of Keithayaza, the kingly lion, where could he escape to from the power of my arm for all his quarrelsome bragging?"

Ngazishin thus proclaimed his authority, "How can he brave a king such as I, either my own personal power and strength or the great glory and wisdom conferred upon me?" Nevertheless he sent for Theikpatei, forgave him his offence and presented him with a dark grey horse.

What Ngazishin had in mind was this: In the Law which the Lord preached it is said that it is right that kings above all should be able to forgive matters which others can not -- that though other men's wrath can burst forth in fury, kings must contain theirs within themselves -- that kings cannot act openly upon others, since their anger, even if only slight, if openly shown, can cause damage enough to scare them to death. With this in mind he relied upon the Law and forgave him.

Virtues which are to be shown by ministers and officers are five; these five are -- the virtue of good gold, which is known by the touchstone; the virtue of a good horse, which is known by his rider; the virtue of a good elephant, which is known upon the battle-field; the virtue of wise men, which is known in the unforeseeable crisis; and the virtue of men of strong arm and good disposition, which is the virtue which becomes apparent among princes who have the desire for praise, and to be spoken of for their honor, fame, glory, reputation and descent.

Theikpatei of Yameithin was an excellent minister in his disposition, displaying these five virtues and Ngazishin was a king who knew better than the kings of all other lands how to bring forward those who were of good disposition: people likened them to honey and butter.

I Minyaza's tale of how Ngazishin, now paying full attention to
I what he did, instructed his ministers in the gain and loss of
I benefits
I

Since he had erred through carelessness, failing owing to inattention to give to each what was his due, Ngazishin now became very mindful.

"Ministers," he said, "there is great virtue and prosperity for those committed to watchfulness and care, only ruin for the careless. As for the manner of it, it is as when in the land of Kawthanbi there was a girl;¹ she was sixteen years old, a lady free of the six faults of undue shortness, over-tallness, excess of darkness or of pallor, over-thinness and over-plumpness; full of the five perfections of skin, flesh and muscle, bone, age, and voice; of a beauty which could light up an eighteen-foot room without resorting to a lamp; she was also wonderfully clever at dancing and singing. Because of her superiority in her village she had the name of Village Virtue. While she was singing and dancing at a festival, all the people were watching, cheering and praising her, and showering upon her presents of clothes and other things. The king of that country heard the sound of cheering, and had a thief who was in his prison brought out to him. The thief was made to hold an oil lamp, filled right up to the brim, steadily in his two hands, and another man, holding a drawn sword, was charged with conducting him among all the people to the place where Village Virtue was dancing. The king's orders were that if the thief spilled a single drop of oil upon the ground his throat should be cut. The man brought out the thief under the threat of the drawn sword, and the fear of death terrified him. He wanted to live, and so he did not relax his attention for an instant, holding his oil lamp carefully, until they reached the required place, without once turning his eyes to look at Village Virtue. He thus escaped his danger.

Again,² when in the land of Bayanathi Prince Brahmadat was wondering whether he would become king or no, he put the question to a certain Pacceka Buddha who regularly came to his palace to be fed.

He was told, "You will never be king in this country. If, however, you go from here for fifty leagues in a straight line, or take a roundabout route of two thousand leagues, you have the opportunity of becoming king in Tetkatho in the land of Gandayayitn. Of these two routes, the direct route of fifty leagues lies through an uninhabited desert of five dangers. On this route live ogres who deceive travellers by appearances of shape, of sound, of smell, of taste, and of touch in various ways and eat them. Only one who can go with concentrated mind, free from the distractions of the five senses will have the chance to be King."

"Very well," said the prince, "I accept my Lord's advice, and I shall go." He set out with five servants. They met with the ogres, but the five servants could not control the attention which they paid to the appearances of form, of sound, of smell, of taste, and of feeling which the ogres set before them, and they became food for the ogres. The prince, however, although they pursued him showing him all sorts of illusions, controlled his attention by the concentration of his mind, and could thus come through free; and so he came to be king.

1. This is a slight elaboration of a tale in the Telapatta Jataka (non 26)
2. Also from the Telapatta Jataka

Considering this, people who frequent the courts of kings and men of good position, such people when it is dark and they have to go in places which are uneven, precipitous, with creeks and rivers or with mineshafts, they do not relax their attention; only those who go slowly, feeling their way with a staff or spearshaft, will reach their destination. Those who relax their concentration and rush unthinkingly, these slip upon the precipices and die. They encounter mortal sickness, maiming, loss of property, and the curses of others. For this reason you must carry on your business, important or not, without any failure of mindfulness.

This is one example

There are two examples of how it is profitable to act with circumspection, forethought, and consideration, while action that is impulsive, thoughtless, and rash brings no benefit. A young hare^ñ was asleep under a palm tree in the Himawunta forest when he was startled by a nut breaking off and falling at the foot of the tree; he jumped up and ran. The other forest dwellers asked why he came fleeing thus, and when they heard his incoherent mumble, which sounded like "The world came apart! The world came apart!" they all began to run too without consideration, investigation, or thought; in this way all these creatures who could not calculate rushed into the sea and came to their destruction. Keithayaza, however, the Lion King, as he questioned all the creatures to learn all about the affair, said to them, "This is not fitting; you wait a little longer: I will get to the bottom of this." He kept making his enquiries until he was certain that there was no truth in the rumor: then he told the others and restored peace to the inhabitants of the Himawunta forest.

This is one example.

Many merchants^ñ stayed at the campground near a certain village, but near that village grew a poison-tree, the fruit of which was just like a mango, both in appearance and scent. People who happened to eat this fruit thinking that it was a mango became sick and vomited so as almost to die. One of the merchants, he who was to become the Buddha, investigated this sickness: it seemed to him that if that tree were good to eat from, it would have no leaves or fruit left on it; as it was, however, it was covered all over with ripe fruit as though it were not fit to pick. Therefore he enquired from the people of the village about it, and they told him that it was in fact poisonous. When he heard this, he kept those who had not yet eaten from the tree from eating, and with medicine helped those who had eaten, soothing them in their retchings by giving them bland food to eat.

Ngazishin kept these examples, whether story or fact, in mind and in future was always careful to give his due to everyone.

This is another example.

[Minyaza's account of a pretended monk in Ngazishin's time

One day, just as it was nearly time for Ngazishin to call for his dinner, a certain pretended monk came into the front part of the palace to beg for his food and stood there. Ngazishin asked him why he was standing there. When he replied that he was waiting to beg his food, Ngazishin said, "I will send for food,"^ñ washed his hands and with glad heart handed over to that monk the entire meal that was set out upon his serving tray.

Ngazishin was very happy and said, "He came to beg food well past the usual time -- it is almost midday."^ñ He must be an *arahat* of exceptional powers and wisdom, who came specially to give me, the king, an opportunity of winning merit."^ñ

He spoke with great joy, and sent one of his servants to follow the monk and to watch him, to see where he went, and to find out all about him. The servant followed

3. From the Daddabha Jataka (no. 322)^ñ

4. From the Phala Jataka (non 54 - see also no. 366)^ñ

1. After which a monk may not eat.

2. Cf. Dhammapada Commentary, x, 11, where a Pacceka Buddha appears before Bhatta bhatika expressly for giving him an opportunity of winning merit and vanishes after receiving his alms.

and watched, but when the monk handed his begging bowl over to a woman, he saw that he was no good monk, but a fraud. When he saw this the servant thought anxiously, "If I tell the king all about this monk, not only will the kindly feeling that is his present mood be broken up, but I shall lose honor. Since this is so, I must preserve my honor and make the most of the merit which the king has earned by his kind action." With this resolve he returned to the palace.

The king immediately questioned his servant who answered, "Lord of Life, what my glorious lord King said is true, that this must be an *arahat* of exceptional power and wisdom. I followed and watched him, but I could not tell with my sight where he went. The monk simply vanished.¹"

On this report Ngazishin said, "I was sure that I was right," and made the servant his right-hand man. A little later word came to him that the ruler of Pinya had sent him a bay horse and he said, "This is the result of the merit that I earned."¹

Later on Ngazishin learned that that monk was in fact a fraud. He asked his ministers, "How many kinds of servants are there?"

"There are servants like boats, servants like cattle, servants like parrots, servants like geese, servants like elephants, and servants like horses, they say; six sorts in all," answered the ministers.

"Ministers, among the six sorts, he who reported to me so as to make the most of my meritorious intention is a servant like a parrot," said the king, giving him further praise and rich rewards.

Ngazishin went on to say, "Ministers, as regards my horse, the bay, when I was riding him from Pinya to Kyetthet, we came to Kyettet in Taungdwingyi and as I rode him through a sorghum field in a big turban, it seemed to those who saw that a white egret was flying past; now which of these four horses would be the fastest, my bay, or Nayapatizithu's horse named Kaungginhkwe (Heaven Cleaver), also called Thudawzin, or Alaungzithu's horse named Wutmonmakywe (Doesn't Shake Dust from your Clothes) which drew the famous spirit car, or the Tamil King Eilaya's horse named Beikmanwaya (Temple Weapon)?" "The bay horse set out from Kyetthet in the morning and by night reached Kyettet in Taungdwingyi, Kaungkinhkwe was ridden out from the Chindwin valley just at sunrise and by the dusk of evening reached Thithseinhitsaya. The horse which drew the spirit car, it is said, came ten times to Pagan bringing champak buds from Mount Popa. Beikmanwaya, it was said, completed a journey of three yozanas," the ministers reported.

"Yes, but which of them was fastest?" asked the king.

"We must reply to Your Majesty's question as follows," said the ministers. "Those in the king's employment, at a time when it is right to speak exactly, must speak exactly, as their master requires. At a time when it is right to minimize, they must minimize. When it is right to exaggerate, they must exaggerate. They have to speak having due regard to time and place and considering the circumstances. If they speak without considering first, without thinking of or respect for the time, they will not attain any intelligent end. In this case, since it would not attain any desirable end, it is hard for us to venture a decision." So saying, they took their leave.

{ Minyaza's examples of how, on the right occasion, one should
 {
 { speak and keep silence when silence is right

"One should keep this rule in mind and always consider carefully the time and the place; in accordance with this rule one should speak only when the right moment has come. If you speak at the wrong moment, you will receive only mockery and blame from other people. Those who speak out at the right moment will have the praise of wise men and will do well.

"It is like this: In the time of King Brahmadata in Bayanathi there was a certain cross-eyed, gap-toothed Brahman priest.¹ This priest came to know that his wife was deceiving him with another priest who happened to look just like himself. He tried to put a stop to the affair, but could not, and so he plotted to have his enemy killed,

1. From the Takkariya Jataka (no. 481)r

not in a way that would involve himself in violence, but by deceiving the King.

"My King," he said, "among all islands the Zabudeik island takes precedence; among all cities this royal city takes precedence; among all kings you, my King, take precedence. It will be well if you will rehallow and rebuild anew the south gate by which you move out of the city."

The king agreed and gave orders that lucky timbers and anything else that the Brahman wanted should be brought.

"My lord King," he then said, "since tomorrow morning will be a lucky time, I shall set up the gate-posts then. Will you arrange for the offering to the spirits?"

The king asked what was required and he replied, "Since at this moment a spirit of particularly great power is in charge, along with many other offerings a pair of Brahmans of pure race, male and female, with cross-eyes and gap-teeth must be found and killed, and their flesh and blood offered and their bodies buried under the gate-posts: then you, my King, will have great prosperity and the city will be properly established."

"Very well," said the King, "I consent."

The Brahman was delighted at the idea that he would be watching the death of his enemy, and went rejoicing home. He could not restrain his words, but called right out to his wife, "Hey you worthless slave, after today who will you take your pleasure with? Tomorrow I'm having your lover sacrificed and killed."

"He's done nothing, why should he be killed?" she asked.

When her husband explained how he had arranged for him to be killed, the Brahman's wife sent a messenger to run quickly in secret to her lover. When he had heard the whole story this couple of Brahmans, who, it must be remembered, looked just like the wronged husband, ran away together.

In the morning, not knowing that his enemy had in fact escaped, the Brahman priest went early to the king's palace; there he told them that in a place called such-and-such there was a Brahman of such-and-such an appearance and that he should be brought. The king sent his servants, but they reported that the man had fled. They were told to find another one like him, but though they went round the whole city searching they could find none and reported that except for the Brahman priest there was no body else.

The king felt that it would not be right to put his Brahman priest to death, but his ministers submitted that because of the priest the gates had been taken down and that if they could not be replaced that day the city would not be safe; if a Brahman were not buried that day, it would be another year, and if there were no gate for a whole year, would their enemies not use the opportunity? "Would it not be best to make another Brahman the priest and bury this one under the gate-post?"

"Whom should I appoint to be priest?" asked the king.

"Young Tetkariya, this Brahman's pupil, would be a good choice," suggested the Ministers.

Tetkariya was summoned and given the position of priest, with many offerings and much esteem. When this had been done, in order to arrange for the hallowing of the place where the gate was to be set up, the young man Tetkariya, who was to become the Buddha in the future, went to the place of the gate and inspected it. Then he had a pit dug and had it surrounded with wicker screens. Afterwards, on the king's authority, he bound the old Brahman priest and brought him to the building. When he was put inside the screens, the Brahman priest looked at the pit and could not maintain his countenance.

"I was a fool," he said to the Buddha-to-be, "I did not hold my tongue and told how my enemy would be destroyed, and so I have encompassed my own death."

"It is not only, teacher, because you failed to hold your tongue that you are brought to a desperate state. Other people too must come to it," he answered. "Teacher, do not be afraid; I have a plan to give you your life -- but watch what you say in future!"

"The crucial moment has not yet come!" he then announced. He let the day pass, and at dead of night a dead goat was brought and he made the offering to the spirits from that goat's flesh and sent his teacher far away.

"In this story, the Brahman, by not guarding his tongue when he should have waited for the right time to speak, brought himself near to his own death, but was saved and set right by the young man Tetkariya, the Buddha-to-be.

"This is another example.

"As for loss by failing to guard one's tongue, Keithayaza, the Lion King,² said to a young lion who was born from his own affair with a lady jackal, 'Do not call out! If you make a noise and the creatures of the forest hear, they will say you have a jackal's voice and cease to respect you. Keep silence and I will give you a thousand forests.'

"In spite of this offer, he did not keep silence but called aloud. The forest creatures all heard and ceased to give respect and he did not get his thousand forests. The Lion King saying that to stay silent is worth a thousand forests is an example.³

"In this story the young lion failed to get his thousand forests by failing to guard his tongue and stay quiet.

"As an example of the benefit which comes from remaining silent and speaking only when a point is reached when speech is called for, in the land of Bayanathi⁴ a certain hunter went to the Himawunta forest and as he set traps in all sorts of ways he caught a pair of Keinnayas⁵ and presented them to the king. The king had never seen such creatures as this pair of Keinnayas before and was delighted with them; he asked, "What are these creatures good for?"

"He was told, 'When they sing, they can sing with the most beautiful voices, and when they dance, nobody can dance like they can.'

"The king was pleased and rewarded the hunter. He kept saying over and over to the Keinnayas, 'Come on now, sing - go on, dance.'

"But the Keinnayas thought, 'In this business of singing and dancing we can't sing properly in verses and words and letters like people; if he doesn't like our singing and dancing, if he scolds us, it will just be a scolding and even if he kills us it will just be a killing, but if there are too many words, it may give a false impression.' So for fear of giving a false impression they remained silent.

"But the king at last grew angry and said, 'You aren't spirits and you aren't people; it's only as meat for my curry that that slave's son, the hunter, brought you in. I'll have one of you cooked for supper and one for breakfast.'

"The Keinnayas thought, 'The King is angry and will slaughter us for sure. It will be best to speak; now is the time to speak.' So the female said, 'Great King, a hundred thousand speeches which are not well said are not equal to one which is well said -- not worth even a sixteenth. For this reason we were afraid of speaking badly and so kept silent.'

"When he heard this, the king was very pleased with her and gave orders that the female Keinnaya should be taken to her home in the Himawunta forest and released and that the male should be taken to the royal kitchen for his own breakfast. At this the male Keinnaya said to himself, 'If I don't talk, I'll be killed for sure; it's best to speak.' So he said aloud, 'Great King, all cattle eat the grass and leaves and therefore the rain receives the reverence of all the cattle. People rely upon the savor of the five products of the cattle, and since they maintain their life with them, cattle receive the reverence of all people. In the same way we rely very much upon each other, and if you release both of us we shall return together to the

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2. In the Sihakolthuka Jataka: this crossbred cub had his father's form but his mother's voice.
 3. Judson gives a proverb, "Silence is worth a thousand.'
 4. From the Takkariya Jataka (no. 481) again.
 5. Mythological creatures, half human, half bird.

Himawunta forest. Assuredly when we die we shall be separated, but while we live it is not right to separate us. The great king can indeed send this female Keinnaya to the Himawunta forest, but if she is separated from me before it is time for us to die she will pine in most pitiable grief. Please to kill me first and then send her to the Himawunta forest. I did not remain silent out of caprice, but because I could see the fault that lies in verbiage, and so I stayed mum without speaking.'

"When he heard such words from the two Keinnayas the king was very pleased with them. He housed them in a golden cage and had the hunter convey them carefully back to where he had caught them in the Himawunta forest.

In this matter the two Keinnayas kept a guard upon their tongues and spoke only when the time was right; they were therefore set free from the danger of death.

This is another example.

All in all then, the following causes of blame fall upon those who use to talk very much: they fail to remember the order of their talk so as to be consistent; they say things which are not so, but false; they make mistakes and pronounce truth to be false and falsehood true; even when they do speak the truth, others are unwilling to believe them; when they talk excessively, others will not pay attention, and so on. For this reason it is good to speak only when the right time comes. Here is an example of the trouble that can come from overmuch talking.

There was a certain Brahman priest⁶ in the land of Bayanathi, and when he went in among the king's courtiers no one else had a chance of saying a word. Ceaselessly he, and he alone, held forth until the king of the country made a deaf mute, who was good at flicking pellets, sit behind a screen with a hole in it in front of the priest as he was talking away. Each time the priest opened his mouth in talking, from behind the screen he flicked a goat's turd into it. In his eagerness to talk the priest did not notice that goats' turds were going into his mouth; they mixed with his saliva and were swallowed until after a whole gallon of goats' dung had gone the king said, 'Priest, stop talking now. A gallon of goats' dung has gone in your belly; you'd better go home and sort out your guts.'

"He went home, took a purge to clear his belly of the goats' dung and evacuated it. But from that time the priest was much ashamed, and though he went to the royal occasions and festivals held around the king, he stayed as quiet as a pot turned upside down.

"You must keep these examples in your mind, and not talk on babbling like a never-stopping running brook. If you guard your tongue properly, you will stay quiet and, when you speak, speak well and to the point for the general benefit when the time is right for you to speak.

"This is another exemplar

¶ Examples of gratitude submitted by Minyaza

"At one time Ngazishin sent an agent to assassinate his younger brother Thinkkaya Saw Ywan, the Lord of Sagaing. The agent whom he sent came to the city of Sagaing and, though he sought for an opportunity to carry out the assassination, he could not find one, and he remained in hiding with no chance of eating for seven whole days. On the seventh day, just as an opportunity arose, Thinkkaya Saw Ywan offered up to the Mahagiri Nat a full dish of rice with curry sauce, placed together in a golden vessel. Ngazishin's agent got up to do the deed, but the curry and rice in the Mahagiri Nat's shrine before the palace smelled delicious and he had not eaten for seven days, so he picked up the Nat's rice and ate it. Then he went to Thinkkaya Saw Ywan's bed and sat by its head; he pondered thus:

"I have eaten his rice: if I strike at the provider of this rice I should be deeply sorry." He sat on, wondering what to do and doing nothing. "But if I go back and say I only thought about it and have done nothing, the king, the lord of life, will

6. From the Salittaka Jataka (no. 107)r

be angry; he will punish me and, for this life, I am a dead man. But if I do strike at this King, who is the provider of this rice vessel, in the next life I am sure to be born in the lower world or as a person of no account at any rate." He stayed by the head of the bed, drawing his sword and sheathing it again, over and over. "If I go back without doing it, even if I tell him that I got to the head of the king's bed, he'll never believe me. He is sure to think I'm lying."

Therefore, to make sure that the king would believe that he had truly stood at the head of the bed, he took the ruby-mounted sword, which in days gone by the Master of One, his royal father, had given to Thinkkaya Saw Ywan, the Lord of Sagaing for him to use, and went away.

Ngazishin immediately asked him, "Is it done?"

The agent gave him a frank account of what had happened and said, "Since I thought that Your Majesty would not believe me, I brought away the Lord of Sagaing's ruby-mounted sword, which your royal father once gave him as a present for him to use." He handed it over to the King.

Ngazishin was not angry. "This servant of mine," he said, "on account of just one pot of rice that he ate, did not consider all the rewards that he might receive, and did not shrink from the danger to which his master's wrath might bring him. You did indeed show gratitude to him."

The agent answered thus, "For the gratitude which I showed, I should receive long life and the praise of men and the society of virtuous friends."

"Can you quote me an example?" said Ngazishin.

"Lord of life," said the agent, "long ago in the island of Ceylon there reigned a king, named Thingabawdi. Then the Kyei² people came and made war to seize the throne and Thingabawdi the king decided that it was not right to bring his people to disaster for the sake of his own rule, and that all creatures ought to remain in prosperity. Consequently, without resistance or fighting, he relinquished his throne and went to a dense forest. For seven whole days he had no food to call on, and then one day he saw a young peasant coming, carrying a bundle of curry. His hunger was agonizing, so he called to the young man and said, "Young man, it is seven days since I last ate. Please give me just half the curry and rice that you have in your bundle. I shall be very grateful."

The young man offered the king the bundle of rice which he had brought for his own meal. King Thingabawdi, since he had not eaten for seven days, ate it eagerly and said, "I am Thingabawdi, the lord of this land. Cut off my head and take it to the Kyei chieftains and give it to them. The Kyei chiefs will reward you so that you will eat well all the rest of your life."

The peasant shrank from the idea. "Even if they reward me, I can't cut off the king's head."

Thingabawdi was a great king, full of kindness, good principles and good conduct. He took an oath that his head would be cut off immediately and that the young man's generosity would be rewarded. His head then fell off of its own accord. The young peasant took Thingabawdi's head to the Kyei chiefs and gave it to them. They were very pleased with him and rewarded him richly.

This is another example.

In the land of Yazagyo there was a Brahman named Yada, and though he begged all the monks to ordain him, none of them was willing to make him a monk. When, however, he went to Shin Tharipoktra, he ordained that Brahman as a monk. The Excellent Lord heard about this, called Shin Tharipoktra to him and said, "My dear son, Tharipoktra, when all the other monks refused to ordain Yada the Brahman as a monk, why did you ordain him?"

1. Source not known to me, presumably a Ceylon chronicle.
2. Presumably he means Tamils.

"My Lord of Great Glory, this Brahman, Yada, once gave me soup to eat: I was grateful and so I ordained him."

The Excellent Lord turned his head and praised him in his beautiful voice, saying³ "Well done; well done. There is no one like my dear son Tharipoktra in the matter of showing gratitude."

This is another example.

[Minyaza's examples of failure rising from ingratitude

There are examples of detriment which arises from ingratitude, such as when, at the time when our Lord-to-be was born as the monkey Mahakapila,¹ the Brahman who was to become Deiwadat was tracking a cow which had strayed and was searching for it. He travelled a long way and in the end fell into a deep pit from which he could not climb out. When the Monkey King, who was to be the Lord, saw him thus helpless and in great trouble, he said, "If I don't help this Brahman there is no way for him to come well out of it," and he went down into the deep pit.

"Brahman," he said, "I shall look after you, but that steep bank is very high. If I try to jump up to the top carrying you, but fail, we shall fall back and may be killed. Let me try first carrying this stone which is just about your weight."⁴

He took a stone of the same weight as the Brahman and jumped; he reached the top and so knew that he could do it. He went back into the pit and said, "Brahman, don't worry; I can get you to the top."⁵

He took the Brahman firmly upon his back and jumped up with him. When they got to the top, the Monkey King found himself very tired, and said, "Brahman, my friend, this is a very deep pit, and I have jumped out of it once carrying a stone of your weight and once with you yourself; I am exhausted. Let me sleep a while in your bosom."⁶

So the Monkey King went to sleep in the Brahman's bosom, while the Brahman thought, "I've wasted a lot of time looking for that lost cow. Rather than just go back empty-handed, it will be best to kill this monkey and take him along."

He took a stone and hit the monkey on the head so as to make a great dint in it. The Monkey King started up and ran up a tree crying, "Brahman, you villain! Brahman, if I don't show you the way, you can't ever get to where people are. I'll take you along, but I daren't stay on the ground along with you. I shall go along jumping from one tree to the next; can you follow the trail of my blood?"

So the Monkey King, the Lord-to-be, went along thus showing the way until they reached the paths of men and then he went away. The Brahman went on his way homeward until he reached a spot as far as the Lord-to-be could see, and then the earth opened and swallowed him up.

This is another example.

When the Lord-to-be was a woodpecker bird,² a lion who was to be Deiwadat had a bone stuck in his throat. The woodpecker who was to become our Lord went into the lion's mouth and with his beak relieved him of the bone. After he had relieved him,

3. The full text reads: "The Excellent Lord, the culmination of the three worlds, bent his royal neck like the golden cord on a Muzozin drum and in his voice full of the eight essential properties, just as when Garuda, the King of the Birds, having drunk of the sweetest nectar of the flowers and intoxicated with joy sings sweetly, so he cried joyfully, 'Thadu, thadu....'" Such elaborate simile-making, though common enough in Burmese literature, is rare in the *Manmyadanabon*, which is generally written in very plain language. It seems somewhat out of place and to hinder reading. Where it occurs therefore I have relegated the full translation to a footnote.

1. Somewhat elaborated from the Mahakapi Jataka (no. 516).

2. The Jarasakuṇa Jataka (no. 308); also in Hitopadesa.

although lions are eaters of meat and woodpeckers do not usually eat it, the woodpecker, to see whether the lion would show gratitude, asked him for some of his meat, reminding him of what he had done for him.

"You have been inside my jaws and have not been crunched up!" said the lion, "You have escaped death and do you ask for meat as a reward?"

Since the lion did not show gratitude to the woodpecker, his eyes of their own accord became blind.

This is another example.

Ngazishin's agent submitted these instances and said, "Not to speak of gratitude for a mere bowl of rice, we must remember our obligation, which we can never repay, to our lord the king who each day without fail provides a livelihood for us, his servants, and for our wives and children." Ngazashin for his part gave him suitable distinctions to enjoy, saying, "I give my ministers forts and villages and all kinds of territories; I give them elephants and horses and badges of rank; I raise them in the world along with their wives and children: how would they not be grateful to me? Ministers, even the roughest and most truculent demons, will be gently disposed to those good people who show gratitude when they come across them."

Ngazishin came to the throne when he was forty-one years old, reigned nine years and died at fifty. His birth day was Wednesday. After his death, his son Kyawzwa became king in 713 B.E. [A.D. 1351] at the age of twenty-one. He ruled for ten years and passed on at the age of thirty. As for his birth, he was a son of the fourth house. When Kyawzwa was no more, his brother Nayathu gained the throne in 723 B.E. [A.D. 1361]. He made Saw Onma, the daughter of Lyinzaw, Prince of Thayetmyo, his queen. This Nayathu and Thihapatei, Lord of Sagaing, were rivals in their kingdoms. As for Thihapatei, he was the son of the chief minister of the king of the original line of the Pagan kings and grandson of Queen Bwazaw. After the death of her husband, Thadohsanhtein of the royal line of Tagaung, he became the lover of Sominkodawgyi, the daughter of Thinkkaya Saw Ywan.

This Minbyauk (King who disappeared) Thihapatei became king of Sagaing after the death of Tarabyaa. When Thihapatei came to power, Nayathu of Pinya said in disgust, "This Minbyauk, Lord of Sagaing is a commoner; that fellow is of no royal, no ruling line. He was the lover of the daughter of Thinkkaya Saw Ywan, my uncle, and it's only thus that he has come to be Lord of Sagaing." Consequently he invited Thokyibwa, son of Thohkinbwa, the leader of a force of 900,000 Maw Shans, to bring his army to Sagaing: all he would ask from him was the regular revenue. Thokyibwa attacked Tagaung with his whole army, but at that time Thadominbya was lord of Tagaung. The story of Thadominbya is this: Thadohsinhtein of the royal race of Tagaung was married to Sominkodawgyi, and Thadominbya was born of this union. He was a man of great ability, and because of his power Thokyibwa could not stand up to him and was put to flight. King Thihapatei was furious with Thokyibwa and said to him, "Did you have to run away?" and banished him to the town of Kyahkatwaya. Thadominbya in his turn sent to say, "You want to put me down? Do it if you can, but see how well you can stand up to me in your own royal city!"

If Thokyibwa had taken Tagaung, he would have come on and attacked Sagaing; in face of this threat, Thihapatei of Sagaing had abandoned the whole city and run away to Kyahkatwaya. The Maw Shans found no wealth or elephants or horses in the city and so crossed over to Pinya and sacked that city instead. In 726 B.E. [A.D. 1364] they took Nayathu and his white elephant back with them to Maw. The Queen Saw Onma and the ministers were left in the city. Thihapatei of Sagaing, too, fled from Sagaing downriver and when he got to Kyahkatwaya his followers abandoned him. Thadominbya took the opportunity and had Thihapatei, his own stepfather, put away. For this reason he is called Minbyauk, the King of Sagaing who disappeared.

In Pinya the ministers consulted together and called upon Okzana, Ngazishin's eldest son, who had been removed from the succession because he was a eunuch, and in 726 B.E. [A.D. 1364] he was set upon the throne. At the same time Saw Onma was made queen. After three months he was again deposed. The manner of his deposition was this: Thadominbya brought together all his forces, all his soldiers and champions from Kyahkatwaya and camped at Tabeihtaukyit with the intention of advancing upriver against Pinya. He came on from Tabeihtaukyit and deposed the eunuch Okzana from the throne and took the whole country. He also took Saw Onma and made her his queen. Thadominbya thus became king and ruled both lands, Pinya and Sagaing, with his powerful armies.

The three Shan brothers were rulers at Myinsaing for a period of three years. After that Thihathu Tazishin (Master of One White Elephant) was king at Pinya. That city was founded in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty eight of the Buddhist religion. There were six kings in the Pinya line: Tazishin, eighteen years; his son Okzana, founder of the seven monasteries, twenty years; his brother Ngazishin, nine years; his son Kyawzwa, twelve years; his brother Nayathu, who was taken to Maw, three years; and Ngazishin's eldest son Okzana, three months. This Okzana ruled last because he was a eunuch. Thadominbya ruled for one year at Pinya. The six kings of the Pinya line ruled for sixty-one years and three months. This is the story of Pinya.

I

The Kings of Sagaing

The foundation of Sagaing took place in the year 1850 of the Buddhist religion, when Thinkkaya Saw Ywan was given the place by his father, the Master of One, and he first established the city. Thinkkaya Saw Ywan became king at twenty years old, ruled for seven years and passed on at twenty-seven, when a half-brother whom he had, named Tarabyagyi became king. This king came to the throne at thirty-four, reigned for six years, and died at forty. The way he died was this: a retainer of Tarabyagyi's wife, named Shweidaungdet, imprisoned him, but three years later Tarabyagyi managed to bribe his keepers with gifts of silver and gold; he consulted the notables, religious and lay, of Sagaing and secured their agreement, and a personal servant of Prince Eikhpanthet ambushed Shweidaungdet upon the palace stairs one morning, bound his feet, and cast him into a pit of pigs' dung, so the story goes.¹ Shweidaungdet became king at twenty-six, reigned for three years and was killed at twenty-nine.

As soon as Tarabyagyi had thus recovered his throne, without waiting to post his own guards, he sent to make away with the servants of Shweidaungdet. As Nandapakyan, the chief minister of Shweidaungdet, was returning from the paddy transplanting which had been done that night, he heard that Tarabyagyi had launched a coup against Shweidaungdet. He came upon an elephant, Chitnaungyin, going to pasture; he gave his golden betel box to the elephant keeper, mounted the elephant and, since Tarabyagyi was alone in the upper part of the palace, brought the elephant up beside him and seized him. Tarabyagyi exclaimed, "Brother Nandapakyan, if you want to eat the head, I'll take the tail; if you want the tail, I'll take the head -- but please don't have me killed!"

Nandapakyan answered, "You have already been our king and master once; do you think there are no more of our family, which has given a line of seven kings?" There in the upper storey of the palace he killed him.

After he had thus killed him, Nandapakyan, who after the death of his original lord Thinkkaya Saw Ywan had kept hidden the king's three sons -- the eldest being Kyawzwa, the middle Minye, and the youngest Tarabya -- now set these princes upon the throne in order of age. Kyawzwa became king at sixteen, reigned for five years and died at twenty-one; his middle brother became king at eighteen, reigned for eight years and died at twenty-six; the youngest, Tarabya, became king at fifteen, reigned for three years and died at eighteen.²

Thinkkaya Saw Ywan had been clever at recognizing what was to the advantage of the king. He could appreciate the abilities of ministers who would pursue the advantages that lay before their eyes, but he could also recognize ministers who would loyally obey his heirs and successors and would watch over and promote the interests of his descendants down to his great-grandsons. Thus he had noted Nandapakyan as a man who would guard his sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons well, and brought him forward to the office of Chief Minister. Thinkkaya Saw Ywan's descendants down to his great-grandsons were all born as princes. Some kings only know how to do what is to their immediate advantage and do not know how to pursue their descendants' advantage; others, however, watch for policies which will spread the influence of their line. There are those who have no ability to make a speech

1. *Sic*, but I suspect the text. Probably it should read something like *eik ya ga thet hma* -- "as the king came down from his bed, one of his own servants...r." or else *eik hpan tha* -- "a night guard, the king's own servant....."
 2. Something wrong: Saw Ywan died at least 34 years before his youngest son's accession.

which will satisfy their hearers. Thinkkaya Saw Ywan, however, knew the interests of his family and he could always make a speech which would cheer those who heard him. Thus Thinkkaya Saw Ywan, since he could recognize the virtues of others, brought Nandapakyan forward to the office of Chief Minister so that this minister's virtues might be apparent to all. Since the minister Nandapakyan wished to repay his master's favors, he brought his four children, three sons and one daughter, to the throne, each in his turn. It is right that ministers and such people of importance should repay favors from others, just as did Thinkkaya Saw Ywan's chief minister Nandapakyan. If favors are not returned for favors, the resulting profit is despicable.

As an instance of how despicable it is, the merchant Anahtapein³ in the land of Thawuthti welcomed gladly and with all his heart a fellow merchant from the country and entertained him unaffectedly and disinterestedly. When, however, Anahtapein went to the countryman's house, not the slightest entertainment was offered him. People talked of this and it came to the ears of the king of Kawthala. "This man is one who has no gratitude," he said, and brought down that merchant from the country, confiscating his property.

This is an example.

Thinkkaya Saw Ywan was lord of Sagaing. Not long after he came there he took the Tamahka district in hand himself, raising there 500 cavalry for his right wing. He also took over the Pyizin district, raising there 500 cavalry for his left wing. This arrangement was later cancelled and he raised nine companies of horse. Besides this, he named the city as his supply base and set up a force of his own servants and selected attendants, naming it his "unit of one thousand." To this day Sagaing bears the name of Htaungthin ("company of a thousand").

The line of kings of Sagaing was this: Thinkkaya Saw Ywan reigned eight years, Tarabyagyi reigned six years, Shweidaungdet reigned three years, Kyawzwa reigned five years, Minye reigned eight years, Tarabyangei reigned three years, and Minbyauk reigned nine years. This line of seven kings ruled in Sagaing for a total of forty-three years.

After Thadominbya had reigned in Pinya for a year, he decided that it was not a suitable place to dispose his cavalry and elephants or to live in himself, even though it was the center of the country's business. "That Minwun hill," he said, "is like a bowl turned upside down in a dish of water and all the enemies in the world could not get at it." He therefore built his city on the Thanyet island.

The year of the destruction of Sagaing, the destruction of Pinya and of the foundation of Ava was 725 B.E. [A.D. 1363]. Sagaing was destroyed in the month of Kahson, and Pinya in Nayon. Okzana the eunuch was dethroned in Tawthalin and in Tabaung Yadanapura, golden Ava, was given its name upon the Htihlaing hill (Hill of Numberless Canopies) and a great encampment was made.⁴

] Thadominbya's foundation of Ava

The city was founded on the sixth waxing of Tabaung, 726 B.E. [A.D. 1364]. The palace was built in 728 and Thadominbya then took up his residence in the city of Ava. It is said that he was nineteen years old when the city was founded. This king, though of great physical strength was, it is said, in disposition hard, rough, and of extreme ferocity.¹ On one occasion, according to tradition, when the lord of Nganweigon in the five districts of irrigation rebelled against him and caused a disturbance, he attacked him, took him, and with his own hand killed him. Then he had his meal set out upon the breast of the corpse and ate it. When his nobles saw this, they were much afraid of him.

] The story of Nga Tetpya in Thadominbya's reign

At another time there was a certain robber named Nga Tetpya who was operating boldly on the rivers around Sagaing and causing trouble. Thadominbya caught this robber Nga Tetpya by a trick. After the capture, Thadominbya, who knew his own strength

3. In the Akataññu Jataka (no. 90).

4. Kahson = May, Nayon = June, Tawthalin = September, Tabaung = March, approximately.

1. The full text has it; "...as when the Galon, the King of birds tears apart, rends and devours the fat and brain of the water Naga."

and could respect the strength of others, questioned his captive. "Nga Tetpya, my dear fellow," he said, "you are in the hands of Thadominbya and you are going to be killed. If you had not come into Thadominbya's power, you might ask why you should be killed, but as you have, would you prefer the fire? Or would you like the axe better?"

Nga Tetpya, the robber, answered, "King, that's not worth asking. If you want to kill me, kill me; but as for what I want, I want your wife, Saw Onma!"

Thadominbya was not in the least angry at this reply. "If he dares to speak like this to a king like me," he thought, "he is not going to shrink before anyone else; he might be useful in a crisis and it's best that he should not die without a good reason," and he made his decision on these lines.

Thadominbya's decision followed the pattern of one who loves his bow and so must love his arrows too: since he wished to rule the country, he had to pardon Nga Tetpya and esteemed him as his servant.

About that time Thadominbya, along with the robber Nga Tetpya, attacked the lord of Taungdwin, who had rebelled. He killed the rebel's champion bowman and then the lord of Taungdwin was easily brought to submission.

Later Thingathu, who was born Saw Naung, a prince of a lesser branch of the Taungdwin house, was living at Sagu. He rebelled and in 729 B.E. [A.D. 1368] Thadominbya set out to attack him there. At Pagan he had handed charge of affairs over to Saw Nit, a son of that Kyawzwa who had lost the throne of Pagan in the time of Okzana the founder of the seven Saga monasteries of Pinya, and appointed him to be ruler. After Saw Nit's death, his son Saw Munnit became the ruler. At this point Thadominbya was encamped at Nyaung-u and went up to the Shweizigon pagoda where he lodged on the platform of the Golden Place.² Saw Munnit of Pagan sent men to see what the king looked like. The people who had been sent, when they saw his behavior towards his soldiers and officers, which was such as to strike fear into other people, made a report to their king which was on these lines: "The king has an appearance of being harsh, stern, and fierce. We are of the opinion that it would be well if you were to escape as soon as may be." Saw Munnit replied, "The only way to put out a fire is before it has taken hold: once it has caught, you can do nothing," and made his submission. He was deposed and thus the line of the kings of Pagan came to an end. The Golden Place was dedicated to the Shweizigon pagoda. After he had received the submission of Saw Munnit of Pagan, the king attacked Sagu. In spite of his efforts he failed to capture the town, and had to retreat, being sick with smallpox. When he reached the Shinbinsagyo landing place below Salei, he realized that he would not recover from this sickness. He summoned Nga Nu, his closest adviser, and saying, "Nga Nu, I do not wish that my wife, Saw Onma, should become the wife of any other man; you must go and deal with her," sent him off. On the very day that Nga Nu set out in order to kill the queen Thadominbya passed away and in the same year Saw Munnit too died.

When the young Nga Nu reached Ava, carrying his sword with the intention of killing the queen, Saw Onma, he went up to the palace. Saw Onma saw what he was about, was afraid, and at once asked what he wanted. Nga Nu, as the king's close adviser, answered, "Lady, Thadominbya says that he does not believe that he will recover from his sickness and that he does not wish that his wife should become the wife of another man; therefore he has sent me to kill you."³

Saw Onma said to Nga Nu, "Aren't you a man, my dear?" Nga Nu, hearing this, dropped his sword and sat with Saw Onma upon the throne.³

When he first began to rule in Ava, Thadominbya had said, "My work will not go beyond three." Wise men who had heard these words believed that this meant that he would only be king for three years, and, as prophesied, he ruled for just three years. During Thadominbya's reign, Thilawa was lord of Yameithin and Tarabya was lord of Amyin -- it was he who after he became king took the style of Mingyizwasawke. In Prome, his brother Saw Yannaung held the lordship; in Sagaing, Nandapakyan; and in Taungbyon and

2. *Shwei nei ya ta htwā htet hnaik* -- meaning uncertain. Perhaps the Pagan king's personal pavillion in the pagoda.

3. In view of the similarity between the Burmese throne and a modern bed, we may suspect a euphemism.

Wayindok, Yazathingyan. Theikpatei was lord of Tagaung and Thihapatei of Taungdwin.

After Thadominbya's death at the Sakyo landing, the ministers had no obvious successor in sight and they consulted together. Theikpatei of Tagaung; Thilawa of Yameithin and Thihapatei of Taungdwin and other notables of similar status gave it as their opinion that Tarabygyi, lord of Amyin, had a personality befitting his name and race, a refined and civilized mind, a well-principled character, a generous disposition, a truthful and upright nature, and a great reverence for the Three Jewels of the Religion. On these grounds they proposed him as a suitable candidate for the Golden Canopy and Throne. All the rest agreed and Tarabya of Amyin was requested to accept the kingdom. In 726 B.E. [A.D. 1364] he came to the throne as monarch, taking the style and title of Mingyizwasawke.

I

An account of Mingyizwa awke

The facts about Mingyizwasawke are as follows. The daughter who was born to a concubine of that Kyawzwa who was deposed from the throne of Pagan was taken and brought up by Thihapatei of Taungdwin. When she was of an age, she was married to a son of Thihathu, the king's brother and lord of Prome, who had been a monk but returned to the laity, and gave birth to a son, Prince Lyinzaw, the founder of Thayetmyo. This Prince Lyinzaw married Princess Myat, who was the daughter of Thihapatei, lord of Taungdwin, and Saw Pule, the daughter of Thinkaya Saw Ywan's sister; and they had six children, Prince Yannaung of Prome, Mingyizwasawke, the king's sister, Saw Onma, Shinzo, who was adopted by Thilawa of Yameithin, Theingathu, and Khindwe, wife of Saw Naung. This was the original royal line of Pagan.

When Mingyizwasawke had been recognized as king he sent for Yazathingyan Nga Mauk, who was lord of Wayindok and brother to Nga Nu, the late king's close adviser, and said to him, "Your brother Nga Nu is living in Ava and claiming to be king. You must arrange to do away with your brother Nga Nu. Once that is done, you can have my sister, Saw Onma, and the lordships of Sagaing and Taungbyon."

Yazathingyan Nga Mauk replied, "So be it; I will make the arrangements."

He went upriver with a single rowing boat, with a full complement of oars, and put in to the Ava landing place for the night, sending a message to Nga Nu. The message said, "You, my brother, are alone, and so am I. Now that you are king, I am ready to work for you. I have come up so that we can make plans together. I have a bad fever and am too dizzy to come to you, so you will have to come down to the Ava landing place yourself. Come quickly, brother."

Since this was his own brother, King Nga Nu trusted him and went down at once with an escort of fifty men or so. When he reached the landing place, he heard his brother call, "My brother, the fever is bad; come on to the boat," and he went on board alone. As he did, the boat cast off and went downstream. When they reached mid-stream, his brother said to Nga Nu, "Your family is my family, and our ancestors are not of a royal line to rule: why do you think you should be king?" He kept Nga Nu in confinement for a day or two, and then released him in the Shan country. Then Yazathingyan sent word to the King, who came up with all his entourage, guards, cavalry and elephants and occupied the palace of Ava at the fifth hour of the day on the twelfth day after the full moon of Tabaung in the year 1911 of the Buddhist religion, 729 of the Burmese era [A.D. 1367]. He was much pleased with Yazathingyan Nga Mauk, and gave him his sister Saw Onma along with Sagaing and Taungbyon. Nga Nu had been king for half a month.

Mingyizwasawke's wives were: two sisters of Thadominbya -- the foundresses of the Theinhkoyauk and the Northern monasteries -- these were the daughters of a ruling king; the sister of Thilawa of Yameithin; Saw Nan, daughter of the chief of Kasunnein; and Wala, daughter of Yazathu, called 'the Chinese'; these five. Of these five wives, he had children by Thilawa's sister; they were Hsinbyushin Nakyei, Saw Htwei, Prince Saw U, Prince Saw Ke, and Prince Pyan -- five in all by Thilawa's sister; by the lady of Kasunnein were born Prince Hswei, Theikdat, the prince of Sagaing; and Wimaladeiwi -- three in all; by the commoner of 'China-town' was born Yazathu, to whom was given the name that his grandfather had; and by the two sisters of Thadominbya he had no children. He therefore had a total of nine sons and daughters. In 732 B.E. [A.D. 1340] he refounded the Shweizigon pagoda.

In 732 also, his son Tarabya was married to the daughter of his brother-in-law Thilawa of Yameithin and in the same year was made heir-apparent. In the year 751,

Shin Minauk, daughter of Thohkinbwa of Mawgohkwin, was presented to him and he married her to his son, Prince Hswei. She was the mother of Kyawzwa and Prince Nanda.

