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In Homage to
U Pe Maung Tin

Featuring Articles by:
Anna Allott
Denise Bernot
Tilman Frasch
Patricia Herbert
Jacques Leider
Alan Saw U
U Tun Aung Chain
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U PE MAUNG TIN’S AND LUCE’S GLASS PALACE REVISITED

Tun Aung Chain*

Talk about the *Myanmar Chronicle*, and the almost immediate response is, “Ah yes, *The Glass Palace Chronicle*.” And if the person making the response is not Myanmar, his reference is almost certainly to the translation of the *Chronicle* by U Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, not to the Myanmar original.

U Pe Maung Tin’s and Luce’s *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma* was first published in 1923,¹ and since it celebrates its 75th anniversary this year, I think that *The Glass Palace* is worth visiting again to see how it has been constructed and ornamented.

The translation bears the name of two authors, U Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, but the introduction makes it clear that the translation is U Pe Maung Tin’s. In what would seem to be a rather strange gesture, one of the collaborators, U Pe Maung Tin, thanks the other, Luce, “to whose collaboration the translation owes its English style,” before making that final avowal of most authors, “I wish to make it clear that I alone am responsible for the correctness and final form of the translation.”

Their roles seem clear: U Pe Maung Tin the translator, Luce the polisher of style. Was it U Pe Maung Tin also who decided on what parts to translate?² The *Hmannan Mahayazawindawgyi* has a total of thirty-eight books,³ covering not only Myanmar history from its origins to the early part of Bagyidaw’s reign (1819–1837), ending rather abruptly with the sending of a mission to Bodh Gaya in 1821—but also what in the traditional Myanmar view was “Myanmar prehistory”—the origins of kingship and the succession of kings in Majjhimadesa, the ancestors of the Myanmar kings.

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*Professor and member of the Myanmar Historical Commission.
The Glass Palace is a translation of only three of the thirty-eight books of the Hmannan—Books III, IV and V—and covers three periods of Myanmar history, the Tagaung, Thayehkittaya and Bagan periods.

The introduction says nothing about the parts selected for translation, and the explanation why Books I and II, which deal with “Myanmar prehistory,” have been omitted from the translation comes in an unobtrusive “Note” tucked in between the introduction and the text of the translation. The explanation reads, “The first two parts are left untranslated as they merely retell the story of Buddhism and of the Buddhist kings of Ancient India, with which the student of Pali and Buddhism is well acquainted.”

The explanation sounds a bit unreasonable. The omitted parts indeed recount the history of Buddhism and of the Buddhist kings of Ancient India, bringing to bear a great wealth of knowledge upon it, but to assume that all readers of The Glass Palace Chronicle would be students of Pali and Buddhism is surely unreasonable. What is more important, the omitted parts are an integral part of the Hmannan and not extraneous to it. They lay out the cosmological time and space within which the thought and the action of the Chronicle takes place, set down the fundamental principles on which Myanmar kings are to guide their action and conduct, and furnish an ideal of kingship in the life and activities of Asoka—all essential to an understanding of the thinking and the action of the Chronicle. To leave them out of the Chronicle is rather like building a palace without a shrine room.

Despite the decision to exclude part of the Hmannan from the translation, U Pe Maung Tin came to the task of translation with high ambition. The Hmannan represents the crowning achievement of traditional Myanmar historiography. There had been some great chronicles before it, notably the Yazawingyi (Great Chronicle) and the Yazawinthit (New Chronicle), but they were the work of individual authors—the former by U Kala, the latter by Twinthintaikwun Mahasithu U Tun Nyo—while the Hmannan drew upon a wealth and
diversity of talents. Perhaps the most prominent member of the commission appointed by Bagyidaw in 1829 to compile the *Hmannan* was Mahadhammathingyan U Myat Nay, the former Maungdaung Sayadaw Shin Nana. But there were other prominent figures as well—Monywe Zetawun Sayadaw Shin Adiccaramsi, Myinsugyiwnwun Mahathihathura U Yauk Gyi, and Thandawhsint Mahazeyathinhkaya U Chain. Mindon (1853-1878) appointed a similar commission in 1867, but its work, the *Dutiya Mahayazawindawgyi* (Second Chronicle), was in no way comparable to the *Hmannan*, being a mere continuation of the latter in ten books, covering events from 1821 to 1854 and easily written from the available Court records.

