

## Religious Contribution of Hanthawaddy Period

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### Abstract

Although Ramañña region of the Mon had been under the rule of Myanmar Kings for over 200 years since AD 1057, the Mon Kings strived continuously for the perpetuation of Buddha Sāsana not to be failed. During the Hanthawaddy period, the Mons could repulse the Shans and they could manage to establish the Hanthawaddy thirty-two towns, and could implement the development of Sāsana. In this paper, the propagation of Buddha Sāsana led by the Mon Kings from 1369 to 1453 was discussed. It is said that the renovations of Pagodas and the development of Buddhist literature were encouraged by the Mon Kings. Thus, the Buddha Sāsana in Lower Myanmar well developed without losing its momentum.

**Key words:** Ramaññadesa , Buddhas Sāsana, contributions

### Introduction

The Hanthawaddy Kingdom of the Mon was powerful in Lower Myanmar from 13<sup>th</sup> century to 16<sup>th</sup> century, and for a brief period in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. After the Mon had moved the west of the Ayeyarwaddy delta of southern Myanmar in ensuing centuries, they acquired Theravada Buddhism, their state religion, from Ceylon and South India. By 825 they firmly established themselves in Lower Myanmar and founded the cities of Thaton and Hanthawaddy. Around the 8<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Mon kingdom was the most influential all. The kingdoms of Myanmar, and it played an important role in the spread of Buddhism. Until the conquest of Thaton by Bagan, there were valuable records of Theravada Buddhism flourishing in the Mon Kingdom. The kings of Hanthawaddy period continuously made a lot of contribution to the Buddha Sāsana, while unified the Sangha and standardized the ordination of monks.

### Revival of the Buddha Sāsana in Ramana Desa

To get the Pitaka treaties, King Anniruddha of Bagan requested a copy from the Mon King Manuha. When King Manuha refused this request, Aniruddha attacked Thaton<sup>1</sup> in 1057, taking back to Bagan not only the Tipitakas but also King Manuha. However, the Buddha sāsana in the Mon region never declined. Niharajan Ray, an Archaeologist of India, says that such a loss lasted a little while and soon it can be seen that the Buddhist monks and monasteries assumed to come alive again.<sup>2</sup>

The Pandit stone inscription and the Trap stone inscription<sup>3</sup> of the Shwesayan Pagoda, predicted to be inscribed in the 11<sup>th</sup> century A.D. and the votive tablets of the Thagya Pagoda in the centre of Thaton, the terracotta plaques featuring the Great Ten Jātakas<sup>4</sup> on the pillars of the Kalyāñisima at Thaton and the Kalyāñisima inscriptions<sup>5</sup> all prove that the Buddha Sāsana continuously developed in Ramaññadesa.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It was called Suvaññbhumi, which means "Golden Land".

<sup>2</sup> Niharajan Ray, *Theravada Buddhism in Burma*, Calcutta University, Calcutta, 1946, p.146 (Hereafter cited as Ray, *Buddhism*)

<sup>3</sup> U Chit Thein, ed. and trans., *ရှေးဟောင်းမွန်ကျောက်စာပေါင်းချုပ် (Collection of the Old Mon Inscriptions)*, Yangon, Archaeological Department, 1965, Pp. 1, 2, 3, 5

<sup>4</sup> Ray, *Buddhism*, p.146

In the three provinces of Ramaññadesa of Mon region, the Buddha Sāsana continuously flourished and some separate religious sects and a lot of Pitaka treatises also appeared. For the propagation of the Buddha Sāsana, the Bagan Kings also sent some missionary monks to the Mon region, Ramaññadesa. During the reign of Bagan King Narapatisithu alais Sithu II (1173-1211 A.D), Ven. Dhammavilāsa Mehā Thera returned to his native, Dala in Lower Myanmar and delivered<sup>7</sup> the Dhamma Vinaya treatises and Buddhist literature, and thus the Buddha Sāsana revived in the Rāmañña region after the invasion of King Anawratha.<sup>8</sup>