Submissions made in connection with the affair of Yazathingyan
and his brother Nga Nu

Later Mingyizwasawke heard that Nga Nu had not been killed by his brother Yazathingyan, but had been set free and had established a township which he called Shanpyi where he had got together a band of Shan thieves who were destroying the Burmese settlements. The king was angry that Yazathingyan, called Nga Mauk, had not killed his brother Nga Nu, and he threatened to take his sister, Saw Onma, away from him.

Minyaza of Winzin had just received the title of *Yaza* in place of that of *Sitapyit*. The king, when he compared his consultations with him with those with other wise men, recognized that this man could see where the true benefit lay and where it did not; that he merited praise from others; and that his actions did not incur blame or the reproaches of other people. He therefore consulted with Minyaza of Winzin.

Minyaza first said, "My lord King, do you wish this consultation to be just a consultation with your servant, a consultation with your minister, or a consultation with a wise man?"

In reply the king asked, "What is the difference, Minyaza, between consulting servants, consulting ministers, and consulting wise men?"

"My lord King," answered Minyaza, "If you consult a servant, a servant's disposition is only to follow what his master wants and always to speak accordingly: his master, the king, on the other hand, consults only on the basis that no opinions must be expressed other than what he wants. If you consult a minister, if he does not speak in accordance with the wishes of his lord, the king, the king's pride will break forth in anger. If a wise man is to be consulted, however, it will be his disposition to discuss the origins and results of the situation, to form an opinion on what it will be right and good to do in the circumstances, and to act accordingly; if he does not think that good will result, he will keep quiet."

Mingyizwasawke said, "I am consulting Minyaza as a wise man."

"My lord King," said Minyaza, "one who is a king must keep his mind as clean and white as an ivory tusk. No one who does not act honestly and straightforwardly can establish a good reputation with friends, even if he live an hundred years. But if he lives just one day in honesty over and above that lifetime, that day will characterize the life that he has lived. Suppose that your body dies after you have lived your life in dishonesty; the wrongful words that you have spoken will attach themselves to your bodily remains, and are likely to stay to be brought up against your descendants, your sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons. Even if the world should be destroyed the actuality of what was done is not effaced. Suppose, however, that you die after you have lived just one day in honesty and truth, the grace and piety which adhere to your bodily remains will be an example and support for descendants to the third generation and will gain them respect. In the succession of lives one has to experience many states of being a good man or a good spirit; bear in mind the principle that even though the world perishes, the good remains, and do not take back your sister. It may be that tamarind leaves that are very sour turn to sweetness from its opposite, but the word of a king must never be of no consequence. The waters of a river may turn back and flow upstream, but a king's word must not be withdrawn nor broken.

"My lord King, let me give examples: Theikpatei, Prince of Pwinhla-uin Taungdwin, once said to an Indian who knew how to make gold and silver, 'If you will show me the art of making gold and silver, I will give you my daughter.' In this manner he acquired the art of alchemy. After he had nothing left to learn, his leading advisers suggested that he should now take his daughter back.

"Ministers," he said, "It is much more valuable to gain wealth worth one silver piece, if it is honestly gained, than to gain enough wealth to fill the whole Zabudeik island by dishonesty. It would not be right to take my daughter back. Always, so long as the world lasts, it would without fail be said that kings of this line gain

their living by deceit, trickery, and lies.' So saying he conferred great distinctions upon the Indian for him to enjoy and raised him to the nobility.

"This is another example.

"My lord King, let me give you another example. Long ago a certain aged tiger used to stand near a pond,¹ holding in his mouth a net made of gold. When he saw a traveller, the old tiger addressed him thus; 'Hey, Traveller Man! Take this golden net of mine!'

"The Traveller answered, 'Hey, you old tiger, you're too rough a character; you only kill people and eat them. What's to be gained by associating with a type like you?'

"To this the old tiger replied, 'Traveller Man, long ago when I was young, I was indeed rough and rude; I did indeed kill people -- I caught them and ate them. But now my children and my wife are all dead; my teeth and claws are gone -- I'm old. A certain religious person who observed the Law has given me instruction. I wash my head and eat only grass; I live in the practice of virtue. For this reason there is no harm in associating with me. Traveller, won't you listen to me? There are eight principles which the religious must follow: these eight principles are the making of offerings, the pursuit of wisdom, the giving of alms, the following of the rules of religion, the practice of kindness, the maintenance of steadfastness, the granting of forgiveness, and the minimizing of our wants -- these are the eight points of practice for the religiously disposed. I practice them just as they are set out in the books. Traveller Man! There is no appetite for riches in my heart, and so I want to give this net made of gold to someone else. It is only because you have a glorious fate that fits you to receive it that you have met me. I wish to be freed from the reproach that people lay upon me, that I am used to killing and eating people. Traveller Man! Won't you listen to me? The way of the religious is to hold the lives of others as dear to them as their own, and to show as much pity to others as they do to themselves. Since I am counted among the righteous, I hold you in pity, and one must give one's wealth to whoever is in a state deserving pity. One's wealth is not to be given away to the prosperous. One gives medicine to the sick, not to those who are not sick. Since the sages tell us that there is great merit in giving without worldly considerations and without being influenced by consideration of the gratitude earned by a benefactor, I wish to give to you this net made of gold which I hold in my paw. Hey Traveller! When you have drunk the water of this pond and bathed in it, come and take the golden net from me!'²

"The stupid traveller was fooled by the tiger, thought that he spoke the truth, and trusted him. He went down into the pond to bathe. The moment he went in, he sank into the mud and could not get out again.

"'I am sorry for this traveller,' said the tiger, 'he thought I was speaking the truth!' He came up quietly, killed the man and ate him.

"A certain wise hare just then came to drink at the pond and came across them, so that he came to know all about the business and witnessed what the two of them did. Said he, 'Only foolish people without wisdom go to meet danger: the wise keep out of its way,' and so he went back into the forest.

"My lord King,' said Minyaza, "Do not take the tiger's trickery as your model, but remember the example of Theikpatei of Taungdwin.'

When he had heard what Minyaza put forward, the king said, "Minyaza is not for me only: he watches too the interests of my sons, grandsons, and even great-grandsons,' and gave him presents -- a golden bowl weighing 50 ticals, a riding elephant, a

1. Story from The Hitopadesa.

2. The original Sanskrit version of the Hitopadesa makes it a golden bangle; this mistranslation comes from the Burmese version, which must therefore be dated before 1781. Our author is not working from the original. The hare sounds as though he belongs in a Jataka, but I do not know of one on these lines.

throne gilded all around,³ along with land in Sagu irrigated from the royal dam.⁴ He also confirmed irrevocably the gift of his sister to Yazathingyan.

The first submission of Minyaza in the *Maniyadanabon* ends here.

} Submission of Precedents in connection with the affairs of Thilawa,
 }
 { lord of Yameithin, during Mingyizwasawke's reign

Twenty-four years after Mingyizwasawke became king, in 754 B.E. [A.D. 1392]⁵ the brother-in-law of Thokyibwa, the Shan, who was named Thohanbwa, the lord of Mohnyin, came to Sagaing and in Sagaing he set fire to the pagodas and the monasteries. The king's brother-in-law, Prince Thilawa of Yameithin, turned back from Shweikyetyet and, so as not to be impeded by the outpost that the Shans had set up, crossed over at Htibaungga and attacked them. He first defeated Thohanbwa in single combat on elephants and then destroyed completely the main Shan force west of Sagaing, so that the place is to this day called Shangon -- "the end of the Shans."⁶ After Prince Thilawa of Yameithin had defeated the Shans he did not present himself before the king, but only offered gifts and went straight to Yameithin. Mingyizwasawke summoned Minyaza and said angrily,⁷ "The lord of Yameithin has done his duty and conquered; he has, however, gone away again only offering gifts and he has not presented himself before me."

Minyaza replied, "My lord King, it is right to discriminate in your respect and love for people who are valuable through their faithfulness, their bravery, and their wisdom, according to the extent of their value and qualities. My lord King, let me give you an example: Two golden geese who were brothers⁸ took flight outside of the Himawunta forest to the Geikzagok mountain which was their feeding ground. One day they saw a golden mountain which was called Neiyu, and as they settled to rest upon it, other kinds of birds also settled to feed there and they saw that all kinds of birds which rested there took on an appearance exactly as of gold. The younger goose, who did not know the ways of the mountain, asked his elder brother about this. The elder brother, the Golden Goose, Lord of Birdse, replied, 'Little brother, people call this especial mountain Mount Neiyu, and it just happens that all creatures which come to this mountain take on the appearance of gold while they live upon it.'

"To this reply of his elder brother the younger said, 'Brother, it is not right to associate with those who show no special respect for the good who are valuable for their strength and virtue; with those who act disrespectfully towards the good; with those who love and respect the worthless. If there are people who give the same regard to the intelligent and quick as to the idle and foolish, to the brave and steadfast as to the cowardly and fearful, must we not say that it is wrong to associate with such people? This Mount Neiyu can make no distinction between the worthless, the middling, and the valuable: it cannot treat the specially virtuous according to his especial virtue. It can only be indiscriminate. What is to be gained by staying on this mountain?'

"The two brothers, the Golden Geese, thereupon left the golden mountain called Mount Neiyu and went back to the Geikzagok mountain.

"This is another example.

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3. Or perhaps "a saddle for the elephant with a golden stripe down the middle."
 4. *Sic*, but I am unhappy with the text, chiefly since *hsu pei* does not seem an appropriate phrase for a grant of land, which is normally *sa pei*. Also Sagu was an important fief, not at all appropriate to a very junior minister, however favored by the king; it was usually held by members of the royal family. Perhaps we should read *sa lon* for *Sagu*, when the translation would be "along with a water vessel of the type used by ministers."
 1. This does not agree with the date given for the king's accession on p. 27 where it is given as 726 B.E.
 2. Compare Alaunghpaya's renaming of Dagon as Yangon -- Rangoon -- "the end of the enemy"
 3. Emending *wun myauk* to *wun ma myauk*.
 4. The Neru Jataka (no. 379)e

"My lord King, I shall give another example. Long, long ago a king named Kuyu reigned in the land of Kuyuyit.⁵ He who was to become our Lord Buddha was the son of a shipmaster named Ayukithsa and himself was named Thokpadaka, living at the shipst docking place. When he came of age, he himself became a shipmaster of great skill, but, after many times when his ship was blown off course in storms, his eyes were weakened by the salt water and so he gave up the command of his ships. To help King Kuyu's land and to earn a living, he took up the profession of a valuer and appraised the value of objects of gold and silver, of jewels, of horses and elephants, of buffalos and oxen, of rubies and pearls, and of all such goods. One day an elephant was brought for the king to ride upon and he had the Buddha-to-be examine it. He ran his hand over it and pronounced, 'When this elephant was born from its mother's womb, she failed to catch him on her back leg so that he fell to the ground and his hindquarters were damaged. This elephant cannot therefore be accepted as a lucky state elephant.'

"The king therefore questioned the man who had brought the elephant who confirmed that it was just as was said. The king was pleased and made a present of eight pieces to the examiner. In the same way the king made him examine his state horse, his state chariot, carpets of which he himself could make no guess at the value, and many other such goods, and though the king was very pleased with the accuracy of his answers, he still only paid him a fee of eight pieces.

"'So he always gives eight pieces -- just eight pieces every time, even to an expert who can recognize such wonders! This king's gifts are a tip for a barber. There is no joy in dancing attendance on such a king,' he thought, and decided to go back home.

"If those who carry out such important transactions as I have mentioned are left dissatisfied, it is to throw away people who will do good service in the future. Kings who wish their affairs to go well must know when to forgive. My lord King, you must never think of your own irritation with your ministers or officers or generals or others of this sort; you must not think of your personal friendship with them; you must not treat them as close, you must not treat them as distant. Even if their behavior ignores the niceties of their position, you must forgive them and support them and cherish them.

"This is another example.

"My lord King, I will give you yet another example. Once upon a time a certain prince⁶ was defeated in war and came alone to a certain village. In this village a man, not knowing that this was his prince, invited him hospitably to his house and from a distance called for his wife. He furnished him with the most especial food and drink that he could get and with clothes and a waistcloth and made him very welcome. The prince, when he regained his palace, disclosed that he was their prince and said, 'My friend, you must visit me!'

"Later on the two villagers came to pay respects to the prince, and when the prince saw them he came down from his throne, called them to him and gave them his hand. He led them to his princess too and joined their hands. The prince himself led them to their place of entertainment and served them himself. The prince's nobles and officers asked what was the story of these two villagers and the prince explained to them the obligation under which he stood to this couple. His nobles and officers said, 'Lord Prince, among the wise and virtuous favors done must not be taken lightly; they can bring many benefits,' and they praised him greatly. The great prince counted the couple from the village among his friends and gave them great wealth and prosperity to enjoy.

"This is another example.

"I will give you another example. When the Buddha-to-be lived as King of the Parrots⁷ and went about his realm, he alighted upon a banyan tree in the Himawunta

5. The Supataka Jataka (no. 463).

6. In the Maha-assatoha Jataka (no. 429).

7. Mahasuka Jataka (no. 429).

forest surrounded by his escort of five hundred parrots, and he rested there. At that time there was a drought; the ripe fruit of the tree were finished and the parrots who were his companions flew away elsewhere. The Buddha-to-be, however, said, 'I have relied upon this banyan tree from my earliest youth; now that I am grown, it would be wrong to abandon it.' Remembering his obligation to the banyan tree, he stayed with it, and since the fruit were finished he lived upon the leaves alone, until they were finished and he lived upon the scaly bark of the tree. He stayed there until the tree died and became a mere stump and he never deserted it. Thagyamin therefore came and said, 'This parrot shows great gratitude to this insensate, inanimate tree; how much gratitude could he show to a living person!† He created fruit for the parrot, which would last him his whole life through and which would never be exhausted, and gave it to him, and so he gave him great well-being.

"This is another example.

"I will give you another example: A minister named Thandati⁸ of the king of Kawthala in the land of Thawutti engaged a little village in battle, and when he won a victory the great king of Kawthala said, 'He has indeed strength and the power of conferring an obligation.' He raised him to the White Canopy and granted him the grace of enjoying the throne himself for seven days.

"This is another example.

"My lord King, it is written in the Law of the Lord that 'we can defeat the wrathful by keeping our temper; we can defeat the worthless who conduct themselves ill by our own good conduct.'"⁹ When the king heard this submission from Minyaza, his heart was glad and he sent presents to his brother-in-law of Yameithin.

The second set of examples submitted by Minyaza of Winzin in the *Maniyadanabon* ends here.

Minyaza made another submission. "My lord King," he said, "one should seek out and recognize people who, because they are the sons and grandsons of worthy ancestry ought not to be reduced to poverty, but nevertheless, because they have no resources to support them, are straitened. They should be brought forward according to their abilities. Your servants who are so dealt with will be grateful, and will devote themselves to their duty to the extent of giving up their lives in the pursuit of your advantage. They will guard their master's successors, his sons, and grandsons without failing in loyalty.

"It happened once that in the island of Ceylon King Kalawunnateiksa brought up a villager named Weiluthumana and raised him to office. For this reason, when the queen conceived an irresistible hunger, he managed to reach a spot which no one had ever reached before, with complete disregard for his own life, and labored to obtain for her a great feast; also when the king's son was grown he made a great feast for him.

"This is another example.

"King Brahmadat in the land of Bayanathi heard the village children,¹⁰ who had been brought before him in neck fetters accused of being murderers, explain what had happened and how it had happened so bravely, firmly, and steadily that he gave them great wealth and position. For this reason they debated seriously together and agreed to watch over the prosperity of the country.

"This is another example.

"King Brahmadat in the land of Bayanathi adopted three birds¹¹ and raised them and they gave him special instruction in the duties of a King. They watched over the

8. See Dhammapada Commentary, x, 9.

9. Cf. Dhammapada, 223.

10. A brief summary of the Saliya and Tacasaka Jatakas (nos. 367 & 368). Told more fully on p. 122 .

11. Tesukuna Jataka (no. 521).

town's prosperity right up to the King's death.

"This is another example.

"In the land of Midila, King Wideihayit sought out Mahawithada,¹² who was a commoner. He adopted him and brought him up, and so he resolved the very difficult problems which faced the country. He brought the king profit beyond what he could grasp and rescued him from innumerable enemies. After the king's death he gave valuable help to the king's son, who was not equal to his responsibilities.

"This is another example.

"Keep these examples in mind," said Minyaza, and the king regarded him as a minister devoted only to his interests and rewarded him richly.

The third set of submissions made by Minyaza in the *Maniyadanabon* ends here.¹³

I Minyaza's submission of precedents in connection with the fighting
I
I between the lords of Mohnyin and Kalei during the reign of
I
I Mingyizwasawke.

In the year 757 B.E. [A.D. 1395] Thilawa of Yameithin died, and Yameithin passed to his brother Mahabyauk. In 760 B.E. [A.D. 1398] too, the government of Taungdwin fell vacant and was given to Prince Neimi.

During the reign of Mingyizwasawke, Hkonhmaing of Mohnyin and Thokyibwa, lord of Kalei, fell to fighting each other. From Mohnyin they sent to the king to say, "Come to our help and we shall yield Kalei to you." Similarly, the people of Kalei sent to say, "Help us and we shall yield Mohnyin to you." The king consulted Minyaza about these messages sent by the two princes of the country.

Minyaza's advice was this: "My lord King, there are matters which must be dealt with hastily, which call for speed and no delay; there are matters on the other hand which it is best to handle without hurry; they can be dealt with at leisure, playing a waiting game. There is no need to be in any hurry over this; there is the saying, 'the ogre's measure -- the man's measure.'¹ There is here a matter for slow and careful handling.

"Once upon a time a peasant² was harrowing his field near the forest edge when he saw two jungle cocks which had come out of the brush nearby and were fighting. He thought to himself, 'If I dash off now at once and make a hasty grab for them, both the cocks may escape into the forest and I'll lose them and waste time from my harrowing. So I'll finish with my business of harrowing the field while those two cocks carry on with their fight until they are exhausted and hurt.' So he continued to harrow his field steadily and watched the two cocks without making any sudden move towards them. When the peasant reached the end of his harrowing, since the two cocks had exhausted themselves, they could not escape by running, so that he could catch them easily by grabbing their legs. You must remember this exemplar"

The king followed the advice given by Minyaza and waited, helping neither of the two cities. The two cities continued their war against each other, and when they

12. See Maha-ummagga Jataka (no. 546).

13. This third section is somewhat anomalous, lacking both a formal title and the usual explanation of the historical occasion on which the advice was tendered. The tales used appear to be mere notes to be written up. I suggest that it is an unfinished skeleton, which was never completed. The inference is that the author first collected a set of tales on similar themes, and then looked for an historical occasion to hang them on.

1. I.e. there are different rates appropriate to different circumstances: you will run faster if an ogre is after you than if it is a mere man -- this seems the best explanation.

2. Source not known to me.

were thoroughly exhausted, he took them both over with great ease.

"In dealing with affairs of state such as this," Minyaza submitted, "one has to act slowly and cautiously. My lord King, Our Lord has said, 'When it is a matter of good works to win merit, you must act quickly; if you are slow to do good, the spirit of covetousness and ill-will may overbear your spirit of loving-kindness'.³ If you delay in dealing with an affair that ought to be carried through quickly, your gain will be the less, as is shown by the history of how a certain mountain on the border between Weithali and Yazagyo from time to time brought forth gold. The princes of Weithali would come immediately and carry the gold away and in this way on three occasions they secured all the gold. King Azatathat was slow in acting and so on these occasions he failed to get any of the gold at all. You must remember therefore that there are affairs in which it is profitable to delay action and others where profit lies in quick action, and learn to distinguish between what calls for slow action and what for quick."

One village from the Mohnyin territory and one from Kalei were picked out and given to Minyaza.

This is the fourth set of examples submitted by Minyaza in the *Maniyadanabonn*

I Minyaza's submission in respect of setting up boundary stones
I
I between the Burmese and the Shan territories

At this time Mingyizwasawke set up a representative of the Mohnyin Sawbwa's line as provincial governor, but this governor turned against him and remained in rebellion. The king said, "I have appointed this man of the Shans' ruling family as governor over the Shan country, and to me it has been, as they say, like a fruit from the forest being knocked down by a stick from the same forest, or like a flower being picked by using a stick from its own tree. Now that they have turned against me; Minyaza, go and set up boundary stones to demarcate the line between their land and ours." He was therefore sent off upon this mission.

Minyaza set out with the intention of following the king's instructions and setting up marks to separate the two countries, but when he reached a place near to the reference stone, he realized that the affairs of the country might be made two or three times worse and came back without placing the boundary stones.

Mingyizwasawke asked him, "Minyaza, why have you come back?" and to this Minyaza replied, "My lord King, Your Majesty has no desire for their country, and so has issued orders for this demarcation; your successors, however, your sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons, will shine forth with glory, honor, and power like the sun and moon, and they will find it cause to lay blame upon Your Majesty yourself and upon your servants, your ministers."

"Why should it be cause for blame?" asked the king.

"They will say that it is easy enough for this king or for that minister to order a boundary demarcation," he answered, "and that if their ambitions are so small, they can remain in a small way. They will find it cause for blame, however, in that you have not considered the interests of your sons and grandsons or foreseen the future course of events. I can foresee what will happen and therefore I have come back."

Mingyizwasawke gave him honor, saying, "The Yaza can envision affairs like a man who can see clearly what the house roof will be like from its foundation." He presented him with a pair of golden bracelets, a golden *salwe* of three strings and a horse from his own stable named Cloud Fancy.

The fifth submission of precedents submitted by Minyaza in the *Maniyadanabon* ends here.

When, during the reign of Mingyizwasawke's son King Mingaung, Mohnyin and Kalei

3. See Dhammapada Commentary, ix, 1.

were finally taken, King Mingaung gave Minyaza further rewards, on the ground that it was only because he had left without demarcating the boundary with stones that the king had recovered the territory. During the reign of Mingyizwasawke, Minyaza was only known in an unimportant position. He became of far greater note when the reign of King Mingaung was reached.

1 Mingyizwasawke's question about the Master of One and the
1
1 wide-ranging facts presented by Minyaza

On one occasion Mingyizwasawke raised a question with Minyaza. "Yaza," he asked, "what was my great-grandfather, the Master of One White Elephant, like in his disposition and habits?"

"My lord King,^a was the reply, "your great grandfather, Tazishin, used to act with the primary purpose of increasing his own temporal welfare; he paid less attention to the eternal. With an appearance of depth, he was shallow; with an appearance of maturity, he was immature. Your grandfather Okzana laid less stress upon his immediate profit, but much upon the eternal. With an appearance of shallowness, he had depth; with an appearance of immaturity he had ripeness. Your grandfather, Ngazishin, surpassed his father, Tazishin, and his elder brother, Okzana, in temporal fame, but his eternal welfare was less than theirs. Your great-grandfather, Tazishin, and your grandfather, Ngazishin, accepted the outcome of their acts,^a but they took no pains to ensure that that outcome should be good. Your grandfather, Okzana, on the other hand, equally accepted the consequence of his acts, but he sought to ensure that the consequence should be good. Your fellow monarchs find your great grandfather, the Master of One, and your grandfather, the Master of Five, praiseworthy in their times, but wise men who can give consideration both to present and to future welfare give their praise to your grandfather, Okzana."

"Yaza," said the King, "my uncles Kyawzwa and Nayathu, whom the Maw Shans took, they did not have the kind of power that could provide an example, but bodily strength lasts only for a little while. As for the power of speech, which relies upon the body, did the Lord not say that even if the world were destroyed, the words of religion would not be destroyed?"

"Just as you say, my lord King,^a replied Minyaza, "as to recognizing and honoring one's obligations, in the days of Thamokdayit, who was the first founder of Pagan which is also called Arimaddana, the land was oppressed and harassed by four great enemies, the storks, the wild boars, the tigers, and the flying squirrels, and all the time these had to be fed. Now Pyuzawhti, the son of the Sun spirit and grandson of Thagyamin, struck them down with the four magic weapons which Thagyamin had given him, and so these enemies were quelled and the land prospered. Thamokdayit the King was glad at this and married Pyuzawhti to his own daughter, the Princess Sanda,^d and appointed him to be his heir. When King Thamokdayit passed away, Pyuminhti, his son-in-law, did not at once ascend and occupy the throne. He arranged instead for a certain ascetic priest to resume lay dress and handed the throne over to him to occupy. The reason for which he handed over the throne was this: Zanthi, the daughter of the king of the black Nagas, left the land of the Naga and came to the land of men where she lived in a place called Nagapwetthanbo on the summit of the Malei mountain. At this time, Thagya was not yet in Tawateintha; a father and son were giving alms^q and since they were giving their alms with the Sun Prince, the father was re-born as Thagyamin and the son as the Sun Spirit. The son, the Sun Spirit, companied with Zanthi the Naga king's daughter; they coupled and her eggs became fertile. She gave birth to three eggs and, because the Sun Spirit would not guard them, the Naga princess disowned her eggs and went away to the Nagas' country. There was then a great rain which carried away these three eggs. One was broken on the spot and yielded precious rubies; one egg was found by a hunter who took it to Thindwe and there a beautiful girl was born from it; the third egg was carried down the main stream of the Irrawaddy river and it was found upon a piece of firm ground above Nyaung-u by an old man named Hpohpyu and his wife, who were making a dam. They kept it until a boy was born from it. Before he emerged, it was shown to a hermit of great age and high reputation, who pronounced that a son of great glory would be born from it and that he would be king. This prophecy was inscribed upon stone and in accordance with what was written, a boy of great glory was born and became famous as Pyuminhti, of the race of the Sun Spirit and Thagyamin's grandson. When he was made the king's

1. See p. 5 also.

heir, he brought in and supported the old people, Hpohpyu and his wife, who had supported him and brought him up.² They became known as Pyuminhti's father and mother and were very happy. He also made offerings, when he assumed the heirship to the Kingdom, to the good monk, the hermit who had recognized his origin. After the death of King Thamokdayit when he should have ascended the throne, he did not do so, but, since he was grateful to the hermit, he made him return to the world and rule as king for fifteen years. This king, from having been a hermit and then again assuming lay dress to become king, is called the *Yatheikyaung* King. Hpyuminhti continued to carry out the duties of heir-apparent which had been laid upon him. After reigning for fifteen years the *Yatheikyaung* King died and in the year 85 B.E. [A.D. 723] Pyuminhti came to be king at last. Owing to his demonstration of gratitude he was forty-five when he came to the throne; he reigned for seventy-five years and, both parts of his life together, he lived to be 120. Up to this date he is proverbial for the showing of gratitude.

"This is another example.

"As Your Majesty said just now, with regard to honesty and uprightness, there is the story of King Kyanzittha, lord of a host of canopies. The king of Weithali had seven daughters, of whom the eldest, since she found no husband, became a nun and was known as Thingamyitta. Within a nut borne upon a palm tree which Thingamyitta had planted there occurred the spontaneous generation of a baby girl. She was tenderly cared for and named Yusiyapaba. This princess was married to Prince Hsinbyushin and bore a daughter who was named Pinsakalyani. Anawrahtaminzaw desired a friendly alliance with the king of Weithali and asked for the hand of one of his daughters. The king of Weithali was in awe of Anawrahtaminzaw and so offered him Pinsakalyani. The officer who was her escort made a false report to Anawrahtaminzaw and abandoned her at the foot of Mount Popa. Aiming at the child with whom Pinsakalyani was now pregnant, Anawrahtaminzaw now killed seven thousand pregnant women and sixteen thousand who had just given birth, twenty-three thousand in all. In spite of this Kyanzittha did not die but escaped. When he was of an age to, Kyanzittha entered the king's service. After Anawrahtaminzaw's death, his son Saw Lu became king; Saw Lu was murdered by Ngayaman, and Ngayaman was killed by an arrow from the bow of the hunter Nga Zin. The Council thereupon requested Kyanzittha to rule over them and he therefore accepted the throne in 451 B.E. [A.D. 1089]. King Kyanzittha was honest and upright in the exercise of his authority: he was never devious. Although on many occasions he had to threaten punishment, he was not prone to anger and did not bear a grudge. He regarded Saw Lu's son, Saw Ywan, as his own master's son and, for fear that the royal line might be broken, married him to his own daughter, Shwei Ein, to preserve the succession intact. There was no one who resented his gaining the kingdom; King Kyanzittha was a man whose behavior held no guile and was completely straightforward.

"This is another example.

"Mahawthada,³ who was to become the Buddha, although he had the power to become the ruler of the whole inhabited world, since he was a wise man who could see what was good, both for the present life and for a future life, would not follow a devious course. In the present world he enjoyed a long life; in his future life he attained the much-desired reward.

"This is another example.

"While Widurathukamein⁴ would certainly have been freed if he had said, 'I am not the king's servant,' he spoke the truth without bending it for the sake of his wife and child's enjoyment of life. Later, though the king said, 'Tell me where I can follow you: I can cheat this man and ruin him,' he forbade him to do it since

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2. The whole of this myth is firmly rejected by the author of the Glass Palace Chronicle.
 3. Maha-ummagga Jataka (no. 546).
 4. Vidhurapandita Jataka (no. 545)r

such deception was wrong; and so he went away with him.⁵

"This is another example.

"Long ago, when Brahmadat was king over Bayanathi, the Buddha-to-be was born into a family of Brahmans.⁶ When he grew up he became the leader of a group of five hundred youths who were under a teacher who was famous in all the four quarters of the world. This teacher wished to make trial of the principles of his five hundred pupils⁷ and decided to give his daughter in marriage to the one of them who was most honest and virtuous in his ways. On the next day he sent for the youths and said to them, 'Boys⁸ my daughter is now of age and I have to find her a husband; for this I am going to need clothes and ornaments. You go and bring me any clothes and jewelry which you can pick up around your friends and relations without their noticing. I'll give her to the one who brings in the most without getting caught. Anyone found out is ineligible.⁹

"The youths agreed and took little by little, unnoticed by their friends, relations, and parents, small armlets and jewelry, brought them in, and gave them to the teacher. He noted them all down as they were brought in and kept them separately. But the Buddha-to-be brought in nothing. The teacher said to him 'Boy, why are you waiting around and bringing me nothing? All the others are bringing me all sorts of goods.¹⁰

"I'm not going to bring you in anything,¹¹ he answered.

"Why not?'

"I can't bring anything if anyone sees me; I can only bring it if I steal it quietly with no one seeing, and then there will be no one through all the world who will not know that I have done an ill deed, even if I hide in a secret place where I can not be seen.'

"The teacher then said, 'My son, I said that I wanted things brought to me, not because I was in any need, but because I wish to give my daughter to a husband who is firm in good principles and honesty. I decided therefore to make trial of you young men, and I find that only you are worthy of my daughter.¹² He adorned his daughter with clothes and jewelry and gave her to the Buddha-to-be. He returned the goods that the other youths had brought, each to the one who had brought it, and sent them back. Thus the five hundred youths who were lacking in the principles of honesty failed to win the teacher's daughter; only the Buddha-to-be showed himself truthful and straightforward and deserving of her hand. My lord King, much can be gained by the exercise of truth and honesty. Even if you gain by the exercise of insincerity and dishonesty, you will not win the accumulation of merit which you should be aiming for. One who has this accumulation of merit can gain his ends without using insincerity and dishonesty. Our Lord-to-be thus increased his reputation for all the virtues and achieved the ultimate peak.

"This is another example.

I
I A Submission regarding Fortune¹³
I

5. This is told so shortly that some explanation seems called for. Vidhura's master the King, was an inveterate gambler. There came to the palace a *yakkha* in guise of a youth who challenged the King to play at dice staking a fabulous jewel against the most valuable of the King's possessions. The King lost and the ogre claimed Vidhura. To save him the King said that he was not his slave, but Vidhura was too truthful to let this lie go by, and also would not permit the King to use loaded dice to win him back.
6. From the Silarimanisana Jataka (no. 305).
1. *athayei* is usually translated as "honor" or "reputation," but in this tale it seems rather to hark back to its origin in the Pali *siri*, which is the Sanskrit *srī*, a name of Lakshmi, the Hindu goddess of luck whose devotees are the merchants. Hence I make it "fortune.¹⁴

"Our Lord pronounced the Thirikanda Jataka² and in it told the tale of the Brahman who stole Fortune. The way of it was this: In the land of Thawutthi, the merchant Anahtapein had given alms and performed works of merit without counting the cost of all the wealth and precious things given away, until his property and goods ran low. At this time the archway of his northern gate was guarded by a spirit who was undergoing punishment³ by being compelled to carry gold worth 540 million into the house and restoring it to him. The merchant became friendly with the spirit and she heard the Law of the Lord and became an arahat. From that time on the merchant's wealth was his to enjoy as before.

A certain Brahman living in this same land of Thawutthi who could recognize the aura of Fortune saw how this merchant Anahtapein was restored from poverty to the enjoyment of his wealth and planned to go, pretending to pay respects to the merchant, but in reality to steal away his Fortune. He went to the merchant's house and Anahtapein offered him hospitality. After some pleasant conversation he asked him the reason for his coming. Now the Brahman was wondering where the Fortune of the house was kept; he could see a cockerel that was kept in the merchant's house inside a golden cage, its whole body white as a polished shell: the Fortune abode cockerel's comb. The Brahman could recognize that the Fortune was in this cockerel and he said, 'Merchant; I teach prayers and astrology to five hundred youths. We have to rely upon a cockerel which crows at the wrong time and the boys and I are tired of it. That cockerel of yours crows just at the right time and so we need your cockerel; that is why I have come to you. Please give me your cockerel,' he begged.

"Take it then, Brahman, I give it to you,' was the reply, but as soon as it was made the Fortune left the cockerel and moved to the ruby knob at the head of the bedstead. The Brahman could see that it had settled itself into the ruby knob and so he asked for the ruby.

"I give it to you,' said the merchant.

"As soon as he said this the Fortune left the ruby knob and moved to the staff which was kept at the head of the bed. The Brahman recognized this and so asked for the staff.

"Take it,' he was told, but immediately the Fortune moved again and settled upon the head of the merchant's wife who was named Ponnyaethkanadeiwi. The Brahman realized this and thought, 'This is not a possession that he can give up; it would not be right to demand it,' and so he said, 'Merchant, I came here with the intention of stealing the Fortune of your house. Your Fortune lay in the cock's comb, but when you gave me the cock it moved to the ruby; when you gave me the ruby it shifted to the staff; when you gave me the staff it moved to your wife's head and settled there. I have no power therefore to steal your Fortune. Your wealth therefore is for you alone.' So saying he rose and left.

"The merchant Anahtapein went to the monastery and told the Lord about this and the Lord replied, 'Merchant, at this time it is not possible for one man's Fortune to go to another. Long ago, however, people who were short of luck might desire Fortune, and, if they went to the feet of those who had luck in plenty, this Fortune would of its own accord without any trouble pass across to them,' and he told a story of times past. 'Once upon a time Brahmada⁴ was king in the land of Bayanathi. He who was to be the Buddha⁴ was born into a family of Brahmans in the Kathi country, and when he was of age he went to Tetkatho⁵ to study; this finished, he married, and after the death of his parents he repented his sins and went to the Himawunta forest to live as a hermit monk. In this way of life he achieved supernatural power and wisdom. On one occasion he went to the inhabited country to beg food and reached a garden belonging to the king of Bayanathi, where he stayed. In the early dawn he went to the city for food and came to the house of the Chief Elephant Keeper, who proved hospitable and fed him. He begged the monk to stay permanently in the garden and undertook to provide for him himself.

2. Siri Jataka (no. 284); preface.

3. Her sin lay in trying to discourage Anahtapein from spending everything on the religion; the punishment was to recover his wealth for him.

4. Siri Jataka (no. 284) -- main story. Cf. also 445.

5. Tetkatho = Taxila, famous from ancient times for its university; now the regular modern Burmese term for any university.

"At just this time there was a woodcutter, who had brought a load of firewood from the forest; he found that he could not reach the city before the gates were closed and so went to sleep in a spirit shrine, using his bundle of firewood as a pillow. At this spirit shrine many fowls used to be released⁶ and they were roosting upon a branch of a nearby tree. In the morning as they woke up, one of the birds who was roosting high up in the tree mated and its dung fell upon another who was sleeping lower down;

"Who shat on me?" he asked.

"I did," admitted the higher rooster.

"Why did you shit on me?"

"Wasn't thinking!" And he let go again.

"After that the two birds began to quarrel.

"Let's see how strong you are!"

"If I were killed and roasted at a fire," boasted the bird who had been roosting beneath, "anyone who ate me would earn a thousand pieces a day!"

"Ha ha! Is that all you can boast of?" bragged the bird who roosted higher up, "Me! If anyone boils and eats my meat he'll be a king! Any man who eats my skin will be a general! If he eats my marrow he'll have charge of a treasure, if he's a layman; he'll be a Royal Chaplain, if he's a monk!"

"The woodcutter heard the two birds talking like this and thought, "Being king is better than having a thousand a day!" and quietly climbed up the tree and grabbed the bird which had roosted higher up. He killed the bird and took it along with him to make sure of becoming King. The town gate was by now open and so he went in and gave the bird to his wife, telling her to cook it carefully. The wife prepared the chicken and prepared rice, set them before him, and said, "Eat then."

"The man, however, said, "No; this meat is of great power and great influence and when I've eaten it I'm going to be king! Bring the food! I shall go to the bank of the River Ganges and there I shall eat it up." So they went, and there on the bank of the River Ganges they set the rice pot down and went into the river to bathe. Just then a wave, stirred up by a wind, came along and the rice pot was carried away on the river.

"Lower down the river the Chief Elephant Keeper saw it as he brought his elephant to the water and he had it fished out. He told the man to open the pot and see what was in it and was told, "Chicken and rice." The Chief Elephant Keeper told him to put the cover back on and sent him up to his wife with instructions that the pot should not be opened before he came home.

"The woodcutter had gone into the water after the rice pot, and when he was finally pulled out his belly was full of the water that he had swallowed and well swollen.

"The hermit monk who had become the Chief Elephant Keeper's chaplain was wondering when he would be able to free himself of the Chief Elephant Keeper's affairs and go his own way. He looked using the powers of sight which he had and saw that the Chief Elephant Keeper was on the point of becoming king; he hurried to his house and waited there. When the Elephant Keeper returned to his house from the elephants' bathing place, he did reverence to the hermit monk, had the rice pot brought, and gave it to him for his meal. The monk accepted the gift of food, but did not take the meat saying, "I shall make special arrangements about this meat."

"Please do so," they said, and he sorted out the boiled meat cutting it up into three parts. One part, the actual meat, he gave to his patron, the Chief Elephant Keeper, to eat; he picked out the skin parts and gave them to the Keeper's wife, and he himself ate up the marrow of the bones. After they had eaten he took his leave, saying, "Seven days from now, you, Patron, will become king -- don't forget!" and so

6. Releasing creatures held in captivity for slaughter in order to earn merit is a common practice. Now more usual at a pagoda than at a spirit shrine.

he went away.

"Three days later an enemy king came and laid siege to the land of Bayanathi. The King of Bayanathi ordered his Chief Elephant Keeper to make the main attack disguised as himself, while he, the king, went out to the battlefield in inconspicuous fashion, but as he went he was struck by an arrow and was killed. Although news of his lord's death by an arrow was brought to the Chief Elephant Keeper, he did not quail in the battle; he brought out his entire fortune and offered gifts of 500 pieces to the men. Thus he hired soldiers for pay and in their eagerness for money rewards the soldiers and their officers vied with each other and were spurred on to take the life of the king of the enemy.

"The late king had no son or brother who should succeed him, and, after they had finished with the business of a royal funeral for his body, the Council debated as to whom they should make their king. Since in his lifetime their lord the king had given the task of standing in for himself to his Chief Elephant Keeper, and since even apart from the battle the Keeper was a man of high intelligence and ability, the officers of the Council reached the unanimous decision that the Chief Elephant Keeper would be the best man to rule the country, and that since this was so it would be right to consecrate him to the kingship and appoint him king. They therefore consecrated him and raised him to the throne. His wife they made queen, and the monk, who was to become the Buddha, became the King's Chaplain.

"He who was the king in that life is now Ananda; I your Lord was then the hermit monk.' Thus he recounted the birth-story.

"This is another example.

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Submission regarding King Ngataba

"In the land of Thirihkittaya a certain abbot had a cockerel which kept on crowing, 'He who eats my head will have great glory and honor and will become king!f When the Abbot heard this cry, he killed the bird himself and gave it to one of his novices to boil in a pot. When it was properly cooked, the head of the cockerel fell out of the spoon as he lifted it from out of the pot and it dropped into the ashes. Since it was thus dirtied, he ate it himself, and when he had finished he took the rest of the chicken to his master and presented it to him. Not seeing the head, the Abbot ordered the novice to bring it at once, and the novice had to explain what had happened. His master thought 'What must be, must be!' and so taught him all the books of Religion, of Astrology and of Law. He then sent him out into the world, to the court of King Thiriyit. The king, seeing that the novice's abilities made him fit to rule as a king, welcomed him as affectionately as if he had been his own son, and having no son of his own, married him to his daughter and made him his heir. After the death of the king the novice became king. He won great fame, being given the nickname of Ngataba (Mr. A.N.Other) since he was not of the royal line. King Ngataba was fifteen years old when he came to the court of King Thiriyit and when he became king. He ruled for fifty-one years and lived for sixty-six years in all.

"This is another example.

"In the story of the present time,¹ the Brahman who came to steal Fortune won no Fortune since his intentions were not pure. Since the intentions of the merchant Anahtapein were pure, however, whenever he gave away the article in which his Fortune was seated, it changed its place from one thing to another and resettled itself in a new spot.

"In the story of the past, although in his desire for Fortune the woodcutter put out great efforts to win it and to master it even at the expense of his life, he did not have the accumulation of good deeds and merit which is called "a good *Karma*"² and so did not succeed. The Chief Elephant Keeper, on the other hand, had the good *Karma* which derived from the energy which he showed in his lord's interest and from carrying out his lord's orders single-mindedly and honestly at the risk of his life when the country required it and from the joy which he found in almsgiving and good works.

1. I.e. of the time at which the Buddha told the jataka story.

2. The net result of all past activities, which is the determinant of what happens next.

they were crossing a ford he would drop the bag of pebbles, pretending that he had dropped the bag of gold, so that he would be in sole possession of the gold.

"So they went upon their way and came to a ford. They ate their rice there, and the elder brother, who would become the Buddha, gave the remains of his rice in charity to all creatures living in the water and gave a share in the merit earned to the spirits who were guardians of the river. As they crossed the ford the younger brother, when his brother was not looking, dropped the bag of gold in the water, mistaking it for his bag of pebbles. He cried out, 'Brother, the bag of gold is lost in the water.' His brother, who was of a nature which could bear a loss, just said, 'What's lost is lost,' and went on. The younger brother in great glee went home, opened the bag and was devastated to find that he had only a bag of stones. The spirit who was guardian of the river, however, made a big fish swallow the bag of gold and then caused it to be caught by a fisherman. This man offered it for sale in Bayanathi, but he could find no buyer. When he came to the future Buddha's house, he agreed to buy the fish, but the fisherman said, 'There's no need for you to buy it,' and made him a present of it. When they opened the belly of the fish and looked inside, they saw the bag of gold.

"That's the bag that slipped from my brother's hand and fell in the water,' he said, sent for his brother and began to share it out. The river spirit, however, came and said, 'Your brother's a rogue. Don't share with him.' However the Buddha-to-be did divide up the gold and gave him a share.

"If you consider this story it means that it is not right to use crooked means against those who are accustomed to behave honestly. But, my lord King, in crooked places those who know how to act crookedly do in the short run come off best.

"I shall give you another example: When he who was to be the Buddha was a judge⁴ in Bayanathi, there were two citizens who became friends and entered into a trading partnership. One of the two was a rogue and claimed before his partner that the iron which had been bought for the partnership had been eaten by rats. His partner only said, 'It's been eaten - too bad.' But after a little while he called the rogue's son out in front of his father's house and invited him to come and bathe. This partner hid away the boy and when he went back to the house the father asked, 'Where is my son?'

"Sir, your son was carried off by a hawk and though I ran after it trying to frighten it, it would not drop him and has flown off with him, I know not where!

"A hawk flew off with my boy! We'll see about that in court!' said the father, who went to the Buddha-to-be and filed a suit.

"When the Buddha-to-be asked the partner whether the story was true, he replied, 'Your Honor, a hawk carried off the boy as sure as rats ate up the iron!'

"The judge, the future Buddha, considered the cases put forward by the two litigants, wisely came to the conclusion that they were each cheating the other and decreed that the boy should be returned to his father and the iron to its owner. The second partner, since the iron had not been eaten by the rats, admitted in fact that the boy had not been carried off by a hawk and gave him back, while the rogue gave up his share to his partner.

"This is another example.

"Leaving men aside, even among the lower animals one who plots crookedly devises his plans to get the better of another and at times comes off best. As a tale of such a one put down, at one time he who was to become the Buddha lived in a place not far from a lake as the spirit who was the guardian of a *hkan tet* tree.⁵ There was a heron who saw all the fish who lived in the shallow water of the lake and he made a plan to get to eat them all by means of a trick. He went to where the fishes were and addressed them. 'Friends and Fishes,' he said, 'When the hot weather comes, this lake where you live is going to dry up and you will all die. Before the summer comes I will carry you to another lake which I have seen, all filled with the five kinds of

4. Kuta-vanija Jataka (no. 218) -- also in Hitopadesa and many folk tales.

5. Baka Jataka (no. 38).

water-lilies.r'

"'We don't trust you,r' said the fishes.

"'If you don't trust me,r' said the heron, 'appoint one of your number who can go on dry land and I shall show him the way.r'

"So the fishes appointed a mudfish who could get along on dry land and the heron showed him a lake. The mudfish looked at the lake and came back along with the heron and reported to his friends that there was indeed a lake full of water lilies.