To do justice to the *Hmannan*, U Pe Maung Tin decided not on a simple translation but on an annotated one. Describing how he went about his work, he wrote, “When I began the translating, I followed the example of the compilers of examining all available records which bear on history in the hope of discovering the sources and tracing the development of Burmese (Myanmar) historical literature.”

The task he set himself was not an easy one. As he himself noted, the observations made in the Chronicle were “a testimony to the learning and assiduity of the compilers, who have drawn upon almost every form of literature in support of their arguments. In the present volume alone are quoted by name eleven inscriptions, eleven chronicles, ten *thamaing* besides the Pali chronicles and Burmese (Myanmar) poetical literature.”

There was both thoroughness and seriousness in U Pe Maung Tin’s purpose. Some of the chronicles and *thamaings* were available in published form, and U Pe Maung Tin made his translation from one of the earliest printed editions of the *Hmannan*, that published in Mandalay by the Mandalay Times in 1907. Nevertheless, he also consulted the manuscript version of the chronicles available in the Bernard Free Library of which he was the honorary librarian. From the library he obtained manuscript versions of the *Hmannan*, the *Yazawingyaw* (Celebrated Chronicle), the *Yazawingyi* (Great
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Chronicle), the Yazawinlat (Middle Chronicle) and the Yazawinthit (New Chronicle), as well as a paper copy of the Yahkaing Yazawin (Rakhine Chronicle). When the Bernard Free Library proved inadequate for his needs, he cast around for other manuscript texts. From the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey he obtained the Tagaung Yazawin (Tagaung Chronicle), and from Saya Pwa the Bagan Yazawinthit (New Bagan Chronicle). But it was from Bagan Wundauk (Subdivisional Officer) U Tin that he got the most: the Yazawinhaung (Old Chronicle), the Pokkam Rajavan-path (Bagan Chronicle) in Pali, the Thayehkittaya Yazawin (Thayehkittaya Chronicle) and the Hngetpyittaung Yazawin (Hngetpyittaung Chronicle), as well as the Cetivamsa and the Shwezigon Thamaing Linga.

For the inscriptions, there were the six volumes prepared by the Archaeological Survey. They were imperfect and inadequate, U Pe Maung Tin remarking, “The uncritical edition of the inscriptions detracts from their value as historical material.” But they were the best available.

U Pe Maung Tin’s great work of scholarship, which involved the laborious work of reading from palm-leaf manuscripts, came to a rather tragic conclusion. As he explained it, “After collecting as many materials I could get, I made a detailed comparative study of them, embodying the results in the form of footnotes and appendices to The Glass Palace Chronicle. But this apparatus of notes with numerous cross-references would entail a higher cost of printing than the Burma (Myanmar) Research Society was prepared to defray.”

The society, founded in 1910, had developed enough after more than a decade of existence for Sir Harcourt Butler, governor of Myanmar and patron of the society, to praise it in 1926 as an institution of “first-rate established merit” and to look forward to the establishment of a research institute similar to the École Française. However, the society was not very strong financially, being supported mainly by members’ subscriptions. And thus U Pe Maung Tin decided “to print nothing but the plain translation, divested even of
explanatory notes on some words and expressions which might have demanded exposition.”¹⁹ The palace became a bare, unfurnished palace, without water, without lights. Even so, the printing cost of The Glass Palace came up to Rs 2,581-2as-3p and put the Burma (Myanmar) Research Society in the red for 1923.²⁰