During the reign of King Wariru, the founder of Muttama dynasty, his chief consort's teachers Ven.Vamisa Mahā Thera and Ven Mahanga Mahā Thera went to Sri Lanka in 1281 and were ordained under the Mahāvihāravāthi Mahātheras and on their arrival, they did not make ordination together with other local Buddhist monks but separately did for themselves and this made the separation of the Buddhist sects.<sup>9</sup> Accordingly, there were altogether five Sri Lanka Buddhist sects in Ramaññadesa. The three sects<sup>10</sup> of Sri Lanka Samghas derived from Bagan and the two sects<sup>11</sup> of Sri Lanka Samghas of Muttama. Therefore, with the host sect of Ariyaahrahanta alais The Kamboja Sect<sup>12</sup> descended from Vens. Sona and Utara of Rāmañña region, there were six sects.<sup>13</sup> There were only two sects: the Sri Lanka and the Myanmar.<sup>14</sup> The respective followers made their ordination separately from the reign of King Wariru until that of King Dhammaceti. However, the Pitaka Treatises concerning Vinaya, Sudda, Abhidhamma were put in the same line and developed continuously and so many prominent canons appeared. Among them, some well-known works on social and judicial ones such as Dhammasat treatises. The Damasat Treatise was compiled by Ven. Dhamma Vilāsa. It is said that the treatise could open the eyes for social and political advancement of Myanmar. Especially, it is the earliest prominent treatise in the field of judicature.<sup>15</sup> According to Dr. Forchhammer, a scholar of Archaeology, the Dhammavilāsa Dhammasat was a very treatise effective to the religious norm for the social and political development of the

<sup>5</sup> C.O. Blagden, 'An Inscription of the Kalayani Sima Pegu', *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol.III, Part ii, Yangon, government Printing, 1928, face B.Line 13. p.199 (Hereafter cited as Blagden, "Kalayani Sima")

<sup>6</sup> Ramaññadesa has its roots in the three Mon regions of Pathrin, Muttama and Hanthawaddy.

<sup>7</sup> Dr. Than Tun, ဓမ္မေဗ္ဗိန္ဒြေကျောက်စာပါသမိုင်းအထောက်အထားများ (Historical Evidences of Early Mon Inscriptions), *Journals of Pyinyar-padaythar*, Vol.IV, No.4, Yangon, University Press, 1969, p.50 (Hereafter cited as Than Tun, *Mon Inscription*)

<sup>8</sup> သာသနာလင်္ကာရစာတမ်း၊ *Sasanalankāra Sādan*, (Palm leaf ms. No 106, back), National Library (Hereafter cited as *Sasanalankāra*)

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>10</sup> It was founded by the decendants of Ven. Uttarājiva, the teacher of Bagan King Narapatisithu, and Ven. Chappada Sāmanera, a son of Pathein Myothugyi, who had gone to Sri Lanka and returned to Bagan after studying and becoming proficient in Buddhist Literatures there. *Sasanalankāra*, jā-back

<sup>11</sup> The two sects of Sri Lanka Samghas at Muttama wer descended from Ven. Buddha Vamsa mahāthera and Ven. Mahānāga mahatjera. *Sasanalankāra*, ji, back

<sup>12</sup> Before the Sri Lanka Sāsana sect brought by Ven. Dhammavilāsa (alais) Sāriputtarā mahathera, the sect of the decendants of Vens, Sana and Uttara in Ramañña region was called the Ariyarahantā Sect. The Kamboja Sect was named after one of the members who was the eldest with greatest vāsas residing at the Kamboja monastery in Dala. The name does no mean the Shan Kamboja monk. Methi Sayadaw, *Vamsadipani*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed, Yangon, Hamsavati Press, 1967, p.90

<sup>13</sup> Blagden, "Kalyani Sima", Face B, Line 13, p.199

<sup>14</sup> E. Michael Mendelson, *Samgha and State in Burma*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1975, p.41

<sup>15</sup> Mabel Haynes Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, Yangon, Burma Research Society Photographic, Reprint, 1965, p.32 (Hereafter cited as Bode, *Pali Literature*)