"Fishes can't get there,r' said the fishes, but the heron offered to carry them. He took them up one by one and near the lake, high up in the *hkan tet* tree, he tore them with his talons, killed and ate them.

"When all the fish in the lake had been eaten up and he had no more to eat in sight, he spoke to a crab, 'My dear crab, I have taken all the fish, who are of your sort, to where they are now living, a lake filled with the five kinds of water-lillies. You too can come and live happily in that lake; I'll carry you,r' he said treacherously. The crab was a cautious creature, however.

"'This heron is of a race that preys upon my race,r' he thought to himself. 'Let's see if this is really true or not.r'

"'Sir Heron,r' he said out loud, 'I shan't dare to come if you pick me up like the fishes. I shall only feel brave enough if I can come holding on to your neck.r'

"The heron did not realize that the crab had designs on him and answered, 'Come on then!r' and the crab took hold of the heron's neck and off they went. When they were near the lake, the heron instead of setting him down soared up to the top of his tree and made as though to hurl him down from there.

"'Friend Heron,' said the crab, 'there's the other lake; that's where you ought to fly.'

"'I brought you to this place; am I your servant?r' answered the heron. 'I've eaten up your friends and relations the fish: can't you see their bones lying white all around?r'

"'You got to eat my friends and relations the fish because they were fools; how are you going to eat me?r' said the crab as he gripped tighter and harder until the heron thought his eyes would start from his head.

"'Spare my life,r' he begged, 'don't kill me and I'll carry you to the lake.r'

"'Carry me to the lake; if you don't, you die!r' threatened the crab. The heron carried him to the lake and, just as he was going to set him down the crab cut right through the heron's neck, as cleanly as if he had had scissors.

"The guardian spirit of the tree who was to be the Buddha said, 'Those who plan evil for others in this present life come to an ill end themselves.r'

"This is another example."

Minyaza added, "My lord King, those who devise crooked plots do have many successes, but they get little benefit from them, since they get their punishment in their future life. Those who act honestly and openly in their affairs may have few successes but they know that their reward is certain. Even if their state falls low, they have the praise of the Bodhisattvas and other holy beings, and they progress to a better state.r'

From the time when Mingyizwasawke became king he gave unstinted support to Minyaza.

The sixth section of the submission of precedents by Minyaza in the *Maniyadanabon* ends here.

I
I Minyaza's Precedents submitted in connection with giving
I
I Arakan to Saw Mungyi
I

At another time, in 745 B.E. [A.D. 1383] the royal line of succession in Arakan was broken and a delegation arrived to ask for the appointment of a candidate for the kingship. The king proposed to appoint his uncle Saw Mungyi, Theikpatei of Tagaung; but since it was such a distant country he first consulted Minyaza of Winzin.

Minyaza replied to his question, "Is it your Majesty's opinion that his loyalty is such that you can rely upon him completely? In your opinion, if you rely upon him, is he capable of carrying out his duties? If these two provisos are fulfilled, it will be the right thing to appoint him. If they are not fulfilled, it will be just as when you put oil into a new, unfired pot and you lose both the oil and the pot; even if you think him capable, if you don't think him loyal you will never have peace of mind. If you think him loyal but he proves incapable, it is a far off country where you will not be able to support him against the threats of neighboring kings and thus too you will never have peace of mind. If there are members of a king's own circle and family, who recognize their obligations and are men of ability, even in a far-off country they will prove to show obedience and respect. If, however, the members of the king's own circle and family are not such as to honor their obligations and are not men of ability, in such a position they will prove to be in a constant state of disorder and mutiny. My lord King, this is all that I can submit in this matter. If, in addition to whatever ministers are appointed to accompany your royal uncle, your own friends and kin are sent to govern, just as people compare and reckon that a healthy branch must be growing from a healthy trunk, so the kings who rule wide territories enjoy wide respect. My lord King, the rope that binds an elephant is secure enough if it is an elephant's leg that it is binding; on a hen's leg it would be much too loose. On the other hand, a string that can be used to tie a hen's leg would break if it were used on an elephant. Since these are two separate countries, only the king's own friends and kin will be suitable. Since it is a far-off land, we have no use for outsiders. In accordance with your original intention it will be right to give Arakan to Saw Mungyi."

Mingyizwasawke accepted Minyaza's advice and gave Arakan to Saw Mungyi. Shortly before he left for Arakan, the king sent for him and said, "Uncle, if you rule over your people, laymen and monks, lovingly, you will show your love for me. If you aim only for the welfare of your people, laymen and monks, you will be aiming for my welfare."

Minyaza also said, "My lord King, it is right that you should seek to spread your rule widely, just as men make every effort to take clear possession of a tree when they see its fruit and flowers."

The king also gave to Saw Mungyi the governance of other territories and their appurtenances. With the revenues of Arakan behind him, Saw Mungyi was enabled to take over control of the seven districts along the mountains in accordance with the seven duties of a prince; he thus became extremely rich.

In the time of King Alaungzithu the Thet people had attacked and taken Mindon and the king ordered the people from an area called Apitsagiri to make a settlement concentrated into one district; this was therefore called Arakan. In course of constant use in speech the name was reduced from Kyikaing (concentration) to Yakaing. The original founder of Arakan was Nankyagyi.

I
I Minyaza's submissions and precedents in regard to a diadem
I
I presented by Saw Mungyi to Mingyizwasawke
I

Along with many other gifts Saw Mungyi sent a diadem, thinking that though the king might have plenty of headbands of great value ornamented with Mogok rubies, they were of Burmese workmanship and he would send one of foreign make. When he saw this

diadem Mingyizwasawke was delighted and thought to put it on at once. This diadem was that which had been worn by Nankyangei, the son of Nankyagyi,¹ and had been kept in a safe place for many years. The workmanship was excellent and Saw Mungyi therefore offered it out of respect. Minyaza, however, saw the diadem and submitted that ornaments and dressings to decorate the hair of the king's head should be discarded; one who was named king had his power only from his own glorious repute.

"My lord King," he said, "Thiridamathawga the king² did not put on at night the clothes which he had worn in the morning, and he did not put on in the morning the clothes which he had worn at night. The things that a king must avoid are these: stooping to go under a rattan rod, sleeping without washing the feet, eating without examining the food. Only thus is their power increased.

"This is another example.

I
I Minyaza's account of King Duttabaung
I

"My lord King, I shall give you an example from history: At the time when your ancestor, King Duttabaung, took an expedition into the Kyin country, the Queen of Panhtwa, in the three territories of the Setkana hills, the Thayana hills, and Panhtwa, was known for her thirty litter-bearers at her going out and her coming in. King Duttabaung sent word of his coming, implying to the Queen of Panhtwa that their status was not equal. The Queen therefore thought to herself, 'All men consider me their superior; therefore I am his superior,' and held repeated consultations with all the wisest men that her country could provide on how to bring down the vainglory of this king. Her advisers suggested, 'Lady Queen, it will be best if you can arrange for the marks of royalty which he bears upon his face to disappear from wearing clothes which are impure.'

"The Queen of Panhtwa therefore made every appearance of receiving King Duttabaung lovingly and gladly; she put fine powder of the perfume called *thila* and of that called *heimamala* in small golden boxes and had them offered to him each day. When one opened the little golden box of the *thila* perfume, a wonderfully sweet scent came out as though to perfume the whole country and to attract everyone's nostrils to the open box. King Duttabaung habitually applied it to himself. One day the Queen had a waistcloth brought from the burning ground for corpses and had it cleaned white. It was then unravelled and when it was brought down to be liked combed cotten, she had it rewoven and offered it to the King as a face towel. King Duttabaung thought that he was being treated with love and respect and wiped his face with it. After he had used it thus for three days, the royal marks, moles on either side of his eyes, disappeared. When these royal marks thus went, the four steel arrows that the Galon bird¹ had given him, the Ayeindama flying spear that was the gift of Thagyamin, and also the Thilawuntha sword and the spirit armies disappeared too. The Naga's daughter Beizandi too returned to the land of the Naga. When his power was thus diminished, Thagyamin himself came to Bassein city, which had each year provided a revenue of one thousand pieces of pure gold, and poured away into the water nineteen thousand pieces of pure gold that was nineteen years' revenue from Bassein. He also cast into the water the bell and great drum which told when it was time to weigh out and pay the tax. Since this was so, let the royal countenance and the king's head make their own effect like the golden lily Kumokdaya, and let circumspection and caution be exercised over vesture and adornment.

"My lord King, I shall give another example. During the reign of the King named Binnyayanbe, who ruled over Hanthawadi, a young woman said to King Binnyayanbe, 'Your majesty, we women in the time of our uncleanness must live only with clothes and adornments which are impure. Princes, however, whoever they are, remain in a brilliant position only while they are associated with glory and power. If one wants power and glory one must live only in association with people whose clothes and adornments have no impurity.'²

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1. The names mean 'the elder' and 'the younger Abdicator' and are therefore inauspicious.
 2. The Emperor Asoka, a model of kingship in the stories.
 1. *Garuda*, the mythical eagle that is a powerful and fierce protector in Burmese mythology.

"Binnyayanbe recognized the truth of what she said, and set her among his queens.

"Great restraint should be exercised in the matter of food and drink. My lord King, I shall give you another example. Your royal ancestor, Anawrahtaminzaw, offered to give a white elephant to King Manuha of Thahton if he would have the Pitakat copied for him. When he declined the offer, the king grew angry and ravaged the land of Thahton. He captured King Manuha along with his thirty white elephants and his white canopies and ceremonial drums. King Manuha, however, on the ground that he was master of thirty white elephants while Anawrahtaminzaw was master of only six, refused to do homage to him. Anawrahtaminzaw told his advisers that King Manuha would do no homage to him and they pointed out that the thirty white elephants of the Thahton King now were his own.

"About this time the King of Thahton asked one of Anawrahtaminzaw's counsellors how many white elephants were owned by the king and was informed that he now owned thirty-six. The King of Thahton then thought that, since Anawrahtaminzaw had six more white elephants than he himself owned, it would be well to do homage to him and later he did so. After King Manuha had done homage, however, Anawrahtaminzaw broke out in a violent skin eruption. When this was discussed with his counsellors, they declared that this was due to a virulent poison, and that to reduce the virulence of this poison an offering of food should be made formally upon a salver at the Shweizigon pagoda; each day this should be given to the king of Thahton, without his knowledge, as his food. Action was taken accordingly and, when King Manuha ate this food which was set before him, the authority which lay in his mouth vanished. As his glory and power were diminished, Anawrahtaminzaw could now receive his submission without breaking out in a skin eruption.²

"Since this is so, kings who are lords of land and water must do their eating and drinking with care and circumspection about what they eat and drink."

The king heard this submission out and admitted its truth; he did not don the diadem but gave it to Minyaza along with an emerald comb. Minyaza considered the gift and made his decision: if he were to wear the diadem it might seem presumptuous, as though he wished to seem to be himself royal; if he did not, however, it might seem that he had no respect for the king's gift and it would be best to wear it. Consequently he donned it himself. After he had worn it for two or three days, he brought the diadem and the emerald comb in to a Council meeting and said, "I do wear this, because I live in the presence, bright as a firework, of my glorious lord. This diadem is, however, really more suitable to be a gift for another continent, another empire, or another kingdom," and he offered it back to the king.

Mingyizwasawke replied, "It was sent with the best of intentions; as for anything else, even if it was not altogether suitable as a gift for me, it was given in love and respect and with no idea of any unsuitability. Minyaza for his part has acted in such a way as to provide an example which my sons and grandsons who come after me will do well to follow. One who confers a benefit must be rewarded according to the nature of the benefit." He took the diadem and asked how much it would be worth in Arakan. It was valued at one thousand pieces and according to this valuation he made a present in return. A king's ministers and advisers must be prepared to accept gifts proportionately with the generosity of the king with whom they are dealing. Gifts are accepted with such reciprocity.

This is another example.

Mingyizwasawke was a generous giver, and because of his pleasure at being given a cup of soup made from a spur-fowl by a small chieftain, he gave him a village called Yindaw with a fortune of a thousand pieces. He also gave an elephant to a toddy-tapper of Nwalunywa. Because of this king's generosity, he had many good servants.

A little later he asked Saw Mungyi about the history of the diadem and learned that it was the diadem that Nankyangei, the son of Nankyagi, used to wear. The king remarked that it is a true saying that if you run from what you don't know, you will probably come off better than if you stop to speculate upon what is outside your knowledge. He sent for Minyaza of Winzin and made him a present of a Shan waistcloth of *nilkanti* pattern which had been sent in by his officers at Kalei and which he had worn.

2. These two stories must be from Mon sources.

This is another example.

About this time too he asked, "Father Yaza,³ is it not true that kings will only prosper if they exercise full mindfulness in their actions and perform them cautiously and with consideration?"

"What your Majesty says is true; my lord King, I shall give an example.

"Long ago, in the land of Kapila there was a king named Pinsala⁴ in the city of North Pinsala who ruled without justice, set in the four ways of misgovernment that are not to be followed. Since this king gave no justice, no one in the country from his officers down observed any justice, and because of the oppressive taxes and exactions the people of the country took their wives and children and fled to the forest and lived like wild deer or fish. When night fell, they would leave the forest and keep their houses. In the day time the officials would rob and oppress them; in the night robbers roamed and the whole country was in terror. At this time he who was to be our Lord was born as the guardian spirit of a tree outside the city and each year he received from the king offerings of sugar worth a thousand pieces. This guardian spirit thought to himself, 'Because this king pays no heed to his government, all the people of the country are being ruined. Apart from me there is no one who can turn the king to the ways of justice that he should follow. He is my great benefactor and I must admonish him.'

"That night he went into the king's chamber and shone out with brightness like the new-risen sun's. The king saw this spirit so brilliantly shining and said, 'Who are you and what have you come for?' The spirit, who was to be our Lord, replied, 'I am the guardian of that fruit tree and I am here to give you a warning.'

"The king said, 'What is your warning?'

"'Honored King, you use no care in the exercise of your rule. Because of your heedlessness there is murder over all your land as well as robbery, and the land is being ruined. No king who does not pay close attention to the government of his land is master of the whole of his territory; he sees it brought to ruin before his eyes and before long he himself will be in one of the four states of punishment. If a king has no care, all people within and beyond his territory will act heedlessly. Kings must therefore pay particular attention in governing, ordering and watching over their lands, so that there may be prosperity for themselves, for their families, friends, and relations and for their descendents. Do not delay therefore in taking thought how your prosperity may not so be diminished.' Saying this the guardian spirit of the tree went back to his own shrine.

"Pinsala the king was deeply impressed. He handed over charge of the country to his counsellors and in inconspicuous guise went about the land in company with a Brahman priest. He found that in all the towns and villages he heard curses upon the king from old men and old women, from cultivators and dairymen, from herdsmen and children -- prayers for his death too and other such things. When the Brahman priest questioned the old men and other people about this, they answered, 'Sir priest, King Pinsala does not follow the way of justice and hence his ministers observe no justice. People's sons and daughters are ruined and robbed. We are oppressed with taxes and exactions beyond our power to pay. We have to shut our houses and go and lie hidden in the forests. Is this not all the fault of King Pinsala? If King Pinsala observed justice, his ministers would observe justice. If his ministers observed justice, his servants would observe justice.' King Pinsala could not take offence at such replies; he could only believe that what was said was true. He returned to the city and began to rule in accordance with the law. He devoted himself to almsgiving and other good works and, on his passing, attained the highest abode of the spirits.

"This is another example.

3. This form of address is proper from a young prince to a senior minister. It is used regularly by Mingyizwa\$awke's sons to Minyaza but not by the King himself. This piece may therefore be misplaced.

4. The Ganda-tinda Jataka (no. 520).

responsibility. He therefore said, "My lord King, if you can catch your high servants who are drunk with the pride of power with the hook that is called wisdom and has the power of the Wayazein edge, it will be for the good of both your ministers and your people. Please instruct him to behave, not like the palm with its heavy seed, but like a banyan tree whose seed is small, or like a cat that keeps its claws sheathed. His behavior may well prove very harsh in a far off land."

The king sent for Saw Mei and gave him his instructions just as Minyaza had suggested, and in 745 B.E. [A.D. 1383] the appointment was confirmed. Saw Mei, however, as soon as he had taken charge in Arakan, chopped down all the banyan trees inside and outside the city and fed them to his elephants. He killed all the cats in the city and in the forests around and ate them himself. His behavior was consistently harsh and cruel. The people of Arakan therefore rebelled, and Saw Mei was forced to leave. The Arakanese said, "Since this Saw Mei came to rule our land, all the banyan trees in Arakan and all the cats are gone!" After they had driven out Saw Mei, they made Yagyī, the grandson of the deposed King of Arakan, their king.

Mingyizwasawke said, "This has turned out just as Yaza reckoned it would." Since he was very fond of Saw Mei, however, he did not blame him, but consulted Minyaza to decide what territory could be placed in his charge. Minyaza's advice was, "My lord King, it would be best to give him his promotion within your own court, just as you use hobbles to train a horse which does not run well." The king this time followed Minyaza's advice and in 747 B.E. [A.D. 1385] he placed Saw Mei in charge of the city of Pagan.

Later on, the king's counsellors criticized Minyaza, asking why he should not have given his opinion on this affair openly, but stayed silent. "My lords," he replied, "I will give you an example of calling a thing true which is untrue and untrue which is true. In a certain country the king and a Brahman were friends² and it came about that one day the Brahman said to the king, 'My lord, for the next seven days there will be a week of continuous rain, and when the people of this land drink the water of this rain they will run mad.'

"To this the King replied, 'Teacher, in that case you and I won't drink it.'

"As the Brahman had foretold, the rain came and the people drank the water and when they had drunk the whole country went insane. The king and the Brahman, however, had not drunk and they retained their sanity. All the people, however, who had drunk that water and run mad, in their madness railed against the king and the Brahman and called them mad. When he had taken much abuse from his people, the king said, 'Teacher, it will be best if we do drink that water; everyone else has drunk and gone mad and they accuse you and me, who have not drunk and are not mad, of being mad. We had better therefore drink the water from that rain to escape their abuse.' The Brahman teacher agreed with what the king said, and they drank the rain water.

"I should be delighted if, like that king and that Brahman, I could escape criticism by a drink and, if like them I could just drink rain water, because then I could pass over the many faults in a proposition and believe that what I knew to be so was not; it would be an easy escape!

"This is another example."

From the time when Saw Mei took charge in Arakan and the Arakanese rebelled, Mingyizwasawke appointed no viceroy and left Arakan alone. People compared him to the kite which, greedy for just another tidbit of meat, drops the whole joint, or to the monkey which spills a whole load of beans in its greed for just one more and has to search for them. The one to whom he wished well did not do his duty well, while the one towards whom he had no special inclination carried out his duty. "Therefore," said Minyaza, "the king's prosperity lies in the man who does his duty, no matter whether he feels any special benevolence towards him."

This is another example.

2. Source not known to me, but compare the story of Ch'ü Yuan in Giles' Biographical Dictionary, #503. This may therefore have a Chinese origin.

When any king has to appoint a governor over a territory, he must consider, "If I send so-and-so, the country will be treated liberally; if on the other hand I send so-and-so, it will be oppressed," in making the appointment from among his counsellors, friends, and kin. Mingyizwasawke lost territory by not giving the appointment to the candidate whom Minyaza recommended, but to Saw Mei of Tayokmyo, who proved quite unfit for the post.

The eighth section of precedents submitted by Minyaza of Winzin in the *Maniyadanabon* ends herer

I
I The death of Mingyizwasawke
I

In 752 B.E. [A.D. 1390] during the reign of Mingyizwasawke, since the annoyances from the Talaings' armies were increasing, he had to appoint his son Tarabyagyi to the command of his army. A conference was held with the Talaing commander and an armistice was negotiated; the two kings had a friendly meeting and parted.

In 762 B.E. [A.D. 1400] Mingyizwasawke died. He had come to the throne at thirty-seven, ruled for thirty-three years and died at seventy. His birth day was Monday.

NOTE: In other chronicles and epics, too, Mingyizwasawke's age at his accession is given as thirty-seven and the length of his reign as thirty-three years, and consequently seventy as his age at his death. Elsewhere, however, in the *Maniyadanabon* his reign is given as thirty-four years, making his age seventy-one.

I
I The Accession of King Mingaung I and his early Life
I

In 762 B.E. [A.D. 1400] after Mingyizwasawke's death, his son Tarabya became king. This prince once while walking in the country in the area of Aungbinlei met a magician,¹ who demanded from him a left-handed conch shell. "Give me then the fairy girl that I want," the prince replied; the magician snapped his fingers and a fairy appeared. He handed her over to the prince, who took his pleasure, and then she vanished. After her disappearance a great restlessness and distraction came over him. He went down to the Ngamyahpayahla landing, but on the Ngamyahpayahla hill Nga Nauksan, lord of Tagaung, the son of his guardian, planned to kill him, but before his plans came to anything the Council met at Pyinsei to confer with Prince Minswei and the other princes. They explained to them what had happened and said, "Princes, this is a matter which puts the crown and throne at risk."

Prince Minswei then spoke, "My lords," he said, "I am indeed the late king's son; my forces and my power, however, are weak. My uncle Mahabyauk of Yameithin has great authority and strength; let him be king." The ministers went to Prince Mahabyauk and he agreed to accept the office. Prince Minswei came from Pyinsei and set up an encampment in the Yanaungmyin garden and Prince Mahabyauk came from Yameithin and camped in the same Yanaungmyin garden. The Sagaing prince, Theikdat, however, came too and disputed the action of his elder brother, the Prince of Pyinsei, who told him that he had already agreed to give place to their uncle Mahabyauk.

"Brother," he replied, "it's fine to yield place at a dinner party, but when it's a question of ruling a country, how can it be right to yield place? Never mind, brother you keep to what you've said -- I'll find a way out." He thereupon attacked and killed Prince Mahabyauk.

Prince Theikdat then invited his elder brother to take over the rule of Ava, but the city was by now in the hands of Nga Nauksan. The two brothers reckoned that between them they could deal with him and went and attacked him. They had beaten him by noon that day. They took the throne of Ava with all its swords and silver and in

1. *zawgi* (otherwise *zawgyi*) is the Burmese version of the Hindi *yogi* and can mean almost any sort of wonder-worker.

762 B.E. he ascended the throne. The eldest brother, Tarabyagyi, was thirty-two when he became king, but he only reigned for five months and seven days. His only work of merit was a pagoda to the south of the Tada-u pagoda in Tadayakyawhkan.

As soon as he achieved the throne, King Mingaung, the younger brother, also known as Minswei, issued orders that from that day all factional quarrels must cease. He did not depose the officials and governors who had been appointed for life during his father's reign, but allowed them to keep their offices and territories as before. He made no assignments of villages at this stage to his own associates unless the fiefs were already vacant. Later on he realized that people were wondering why he made no grants and criticized him saying, "We work for our master's prosperity and labor in his business and that of his descendants, but ever since he has become king he has only made grants of villages to those who held them already." He felt that if there were any future business to be done he would not get enthusiastic service; he did not hurriedly make grants to his regular retainers, but did begin gradually to make grants to his close associates.

King Mingaung was a man who had experienced hardship and had learned wisdom from it. The reason for saying that he had experienced hardship is this. Prince Mingaung as a child, during the reign of Mingyizwasawke, his father, was handed over to his father's tutor, Minngeikyei Thingayaza, and set to get an education from him. Before his education was completed, it was thought that his elder brother, Tarabya Hsinbyushin, would be oppressive to him and he was therefore at one time relegated to Panteinmabe and at another to Kyauksit and, at yet another, to Pindale. The reason for putting him away on these three occasions was that it was thought better to preserve him as a hidden threat rather than as one which was immediately obvious.²

During the time when Mingaung was thus kept out of sight, his companions, Minnyo, the lord of Taungngu, used to play the clarinet, while Nga Hkinba accompanied his own singing with a drum: they used to go and sit in the spirit temples and play there. The contributions which they got in this way they used for Mingaung's support. Mintaya of Mohnyin too would tuck a bundle of rice into his waistband and eat it along with Nga Hkinnyo and Nga Hkinba. Eventually, when he could no longer endure the hunger of this way of life, they left Mingaung to seek refuge with his uncle Kyawkyaing, the lord of Tagaung. Mingyizwasawke had in fact put him away with the intention that he should die, but since he had not died he said, "My sons must work out their own fates!" He recalled him and gave him the town of Pyinsei.

After he had received the lordship of Pyinsei, Mingaung sought an education like that of other princes, in elephant and horse management, in handling a shield, in the use of bows and spears, and some instruction in the chronicles of the country and the customs and precedents in use in it, and their distinctions. He reached in the end a skill in these matters at least level with that of the other princes. His father Mingyizwasawke advised him to go to Minyaza of Winzin to learn from him about customs and usages and Mingaung used to go to him to receive his instruction in secret, with no one else knowing. Minyaza saw that just as a mango by gradual degrees grows bigger and bigger in size and improves in flavor, so he would one day or one month grow in personality and strength. He therefore advised him, "My lord Prince, a green shoot which is destined to grow into a fresh flowering plant spreading abroad must not be kept from the light, so see that you have light for your-self: keep your plans and calculations ready!" Mingaung understood what he hinted at and kept it in mind.

I
 I Minyaza's submission of Examples to King Mingaung on the
 I
 I Duties of Kings
 I

After the deposition of his elder brother Tarabya Hsinbyushin in 762 B.E. [A.D. 1400], Mingaung ascended the throne. After he had thus become king he sent for Minyaza of Winzin and said, "My lord Yaza, how must I behave and what plans must I make to achieve wealth and prosperity for this country?"

2. It sounds as though Tarabyagyi was dangerously insane from the start.

Minyaza replied, "My lord King, the virtues of a king are patience, sensitivity, diligence and activity, discernment, mercy, and watchfulness; these form the basis of a king's prosperity. My lord King, kings who are over delicate can be put down by their people, but those who are over sharp earn hatred. Therefore the behavior of kings must be neither overly soft nor overly harsh. It is a fact that there is no possibility of establishing oneself in greatness either by excessive softness or by harshness. Greatness can be established only by conduct which strikes a mean between softness and harshness. My lord King, a king's actions must deal with the affairs of other people with love and respect. In respect of the property of other people and the taxes to be drawn from it, successive kings must consider the established customs of their towns and villages involving markets and wharves, of gates and octroi posts, and similar institutions; they must progressively reduce their exactions. They must always act using perfect honesty and exercising the greatest generosity. They must lovingly cherish their people, speak to them pleasantly, and summon them gently. They must treat lovingly and respectfully the good soldiers who are skilled in the principles of victory in vigorous attack upon the battlefield, their wise counsellors who know how to hold their enemies and their enemies' allies in peace, and all their ministers and officers who distinguish themselves. Their actions must constitute a sustained dialogue with their people."

"As an example, my lord, if a son does an ill action, even of his own accord, it will be held against his parents; if a pupil does an ill action of his own accord, it will be called his teacher's action. If his subjects act ill, it will be held to be the responsibility of the king; if a king acts ill on his own account, it will be thought the responsibility of his priest. Of all the actions, good and ill, which his people in general do, the king must accept responsibility for one part in six. He must therefore over and over again give guidance to his people so as to minimize their ill deeds and maximize the good. My lord King, the life of worthless men is trivial, but the life of the wise is much. The king is himself the life of his people and the life of kings lies only in carrying out the law of kingship.

"My lord King, a village which is of no importance may be destroyed, but it can be destroyed too even if it is of the greatest possible importance. A woman or a child can bring to nothing a place of great importance. If a man is a fool, his actions will come to nothing, but he can also bring to nothing the actions of the cleverest operator. Only servants who can consider and compare will bring success to their master. Even though they have no milk, the mother turtle, the mother fish, and the mother hen can still feed their young, and just so, kings must nurse their ministers and generals and bring them along.

"As an example, son of my master, as regards the cities and fortresses, which may be called the pennants of the land, it is by establishing them where their brightness may not be dimmed that the country's success in business is secured; as regards the fertile lands, which may be called the country's belly, by not damaging or destroying the revenue that they bring; as regards the counsellors and pillars of the state, who may be called the eyes of the land, by not eying them askance; as regards the officers, who may be called the teeth of the state, by not breaking or oppressing them; as regards the officers, generals and other such, who may be called the valor of the state, by not dimming their virtue; by not closing the city's gates, which constitute the livelihood of traders who come in from the countries around; and by not using oppressively the villages and hamlets which surround the city, which are like the swelling mounds upon the elephant's head.

"My lord King, as an example for kings who rule over a country, if you pluck a fruit from a tree while it is still green you will have neither a pleasant taste nor a viable seed; in the same way if, like the tree, you take the profit of your towns and villages before their four classes of inhabitants have produced it in sufficient abundance, you will have no abundant profit. The towns cannot produce enough. If, however, you pick your fruit when it is ripe and eat it then you will enjoy profit in abundance and, at the same time, the country will be peaceful and stable. It is the function of kings who rule over the earth to look after the welfare of their subjects as do the spirits of the sky, so that the land should be at peace. After they have seen to this, then they may look after their own enrichment so that they may be feared as Sons of the Sun. There must be no question of 'Do I love him or hate him like death?' or 'Is he my kin or an outsider?' The king must consider only the

1. paraphrased - *hso tha mein tha shauk tha aung lei kyin at i* must mean something like this.

nature of an offence and admonish or punish accordingly.

"This is another example.

"My lord King, I will give another example. A certain country fellow dearly loved his dog and gave it a hide to sleep on. The dog, however, not valuing it as a hide to sleep on, ate up the hide that was spread out for its bed, to its master's loss. Think what would happen to this dog!

"This is another example."

"When King Mingaung heard this submission, he said, "Father Yaza, the meaning of your parable is this; it is by loving treatment of all my people that I must remain in enjoyment of my kingdom. Do you mean that if I am to remain a king I must do nothing to their detriment?"

"My lord King, that is indeed so. A king's success comes from the welfare of his people. When a king is successful, his descendants in future ages will become kings as a matter of course.

"Son of my master, you must take example from the gardener who can make the shade of his banana trees spread widely, or from the wasp, which little by little expands the nest in which its swarm lives, and you must act in the same way. Even if the territory is narrow, little by little you can extend it. When it has been extended, you can increase your revenue. Once your revenue is assured, you may accept some relaxation and the land of a king who can relax his grip is likely to become very much richer and more prosperous.

"My lord King, if you seek to rule, it is easy to win; it is keeping your rule in being after you have won it that is hard. Son of my master, in the Law announced by our Lord, he said that the mark of a wise man lay in these things: ambition to obtain what is still outside one's grasp, guarding its possession once it is obtained, extending possession of what has to be guarded, casting away and scattering abroad for one's eternal good all that extended possession.

"Son of my master, King Thanwaya² used to lavish wealth and rewards on his officers in order to bring to his side all those who had not yet joined him, and to prevent those who had from leaving him, so he bound them to himself."

He gave other examples of how kingdoms had achieved prosperity and Mingaung listened to him, finally saying, "From today I regard you as my lay confessor." He gave him new villages and in addition presented to him a wellknown golden tray, measuring two cubits, in a golden case, which had been used for the king's own meals.

The ninth submission of precedents by Minyaza of Winzin in the *Maniyadanabon* ends herea

"My lord King," he continued, "people like to hear pleasant speech. In the Thatbakyan it is said that when speech is pleasant, even laymen are glad to listen to it, but that when it is harsh even the most religious find it distasteful. I will give you an example.

"In the land of Bayanathi, when he who was to be born as Deiwadat was living as king Pingala,³ he who was to be the Lord was that king's son. King Pingala was harsh and rough of speech, and for this the people of his country did not love him; rather they hated him and prayed that his life would be short. This king Pingala died, and when he who was to be the Lord came to the throne, the door-keeper wept. Our future Lord said to him, 'Friend door-keeper, my father, King Pingala, was foulmouthed and the people did not love him, but prayed for a short life for him, but you are weeping! Is it for love of my father that you are weeping?'⁴

2. Saṃvara Jataka (no. 462)a

3. Mahapingala Jataka (no. 240).

"'Son of my master,' he replied, 'I do not weep for love of your father, but because now that he's dead he must have gone to hell for his foul mouth. If he's as foul-mouthed in hell as he was here, the King of Hell won't be able to bear it and will send him away and I'm afraid we'll get him back again in this world. That is why I weep'

"This is another example.

"My lord King, do not use harsh words to people; even if it is to animals they dislike and resent it. I will give you an example. When our future Lord lived as the bullock Nandiwithala,⁴ he said to the Brahman Nandaka, 'If you want to be rich, just lay a bet on me!' Nandaka laid a bet of one thousand pieces at evens and set the bullock to draw five hundred carts. As he drove him, however, he cursed and threatened him in an unpleasant voice. This displeased our future Lord and he just stayed there without pulling. The Brahman Nandaka lost a thousand pieces, and as he bewailed his loss, the bullock again spoke, 'You didn't speak to me nicely, but abused and threatened me in foul language, so of course I sat and wouldn't pull. Lay another thousand and drive me talking pleasantly and then I'll pull.' The Brahman again laid a bet of two thousand pieces that he could make the bullock draw five hundred carts. This time he drove the bullock with pleasant and kindly language and so pretty soon got the bullock who was to be our Lord up to the hilltop with five hundred carts. Nandaka the Brahman thus won two thousand pieces.

"Keep this example in mind and when you speak, aim to please."

The tenth submission made by Minyaza of Winzin in the *Maniyadanabon* ends here.

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 } Minyaza's submission in respect of an attack by the Onbaung
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 } Shans on Htundonbodet during King Mingaung's reign
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Not long after King Mingaung's accession, in 766 B.E. [A.D. 1404] the Shans of eastern Onbaung fell upon Htundonbodet and destroyed it. King Mingaung, the lord of Life, summoned Minyaza of Winzin for consultation, and Minyaza said, "Son of my master, when a fire has been lighted and is roaring fiercely, it can end a man's life, can it not? When the water of a great river is running cold, it too can end a man's life. But one can use the power of cold water to stop people who behave like a fire. Son of my master, bring them to your service, just as men bring in a wild elephant, fierce with his must, by means of a decoy, and then tame him and ride him."

"Father Yaza, if we are to make him my servant, Thokyibwa will have to stop acting so ferociously.¹ Even if I call him lord of Onbaung, he'll still be like one who strikes his neighbor's cheek and then hides his hand, or like the man in the tale who ate a cucumber and pretended it was a pumpkin, saying 'I don't know - I haven't got it - I don't know - I never heard!'"²

Minyaza answered, "Son of my master, I will give you an example. The King of Kawthala fought many wars with King Azatathat.³ When neither could defeat the other in single combat, the Kawthala king gave his daughter, named Wazirakonmari, to King Azatathat and so reduced him to his service. After he was so reduced, the war was settled; when the war was settled, they lived in peace.

"This is another example.

"If Thokyibwa, the lord of Onbaung, is brought in among your kin, he becomes your subject. When he becomes your subject, the war is at an end. After the war's end, you can look to the welfare of religion, the welfare of your friends and family, the

4. Nandi-visala Jataka (no. 28).

1. Literally, "be a drinker of blood from the head (of an enemy)."

2. I.e., "I shall never be able to trust him."

3. Probably the Vaddhaki-Sukara Jataka is the reference (no. 283).

welfare of your people, clerical and lay.⁴ This was Minyaza's advice.

After King Mingaung had heard this advice of Minyaza's, he was pleased to accept it and ennobled Thokyibwa, giving him his own niece, whom his brother-in-law, Okzanangei, had fathered, and he worked for the welfare of his people, both clerical and lay, and for the good of religion, so that there would be peace. At the same time Thokyibwa, lord of Onbaung, each year sent presents from the Shan country of indigo, silk, ducks, geese, rice wine, and other such specialities and other products such as long-maned horses, musk deer, and clothes from the Nankyan country.

Minyaza also made the following submission to King Mingaung: "Son of my master, a piece of business which has not been brought to a conclusion is like a chick still in the egg: you cannot say whether it is a cock or a hen chick. At its conclusion, on the other hand, it is like a cloud which rolls up and up in the sky and comes over you. Since you began your reign with this affair it began well, and the augury is that it will continue well through the middle up to the end. Just as when you take a piece of cloth and unroll it, if a ten percent sample is good, the chances are that the remaining ninety percent will be good too, so, since the start of your reign has turned out well, the chances are that it will be well to the end."⁴

King Mingaung, the Lord of Life replied, "I have come as though to the wonder of the great banyan tree among the Three Wonders through the instruction of so wise an adviser,⁴ and he gave the town of Yameithin to Minyaza's son Nga Paukhla.

This was the eleventh submission of precedents put forward by Minyaza of Winzin in the *Maniyadanabon*.

The news went about that King Mingaung had accepted Thokyibwa among his retainers and that the two countries were at peace, so closely united that, just as when you try to chop water, no division could appear or, just as when butter and honey are split and blended together, they can never be separated.⁴ The news came to Tawhmaingyi of Yauksauk, who had the title of Master of Three Thousand Fires and was lord of Nyaungshwei and Naungmun. He arrived at court with many gifts and much strength of arms, saying that he wished to live at the court of King Mingaung, the Lord of Life, and to enter his service. King Mingaung sent for Minyaza of Winzin, for Minhtinkathu, his Privy Counsellor and Chief of his Elephant Corps, for Theikpatei of Tagaung his uncle, and for Okzana Prince of Salin, his brother-in-law, and asked their advice.

"Princes,⁴ he said, "in the range of his possessions and rank he may not be your equal but much greater, but in wisdom and foresight he is well below you."⁴ Just as other birds cower down and dare not fly in the presence of the eagle which is the greatest of the birds of prey, the princes stayed silent, looking for a hint from the King on his real wishes, but Minyaza spoke up.

"Son of my master,⁴ he said, "it is indeed right to accept him, just as, they say, one who wants to catch a frog baits his trap with frog's legs, or one who wants to catch a deer hides behind his own tame deer as a decoy. Son of my master, I will give you an example: In the reign of King Thihathu, the Master of One, when Theikpatei of Taungdwinpwinhla-u was preparing for an opportunity to break away if he could, the king, seeing that if Theikpatei of Taungdwinpwinhla-ufell into rebellion, Taungngu too would abandon its allegiance in rebellion and the affairs of the country would little by little turn to ill and disorder as though without a leader, and with this in mind gave him his own daughter, Saw Pule, and so preserved the well-being and happiness of everyone else.

"In Pagan, too, the Arakanese lord of Apitsagiri came to the court of the Tayokpyeimin with many gifts and great strength of arms, saying that he wished to live there and to accept service under the king. He was accepted and given the Princess Shin Somin, the daughter whom the king had fathered before his accession.

"This is another example.

4. Reading *cha* for *hma*.

"Son of my master, if you follow the example of your ancestors, you will accept Tawhmaingyi, lord of Naungmun, among your retainers.f"

King Mingaung acknowledged that what Minyaza had said was true, and in 763 B.E. [A.D. 1401] appointed Tawhmaingyi, lord of Naungmun to his body of retainers stationed up the river. He thus advanced the welfare of religion as well as his own military strength. For this piece of advice he rewarded Minyaza with a golden betel case and a golden box for lime with a compartment for cutch.

This, the twelfth submission of precedents by Minyaza of Winzin in the *Maniyadanabon*, ends here.

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 } Minyaza's submissions in respect of the grant of Arakan to the
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 } Princess Pyichantha and her husband Nawrahta in King Mingaung's
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 } reign
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In the year 766 B.E. [A.D. 1404], since the Arakanese were raiding the villages of the Yaw, Hsaw, Laungshei, and Kyahkat districts, the king's son Prince Kyawzwa, who was seventeen at the time, was appointed commander and sent against them. He took the head of the Arakanese leader, Tawyagyi, and sent it to his father. King Mingaung then gave orders that his daughter Saw Pyichantha and her husband Nawrahta should take up residence in Arakan. On this, Minyaza of Winzin made the following submission.

"Son of my master, if you saddle a wild elephant and set an inexperienced rider upon it, the elephant will shake off the harness, the saddle will slip, and the rider will fall. Because of their past glories the Arakanese are like the wild elephant, and so are no fit subjects for your son-in-law and the Princess. They are only governable by a good soldier who is brave, strong, cunning, and experienced.f"

Although Minyaza advised against the appointment, the king would not listen to his advice and rejected it. As the result of this, not long afterwards Mawgwinbaik, Ethanlaik, and Byanaye, the officers of the Talaing King Yazadayit, attacked and the king's son-in-law was killed. The Princess Pyichantha was brought into Yazadayit's palace. The King then realized that it was because he had not followed Minyaza's advice that his daughter had been captured and her husband killed. Minyaza, however, told him, "You, my lord King, are not alone in failing to heed what your wise counsellors tell you. Your royal brother Yazadayit, the Talaing king, has set out with the idea of attacking Ava; when he had reached Panhlaing above Prome, he gave orders that his daughter Dalamei should be set up in Panhlaing with her husband Thihathu and left in charge. His adviser Deinmaniyut protested that this was not a suitable appointment, but he would not listen and has left them in charge. If my lord's servant, Letkyapyanky, the lord of Prome, takes the initiative and attacks, the son-in-law's army will break and he will have to make his escape alone. You, my King, Lord of Life, will be able to take possession of the daughter and bring her into your palace, will you not?" This was his advice.

"My lord King, I will give you an example. When he who was to be our Lord lived as King of the Vultures,¹ he called his son to him and gave him his advice. 'My dear son,' He said, 'although we and all who descend from our ancestry can fly right up to the sky if we will, yet you must confine your skyward soaring to the point where the Zabudeik island looks to you the size of a winnowing basket; do not soar beyond this.'

"One day the son flew skywards from the Zabudcik island with five hundred followers. When he came to where he could see the whole of the Zabudeik island looking the size of a winnowing basket, he said, 'My father said what he did because he's old and feeble. I can fly on upward and handle what I find.' He flew on beyond the limit that his father had set, and was struck by a razor-sharp wind that cut him to pieces, so that he and his five hundred followers were all destroyed.

1. The Gijjha Jataka (no. 427).

"This is another example.

"When he who was to be our Lord was living as King of the *ngayan* fish,² he warned his son, 'We fish feed only up to the mouth of this river; we never try going beyond the river mouth to forage. My dear son, never go beyond the river mouth for your food.' He did not listen, however, but went beyond and ate his way into the sea, so that a big fish saw him and the big fish ate him, and thus he experienced the Truth of Impermanence†'

"This is another example.

"When King Brahmadat ruled in Bayanathi, a certain city was in rebellion and he therefore decided to reduce it and marched out against it. Our future Lord was his minister, Thuhkamein, and advised him that if he stayed where he was, he would come to grief, but he did not heed his words and held his position. He was defeated in battle and thus by not heeding the advice of the wise he came to grief.†'

This is the thirteenth submission of precedents made by Minyaza of Winzin in the *Maniyadanabon*.

⌋
 ⌋ Minyaza's submission regarding the matter of Kyeitaungnyo
 ⌋
 ⌋ during the reign of King Mingaung.
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The line of princes who ruled over Kaleimyo was this: Mincheido, Kyeitaungnyo, Shanzeihu, Thahkanbwa, Taungghan, Saw Lu, Kobathkan, Thakebwa, his sister, the Kalei Kodawgyi, Taunggwinn, and Thinhaunghkuthi: this succession of eleven princes is counted as the royal line of Kaleimyo. It was during the reign of King Mingaung that Kaleimyo was granted to Minkyeyi,¹ the lord of Thikyit. After Minkyeyi's death, the king married his daughter to Maung Nyo, the son of his own brother Tarabya, lord of the White Elephant. He also proposed to give him the title of Kyeitaungnyo and consulted Minyaza about this. Minyaza replied, "Son of my master, of course you may give him the title² of Kyeitaungnyo, that is an order to carry out at leisure. This would be to act as though to call someone who won't come and to bind down one who is eager to come so that he cannot get up. You could well give your son-in-law Kaleimyo, which has nine subdivisions; he is just as fit to govern Myhnyin, which has nineteen, or Onbaung or Maw with forty-seven!" On account of Minyaza's support the King granted Kaleimyo to Maung Nyo in 763 B.E. [A.D. 1401]. While he held this governorship, just as Minyaza had forecast in supporting him, no enemy could raid his territory; he kept them in check. While Kyeitaungnyo was governor of Kaleimyo, the Khasi chief of Htinyutaungbyin came to make a raid. Kyeitaungnyo made up his mind that it would be best to seek the friendship of all neighboring chiefs, whoever they were, and that when he had sought and won their friendship, then no outsiders could come to harass his people and he would be able to make proper plans for them. With proper planning, much could be accomplished and his villages would prosper. If the villages prospered, what enemy could vie with him? He therefore spoke softly and in friendly fashion, sending him presents. Like coaxing chickens into the hen-house, he brought him in, persuading him into a retainer's position, and thus he became his follower. When King Mingaung heard that the Khasi chief of Htinyutaungbyin had come to terms with Kyeitaungnyo, he was delighted that, just as Minyaza had said, Kyeitaungnyo could plan for and handle his territory; he presented Minyaza with a robe of cloth-of-gold and a bowl set with amber.

When he gave him the gift, the king asked him, "Father Yaza, is it because wise men give me good advice that things go well for my country? Or is it because I only do what Father Yaza tells me that they go so well?"

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2. Almost the same as the last but I do not find the jataka.
 1. This must be the Mincheido mentioned above, but the whole of this account seems somewhat confused.
 2. There is, I think, a mix-up between *thamet*, "son-in-law,†" and *thamok*, "a name" or "a title."

"My lord King, whatever the wise men advise, if a king who is in charge of affairs follows wise advice, how can things go wrong? Son of my master, you too are set to follow what is good. A wise man who knows how to speak on affairs of state only speaks truly by grace of the king's glory, and only so do affairs go well."

"Father Yaza, it is right to call him wise too who can follow a path laid down for him by one who knows the right way of himself."