With the annotations stripped away, the introduction acquires added interest as a means of understanding The Glass Palace. In his effort of “discovering the sources and tracing the development of Burmese (Myanmar) historical literature,” U Pe Maung Tin provides a valuable introduction to traditional Myanmar historiography. He describes and comments on six yazawins which preceded the Hmannan, taking them in chronological order: the Yazawinkyaw of Silavamsa of the 15th century; the Bagan Yazawinhaung by an unknown author of the 16th century; the Yazawingyi of U Kala of the early 18th century; the Yazawinlat, also by U Kala, but somewhat later then the Yazawingyi; the Bagan Yazawinthit by an unknown author, written in 1785; and the Yazawinthit by Twinthintaikwun Mahasithu U Tun Nyo, written towards the end of the 18th century!²¹ He further describes and comments on eight other yazawin that were particular in nature or were written at a later or indeterminate date: the Tagaung Yazawin: the Yahkaing Yazawin of Sandawimala, with a manuscript dated 1775; the Danyawadi Yazawinthit by U Pandi, printed in 1910; Thayehkittaya Yazawin, author and date unknown; the Hngetpyitaung Yazawin; the Bagan Yazawin by Gunasamisirilanka; the Pokkam Rajavan-path in Pali, attributed to Vajirabuddhi; and the Vamsadipani of Medi Sayadaw, printed in 1916.²²

Of the thamaings, U Pe Maung Tin makes specific mention of only five: the Thaton Shwezayan Hpayaigy Thamaing, published in 1915; the Shwenattaung Thamaing, published in 1911; the Hpo-u Thamaing; the Shwehsandaw Thamaing; and the Zat-ngaya Thamaing.²³ His rather perfunctory treatment of the thamaings was probably due to his placing a lesser valuation on them than on the yazawins. Although he noted that “the literature of the thamaing forms a mine of curious information
on history,” he also commented, “A serious charge against the thamaing is that the information is often vitiated by incoherent and improbable statements.”

U Pe Maung Tin gave great value to the inscriptions, describing them as “the oldest and most trustworthy materials,” and observing, “Inscriptions constitute the best records for the social and political history of the times.” But he also added a note of caution, “Great care is required in consulting the inscriptions as to date and orthography.” He quotes from the Shwegugyi and Pahtodaw inscriptions to indicate the thinking which lay behind the merit-making actions and the combination of blessings and curses which accompanied such actions.

Although excellent as a pioneering study of traditional Myanmar historiography, the introduction of The Glass Palace is something of a disappointment. The high expectations raised by U Pe Maung Tin’s laborious study of the available Myanmar historical literature and the vast scholarship that went into the translation and annotation of the Hmannan are not all realized because there is not enough of a focus on the Hmannan, an elucidation of the various elements that went into the making of the Hmannan, which would enhance our understanding of the work.

As noted earlier, the Hmannan was the crowning achievement of traditional Myanmar historiography. There were two great influences that went into it, indicated by the frequency of references made to them in the Hmannan: the Yazawingyi (Great Chronicle) and the Yazawinthit (New Chronicle). Of the relationship between the Hmannan and the Yazawingyi, U Pe Maung Tin facilely noted, “The Glass Palace Chronicle is a copy of the Great Chronicle, with slight variations of language here and there and interpolations of disquisitions on points of difference in opinion.” Any cursory reading of the Hmannan shows its great indebtedness to the Yazawingyi, but to say that it is a copy of the Yazawingyi with a slight variation of language surely misses the point of Myanmar historiographical development.
To take an example, in recounting the visit of the Buddha to Myanmar and his prophecy that the religion would flourish there, the Yazawingyi states:

In the time of the Omniscient Buddha—replete with the nine virtues, the six glories and the four inconceivables—when he was still alive and in his fifth Lent, the two brothers named Culapun and Mahapun in this country named Suparanta which is to the southeast of Majjhimadesa, made a supplication to the Buddha and built a monastery of fragrant sandalwood.  

The Yazawinthit’s account is: The mahathera Mahapunna and his younger brother Culapunna, in the village of Vanijjagama in the country of Sunaparanta to the southeast of Majjhimadesa and 120 yojanas from Savatthi, built a monastery of fragrant sandalwood.