Talaing and the Myanmar people.<sup>16</sup> Out of some treatises of Abhidhamma, the Lokadipāsāra was also a prominent one. It was written by Ven. Medhañkara mahāthera, who was revered by the mother of Hamsāvati King Sin Phu Min, of Muttama.<sup>17</sup> In the treatise, the essence of the Law of Dhamma in the Three Lokas<sup>18</sup> was explained so clearly that the Buddhist devotees could understand the Buddha's profound Abhidhamma very easily.<sup>19</sup> Thus, during the 2<sup>nd</sup> Hamsāvati Period, the Pariyatti literature on Abhidhamma never faded out. Besides, with the aim of pursuing the Buddhist literature, the essential Satta treatises reliable for the Buddhist monks both the teachers and the learners also appeared. The two well-known treatises on Pali grammar (Sadda) are Kiccāyanasāra<sup>20</sup> and Kiccāyanabheda<sup>21</sup> compiled by Ven. Mahāyasa mahāthera in the reign of Sin Phu Shin Banyar Oo. These treatises were reliable not only for the compilers of tikas (sub-commentaries) but also for the learners of Buddhist literature. Especially, they were more famous in Myanmar than in Sri Lanka. The Kiccāyanabheda was also called the Kiccāyanadipikā.<sup>22</sup> Thus, during the reign of King Banyar Oo of the second Hamsāvati Period, with the rivalry between the separate sects, a lot of reliable prominent treatises on Abhidhamma and Saddā appeared and many well-known compilers also emerged. With the development of Pariyatti Sasāna, many significant religious buildings in the second Hanthawaddy period emerged in Lower Myanmar.

### Contributions to the Buddha Sāsana

In the Second Hanthawaddy Peiod (1369-1539 A.D) King Banyar Oo made a lot of contributions to the Buddha Sāsana by constructing new pagodas, stupas, temples, stone inscriptions, etc. and by renovating the old ones. After he had occupied the whole region of Ramañña, the king made an obelisk for his victory at Kyaikmala,<sup>23</sup> renovated the Kyaikmala Pagoda contributed by the Prince Assa and held a grand occasion for seven days.<sup>24</sup> Especially, the king built the Myo-daunt Pagoda 45 feet in height while constructing the city Hanthawaddy and some pagodas at the significant historical sites.<sup>25</sup> Out of the pagodas, the Kyaik-pun is an outstanding one which was constructed in the Kyaik-pun forest where Hanthawaddy Bago King Tarapya fought with Muttama King Wariru and the former had to flee.<sup>26</sup> To mend and repair the Shwemawdaw Pagoda every time if necessary, King Banyar Oo also donated a group of slave Nga The, a native of Paunloun village, in charge of the pagoda together with three families, 8 elephants and 4

<sup>16</sup> Bode, *Pali Literature*, p.33

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, Pp.35-36

<sup>18</sup> The Three Lokas are Satta Loka (the world of living beings), Sankhāra Loka (the phenomenal world of formation and change) and Okāsa Loka (the world of nature)

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, p.36

<sup>20</sup> Mahāsiriyejyasu, *ပိဋကတ်သမိုင်း* (*The History of Pitakas*), Yangon, Hanthawaddy Press, 1959, p.141 (Hereafter cited as Mahāsiriyejyasu, *Pitakas*)

<sup>21</sup> "Kiccāyanabheda was compiled by Ven. Shin Mahāyasa of Sale", stated in Mahāsiriyejyasu, *Pitakas*, p.141

<sup>22</sup> Bode, *Pali Literature*, p.36

<sup>23</sup> U Thet Tin, *စေတီပေါင်း ၅၈ဆူ သမိုင်းအကျဉ်းချုပ်* (*Brief History of 58 Pagodas*), 1<sup>st</sup> ed, Yangon, Thazin Press, p.101 (Hereafter cited as Thet Tin, *58 Pagodas*)

<sup>24</sup> Thet Tin, *58 Pagodas*, p.101

<sup>25</sup> The Myo-daunt Pagoda is located to the south of the Yangon-Thanat-pin car road. U Thet Tin, *ဟံသာဝတီမှတ်တမ်းကြီး* "*The Great Records of Hanthawaddy*", *Thuriyan Magazine*, August 1938, p.111 (Hereafter cited as Thet Tin, *Hanthawaddy Records*)