"Son of my master, he who follows the dictates of the wise is indeed wise himself. I will give an example. It was by following the advice of his great general Nanditheina³ that King Athaga won the dear daughter of King Kaleingayit. He defeated the king along with his eighteen hero warriors. But his general Nanditheina was not the only one who showed himself wise; King Athaga was wise too in following his plans.

"This is another example.

"By following the rules set for him by the hermit Nanda, King Manawza of the land of Bayanathi⁴ conquered all the hundred and one Kings of the Zabudeik island without spilling so much blood as a fly would drink. When he had defeated the one hundred and one kings, escorted by them and by his twenty-four hero warriors, he returned to his own city and in a great celebration held a ceremonial bathing so brilliant as to rival Thagyamin, the king of the spirits. The festival continued for seven days, and on the seventh day he said, 'My mother, my father, and others have promised me such success as this without my winning it; when the hermit Nanda promised it to me, then I won it. Shall I reward the hermit Nanda with gold and silver, wealth and jewels, horses and elephants, servants and slaves to the extent of half my kingdom for his enjoyment forever?'

"'I have no desire for the enjoyment of wealth,' said the hermit, 'but in the Himawunta mountains I went against the authority of my elder brother in respect of the care of our parents and now cannot care for them. My elder brother has sent me away, so please request my brother, the hermit Thawna, to let me help in caring for them regularly.'

"King Manawza, with the princes, priests, notables, townsmen, and villagers of the hundred and one kingdoms, the twenty-four hero warriors, and his retinue of a hundred and one kings went to the Himawunta, and at his request the hermit Thawna, the Lord-to-be, forgave his younger brother, the hermit Nanda, and let him care for their parents. Because of his association with the good man, who was called the hermit Nanda, King Manawza became a king without a rival anywhere in the world. In this case too the hermit Nanda was not the only wise one; in following his rules King Manawza also showed himself wise.

"This is another example.

"King Brahmadat of Sulani⁵ by the precepts of the Brahman Keiwut conquered a hundred ruling monarchs in Zabudeik island and returned safely to his land of Pinsalayit to take up the enjoyment of his empire. In this, too, the Brahman Keiwut was not the only wise one: in following his precepts King Brahmadat of Sulani showed himself wise.

"This is another example.

"King Brahmadat ruled in Bayanathi, and this king had one hundred sons.⁶ Out of these hundred sons the youngest, Prince Thanwaya, was left out when his ninety-nine elder brothers each was given an establishment with cities and territories for his support. This youngest son, Prince Thanwaya, however, was given the Lord-to-be among his counsellors and learned wisdom from him. By acting in accordance with his adviser's guidance Prince Thanwaya came to be king. In this case, too, the counsellor who was the Lord-to-be was not the only one who was wise: Prince Thanwaya in

3. Source not known to me.

4. Sona-nanda Jataka (no. 532).

5. Maha-ummagga Jataka (no. 546).

6. Samvara Jataka (no. 462).

following his precepts showed himself wise also.

"This is another example.

"Son of my master, the three brothers who were your ancestors deposed King Kyawzwa of the royal line of Pagan in 662 B.E. [A.D. 1300] and set up their kingdom in Myinsaing. After this, Kyawzwa's son, Saw Nit of Pagan, sent word to the Emperor of China, and on the arrival of the news the Emperor appointed four generals named Mawdateinzin, Yawdateinzin, Thangeinteinzin, and Mawyapeinteinzin to command an expedition and dispatched them each with 100,000 well-armed soldiers in their train. Later an army of 220,000 men followed and in 666 B.E. [A.D. 1304] the Chinese expedition arrived in Burma and siege was laid. During this siege the three brother princes felt that things were at a crisis and made enquiry with a teacher of wide renown to obtain a comparison between the land of China and that of Pagan. This celebrated doctor was a teacher well acquainted with precepts and precedents, and his advice was that enquiry should be made with the king's instructors who were in the city. When the king's instructors who were in the city were asked for a comparison, the monks, about a hundred of them, could not answer directly and therefore said, 'Consult your tumblers about this, not us!'

"The three brother princes called on them repeatedly for a comparison, but the king's instructors would only go on saying, 'Just consult your tumblers!' This made the princes angry, since they felt that they had consulted them, thinking them to be wise monks, but that they had only got in return talk that was not fit to hear. The lord of the Golden Palace, however, who was named Yazathingyan,⁷ then spoke, 'My brothers,' he said, 'in the time of King Azatathat it is said that he was planning an attack upon the land of Weithali and sent the Brahman Wathakaya into the presence of the Lord to give an account of the matter to him. But this is not so; it is an idle tale. When the Brahman Thunandi Wathakaya had reported to him, the Lord spoke to Ananda and said, 'In the land of Weithali, Ananda, they act in accordance with the seven duties; it is not right therefore that they should be destroyed.' When the Brahman Thunandi Wathakaya heard these words, it gave him cause to ponder. Just as he had to consider, without room for error, what was to be called 'rightly' and that the unrighteous would be destroyed and lay his plans accordingly, so, if the Lord directs us to consult the tumblers, we must set them to their tumbling. From that we shall know what to do.'⁸

"All the tumblers in the city were made to display their art, and one of them gave voice to what could be interpreted as an omen. 'Where there's no action, don't talk,' he said as he began his dance.

"The lord of the Golden Palace of Myinsaing said to his brothers, 'This tumbler's words fit our case exactly!' His brother Thihathu answered, 'My brothers, the Chinese have come here only because Kyawzwa is alive and they want to put him back on the throne. If this Kyawzwa were no longer alive, whom could they set upon the throne?' King Kyawzwa was therefore killed and his head was cut off and displayed. The Chinese saw his head and said, 'Since the king's sons are dead and the royal line ended, whom can we enthrone?' They now therefore only demanded tributer

"So that everything might be done in orderly fashion they were asked to dig a canal. When the Chinese had finished digging the canal, they were given presents and they went away. It is that which is today called the Thindwe canal.

"We can say then, son of my master, that it is a fact that only if one pays heed to wise counsellors will all one's actions be fruitful. Son of my master, you will gain ease for your body and ease for your mind by following the precepts of a wise counsellor, just as all is well when the water of a great river is contained in a new burnt pot.'⁹

The fourteenth submission of precedents made by Minyaza of Winzin in the *Maniyadanabon* ends here.

7. The eldest of the three Shan brothers; seerp. 10 ff.

8. The reference is to the common practice of listening carefully to the casual conversation of strangers in a public place in order to pick out a chance phrase or sentence, which can form an omen for one's own case.

one she thought would suit her best. She then said that she liked a certain young peacock of brilliant appearance. All the other birds honored him greatly, saying, 'The Golden Gosling princess has picked you out from all the crowd of others. It is wonderful indeed!'

"The peacock was very happy at being so honored, and being, it is said, a creature of no discretion at all, began to dance in the middle of the assembly. Now the nature of peacocks is such that when they dance people see parts of them which should not be seen. So the Golden Goose said, 'This peacock has no modesty nor conscience; he is no fit match for my daughter.' He rejected him and married his daughter to the Golden Goose who was his nephew. The peacock, since on being honored on this occasion he danced immoderately, did not win the Golden Gosling princess and the affair turned out badly for him.

"This is another example.

"Let me give another example. When he who was to be Deiwadat was king in Bayanathi,² our Lord-to-be was a White Elephant. As the king went about, riding the White Elephant, all the people exclaimed, 'What a beautiful Elephant!' and only admired the Elephant. The king said to himself, 'These people only admire my Elephant and keep no admiration for me. If that Elephant were only dead, then I'd get my due admiration.'

"With the intention therefore that the Elephant should fall to its death from a mountain peak, he rode it up into the high mountains and when they had got there he ordered the Elephant to stand on its hind legs, raising its two front legs up; on top of a lofty pinnacle. The Elephant did as it was ordered, but since it stood firm and would not fall the king ordered it to lift up three of its legs and to stand on one only.

"While this was going on, an elephant-groom (who was to become Shin Tharipoktra) said to the White Elephant, 'He's only giving you these orders so that you'll be killed. We'd better get out from here to another country!'

"The elephant-groom mounted the White Elephant and rode away to another land. In this tale the king refused to render proper honor to another and so lost his precious White Elephant. Because of the loss of the White Elephant, his kingdom was ruined.

"This is another example.

"I will give another example. When he who was to be the Lord was king in the land of Bayanathi,³ a certain Brahman priest put a golden saddle and a golden bridle on his horse and, as he rode to the king's palace, all the people exclaimed in admiration, 'Ah, what a horse! He is so elegant! He is so beautiful! What a splendid creature!' The Brahman priest heard these admiring remarks and, when he came home from the palace, he said to his wife, 'Woman, they only admire my horse's appearance; they spare no admiration for me.'

"His wife answered, 'Husband, wear the harness and trappings yourself when you go next time, and then they'll admire *you*!'

"The next time he went to the palace, the Brahman did as his wife suggested and donned the saddle, bridle, and trappings himself. As he went, everyone who saw him clapped their hands and cried out in mock admiration, 'Ah, what a Brahman! Isn't he elegant! Isn't he splendid!' The Brahman thought that it was genuine praise and paced and caracolled with his hands and feet, just as a horse might; and so went into the palace. When he got there, King Brahmadat who was to be the Lord said to him, 'Brahman, have you gone mad today?' This brought him to his senses and he went home. In this tale the Brahman who played for the praise of others was put to shame.

"This is another example.

2. Dummedha Jataka (no. 122).

3. Ruhaka Jataka (no. 122).

in your direction; I myself will go forward as far as Bassein. Even though you wish to push Minyekyawzwa further away to relieve his pressure upon you somewhat, do not force him to move. Rather follow him and keep him engaged.¹

After he had finished this letter, he picked thirty men and ordered them to sally out at night and to proceed as though they were coming from the Talaing country; they were to advance until they were in sight of Minyekyawzwa's main camp. When a sortie was made from the camp, they were to throw down their burdens and run.

The Talaings left the city that night and at dawn the people in Minyekyawzwa's main camp saw a body of thirty Talaings coming towards them. They sallied out and chased them, while the Talaings threw down their burdens and ran away. When the bundles were opened the letter was found and the story got about that the Talaing King was on his way. It seemed to Minyekyawzwa that there was nothing to be gained by assailing his servants when there was a chance of attacking the king himself on his supposed march to Bassein. He therefore raised the siege and moved off. Thus the minister, Yethinyan, saw the distress of the soldiers and officers and relieved it by his wisdom.²

This is another example.

"When our Lord-to-be lived as king of the monkeys,³ he dwelled along with five hundred retainers in the Himawunta forest. In a certain small village there was a *tei* tree loaded with sweet fruit, and from time to time the monkey band would come and feast upon them. This village was not regularly inhabited: people only came to stay there at times. Whenever there was ripe fruit, the Lord-to-be would send to see if the people were living in the village under the *tei* tree or no. This time the report came back that the people were there and the monkey king, who was the Lord-to-be, told his followers, 'Don't you go there, it's not right just now. Even though the people are there, however, we'll go at night and climb up and eat while they sleep.'¹

"Even though the Lord-to-be was well versed in all the devices of men and had said, 'It's not right to go there now,' and told them not to, the monkey band would not stay, and the Lord-to-be followed them. As he followed, he kept telling them, 'It's too early yet!' and in the forest near the village they all waited upon a flat rock. After they had waited a while, they went on, since the time was now right. A nephew of the Lord-to-be, however, a monkey named Theinaka, was asleep and got left behind. While the people slept in the middle of the night the rest of the monkey band climbed the *tei* tree and ate the fruit. Just then one old man woke up and, thinking that it would be just the thing for a snack, went to the foot of the *tei* tree and heard the noise that the monkeys made. He raised an alarm among his fellow-villagers, and they surrounded the *tei* tree with swords and spears and bows and muskets and waited. The monkeys all heard the sound of the people and wept for fear that they were going to die. The Lord-to-be, however, the Monkey King said, 'Monkeys of my band, don't be afraid. Those people don't know anything about us: it's not this they are concerned about, they're on to something else. They'll go off, and you and I will do very well,¹' and this set the monkeys' minds at rest. Then the Monkey King, the Lord-to-be, devised his plan. He counted off his monkeys, seeing who was there and who was not, and found that his nephew, Theinaka, was absent. 'Don't be afraid now; you're not dead yet,¹' he told the others.

"Just then Theinaka woke up and found his companions gone. He followed them by their tracks and saw all the monkeys up in the tree, surrounded by the people. 'My friends of the monkey band are in danger,¹' he said to himself and thought how he could possibly help to save them. His mind went this way and that. At last he saw an old woman make a fire to warm herself; he hurried in to her house, stole a little of her fire and went leaping around the whole village, starting from that house, and set fire to all the houses. All the people fled.

"The Lord-to-be said, 'You must all bring one *tei* fruit each for Theinaka.' The monkeys accordingly each brought down one fruit and then they ran off. In this tale the prosperity of the monkey band came from the cunning of Theinaka the monkey.

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2. There seems to be a lacuna in which the king asked whether such deception was morally justifiable and Minyaza replied. Perhaps the author has momentarily forgotten his scheme.
 3. In the Tinduka Jataka (no. 177).

"This is another example.

"When he who was to be our Lord lived as Prince Pinsawutda, the son of King Brahmadat,⁴ he received his education at Tetkatho. During his return, between Tetkatho and Bayanathi, he came to where there lived an ogre named Thileithalawma, who used to catch all passers-by by trapping them in his own hair, and then to eat them. When Prince Pinsawutda reached that part of the forest, the ogre moved in to catch him. The prince shot at him with his bow, but the arrow caught in the ogre's hair; then, although he attacked the ogre with his spear and a trident, with his sword, his staff, and all such weapons, they all stuck fast in the ogre's hair and could not be extricated. Then the ogre gripped him; the prince struck at him with his right hand, but his hand stuck in the ogre's hair. He beat and kicked at the ogre with his left hand, his right foot, and his left foot until all his limbs were stuck fast to the ogre's hair. He butted at him with his head, but that too only stuck in the ogre's hair. When he was all stuck in this way, the ogre asked, 'Young man, I catch people for my food, but no one has ever tried so hard to kill me as you have. You know that you are bound to die at my hands: how do you manage to show such energy?'

"Prince Pinsawutda answered, 'I'm not afraid of dying once in my life!'

"'Why aren't you afraid of the peril of death?' asked the ogre.

"'Even if you kill me and eat my body, the magic weapon which is inside me will make your lights and liver rot away and then you'll come to your death. Therefore I have no fear,' answered the Prince.

"Since the prince's valor and energy were so great, the ogre believed this was true and released him without eating him. Once he was free the prince said, 'I shall not go away until I have instilled the Five Principles in this ogre; only then shall I go on my way.'⁵ The ogre followed him all the way to Bayanathi and then he sent him away.

In this story Prince Pinsawutda, even in peril of his life, could devise an escape through his wisdom. You may ask whether Prince Pinsawutda did not lie in devising his escape; there was in reality no such magic weapon, but by the words 'magic weapon' he designated his own wisdom. Speaking thus, in words which may be tricky or expedient, is not a lie. When Mahawthada, who was to be our Lord,⁶ deceived the Brahman Keiwut with the ruby, he acted strictly in accordance with his undertaking and the Brahman only did not get it because he failed to understand properly his words. It was not therefore a lie. Our most Excellent and Omniscient Lord too, when his younger brother Prince Nanda⁷ was reciting charms said to him, 'You will have the spirit women,' but when he gave him the Kanmadan Scripture it was not deceiving him, because he knew that it would be for his greater benefit. In this way, when it is a question of escaping from danger, even if you make it appear that what is not is in fact so, there is no sin. People who because they do not want to give up their property to others deny a thing when it is so commit a small sin. It is a great sin, however, to say, in giving evidence, that you have seen what you have not seen or heard what you have not heard.

"This is another example.

"When we are in danger, even with irrational animals, it is possible to devise an escape. As for such devices, when he who was to be our Lord was living as king of the monkeys,⁷ he went down to the River Ganges to drink. A female crocodile, she who was to be Scinsamana, saw the monkey king and said to the male crocodile, her husband, he who was to be Deiwadat, 'Husband, I want that monkey's heart to eat!' So the husband approached the monkey king and said, 'My lord, king of the monkeyse, it is long that you have lived in this forest, but you have never got fat! Now in the middle of that island there are plenty of fruit trees, mangos, and jack fruit and all sorts. Go on over there and eat your fill!'

4. Pancaevudha Jataka (no. 55)

5. Maha-ummagga Jataka (no. 546).

6. Samgamavacara Jataka (no. 182)e

7. Sumsuvara Jataka (no. 208)e

"I can't jump all the way across to that island," answered the monkey.

"I'll carry you," said the crocodile, "Get on my back and come along."

"So the monkey got up on the crocodile's back and went along with him, but as they reached the middle of the river the crocodile began to dive under the water. As he was thus going under, the monkey asked, 'Why are you diving?'

"Because we want your heart; I've caught you out and I'm carrying you off."

"It's lucky I asked," said the monkey, "If I hadn't you wouldn't have got to eat my heart and I should have been drowned to no purpose. When we monkeys jump about from one tree to another, we take out our hearts and leave them hanging from a tree. If we didn't leave them like that when we jumped, our hearts would burst with the shock and we'd die wouldn't we?"

"When the crocodile heard what the monkey said, he thought it was the truth and asked, 'Where are you keeping your heart just now?'

"It's hanging on a fig tree which grows on the river bank a bit away from here," said the monkey.

"Will you give me your heart then?"

"I'll go and get it for you."

"So the crocodile carried the monkey up to the fig-tree and the monkey made mock of that stupid crocodile.

"This is another example.

"I can give you another example. Once upon a time a monkey⁸ went down to the river to drink when a crocodile grabbed him. He looked at the crocodile which had caught him and pretended to laugh.

"You silly monkey," said the crocodile, "what are you laughing for? Now that I've got you, you're going to die; aren't you afraid?"

"I'm laughing because you crocodiles keep thinking you've caught a monkey when you haven't at all."

"How's that?" said the crocodile.

"None of us monkeys keep our life in our bodies; we keep it in our tails. When sensible crocodiles catch us they bite off our tails but you've set your teeth in my body and that makes me laugh."

"The crocodile thought that this must be true, released the monkey's body and caught him by the tip of his tail. The monkey kicked him in the teeth and jumped away; thus he happily got out from his peril.

"Thus Yethinyan, Prince Pinsawutda, Thukyo of Pinya, the Counsellor Dein, the Monkey King who was to be our Lord, and the other monkey which the crocodile caught, escaped from their enemies' hands by deceptive devices after they had fallen into their power. Wise men now think about these accounts and, if they fall into danger from their enemies, devise an escape by such means as these four. (We shall tell later the stories of Thukyo of Pinya and the Counsellor Dein.)

The ruling line in Arakan was as follows: Nankyagyi, then Nankyangei, then Saw Munnit, then Saw Mei, then Tawyagyi, then the King's son-in-law Nawrahta, and finally Prince Letkya. There were seven rulers in this line of succession; the year of its establishment in Arakan was 610 B.E. [A.D. 1348] and it was Nankyagyi who established it.

8. Similar, but source not known to me.

}
 } Minyaza's submissions in connection with the grant of Taungngu
 }
 } by King Mingaung to Nga Hkinnyo, his old comrade in arms
 }

Taungngu was first founded in 661 B.E. [A.D. 1399] (*sic*) by Kayinba. After the death of Kayinba, first Thawungyi and then Saw Lu held it. After Saw Lu's death, the fief remained vacant. To fill this vacancy King Mingaung gave signs of wishing to assign Taungngu to Nga Hkinnyo,¹ who was also known as Thinkkaya, and invited Minyaza's views. Minyaza knew that there was nothing special about him, except that the king seemed to want to appoint him, and replied, "Son of my master, people who have undergone hardship under a bad master always appreciate the advantage of having a good master. The example that they give is that 'If your trellis is sound, your gourds will be good.' Using this comparison they say that if a master is good his servants will be good. Do you hold with this parable?"

King Mingaung answered, "This man has been with me through good times and bad. Consequently if I don't give him an appointment, people will say, 'What is the use of keeping faith with kings of this sort all one's life, through good and bad fortune?' They will not stand by my sons and grandsons who come after me. If I give him the appointment now, it will be said by future generations so long as the world lasts that kings of my line make it worth while for those who stand by them in bad times, when things turn out well, and that they will not lose by it." So saying, he assigned Taungngu to him, along with seventy elephants: he also gave him a royal establishment.

The succession of rulers in Taungngu was this: Kayinba, Thawungyi, Saw Lu, Thinkkaya, Minngeikyawhtin, Sithukyawhtin, Mahathirizeiyathuya, Mintayashweihti, and Thihathu, the son of King Mingaung's old tutor -- nine rulers in all.

King Mingaung said to Thinkkaya, lord of Taungngu, "Prince Nga Nyo, go to Father Yaza and get some advice from him. If you behave in accordance with the advice that he gives you, the people will respect you. If you win the people's respect, wise men will respect me since everyone will be able to appreciate the principles of King Mingaung. If you take Father Yaza's advice you will not be subject to criticism and blame from anyone. If you do not, not only will you yourself be blamed, but all my fellow kings and all wise men will certainly criticize me as a king who acts without thought for the blame that he will incur. If you have Father Yaza's respect, the whole country will respect you; if he criticizes you, the whole country will criticize you."²

Thinkkaya, who was called Nga Hkinnyo in his youth, went to Minyaza and said, "My lord Minyaza, our master has promoted me and I have now the lordship of Taungngu. I have come to you now because I don't want to bring disgrace upon either our master or myself. With the benefit of your advice I will get good results for him. They say, 'If you want an egg, make friends with a hen,'² and in this way, because of my love for my grandson Mingaung his favor has fallen upon me."

Minyaza answered, "Brother Nyo, does anyone care to sharpen the thorns of the *hsi* tree or of the *hkan*? They'll reckon they're sharp enough naturally, and I'd say the same. Be bold to associate with the sensible and keep away from the foolish. If you take a wise man for your support, just as a lotus grows out of the water and expands wide in the friendship of the sunlight, so you can fill such an association with benefit. Let your loving-kindness spread out over all your people. By the spread of love over all people, the poison of the hissing snake in the forest becomes no more than a grass cut. For this reason, if you wish to profit our master, keep company with wise men and spread much kindness abroad."² This was the advice that he offered.

Thinkkaya, the lord of Taungngu, because of what Minyaza had so elegantly said to him, took up the governance of Taungngu with an inner disposition to regard the welfare of all his people as his own. After he had entered upon the governorship he gave many presents and gifts freely and pleasantly to the Shans of Thedin, Yeini, Nanhnaing,

1. Seerp. 51 for the king's earlier connection with him.

2. Text has *ma ko* -- "a north Indian," but *kyet* must have dropped out of *kyetma ko*.

Yamedaung, and Pilon, and thus he brought them to his friendship. The Shans of these villages used to say, "If there's hatred, no possessions; if friendship, wealth. We can bear this government," and they came in to his service. Thinkkaya remembered Minyaza's advice which accorded with the common saying, "No love -- no order; with love -- no disputes," and which was that there was nothing to be gained by disregarding the good counsel of the wise, and that he would profit by taking their advice. He therefore brought him a gift of a drinking bowl and ten bales of cloth.

When King Mingaung heard that Nga Hkinnyo by acting on Minyaza's advice had made friends with the Shans and brought them to his service, he was delighted. He sent for Minyaza and told him so. Minyaza replied, "My lord King, those who encounter and see the form and nature of friendship never have to undergo a lessening of well-being. Even if it is lessened, that is only momentary.

"I will give an example; long ago in the branches of a great silk-cotton tree³ which grew on the bank of a river called Kawlakayit⁴ there used to rest a certain crow named Lethkupattana and the king of the doves, who was named Sitragiwa. One day, Lethkupattana the crow saw a hunter coming carrying his nets, and he said, 'Because of these ignoramuses, every day there comes to be fear and anxiety enough to hundreds and thousands of creatures. This is an ill sight, alas, that I have to see so early in the morning!'

"The hunter spread out his nets and scattered rice around. Just then Sitragiwa the dove king flew up with his entourage in search of food, and they settled upon the silk-cotton tree. They saw the rice which the hunter had scattered and the doves were avid for the grain, but Sitragiwa addressed them. 'My comrades,' he said, 'rice does not appear in a forest where men do not come for no reason. In truth, I tell you, if we eat this rice which seems so desirable, we shall be in danger. Therefore do not eat this rice -- school yourselves to contentment.' The doves, however, paid no attention to what their king said, but thought, 'If when we come upon enjoyable wealth, when we find fitting food, wherever it may be, we don't take it but are suspicious of it, where are we to find our wealth, our food?' So they all flew down and ate. The dove king too, since all the rest of them had flown down, flew down himself. Just at the moment when he came down all the doves found themselves entangled in the net along with their king. But why, you may ask, did the dove king with all his wisdom come down too? He came down so as not to abandon his friends.

"When the dove king was fast entangled in the net, the hunter said, 'Thus a man of ambition must be engaged in action; if the action to which he commits himself bears fruit, the man of ambition will be counted among the wise and will make a place in the world. But if his action fails, his ambition will seem blameworthy to men.'

The dove king heard the hunter's words and said, 'My fellow doves, at a time when people are facing their doom, it is the mark of high worth to follow these types of behavior: to show a brave and steadfast courage and to work for their salvation with effort and industry; to be able to speak to good purpose in that turmoil; to be stout-hearted and valorous on the battlefield itself; to be able to stand up to fame; and to be able to reply to abstruse questions from the Scriptures.

"'You must therefore be ready to exert all your care and energy. Follow the example of the ant and you can each raise a much heavier burden. If they are twisted together properly in unity, the slenderest fibers will serve to bind the mightiest elephant. If we act together in unity, what can harm us? Let us all together join in raising this net!' The doves then all together joined in raising the net from the ground.

"When the hunter saw the doves flying away with his net, he said, 'It is only because these doves are working in concert that they can fly. Sooner or later they are bound to break step; if I'm there when they do, they'll fall and I'll be able to kill them.' So he pushed his way into the forest and followed where they flew, but when he failed to find his net, he gave up and went home.

"But the doves were saying, 'We acted all together, just as our king told us, and

3. This favorite story is often told as a jataka but it seems to belong entirely to the Hitopadesa. Our text again follows the old Burmese version of this.

4. Godaveri. The error in transcription comes from the Burmese Hitopadesa version.

we have escaped from the hand of the hunter. Please, lord King, now devise a way of freeing us from the meshes of this net.'

"The dove king answered, 'Fellow doves, there is only one escape for those who are near to perishing, who are in grave danger, or who have been abandoned by their allies: those who are in these three circumstances and are struggling for their lives can only find salvation if they have good friends. Comrades, I cannot break the meshes; however, I know who can save us from the net. Near the river named Kanna there lives a mouse king named Hirannaka in a hole that he has excavated for himself and which he calls Seiktagok. This mouse, my friend, will be able to cut the cords and free us from our danger.' The doves therefore rested a while and then all together flew away to that place.

"Hirannaka the mouse, however, felt that the doves must be bringing danger with them and kept on digging away at the hundred tunnels which formed his hole called Seiktagok. As the doves alighted he heard their noisy arrival and crouched down further and watched from the depths of his hole.

"The dove king called, 'Friend Hirannaka, king of the mice, why do you keep so silent when you see us coming?'

"'You, my friend, had a whole crowd of people with you and seemed to be on some special business, so that I wondered if your company were people of a welcome sort. That is why I waited without saying anything at once. My friend, king of the doves, you are in grave trouble with these bonds; how did it happen?'

"'Friend Mouse, that we need not wonder about. If any creature falls into one of these five states -- a pitiful condition, an anxiety, a bondage, a peril, or a ruin -- it does so from only one original cause, which is the *karma* derived from an earlier wrongdoing. Therefore this bondage into which we have fallen is only the result of our own *karma*.'

"When the mouse heard this, he replied, 'What you say, my friend, is very true. Good and ill fates come to all creatures only as the result of their *karma*. Nevertheless I will cut your bonds, king dove,' and with that he came out from his hole.

"The dove answered, however, 'First of all, friend mouse, cut the meshes quickly around my friends and companions. They are here with me and rely upon me; you can cut me out later.'

"Said the mouse, 'Friend dove, I don't have a great deal of strength and my teeth are small. I don't know if I'll be able to cut the cords when I get round to you in that way. I'd do better to cut you out of the meshes, my friend, first, before my teeth lose their edge. After that I'll get as many of the other doves out as I can.' The mouse then went on to say, 'Do you hear me? People of good nature do indeed habitually disregard themselves in the interests of those who are in their charge and rely upon them; but this is not a practice which meets the full approval of those who are skilled in the Precepts of Behavior.⁵ They consider that every man desires special benefits for his own self and should look out for himself first, by accumulating wealth so as to obtain such benefits. One should consider wife and children before property, but a man must consider himself before wife and children, that is the principle in the books. Friend, one's own life is something very special. If one's life is long, one has to take the profit of it; if there is profit, one has works of virtue and merit to perform; with works of virtue and merit one can achieve, as the result, happiness for mankind, happiness for the world of spirits, and the happiness of *nirvana*. Is this not the argument?' said the mouse.

"When the dove heard this he answered, 'Friend mouse, it is indeed set out in the Principles of Behavior as you say. In my heart, however, when I see those who are dependent on me and who go along with me in distress or in danger, I cannot refrain from pity. These doves are my own kin in family and race; if these doves are distressed, how can I not be distressed? If these doves are happy, I shall be their king in happiness. Friend mouse, one must have love in looking after one's own welfare. What is meant by the 'self' will disappear and perish when the body disappears, but the good that it has done will be set down in the records of the whole world. For this reason please quickly cut the bonds of the other doves before you cut mine.'

5. *ni di kyan* -- presumably the *Lokaniti*.

"The mouse was delighted with this speech and thought to himself, 'I shall free these other doves from their danger -- may the record of the benefit that I have caused by saving them remain for all the world!'" Aloud he said, 'Don't worry, my friend,' and promised that all would be well. First of all he bit through the bonds of the other doves and at the last he freed the dove king. When he had finished, they all made respectful offerings to the mouse king, Hirannaka; and then Sitragiwa, the king of the doves, with all his many followers flew away happily to wherever they wanted to go, while Hirannaka went back into the hole in which he lived.

"In this story," submitted Minyaza, "when the dove Sitragiwa was in danger of his life, the mouse who was his friend saved him and was happy in doing it.

"I can give you another example: when the crow Lethkupattana sat on the silk-cotton tree⁶ and watched the doings of the hunter, he saw the doves fly off with the hunter's net. Lethkupattana followed behind them at a distance. He thought that they did not have much strength, would soon tire and would fall and die; when they were dead, he would be able to eat them, and for this reason he followed. When the doves came back to earth with the net, he perched on a *sayeri* tree and watched what they did as he waited. He saw Hirannaka the mouse come out from his hole and bite through the cords and he thought, 'Ah indeed, a good friend is a wonderful thing! It is not true that one can only make a friend of one of the same sort as oneself. People have different qualities; a pin is not the right thing where a needle is wanted, nor is a needle right when you want a pin. In this way all the virtues are different. Among all creatures mice surpass in their own weapon which is their teeth; they are best of all at, and only at, overcoming ropes by biting them through. But though we birds have no weapon like the mice with which to cut and bite, we can fly up to the sky. I must make him my friend.' With this thought in mind he waited, calling up toward the hole in which the mouse lived.

"'O Hirannaka, O mouse,' he cried, 'your deeds and your conduct are most praiseworthy. I too would wish to call you my friend; starting from today will you hold me in friendship?'

"'Who are you?' said the mouse.

"'Mouse, I am a crow named Lethkupattana.'

"'Lethkupattana, in the land of men, people who are wise call others their friends because they are of like race and sort, or because they are of like virtue and wisdom with themselves. They exchange food and give each other tidbits to enjoy of a flavor that they will like. The one friend carries on business, important or not, in which the other is interested as though it were his own. In this way, the Books say, they are called good friends. But you and I are of different names and races; our food is very different. How can we ever be friends?'

"When Lethkupattana heard this reply, he said, 'My lord mouse, why do you say this? It isn't true that people should only be called friends when their race and qualities are the same. They can well be called friends even when their race is different, as is shown by the case of the great and mighty elephant and the mouse Geilaung who were friends. There too the crow named Panthubokdi and the deer, Mayisipali who because of their friendship lived together for a long time in harmony. It is only a matter of behaving in a manner suitable to their friendship. My lord mouse, it is in the nature of fools not to recognize the special virtues of the good and it is not right to accept them into friendship. Such people have no friends and so it is not possible for them to make the best of their lives. They have no means of escaping dangers and their lives must be short. A wise man who comes into contact with one who is of high worth can recognize his qualities and will associate himself with him in friendship. Because he has a good friend, his life is well lived; his actions are brought to their conclusion without frustration and he passes on to a new good state of existence -- such is his fate. For this reason, friend mouse, because of your qualities, I hope to call you my friend.'

"The mouse listened to this speech and said, 'Crow, among all the creatures the crow, the tiger, the snake, the crocodile, the cat, the jackal, and such creatures are the lowest for their savagery and violence. Anyone who strikes up an acquaintance with such low creatures is certainly asking for his own downfall. Therefore, since your

6. Still in the Hitopadesa.

name is "crow," you are truly our enemy!"

"The crow replied, 'My lord mouse, just as the hottest fire can be quenched with cold water and rendered harmless, so creatures, even if they have been enemies, in following the Law of Righteousness will not injure those who have become their friends. They will stand by their faith and word.'

"To this answer of the crow the mouse replied, 'Friend crow, anyone will revere the power that lies in wisdom. However, even if a person has in great degree the power that lies in skill, he can do nothing in a matter or in a position to which his special ability does not apply. If you ask how this is, the tiger may be full of might but in the water he is powerless; the crocodile has enormous strength but can do nothing on the dry land. In reliance upon such laws of nature, even a wise and clever person may enter into a relationship with one who is his natural enemy or who is simply no good; but one who does so is like to find his life's end that very day!'

"The crow replied, 'I must respect your views, friend mouse, but please pay regard to what I say. One who by not guarding his words or by crooked intention departs from the Law of Righteousness will be worthless, even though his speech and mind are filled with pride of race and name and with knowledge of his own strength and power. On the other hand, one who has no pride of race or name and has no strength or power, but who restrains his words and thoughts so as to act in accordance with the Law of Righteousness, will be counted among the righteous. In these two types of people the nature of the worthless is like an earthen vessel, and an earthen vessel is easily broken if it falls; even if it can be mended this is not easy. The nature of the worthless is like this: he will take the smallest slight to heart and take his revenge whether it is upon a friend or upon someone else. The righteous man, on the other hand, is like a golden vessel and the nature of a golden vessel is not to break easily if it is dropped and it is in any case easy to repair. The righteous man's nature is similar: if you try to incite him against a friend, it is hard to get him to believe what you say. Even if he has taken some injury he will hardly take drastic action. Even if he is roused to anger, he will not nurse a grudge but will soon return to his old friendship. I should like you to bear these words in mind and call me your friend. Please count me as your friend from today.'

"The mouse was a wise mouse and decided that what the crow said was true and honest. He came out of his hole saying, 'Friend crow, I believe you; besides, your words are worth listening to and remembering. Those who are distressed by the heat of the sun can get relief from a gentle breeze, from cool water, or from sandalwood. So too the words of one who is wise and righteous should be listened to and respected by everyone, since they can give relief to those who are in the distress of mind which comes from anxiety. There are six faults which can arise in a friendship, and the six are these: the habit of breaking up a profitable consultation, the habit of speaking without thinking, deceitful and devious hypocrisy, not guarding one's tongue, rough speech, and ill temper. These six faults are not to be allowed play in a friendly association with anyone of distinction. One must not exercise familiarity beyond what is proper. Friend crow, by listening to a person's spoken words one can distinguish the intelligent from the unintelligent, the true from the untrue, and the honest from the dishonest. By seeing actual cases one learns to recognize the vices of avarice, ambition, and frivolity. Do not impose these vices upon friendship. It is the unvarying practice of the wise to provide pleasant speech and such speech is to be valued since it accords with the Law of Righteousness. The wise, too, only speak truth. Since it is thus filled with effectiveness and power, it is the speech of the righteous. So too it is effective and powerful in friendship, and it is in accordance with what you, my friend, have said. From this day on, then, let there be proclaimed friendship between you and me!'

"Thus the mouse spoke, and from that day on the mouse and the crow were called friends.' This was Minyaza's submission to King Mingaung.

The sixteenth set of precedents submitted by Minyaza to King Mingaung in the *Maniyadanabon* ends herer

Minyaza's advice to the lord of Myohla in the reign of
King Mingaung

King Mingaung's servant, Thado, who was the lord of Myohla, was a man of excellent appearance, dexterity, and intelligence. On one occasion this Thado, lord of Myohla, went to Minyaza bringing a bale of cloth from Arakan as a present, under guise of asking his guidance on customary law. Minyaza asked him, "Why have you really come to me, my lord of Myohla?"

"I have come to ask your advice, my lord Minyaza," he answered. After some polite conversation with Minyaza, he said at last, "My lord Minyaza, when our lord the King gives me a choice between Arakan and Mohnyin as an appointment, which should I take?"

Minyaza replied, "There is a saying, 'It's not the horse but the tethering post that moves; it's not the pot but its lid that boils.'¹

The lord of Myohla thought, "That is a wise saying," and he got up and left. Later Minyaza thought over what he had said and regretted it. "Other people," he thought, "will remember the way of my saying what I did. The authors of the Niti say, 'Even though a snake has no legs, it can go on a journey as well as a man; even though they have no milk, hens can nourish their young as well as humans can; even though they have no head, crabs can get to eat as well as men.' One cannot get to appreciate all the good points of every nobleman. What I said was not the right thing to say."

So on a later day he called for him again and said, "Prince of Myohla, you should take Arakan if you wish to lead a peaceful, independent life. You should take Mohnyin if you are ambitious to achieve greatness in the long run."

The Myohla Prince was sent out by King Mingaung along with the Pyinsei Prince to bring supplies of rice in to Prome, which, during the rule of its governor, Mycthnashei, was under siege by the Talaings. Not long after this appointment, he was given the Mohnyin appointment. The other officers talked in terms of the proverb, "If a peacock sits on a sparrow's egg, it will break the egg; if a sparrow sits on a peacock's egg it will break its heart." King Mingaung, however, said, "My servant is truly a peacock!"

After he had received the Mohnyin appointment he went to Minyaza with a present of a long-maned grey horse with a Chinese saddle and other trappings and said, "As you said, my lord Minyaza, our lord the King, the Lord of Life, has granted me Mohnyin and I have taken charge of Mohnyin. How should I administer it to make it prosperous?"

Minyaza replied, "My son, Prince of Myohla, if what you want is to last a long time, try to cut it short; if it is to be short-lived, try to extend it! If you want friendship to be intimate, keep apart; if you want it to be broken, stay close! If you know that the water is deep, try to gauge its depth; if you know it's shallow, you need not worry about it. You must remember, my son, these three things which turn out contrary to your expectations.² You must be able to search out and recognize low quality and high quality among your officers and notables, and you must treat them according to the quality that you find. You must always be glad to bring forward those who devote their very lives to the performance of their duty and you must have the capacity of being abundantly generous to the limits of generosity. In the matter of revenue for your own living, be lenient and don't ask too much. If there are members of the royal family there, take example from Thirizeyya, who so often demanded the throne; in affairs that affect the country, take example from Nga Kaukya the merchant's son. Let the property of the people of your country, their inheritances and legacies, their taxes and dues, their landing places, gates, octroi posts, and so on be ordered always more leniently than in the times of past kings. You must cultivate the ability to feel out and recognize the quality both of those whom you know and of strangers. Big things grow out of small, but by forcing them to grow too early big things are sometimes made small. Don't go to sleep as soon as the sun sets, nor stay

1. I.e., "You are putting things back to front: wait for your chickens to hatch first!"
2. I am not certain that I have fully understood this gnostic passage.

asleep until the sun is high in the sky. Never be remiss in making enquiry into things which call for examination. If you behave in accordance with the advice which I give you, you will be able to govern in full control of your territory and towns.³

The Prince of Myohla went away with the firm persuasion that the more closely he followed the advice of sages the more it would benefit his master and his servants. King Mingaung, however, sent a message that the lord of Mohnyin was to appear before him before his final departure for Mohnyin. So the lord of Mohnyin addressed the king and said, "It is evening and your servant is hungry."³

King Mingaung was in a mood for pleasantries and said, "Do you need a wife? If so, take this one," and gave him Mi Myat, the junior queen who was the daughter of the Taungdwin Prince. Having accepted the lady, the Mohnyin Prince sent her over to the other bank of the river. Although he hoped to make a quick journey on account of the lady, he thought, "Before we go, I have been given good advice that was hard to get," and first he took a present of a bolt of cloth costing over thirty silver pieces and went to see Minyaza of Winzin saying, "My lord Minyaza, if you will continue to help me it will be good."

"My son, Prince of Myohla, if there is a choice between a good mind and great strength, do not prefer great strength; prefer a good mind. My master Mingyizwasawke preferred to cultivate his mind and therefore, from the time when he became king, those who could only claim physical strength became his servants. Prince Thilawa of Yameithin, the brother-in-law of my master Mingyizwasawke, was just as able as Mingyizwasawke, but he only valued physical strength and so was just one of that king's officers. Take the example of Mingyizwasawke and follow it," replied Minyaza.

The Mohnyin Prince hurried away on account of his lady and went off. After he reached Mohnyin, he sent a letter to Minyaza addressing him as "My Preceptor."³

Submission based upon examples made to King Mingaung that gifts should not be regretted and should be given even if hard to make.

King Mingaung later sent for Minyaza and said, "Father Yaza, I gave away the Taungdwin Princess, Mi Myat, just because the lord of Mohnyin asked me for a wife!"

To this Minyaza replied, "My lord King, you must never have regrets about anything that you have given away. If you do regret your gifts, you will lose the respect of the wise. I will give your Majesty some examples of gifts that were hard to make.

"When in Bayanathi the son of King Mitdayit's chaplain¹ came to pay his respects to the king, he saw the queen, who was of the most extraordinary beauty, he lusted for her and groaned, 'If I do not have her for my lover, I shall die!' The king heard him and gave her to him, but for seven days only. The queen's and the young man's desires proved mutual, however, and they ran away together to another country. The king made a cry through the whole city, but though an intensive search was made for them they could not be found. From violent vexation and grief he fell into a terrible passion until he was in a state that no medicine could remedy. His minister Theinaka Thuhkamein was desperate for some means to cure him, and sent for two wise advisers named Ayusha and Petkutha.

"'Our lord the King,' he told them, 'has nothing the matter other than this; it is just a sickness of the mind. We must find a way to cure him. Let us hold a display before the king during which a sword-swallower will swallow swords; if he asks Ayusha whether there are any tricks harder than that, he must reply in such-and-such a way. If he asks Petkutha if any trick is more difficult he must reply thus-and-thus.'¹ He himself, who was to become the Buddha, learned the art and, when all the various skills

3. There seems to be a pun here between *mo gyok*, 'evening,' and *mo hnyin gyok* 'govern Mohnyin,' but I don't altogether follow it.

1. Dasannaka Jataka (no. 401).

were displayed before the king, demonstrated it by swallowing a sword blade thirty-three inches long and four inches wide. The king watched and asked Ayusha the anticipated question. Ayusha made his reply, 'Whoever entertains the greedy desire for wealth, your majesty, swallows a sword that can drink its fill of blood. Whoever, on the other hand, can say "I give it you" performs an action harder than swallowing a sword.'

"The king heard Ayusha's speech and thought, 'I have found that saying, "I give the Queen to the chaplain's son," a very difficult action to perform!'

"He turned to his other counsellor, Petkutha, and asked, 'Is there anything harder than undertaking to give?'

"'Giving, actually carrying out the giving as you have undertaken, is harder than swallowing a sword,' he submitted.

"The king considered what Petkutha said and thought, 'Handing over my queen to the chaplain's son according to my undertaking to hand her over was an action which must be called very difficult.' His anxieties became very severe and he thought again, 'There is no sage wiser than Theinaka my counsellor: I shall consult him.'

"To the king's questions he replied, 'My lord King; whenever a wise man gives anything away as a free gift, whether it is something great or something small, and has no afterthought about the giving, this is an action more difficult than sword-swallowing.' On this reply of his counsellor Theinaka, the king thought to himself, 'Because I loved my queen I gave her away; it is not right that because I cannot control my mind I should allow it to disturb me. If she had loved me, she would not have cast aside her state and run away. What difference does it make that she should cast me off and run away because she has no love for me?' and with this thought the sickness of the king's mind rolled away just like a drop of water set upon a lotus leaf.

"You may learn in the Pannaka² Jataka of how his trouble and anxiety left him and how his former equanimity returned, how he honored his counsellor, the Buddha-to-be, and gave him great wealth, and all the rest of it. My lord King," said Minyaza, "you should have no after-thoughts or regrets about what you have given.

"This is another example.

"I will give you another example. When Brahmadat was King in Bayanathi, the Buddha-to-be was Shin Yathei,³ King Brahmadat's preceptor. One day when he came to the palace for his alms food, he saw the queen undressing and entertained lecherous thoughts. For this reason he stayed at home for six whole days without getting his food.

"'My preceptor has been six whole days without coming for his alms food,' said the king, and went to see Shin Yathei and asked him why. Shin Yathei told him truly what had happened and on that seventh day the king gave his queen to Shin Yathei and made him leave the Order. He did not yet, however, consort freely with the queen, for the queen was a clever woman and said to him, 'Husband, a layman's tasks are not easy; first you must build a house,' and so she made him build a house. When the house was finished; she made him find some paddy. When he had got the paddy, she made him pound it; she made him clean the rice; she made him get the water; she made him cook the rice; she made him pick the vegetables; she made him chop firewood; and when she had kept him busy with all these devices she said, 'All these tasks are simple. If you and I get together and beget children and grandchildren, that will be a much more worrying business than any of these!' Yathei at once lost any idea of being a layman for good and once again became Shin Yathei regaining all his old skill and power.