The Hmannan version reads: When the Omniscient Buddha, the pinnacle of those who triumph, had attained enlightenment and was in his fifth Lent, the two brothers Mahapun and Culapun in Vanijjagama named Legaing in Sunaparanta made a request of the Buddha and built a monastery of fragrant sandalwood.

There is a noticeable development here from the geographical imprecision of the Yazawingyi through the “Vanijjagama” of the Yazawinthit to the definitely localized village of Legaing of the Hmannan.

In general the Hmannan tries to give more details than the Yazawingyi as well as provide additional accounts, using material which had not been available to U Kala or which had been written after the Yazawingyi. A notable example of these additional accounts is that related to Tagaung, based on “religious works such as the Commentary on the Dhammapada,
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secular works such as the Gotama Purana, the Yahkaing Yazawin and the Tagaung Yazawin, the Tagaung Shwenanti Thamaing and the Yahkaing Mahamuni Thamaing, and various old yazawins and yazapuns”.

That other influence on the Hmannan, the Yazawinthit, led it to the use of inscriptions as additional material for revising and amending the Yazawingyi. Mahasithu U Tun Nyo, the author of the Yazawinthit, noted in the introduction of his work, “There are chronicles written by ancient scholars. But in those chronicles written by ancient scholars there are some matters which do not accord with the inscriptions and the thamaings.” The Yazawinthit went some way towards redressing those discrepancies, but the Hmannan tried to go further. In all, in that portion of the Yazawinthit corresponding to U Pe Maung Tin’s Glass Palace there is specific mention of eight inscriptions; in the Hmannan the mentioned inscriptions number fifteen. Some part of the use of those inscriptions was devoted to the specification of dates. For instance, basing itself on the Myaukpyinthe Pagoda Inscription, the Hmannan gives the date of Anawrahta’s accession as Monday, the eighth waning day of Pyatho, Sakaraj 379, Sravana Year.

The Hmannan, basing itself on the Yazawingyi, on the one hand tried to include new material and, on the other hand, attempted to go into greater detail and achieve a greater exactness. U Pe Maung Tin’s observation that it was “a copy of the Great Chronicle with slight variations of language here and there” surely did not do it enough justice.

The translation itself does more than justice to the Hmannan. Despite his dictum, “Excellence in translation consists in faithfully conveying the sense of the original in a language which is neither too free nor too close,” U Pe Maung Tin’s Glass Palace is a very close translation that takes no liberties at all with the text. Nothing is omitted from the original, nothing added. The close, almost literal, translation is best indicated by his rendition of certain words—“stone, iron and ruby” for kyaukthan badamya “betel flower” for kumban, “articles of royal use and splendor” for mingan minna, and
“exercised his limbs” for *anyaung hsant*—when the looser rendition of “precious stones,” “betel,” “royal regalia” and “journeyed” would have sufficed.

U Pe Maung Tin’s respect for the original text results not only in a closeness of translation, but also in the transliteration of those words that to him appeared untranslatable: such words as *zedi, pahto,* and *tazaung* in relation to religious buildings; *hlawga, kyaw, kattu, lunkyin,* and *tanswek* in relation to boats; and *saunggyan, lein, myalle, ponnyek,* and *chaya* in relation to trees and plants.

Perhaps U Pe Maung Tin errs towards excess in his faithfulness to the original. The translator owes a duty not only to the text but also to the reader and, in the absence not only of an annotation but also of a glossary, an approximate translation would have served the reader ignorant of Myanmar better than a transliteration, particularly of such words as *kabya* (“poem”), *paso* (“nether garment”), *thamin* (“deer”), *myittwe* bird (“river tern”), *tharekhkan* (“sandalwood”), *saga* (“champak”), and *kado* perfume (“musk”).