<sup>26</sup> Nai Pan Hla, *ရာဇာဓိရာဇ်အရေးတော်ပုံ* (*The Struggle of Rajādhirij*), Yangon, Thein Than Oo Press, 1977, p.438 (Hereafter cited as Pan Hla, *Rajādhirij*)

keepers for them as well as four families.<sup>27</sup> Like the Shwemawdaw Pagoda, the Dagon Sandawshin Pagoda was also made frequent donations by Mon kings of Ramañadesa in Lower Myanmar.

During the reign of King Banya Oo, the Dagon Sandawshin Pagoda was built again to 60 feet in height in AD 1372.<sup>28</sup> Mahā Devi, Banya Oo's sister, seemed to regularly offer flowers and open oil lamps to the pagoda. She seemed to pay more respects to the Shwe Dagon Sandawshin than the Shwemawdaw of Bago, so she was not liked by some Mon officials. Once Min Kan Si, the adviser of King Banya Oo censured her for that despite there stood the great Shwemawdaw Pagoda, she sent some flowers to offer to such a small Shwe Dagon Sandawshin Pagoda.<sup>29</sup> Concerning with the Shwe Dagon Sandawshin Pagoda becoming a huge one, '... generous Mon kings believed that the pagoda would exist for ever and so, instead of the old stupa, the bigger one was built and gradually became such a great pagoda'.<sup>30</sup> It is said that during the reign of King Banya Oo, the frequent renovation of the Shwe Dagon Sandawshin implied that without knowing the nature of impermanence, the kings seemed to take imperpetuity as perpetuity, and make the pagoda become splendid. Especially, King Banya Oo made a lot of renovation of the pagodas by changing the original forms into new ones. For instance, the dome shape of the Twante Shwesandaw pagoda was changed into the Thin-daing form pagoda, 45 feet in height.<sup>31</sup> Many contributions to uplift the Sāsana were made in the reign of King Banya Oo, by altering the historical significant pagodas into the dome-shaped thin-daing pagodas up to 40-60 feet in height, and donating a huge copper bell of 300 ticals, a great number of small bells made of silver or gold to be attached to the finials. He also donated a tiered ornamented finials 20 feet in height, 9 feet in circumference to the Shwedagon Pagoda, building the Kyaik-pun Pagoda with the Four Buddha Images back-to-back, and dedicated to the Four Buddha Enlighten in the Bhadda World, donating slaves to the pagodas, and offering requisites of the monks. So the Buddhist Sāsana in Lower Myanmar prospered as in Upper Myanmar. Such heritage of the Sāsana in prosperity was adopted and sustained by Banya Nwe.

Under the reign of (Banya Nwe) the Mons were powerful. So that the Buddha Sāsana flourished since his father Banya Oo's reign. In 1393 A.D., he treaded on the auspicious ground ensuring victories where the old Mon kings ever did and there built a pagoda.<sup>32</sup> It was also known as the Yanaungmyin Pagoda.<sup>33</sup> He also donated his father Bany Oo's royal crown to the stuccomanussiha fabulous creature with a man's torso and a lion's hindquarters of the upper terrace of the Shwemawdaw Pagoda in Hanthawaddy.<sup>34</sup> He gilded the pagoda by using gold equal amount of his own weight.<sup>35</sup> However, it was

<sup>27</sup> ရွှေမော်ဇောသမိုင်း: (*History of the Shwemawdaw Pagoda*), ms. u-wam, Yangon Universities Central Library

<sup>28</sup> U Chit Thein, *Mon Inscriptions*, Pp.23, 24, 80

<sup>29</sup> Nai Pan Hla, *Rājādhiraj*, p.131

<sup>30</sup> C. O. Blagden, "An Inscription of the Shwedagon Pagoda", *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol.IV, Part i, Yangon, Government Printing, 1936, Face B, Line 22. (Hereafter cited as Blagden, "*Shwedagon Inscription*")