"This is another example.

2. There is no such title in the Pali Text Society's Edition.

3. This story seems to be a conflation of the Udancana Jataka (no. 106) and the Samkappa Jataka (no. 251), but has a more ironic tone than either of the originals.

example. He always said that he wished to have the respect of wise men.

King Mingaung sent after Nga Hkinba, however, with the message that he had never given him Sagu and called him back again. Nga Hkinba hurriedly returned and stayed kneeling before the king, while the king sent for Minyaza and for his Privy Counsellor and Elephant Corps chief, Prince Theingathu² to lay a complaint before them. Ostensibly his purpose in thus laying a formal complaint was that he was concerned lest knowledgeable men might find him at fault in the matter, but King Mingaung's real purpose was a wish to ensure that Nga Hkinba got a grant, but further away than Sagu, without incurring general criticism. King Mingaung therefore said, "Father Yaza, Nga Hkinba doesn't have even four or five followers and yet he claims to be lord of Sagu. Should he have made any such claim?"

At these words of the king, Nga Hkinba joined his hands, buried his face in his jacket and seemed to weep. "Did you, my lord, lord of life, not fail to be willing to promote me, who have been your old servant, your old comrade and sharer of hardships? Since it had been said that when Sagu fell vacant I should have the lordship, I borrowed a hundred pieces of silver and arranged for official boats. Now that I've incurred this debt, it's as though instead of saving a man who's drowning, you push him under with a punt pole," he said as he wept.

When King Mingaung heard what Nga Hkinba said, he remembered old kindnesses and tears sprang to his eyes. When Minyaza saw how the king was affected, he said, "Son of my master, once it has been said, 'I will give it to my servant,' it is not right that a king's word, which is as the word of our Lord, should be set at naught."

King Mingaung replied, "Father Yaza, how can it be right to follow my own inclinations, when he has no special ability for the task?"

"Son of my master, the old kindness between you can be called a qualification for office," suggested Minyaza.

"I make no such grant," said King Mingaung, "but if Father Yaza says that it should be given, let it be done!"

Thus Nga Hkinba assumed the lordship of Sagu with an escort of twenty war elephants. King Mingaung was very glad that Nga Hkinba had got Sagu but was concerned that his other officers, while pretending pleasure, should be disappointed and also that Nga Hkinba might develop an undue pride; he therefore made no show of his pleasure. Two weeks later, however, he gave Minyaza a *salwe* decoration. To Nga Hkinba he said, "It was not I who gave you Sagu; it was Father Yaza, and you had better give him something in recognition of this." He therefore offered him one of his villages.

Minyaza at all times was careful to observe any hints of his personal wishes that the king dropped in private conversation when he was in attendance upon him. He was good at recognizing when someone, while pretending dislike, really loved a man, and also when someone behaved as though he loved one whom he secretly disliked. Because he was of a nature to observe and compare, he could recognize the truth in what was said and could see through deceptions as certainly as one can say that there is dirt in a house when one has seen it. Because he accepted Minyaza's advice, King Mingaung never took the property of monasteries for unlawful gain.

This is the eighteenth set of examples submitted by Minyaza in the *Maniyadanabon*.

I
I Minyaza's submission to King Mingaung in respect of his
I
I son, Thihathu
I

During the reign of King Mingaung, he saw that his son Minyekyawzwa had very great strength, intelligence, and power, and the king was concerned about his son Thihathu. At this time Minyekyawzwa was lord of Prome, while Thihathu held Sagaing. Prome was first founded in 604 B.E. [A.D. 1242] by Thihathu, the son of King Thihapatei

2. Name given as Prince Htinkathu on p. 55 .

Tayokpyeimin who ran from the Chinese. This Thihathu's rule lasted for forty-two years.

King Mingaung therefore said, "Father Yaza, since my son Minyekyawzwa is a man of great strength and power, while my son Thihathu has less personal authority, which territory or city will serve to keep him alive? Which fief should I give him to set my mind at rest?"

"Son of my master, only the Prome territory will be right for your younger son," was the reply. "My reasons for saying this are that, if he wishes to extend his power into the Talaing country he can do so, and if he wishes to extend it into Arakan he can do so equally. If enemies come from elsewhere and lay siege to him, he can arrange to bring supplies in from the Talaing country and there can be no famine. It is as easy there to obtain whatever is needed for food and drink as it is from canal-watered lands. So that you can appoint your younger son to be lord of Prome, therefore, I suggest that you set the elder over Taungdwin and Salin, since that is what he really wants."

King Mingaung recognized the force of what Minyaza said and sent orders to his son Minyekyawzwa summoning him to his presence, "My eldest son, as you wish to inherit the Golden Throne of Ava along with the whole country of Burma, come up to my presence." The reply came, "Your Majesty -- as my royal father orders." King Mingaung gave to his son Minyekyawzwa the fief of Pahkangyi together with the ten villages of Bankyi and their ten war-boats, while he gave Prome to his son Thihathu. At the same time he gave to his brother, Prince Theikdat, nine companies of horse together with Sagaing Taungthin.

This King Mingaung arranged the affairs of the country; it was not for lack of love that he made plans to curb his elder son, but from the expectation that when he became king that elder son would oppress the younger. He therefore laid his plans and repeatedly sought to revise his arrangements. When King Mingaung received the report that his son Thihathu had taken up residence in Prome and that his retainers and officers were firmly established, he gave a reward to Minyaza including a betel box made of assayed gold.

The nineteenth set of precedents submitted by Minyaza of Winzin in the *Maniyadanabon* ends here.

I
I Minyaza's submissions in reply to King Mingaung's questions
I
I about his sons Minyekyawzwa and Thihathu
I

At about this time King Mingaung questioned Minyaza of Winzin and said, "Father Yaza, which of my sons has the greater ability, Minyekyawzwa, lord of Pahkan, or Thihathu?"

"Your two sons, my lord, are equal in ability, but with this equality in basic ability your elder son's interest lies only in power, while your younger son has an interest in things of the mind. On the one hand your elder son values strength and, if in his presence his people would cry halt, his reaction will be to urge, "The horses, the elephants, the swords, and the spears are ahead -- will you stay behind!" On the other hand, your younger son values only a good mind which will honor and respect all men suitably. It is better that the king's sons and grandsons should receive honor from love rather than from fear. Those kings who enjoy the highest prosperity are disposed to seek to accomplish their success through wisdom rather than through force. Anything that is accomplished only through force can be overturned in an instant at a chance opportunity, just as when a spark the size of a mustard seed is blown up to a great roaring blaze by a gust of wind. Strength lies in a good elephant or a good horse; the benefit of a good intellect is as when liquid wax is spilling and it can be made solid by sparkling water. It is an excellent thing, therefore, when the descendants of kings use their intellects in their comings and goings."

This was Minyaza's submission. King Mingaung, however, for love of his elder son chose to pass it over.

The twentieth set of examples submitted by Minyaza of Winzin in the *Maniyadanabon* ends here.

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 { Minyaza's advice to Thihathu, the lord of Prome
 {

King Mingaung used to say, "If it is a matter of the best elephants, the best horses, and the best officers, they all go with my eldest son Kyawzwa. If you want someone who has a good appearance, high ability, and talks well, but only knows about shields and defences, then my son Thihathu is your man!"

Thihathu, who was lord of Prome, heard of this saying and so came to Minyaza and said, "Father Yaza, our lord the king says that the best elephants, the best horses, and the best officers with the best swords and the best spears are all for his elder son; his younger son, myself, he says, behaves well and looks good, but only knows about shields and defences. Father, help me!"

Minyaza of Winzin replied, "Son of my master, what I am going to say must be obliterated from your mind! If your royal father heats up your brother's mind with the fire which is called vanity,¹ just as, when soup which is heating on the fire is left until it becomes scorched and stinking, it is no good to eat; and like the saying about the distance between a yoke of bullocks, so your royal father will deal with your brother on account of his vanity and fulfill all your desires."

Thihathu, lord of Prome, admitted the truth of what Minyaza had said and was very pleased with him. After he had later become king, believing that it was by Minyaza's help that he had thus obtained the crown, he presented to Saw Yin of Badon, who was Minyaza's son, a cow elephant, a bull elephant, and a pair of bracelets, saying that they were for him in his father's place.

This is the twenty-first submission made by Minyaza in the *Maniyadanabon* which ends here.

{
 { Minyaza's submissions in reply to King Mingaung's questions
 {
 { about his son Minyekyawzwa and about the use of liquor
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In 778 B.E. [A.D. 1416] King Mingaung's son Minyekyawzwa marched upon Pegu. While he was besieging Dala, Minyekyawzwa learned that the Talaing king, Yazadayit, was advancing with the intention of attacking him and so prepared to fight him in single combat. The Prince of Myinsaing, Sithukyzwhtin; the Prince of Salin, Nawrahta; the lord of Prome, Pyanchishweidaunghmu, and other officers therefore made representations: "Son of our master, please do not yet make any advance out towards him -- our men, elephants and cavalry are not yet concentrated." In spite of this he paid no attention, but came out to the attack and, in the month of Tagu of the same year as he set out on the expedition, Minyekyawzwa, Saturday-born, died in Dala at the hands of the Talaings. On the very day of his death a tree spirit, guardian of a rain-tree, spoke to King Mingaung and told him of it.

Minyekyawzwa was in fact rough and boorish; he was also dissolute and ill-conducted. He became proverbial among wise men of later times, who would say, "Do not be as crude as Minyekyawzwa; do not be as dissolute; do not be as insolent!"

King Mingaung received one account of his death from the tree spirit's narrative and another from the formal report which came to him, and he set out with all his court to see his son's place of burial. The remains were placed upon a golden barge and brought to the funeral ceremony on the Panwadi river. Bassein was taken in that same year and, when he returned to Ava, King Mingaung said to Minyaza, "Father Yaza, it was my son's fault that he did not listen to his counsellors advice. If he had attended

1. Amending *pin nya* to *pa hlwa* which makes better sense.

to them, how could he have been faulted?"

"My lord King, he did not listen to his counsellors because it was not in his nature to take advice. A man will only listen to the advice of his subordinates if such listening falls within the scope of his own nature," replied Minyaza.

"Father Yaza, liquor brings no profit; its effects are base only. How did this liquor originate?"

"Son of my master, long ago, when the king named Brahmadat ruled in the land of Bayanathi,¹ a certain forest hunter who lived in the Kathikayit district went to the Himawunta to seek out valuables such as elephant ivory and bird-of-paradise plumes.² In the forest he climbed a tree and at a point about a man's height above the ground he came upon a branch which divided into three. In the middle of the branch, at the point where it divided, there was a hollow about the size of an earthen pot, and this had filled up with rain water. Around the tree grew trees of other sorts, wild fig, *sissam*, and pepper vines, and at the time when they ripened these trees' own fruit had come away and dropped in. Also near to the tree a patch of wild rice had sprung up and was growing. Parrots had flown away with wild rice grain and rested upon the tree to eat it; some of the rice too had been dropped as they ate and fallen into the hollow of the tree. The wild figs and plums and peppers which had fallen into the water were all cooked together by the heat of the sun in the water, which had taken on a reddish color and a wonderful flavor. During the hot months, when there had been plenty of rain, all the parrots used to congregate to drink it and from drinking the liquid they used to become intoxicated. They tumbled down all around the tree, slept a little and then, as their drunkenness wore off, they flew back up again, frisking and singing. All sorts of other animals too, woodpeckers, dogs, and monkeys used to get drunk there as well.

"As the hunter watched the behavior of these birds and animals, he thought that the liquor must really be poisonous and that they were like to die, but, when they did not die and all the birds and animals just went off quite happily after a short sleep, he decided that the liquor could not be poisonous and drank some himself. He felt that he would like to eat the meat of the birds and animals there, and so he killed the creatures that had fallen all around the foot of the tree, and stayed at the tree for several days, broiling them on his fire and eating the cooked meat.

"In a hermitage not too far off from the tree there lived a recluse named Wayuna. One day the hunter found himself in the neighborhood of the hermitage where this recluse lived, and thought, 'It will be better to drink this liquor in company with the recluse, rather than drinking alone.' So he filled a bamboo vessel with the liquor and, taking some cooked meat too, he went to call on the recluse.

"'Sir recluse,' he said, 'won't you take a little refreshment? I'll drink along with you.' So the hunter and the hermit drank together and they sat there drinking and eating the meat. From that day on they were known together as "Thuyawayuna."

"The hunter and the recluse filled up bamboo vessels with the liquor and, carrying them on a yoke, they visited the villages of the surrounding country. The king heard that people who knew the art of making liquor were about and sent for them. When they came to his court, Wayunathuya, the recluse and the hunter, offered their liquor to the king, who took two or three drams and became intoxicated. After a day or two of his drinking, however, the supply ran out. 'Is there any more?' he asked the recluse and the hunter, who had given him the liquor.

"'Not here,' they said, 'it's in the Himawunta forest.'

"'If it's there, bring some,' ordered the king, and sent them off.

"The recluse and the hunter set off and once or twice more they brought in fresh supplies, but then they thought, 'We can't keep going there all the time,' and so they memorized the arrangement for making the liquor, made a copy of the tree branch, set up their equipment and set about making their liquor in the city. All the people from the king down began to drink, came to a state of mindlessness and so were ruined.

1. The Kumbha Jataka (no. 512).

2. Literally, "tail feathers of the *samayi* bird." This is a fabulous bird with a marvellous tail: I have taken a slight liberty.

Consequently Wayunathuya, the recluse and the hunter, fled and came successively to the lands of Bayanathi, Midila, Tethkatho, Kawthanbi, Patalipok, and Thakeita where they sold their liquor, and all the people from the kings down were ruined by drinking it too. Finally the recluse and the hunter fled from Thakeita and came to Thawunthti.

"In Thawuthti the ruler was a king named Thatbameikta. This king gave high honors to the makers of liquor and asked them what they needed. They replied, 'We need some wild rice flour and equipment for making liquor.' The king gave them all the equipment they wanted and set them to making liquor. To guard their stock against rats they tethered a cat near to each of their pots, but these cats got drunk by licking up the spillings of the liquor as it frothed over the sides of the pots while it fermented in the heat of the sun, while the rats came and chewed their noses and their ears and their whiskers and got clean away. To the king's courtiers who were reporting to the king it seemed as though the cats had died from drinking the liquor. The king decided that it was poison that they brewed, and gave orders that both the recluse and the hunter should have their heads taken off and that their pots and fermenting vats should be destroyed. The cats, however, as their drunkenness wore off, got up and played and capered away. The cats' caperings were again watched and reported to the king, who said, 'In truth if this were really a poison, those cats would have died; they've capered off happily, however, and did not die: it may be that it is only a good, pleasant drink. We shall try that liquor.'

"He had the whole town decorated and outside the palace, pavilions and platforms were erected. In the midst of the pavilions was set a wellbuilt royal throne under a white canopy, and all the king's officers crowded round and struggled to get at the liquor. When Thagyamin saw these people, who had been unfailingly devoted to the support of their parents and engaged in the practice of the Three Good Works, and their king making these energetic preparations to drink the liquor, he said, 'In very truth, if this king drinks, the whole of the Zabudeik island will be ruined.' He took a pot filled with liquor in his hand and, taking on the appearance of a Brahman, stopped high in the heavens before the king crying, 'Will you buy the bier in this pot?'³

"King Thatbameikta saw this Brahman standing in the sky above him and said, 'Brahman, where have you come from and what's that pot?'

"Thagyamin replied, 'It doesn't matter where I've come from; I want to show you the true nature of liquor. Listen, King, this is no pot of butter or of oil or of honey; this is an accursed pot. If you drink from this liquor, at each step that you take you will be like a man wandering on the steep bank of a pond and like to tumble down in the mire. You will lose command of your mind and you will come and go like an ox that eats only withered grass, like a man who deserves no respect. You will come and go naked like the heathen, lost to modesty and conscience. Your mind will become confused and you will be given to inordinate sleep. As you stagger up from your bed, your head, your arms, and your hands will tremble crazily and this is how you will go about. I am most excellent; there is none like me and I have come to warn you. You are in risk of being the destruction of your whole line. You are in risk of committing murder and of being murdered yourself. You are in risk of saying what should not be said. You are in risk of wasting and losing your kingdom, your wealth, your rice, your paddy, your gold, your silver, your lands, your buffalos, your cattle, your horses, and your elephants. You are in risk of abusing your parents. You are in risk of committing incest with the women of your wife's family, of your own family, with your own mother, under the impression that they are your own wife. If women drink liquor they are like to abuse their husbands' parents, their husbands, and their own parents. Their lust will drag them in to sin with their slaves, their workmen, even their own brothers. You will kill and oppress priests who proclaim the Law, and by thus killing and oppressing them you will fall into the Four Hells. You will not be able to speak the truth; nay, you will not even be able to recognize falsehood. You will be borne down with sickness; you will lose all caution and constantly be in danger of death. Who in the world of men should drink this liquor which is a sort of poison? It was from drinking liquor that the ten sons of Andakawinda,⁴ brother princes, fell to fighting each other while at sea and so were lost. Life can be easy; why should men

3. This is the best that I can do with the pun; *thei* means equally 'liquor' and 'death'.

4. Also alluded to in the Samkicca Jataka and must be those in the Ghata Jataka (see p. 128) but this incident does not come there. It is said to be from the Visnu Purana.

who want it like that, who know that liquor brings no gain, who are wise; why should they drink? King, if you still wish to buy after all the ills of which I have told you, then buy; but, King, I have said my say to you as I have wished.'

"When King Thatbameikta realized the dangers of liquor, he thanked him and said, 'Sir Brahman, my parents did not tell me of this evil; you have warned me of the danger and done me much good. You have shown great good will toward me and I shall follow the advice of one who wishes me so well. For your good will, Brahman, I give you villages to yield a revenue of a hundred thousand pieces, a hundred women slaves, seven hundred cows, and ten chariots with magical harness. You are my preceptor who desires my good.'

"On hearing this reply Thagyamin admitted that he was the King of the Spirits, saying, 'King Thatbameikta, keep your slaves, your villages, your cattle, and your chariots for yourself. I am Thagya who rule in Tawateintha. Eat the food that you should; avoid ill deeds that are against the Law; pursue the good as the Law prescribes. Will you not thus enter that high place which is called the Spirit Kingdom?' He then ascended to his own country.

"King Thatbameikta observed Thagyamin's advice and had the liquor pots broken. He established the Principles; he gave alms; he ruled in accordance with the Law and in the end gained the boon of the Spirit Kingdom. From that time on, however, the drinking of liquor has spread gradually through Zabudeike. He who was then Thatbameikta became Ananda and he who was then Thagyamin became the Lord.

"This is another example.

"When he who was to be Tharipoktra was King of Bayanathi⁵ he drank liquor and became intoxicated. In this state he killed the son, whom he cherished in his breast; he stir-fried and braised him and, thinking it was curry, had him served for his dinner.

"This is another example.

"In the Thawuthti country the son of a certain merchant, who was worth eight hundred million,⁶ was excluded from his father's will on account of his taste for liquor and was thus ruined. Later on, as he went about to beg his food, the Lord saw this merchant's son, living on the open ground around the houses of other people like a dog or a pig, since his own house had been sold to outsiders and he had no house to live in, and the Lord smiled. When Shin Ananda asked why he smiled, he replied, 'Ananda, my dear son, if this man, a merchant's son, had avoided strong drink from his youth and behaved so as to achieve virtue, he would today have been a great merchant of moderate means, or, in the religious life, he would have been a saint of the third degree. If he had given up strong drink when he came to the third stage of his life and followed the path of virtue, he would have become a merchant in a small way of business, or, in the religious life, he would have been a saint of lower degree. As things are, however, he fails in both the lay world and the religious world, like a crane which from a hilltop watches the water go by with slack wings.' This was the answer given by the Lord.

"This is another example.

"While the Athuya spirit⁷ was a spirit living in the Tawateintha heaven on the summit of the Myinmo mountain, he constantly drank strong liquor and was usually drunk. While this Athuya spirit was thus drunk there, Thagyamin seized him by the leg and cast him out, so that he fell to the bottom of the Myinmo mountain, and so his happy existence was ended.

"This is another example.

5. Kasara Jataka (no. 221).

6. In the Maha Sutasoma Jataka (noe 537).

7. In Kularaka Jataka (noe 31).

"In Bayanathi, King Kanmalahathti⁸ became the associate and boon companion of a certain Brahman of gluttonous appetite, who was no fit companion for him. When he was drunk he misunderstood some words of this Brahman and slew his eighty thousand officers. Because of this murder of eighty thousand officers he became a man of no account. For a while, however, he companied with a young man who was to be the Lord, who instructed him in the parable of the three marvels; the marvel of a banyan tree, the marvel of a long pennant,⁹ and the marvel of a Palmyra palm, so that he gave up liquor and in future attended to his duties, and again had eighty thousand officers who paid their duty to a prospering king.

"This is another example.

"When Tabinshweihti, King of Taungngu, lived and reigned in Hanthawadi,¹⁰ a certain Indian seaman who knew how to brew liquor was made a servant in the palace. The king drank the liquor brewed by this Indian and got drunk; he abused, attacked, and beat his counsellors, who should not have been so handled. He became sick in mind and the Talaings conspired with Thameindaw and had the two brothers Thameinsawhtwet and Thameinnyat assassinate him. He met his death on a sandy plain at a bathing party.

"This is another example.

"Aleinma, who was the minister who first founded Martaban, invited Makatu, the lord of Kawwun village, to come and murder the king of Ayodhya's¹¹ son-in-law and to become king himself. After Makatu had completed his coup, Aleinma the minister thoughtlessly joined in a drinking bout with him and, when they were drunk, King Makatu killed him. Such was the end of Aleinma, the minister.

"This is another example.

"During the lifetime of our All-knowing Lord a certain Naga set up a heresy and oppressed all the people so that they were in distress. The Lord ordered his pupil Shin Thakeitamahtei to admonish him. From this admonishment the Naga was converted to gentleness and the people of the towns and villages became very happy. In gratitude they asked the monks to name whatever they would like to be included in their offerings, however difficult it might be to get, and said that they would give it to them. The monks with Thakeitamahtei replied, 'We have plenty of good food and good robes for our use and other such things, which we may need to eat, but we have never ever drunk good liquor. Just give us some good liquor,' they said. All the people gladly joined together in giving what they asked for and so, from Shin Thakeitamahtei downwards, who was so filled with extraordinary wisdom and could refute the Naga, these imperfect monks got down to drinking. Intoxicated from the drink, they simply could not tell one person from another and, though the Lord himself was coming towards them, Shin Thakeitamahtei dropped at the Lord's very feet and went to sleep stretched out there. The Lord summoned all the monks to the pavillion where he pronounced the Law.

"'Monks, my dear sons, who converted the Naga?' he asked them.

"'Shin Thakeitamahtei, your pupil, converted him,' they replied.

"'Monks, my dear sons, would Shin Thakeitamahtei at this moment be able to convert the Naga?' asked the Lord.

"'Lord of great Glory,' they answered, 'Shin Thakeitamahtei has drunk liquor and is drunk. At this moment he is stretched out asleep on the ground. How could he

8. Source not known to me. Kamalahatti figures in the Mahasutasoma Jataka but not in this way.

9. There is another reference to the "Three Wonders" on p. 55 but I cannot find the story. The middle one might be expected to be another tree name but "*tahkun*" is a pennant flown at a pagoda or else a comet's tail.

10. An anachronism; Tabinshweihti's dates were A.D. 1531-50, long after Mingaung.

11. This is part of the story of Wareru, the founder of the later Mon dynasty.

"Free my mother and eat me!" said the prince.

"Son," cried his mother, 'your mother's old and it's all right for her to die. You are still young and must not die!' In spite of her forbidding him to go on with this, he brought his mother out from the tree's shadow and went into the shadow himself. The ogre came right up to the prince and the prince said, 'Ogre, which part of me is the meat that you like best?'

"I like the heart much the best," said the ogre.

"The prince then took a vow that he would speak with his mother, ask her forgiveness for any offences and that, before his life was spent, he would take out and give away his heart. He then took out his heart and gave it to the ogre, then went to his mother, and did her reverence, but was too faint to speak; his mother, however, cried out to the ogre, 'How can you eat a man who treats his parents respectfully? Regurgitate his heart and give it to him so that he can live!'

"The ogre was dreadfully frightened; trembling with fear he went to where the prince lay, brought up his heart again, treated it with a magic lotion, and put it back into his breast. The prince's disposition of parental respect and the supernatural power restored him to life. The ogre too, so long as he lived in that place, vowed to become a guardian spirit and watched the place so that no one should be put in fear.

"This is another example.

"When he who was to be the Lord Gawdama lived as Prince Weipuyakeikti, his mother died, and at her funeral the prince ordered, 'Use me as fuel for the pyre.' So he was laid on the pyre as fuel and the pyre was lighted. The mother's corpse was burnt up, but nevertheless the fire touched not one hair of the prince's body and for the whole of his life he ruled in accordance with the Law.

"This is another example.

"When he who was to be the Lord Gawdama lived as the young man Nayaso, he delighted in working for the support of his blind mother by carrying firewood. One day a snake bit his mother and she grew faint as the poison spread. Thagyamin appeared in the guise of a doctor and said, 'If you want your mother to live, you must take your own heart and give it to her as medicine; then she will live.' He agreed to take his own heart out and to use it as medicine and then she revived, but when she saw her son lying dead, she implored Thagyamin and he restored her son to life.

"This is another example.

"When He lived as the young man Katawahana too, when he had embarked his mother in a boat and was taking her across the water, the boat broke up and he swam supporting his mother.

"Thus sons and daughters who treat their parents with respect and reverence enjoy immediate and tangible blessings in the present, not to speak of those which they gain in the long run."

"This is another example.

"Sons and daughters on the other hand, who habitually treat their parents without reverence and respect, experience an ill outcome that may come upon them suddenly. Here is an instance. In Bayanathi a certain wealthy man had a son named Meiktaweindaka. This son wished to go with the seamen and to become a trader, and so his father said to him, 'My dear son, we have much wealth already and there are many dangers upon the Ocean: do not go!' Although he tried to dissuade him, he would not stay. His mother, therefore, to bar the way he had to go, lay down and slept lying across it. Meiktaweindaka, however, kicked his mother out of his way and went as he would, but his mother bowed down and prayed, 'My son behaves thus towards a mother as good as I am, but still --

may he be a monk -- may his life be long!†

"Meiktaweindaka embarked on his ship and crossed the sea; in the midst of the ocean the vessel broke up and he laid hold of a plank which kept him afloat until he was cast up upon an island. On the shore of the island he found a man undergoing punishment for failing in respect for his parents, which was to carry an iron wheel upon his head. The wheel appeared to him to be a wreath of gold and he demanded it saying, 'Give me that golden wreath which my brother set aside for me!'

"'It's not a golden wreath, but an iron wheel that I must bear upon my head for my sins,' was the reply, but he would not believe it. He kept pestering the wearer and over and over demanding it -- 'You're cheating me,' he said -- until at last the man saw that this new arrival was a sinner in the same class as himself and that the time had come for him to suffer the iron wheel, while he himself had reached the term of his punishment and the time of his release. He therefore took the iron wheel from his own head and handed it over to the other. As soon as it touched his head, Meiktaweindaka felt it as a heavy burden and he has had to endure that condition right up to this day.

"This is another example.

"There are many more instances that I could give of how people have come to harm by failing to give proper respect to their parents," said Minyaza.

The twenty-third set of examples submitted by Minyaza of Winzin in the *Maniyadanabon* ends herer

I
I Minyaza's submission regarding Queen Bomei
I

During the reign of King Mingaung, Saw Bomei was born to Princess Okga by Thihathu the younger, the son of Thihathu Saw Naung, who was the son of Thihapatei of Taungdwin. Saw Bomei was therefore niece to King Mingaung, and when she was eight years old the king caused her to mount upon a heap of gold as high as a man's knee and there she was consecrated as queen and he took her to be his wife. For seven months only Queen Saw Bomei used for her meals her solid gold tray, which weighed a hundred *viss* and which took ten men to handler. Then, since she wished to perform an unparalleled work of merit, she donated this tray, weighing a hundred *viss* from which only this eight-year-old queen and no other queen had eaten, to be used for the adornment of the *hti* of the Shweizigon pagoda at Pagan, so as to become a by-word in future ages for her unparalleled charity.

About this time, for some misbehavior, King Mingaung proposed to demote Queen Saw Bomei from the Southern Palace and to place her in the Northern Palace instead, while he would appoint the daughter of his Minister for Mines to the Southern Palace. The king therefore sent an elephant for Minyaza's use and when he came said to him, "Father Yaza, I am consulting you because I intend to demote Saw Bomei for her misbehavior from the Southern to the Northern Palace and to place the daughter of the Minister for Mines in the Southern Palace.†"

Minyaza, thinking that it would be a delicate business to discuss the private affairs of kings and queens, replied, "Son of my master, do you wish this consultation to be a formal consultation with your minister, or a private consultation with a man of wisdom?"

"What do you mean by 'a formal consultation' and 'a private consultation'?" asked the king.

"Son of my master,† he replied, "if you say 'a formal consultation', it means that opinions will only be expressed that are likely to be deemed right and proper. It is a formal consultation if anything which seems out of line has to meet the offended pride of a king and the resulting blame. If you say 'a private consultation', it will mean that there will be no question of blame whether opinions expressed seem right and proper, or whether they seem out of line, or whether silence is maintained.†"

"Father Yaza,¹ replied King Mingaung, "I should like this to be a private consultation with a man of wisdom.¹"

"Son of my master, let me give you an instance; please consider whether it is apposite. Seed paddy is that which is carefully cleaned and set aside for the purpose, is that not so? If you use for seed any old paddy bought in the market, how can it be good seed? Son of my master, please consider the analogy," said Minyaza.

King Mingaung thought a little and then said, "What you mean, Father Yaza, is this: if one of the royal line is advanced, is he not rightly placed in a position of nobility? If one is advanced who is not of royal race, how can he be truly noble? Is this not your meaning?"

"Son of my master, even as you say. Let me give another example. In the reign of King Thilawa in the island of Ceylon he came to know that the chief queen had taken her confidential servant as her lover. He proposed to deal with her according to her offence, but one of his counsellors said to him, 'Your Majesty, your glory is most great and excellent; it is hard indeed to achieve the reputation of a glorious king. Therefore you should not give credit to the offence.'¹ He followed this counsellor's advice and reinstated the queen in her place.

"This is another example.

"When Brahmadat was King in Bayanathi, he proposed to punish his queen named Keinnayi according to her offence in having an affair with one Nga Hsun. He who was to be the Lord was his minister and told him much about the weaknesses of women, and so restored his equanimity.

"This is another example.

Minyaza watched the king's countenance and, when he saw that he looked happier, he went on. "Son of my master, when your clothes have been worn, but are washed white again, do you keep them without wearing them?"

King Mingaung, because of what Minyaza had said, said to Saw Bomei, "Father Yaza has come to your help and restored the Southern Palace to you," and on that same day Minyaza took her back to the Southern Palace. Queen Saw Bomei remembered Minyaza's kindness and at once gave him a village called Yahattha worth three thousand in revenue, saying, "I can still repay the kindness of one who gives me a flower or a fruit."¹

After this gift Minyaza told King Mingaung who said, "I too will make you a gift, Father Yaza."¹ Later on he honored him with an elephant, along with a golden betel box of three viss weight, a ruby ring for keeping betel leaves,² and a pair of boxes for catch and lime. He also honored him again with an elephant.

Minyaza of Winzin used the betel box to keep betel in for his own use. The ruby ring; however, he would not use, but kept it in the betel box. King Mingaung, when he saw that he kept it thus put away, gave him another gift of a piece of his own headgear along with a blessed cord. Minyaza on this occasion put aside the blessed cord too. When King Mingaung saw this, he said, "Father Yaza you make no show of the rewards of wisdom; you instruct all others in the conduct of the king's business both by your words and your example,¹ and he gave him a young bull elephant. He also gave elephants to each of his two sons. As for this gift to the two sons, it happens that kings, when occasions for rejoicing arise, thoughtlessly wish to make those around them wear marks of status which are really suitable for themselves alone and which should not be given away; they wish to give and to place upon them marks of favor beyond their situation. Minyaza of Winzin would only make use of gifts fit for his own position; gifts not appropriate to himself he would only lay aside and store. Because of one piece of advice he was rewarded thrice in one day alone. People regarded him as a counsellor to be honored without equal in discrimination over the acceptance of gifts. They also honored King Mingaung for his generosity in making gifts.

3. Or perhaps a special type of betel reserved for royalty?

The twenty-fourth set of examples submitted by Minyaza of Winzin in the *Maniyadanabon* ends here.

I
I Comparison submitted to King Mingaung between his own methods and
I
I those of his father Mingyizwasawke

On one occasion King Mingaung asked Minyaza, "In your heart what do you think of the methods and plans of my late father?" Minyaza replied, "My lord, your father could be considered 'heavy-light;' you, his son, as 'light-heavy'. The reason for describing your father as 'heavy-light' is that at his coming into the council he came with the intention of discussing the affairs of the country with his advisers and when he went back to his palace the matter under discussion was no longer an issue. The reason for describing you, his son, as 'light-heavy' is that when you come out, even if it is for a festival and though you come apparently with no intention of planning the affairs of the country, still when you return the plans have been decided upon. One can say that you make heavy matters light."

King Mingaung was pleased with Minyaza's reply and gave him a ruby arm-band.

This is the twenty-fifth submission made by Minyaza of Winzin in the *Maniyadanabon*.

I
I Minyaza's submission upon the arrival of an embassy from
I
I Yazadayit, king of the Talaings, bringing presents
I

King Mingaung did not adopt policies for the country's affairs which involved the use of force; he used wisdom instead.

During King Mingaung's reign, the king of the Hanthawadi state was Yazadayit, son of Binnyaru. This Yazadayit, king of the Talaings, heard of the power, the glory, and the virtue of King Mingaung and sent an embassy as an expression of good will between the neighboring kingdoms. The gifts which Yazadayit sent were the following: one bale containing a fine garment of the kind called *zapayin*, with one each of the kinds called *kattiba*, *pyeiktayi*, *hpayingyi*,¹ *pule*, *ethkaya* and *ayaunggiwa*, along with a piece of cloth of the sort called *lebahi* and another bale of the cloth called *zeidan*. These two bales were packed with mango seeds and sent off with letters expressing sentiments of friendship suitable for neighboring monarchs. In sending this embassy, he relied upon ancient precedents. The precedent referred to was that of Thiridamathawga,² Emperor of Zabudeik, and Deiwananpiyateiktha of Ceylon, who regarded each the other as his friend to an extent hitherto unheard of. They resolved to exchange many gifts and these were dispatched accordingly.

When King Mingaung saw these excellent cloths he was delighted, and sent for Minyaza to discuss them with him. He asked, "Minyaza, the people at Thahton have sent me many presents and I must send them a return. What would they like at Thahton in the way of cloth and provisions?"

"Son of my master, they will be pleased to receive cloth and ornaments from the Kanbawza country and the Gandayayit country," he replied.

King Mingaung chose out the most distinguished textiles and adornments that came from the Kanbawza and Gandayayit countries and, in accordance with the principle that he who comes second in giving must give more lavishly than he who gives first, put together many cloths of the kinds called "golden jacket," "*thanksei* silk," "golden peacock-breast plumage," "golden *gayinok*," "*thichei* silk," "*seyonnagapat* jacket," "*cheiyouletthet*," and "*thettinnyunshin*" in ten bales, and, further, "best narrow,"

1. If there really was a textile pattern known as *hpayingyi* (=Frankish) in 14th century Burma, it must surely have been a Chinese version of Venetian patterns brought by the Polos.
2. The Burmese legendary version of Asoka, the Indian emperor.

"*hkanhtaukyei*," "parrot plumage,"^f and "brown *thahkut*," in three bales. He also gave good horses from the Sein³ country which looked like silver and, as they ran, seemed not to touch the ground.

Yazadayit was delighted when he saw the rare gifts from Sein and Thindwe and welcomed them. After this friendship had been established, however, some Talaings[†] wounded King Mingaung's servant who collected the excise duty on wood-oil. The king was furious at this assault and planned to attack the Talaing country with his forces in Mohnyin, Kalei, Onbaung, Yauksauk, Naungmun, Kya-in, Nyaungshwei, Taungngu, and Prome; first, however, he consulted Minyaza on the matter.

"Son of my master," said Minyaza, "I will give you an example. A blazing crackling fire can't kill a man so that he disappears completely, can it? But the water of a great river quietly and steadily flowing can bear him off so that he is never seen again. A man of enormous strength can't necessarily enforce discipline, can he? A man of much less strength who uses his head, however, can control others. Son of my master, it is not only with milk that creatures support their young; fowls which have no milk do support their chicks. Make men your servants, not by treating them with violence, but by treating them kindly and pleasantly. National affairs which are handled by force are never settled; they do not reach finality and as soon as opportunity occurs the situation will be reversed. National affairs which are handled with intelligence cause no further worry; they are settled once and for all. There is no danger of things being reversed. For this reason make men your servants by binding them with ties of friendship and loyalty.

"Son of my master, don't rely upon my opinion alone; consult all your other counsellors and compare what they say," he continued.

The reason for his speaking thus was this. A certain poor man went to a Brahman to borrow money.⁵ The Brahman had a great respect for the king of that land and said, "The king is like a forest thicket and the people of the country are like the grass and shrubs which grow all over that thicket. While the thicket has good firm roots, the shrubs which spread all through it also will grow and flourish and flower and fruit." With this comparison in mind, he handed over the loan saying, "Pay me back when the king dies; may his life be long -- I don't want it yet."

The king's officers heard about this and reported it to the king. The king questioned the Brahman about what he had said and he replied, "It is quite true that I made the loan saying that it was to be repaid upon your Majesty's death. I made the loan upon these terms since I thought it better if, instead of my good wishes for your long life being expressed alone, as many people as possible had reason to wish you long life together. This was my reason."

"Then, Sir Brahman," said the king, "it is only for my good that you have done this," and he rewarded him richly.

This is another example.

In the city of Bayanathi a certain Brahman,⁶ who was not one of the king's chaplains, used always and every day to scan the heavens. On one occasion he saw that the conjunction of the king's stars and planets was ominous and so he told his wife. "Wife," he said, "the situation of the stars and planets is ominous for the king of our land; a great calamity is coming!"

"Husband," she answered, "when has the king ever helped or honored you? If it means that he dies, he dies; if hurt, then he's hurt. What is it to us?"

But the Brahman said, "Wife, it is wrong to speak thus. Whether he has honored us or not honored us, just because he is our king he is the occasion for all our people to live in prosperity. If there were no king, how could they live in happiness? It is only right that every day we should pray for his long life."^f

3. *Sein* = Cin; ?Chinese horses. Very likely, but this is not the usual term for China. But n.p. 41 n.1.

4. Amending *tadaing* to *talaing*.

5. Source of this story is not known to me.

6. Source again not known.

This speech of the Brahman's was repeated around and gradually spread about, so that all the people came to pray for the king's long life. When the next day came, the Brahman scanned the sky again and saw that the king's stellar aspects were now clear and favorable. Again he told his wife; she, however, again gave the same reply. When the king of the country heard what had been said, he sent for the Brahman and questioned him about it; the Brahman told him frankly what had occurred. The king, noting that even without any royal recognition or help that Brahman had prayed for his welfare, loaded him with gifts and appointed him to be his chaplain.

This is another example.

Following these examples Minyaza said, "Rather than myself alone working for the king's advantage, it will be better if all the king's officers are brought to work together for the king's good, as they see it, just as I do."

When King Mingaung heard what Minyaza said, it seemed to be a very proper suggestion and he called in his officers for consultation. The officers submitted that it would not be right for them to try to improve upon Minyaza. King Mingaung then said, "Father Yaza, what sort of woman of my outer kindred should I include with this present?"

"Son of my master," he replied, "since he is a ruler of his own country, it will be best if it is one who is of your own close kin who is sent. It will constitute a recognition that you are in a position to improve his status and will bind him firmly to your alliance. If you give him one who is not of your close kindred, it will be hard for her to recognize what she owes you. If she is intelligent, she will see her obligation and will act as an elephant set out as a decoy. If she is not intelligent, she will be like a crocodile set free in the water: once married to him, she will only look to his interests. It will be like the story of the wild monkey given a sword and set to guard the place where the king was sleeping alone, or of the fox allowed to ride on an elephant's neck to compass a death. Only from sending someone from your own immediate family is there much to be gained."

King Mingaung heard what Minyaza had to say and replied, "Father Yaza, you are advising me then to improve the status of Yazadayit?" and instructions were given to Yazadayit's messengers according to King Mingaung's orders.

When Yazadayit's messengers returned to their master with their report, he was furious. "He claims to improve the status of a king like myself! How dare he!" he said. However, there was a certain wise counsellor in Hanthawadi named Thihapatei, and he suggested that this was just a courtesy between monarchs. "He speaks thus because he would like to offer you his sister as well as his daughter."⁷ His master, Yazadayit, recognized the truth of this speech and that the proposal was made because King Mingaung wanted to give him his sister as well as his daughter; he was glad of it upon further thought and sent off more valuable presents.

King Mingaung again summoned Minyaza and asked him what he thought of this. "Son of my master," he replied, "it is not good to solder together copper and gold, but do not think of another person in the light of gold which can only be joined to gold. It will be right to think of giving your own sister, but even if he makes an open proposal do not give her away the very first time he sends to ask for her. If you give in too easily, people will find it cause to blame you."

King Mingaung replied, "Father Yaza, people will say in any case that their race and way of life are different from ours!"

"Son of my master," answered Minyaza, "the great King Brahmadat⁸ gave his daughter Thamokdaza to Datayahta, the King of the Dragons; was his way of life the same?"

Yazadayit, the Talaing, now sent to say that if the king would undertake to give him his sister he would regard himself as his son-in-law and would send an annual present of thirty elephants.

King Mingaung then invested his sister Wimaladeiwi with the insignia of a queen and in 768 B.E. [A.D. 1406] sent Minyaza to hand her over to Yazadayit and to arrange

7. Seerp. 56 regarding her capture by the Talaings.

8. In the Bhuridatta Jataka (no. 543).

the marriage. Yazadayit came up to the Burmese frontier to meet them and upon their arrival King Yazadayit loaded Minyaza with gifts and gave him in addition the daughter of the Talaings' chief minister. It is said that he begot Saw Yin of Badon upon this minister's daughter. A list of the presents which Yazadayit gave to King Mingaung on this occasion is said to have filled a whole book.

(This is the account of how, not long after King Mingaung's accession, his sister Wimaladeiwi was given in marriage to Yazadayit.)

The twenty-sixth set of submissions made by Minyaza of Winzin in the *Maniyadanabon* ends here.

I
I How Thukyo of Panya addressed King Yazadayit of the Talaings
I
I when he advanced upon Ava during King Mingaung's reign
I

During the reign of King Mingaung, in 767 B.E. [A.D. 1405] before they had made their alliance, King Yazadayit came up the river as far as Tagaung with five divisions of troops by water and eight by land, with the intention of attacking Ava. While he was in the Sagaing riverine province, all the towns such as Sagaing, Panya, and Ava closed their gates and continued in safety. King Mingaung requested his senior monks to come and advise him on how Yazadayit could be induced to withdraw peacefully, but none of the senior monks could make any suggestion. A certain monk, however, known as Thukyo of Panya, aged thirty-three and of thirteen years standing as a monk, had come to the palace with the senior monks. This Thukyo of Panya said, "It is not right that senior monks should only accept the offerings of the lord of land and water and, when serious business comes up, should have nothing to say."

The seniormost monk of all heard what Thukyo of Panya said and took him up. "I do not think that Thukyo of Panya will be the one who can tell us how to induce Yazadayit to withdraw in peace!" he said.

"You, my masters, may have some sensitivity about what you say," replied Thukyo of Panya "but I can say whatever the king tells me to say!"

King Mingaung then asked him, "My son,² just on this occasion carry out whatever seems the best way of conducting my business." Thukyo of Panya accepted the charge, returned to his monastery and wrote a letter which ran as follows:

This letter is from Thukyo of Panya to the King, the lord of life, Ruler of Hanthawadi.

This monk, Thukyo of Panya, is thirty-three years of age and has spent thirteen years in the Order; he has carried on to the limits of his ability and powers the study and practice of Religion and therefore he has acquired merit in studying by himself, in teaching others, and in the practice of his religious duties: please accept a share in the merit thus acquired.

He had proposed to visit Hanthawadi to see the countenance of your Majesty, Founder of Monasteries and lord of Land and Water; but since his plans are not yet completed there is no present possibility of his coming. If, however he were to die at this time without having had the opportunity of seeing your most Excellent Majesty's countenance, he would undoubtedly fall into one or other of the Four States of Punishment. If on the other hand he were to see your Majesty's countenance before his death, he would then come to rebirth in the world of men or of spirits, such as is called a happy state. He sends this letter since he earnestly desires to see your face, which is like the golden lily

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1. Perhaps = "guest-master," not really a name.
 2. An unusual form of address to a monk, even from a king; he is perhaps indicating that for this occasion he is using him in a lay capacity, and that religious scruples need not hinder him.

Kumokdaya in beauty, my lord King, Founder of Monasteries.

When this letter had been sent off and reached the Talaing king, Yazadayit sent the following invitation in reply:

I have come on a journey of fifty leagues from Hanthawadi and have reached Ava Yadanapura, and in the whole length of the journey I have not seen a single monk. Now that a monk says that he wishes to see me, if I were to refuse to meet him, I should be wronging the Three Jewels; I myself must wish to meet him fact to face. Please therefore come tomorrow to receive alms and food.