U Pe Maung Tin gives in their Sanskrit form some words that are more familiar to readers in that form. These words include Sakra, *karma, samsara* and *parinirvana.* But he did not go far enough in this, and Pali scholar though he was, rendered Pali and Sanskrit words in their Myanmar form. Assuming that some readers of *The Glass Palace* had a knowledge of Pali, as is suggested in the introduction, the rendition of these words in their Pali or Sanskrit form would have added to the understanding of the scholar with some knowledge of Pali or Sanskrit without detracting much from the understanding or enjoyment of the general reader.

An example is the account of the foundation of Thayehkittara (Sriksetra in its Sanskrit form). Seven “exalted ones” joined in the foundation, and the names of two are given in their Myanmar form: Paramesura and Sandi. The rendition of these in their Sanskrit form—Paramaisvara and Candi—would have identified them as Siva and his *sakti* and contributed towards an understanding of the Brahmanical
element in some of the foundation legends. In a similar way, the rendition of the Areindama lance—given by Sakra to Dwattaabuang and to Kunhsaw Kyaunghyu, and used also by Anawrahtaminsaw—as Arindama would have made it easier to understand it as “the tamer of enemies” and the cakraratna of the cakravartin ruler.

Although the translation as a whole is excellent, there are certain lapses from the high standards that U Pe Maung Tin set himself. Perhaps a few of these may be pointed out.

In the traditional geography of Myanmar, the heartland comprises Sunaparanta and Tampadipa, with the Ayeyarwady River as the line of demarcation between the two. U Pe Maung Tin translates Sunaparanta as “Western Country” and this gives rise to some geographical confusion because Majjhimadesa in India is also translated as “Middle Country.” Generally Pe Maung Tin leaves Tampadipa untranslated but in one instance, translating the Buddha’s prophecy, he identified it with Sri Lanka: “In the land of the Burmans, the Western Country and Ceylon, my religion shall be firmly set.” The more correct translation would be: “In time to come, my Religion shall be firmly established in the land of the Myanmars—in Sunaparanta, Tampadipa and elsewhere.”

A characteristic feature of Myanmar architecture is the pyatthad—a wooden building with a roof that assumes a pyramidal shape and rises in several tiers, usually odd in number. Pe Maung Tin’s translations involving the pyatthad do not seem to correctly convey its form. Thus, “The main palace had a pyatthad in the centre and nine mansions,” when “In the middle was a prasada hall with a roof of nine tiers” would have been more appropriate; and “Three mansions with storeys seven, nine and eleven were built by the spirits” when “The spirits also made three prasada palaces—a prasada with a roof of seven tiers, a prasada with a roof of nine tiers, and a prasada with a roof of eleven tiers” would have better expressed the sense.

U Pe Maung Tin somehow makes an error in his translation of the account of the birth and lineage of Ashin
Arahan, who was also known as Ashin Dhammadassi. The translation of the birth goes: “When the days and the months were fulfilled and the child was born, it was the noble saint called Silabuddhi,”^49 and of the lineage, “His [Ashin Byanadassi’s] two pupils were Ashin Mahakala and Ashin Silabuddhi.” The correct translations would be: “When the days and the months were fulfilled and the child was born, the arahant named Silabuddhi waited [on the birth]” and “The pupils of that Ashin Pranadassi were Ashin Mahakala and Ashin Silabuddhi. The pupil of the two was Ashin Dhammadassi.”^50

There are also passages where the text would suggest a slightly different translation. For instance, “When king Alaungsithu came roaming the kingdom, he was shown by Sakra the copper *parabaik*, as large as a wool-dressing basket, which had been inscribed by Mahapunna the elder and kept in the *zedi,*”^51 can be rendered: “When king Alaungsithu made a tour of the kingdom and arrived there, he was shown by Sakra and obtained the copper *parabaik* inscribed by the *thera* Mahapun, which was kept in a pagoda about the size of a cotton-dressing basket.”

Another example, “One plaster pagoda, built with the food of awl and chisel, the fragments scattered in the carving of these nine images,”^52 can be rendered, “A lacquered image of the Buddha, made by gathering together the dust and chips of awl and chisel work scattered in the carving of these nine images.”