<sup>31</sup> U Thet Tin, တွံတေးမြို့ ရွှေဆံတော်စေတီသမိုင်းသစ် (*New History of the Shwemawdaw Pagoda of Twante*), Yangon, Sudhamavati Press, 1956, P.29-30 (Hereafter cited as Thet Tin, "*New Shwemawdaw*")

<sup>32</sup> It was also called Kyaikzanei. Kyaik = pagoda, zanei = hero ... so meaning the Pagoda of Heros, *Shwemadaw*, p.48

<sup>33</sup> Banya Dala, ရာဇာဓိရာဇ်အရေးတော်ပုံ (*Rajadirit's Struggle*), 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Yangon, Zwe Press, 1969, p.128 (Hereafter cited as Banya Dala, *Rajadirit's Struggle*)

<sup>34</sup> Tin, *Shwe Mawdaw*, p.49

<sup>35</sup> Banya Dala, *Rajadirit's Struggle*

destroyed by an earthquake and thus, in 1397 he cleared the old destruction and had to lay a new foundation and build a new one within four month.<sup>36</sup> In doing so, his ministers had to take respective duty as the cardinal points on the west of the pagoda Minister Thamein Byatsa, on the south Minister Dein and Minister Mani Rut, on the east Minister Thamein Ava Naing and on the north Minister Zeit Bye.<sup>37</sup> Likewise, on the east, Nga Kaw was made officer and Na Tun Paung a person in charge of 100 workers each of four villages - Ngaton, Jephathon, Tunkelāsa and Tun-Osa - for carrying lumps of earth and filling the ground. Some tasks such as mixing concrete, putting up works were assigned to the people from the villages in the environs of Hanthawaddy City. For mixing concrete on the platform of the pagoda, Nga Leitaw was appointed officer and Nga Enjani foreman in charge of 200 people from the villages south of the city - Kyatpalai, Tuntapyin Pakit, Tuntaung Palun, tun Moekhaing, Tun Kamakaye, Tun Sankaloum, Tun Tamaraw, Tun Aubon, tun Kyatkanat and Tun Kaysat. For putting up scaffolds under the supervision of Logon Ein, 100 people each from the towns north of the city - Lagonbyi, Kharein, Ma U, Boun Lin, Rommānagora, Hmawbi, Tangapoun, Khepoun, Dala, Myaummya Pathein, etc. - were assigned to officer Nga Thine, comrade Nga Pai Yut and Akyat Nga Kyaw as well as 300 people from five villages northeast of the city - Awine, Kali, Mawdaw, tanu Thatok and Baunatgyi - were assigned to comrade Nga Be and Akyat Nga Ountaw. For the pagodas oleo-resin, vermilion and gold leaves, 500 people from eight villages east of the city - Kamanat or Thetkama, Paitayaw, Pounloun, Inntayat, Laman, Monat, tataw and Tunthein tayaw - were assigned to comrade Ngatawngamo, Akyat Ngayekyaw. For crafting mason and architectural work, 500 people from eight villages south of the city - Makaw, Uyingyi, Thadara, Pansae, Taletau, and Akyat Nga Oo.<sup>38</sup>

In building the new Shwemawdaw Pagoda in the reign of Rajadirit, there were totally 152,120 people for diffing, carrying lumps of earth, mixing concrete, crafting mason, making oleo-resin, putting up scaffolds, making gold leaves, etc.<sup>39</sup> Rajadirit gave proper presents to the workers, supervisors - ministers, comrades, officers and other leaders. Each of the four ministers was given an elephant, a good horse, a viss of gold and a good paso.<sup>40</sup> Comrades, officers, Akyats, etc. who were set to dom respective tasks were also given each a good horse, a viss of silver, and a paso, a shirt and a bolt of turban cloth as well as each subordinate, a suit dress, 25 visses of silver, a bolt of cloth respectively.<sup>41</sup> Especially, the architects of the Pagoda were given gold, silver and clothes and appointed village-easters. Each architect was given a good horse, a ring of ruby, a paso and a bolt of fine calico and appointed eater of a village having 150 houses. Rajadirit rebuilt the Shwemawdaw Pagoda to become a new one. In addition, its umbrella was made new with 1320 visses of iron, 725 visses of copper, 50 visses of silver, 10 visses of gold and 48 small pagoda in entourage, surrounded to the plinth, equal number of his age were also built.<sup>42</sup> It can be said that the Shwemawdaw Pagoda became more splendid, for there appeared a lot of religious buildings around it in Rajadirit's reign. Especially, there were religious contacts with Ceylon. In 1390 A.D.<sup>43</sup>, king Pantu Rāma of Ceylon presented The