Thukyo of Panya went to King Mingaung, informed him of what had been said, and asked him to arrange for presents to be sent. The king prepared and set out the following presentse 300 packs of tea, cloths from China of the kinds called *bewutlon*, *mawyawmeithayei* and others, elephant harness from China, and 300 horse and elephant saddles. He embarked Thukyo of Panya along with the presents on an elephant transport of five cubits draught and sent him across to Sagaing with an escort of 300 religious. Yazadayit the Talaing king was very pleased with his arrival and said, "The presents which you brought are very fine," as he accepted them. He arranged for carriers for a return present of cloths from the Talaing country, fine perfumes, and special cottons, and sent them off. He prepared a place suitably for Panya Thukyo and invited him to rest in it; this he accepted.

Panya Thukyo immediately opened a conversation saying, "Most excellent King, Supporter of the Religion, when in Pagan, King Anawrahtazaw went to bring the hair relic which was in the Shwei Dagon Pagoda. He did not bring the hair which was in the pagoda built at Taputha but he brought the hair which was in the Mahapeinne pagoda known as Malika. When he returned, he wished to know the difference in height between the upper and the lower countries; he came therefore during Tagu and Kason, when the water was low, measuring the water level as he went, taking Panale as his datum. By the time that he reached Pagan, he is said to have measured a bamboo of 7 *tas* fifty times. It is that high to come to Pagan,³ and I cannot say how much higher to Ava. Why have you come rowing your boats up the river to such a height upon the water, so as to exhaust yourselves?"

"I came for four reasons," replied Yazadayit, and to Panya Thukyo's question what the four reasons were, he went on to explain, "First, because I wished to take their country for my own; Second, because I wished to display my power and my glory; Third, because I wished to give my soldiers and their officers practice in warfare; and Fourth, because there are very many holy images and relics in the land of Burma and I wished to do them reverence. These are the four reasons for which I have come."

Panya Thukyo laughed, and Yazadayit asked why. "I laughed because you make me think that you, Righteous King and Promoter of Religion, have no wise advisers, religious or lay, if this is the advice that you have been given," replied Panya Thukyo.

"How can you say that I have no advisers wise in Religion?" asked the king.

"Excellent and Righteous King, it is said that there are four expanses of ten thousand *yošanas* each -- one is the Tawateintha heaven, one the land of the demons, one Zabudeik of men, and one is Hell. These are, it is said, the four expanses. Of these worlds, in Tawateintha the dwellings each cover 12 *yošanas* and each garden and lake 50 *yošanas*. Even though this is so, each portion and each person exists without rubbing up against another. In Zabudeik, too, in its ten thousand *yošanas*, each village, each place, each house can remain itself without getting mixed up with or joining on to another village, place, or house. It is so too in the land of the demons. In Hell, on the other hand, even though it covers ten thousand *yošanas* too, because of the evil accumulated by the damned they are pressed up against one another, just like sesamum and mustard seeds in a pot, so that they cannot even turn round. This is the fate that awaits those who die and go to Hell on account of their greed.

3. Anawrahta's survey work must have been a bit inaccurate: 1 *ta* is seven cubits, say ten feet. His measuring bamboo was therefore 70 feet and he made the elevation of Pagan 3500 feet. In the Glass Palace Chronicle version, however, his measurement was 175 cubits in all -- say 260 feet -- which is more accurate.

Of the four reasons which your Majesty has given me, only that where you said that you wished to do reverence to the images and pagodas is in accordance with the Law. Apart from this one, the reasons which you gave me are only to say 'because of greed.' If you say, 'I want to take their country for my own,' even if you do works of merit for Pacceka Buddhas^a arahats, and noble monks while you envy the rule of the king of Burma, who has never desired the rule of the Talaing King or prayed to possess the Talaing country, it is nothing but greed. The Lord has told us that those who because of greed do not turn aside from their nature will end in Hell. Therefore I said that you must have no wise monks, considering that they have spoken so because they were not wise teachers and did not know how to instruct your Majesty in the Law given to us by the Lord."

When the king asked why he said he had no counsellors wise in worldly matters, Panya Thukyo replied, "My lord King, in former time King Brahmadat of Bayanathi^a coveted the village of Pyinsantayit and went out to attack it. He camped in a garden and each day he tethered his horse to a tree and gave it beans to eat. There was a monkey living in the tree and it climbed down the tree, stuffed its mouth with beans, filled its two hands full, and climbed the tree again. As it did so one bean fell from its hand; to look for that one bean, it spilled all the beans that it had in its mouth and in its hands. When King Brahmadat saw the monkey act thus, he consulted his wise minister (who was to become our Lord) and he replied, 'My lord King, to throw away much in the desire for just one more thing is not intelligent; that monkey is in that state because he is foolish and confused.'

"'That is just my case,' said the king. 'If I go, five hundred thieves will watch their chance to attack my city and to destroy it. It is best not to go,' and he returned home.

"This is another example.

"And you, your Majesty, now that you have come here coveting Ava, will you not be in difficulties if your cities of Martaban, Myaungmya, Moulmein, and Lagunlabyin turn and rebel? And another thing^a in this country of Burma of ours, when we get to the months of Kahson and Nayon there are storms and strong winds. When the stormy winds come it will not be necessary to attack and destroy your Majesty's ships; I think they will be wrecked without any action of ours. In earlier times, when two kings have been at odds with one another, ministers have made representations so as to provide a bridge for their reconciliation, so that it might be as though golden plates were made one. It is because there does not seem to be anyone who can make such representations to your Majesty that I said that you have no counsellors wise in worldly matters. A monk, however, might, by acting as an intermediary between two kings, reporting what each had said that was to the point and with his own guarantee of its truth, be able to bring about their reconciliation."

The Talaing king found himself persuaded, and decided to send after the divisions of his army that had been sent on up to the Mogok plateau and to call them back. When they returned, he gave orders to retire. Thukyo of Panya then said, "Your Majesty in this plays the part played by the Lord, I the part played by Thagyamin, and the people of Upper Burma that played by the people of Yazagyo. If you ask why I quote this precedent, your Majesty, please listen!

"When the all-knowing, excellent Lord, the Cynosure of the Three Races of beings, was coming to Yazagyo to beg alms at the start of his ministry, the people of Yazagyo grumbled, 'This Shin Gawdama goes about our country and villages, seducing our beloved husbands and sons into following him and joining his company. If our men, who follow, stay with Shin Gawdama, they will believe that they will get fairies for their wives and cast us, their old wives off, wanting to follow Shin Gawdama. Now this Shin Gawdama has come again to our country; he will call for our husbands and our sons and if that does not satisfy him he'll send for us too. Let no one give him alms.'

"They stayed behind closed doors so that Thagyamin took on the likeness of a

4. Kalaya-mutthi Jataka again (no. 176).

young man and, in verses such as *singi nikkha sadiso*,⁵ he proclaimed the virtue and the power of the Lord. Going before the Lord he repeated a myriad verses and, as he sang the songs, the people of Yazagyo offered alms-food which the Lord accepted. Thus the people of Yazagyo came to their salvation in the worlds of men, of spirits, and of nirvana.

"This is another example.

"Thus your Majesty, playing the part of the Lord, came up to Ava Yadanapura in Upper Burma, which is like Yazagyo, and everyone feared your glory and your authority and not a single person dared to offer you a single leaf of greens or a single chicken. Just as Thagyamin, I, Thukyo, of Panya, taking stance between two kings have brought them together and have won many gifts. Because the two kings are now friends, all the people will live in peace. For this reason I liken your Majesty to the Lord, myself the monk Thagyamin, and the people of this country to them of Yazagyo."

The Talaing king, Yazadayit, smiled at his words; "My son,"⁶ he said, "you have the full meaning of the matter," and praised him greatly. Just then, however, the Talaing king's people attacked the servants of the Shweikyetyet Pagoda and they saw them bring in more than ten heads. "Alas," said the monk, "they do not recognize your Majesty's benefactions."

"Who amongst us kings sees proper gratitude?" asked the king.

Thukyo of Panya answered, "In times gone by, kings were benefactors of the Religion and, because they gave offerings to the Three Jewels such as alms-food, they enjoyed a rule in the Golden Land of Hanthawadi, which was like that of Thagyamin in the spirit land of Tawateintha. To sieze, oppress, and kill the people of the lord of the Shweikyetyet Pagoda, who gives such excellently prosperous rule, must be called ingratitude to a benefactor. Take warning from this saying, and let the people live in peace and quiet."

The king then asked Thukyo of Panya to live with him for a week before he retreated, so that he could offer a monastery to him. He accordingly built a three-storey monastery at the Shweikyetyet Pagoda and dedicated it.

When the officers of the detached army returned and it was time for the retreat, Thukyo of Panya said that he would come with them as far as the Shweizigon and so kept them company. Thus while King Mingaung was greatly concerned with the danger that King Yazadayit of the Talaings would not retire peaceably, but would make war, Thukyo of Panya escorted him to the Shweizigon at Pagan.

This is another example.

This Thukyo of Panya was a native of the Sakyō quarter of Pagan, but he went to Panya for his education. For this reason he is also known as 'the Sakyō Monk.' Although, as I have told, he became involved in political matters, he had no wish to become an adviser to the king. He only looked to and spoke of Religion. He was a monk of great modesty, only desirous of a religious life, and a credit to his order.

5. "Bright ornament of gold" - Mahavagga, Vinayapitaka, vol. I, p. 38. The full verse reads

Mutto muttehi saha puranajatilehi
 Vimutto vimuttehi
 Singinikkhasuvanno
 Rajagaham pavisi Bhagava.

The *sadiso* in our text is a variant. The translation is,

The Exalted One, bright as a golden ornament, enters
 Rajgaha along with the former matted-hair ascetics --
 the freed with the freed, the liberated with the
 liberated.

(Information owed to Bhikkhu Bodhi of the Washington Buddhist Vihara.)

6. See p. 89 fn. 2.

The twenty-seventh section of the *Maniyadanabon* telling of how the monk Thukyo of Panya induced the Talaing king to retreat ends here.

I
I The submission of the Counsellor Dein to Yazadayit, king of the Talaings
I

When he was sixteen years old, Yazadayit of the Talaings, who then had the style of Binnyanwe, was living at Dagon and rebelled against his father, Binnya-u. Of all those who were lords of territories, of townships, or of villages, those who wished to come to him themselves; those who preferred to send their servants with presents, sent them. The lord of Syriam, however, the Counsellor Dein neither came himself nor sent any of his people. After his father's death Prince Binnyanwe gained the throne, and then the Counsellor joined his following. Yazadayit said, "Of my three enemies I have killed two, Thameinmayu and Dalameithayi, but I have not yet had the chance of killing the Counsellor Dein. Kill Dein now!"

The Counsellor Dein, however, said, "For what offence will you kill me, your Majesty?"

"When I was at Dagon, all who could come themselves came; those who would send their people sent them. But you, my brother, said, 'I am lord of Syriam!' and stayed, neither sending your people nor coming yourself. Is this no offence in you, Dein?"

"My nature is to bend my head willingly only before a crowned king and I did not wish to come to bow my head before one who was not yet a crowned king. If you kill me for this sort of an offence, your sons and grandsons who are to come will certainly perish for it!"

"How is that?" asked the king.

"When your sons and grandsons come to be kings in future, when anyone rebels against them, people will say, 'Once upon a time the great Counsellor Dein refused help to a rebellious prince and remained loyal to his own king; for that, when the rebellious prince became king, he killed Dein and this was how he died. If we now refuse to join the rebels we shall be in Dein's position.' Will they not then join the rebellion and your descendents be ruined?"

Yazadayit, king of the Talaings, was pleased with this answer and said, "When I became king, I withdrew the title to Syriam from Counsellor Dein's name. Now, because he has told me the truth, I restore the title to Syriam to his name with freedom to come and go."

In this affair, because of Amat Dein's proper answer, he was restored to the country's most important jurisdiction over all those who had been the king's earliest and closest partisans.

This is another example.

I
I Minyaza's discussion of philosophy with the Talaing minister
I
I Thihapatei at Thitkanyin
I

During the reign of King Mingaung, so far as Minyaza of Winzin was concerned, a certain wise man named Thihapatei, who was chief minister of Yazadayit of the Talaings, was by a long way pre-eminent for wisdom in the Talaing country. He went with the intention of discussing affairs of state with this minister Thihapatei at Thitkanyin. Now the people of Burma and of the Talaing country came along with them in order to hear the debate which would arise from the meeting of two such sages.

Thihapatei, the Talaings' chief minister, being younger than Minyaza, took the lower place and Minyaza said to him, "This is like the occasion when the Brahman

Keiwut and Mahawthada, the Buddha-to-be, had their contest. Minister, we are to discuss affairs of state; should our discussions be on the basis of one wise man to another, or of one war leader to another?"

"Minyaza,¹ asked Thihapatei in reply, "how would you define wise men's discussions and war leaders' discussions?"

"When wise men discuss affairs, when a truth is admitted, they allow this truth dispassionately. When an untruth appears, dispassionately they allow its untruth. If, however, they dispute as war leaders and adversaries, when things appear to be the way that suits them, then they are cock-a-hoop; if things do not go the way they want, then their discussion becomes a matter of awaiting a chance of retaliation for wounded pride," said Minyaza.

"My lord Minyaza, let us talk only as wise observers," answered Thihapatei.

After they had opened the discussion in this way, the two ministers, it is reported, spoke for a while of their mutual friendship and respect. Then Thihapatei, who had with him some white sugar-cane, took it in his hand and gave it to Minyaza along with a betel box, saying, "Minyaza, the fortune tellers say that there are three flavors which cannot be matched outside this land; they say that these three flavors are called *nari*, *ucchu*, and *sadhu-vakya*. *Nari* means a beautiful girl; *ucchu* means sugar-cane; *sadhu-vakya* means the conversation of the wise and virtuous. Since this sugar-cane is one of the three flavors, I hand it to you, Minyaza, so that you may set in your mind the flavor of this particular place where it is unmatched."

Minyaza answered, "The sugar-cane which you give me I shall eat without waiting to be pressed."

In saying this he was quoting from the book of the All-Knowing Lord's Law, '*Patikkhepan nama avamangalan*.'¹ He did not mean that restraint can be cast aside in eating, but he said this because he did not wish the wise to find fault with him. When Mahawthada, the Buddha-to-be, went in search of a wife,² Amayadeiwi took the pot of rice gruel which she was carrying from off her head and gave it to him to eat. Mahawthada said, '*Patikkhepan nama avamangalan*' and drank up the rice gruel which Amayadeiwi set before him.

This is another example.

Following this example, since to reject it would be unbecoming, Minyaza took the sugar-cane which Thihapatei had offered him to eat, spoke on the model of wisdom, and ate it. While he ate this sugar-cane, so as to make the taste of it last as long as possible, as the Niti advises, he ate it nibbling away from one end. When Thihapatei saw that Minyaza was nibbling his cane from one end only, he said, "My lord Minyaza, you are of an unmatched wisdom; why do you just nibble away at the tip of the cane?"

Minyaza replied, "Thihapatei, I am following the Scripture and, so as to increase the savor of it by taking it slowly so as to appreciate it from start to finish, I am nibbling it off the end."

"Minyaza," said Thihapatei "in the Law of the Lord it is also said that the Law of Impermanence governs the body, before you can open the closed hand or close the open hand. Why then do you nibble the sugar-cane from the end? If, however good the taste, impermanence overtakes it before you have even come to the beginning; does it not cease to be, without your ever having experienced its pleasant flavor?"³

"Thihapatei, I am eating in accordance with the Scripture generally accepted by laymen. Since you on the other hand are speaking in accordance with the Law of the Lord, what you have said is superior to what I have said."

"Ah," said Thihapatei "I have indeed met with a sage unparalleled!" and he rejoiced in his heart. He offered his own golden betel box which weighed 150 ticals, with the betel in it, to Minyaza and bowed his head. "My lord Minyaza, people who

1. I.e., "it would be unlucky (?ungracious) to refuse."
 2. Maha-ummagga Jataka.
 3. I.e., if you can't step into the same river even once ...

are reputed to be wise, all of them, always speak in order to establish their own pronouncements and to put down what others say; they are rare indeed who can accept a refutation. Such people try to quibble the untruth into a truth. I should find it hard to find another like you, Minyaza, however much I involve myself in the affairs of the religious and the wise. Do not think that you are wrong in a matter like this; we can only say that there is a divergence between generally accepted custom and the actual Law. We cannot reject it altogether.⁴

"The points where worldly duty and religious duty differ are where they differ; where they agree, they agree. The sun, which can illuminate all the three islands of the world at one time, cannot illuminate the inside of a cut section of bamboo. Should people therefore say that the sun has no lustre, for all its illumination of the three islands? Should they call an emperor poverty-stricken, Thihapatei, if for an instant of a day he finds himself short of the cash money that he needs to use? The All-knowing Lord once said, 'I cannot give the nectar of nirvana to Deiwadat!'; should people say that the Lord cannot bring *parinirvana* because he said this in respect to Deiwadat alone?"

To this speech of Minyaza, Thihapatei replied, "My lord Minyaza, if a professor, while he is lecturing to the sons of kings, of princes, of the rich, and of the merely prosperous all over the Zabudeik island, mispronounces a single word, so that his pupils get it down wrong in their notes, will these pupils be wiser than their professor? As for you my lord Minyaza, just as if you dig a hole, it remains a hole, so your skill is indeed skill and your integrity is indeed integrity. Some people, though they have skill, lack integrity; if they have integrity, indeed they lack skill⁴" and thus he praised him.

Minyaza in his turn gave praise to Thihapatei. "You too, minister, have wisdom; your skill is skill indeed. It is common to honor the qualities of wise men in terms neither shallow nor profound. It is possible to love and respect them, but it is very hard for one wise man to give praise to another's qualityr

"Thihapatei, I can give you a precedent that once happened. In a certain country, the two sons of a prince had great skill at fencing;⁴ they came to a far off place and called to pay their respects to the king of that land. The king recognized the skill with the sword of one of the brothers and raised him to office. He never knew about the other brother and did not take him into his service.

"This brother said, 'Brother, will you please speak to him in praise of my skill? I will share half and half with you whatever profit comes to me from your speaking.'⁴ His brother, however, thought, 'If I should give any praise to his qualities, he will get a reward proportionate to his strength,'⁴ and refused to make any representation on his behalf and continued in his refusal, even though his brother asked him many times. He did, however, divide his own appanage in two halves and gave one half to his brother, but still would never give him open praise or help in line with his deserts. For this reason I can know the extent of the Minister Thihapatei's wisdom and the value of his friendship.⁴

Such words as these they devoted to mutual praise and they were much pleased with each otherr

Minyaza then said, "Thihapatei, I will give you an example of mutual praise of virtue and wisdom. Shin Tharipoktra and Shin Ponnamahtei were equal in rank. When these two good monks met in Yazagyo, Shin Ponnamahtei approached Shin Tharipoktra and put to him certain questions, and to each question Shin Tharipoktra provided an answer. At the end of his questions, Shin Ponnamahtei wished to praise Shin Tharipoktra's virtue and so said, 'Save the Lord Himself, there is no wise man whose virtue is like that of Shin Tharipoktra. In all the goings of Shin Tharipoktra I wish that I could bear him upon my head and gortoo!'

"Shin Tharipoktra asked, 'What reason do you have for speaking like that?' to which Shin Ponna replied, 'For one thing, when I want to put a question to the Lord, I have to run after him wherever he is and pay attention to my religious duties; for another, apart from him who is our Lord, there is no other person so filled with wisdom to be able to answer questions. If I were to carry you upon my head for these reasons, then when I went to another country and wanted someone to put a question

4. Source not known.

to, I could take you down from my head, stand you on my robe, and ask my question easily. That's why I said what I did."

Shin Tharipoktra said, 'Well done! Well done!' in praise of him, 'I too, Shin Ponna, whenever you are elsewhere, wish that I could carry you on my shoulder or hip! 'Why, sir, do you say that?' asked Shin Ponna.

"Shin Ponna, I enjoy finding answers to questions, and when I ask people to ask me questions, there is never anyone so good at asking questions as you. Therefore, if I could go about carrying you, Shin Ponna, on my shoulder or hip, whenever the time came for me to settle down in whatever place I had got to, you would put to me all the questions that I could want. And when you had asked them, I should answer them. That is why I said it."

"Shin Ponnahtein in turn said, 'Well done! Well done!' in praise. Thus Shin Tharipoktra and Shin Ponnahtein spoke in public praise of each other's special virtue and his quality and wisdom. It is like that with us!" said Minyaza.

People living at this time all over the Talaing and Burmese territories used to recite what Minyaza and Thihapatein had said to one another.

This is another example.

Minyaza's submission before Thupabadeiwi, the queen of the Talaing King Yazadayit, on the duties of a king's wife

The Minister Thihapatein reported to his master Yazadayit what Minyaza had said. Each day invitations to the royal presence and to that of the Queen Thupabadeiwi were brought to Minyaza and he received many presents. After the presents were given he was asked to speak on the duties of the royal household and Minyaza of Winzin spoke as follows:

"King, who are lord of all your people, if you wish to attain great honor and reputation in this present life, and if you hope to become lord of all men in the course of your successive lives in this world, you must act so as to perfect the rule of Religion in your knowledge, charity, patience, enthusiasm, piety, kindness, and fortitude; also you must act so as to fulfil the ten royal duties of almsgiving, piety, liberality, uprightness, gentleness, austerity, self-control, mercy, patience, and consistency; you must also act so as to fulfil the four ways of helping other men, almsgiving, wise conduct, kind words, and treating others like oneself. In acting thus you will win much benefit in your present and your future lives."

After King Yazadayit had put his question and received his answer, Queen Thupabadeiwi said, "You have spoken of the duties of kings, who are men. Tell us, Minyaza, of the duties of us queens, who are women. What are the duties that we must perform and the way of life that we must use so as to get good sons, who will work for the progress of the Religion by their ability to control the four castes, like that dear Mahinda who could carry them to *nirvana*, and good daughters too like Thingamyitta."

Minyaza answered, "Most excellent Queen, free from the six faults of shortness, tallness, darkness, pallor, thinness, and fatness, and filled proportionately with the five excellencies of body: Queen, if you wish to have good sons and good daughters who can help you on towards the bliss of *nirvana* while carrying on the business of the country, you must establish the 'three forms of Luck,' the 'three forms of respect,' and the 'three occasions.'"

"What, Minyaza," she asked, "are the 'three forms of Luck,' the 'three forms of Respect,' and the 'three occasions'?"

1. Mahinda and Sanghametta were the son and daughter of the Emperor Asoka, who jointly brought the religion to Ceylon. Their mention is, therefore, particularly appropriate to the Mon court, which was the channel by which the Ceylon tradition reached the Burmese. The queen may be reminding Minyaza of this fact.

"Queen, my lady, the 'three forms of luck' are not to stoop under a rattan, not to put on the skirt which you wear upside down, and not to go to bed without washing your feet. These are the three sources of improved luck. The three which are called 'forms of Respect' are honoring your parents, your husband's parents, and your own husband -- these three. The three which are called 'occasions' are the avoidance of anything bitter, anything overripe, and anything astringent in pregnancy. If you will observe these rules you can bear good sons who can work for the general welfarer"

King Yazadayit of the Talaings and Queen Thupabadeiwi were pleased with Minyaza and made him a gift of special royal robes and food and of gold and silver. They considered, however, that such gifts of gold and silver are what kings commonly make. This was not a common occasion; it should be marked so that it should become a byword. They therefore arrayed the daughter of the Talaings' chief minister in fine clothes and ornaments and on the next occasion when they discussed affairs of state, at Thitkanyin, they presented her to him with her equipage.

This is another example.²

Because certain sons and daughters do not stand by the advice which their parents give them, one Sulapandaka ran away with a slave born in her mother's house and gave birth to two sons. When she came back to her parents, they would only regard the two children as their grandchildren and passed on to them their money and silver, amounting to considerable wealth; saying that she was not worthy of their house, they sent her away and she came to great distress.

This is another example.

Patasayi, too, because she was lost to modesty and conscience and was wanton, ran away with a household slave,⁴ and in some place or other conceived a child. As she was coming for the child's birth, a great rain-storm overtook them. On the road she told her husband that the time for the birth was upon her. As he was looking for sticks to make a fire, a snake bit him and he died. On this same stormy day her mother and father, her brother and her sister were killed by the fall of a great tree; her two sons too were drowned in swimming a creek. By the death and destruction, all at one time of all these seven people, her children, her husband, her parents, her brother, and her sister, Patasayi was reduced to the state of a helpless infant and ran mad in her destitution. (There are many other stories of women like these who because of their wantonness have become destitute.)

This is another example.

As for a family which completely fulfilled the requirements of modesty and conscience, the merchant Mandabya questioned his wife, the mother of Yanyadatta,⁵ and asked her to tell him truthfully, "What mother of good sons can there be without a sound body? You, lady, were brought here at an early age, before you could manage a household, but were married nonetheless. From that time until now, when your children and grandchildren are grown, although you have lived with us, I do not think that there is any question of your loving me. Still, you have looked after me as though you loved me. Besides this, you live here although you hate my son like a snake that bites!"

"You have spoken of hatred," she replied, "but what have I ever shown aversion from? What have I ever rejected?"

"Even while there is hatred, if no outsider is to know about it while we have lived together for so long, how could one reject or show aversion from anything?"

His wife explained to him, "Sir, although I have looked through the records of my family seven generations back from my father, there is no single woman who has

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2. There seems to be some dislocation in the text; some introductory matter for these cautionary tales must be missing.
 3. In the Cullaka-setthi Jataka (no. 4). See also Dhammapada Commentary, ii, 3.
 4. See Dhammapada Commentary, viii, 12.
 5. In the Kanhadipayana Jataka (no. 444).

rejected the husband whom her parents have chosen and given her to in marriage. If, out of such a family, I alone had decided that I did not like my husband, people would speak ill of me, as the worst woman of my family. If such ill fame were to be mine, that would be a matter of disgust. I have been concerned that I might be a disgrace to my family and friends, so that, although I have no liking for you, I shall remain with you as my lord and husband with no thought of separating." After this speech she added, "This has meant that I have spoken of matters that should not have been discussed before my son and husband; I shall ask pardon from the hermit. Mandabya, my lord, for love of my child I have spoken unsuitably; forgive me for my fault in so speaking"

Mandabya answered, "Mother of my sons, I forgive you, but from today let there be no more such harsh words between us. I will do nothing to cause you, my lady, to dislike me," and so they lived happily.

In this way a man of virtue and a woman of virtue, by not following their own inclinations and in fear of the ill opinion of other people incurred if they break the bounds of modesty and conscience, may observe all the niceties that should be observed and also preserve the respect of their family and friends, even though they do not get along together. By such observance they receive respect in the immediate present and in future lives they receive in full the rewards that they desire according to their prayers.

This is another example

The merchant Daninsaya was on the point of arranging for the marriage of his daughter Withahka⁶ and, with this in mind, he spoke to her as follows: "My dear daughter, it is not right to take outside the fire which is on your hearth; it is not right either to bring to your hearth fire from outside. It is right to give to him whose due the gift is; it is not right to give to him to whom the gift is not due. You should judge your gifts according to whom the gift is owed or not owed. It is right to live in peace; it is right to sleep in peace; it is right to eat in peace. It is right to nourish your fire. It is right to honor your household god. Behave in accordance with these precepts." This was his advice to her. "My dear daughter," he continued, "those who have to establish themselves as the heads of separate households must fulfil five duties. These five duties are:

to arrange properly the planned duties which are to be carried out by the hired servants, the male and female slaves, and so forth, and also by the children and grandchildren, friends and relatives, dependants and retainers, and so forth. This must be taken up with great vigilance and no slackness. All that is called the duty of a householder must be performed with nothing left out or neglected. You will have to arrange what is to be done and what is not; what is right and what is not. This is the first duty.

to keep in mind and never forget those who are to be fed or otherwise provided for; it is proper to entertain your friends and neighbors and so on. Offerings are to be made to one's superiors, while almsgiving and works of merit are not to be forgotten. The duty of supporting and helping with religious assemblies must also be fulfilled. This is the second duty.

to behave towards your children, husband, and friends without falsehood or deceit, with perfect honesty within and without, single-mindedly. This is the third duty.

to hold carefully and watch over the property which your good men have earned and held by their strength and skill so that it does not leak away unprofitably or be wasted. This is the fourth duty.

to get up early in the morning to overlook your arrangements and to continue your watchfulness until nightfall; you must continue making your plans until you are weary and you must keep up your energy; when your sons, your husband, or your daughters are sick, you must take effective action to ensure that their places are filled at work without any loss of efficiency and also for their care. This is your fifth duty.

6. Referred to in the Sujata Jataka (no. 269) but much elaborated from that. See also Dhammapada Commentary, iv, 8.

The heads of households who fulfil these five duties will have great honor and repute in their present life and in all future lives." This was the advice which he gave her.

Since Withahka carried out to perfection the duties in which her father had instructed her, she became very well known in her present life and in a future life achieved the happiness of the spirit world and of *nirvana*.

This is another example.

At the time when a Prince Weithandaya was sent away by his father, King Theinsei, he told his Princess Matdi about the affair and said to her, "Rest here content!" Princess Matdi replied, "The distinction of a carriage is its banner; the distinction of a fire is its smoke; the distinction of a country is its king, and the distinction of a woman lies in her husband and her sons. The river which has no water has no purpose; the land which has no king has no purpose. Any woman who is a widow, though she has ten lovers, has no purpose. It is hard to be a widow in the world of mankind. Whatever position, happiness, fame, honor, or glory comes to a woman, it can only come from the support of a good man. A woman, even if she is the daughter of an emperor, who has no household, has no distinction. I wish to go with you my lord."

This is another example.

In this world women have five powers with which to get the better of men. These five powers are the power of family, the power of beauty, the power of ingenuity, the power of wealth, and the power of their sons. The woman who exceeds in family rank can say, "Are you my equal?" and despise her husband. The woman who exceeds in beauty can say, "Can you cast me off, who possess such beauty?" and so achieve a victory. The woman who exceeds in ingenuity can say, "You are only a man in body; follow me in what I do and what I say like a bullock," and so achieve a victory. The woman who exceeds in wealth can say, "We are living on my money; shall I accept the domination of a man?" and so achieve her victory. The woman who has good sons and good grandsons can say, "I am the mother of strong sons; can you discard me?" and so achieve her victory.

Even though a woman has all these five powers in their perfection, a man needs but one power to bring her down. This one power is the power of authority. Against the power of authority the power of family does not avail; beauty is not enough to save, nor is ingenuity, nor wealth, nor even sons.

This is another example.

In this world mankind have three fires; the three things which are called fires are first, the monk who is perfect in his duties and in their observance; second, parents; third, husband and sons. These are the 'three fires.' If you tend your five well and so use it, it will serve you well. If you do not treat it with respect, it will burn you and you will get little good from it. In this same way the good monk who is perfect in the observance of his duty, one's parents, and one's husband are to be treated with respect, and much benefit will be gained in this and in future lives. If they are treated without respect, there will be little good in this life or in the future.

As to this harm, in Bayanathi a certain religious man named Nandiya⁷ was filled with loving-kindness, but his wife, Yeiwadi, did not respect the Three Jewels, nor her parents, nor her husband and sons, and so, in her present life, the devils carried her off and plunged her into the lower hell called Thanthamaa

This is another example.

When he had given this account of the 'three fires,' he spoke of Thuzata.⁸ This

7. See Dhammapada Commentary, xvi, 9; but Revati's descent into Hell is only in the Vimanaratthu Commentary, 22-29.

8. Sujata Jataka (no. 269), preface.

Thuzata was the grand-daughter of Meindaka the great merchant, one of the Five Great Merchants, whose wealth and property were enormous and possessions of an incalculable size. She was the sister of Withahka Dayigama, the daughter of Daninsaya the merchant, whom the king of Kawthala had asked of King Beinbithaya and brought to live in the land of Thakeita. Anahtapein, the merchant, arranged a wedding between her and his son, and when she arrived, she brought an entourage enough to fill the merchant's whole house. She was obstinate and full of pride in being the daughter of a high family and also bad-tempered. She refused the duties which she owed to the men and women of her husband's family; she was also overbearing and abusive to the servants of the household.

One day the Most Excellent Lord came with an escort of five hundred monks and drew near to Anahtapein's house. In order to hear the Law from Him, Anahtapein came close to the Lord and waited there. Just at that moment Thuzata began to quarrel with the people who were working as her servants and, by the time that the Lord had finished preaching the Law, they were all talking loudly and unceasingly and the Lord asked what it was all about.

The merchant replied, "My Lord, one of my son's wives, who lives in my house, does not know how to behave to the men and women of my family, nor to the servants, nor to the children and the grandchildren. She doesn't know how to behave to her own husband. She doesn't know what is proper in almsgiving nor in religious duties. She has no kindness or charity. All day and all night she does nothing but quarrel."

The Lord said, "If that's so, send for her here!" and so he sent for her.

Thuzata came, did reverence to the Lord and stayed nearby, while the Lord said to her, "Thuzata in this world there are seven classes of wives. In which class do you fall, Thuzata?"

"You speak too concisely for my understanding," she answered. "If you would explain more fully I could answer you."

The Lord replied, "If that is the case, pay attention! Take this well to heart. Thuzata, in this world of mankind, men's wives fall into seven classes and these seven classes are: wives who are like murderers, called *Vadhaka*; wives who are like thieves, called *Cora*; wives who are like masters, called *Ayya*; wives who are like mothers, called *Mata*; wives who are like sisters, called *Bhagini*; wives who are like companions, called *Sakhi* and wives who are like slaves, called *Dasi*. These are the seven classes; and among these seven classes, a woman, who for lust for another man has a mind to deceive and wrong her husband, who has no will towards her husband's good and despises her husband, she may well plot his death or ruin. Such a woman as this is like a murderess and so is called a *Vadhaka* wife.

"A woman who does not properly watch over the property which her husband has got together by his work on the land or by trading and by means of his knowledge, skill, energy, and strength, but only wastes and destroys it, she will buy property in secret and devour it herself. Even though the property is small she will finish it off. Such a woman is like a thief and so is called *Coran*

"Some women again have no mind to carry out the work or supervision which falls to them to do. Their tongue is rough and they make a practice of using language which they should not use. They will stand up and abuse their husbands or beat them and by such means get power over them. Such women as these are compared to tyrants and are called *Ayya* wives.

"Other women again at all times desire good fortune for their husbands. As a mother watches over her children, so she watches carefully that his life may be long, that sickness should not come upon him and that no danger should threaten him. Such a wife is like a careful mother and so is called a *Mata* wife.

"A woman again may regard her husband with the awe and respect with which a small sister looks up to her big brother. She will be neat and thrifty; she will have regard for her husband's well-being. Such a wife is like a sister and is called a *Bhagini* wife.

"Other women again will feel the same joy when they see their husband's face as one feels when seeing a dear friend, who has been long away, return safe and free from

all enemies. These are full of good habits. They take careful thought for his welfare. Their habituation to religious duties and principles is perfect. They look after and provide for their husband with respect. Such a wife is comparable with a dear companion and is called a *Sakhi* wife.

"Some women are of excellent disposition; even if their husband abuses them or threatens them, or even if he beats or thrashes them, they have no mind to wrong him, but they forgive him. They have no wrath or pride; they will always follow wherever their husband wishes to go. They wash his feet and rub them; they wipe his face; they give him his massager. Such a woman as this is like a servitor and is called a *Dasī* wife.

"Of these seven sorts of wives, the wife like a murderess, the wife like a thief, and the wife like a master, these three have no religious principle or practice, and so when the time comes for them to change their state of existence, they will have to go on to one of the Four States of Punishment. The wife like a mother, the wife like a companion, the wife like a sister, and the wife like a servitor, their four wives are established in the religious duties. Because for a long time they have guarded their tongue and their mind, when it is time to change their existence, they go on to a good progression."

The All-knowing Lord thus explained the seven kinds of women, and Thuzata achieved the first stage towards becoming an *arahatā*. Then the excellent Lord said again, "Thuzata, among these seven different wives which one are you?"

"My Lord," she replied, "I am the wife who is like a servitor," and from that day Thuzata kept a humble and biddable mind.

This is another example.

Once, long ago, when King Brahmadat reigned in Bayanathi,⁹ the Buddha-to-be was conceived in the queen's womb. After the death of his father he became king and ruled with justice. That king's mother, however, was cross-tempered and had a rough tongue; she was always scolding. Her royal son, the king, wished to correct his mother, but thought that it would not be right to reprove her without an illustration to show and so went on looking for an example with which to correct her.

One day he was going to his garden in company with his mother and, as they were on their way, a *tididwet* bird called. All those around the Lord-to-be stopped their ears and cried, "Shut up you noisy bird; stop your screeching!" With all his entourage and with his mother, the future Buddha went into the garden and, as they strolled about the garden, an *u-aw* bird perched upon the branch of an *inkyin* tree and uttered its soft call. Everybody was entranced by the *u-aw* bird's call and, crying out, "Delightful and melodious bird, won't you sing again!" they craned their necks up and listened intently.

The Lord-to-be saw these two occurrences and thought, "This will make a good parable for me to call to my mother's attention."

"Mother," he said, "as we came along the road we heard the *tididwet* bird and everyone behaved as though to say, "This bird's looks are pretty, but its voice is harsh and unlovely; it's a loud, raucous noise!" This is the way in which, in the world of men, people who always speak roughly and harshly are disliked by others -- they are apt to earn hatred. This *u-aw* bird, on the other hand, is dark and dull -- its plumes and tail-feathers are inconspicuous -- it is not pretty. Nevertheless its voice is worth listening to and it is beloved. In the same way in speaking among people it is best to speak with consideration and agreeably and softly. If you think about distinctions and decide under what circumstances what speech is appropriate, you will express your meaning, not in a random manner but precisely; and what you say will be the truth."

Thus he demonstrated that such people win much love, and from that time forth she became an example of good behavior. In this way the Buddha-to-be guided his mother so as to overcome her nature by his words of authority and improved her *karma* to what it should be.

9. Sujata Jataka (nor 269) -- main jataka story.

"She who was then the mother of that King of Bayanathi lives now as Thuzata; he who was then the king am now your Lord." Thus he concluded his birth-story.

This is the conclusion of the twenty-eighth section of the *Maniyadanabon* in which Minyaza spoke of the duties of women.

I
I Advice submitted during King Mingaung's reign by Minyaza to
I
I Prince Theikdat, the king's younger brother
I

During King Mingaung's reign Prince Theikdat, the lord of Sagaing, behaved disrespectfully and spitefully towards the king; he used to say, "That Mingaung! It's only because I put him there that he has got to be where he is!" Since the prince was his own younger brother, King Mingaung took it quietly and raised no charge against him. His counsellors, however, said, "Your Majesty, if you let your own family act disrespectfully, your servants will lose respect; once your servants lose respect, outsiders too will be disrespectful. Your Majesty," they went on, "at a suitable occasion you must speak to him."

King Mingaung, the lord of Life, therefore gave instructions to Minyaza to speak about this attitude to the prince when an opportunity arose in the course of conversation. Minyaza thought about it and decided that if he tried giving advice openly and abruptly to the Prince, he would pay no attention; on the contrary, in his pride he would scorn it. So he primed a certain minister; "When I am in conversation with Prince Theikdat, lord of Sagaing," he said, "you must ask me about the *Tayokpyeimin*."

Later on, when Minyaza of Winzin was talking with Prince Theikdat, lord of Sagaing, this minister, who was named Satuyingathu, put his question, "My lord Minyaza," he said, "what actions and schemings did the *Tayokpyeimin* use to become king, when he was only the son or grandson of a wood-turner?"

Minyaza replied, "He came to be king, because of what was said by the chief minister named Yazathingyan.†"

"But how could the young son or grandson of a wood-turner ever get to become king?" he asked again.

"Satuyingathu," answered Minyaza, "King Okzana had a son Thihathu, who was born in a far-off forest country. He also had a son, whom he begot before he became king on the daughter of a wood-turner, and this son was called Prince Hkweichei.† On the occasion of which I am speaking, the Minister Yazathingyan was leaning against the pillar where he always rested in the presence of King Okzana when he paid his respects to him, and the king's son, Prince Thihathu, came in. He stood behind Yazathingyan and Yazathingyan did not realize that Prince Thihathu was behind him and, in gesturing with his arm, he hit him. The prince was indignant that this man should be standing in front of a prince of his rank and handle him in this way; he spat upon Yazathingyan's arm the juice from his well-chewed quid of betel. When Yazathingyan saw that betel juice had been spat upon him, he said, "Son of my master, it was in ignorance that you were behind me that I stood there," and gave place to him. He, however, folded up the jacket so that the betel juice upon it should not be rubbed off, and kept it put away in a closet. Yazathingyan kept it in his mind that if this prince, before he ever became king, showed such prideful touchiness, he would be quite unbearable, if he ever did become king. Prince Hkweichei, on the other hand, had sent three fruitbearing branches, saying that they were for 'his father Yazathingyan.†"

"Yazathingyan felt that this young prince showed a proper royal courtesy in this and that he would go far; by means of these three fruiting branches he had, as it were, set his brand upon himself as the guardian of his interests. Yazathingyan also made up his mind that princes who had no generosity in giving, and could not suppress their pride or forgive an offence, ought never to become king. How, he thought, could princes such as that ever be supported to the kingship? And if they were raised to

1. "Dog's dung" -- presumably a distortion of a Shan personal name, given in derision after his fall.

the throne, how could they hold it for long?

"Shortly afterwards, King Okzana set out for the Talaing country with the intention of raiding there. He did occupy the whole Talaing country, but immediately afterwards, while holding an elephant hunt in Dala, he was thrown from his own elephant and was killed. His notables and military officers held a council, purposing to appoint his eldest son Thihathu to be king. The minister Yazathingyan, however, spoke up, "If we make a king of this prince," he said, "how can we ministers expect to thrive?" and he showed where the betel juice was spat upon him, telling the whole tale to his fellow counsellors. The counsellors decided that if a chief minister of Yazathingyan's status were given such treatment, they must wonder unhappily how they could ever expect to prosper. Yazathingyan now recalled the grace of Prince Hkweichei's gift to him of three fruiting branches and raised the question of making him king. The council agreed with Yazathingyan and dealt deviously with Thihathu. "Son of our master," they said to him, "stay here a little longer," and so to this day he is known as 'the prince who stayed in the Talaing country.' Meanwhile Yazathingyan and the other counsellors made Prince Hkweichei king and, when he was king, he assumed the title of Nayathihapatei. Later on, when the Chinese pursued him, he fled and is called *Tayokpyeimin*, 'the king who fled from the Chinese.'

"It should be noted from this example that it is only right that royal heirs, the sons and grandsons of kings, should show favor towards counsellors and military officers, who are, as it were, the teeth of the realm; it is not right that they should act towards them without respect or deference. People took the chief minister as an example of the saying 'when you want a reason for weeping, stir up the dirt' (or, alternatively, 'stir up the dust if you like to cry')a Because he encountered the grace of Prince Hkweichei's gift of three fruiting branches at a moment when he was displeased with Thihathu, he took on the promotion of Prince Hkweichei's interests. Not long, however, after the accession of Nayathihapatei, the *Tayokpyeimin*, the chief minister, Yazathingyan, began to feel that he himself was the sole basis of Prince Hkweichei's power and to despise him accordingly. The *Tayokpyeimin*, on the other hand, felt that since it was because of Yazathingyan that he had become king, unless he took independent action to promote the welfare of the people in general, he would be in the power of Yazathingyan.

"Yazathingyan heard of his ideas and was not very happy with them; he felt that they could not be serious. He placed some betel nut upon a carpentered stand and in the king's presence made a point of eating from it. The *Tayokpyeimin*, as was his nature, asked, "Why, father, do you keep betel nut upon this carpentered stand, as though it were very valuable, and eat from it?"

"Yazathingyan, the minister, wished to say something to put down the *Tayokpyeimin* and therefore answered, 'My lord King, since the turners have gone up in the world, there is no one left who can turn one properly and one has to eat things off this sort of thing.'

"King Nayathihapatei realized that Yazathingyan was deliberately eating his betel off a carpentered stand in order to have the opportunity of putting him down, but gave no indication of this. He said, 'Father Yazathingyan, when you want to place the *hti* on the summit of a pagoda, how do you manage to get it there?'

"'Son of my master, you first erect scaffolding and then you can get up to put it in place,' he answered.

"The king asked again, 'Father Yazathingyan, when you have set the topmost finial upon the pagoda, what do you do with the scaffolding?'

"'Son of my master, it has no beauty or use, except for the purpose for which it is designed and, when that is completed, it is taken down and thrown away,' he answered.

"A little later the king seemed to change the subject; he heated a small needle in a fire and held it out to Yazathingyan saying, 'Father Yazathingyan, is a very small piece of fire hot?'

"'Son of my master, any kind of fire, whether it is big or small, no matter, can burn indeed,' Yazathingyan replied to the king's question immediately, without pausing to consider the implications.

"Father Yazathingyan, you have been like the scaffolding used when one wants to set the *hti* upon a pagoda; your activities have made me king. Now that I am king, you have fulfilled your function and so, just as the scaffolding on the pagoda which detracts from its beauty is discarded, and, just as the fire can burn even if it is indeed small, I too, even if I'm small and young, am like the fire: it is time for me to discard you, my father." He confiscated all his wealth, his elephants, horses, and retainers, and exiled him to Tayokhmyaw.

"While Yazathingyan was living in exile at Tayokhmyaw, a great storm blew up. Big trees could not stand the force of the wind; since they stood rigidly, when the blast struck them their branches and boughs were shattered and they were piled up in ruined heaps. The water plants, however, bent and leaned over all together with the wind and could follow its will; he saw that their nature saved them from being shattered and broken. 'Alas,' he said, 'I did not show the sense that these small plants do. These reeds bend to the north in a south wind; in a north wind they bend south. This nature of theirs saves them from being torn up and destroyed. Big trees cannot follow the way of the wind; they stand rigid and therefore are wrecked. I'm finished with behaving like a strong, rigid tree; I'll take the way of the pliable reed!'