And, “They [the ministers and followers] cast twenty-eight seated images of the Lord in plated gold, one full cubit in height, and presented them to the king. Moreover, they cast images of solid gold and presented them”^53 can be rendered: “They [the ministers and followers] cast twenty-eight seated images of the Buddha, full one cubit in height, of pure unalloyed gold and presented them to the king. They also cast gold nuggets and presented them.”

It is well to remember that *The Glass Palace* is a collaborative work and that Luce played some part in it. U Pe Maung Tin had an excellent command of English and used it
with some felicity in such works as his translation in 1912 of the Pali poem *Abhisambodhi Alankara* (“The Embellishments of Perfect Knowledge”).\(^{54}\) It was probably on the basis of his close friendship with Luce that U Pe Maung Tin collaborated with him in a number of translations. Perhaps one of the earliest and most striking fruits of that collaboration was the translation of the Shwegugyi Pagoda Inscription of Alaungsithu in 1920.\(^{55}\) Here Pali scholar met poet,\(^{56}\) and Luce’s rendition in blank verse of U Pe Maung Tin’s translation resulted in a poem of great power and beauty. The collaboration was not confined to poetry but extended to prose works, an example being the translation of the *Tagaung Yazawin* in 1921 which U Pe Maung Tin accomplished with the assistance of Luce.\(^{57}\)

The result of the collaboration was to give a more literary character to the work translated. In *The Glass Palace* there is a definite effort at archaization. Basins are rendered in their less common form, “basons.”\(^{58}\) “Pipkin,” a small earthenware pot or pan used chiefly in cooking, makes an appearance.\(^{59}\) There is a “justiciar” instead of a judge,\(^{60}\) “seller of cates” instead of a sweetmeats seller,\(^{61}\) “a wight” instead of a person.\(^{62}\) “Seethe” is used in the sense of cook by boiling or stewing,\(^{63}\) “enlarge” in the sense of release.\(^{64}\)

The *Hmannan* was meant to be a didactic work, “the measure and scales of the deeds of kings and kingdoms, and of all matters of the Religion,”\(^{65}\) and its plain prose is not alien at all to the modern reader. Luce’s *Glass Palace* is a literary *tour de force* whose language goes back several centuries. One cannot help but marvel at the literary style of *The Glass Palace*, but one is also left wondering whether the form of the *Hmannan* has been rendered as faithfully as its matter.

Does the style also transform the character of the work? Early history lends itself easily to mythicization and there is much in the early parts of the *Hmannan* which is legendary and miraculous. An example is the birth of a girl-child, Bedayi, from a doe that had been drinking from a place where an ascetic made water.\(^{66}\) Together with the legendary in the *Chronicle*, Luce’s literary style helped to place the palace in
a fairy tale landscape. *The Glass Palace* assumes the character of a historical romance, more to be enjoyed as literature than to be studied for the purposes of history.\(^6\)

No work is perfect and *The Glass Palace* has its holes and cracks. A propos of Adoniram Judson’s translation of the Bible and his dictionaries, U Pe Maung Tin observed, “These works . . . must be considered as the works of a pioneer. Whatever shortcomings they may have are readily excused as the inevitable mistakes of one working upon insufficient materials. The labours of pioneers . . . are of the utmost service to later workers. In spite of any imperfections they may have, their works must ever remain as monumental records for the guidance of newcomers.”\(^7\)

Whatever its faults and blemishes, *The Glass Palace* is still a great monument. And, as 75 years on, we have not gone any further along the way in the translation of the *Hmannan* or the elucidation of its historiography, *The Glass Palace* also stands as a monumental reproach to us all.