<sup>36</sup> Tin, *Shwe Madaw*, p.50

<sup>37</sup> There is a different version that the responsible ministers were Senapati Surāma Byatsa, Lagun Ein, Polika, Tin, *Shwemadaw*, p.50

<sup>38</sup> Shwemawdaw (manuscript) Khe-kyaww

<sup>39</sup> *Shwemawdaw* (ms) Khe-wam, it is also stated that 8920 people in p.14, win, Shwemawdaw

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>41</sup> Win, *Shwemawdaw*, p.15

<sup>42</sup> *Shwemadaw*, (ms), Khu-kyaww

<sup>43</sup> Sakkarit 752

Tooth Relic of the Buddha and his Princess to Rajadirit.<sup>44</sup> The relic was enshrined in a chamber measuring 60 feet in length, 6 feet in breath and 6 feet in depth in the square of the Shwemawdaw Pagoda and a 52.5 feet Reclining Buddha Image heading to the North was also built.<sup>45</sup> The pagodas renovated by Rajadirit were inclusive of the Dagon Shwesandawshin and the Twante Shwesandaw. The old Dagon Sandawshin pagoda built in Banya Oo's reign was encased in a new construction by Rajadirit and then gilded over copper tiles up to the Varsa sthala as well as the finial was renewed.<sup>46</sup> As the Twante Shwesandaw Pagoda having built by Bany Oo was ruined by an earthquake in 1393, it was rebuilt in its original style, maintaining its original height.<sup>47</sup>

Banya Dhammaraja, the son of Rajadirit, succeeded to the throne. In the early period of his reign, he indulged in drinking liquor and entertainment, reflecting contributions to the Sāsana and building the State.<sup>48</sup> The Sāsana declined in the unstable situation due to rebellion of his brothers Banya Ram and Banya Kyan. The Taungoo Sayadaw, his first teacher, warned Banya Dhammaraja to revitalize the Buddha Sāsana and to rule the Kingdom in accordance with the ten attributes of a righteous king.<sup>49</sup> Thus, he built the Kyaik Muttaw Pagoda on the Sunamnamati Hill in the north of Hanthawaddy.<sup>50</sup> In commemoration of his apprehension and prospect of a continuum of rebirths, the pagodas became known as the Akyut Pagoda, The Dakkina Sānkha Buddha Image which had been placed at the Royal shrine and ever revered by the forekings since Variru, the founder of Muttama. The three relics in the form of star ipomeas flower (*Ipomea coccinea*), three royal rubies belonging to the crown by tradition, as well as his crown were enshrined in the pagoda.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, he made a lot of contributions such as renovation of old pagodas, donation for the monks, charity for the poor, encouragement for the Sāsana.<sup>52</sup> Especially, the Hanthawaddy Shwemawdaw Pagoda was gilded from the base to the diamond orb; donated a new finial embaded with the nine precious gems; offered alm-food and the requisites; gave away properties to the poor and the disable.<sup>53</sup> Near the Akyut Pagoda, the Alut Pagoda was also built, dedicate to the freedom from suffering of Samsara.<sup>54</sup> However, according to its position and the size of its bricks, it is hard to assume to be Banya Dhammaraja's contribution. In some Mon manuscripts, it was called the Kyaik Thamein<sup>55</sup> Pagoda as it was built by descendants of the Kings and in Letwe Nawratha's record, it was named the Kyauktale Pagoda.<sup>56</sup> To the Mahāgyi Pgoda or Kyaik Thamein Pagoda, Banya Dhammaraja also donated five real relics having put at the