"The king's officers heard what he said and reported it to the king. The *Tayokpyeimin* said, 'Has Yazathingyan truly realized his mistake?' He sent for him and, when he came, he restored him to his former position.

"Thus all men must accept their obligations to their king, who is lord of land and water, and must not disregard him. For the nature of kings is like fire; it doesn't matter if it is big or small, there's little to be gained by getting burnt.

"This is another example."

When Prince Theikdat heard what Minyaza said, he thought, "Old Yaza is pretty good with his tongue, but what does he know about action and power? You only come to know the special qualities of good men on the battlefield!" His intelligence and ability were slight and he went away without taking any notice.

King Mingaung later asked Minyaza, "has young Theikdat realized his mistakes?"

"Son of my master, it happens sometimes that while a harpist who can sing and play most delightfully performs at a festival, most people who hear his music praise and admire it, but some crass ignorant boor grumbles and goes off saying, 'That noise doesn't suit *my* ear!' We can say that Prince Theikdat went off just like that."

King Mingaung sent to his brother saying, "For your own sake you must seek the general welfare. Eilaya, king of the Tamils, once in the general interest treated his own son as a young calf! Like me, you who are called my brother must not be slow in seeking the welfare of our people. If you behave in this way, you will incur blame." But Prince Theikdat only said, "It's only because of me that you got to be king. Did you ever have the strength and ability on your own?"

Soon afterwards the king's sister Wimaladeiwi was given to King Yazadayit and in the year 768 B.E. [A.D. 1406], that of the treaty of friendship, Prince Theikdat, lord of Sagaing, with nine squadrons of cavalry from the north took his retainers who had been moved across the river and went down to Pagan. In Pagan he took possession of the white canopy and drum of King Kyaungbyu, the father of Anawrahtaminzaw, and fled down to Prome. There he asked Myethnashei of Prome, the son of the Prince of Myingsaing, whether he would give him support.

"This is no affair of mine," was the answer. "Can you defeat your brother Mingaung, the lord of Life? If you can beat him, we shall join you of course. Prince Theikdat thought over what Myethnashei of Prome had said, and then he turned back towards Ava and camped at the Htaukshei dam. When he had made camp, he sent a message to King Mingaung saying, "Prince, my friend, are you going to hand over the throne and canopy to me? Or will you wait to be chased off the throne?"

King Mingaung was a wise king and so, although he was very angry, he considered the proprieties and said, "Indeed, just as the rust that comes from iron eats away iron, as they say, so from my having brought you forward your own actions have destroyed you." He sent a formal reply, "Little Theikdat, if in your rebellion against me you come to

the attack with many men, many men will die. If you beat me, you can take and enjoy the country; if you are beaten, I shall see that you are all punished. We will fight with one another with one elephant each and no supporters.¹

Prince Theikdat professed himself ready to fight in single combat on elephants, and King Mingaung then made enquiries: "What elephant will our young Theikdat be riding?" he wanted to know.

"He is riding Thanmyinzwa," they told him.

"Which elephant can beat Thanmyinzwa?" the king asked his elephant keeper, who told him, "Your Majesty, Haingnila has always dominated him."¹

King Mingaung therefore mounted Haingnila and with his white canopy and drum came out from the city. Prince Theikdat goaded Thanmyinzwa after him, but as soon as Thanmyinzwa saw Haingnila he recognized him as one which had always dominated him, turned tail uncontrollably, and fled. King Mingaung rode after him to some rising ground and forced him down; he came up beside his elephant and, since he was in a position to strike and dominate Prince Theikdat, he seized him round the neck. He held him saying, "That was not clever; don't hurt yourself."¹

When King Mingaung returned, bringing his brother Prince Theikdat, Minyaza of Winzin said, "He did not do as I advised him; now he is in trouble."¹

To this King Mingaung responded, "Father Yaza, he violated his duty to me; he has got little out of it."¹

(Elsewhere it is written that Prince Theikdat's elephant was named Thanlyinzwa.)

Minyaza then said, "My lord King, let me tell you a parallel case. Long ago a little dog used to hang around a certain hermit.² After the dog had been with him for some time, the hermit asked it, "Would you like to be a lion?" The dog replied that indeed he would. 'If you want to, then, be one'; and from the day the hermit said this, the little dog looked exactly like a lion and consequently he set up a household along with a lioness. The lioness, however, felt that she must ask the hermit whether her mate were really a lion or no and the little dog thought, 'If she asks the hermit about what I am, she'll find out about me and, if she does, it will be the worse for me.'¹ So he set out to kill the hermit. The hermit, being a man of great powers, had foreknowledge and he cried out, 'Dog, you slave's son, what have you come here for?' The glamour left it and it was turned back into a dog for good.

"Just as in this tale, your brother Theikdat has made a very stupid mistake.

"This is another example.

"Son of my master, as for your brother Prince Theikdat, people might find his parallel in the proverb: 'In its own village an unsound horse fetches no price; in his own village a king's messenger counts for little' -- or as it is otherwise said, 'In its village the unsound horse has no value: in his own village the villagers are not abashed before the king's messenger.'¹ He meant to diminish and spoil your glory and power, your honor and reputation. Even though he has done this, your glory and power, your honor and reputation shine out still, bright as the sun and the moon. The exemplar of this is the story of the wild boar which found itself in a cave of rubies and, since it was unoccupied, made its home there.³ After some time a kingly lion passed near the cave; the boar saw the lion's shadow and was terribly afraid. To camouflage himself he rolled his whole body in the mud and, so that the ruby cave should seem all dark, he smeared the walls with mud and plastered it all over the place. Though it was thus all smeared over with mud, the ruby cave was not for ever darkened; little by little the mud rubbed away and, little by little, it blazed out again in its proper colors. In the same way a man may plan to diminish and detract from your Majesty's glory and power, your honor and reputation, but, even though such plans are made, it will the more immeasurably blaze forth.

2. Source not known to me.

3. Manisukara Jataka (no. 285).

"This is another example.

"Son of my master, you need have no fear of harm from Prince Theikdat, your brother. In the past he has done you good service and now your honor and glory have been increased and magnified through him. Those who saw your victory in single combat upon elephants over your brother have come to realize your strength and valor. Son of my master, when the *pauk* tree comes to flower, the flowers look like a parrot's beak; when the leaves unfold, they look like a parrot's body. Since they look so alike, unless there is some movement one does not know if there is really a parrot there or not. In the same way, son of my master, if there is no movement, it does not become apparent that your strength and authority are anything exceptional. With movement it becomes apparent."

When King Mingaung heard these words of praise from Minyaza, he said, "Father Yaza, in dealing with such people as you, if there is an action which deserves and receives their praise, that is praise that is worth having. If, however, the ignorant praise a wise man, that cannot really be called praise; it should rather be called a detriment. But you, Father Yaza, are truly wise and I know well that if you give praise, that is like the praise that is truly praise." So saying he made him a present of varicolored mats, such as are used in the palace.

King Mingaung remembered the help given to him in time past by his brother Prince Theikdat and did not keep him permanently in close confinement. Not long afterwards, considering that they were sons of one mother and that there was old kindness between them, he let him go. Prince Theikdat on being released, since his sister was in Hanthawadi, fled to that country and removed himself there. King Yazadayit had Prince Theikdat's hair cut in Talaing style and made him his heir.

The twenty-ninth section of the *Maniyadanabon*, containing the submissions of Minyaza of Winzin to King Mingaung in connection with his victory over Prince Theikdat, lord of Sagaing, ends here.

I
I Minyaza's submission to King Mingaung, explaining how enmity
I
I once started should be short and friendship long
I

At one time King Mingaung, because the regular gift of thirty or more riding elephants had not been offered by his brother-in-law, Yazadayit, wished to take action against the Talaing country. He called Minyaza in for consultation saying, "Father Yaza, I am consulting you because this arrangement was, from the beginning, yours."

Minyaza replied, "Son of my master, no king whatever must lose his temper too easily; in the Law proclaimed by the Lord it is said, 'There are three occasions, the first, the second and the third.' Only after the third occasion should you deal with the offence as such. Son of my master, if you get angry the first time the present is not delivered, you will have to become the angrier the longer it fails to come. Son of my master, you cannot get the better of an obstructive lump of hard clay by using fire! You have to use cool water on it to get the better of it. You must plan in these terms and consider your position using the intelligence of a king!"

King Mingaung answered, "I propose to make my plans to take steps about the customary presents which have not come!"

"Son of my master, please consider and bear in mind the types of people with whom it is desirable that one's association should be cut as short as possible, and those with whom it should be prolonged. I will explain what is to be gained by keeping hostility short and friendship long.

"There was a war between King Digadi of Kawthala who was to be born as our Lord, and King Brahmadat.¹ In this war King Digadi was being worsted and King Brahmadat winning. At this point, King Brahmadat sent men to murder King Digadi at a cross-road.

1. Kosambi Jataka (no. 428).

When King Digadi saw his own son Prince Digawu coming to his help, he said to him, 'Let hostility be short; let friendship be long.' In accordance with this, when an opportunity later arose to kill King Brahmadat, who had murdered his mother and his father, Prince Digawu had second thoughts and said, 'If I kill him, who is said to be my mother's and my father's murderer, that king's friends and kin will kill me; my friends and kin will then kill his friends, just as they did, and the enmity will be prolonged.' He recalled his own father's words that enmity must be kept short and friendship long and he refrained from killing him. Prince Digawu therefore became son-in-law to the king of Bayanathi and later came to the throne himself.

"This is another example.

"One gains little from working to prolong enmity. Once upon a time there was a hen whose chicks were eaten by a cat² and she prayed that she might get even with that cat. Accordingly, in the course of time the hen was reborn as a tiger and the cat as a deer whose young the tiger ate. The deer in turn prayed that she might get even with the tiger and, after they died, the tiger was reborn as a man and the deer as an ogress, who ate the man's children. While this process was going on, the two of them met the Lord and the Lord instructed them; 'One may be angry with me; one may steal my property; one may oppress me and hold me down; one may defeat me; but it is not right that I should hold a grudge so as to establish a long-lasting enmity. If a grudge is thus nursed, it is as if people defiled with spittle and mucus, without ever washing themselves, plunged again over and over into their mutual defilement. If you live without nursing a grudge, it is like being washed clean of defilement.' From his preaching the ogress attained enlightenment.

"This is another example.

"When the Lord was living in the Zeidawun monastery in the land of Thawutthi, he told how the crow and the owl have been enemies since the beginning of the world.³ There was right in the Zeidawun monastery a palm tree and a certain monk of the monastery lived at the foot of that tree. Every night the owls came upon the crows which slept in the palm tree and bit off their heads, so that each morning the monk had to clear up one or two baskets full of crows' heads and to throw them away. One day the monks gathered in the preaching hall and asked the Excellent Lord since when and for what reason the owls and the crows had been at enmity.

"My dear sons,' he told them, 'in the beginning of the world all the creatures held an assembly in the Himawunta forest, and from among all the men Mahathanmada, from among the four-legged beasts, the lion, and from among the water creatures the Ananda fish were chosen kings. When, however, the birds debated whom it would be right to make king, it was agreed that the owl should be king, and two or three times it was proclaimed that the owl was the king. A certain crow, however, stood forth and said, 'The owl by his natural shape looks furious; he will make everyone afraid. If as king he should really lose his temper, how will anyone dare go anywhere near him? For this reason I do not agree to his being king.'

"An owl thereupon came out and, crying, 'When every one has agreed, why do you spoil it?', attacked the crow. All the crows flew to his aid and all the owls flew to help their brother and from that time the crows and the owls have been at constant war. Once the crows devised a trick; under pretence of punishing a certain crow they pulled out all his feathers and put them carefully away. This crow then went to the owls and said, 'My friends, if you save me it will be well for you.' The owls believed him and let him stay with them by day, but would not let him sleep with them at night, so that he should not know where they slept. The crow tried to get to sleep along with the owls by each night crying out, pretending that an army of crows were coming to get him. 'My friends,' he said, 'during the night all the crows come and attack me; if you don't let me sleep with you, I shall be killed. Please let me sleep with you!' The owls were sorry for him and allowed him to join them in their sleeping place.

"The crow, however, went to sleep along with them, but then went quietly back to the other crows and called to them, 'I know the place where the owls hide when they sleep. The crows took a burning coal and set fire to the owls' refuge so that they were all destroyed. From that time forth the owls have not dared to come out by day,

2. See Dhammapada Commentary, i, 4; also xxì, 2.

3. Uluka Jataka (no. 279).

but only by night. Because they did not keep their enmity short, they have had to endure this long hostility.^e This is what the Lord told them.

"This is another example."

In spite of the illustrations which Minyaza set forth, the king was still intoxicated by his pride and would not relax his mind from the intention of making an attack. Minyaza therefore said, "Son of my master, one has to be discerning about time and place. Quite apart from men, even beasts which lack reason make regard of times when it is right and times when it is not right to start out and will only start out when the time is right and will not start out when the time is wrong for it. They make their considerations and calculations. Even more so for men; they must consider and calculate away beyond this measure. As an illustration, a little owl which should set out by night to descend upon its prey, if it does not watch the proper time and place, but goes out by day, gets little joy of it. If it goes out at a time which is not the proper time, it will fall into great danger. Once in Pagan, when King Anawrahta-zaw was going out from his palace, a frog croaked at the threshold and he asked his wise men about this. They replied that it was a female frog bewailing the death of her mate. Digging in the earth, they found the dead body of a male frog and a female croaking by it and so they represented that this was an ill omen and that the king should not go forth. Nevertheless he went forth and a wild buffalo attacked him and so he passed away.

"This is another example."

"Son of my master, when our most Excellent Lord was living in the Zeidawun monastery in the Thawutthi country, the king of Kawthala named Patheinadi^h set out from his capital to capture the city of Pyitsantayit. He camped at a forest village near to the Zeidawun monastery and while he was there it occurred to him that he had started on this expedition in wet weather, which was not the best time for marching and, wondering whether it was right to carry on in a time when streams and ditches were full and travelling difficult, he decided, 'Let me go to the Excellent Lord and bow myself before him; since my expedition is not for the benefit of any future life but purely for immediate profit, he will ask me about it and hear my explanation. Then if it is right for me to go, he will remain silent; if it is not right, he will prevent me.' Accordingly he went to the Excellent Lord who questioned the king as he had expected. 'King,' he said, 'when kings of old time proposed to set forth at a time like this, which is no time to be going, they listened to the advice of their wise men and did not go. Don't go either, your Majesty.' In this matter he told this tale of the past, as the king had expected in his request.

"A long time ago Brahmadat, lord of the land of Bayanathi, set forth from his city in a rainy season, not suitable for campaigning, when the purpose of enslaving the common people of Pyitsantayit city. He encamped in a garden in a forest town and each day he fed his horses, filling their mangers with boiled beans. A monkey which lived in the garden saw this, jumped down from his tree, grabbed two handfuls, stuffed his mouth at the same time and dashed back up the tree to eat his booty. As he went one bean escaped his clutch and fell to the ground. At once he dashed back again down the tree and, as he went, all the beans which filled his mouth and his hands were scattered. The king saw the monkey do this in his search for a single bean and then sit grieving and downcast at the top of his tree, unhappy as a man who has cast away a great property. He asked his wise minister, the Buddha-to-be, about this and he answered, 'My lord, this monkey which lives in the trees in this forest place is really stupid. This monkey has no sense. He has scattered all the beans which he had got in his greed for just one more. Just as he has lost all his beans, so too we can be brought down by a greed for more. Because we see other people enjoying a little prosperity, we who have much greater wealth may be put down from our place and our golden palace.'

"The king of Bayanathi took his wise minister's advice and returned to his own city."

King Patheinadi of Kawthala heard the Excellent Lord's words, and returned to his own capital and stayed there. He who was then the king of Bayanathi was reborn as

4. Kalaya-mutthi Jataka (no. 176). On p. 91 it is also told.

Ananda and he who was then the minister became the Buddha as is explained in the *jataka* story.

This is another example.

"Thus the time of Kahson and Nayon is no time for war; after a little comes the time when there are heavy rains. If you embark now on an expedition which will take you to the Talaing king's country, it will be one in which you will be beset with mud and mire, thorns and creepers, vines and bushes. All the rulers of all the villages, towns, strong places, and principedoms collect their revenues and receive their homage in the month of Natdaw only. No one comes to pay taxes or to render homage until Natdaw and they always plan for and arrange their wars after the rain has stopped in Pyatho and Tabodwe. It is too late for warfare now.

"To speak of discrimination of place, the flying Hsatdan⁵ elephant and the flying horse Theindawa which can travel through the sky and make the Himawunta forest their pasture, may have their vitals spilled and be devoured by Keithayaza the lion, but even he, if he goes outside his own ground into ground that is not his and falls into the water, can be bested by the turtles, fish, and sea animals.

"This is another example.

"Since this is so, do not be hurried in your plans; please hold back and wait a while. The sun's mere presence warms the cold earth and stones; does it not give warmth even though it does not move from its place? In this way, son of my master, let your presence in your golden palace like that of the sun pervade the whole Talaing kingdom with the light of your royal authority which is your glory."

This was Minyaza's submission.

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| Minyaza's submission of examples to King Mingaung on how it
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| is necessary when making plans to attack another kingdom to
|
| provide for the security of one's own
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But just as when saltpetre is thrown on live coals the king's pride flared up and he put in train plans for the annexation of the whole Talaing country. Minyaza approached him again.

"Son of my master," he said, "when kings who are lords of great territories wish to make war upon the territories of others, they must first provide for the security of their own land -- repair their forts, moats, gateways, palisades, doors, barbicans, and deadfalls; furnish the towns with the four sorts of provisions; call up the four military arms; and appoint good officers and accountants and appoint them in their towns and their territories. Only after such preparations have been made in their own lands do kings, masters of land and water, mount expeditions against other countries. If it be asked why, if they set out without making their own country secure, as I have said, some other enemy may come in during their absence and ruin them. If they do not make proper provision, even when they return to their own country pursuers may destroy them if their strong places are not secure. If they are made strong, as I have said, and only so, no enemy can overcome them and all kings of other lands, however distant, will come to fear them.

"Son of my master, let me illustrate. Once long ago Mahathamokda ruled over a land called Maduya.⁶ His step-father's son, Prince Thirigokta, was given the lordship of Yawipuya and he was set to rule there. Later, however, Prince Thirigokta, since he had a large army of infantry, guardsmen, elephants, and cavalry, determined to launch an attack upon Maduya. The prince's leading general, however, who was named

5. Chaddanta, "six-tusked." The mythical elephant who in Thailand is Erawan and is embodied in the white elephants of royalty.

6. Source not known to me.

Kawipandita said, 'Your Highness, princes who wish to make war upon the lands of others first provide their own land with a sufficiency of soldiers of the four military arms and make it secure. Only after this has been done is war made upon other lands.' Thirigokta paid no attention to this wise advice and said, 'I have plenty of followers; if I attack, who can withstand me? Why are you arguing? Just get the elephants, horses and soldiers ready!' The general therefore made his preparations and set out with his four military arms. When Mahathamokda heard this, he made his fortresses and defences secure. When the attackers reached the line of defense, Mahathamokda advanced with all his forces and Thirigokta was broken and fled. Mahathamokda pursued with all his forces and when he caught him the defences were in disrepair so that Thirigokta's army could not hold them. He took his wife and children and alone with them he fled into the depths of the forest. There his lord captured him and imprisoned him.

"This is another example.

"King Ayidazanaka who ruled over Midila,⁷ while he knew of danger coming, put it out of his mind and made no preparations. He was therefore caught in disorder and was ruined on the coming of Pawlazanaka.

"This is another example.

"King Mahawthada foresaw events before they came to pass.⁸ He therefore repaired his fortresses and stored up all sorts of provisions and made all sorts of other preparations; consequently when King Brahmadat of Sulani along with his eighteen champions came and laid siege to him, they could not shake him and he had the better of them.

"This is another example.

"Dithapamaukhka, the king's preceptor,⁹ who was to be the Buddha, before any war was made upon Tetkatho in the Gandalayit country, made preparations so that no one should be able to get the better of him. Consequently when King Brahmadat who had enveloped the whole Zabudeik island with a hundred and one canopies of kings and ruled in Bayanathi, laid siege to Tetkatho, he could not prevail.

"This is another example.

"Son of my master, setting aside mankind, Hirannaka the Mouse,¹⁰ who was an unreasoning animal, made a thousand tunnels with small entrances to refuges so as to be able to defeat the intentions of all possible enemies. He made entrances to food stores and entrances for fetching water, all well designed, and there he lived.

"This is another example."

Without paying attention to this advice King Mingaung, the lord of Life, in 769 B.E. [A.D. 1407] took all his elephants and cavalry and set forth. He made a base at Pangyaw and advanced from there, but the Talaings set an ambush in a narrow place with 700 horse and attacked. King Mingaung could not withstand the attack and was broken. The Talaing general Udeinnayit pursued him as he fled, still bearing his canopy. King Mingaung's brother, Prince Theikdat, was anxious for his brother and called out, "Brother, my Prince! Do you have to rescue your royal insignia, that you run away carrying your canopy?" King Mingaung took note of this warning, chopped off and cast away the canopy that he was carrying and thus escaped capture.

When he escaped, Udeinnayit, the Talaing commander, was greatly disappointed that King Mingaung got away, when he should have been captured, and said to his master Yazadayit, "It was only because your lordship's brother-in-law called out and warned him that the lord of Life, King Mingaung, escaped, when he should not have got away.

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7. Mahajanaka Jataka.
 8. Maha-ummagga Jataka.
 9. Source not known to me.
 10. In the Hitopadesa.

If he had not warned him, if we wanted him dead, we had him; if we wanted him live, we had him.†

Yazadayit, king of the Talaings thought, "Alas! Even though I loved him as one who is my brother-in-law and so ennobled him even above myself, he has still preferred his own brother. In his brother's interests he will go counter to me," and saying aloud, "What good is there in loving one who is not worthy of it?", there in the palace he drew his sword, struck Prince Theikdat through the neck and threw his body under the palace.

During this year King Mingaung, the lord of Life, was depressed both on account of his own defeat in battle and on account of his brother's fate; he brooded upon his position. "I did not listen to Father Yaza's advice," he thought, "and because I acted against it disgrace has come upon me.†" He consulted Minyaza: "Father Yaza," he said, "is it best that a king who rules a country as a sovereign should dare to abase himself, or that he should not?"

To this question Minyaza replied, "Son of my master, it depends upon circumstances. It is not suitable if there is one of equal strength and while treating him with consideration and respect you wait to exercise your pride. Nor is it suitable if you use it as an enticement to bring down one who is of equal strength.†"

King Mingaung replied, "I did not listen to your advice, Father Yaza, but went against it, and what I did must be called wrong, because I underestimated Yazadayit.†"

Minyaza answered, "Son of my master, is it not the case that things went badly just because you moved off your own ground? Let me give you an illustration; a quail was drinking from a lake and, as it drank, a hawk stooped upon it and took it.†¹ The little quail said, 'It's only because I left my own ground that this hawk has got the better of me; on my own ground how could he beat me?†' The hawk replied, 'Hey, quail, you are fast in my grip and you are just going to die; how do you think you are going to get to any other ground? Do you want to match strength with me?'

"The quail answered, 'My lord hawk, now that I'm in the hands of another, I can do nothing; if only I were on my own ground though, it could not be that my strength would not equal yours.†'

"'Is that so?' said the hawk, 'you think about it then† I'll let you go and we'll set a time of seven days for getting a decision. If you can't equal my strength, I'll eat you and your whole family too. If I can't match you, you can eat me!†'

"The little quail looked for a place to take refuge in, and found a spot where during the wet weather the mud had been trampled by cattle. He went down to this muddy place and examined it. 'These cattle hoof-prints are deep indeed,†' he thought, 'but the earth is well hardened; this place will do for a refuge. He alighted and stayed there.

"When the hawk saw the quail come down and examine the ground, he flew up and called, 'Hey, quail,†' he said, 'if you say you're ready to match strengths with me, why are you cowering down there?'

"'It isn't a question of cowering in a thorn-bush or a rubbish heap,†' said the quail; 'This is my fortress in which I reside. If you think that hawks like you have all the power and want to match strength with me, carry on!†' He spoke like this to anger the hawk and stayed sitting at the mouth of his hole. The hawk of course was angry when he heard what the quail said and stooped in a great rush. As the hawk was just coming on him, the quail dropped down inside the cow's hoof-print and stayed there. With the violence of his rush, when he missed striking the small bird with his stoop, the hawk hit the ground hard with his breast and was badly hurt. This made him angrier than ever and, not realizing what had happened to him, he flew right up to the sky. 'Do you dare make another attempt on me?†' called the little quail as he came to the top of his hole. The hawk stooped again and again the quail ducked back into the cow's hoof-print. In the end, after making many attempts, the hawk burst his breast and died.

11. Sakkunaggi Jataka.

"When he did not see him flying up again, the quail waited and watched, thinking, 'He reckons he can get his head into my hole and drag me out with his beak.' He waited a long time and, when he did not see the hawk again, he came out of the hole to look and saw the hawk lying dead. He called up all his fellow quail and showed them the dead hawk. 'Winner eats loser!' he said and banqueted them on hawk-meat.

"Thus the little quail, by holding its own ground properly, got the better of the hawk.

"This is another example.

"Once upon a time Keithayaza the Lion King, Ruler of Three Thousand Forests, lived in a golden cave and ruled over all his sons.¹² One day he went to hunt his food and came to a lake. A frog which lived on a lily pad in that lake saw the Lion King's approach. 'Who is it,' he croaked, 'that violates my kingdom?'

"'I am the King of the lions.'

"'Then the proper place for you is a golden cave in the Himawunta forest, King of the Lions,' said the little frog. 'This is my place; don't trespass upon it!'

"The Lion King grew angry. 'A frog like you speaking disrespectfully to the King of the lions!' he roared, 'Do you want to match strength with me?'

"'Prince Lion, my son,' said the frog, 'I'm King of the Frogs. Do you, Prince Lion, think you can match strength with a Frog King like me? If you want a trial of strength, carry on.' He sat on his lily pad and waited for the lion.

"The Lion King was furious and roared; the little frog slipped into the water and dived under. When the lion had finished his roar, back he came to his lily pad. 'So you do want to try strength with me?' he said.

"The Lion roared again, and again the frog went down into the water and dived under. With this continuous roaring the lion burst his heart and so died. The little frog called in all his frog companions and made them all look. 'Winner eats loser,' he said and they all dined on lion meat. Thus the little frog by taking up a position in accordance with his nature got the better even of a lion.

"This is another example.

"Once upon a time the Lion King who ruled over all his subjects in his Three Thousand Forests went to seek out his food and in a woody place he came near to a small ant-hill.¹³ On the ant-hill sat a frog, who said, 'Keep off my ground!'

"'Hey, you frog,' said the Lion King, 'how should one your size be disrespectful to me, Keithayaza? Do you mean to challenge me?'

"'You may be a king,' answered the frog, 'but I'm a king too. If you, lion, have any idea of challenging a king of the frogs like me, you'd better give it up. If Keithayaza wants to challenge me, I'll catch him and keep him -- look at that lion!'

"'Just show me a lion you've caught,' said the lion, 'I'd like to see it!'

"The frog pointed to a pool of water. 'I keep him in that hole,' he said, 'I'll call him out for you.' He went down into the water and hid there. The lion looked into the pool and thought he saw another lion there. 'This must be the lion that frog's keeping' he thought and roared at his reflection.

"He kept on roaring again and again until he burst his lungs with the effort and so he died. When the lion was dead, the frog called in all his fellow frogs to meet and made them look at the dead lion. 'Winner eats loser,' he said and they all ate up the lion. Thus by taking up a good position and by careful planning, the little

12. Source not known to me.

13. Source not known to me.

frog got the better of the lion in spite of his great strength.

"This is another example.

"Once upon a time a crayfish lived in a muddy pond⁴ and, when a bull elephant came along to drink, the crayfish demanded, 'Who is it that approaches my territory?'

"'I am king of the elephants,' said the elephant.

"'Your feeding ground is somewhere else,' said the crayfish, 'This isn't your feeding ground -- get out!'

"'You're very confident without much reason to be; are you wanting to challenge me?'

"'I am indeed'

"The elephant grew very angry; he rushed into the water and grabbed the crayfish, but the crayfish drew back and hid, while the elephant was trapped in the mud and drowned in the pond. The crayfish had the support of his pond and so got to eat up the elephant for all his mighty tusks.

"This is another example.

"A little pig called Tiyithsa got the better of a savage tiger which came to his home.

"This is another example.

"Son of my master, you may have mighty strength, great wisdom, or huge armies, but if you do not have the right ground to deploy them, you have in truth no strength, no wisdom, no army. Any king, any general, any fighter of any kind must bear in mind time and place, season, and provisions in their encounters. If they meet their adversaries without taking these into consideration, they can win no victories. If they go bull-headed to encounter whatever lies in front, without first sending ahead to scout out the terrain, whatever was wrong for them will remain wrong. Your mistake in your estimation of your adversaries in that narrow place is the sort of mistake which occurs all the time. Even Thagyamin has sometimes found himself at a disadvantage in fighting demons and has had to flee. Son of my master, since this is so, do not be discouraged."

King Mingaung was persuaded that an ill outcome through being caught at a disadvantage is not unusual and his mind was relieved.

When one comes to hear good advice expressed in wise illustrations, it is as when a fiercely burning fire is quenched by the application of water, or as when water which is vigorously boiling is cooled by having the essence called Lawhita dropped into it; just so King Mingaung's mind was relieved by this conversation. A sickness of the heart is relieved only when treated by that knowledge which is called Wisdom; health does not come by taking medicine. From these illustrations the king regained his spirits.

The thirtieth section of the *Maniyadanabon* recounting the illustrations submitted by Minyaza of Winzin to bring back the health of King Mingaung, when he was depressed by defeat in battle, ends here.

I
I Submissions of the Talaing King's minister Saw Hkanhkat to
I
I Yazadayit
I

When King Mingaung and Yazadayit engaged in battle near the Pangyaw stream below Prome, things went badly for King Mingaung and he was put to flight. Yazadayit took many of his elephants, horses, and men, and when he returned to Hanthawadi he held a great victory celebration at which he bestowed many titles of honor, grants of villages and towns, and decorations upon his generals, officers, and soldiers, according to their merit. "King Mingaung is scared of me now; I don't think he'll come at me again after that beating!" said Yazadayit. None of his officers ventured any comment, but then one named Saw Hkanhkat said, 'My lord of great glory, I have watched the celebrations at Thadingyut and how the boxers who were discomfited by defeat in one year study and exercise with their trainers, while those who won say, 'I'm the greatest!' and live carelessly and frivolously. When they fight again at the next celebration, the man who was beaten last year goes in and winsr Though he has been brought down, he does not admit discouragement.

"My lord King, I will give an instance. An owl once ventured out at the wrong time, in daylight, and a crow beat him up. That crow thought, 'That owl's afraid of me now; when I go for him, is he ever going to wait for me?' He was rash enough to break into the owl's home one night, and there he was badly beaten by the owl.

"This is another example.

"It is the same with people too: when a fight is once won, it is never right to go on carelessly and rashly, making light of things and saying, 'I've got that man beaten, or that elephant, or that horse; how's he going to stand up to me?' If he does, the victor can become the vanquished. King Mingaung is a ruling monarch, driven off the field; how can he accept defeat? He'll be back for sure. You cannot drop your guard and live at ease. You will have to make arrangements for military stores and weapons and all sorts of supplies.'

"He is small in stature, but big in wisdom,' said Yazadayit, the Talaing king. "The mere name Saw Hkanhkat is not enough for him. Take the style of Minister Mahathamun," he added as he conferred the title upon him.

Not long afterwards King Mingaung set out along with his levies from Kalei, Mohnyin, Thaingthwat, Onbaung, Thibaw, Yauksauk, Nyaungshwe, Naungmun, and other Shan territories and all his Burmese. He himself took the land force and his son Minyekyawzwa the water-borne force. When they reached the frontier, the Talaing King Yazadayit gave further rewards to the Minister Mahathamun saying, "You foresaw this!"

It was murmured that "Because the Minister Dein and the Minister Mahathamun did not mind being laughed at, we who have lived at court and borne the burden of office have been ignored. But these ministers have received rewards for their insane guessesr"

King Yazadayit heard these murmurs and said, "It is because he told me the truth that I have thus rewarded the Minister Mahathamun. I provide rewards for my ministers which befit them; you just work at your jobs and carry on!"

Minyekyawzwa embarked in his vessel and came on with a large escort. When he had come within striking distance, he sent a deceitful challenge to single combat. Yazadayit, the Talaing king, believed that it was genuine and ordered his general Lagunein into his vessel to fight it out singly. Minyekyawzwa promptly surrounded him with his escort and attacked. Lagunein was wounded in the groin by a spear and he died. Upon his death a general attack was made which the Talaing King Yazadayit could not withstand and he was forced to flee. Many of his elephants, horses, and soldiers were captured.

From this it is apparent that no one from kings downward can afford to live carelessly and frivolously trusting in the belief "I've come out on top; they're all afraid of me' You can't live like that. You have to live always with industry, energy, forethought, intelligence, and orderliness.'

Among men, if one who pleads a suit and has won in one year sits back thinking "I'm on top" and takes no care for the further study of the law and precedents, while the loser refuses to accept defeat, when the law is re-examined by the judges of appeal,

1. This was written a matter of twentyfive years after the capture of Ava by the Mons and the Burmese recovery and destruction of the Mon kingdom by the Burmese under Alaunghpaya. The possibility of a Mon recovery was a major worry to the Konbaung kings.

then he who had lost may prove the winner. For this reason one must always live with watchfulness, intelligence, and order; care must never be relaxed.

This is another example.

The thirty-first section of the *Maniyadanabone* in which is recounted the precedents submitted to Yazadayit, King of the Talaings, by the Minister Saw Hkanhkat, ends here.

During the reign of King Mingaung he founded the "Victory" monastery and pagoda. All the princes were required to join in piling up the earth. During this piling up, the Prince of Prome, Minmaha, had received a gift of betel which the monks had given and was chewing it as he carried the earth. King Mingaung saw this gift which he had received: "The earth which Minmaha carries is befouled," he said.

"My lord King," said Minmaha, "indeed it is not befouled."

"It is," said the king.

He had him shown the place where the earth was dug and told him to bring earth such as that. He had to send to Yauksauk and Nyaungshwe and bring it across the mountains. Minmaha underwent great disgrace from accepting this gift of betel from the monks. King Mingaung, the lord of Life, laid it down that he himself might always accept such a gift, but that he did not wish his officers to; he had an extraordinarily high regard for the Three Jewels.

I
I Explanation of the refusal of the gift of a golden drum and a
I
I ruby from the Myinmu merchant during King Mingaung's reign
I

During King Mingaung's reign a certain merchant in the northern town of Myinmu fell extremely sick. After he had distributed his wealth between his children and his grandchildren, he indicated that a valuable golden drum and a ruby set in silver, worth a thousand ticals, were for the king. After the death of this merchant of Myinmu, the golden drum and the ruby were offered to King Mingaung. The king asked what this gift was, a golden drum and a ruby, that was presented at the palace steps.

"They are the bequest of your Majesty's commoner subject, a merchant of Myinmu," he was told.

"Had he no children or grandchildren, friends or relations?" he asked in turn.

"He distributed their share to his descendants and kin," was the reply.

On receiving this information, King Mingaung summoned Minyaza of Winzin and Thihapatei of Tagaung and explained to them the story. "These commoners of Myinmu in the north," he said, "have sent this drum and this ruby to me because they hope for my royal friendship for those of their estate. But it is of the order of things that the property of that estate should be held only by those of that estate. What should I, the king of the land, have to do with it? Only if there were no heir would it rightly come to me. Why should it come to me? Let them keep their own property," and with this he returned the gifts.

The commoners then offered the ruby alone without the gold being brought into the matter, but he would not accept even the ruby until they offered it as a simple present to the king, without any reference to it as a bequest.

King Mingaung would not accept gifts which were bequests or from monks, nor would he permit his officials to accept them without his permission. Wealthy merchants now became numerous, for the reason that, from the king downward, no officials would accept any substantial bequest. The four estates of the realm prospered also and learned men and monks flourished.

The thirty-second section of the *Maniyadanabon* regarding King Mingaung's refusal to accept gifts, ends here.

During the reign of King Mingaung, the king remembered one day that the Law pronounces that he who practices reverence and respect for the learned and virtuous is endowed with the Four Graces, and thereafter on each holy day he did reverence to the elderly parents of his friends and kin and at all times he eschewed speaking slightly or disrespectfully to the learned among his officers and ministers. In view of his regard for Minyaza as his "lay preceptor," he did not require him to prostrate himself in his presence. Further, if an occasion arose on which he might be angry and displeased with Minyaza of Winzin he did not make it an occasion to rage. At all times he bore in mind that he was his "lay preceptor."

How King Mingaung asked whether there were any others equal to himself in respect paid to the elders among his friends and kin and how Minyaza replied with examples

On one occasion King Mingaung asked Minyaza, "Father Yaza, has there ever been anyone my equal in giving respect to the elders of my kin?"

"Son of my master," he replied, "in the Hermit's Town, called Thirihkittaya, in the city of Pokkarama¹ called Arimaddana, in Myinsaing, Pinya, Ratanapura,² and Sagaing; in such places as these, while there have been none who gave their respect purely on considerations of eternity, there have been those who gave respect because of wisdom."

"Father Yaza, who were they?" asked the king.

"Son of my master, in Arimaddana Pokkarama Saw Lu was the son of Anawrahtazaw and Saw Ywan was Saw Lu's son. This Saw Ywan married Shwei Ein, the daughter of King Kyanzittha, and fathered the Thetdawshei who founded the Golden Cave.³ At the time of his birth the palace gate, of itself, creaked and swung open; the white canopy too erected itself on its own and the Master drum of the household sounded of itself. His grandfather, King Kyanzittha, saw these events which marked his birth and said, "He is the Prince who is to be; I am only the keeper of the throne of this Prince-to-be," and on the very day of his birth he set his grandson upon the throne, naming him Alaungzithu. When he reached the age of fifteen, he was placed upon the throne again. When this prince was born, he wept without being hurt. When the sages were consulted about this, they answered, "He weeps because he wants to be reminded of a country; let him hear the countries named - going to the west there is the Thayana mountain, the Setkana mountain, Panhtwa, and Pateikkaya, the Indians' country; going to the north-west corner, there is Katu Nganagyi, the volcano in the waters; going to the north, there is the Thindwe country called Kanbawza; going to the north-east there are Thandanhta, Ngati, and Ngangei, where the birds live; going to the east, the Kawala country, the land of the Taungthus, where the black-faces live; to the south-east corner is the Gywan country, which is the original land; if you go south, there is the great island of Peikkyeila in the sea, the Lin country and Peikshu; to the south-west corner, the Netgamahina island set in the midst of the sea and others besides this island. When you give him all these countries, his crying will cease." This prince Alaungzithu was indeed of great glory and power.

An account of Kyanzittha and Alaungzithu in Pagan

At one time, whenever the south wind blew, King Kyanzittha, the grandfather of Alaungzithu, used to suffer from a headache. The headache was severe and, when he consulted Shin Araham about it, Shin Araham told him, "There was a time when your Majesty lived as a dog in a place called Palin, but someone shot and killed him.

1. Alternative Pali term for Pagan.
2. Ava.
3. I.e. Alaungzithu.

From his skull there grew a *zaungchan* tree, and when the wind blows the *zaungchan* tree quivers, and when the tree quivers your Majesty's head aches. Consequently the king went to Palin and brought out the skull, dedicating it in the Nandamyatswa pagoda.

Following the example of his grandfather, the Thetdawshei, founder of the Golden Cave, began to suffer from headaches and consulted Shin Araham about it. Shin Araham told him, "When you lived as the Pateikkaya Prince, you kept a ruby of Life in your mouth; you were courting Shwei Ein, the daughter of King Kyanzittha. Later, while the Pateikkaya Prince was away on a journey, Shwei Ein and Saw Ywan were married. The prince met me, Shin Araham, and asked me for news of Pagan. I told him of Saw Ywan's marriage. When he heard this news, the prince cried, "Ha!"; the ruby of Life jumped from his mouth and the prince fell on to a bamboo stump which broke his skull so that he died. This Pateikkaya Prince was reborn as Shwei Ein's son, Alaungzithu, and your head aches because of that skull lying broken among the bamboos."

"In that case, I shall go and recover the skull from the bamboo thicket," he decided.

In carrying out this project, he equipped himself with an army of 36 million infantry, 800 thousand cavalry in the right wing and 800 thousand on the left. Thirty thousand elephants raised his war banners and thirty thousand were in musth. Taking these four divisions of his army, he founded the Golden Cave. He named the two pagodas Sulagyi and Sulangei and they bear these two names to this day.

When Prince Alaungzithu, the Golden Cave's founder, visited the Rose-apple *thabyei* tree, he rode in the Golden Flying Boat with an escort of 800 thousand other craft. On his return, he laid up his ships at Dala in the Talaing country and proceeded by river craft.

The King of Ceylon placed an image of the Lord Shinhla carved from the southern branch of the Bo tree along with his own daughter upon a ship built from *thingannet* timber and gave this ship to him. When he reached the Rose-apple *thabyei* tree from Ceylon, he took away a stone which lay at the foot of the tree, polished to a brilliantly glittering appearance. Thagyamin knew of the prince's virtuous disposition and came to carve from this an image for him; this image he had named "Shin Hpyu."³

During his return from the Rose-apple *thabyei* tree, he saw by the seashore a monstrous scorpion which preyed only upon elephants and, after devouring them, used their tusks to build, as it were, a wall around its nest. Prince Alaungzithu asked Kyaban about this and he replied, "Great King-to-be, this huge scorpion, which kills and eats elephants, uses their tusks to build its nest!"

"In that case," said the prince, "bring them here," and they brought the tusks and loaded them on to the ship. When the great scorpion came back from its feeding grounds, it could not see its wall, but could only see the king's ship. With a roar it dashed into the water and came after it. Before it reached the ship, however, it stopped, raised its head and tail, making a display of them.

"My lord King," said Kyaban, "by demonstrating that it is looking up to us, it means to say that it is following in order to find out who it is that destroyed its wall. Now that it knows that it is a king of great glory and power who did it, it will cease to follow and accept the fact. It wishes that when you reach your own kingdom you should build a boat in its shape and ride in it."

Consequently a boat was made, a canopied state barge in the shape of a scorpion,⁴ and upon this barge was placed the great drum. Whenever the king embarked upon a journey by water, the drum was sounded.

In Alaungzithu's time there were three great drums. One drum was made to imitate the sound of the fruit falling from the rose-apple *thabyei* tree. It is therefore written of as "the advancing *thabyei*."

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3. "The Fair Lord" and "The White Lord" -- presumably these were two cult images lost earlier.
 4. The scorpion represents the type of Burmese royal barge; with its high stern and projecting oars; an "aetiological" myth.

Travelling thus the king visited all the countries of the world, and saw all the wonders never seen that were especially remarkable. His glory and power extended up to the Ocean on account of his travels, and for this reason his courtiers praised him above all others as having travelled to the ends of the earth. King Alaungzithu heard this and said, "None of my grandfathers and ancestors had the glory and honor that I have; they never saw these places!" Immediately he entertained this thought, his own two eyes saw no more. He was tended with all the rarest drugs and incantations, but could not be freed from his trouble. His wise men were consulted and took counsel together; they finally asked, "What was your Majesty saying when this happened?"

"I spoke disrespectfully of my ancestors," the king recalled.

"Your Majesty, have golden images of your ancestors cast and make an offering of them," they suggested.

In accordance with this suggestion he had them cast and the images were set upon a golden stand, where they were gilded and silvered and the king did reverence before them and dedicated them. When King Alaungzithu dedicated them, the images of his grandfather Kyanzitha and his great-grandfather Anawrahtaminzaw were set in a natural position, not lying down. After they had been named as the kings, the images were laid down flat on their faces or backs. Only by thus honoring his grandfather and great-grandfather did King Alaungzithu regain his sight. "The influence of my parents and ancestors is extremely vigorous, and only by making the dedication to my grandfather and great-grandfather were my eyes cleared," declared the king. In accordance with this saying, the place is still called "Offering for clearing."

"My lord King, in this matter King Alaungzithu had no intention of doing wrong and therefore he regained his sight. He erred for want of thought. If those who are of great honor and glory err themselves in thought or word, it should not be bandied about.

"Son of my master, after this wrong was done, King Alaungzithu was most respectful to the ancestors of his race and to his own parents. Because of this respect he remained upon the throne for seventy years. What can one add of a king who was confirmed in the Four Rules?" said Minyaza.

Concerning King Yinnayatheinhka of Pagan, his brother Nayapatizithu, and sister-in-law Weiluwadi

"Son of my master, I will submit to you a further example of respect paid to elders. King Alaungzithu's son was the Kalakyamin and the Kalakyamin's sons were the princes Yinnayatheinhka and Nayapatizithu. After the elder Yinnayatheinhka became king, Nayapatizithu continued to live in one house with his mother.

"At about this time some Pyaw people of Wetwin in the Myinsaing territory visited a certain bamboo thicket, and there within a great bamboo they saw a baby girl, shining like gold that has been a thousand times polished and hammered into shape. They took her home and cared well for her upbringing. When she grew up, the Pyaw people of Wetwin said, 'She's not human, but she doesn't seem quite like a spirit and she's very, very beautiful; she's too good for us -- she's good enough for royalty!' and so they presented her to the king. Now this young girl, in the way of her people, had very big ears and King Nayatheinhka took a dislike to the size of her ears. Consequently he in turn gave her to his brother Nayapatizithu. Now the old queen loved her son Nayapatizithu very much and made her dwelling with him. This old queen was the wisest of all women and so she cut the ears down to size and trimmed them nicely, so that they became normal sized ears. This girl was born by spontaneous generation and exceeded in beauty all purely human women, so that all men who saw her became dizzy from it. Also she had been so well instructed by the old queen as to exceed all the other princesses in all the required accomplishments and thus was full of all virtues as well as of superhuman beauty.