<sup>44</sup> Shwemawdaw, (ms) Khu-kyaww

<sup>45</sup> Northward Reclining Buddha Image seems to mean the style of entering Parinivāna

<sup>46</sup> Blagden, "Shwedagon", Epigraphia Birmanica, face B, line 25-26, p.47

<sup>47</sup> U Paññobhāsa, The History of the Twante Shwesandaw Original Version, Yangon, Sudhammāvati Press, 1321, p.72 (Hereafter cited as U Paññobhāsa, *Shwedandaw Original*)

<sup>48</sup> Thet Tin, *Great Record*, Thuriya, March 1937, p.127

<sup>49</sup> Shwemawdaw (ms), Kaw-kyaww

<sup>50</sup> Thet Tin, '*Great Record*', Thuriya, March 1937, p.128

<sup>51</sup> U Thet Tin, *Hanthawaddy Recorde*, (Typed script) Vol. I, Yangon Universities Library, 1982, p. (Hereafter cited as Thet Tin, *Hantha Record*, Vol.I)

<sup>52</sup> Maung Bu, ရွှေမာဓာတုရာဇသမိုင်း: (*History of the Shwemawdaw*)Mandalay, Pitaka Propagation Dept. Press, 1943, P.104( Hereafter cited as Bu, *Shwemadaw*)

<sup>53</sup> Shwemawdaw, (ms), Khaw-wam

<sup>54</sup> Thet Tin, *Hantha Record*, Vol. I, p.90

<sup>55</sup> Kyaik Thamein (Mon), Kyaik means pagoda and mein, king. Thus, it refers to the King Pagoda or the pagoda of the king. It is also called the Mahagyī Pagoda, for it was built by the descendants of the Aristocracy.

<sup>56</sup> Thet Tin, *Hantha Record*, 1<sup>st</sup>, p.90

Royal Shrine. Further, in the environ of the Hanthawaddy city, Kyaikmoyeik and Kyaikkathin - were also built. In addition to the pagodas, rest-house, vestibules and monasteries were built. In the case, four great rest-houses and four great lakes were significant. The four great rest-houses were the Makait (crown), the Inwin, the Kyattale and the Pahtan (Pattāna). It is assumed that the Inwin and the Kyattale rest-houses were named after the places where they were donated. In the same way, the four great lakes were also named after the places where they existed. They were Kamphyitaungoo Lake, Kamatheinpalaw Lake, Kamakyatkhan Lake and Kamasanan Lake.<sup>57</sup> It is assumed that there were the development of the Buddha Sāsana and the prosperity of the Mon region in Lower Myanmar.

The Buddha Sāsana in Lower Myanmar was continuously developed after the death of Banya Dhammarajā. After enjoying the five years royal pleasure, he died in 1426 A.D.<sup>58</sup> His brother, King Banya Rankhaik or Banya Ram, succeeded to the throne and usually, the Mon records state that he was very generous and never contented to do meritorious deeds.<sup>59</sup> Especially in his reign, the Shwemawdaw Pagoda built by Banya Dhammaraja was raised three feet more to reach a total of 258 feet; many pearls, that were priced at 700 kyats each, were offered to the cone; it was gilded to the whole; and a new finial embellished with the nine precious stone.<sup>60</sup> The Dagon Sandawshin ruined by the earthquake in 1436 A.D.<sup>61</sup> was made to rebuild by his chief consort Narāja Devi and the Prince Thamlam.<sup>62</sup> However, it was considered small and enclosed in a new one from its lower terrace to become huge by King Banya Ram. But he was died before the new pagoda was completed.<sup>63</sup> After Banya Ram, the successor King Banya Paru (1446-1450 A.D.) carried on building it by spending much money and using a lot of people.<sup>64</sup>