King Yinnayatheinhka, when a day of religious duty came round, went to do reverence and make an offering to his mother. When he reached the house, he saw the girl Weiluwadi and, because of her beauty, he looked at her not once only, but over and over again. Nayapatizithu noticed these glances, but King Yinnayatheinhka was set

on his purpose and planned to carry off Weiluwadi. He therefore prepared a letter saying that disturbances had broken out in Ngahsaungchan and gave instructions to a messenger of Nayapatizithu's household that he was to go and kneel before the prince, give him the letter and say that, since trouble had broken out in Ngahsaungchan in the king's own territory, it would be well if he would bring up all his land and naval forces.

"King Yinnayatheinhka then sent his brother off saying, 'Brother, will you please go ahead with my council and officers?' Nayapatizithu was an intelligent man and realized that his brother was not sending him off without an ulterior purpose, but was only sending him away, when there was really no war, because of Weiluwadi. He gave instructions to his horse trainer, Nga Pyi, to take the white horse Thudawzin and to use the horse to return as quickly as possible, regardless of day and night, to report whatever he heard in the course of conversation at his own house, while he himself was superintending the dispatch of all the forces of Burma down the river and went with them.

"Since King Yinnayatheinhka had no son, the counsellors and officials expected that Nayapatizithu, his younger brother, would survive him as his heir and therefore in council followed his line. The place where the council assembled is known to this day as Thitsaya, the Place of the Oath. When King Yinnayatheinhka heard that his brother had reached Thithsein, he kidnapped Weiluwadi, his brother's wife. The horse-trainer Nga Pyi got up at midnight, crossed to the north side of the river, and rode the white horse Thudawzin expertly away, reaching the village of Payeinma on the Chindwin just at sunrise. He rode on from there and came to Thithseinthitsaya in the evening twilight. He thought that the Amun stream was the main river and that that day it was running full from the rain; he decided to sleep there and that the next day he would get to see the prince. So he slept on the river bank, watering his horse early in the night and turning him out to graze. When the white horse, Thudawzin, recovered from his weariness, he whinnied. Prince Nayapatizithu heard the sound of whinnying and said, 'That whinny is my horse, Thudawzin; that is my horse and no mistake!' As he said this, he slapped a pillow with his open hand; the place where he gave this slap is still called Malweonbauk (Pillow-struck-no-error). Prince Nayapatizithu was concerned since he had heard the horse whinny and could not sleep. The horse trainer Nga Pyi got up before the fourth bell and rode on from the Ngabat creek. Since it was now morning, he thought that he would now cross the water, but since the Amun creek was there, he could only turn back without crossing. The prince, when he asked him for his news enquired where he had slept that night. 'Lord of great Glory,' he replied, 'the horse was weary and so we had to sleep on the river bank to recover.'

"'You worthless creature, how far was it to where I was? You were on the river bank; what we thought would be accomplished in an hour has taken you four or five to complete. A whole night has been wasted!' He was very angry with Nga Pyi.

I
I The story of Nayapatizithu's servant Nga Aungzwa
I

"Nayapatizithu now said, 'Counsellors and officers, among ordinary people, mothers can give birth to their children by having the courage to undergo bodily exhaustion; among ourselves, who are called princes, we can only find quiet settlement of all the situations that can be mentioned, by having courage to accept mental distress. When we say this, we do so in realization that there is in fact no war and that our real enemy lies behind us.' He summoned Nga Aungzwa, who was the chief of his servants, and said to him, 'For me, disregard your life, but kill my brother! After you have killed him, you can choose whichever of his three wives pleases you best and take her for your own wife.'

"He put eighty good soldiers under Nga Aungzwa's command and they sailed down river, travelling both by day and by night. Nayapatizithu himself followed with his land force and his boats. At the double pagoda at Shweikyetyet he prayed for success in his plans against his brother before the northern of the four faces of the southern pagoda, taking off the headcloth which he wore and spreading it over the image. The monk of the pagoda reported, 'The Lord bent himself to receive the offering!'

"After he had prayed, he advanced with his army and boats and before long saw near his own boat, not far off, the body of Nga Pyi with whom he had been angry floating

down. 'What is that body?' he asked.

"Your servant Nga Pyi, with whom you were angry because he did not find favor with you for what he did, has become a corpse, on which you may take pity," he was told.

"Hold a funeral for him at the end of the island," he ordered the village chieftain, 'and there carefully build a house where everyone can make offerings to him.'

"According to Prince Nayapatizithu's instructions the chieftain took action and, right up to now, the spirit of Nga Pyi is well known at the end of that island and they worship him.

"Meanwhile Nga Aungzwa whom Nayapatizithu had sent on his mission, had arrived at Ava. Sword in hand he went up to the house at dead of night and, at a moment when the king was going to his privy, broke in noisily with his eighty men. Hearing the sound of the king's footsteps going towards the privy, they followed. King Yinnayatheinhka called out, 'Who is that coming into my privy?'

"I am Nga Aungzwangei and I have come at the orders of your brother," was the reply.

"When the king saw the bared sword-blade, 'Nga Aungzwangei, I'll be my brother's crow scarer, his chicken herder, but don't kill me!' he begged.

"Don't speak so of my lord, your brother!" he answered, and attacked the king in the privy so that one of his ruby earrings fell into the water. Thus because he lusted after his brother's wife and failed to foresee his brother's return, King Yinnayatheinhka met his death, like a bird which sees the bait but does not see the snare.

"Nga Aungzwa brought the news that he had killed the prince's brother and Nayapatizithu was acceptable to the counsellors as king; when he reached Pagan, he took possession of the palace. He made the following announcement: 'Counsellors, kings from of old have kept no internal or external guards; they have had no bodyguard to watch their sleep. For this reason it has been an easy matter to assassinate kings in times past. Furthermore it was easy to assassinate my brother because he had no bodyguard to watch over him. With this in mind, I shall appoint a bodyguard for myself.' Thus Nayapatizithu made his appointments and during his reign came the establishment of the guards within and without the palace.

"Nga Aungzwa then made representation that the king's word should not be broken. 'It is true that I said it,' said the king. When, however, enquiry was made among the late king's three wives, all shrank from becoming Nga Aungzwa's wife; they ran to the king's presence and fell at his feet.

"Your Majesty," they cried, 'we women have done no wrong. The fault lay with your Majesty's brother. If you, our dear lord, will not have pity and insist that we marry, destroy all the princes! Punish our line and root us out altogether! If he were the last man in the world, we do not want to marry Nga Aungzwangei!' and they set up a dirge.

"When the queens thus wept, the king felt great pity and kindness for his brother's widows and he began to relent. When the ladies saw that he was softening, they went on, 'Your Majesty, if this were not so, how should we have dared to approach you?'

"Hearing this the king said, 'Nga Aungzwangei, I know what I told you, but if we consult the queens they say that they don't want to marry you and that I shall have to execute all the princes; if I hand them over forcibly it will be said that I do wrong to my ancestors' memory. Since this is so I shall ennoble you along with a court lady of good family. So look among the ladies and take whichever best pleases you.'

"Nga Aungzwa was a man of quick temper and when he heard this, he said, 'Pah!' and turned away. The king was furious at this and exclaimed, 'Do you speak like that to a king like me?'

"It is the nature of kings to be quick and easy to anger. They do not remember favors given and, just as it matters nothing whether a fire is big or small, once it is lighted, kings are quick to take vengeance. For this reason men who attend upon kings and who have their lords' interests at heart, must never act less than respectfully;

of a wise man like Anandathuyiya, Nayapatizithu said, "Councillors consider what I said and whether it was said in anger and whether it was a small or a great fault and decide whether it deserves nine days', or half a month's, or a whole month's, or a year's penance.'

"Just then a wise man named Yazabalakyawhtin, from among the king's followers, spoke. 'Your Majesty,' he said, 'if there is a wise man who is thoughtless, that is no good; if there is a king who is thoughtless, that is no good; if there is one who takes the pleasures of love in a casual manner, that is no good; if there is a monk who does not keep a guard upon his body, his tongue, and his thoughts, that is no good -- so it is said in the Law of the Lord. I will submit an example of how the kings of old times conducted their investigations into facts by enquiring into and examining the truth or otherwise of the facts alleged.

"'Long ago, when King Brahmadat ruled in Bayanathi, the Buddha-to-be lived in a commoner family in a small village.² While he was still little and played in the dust, he and his companions would play under a banyan tree at the village gate. Just then a certain physician, of small power, was leaving the village, having found no work there, and came to that spot. There he saw upon a branch of the tree the head of a sleeping snake and he thought, 'I've had nothing from this village, but if I can entice one of these children to where that snake will bite him, then I'll get something.' The physician then said to the child, the Buddha-to-be, 'If you see a myna bird,³ will you bring it here to me?' 'Certainly,' he answered. 'That's one asleep on that branch, isn't it?' said the physician, pointing to it. The child, not knowing that it was really a snake, climbed the tree and grabbed the snake by the neck, thinking it was a myna bird, then, realizing that it was a snake, held it tight and quickly hurled it away. The snake landed on the physician and bit him on the neck, so that he died immediately. Everybody crowded around to see. When the physician died, the villagers called the children thieves and murderers and bound them into neck-fetters to send to the King of Bayanathi.

"'As they went, the Buddha-to-be gave advice to the other children and said, 'Don't be afraid: even when you see the king, don't be afraid or shrink away. While we keep a happy countenance, I shall talk to the king, and in the course of this conversation I shall explain the whole affair to him.' His little companions agreed and said, 'Very well,' and so they did. When the king saw all these unawed and smiling children, he said, 'These children have been bound in neck-fetters and brought here under accusation of being thieves and murderers. Even though they are in such a distressing situation, they show no fear; their hearts show in their happy faces. How,' asked the king, 'can such hearts fit such faces?'

"The Buddha-to-be replied, 'Your Majesty, anxiety and loud weeping do no good whatever. If we were to weep and let our minds be disturbed, our enemies who saw our faces would be encouraged and be glad. Wise men who know the truth of cause and effect are not afraid even in danger; their faces do not fall, their nature will be firm, and when their enemies see this they are discouraged. Your Majesty, when wise people fall into danger, they try to escape by way of one of five methods. As to these five methods, if they actually believe that they can escape by means of charms and magic, they will use charms and magic to escape. If this doesn't work, they will consult other intelligent men for another method of escape, and by means of their advice will get out of it. If this again fails, if they think that they can save themselves by friendly and pleasant speech, they will speak in friendly, affectionate, and pleasant fashion. If this fails, if they think that they can escape the danger by means of valuable gifts, they will give them. If that doesn't work, they will call upon their own kin for rescue, asking if it would not disgrace their common ancestry if they allowed them to be killed. We know, however, that none of these five methods is actually available to us to get us out of our trouble, and we must therefore accept the fact that the fate which we have earned for ourselves in the world is precisely fixed and that there is no escape from the consequences of our ill deeds; we tell ourselves this and so do not worry and cry.'

"When the king heard the words of the Law which the Buddha-to-be uttered, he carefully investigated the truth and the Buddha-to-be told him truly what had happened. The king recognized his innocence, had him released from the neckfetter and gave him high rank, placing him among his ministers, as one who could give advice in accordance with the Law of cause and effect. The other children too were given much wealth and placed in special positions.

2. The Saliya and Tacasara Jatakas (nos. 367 & 368).

3. *hset yet* -- probably = *zayet*, the myna bird. Pali Text Society's translation has "porcupine.'

"This is another example.

"Yazabala went on to say, 'Your Majesty, kings of old times, when they had anything to be angry about, did not immediately fly into a rage, but waited, holding their anger in check and carefully considering the consequences. My lord King, long ago, when King Brahmadat ruled in Bayanathi, he who was to be the Buddha was conceived by that king's queen.⁴ When he was grown, his father the king died and he became king, ruling in accordance with the Law. He gave alms on a large scale. In his time there was a certain gardener named Thumingala, and one day an arahat, a Pacceka Buddha who had left the plain below the Nandamula mountain and was wandering about the country, came to Bayanathi and camped in the king's garden. In the morning he entered the city and accepted alms food. The king saw this Pacceka Buddha and was glad; he brought him into the palace, set him in a spot of high distinction, and built a spire over him; he gave him alms food of especially delicious kinds and, having received his blessing, enjoyed great peace of mind. He begged him to stay in his garden and, when he had returned him to the garden after the morning meal, he came out himself and arranged in the garden for walks for him and so forth for day and for night.

"To carry out the arrangements, important and trivial, he entrusted the multiplicity of affairs to the gardener Thumingala and returned to the city himself. From that day onward the Pacceka Buddha always received his alms food in the king's palace and lived in this place for a long time. The gardener Thumingala respectfully looked after the Pacceka Buddha.

"One day the Pacceka Buddha called Thumingala to him and said, 'I am going to such-and-such a place for four or five days and shall be staying there; please inform the King.⁵ Four or five days after the Pacceka Buddha went away, he returned in the cool of the night to the garden and put away his alms bowl and robes; he strolled a little way along a walk and then rested on a flat rock. The gardener Thumingala did not realize that the Pacceka Buddha had come back, and on that day guests had come to his house. To provide a meat curry for his guests, he took his bow and went to the garden to shoot one of the deer which lived freely and without fear in there. As he hunted for a deer he saw the Pacceka Buddha and, under the impression that this was a big deer for the shooting, he nocked an arrow and shot him. The Pacceka Buddha bared his head, looked about and said, 'Thumingala, why have you shot me?' The gardener was put into great fear and answered, 'My lord, I did not know that you had come back and I loosed my arrow thinking that you were a deer. Forgive me my mistake. What can I do to atone for my crime?'

"'Come here and draw the arrow out,⁶ was the answer, and so he bowed reverently and drew out the arrow. As he drew it out, the Pacceka Buddha was seized by a spasm and died.

"The gardener knew that the king must come to hear of this and that he would never be forgiven, so he took his wife and children and fled with them. There was at this time a great noise as the spirits proclaimed together with all their power through the whole land that a Pacceka Buddha had died and achieved nirvana in this place. In the morning all the people with their wives and children went to the garden and saw what had happened to the Pacceka Buddha. The king was informed that the keeper of the garden had murdered the Pacceka Buddha and had fled.

"The king went with all his court and for seven whole days held the funeral rites for the dead saint with rich offerings and then took his ashes and built a pagoda over them. Having dedicated this pagoda, he continued to rule in accordance with the Law.

"Thumingala the gardener, after a whole year had gone by, came secretly to find out if the king had yet at all relented; he met one of the ministers alone and asked him to find out the king's mind. This minister reminded the king of the favor which he had shown to the gardener in the past, but the king sat on as though he did not hear. The minister did not dare to speak of the matter again and had to tell Thumingala that the king had not relented. Thumingala had to go away again to live, but as each year went by he made the same enquiry, but got no permission to return. Finally, after three years he brought his wife and children back. The minister thought that the king was softening and made Thumingala sit at the door of the king's palace while he told the king that he had come. The king then sent for Thumingala and said 'Thumingala, why

4. Sumangala Jataka (no. 420).

did you murder the Pacceka Buddha who gave grace to our lands by his virtues?'

"Thumingala answered, 'My lord King, I did not murder the Pacceka Buddha. The fact is that I had guests at home and in order to entertain my guests I went to the garden, not knowing the Pacceka Buddha was there, and shot an arrow in the night at what I thought was a deer,' and he explained all the circumstances and reasons for what he had done. The king accepted his explanation, told him to have no fear and put him at his ease. He restored to him the charge of the garden.

"Later the minister asked the king, 'Your Majesty, for two years now I have been reminding you of your old favor towards Thumingala but you have said nothing at all; now at the third year at last you have listened and sent for him and restored him to his place. Why should this be?'

"The King replied, 'Minister, it is not right that a king should do anything in anger. For this reason I remained silent before and now, after three years, when I knew that my anger had cooled, I sent for him.' He went on to pronounce the following rule for all princes who wish to hear their right duty.

"'Ministers, any masters of men must impose no punishments in the violence of their anger. Indeed, if they do, it will be unbecoming to their position and they will reduce other people to an unhappy state. In anger they may impose a fine or imprisonment inappropriate to the offence. For this reason, when you find yourselves angry you must wait and use your intelligence carefully to keep your anger in control. After you are free from anger, you may examine the facts and, when you are satisfied, according to your own capacity that in this case the blame lies thus-and-thus, then you may decide upon a penalty to fit the crime. A prince should set his penalties when he is not confused by anger and can recognize what is wrongful and what is not. Such a prince will find recognition for his power and his righteousness and he will never lose his Royal Luck; his rule will long endure. Princes who are in the habit of acting without investigation or thought and who impose penalties when they are confused with anger and have no intelligent control, such princes as these get a reputation for unrighteous behavior and may indeed throw away their lives. When they pass on from their present bodily state they may move on to one of the four states of punishment. Those princes, however, who find joy in the Law which was announced by the Lord, the Pacceka Buddhas, and the Arahats, who do not transgress the ten rules of Royal Duty in thought, word, or deed, and who, because of their willingness to forgive and their refusal of injustice, are perfect in the repression of passion, in taking pleasure in being at peace with all men, and in absence of frivolity -- such princes as these do not find themselves under punishment, but progress to a good human or a good spirit condition. For this reason, ministers, since I am a king ruling over a group of people, men and women, in truth it would be best for me to destroy myself rather than to make a decision when I am angered and ruled by my anger, without guidance from my intellect. Thus I, since I can see what is beneficial and what is damaging in this present life, do not consider cases when I am angry, but, after my anger has cooled and my mind is again at peace, I can be ready to investigate and consider and, while remembering pity, sympathy, and mercy, impose penalties upon my people proportionate to their crimes.'

"When the king thus recounted his good methods, all his princes in the assembly were glad in heart and mind and were filled with the grace and virtue of all religious perfections; they said, 'We who are now leaving must bow our heads down before you, our King,' and they praised and thanked him.

"Thumingala, however, at the end of the discussion stood up, bowed before the king and, with hands joined in reverence, he said, 'Most excellent King, lord of all your people, the glory and wisdom which bring honor to all your court will never leave you. Your Majesty's mind is always clear and never clouded with anger. May you live to watch over us for a hundred years without anxiety or distress. The fulfillment of the practices which you describe forms the virtues which are called the ten duties of kingship. It is easy to give advice; it is easy too to be at peace, if you are not at the mercy of passion. When a king who rules the whole earth on such principles comes to be freed from his bodily state, he will certainly come to a good reincarnation. By such good action and such good words, by the Law and by propriety, by such means you work to set at ease all your peoples who are distressed, just as the rain from heaven sets the earth at ease.' In this manner Thumingala gave him praise. In the Jataka it is said, 'He who was then Thumingala the gardener is now Ananda, while he who was the king am now I, your Lord.'

"In this Thumingala Jataka, the King of Bayanathi because, when he might have broken out in fury, controlled himself by his intelligence, was respected by all his people. You have thus followed the Lord's precepts," said Yazabalakyawhtin, and when Nayapatizithu heard his words, he followed them faithfully.

Nayapatizithu had three wives, the southern, the center and the northern queens; he also took over his brother's three wives and the mother of Nandaungmya as well. Among these seven, he took Weiluwadi, who was found in the bamboo, to be consecrated as queen along with himself. His southern wife gave birth to Htwetshuka, who got this name because he used to watch whenever the king went out of the palace. His sister Thubayit he made queen. This princess named Thubayit was the granddaughter of the brother of the Kalakyamin's mother, and she was known as Uhsaukpan. After she had given birth to two sons known as Panchi and Yazathu, she died. The granddaughter of Kyanzitha's companion-in-arms, Nga Htweyiu, was then made queen; she was given the title of Yadanabon. His northern wife had no child, but he very much loved the one son, named Zeiyathura, who was born to Weiluwadi. Zeiyatheinhka was born to the daughter of a gardener and he too was much beloved. This Prince Zeiyatheinhka's manner of speech was such that all men loved him. He was also perfect in all the duties and activities which all princes must know.

"On one occasion Nayapatizithu suffered from a whitlow on his forefinger and in spite of medication it would not resolve itself; it was extremely painful and he could not sleep. The only relief which he could get was when Zeiyatheinhka's mother took the finger in her mouth and held it there and then he could sleep. While she was holding it in her mouth the whitlow burst, but instead of spitting out the discharge she swallowed it. Later, as he remembered how she had swallowed down the pus, the king said, 'No one has shown me more love than this boy's mother; I will grant him a gift.' His mother, however, replied, 'My lord, you have given me gold and silver, elephants, horses, and villages and you have ennobled me along with him as much as anyone. Just let my child keep your palace.'

"Let him be a guard, then," said the king.

"Later on when Zeiyatheinhka was of full age, his mother asked again for the promised gift. 'What gift would you like?' asked the king.

"Just as everyone else at my lord's court, I already have retainers, elephants, horses, gold, and silver,' she answered, 'just let me be called your servant and let my son keep your palace.'

"Kings do not have to say the same thing twice,' said the king, 'when they have said it once, that is for good and all. I have said that your son can be a palace guard. If a king is asked to unsay a word, to undo an action, to reverse destruction, he can only say, 'It is destroyed.' This means that I should have to do something very difficult, if I were to give the privileges of royalty, which are due to the sons of queens, to a son of lower birth, during the lifetime of my four sons who are born of queens.'

"When the king said this, one of his courtiers replied, 'My lord King, long ago a king named Dathayahta reigned in Bayanathi.⁵ He avoided the four sorts of failure in duty and ruled in accordance with the Law. Of his queens, the chief queen, whom he valued more than all his sixteen thousand concubines, had given birth to two sons and a daughter. The elder son was named Yamapandita, and the younger Lethkanakumaya. The daughter was named Thidadeiwi. In the course of time the queen died, and for a long time the king mourned her death. His ministers, however, pressed him to give up his mourning and in the end he appointed one of the other princesses to be his chief queen. The new chief queen behaved lovingly towards the king and he came to love her greatly. Soon she was with child; she received all possible care and attention and in due time was delivered of a son. They named this prince Batdayakumaya. The king loved him very much and said to the queen, 'I will give you a present; take what you will.'

"I have all the gifts from you that I need,' said the queen; 'I will ask you when I need anything: let it be granted then.'

5. There may be a pun on *saung*, "to guard," and *saung*, "to wait for"; but I find the text a bit obscure.

6. The Dasaratha Jataka, which is of course a part of the Ramayana Epic. Yamapandita is Rama and Thidadeiwi is Sita.

"When the prince reached his seventh birthday, she brought him to the king and said, 'My lord, you once promised me a present; grant it now to my son.' The king snapped his fingers and cried out threateningly, 'Wretched woman! It's finished with! My two elder sons shine out like great beacons: would you ask me to kill two such sons as these to make your son king?'

"The queen was afraid; she went and stayed in the Temple of Fortune, and from there over and over repeated her demand that one day the kingdom might be her son's to enjoy. The king, however, never granted her repeated demand. He did, though, think to himself as follows, 'Women are never grateful; they will readily wrong their friends. This my queen might well forge letters and forge a seal to make it seem that I had ordered what I had not ordered and that my sons were to be put to death.' With this in mind he summoned his sons and explained the situation to them. 'My sons,' he said, 'I am afraid that it may be dangerous for you to be here. Therefore you will have to go away to another country nearby or into the forest to live. After I am dead you may return and take up your inheritance, which is the governance of this land.' He then sent for one who knew how to read the future and asked what was his remaining allotment of life. He told him, 'My lord, there remain twelve years to you still. When he heard this, he said, 'My dear sons, when twelve years are past, return and take over my rule.'

"The princes agreed to act as he told them, bowed before their father and, weeping, came down from the throne. The brothers left the city, along with their sister, and accompanied by many attendants; on the way they made the rest turn back and pursued their way to the Himawunta forest.

"Their father, King Dathayahta, being parted from his sons and daughter, was oppressed with anxiety for his children and passed away after only nine years. After arranging a suitable funeral and offerings for the dead king, the queen gave orders that her own son Prince Batdaya should assume the kingship, but the ministers would not allow the transfer of the white canopy to him, since the true lords of the white canopy were still living in the Himawunta forest. Since this was so, Prince Batdaya sent to his elder brother in the forest and, bringing with him the five royal ornaments needed for a coronation, set out with the four divisions of the army to make him king. Prince Batdaya bowed low before Prince Yamapandita and said to him, 'My lord and brother, please come to be king over Bayanathi.' Prince Yamapandita answered, 'Brother, take your brother Prince Lethkana and your sister Thidadeiwi and arrange for the government of the citiesr'

"'If we do that, what will you, our eldest brother, be doing?' asked Prince Batdaya.

"Prince Yama answered, 'Brother, our father told me to return when twelve years were past and then to become king. Therefore if I come now, I should not be acting according to his wishes and so I shall not come yet. After three more years have gone by I shall come.'

"'But if you don't come, who will be king for all that time?' they asked him.

"'Let my younger brothers reign,' was his answer

"'It is not right for us to do so,' said his brothers.

"'Then until I come these shoes can rule,' he replied, and took off the grass slippers which he wore and gave them to them. His brothers and sister took the grass slippers, bowed low to Prince Yamapandita and, surrounded by their entourage, went away to Bayanathi. For three whole years the grass slippers reigned. The councillors placed the grass slippers upon the throne and then decided upon their points of law; whenever they made an error, the grass slippers set up a great clatter between themselves. Then the ministers knew that they had been wrong and reopened the case to make a new and sound decision. When they had finally got it right the slippers made no sound at all.

"After three years had gone by, Prince Yamapandita left the forest and came to Bayanathi, entering the royal gardens. When they heard of his coming the other princes along with all the councillors came to the Garden, made Thidadeiwi queen, and consecrated the two of them. After this consecration King Yama, who was the Buddha-to-be, mounted a royally decorated car and, surrounded by all his councillors, entered the city where he mounted the royal throne called Thusandaka. From that day he ruled in accordance with the Law for the whole of sixteen thousand years and at the end of his life he passed into the land of the spirits. It is said in the Jataka, 'He who was then

King Dathayahta has been born in this age as King Thokdawdana; the Royal Mother of that time is now Thirimahamaya; she who was then Thidadeiwi is now born as Yahula; the then Prince Batdaya is now Ananda; the then Prince Lethkana is now Tharipoktra; they who then formed the assembly now form the Order of the followers of the Law. He who was in that age King Yama am now I, your Lord.'

"Thus from being too easy in saying and too easy in doing things which were in fact things which should have been hard to say and hard to do, a distress of King Dathayahta's body came to be for him a distress of mind. My lord King, your case is the same: if you err in too easy saying and too easy doing, everything goes wrong. If your error lies in being too difficult in speech or action, the error is not irretrievable; it is only a small matter." This is the advice which he offeredr

This is another example.

King Nayapatizithu fell extremely sick and sent for his four sons. He started with his eldest son, Htwetshuka, and said to him, "My son, do not disregard your father's words; I have told you to make your younger brother guardian of the palace. If any councillor treats my sons without respect, force him to bow down openly, in public, as a green twig breaks. If you think any councillor has too sharp a nose and is being quarrelsome, cut off his nose. If you think any councillor is spreading his wings too wide and might fly off, cut off his wings. If you think any councillor is too sharp and might cut, take the edge off him. We who are called kings must make people afraid of us. Don't disregard what I say, but always follow my precepts."

When the king was near to death, he took all his four sons by the hand and spoke to them in the like manner. After Nayapatizithu had died, the four sons took counsel together and determined not to depart from what their father had said. The princes agreed that Nandaungmya, also known as Zeiyatheinhka, should rule as king. Nandaungmya, however, said, "My elder brothers must rule; I will live in the midst of the city and give them my support. I cannot yet bear the burden of the white canopy. My father diverted the succession to the throne, but though he thus diverted it, I do not know whether I have the stature and qualities needed to be king." He went out with his four brothers and with the monks and Brahmans to an auspicious spot. The four brothers positioned themselves at the four quarters and the Nandaungmya Prince took a place towards the north. The white canopy was set up in the middle of them all. They then made a vow that the spirit guardian of the white canopy would cause it to bow down towards the place of the one who was worthy to be the wielder of the white canopy. And the white canopy did bow down before Prince Nandaungmya. When they saw it bow down, the councillors said, 'It is not just the officers of state and wise men who want to have you for king; the spirit guardian of the white canopy himself wants you!' and in general agreement set him upon the throne.

At the place where the white canopy bowed down, a large pagoda named Htilominlo was erected. When Nandaungmya was established as king, he set the other four princes to rule over four cities in the four quarters of the country; in the Pagan kingdom there were four rulers of the land, four governors, four secretaries, and four judges; these duties were fulfilled by the four brothers as they ordered their quarters. In daily use the elder princes bore the white canopy in their own territories, but paid court with respect to the king.

"This Nandaungmya bore in mind what had been said by a sage in the earlier days of his princship, and behaved in accordance with that dictum. What was it that was said, you may ask? It was this: 'Son of my master, if you wish to be a man of importance, you have to mature early; from wanting little come great possessions; from gentle speech comes the people's love. Son of my master, Prince Thanwaya⁷ restrained his desires and so when his ninety-nine elder brothers came to force him from his throne, he could hand over for distribution among them all the contents of ninety-nine out of the hundred treasuries which he had inherited from his father. Because of this his brothers bowed in friendship before him and remembered and kept their promises to be his servants. If one of his brothers visited the palace, he did not keep for himself any of the presents which might be brought in in the normal course during the visit, but passed them on to his brother. In the same way, you must go to your four brothers and hand over to them any presents which may come to you. If you do this they will

hold you high in their love and friendship. They will say, 'Let our young brother build a lodging in front of the palace and we will come and live there.' Accordingly he built a princely lodge and his four brothers lived there. King Nandaungmya himself went and lived there in the normal course and while he lived there, all presents which came in were handed over to his four brothers. He did not keep even a little share for himself.

"You cannot put out a big fire with hard lumps of clay; you can only do it with cool water. In the same way King Nandaungmya planned to set them an example of respectful and affectionate behavior, both to give honor to the memory of their father Nayapatizithu and to purge himself of faults. How did he so plan, you may ask? His father came to be praised for the wisdom with which he effected King Nandaungmya's blameless and yet firm establishment upon the throne. If he could not have established himself so firmly, it would have been a reproach to his father. If you ask how he could have been blamed, it would have been held very much against him that he had set aside his own royal sons in the succession, in favor of an untried son of lower birth whose capacity he did not know. King Nayapatizithu deserves in fact great credit for the practical wisdom which changed the succession from his own legitimate sons to one who had a greater capacity for planning and a more developed ability than his senior brothers. Because he could foresee where gain and loss lay in affairs, King Nandaungmya deservedly won his promotion over his elder brothers and became king.

"Thus in the princes' lodging, white canopies were set up for each of them, as they so often came to court, and the brothers came saying, 'While our young brother is on the throne we will pay our respects to him,' and at all times they came to his court with this intention. From that time up to the present it has been the custom in Pagan for the four senior princes to form a council of government and this is the origin of the custom.⁸

"King Nandaungmya in this made no account of eternal values; he was only interested in present benefits, and, after he had become king, he continued his respectful behavior with this in mind. By the honor which he gave to his elders, his parents, and others of his kin, however, in the present Nandaungmya won his throne. Son of my master, what can we say of his eternal welfare?" Thus Minyaza concluded.

This is another example.

⌋
⌋ Minyaza's submissions to King Mingaung regarding respect
⌋
⌋ towards the elders of his kin
⌋

King Mingaung then said, "Father Yaza, as regards worldly duties, I must remember what you have said. I should, however, much like to hear from you what is said on this subject in the books of the Law which was preached by the Lord." By making this request, King Mingaung meant to indicate that what wise and religious men had said was to be valued highly.

Minyaza replied, "Son of my master, I can make a further submission. Beyond this world, in the land of Oktayamaduya, Mahathagaya was king; and in the city of Athitzana, Mahakantha ruled. While Mahakantha ruled over his city, two sons named Kantha and Upakantha were born to him and one daughter named Deiwagatba, three children in all. At Deiwagatba's birth, the astrologers who cast her nativity pronounced that a son would be born to this princess who would bring an end to the race of Kantha. In spite of this prophecy, the daughter was dearly loved and they could not put her away. She was allowed to live her life as it was fated to be and, after the death of Mahakantha, her elder brother, Kantha, became king, appointing his younger brother, Upakantha, to be his heir.⁹ He feared that if he put his own sister to death his fellow kings in the neighboring lands would hear of it and that he would be reproached for it. He therefore built a tower and confined her in it, along with one manservant named Andakawinda to guard her and one maidservant named Nandagawpala to look after her, allowing her no other household.

8. This apparently refers to the origin of the *hlutdaw*. There is an anachronism here: Pagan had long been destroyed when Minyaza told his tale in Ava.

9. The Ghata Jataka (no. 454). This is of course a variant on a part of the Krsna legend.

"Meanwhile Mahathagaya reigned in Oktayamaduya, and after his death his son Prince Thagaya became king, appointing his young brother Upathagaya to be his heir. This prince had reason to fear his brother on account of some misbehavior of his in his brother's house, and came to visit Upakantha, with whom he had been friends and fellow-pupils from their early youth. When King Kantha heard of his arrival, he gave him a great welcome and much hospitality. After this reception, each day the visitor came with Prince Upakantha to pay respects to the king.

"As they were coming to the palace, he saw this tower and asked about it. When he heard the story, he bribed Nandagawpala and so gained access to Deiwagatba, so that she conceived a child. When her brothers realized this, they questioned Nandagawpala closely; under promise of immunity she confessed and told them the truth. They decided to place a single maid with the princess and let her bear her child; if it proved a boy, he would be killed. It was agreed with Prince Upakantha that if a girl were born the brothers would accept her and name her Kinsanadeiwi, giving her a village called Bawgawutdana for her support.

"Deiwagatba gave birth to a boychild in the village of Bawgawutdana, and shortly afterwards Nandagawpala was delivered of a girl. Deiwagatba's son and Nandagawpala's daughter were exchanged and, hearing that it was a girl that had been born, the brothers loved her above everything.

"Deiwagatba in fact had ten sons named Wathudeiwa, Baladeiwa, Sandadeiwa, Thuyiyadeiwa, Etdideiwa, Wayunadeiwa, Itzuna, Pitzuna, Gatapandita, and Inkuya, while Nandagawpala had ten daughters, but no one knew anything at all about it. The ten brothers were well-known as the sons of Andakawinta, and as they grew up they proved full of strength and ability; they were a wild and unruly gang and robbed and pillaged the whole countryside around, not even sparing tribute being brought in for the king. The people complained to the king himself that Andakawinta's ten sons were looting and raiding their country, so that no less than thrice Andakawinta was summoned and ordered to keep his sons under control. In spite of the king's threats, Andakawinta could not keep them in order and freely confessed the whole story. When the king heard it, he was struck with fear and asked his advisers to propose a way in which they might be captured. They suggested that, since these princes were interested in wrestling, the king should order a competition held so that they might come to the festival ground and there be taken and killed. An announcement was therefore made by beat of drum that seven days from that day a grand wrestling contest would be held. The king sent for two wrestlers named Sarura and Mutika and told them that they were to give a demonstration of wrestling in his presence at the festival. When Baladeiwa saw Sarura slap his arms and show his skill, he cried, 'Do you think I can't handle you?' He took a long rope from the elephant stables and threw it so that it wrapped itself round Sarura's middle. Then he twisted the two ends together and whirled it round and round and finally cast him into Ethkawata. After thus killing Sarura, he took on Mutika. As the wrestler demonstrated his art, Prince Baladeiwa took him in a wrestling hold and pounded him till he was crushed to a pulp. Then he hurled him too into Ethkawata, crying, 'Do you think yourself a wrestler?'

"The king kept shouting, 'Catch those ten! Catch those ten!' but Prince Wathudeiwa hurled his weapon and his two uncles died. He then became king of Athitinzana city. The ten brother princes then marched out to take all the lands of Zabudeik and they first captured King Okyana's land of Ayokzapura. To one side of Dwayawadi lay the sea; on another, where the mountains lay, if an enemy came the ogres who guarded the city, with a noise like the confused braying of donkeys, got the citizens together and by their ogreish magic transported them to the islands in the sea. Later when the enemy had gone away they brought them back to Dwayawadi. When the princes reached Dwayawadi, this happened two or three times. Finding that they could not take the city, they went to the hermit Kanhadipayana and asked him for a device by which it might be taken. He told them that in a certain thicket outside the city was an ass which brayed at the approach of enemies and, at this alarm, the citizens flew away and came down in the midst of the sea. They must hold its legs and expostulate with it. 'If you do this,' he said, 'it is finished.' They did as the hermit said; they held the donkey by the legs and begged it not to bray. While the people, left without its braying, were still wondering whether to stay or to fly away, the princes arrived and planted great iron columns right outside the four gates of the city and tied the gates to them with iron chains, just as he had told them.

"After they had taken Dwayawadi by means of this supernatural advice they continued their way and they captured one hundred and eighty-nine thousand territories outside Zabudeik. They divided their spoils into ten parts, but then they remembered their

sister Kinanadeiwi and decided to make a new division into eleven, but Inkuya told them to give his share to their sister. He, if they would exempt him from octroi and wharfage, would live in his brothers' city, making a living as a merchant.

"After twenty thousand years of long life the descendants of these princes had spread out widely, but Wathudeiwa's best-loved son then died. Since he loved this son very much, he stayed weeping and mourning, neither eating nor drinking, and would not leave his bed. When it seemed that he would die there in his bed, one of his brothers, Gatapandita by name, who enjoyed the revenues of seven thousand cities, said to himself, 'When he has younger brothers like me, why should our elder brother die without receiving the reverence due to him?' For a whole day and a night he watched by King Wathudeiwa and then, when it seemed that his watch had been overlong and that he would faint, this Prince Gatapandita put on a seeming of madness and, with his hair loose and head lolling as he looked up at the sky, he went about the city crying out, 'Give me my hare! Give me my hare!' enough to terrify the whole country. Yawhineiya the minister went and reported to King Wathudeiwa how Prince Gatapandita was wandering about the city and yelling. King Wathudeiwa asked how it had come about.

"Your Majesty, he was watching by you and so could not sleep. It affected his mind and he has run mad,' they told him.

"My brothers are suffering on my account,' said King Wathudeiwa. He got up from his bed, left his palace and went to his brother Gatapandita. 'Brother,' he said, 'why are you yelling 'Hare, hare,' as you wander all over the city of Dwayawadi? Who is keeping your hare, dear brother?' To this question of the king's he did not answer a word, but kept on shouting as before. An image of a hare was made from all the seven kinds of jewels and given to him, but, 'That's not the hare I want!' he said.

"Do you want me to bring you a live hare?' asked King Wathudeiwa.

"I want the hare that's on the moon up in the sky,' he replied.

"Dear brother,' said King Wathudeiwa, 'you can have all the eighty-four thousand cities in Zabudeik if you like, but the hare that lives in the moon may be desired by everyone, but there's no way to get it. It is not in its nature to be won. If you, dear brother, keep hankering for it, you will only distress yourself.'

"His brother Gatapandita listened to King Wathudeiwa's speech and stood stock still, without moving. Then, 'Brother,' he said, 'if I have a desire for what I can see with my own eyes, the hare which is pictured on the moon, and hanker for it, I still have something to hanker for. But you, Brother, why do you break your heart, refuse to eat and drink and so violently hanker after your son, your heir, who has followed what is the Law and has become ashes on the burning ground? Once you are freed from your longing for your son, the Prince of the East, I will have no longing left, nor any other worry.'

"When King Wathudeiwa heard this advice, his heartsickness for his son left him, and he returned to a state of contentment. It is said in this jataka that 'He who was then the King Wathudeiwa is now Tharipoktra; he who was then the councillor Yawhineiya is now Ananda; he who was then the younger brother Gatapandita is now the Lord, who learned the four Noble Truths. The rest of those who were then in his kindred, now form the assembly of the Lord.'

"This is another example."

Minyaza went on to say, "Son of my master, kings of long ago treated with respect the elders of their kindred, whom they loved, and looked after their interests. Son of my master, it is laid down in the Law of the Lord that we should always bow down before, make offerings to, and generally respect those who are of greater age and of greater virtue. For such as do this, these four rights are established: long life, physical beauty, great contentment, and great power. Acts of respect towards others are named as among the thirty-eight auspicious things, so it is laid down. It is not that benefit is derived only in the short term from respect shown to our elders; in the long run too there come good rebirths as men, or spirits, or even nirvana. An example in evidence of this: in the Himawunta forest there lived together a francolin, a monkey and an elephant.¹⁰ One day they fell to discussing who could be called to bear witness in

case they wanted to find out the age of each of the three of them and determine which of the three was the eldest so that the younger might do reverence to the elder and so earn a good rebirth as man, spirit, or attain nirvana. 'From whom,' they said, 'can we get evidence about our ages? We shall take this banyan tree for our standard.' As they talked, the elephant said, 'When I was little, I could walk over that banyan tree and its branches just touched my belly.'

"The monkey said, 'When I was young and sat by that tree, it was just about my height.'

"The francolin said, 'There never used to be a banyan tree in this part of the forest; I got a banyan fruit from somewhere else and dropped a seed so that this tree grew.'

"The elephant and the monkey admitted that the francolin was older than either of them and did reverence to him. From thus respecting the eldest they attained good rebirths as men and spirits and, finally, the monkey as Tharipoktra, the elephant as Maugalan and the francolin as the Most Excellent Lord, attained nirvana. The monk Hsatbatgi told this jataka story when a younger did not use respect for an elder. 'Dear sons,' he said, 'one who is young in years must adopt an attitude of respect to those who are superior in age or in virtue. Any man of wisdom and respectability, who would be intelligent and well mannered, will defer to his superiors in age or virtue. The Lord and all such wise and religious persons receive honor in the respect paid by wise men in their presence.'

"This is another example.

"An owl, who just once joined the Excellent Lord as though reverencing the Assembly of the Religious by putting his beak to the ground and joining his wings over his back, was by his reverence freed from the four States of Punishment through all the hundred thousand worlds and gained many good rebirths as man and spirit. He will, it is said, become the Pacceka Buddha named Thawmanittha.

"Respectful behavior towards one's own friends and the kin of others will increase your wealth and will take away from you the blame of friends and enemies. People who are perfected in such behavior gain long life in their present incarnation with freedom from sickness, with glory and power, and with honor from others.'

When he had heard what Minyaza of Winzin said, the King remembered what his brother Prince Theikdat had done for him and wept bitterly. He gave Minyaza a golden dish and with it a setting for a king's meal.

The thirty-third section of the *Maniyadanabon* in which Minyaza responded to the king's question about respect to elders within one's own kin, ends here.

I
I Minyaza's submission to King Mingaung regarding
I
I Thameinpayan
I

At about this time King Mingaung said, "There is nothing left of the plans which my brother Prince Theikdat made and failed in. People are generally better off for my brother's being no more with us.' He added, 'My brother did things which were not according to the Law.'

In 775 B.E. [A.D. 1413] during King Mingaung's reign the lord of Mawdon and Mawgei rebelled, but his wife and children were taken and brought to the king. The brothers of the lord of Mawdon and Mawgei went into Chinese territory, and when they were there they sent a present of money and asked the Chinese to recover the wife and children from the lord of the Sunrise. This request was favorably received and the Chinese invaded the country. Thameinpayan, who was King Yazadayit's servant and minister who had been ambushed and captured at Pegu, was sent out as champion; the Chinese champion was beaten and they retired. The king then sent for Minyaza and said, "Father Yaza, I have kept and supported Thameinpayan because he's a good fighter and he's got the better of hundreds of thousands of Chinese for me!" He was delighted with the result.

Minyaza replied, "Son of my master, your ancestor Thadominbya ennobled the brigand Nga Tetpya and so he once defeated the great bowman of Taungdwin.

"When the great general Bandhula¹ visited the court of King Patheinadi of Kawthala, he was granted territory for his support and so he defeated all the warriors with the King of Kaleingayit.

"King Wideihayit provided for Mathawthada who was to become the Buddha and so he defeated all the warriors with King Brahmadat of Sulani.

"King Brahmadat of Sulani by his support of his general named Keiwut conquered a whole confederacy of a hundred kings.

"This is another example.¹"

The thirty-fourth section of the *Maniyadanabon* in which Minyaza of Winzin replied to the King's question, ends here.

King Mingaung's death and the repentance of King Yazadayit
of the Talaings

In 779 B.E. [A.D. 1417] the king's son Thihathu, the lord of Prome, was married to the widow of his brother Minyekyawzwa and recognized as heir-apparent. In 784 B.E. [A.D. 1422] his father King Mingaung passed away after completing many works of piety. He was thirty-two years old at his accession, ruled for twenty-two years and died at fifty-four.

Yazadayit, the King of Pegu, heard in this same year that King Mingaung was no more and said, "I was a friend to King Mingaung for only a small part of my life and then again I was at enmity with him. Now King Mingaung who was my enemy has had to walk the path of death; only a coin's thickness remains for me to live -- it is certain that I must die. From today I shall fight no more wars." Taking no joy in the death of the prince, his enemy, he undertook to follow the Law of Religion. With repentance and without enmity, a spirit of loving kindness came over him.

This is another example.

The thirty-fifth part of the *Maniyadanabon* regarding the death of King Mingaung the First, the succession of his son Thihathu, and the remorse of the Talaing King Yazadayit ends here.

Note by translator:

It seems that Minyaza died at about the same time as his master -- at any rate there is no mention of him in subsequent reigns, although the *Maniyadanabon* continues as long again with stories of other kings and their ministers. Also, on p. 77 it appears that he was not around to receive the favor of Mingaung's successor, which was given to his son. He may of course only have retired, but it is unlikely that he would have survived for long -- after fifty-three years as a minister he must have been eighty at the time of King Mingaung's death. It has been thought best to confine this translation to his period.

1. See Dhammapada Commentary, iv, 3.