Although the construction of the new Shwedagon was not completed, the Bago Shwemawdaw Pagoda was built from 205 feet to 264 feet. Especially, Banya Paru made a lot of contributions: the Shwemawdaw Pagoda was gilded from elevated plinth to the varsa sthala; 200 small silver bells weighing 20 ticals each and 50 small gold bells, 20 ticals each were hung to the finial; 50 visses of fold were also bound to the finial; 40 pagodas in entourage, 6 gold umbrellas, 3 royal boats and 5 trees of plenty were again donated; and alm-food, eatables, and the requisites were also offered to the monks.<sup>65</sup> In the second period of Hanthawaddy (1369-1453 A.D.) after Banya Paru, the reigning periods of the successive Mon Kings were relatively short and their contributions to the Sāsana were insignificant. After the death of Banya Paru of Hanthawaddy, his elder brother, the son of Banya Dhammarajā, Banya Kyun or Banya Kindaw ascended the throne in 1450 A.D.<sup>66</sup> In his reign, the Shwedagon Pagoda under construction in the reign of Banya Paru

<sup>57</sup> Shwemawdaw, (ms), Khaw-kyaww

<sup>58</sup> G.E. Harvey, *History of Burma*, London, Longman's Green and Co., 1925, p.110 (Hereafter cited as Harvey, *Burma*)

<sup>59</sup> Maung Su Shin, *Great Shwedagon*, Yangon, Sarpay Beikhman Press, 1972, p.43 (Hereafter cited as Su Shin, *Great Dagon*)

<sup>60</sup> Shwemawdaw, (ms), Khaw-wam

<sup>61</sup> Tun, 'Old Mon', Padetha, p.42

<sup>62</sup> Blagden, "Shwedagon", *Epigraphia Burmanica*, Face B, Line 26-28, p.14

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid*, p.41-42

<sup>64</sup> Harvey, *Burma*, p.116

<sup>65</sup> Ratoma U Thwin, *History of the Shwemawdaw Pagoda* (original), Yangon, Say Yonson Press, 1953, p.107-108 (Hereafter cited as Thwin, *Shwemawdaw*)

<sup>66</sup> W.S. Desai, *A Pageant of Burmese History*, Orient Longmans; Co.Ltd., New Dehli, 1961, p.50 (Hereafter cited as Desai, *Pageant History*)

was completed 302 feet high, with the cooperative efforts of Queen Vihāra Devi<sup>67</sup> and the new finial was also donated.<sup>68</sup> Especially, in Banya Kyan's reign, the Shwemawdaw Pagoda was fully gilded from the elevated plinth to the diamond Orb; its four surrounding walls were renovated; and a new finial casting 7000 (-silver) was donated.<sup>69</sup> However, after it took him only two years to reign, he was unable to make new contributions to pagodas, ordination halls and monasteries. In 1453 Banya Kyan died and Leitmuttaw ascended the throne.<sup>70</sup> He was assassinated in his seven-month reign as he did not rule the Kingdom in accordance with the ten precepts of a King.<sup>71</sup> Thus, in their reign, although the Buddha Sāsana was still in development, there were no significant contributions.

In conclusion, during the 2<sup>nd</sup> Hanthawaddy Period (1369 - 1453 A.D.), the Mon managed to repel the Shans and the 32 towns in the Hanthawaddy Region were made strong, so the political situation was stable. The successive Mon kings from Banya Oo to Banya Kyantaw renovated the Bago Shwemawdaw Pagoda and the Shwedagon Pagoda rebuilt them in new forms, constructed pagodas in entourage, donated new finials, dug new wells and lakes, built resthouses and vestibules and offered the four requisites-alms-food, robes, medicines and monasteries to the Buddhist monks. The Mon kings gave much priority to make contributions to the Buddha Sāsana than to reforming the state. Therefore, the Buddha Sāsana in Lower Myanmar in the later period of Bagan developed without losing its momentum .

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<sup>67</sup> Maung Tint, *Religious Buildings Surrounding the Shwedagon Pagoda*, the Shwedagon Research Journal, No. 1, Yangon, Sarpay Beikhman Press, 1980, p.139

<sup>68</sup> Blagden, 'Shwedagon', Epigraphia Burmanica, Face B, Line 33 p.42

<sup>69</sup> Thwin, *Shwemawdaw*, p.108

<sup>70</sup> Harvey, *Burma*, p.108

<sup>71</sup> Pan Hla, *Rajadirit*, p.430

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