**Footnotes**

1 London: Oxford University Press.
3 In current publications, only the first 21 books are published as the *Hmannan Mahayazawindawgyi*, while the remaining 17 books are included in the *Konbaungzet Mahayazawindawgyi* (*Chronicle of the Konbaung Dynasty*).
4 *The Glass Palace* ends with the death of Narathihapate, although Book V continues with an account of his three successors, Kyawzwa, Sawnit, and Sawmonnit.
5 *Glass Palace*, xxiv.
6 A great number of works are cited in Parts I and II: the *Milindapanha*, *Jatakas*, and Commentaries and Subcommentaries on the Suttanta Pitaka, in particular the *Digha*, *Anguttara*, and *Khuddaka Nikaya*, as well as such nonreligious works as the *Abhidhanappadipila*, *Lokuppatti pakasani*, *Lokadipani*, *Lokadipakasara*, *Rajaniti*, *Mahavamsa*, and *Dipavamsa*.
7 Maungdaung Sayadaw Shin Nana was a prolific writer, the author of more than 200 works, both original and translations, covering
not only religious subjects but also nonreligious matters such as astrology and medicine. For a listing of his works, see Hla Thamein, *Gandawin Pokkogyawmya Atthuppatti* (Biographies of Celebrated Classical Persons) (Yangon: Hanthawaddy Press, 1961), 44-48.

8 Shin Adiccaramsi was the author of such works as the *Samantacakkhudipani, Poranakatha, Kavimandani thatpon* as well as of a great number of *pyo* and *yadu*. U Yauk Gyi was a poet, the author of several *pyo, yadu, eigyin* and *mawgun*. U Chain was the author of such works as the *Abhidhanatthavisodhani* and *Voharalinatthadipani*. Hla Thamein, *Gandawin Pokkogyawmya*, 59-61, 232, 239. The other members of the Commission were: Thawkabin Sayadaw, Atwinwun Hsaw Myosa Mingyithirimahanandathingyan U Yit, Atwinwun Athiwun Mingyimaha-tulathihathu U Aye, Sayedawgyi U Hpya, Sayedawgyi U Lu Gy, Sayedawgyi U Aung Tha, Thandawhsint U Shwe, and the brahmins Rajadeva and Kumudra.

9 *Glass Palace*, ix.


11 *Glass Palace*, xxiv. The earliest printed edition was printed in the Royal Press at Mandalay in 1883. Presumably later editions followed the text of the Royal Press edition, but it is still strange to see the edition printed in Yangon in 1992 by the News and Periodicals Enterprise, which has some obvious emendations, carrying the notice, “Edited and printed in the traditional orthography, without omission or addition, according to the text of the *Hmannan*.

12 Glass Palace, xix, xxii.
13 Glass Palace, xxii-xxiii.
14 The Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava (1892); the Inscriptions copied from the stones collected by King Bodawpaya and placed near the Arakan Pagoda, Vol. I (1897); The Inscriptions copied from the stones collected by King Bodawpaya and placed near the Arakan Pagoda, Vol. II (1897); The Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma, Vol. I (1900); Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma, Vol. II (1903); and The Original Inscriptions collected by King Bodawpaya and now placed near the Patodawgyi Pagoda, Amarapura (1913).
15 Glass Palace, x.
16 Glass Palace, x.
18 Of the receipts of Rs. 5,449-8as in 1923, Rs. 3,947, i.e. 72 per cent, was from members’ subscriptions. However, the Society also had Rs. 12,000 invested (Rs. 4,500 in 6% Government bonds, Rs. 3,000 deposited in the Upper Burma [Myanmar] Cooperative Bank, and Rs. 4,500 in Post Office cash certificates). Proceedings, JBRs, XV (1925), 98. The question of financial support from the Government was touched upon by Butler in his speech of 1924, “the rule of Government is to help those who help themselves. The Government will do its part but the public should first be approached to do their part. The government is sympathetic, but it would like to see some effort made by the Society and the public as well.” Proceedings, JBRs, XIV (1924), 78.
19 Glass Palace, x.
20 The expenditure in 1923 of Rs. 7,085-1 a-6p was Rs. 1,635-9as-6p in excess of receipts. The other major item of expenditure for 1923 was the printing of three issues of the Journal which came up to Rs. 1,687-4as. Proceedings, JBRs, XXV (1925), 98.
21 Glass Palace, xiii-xvii.
22 Glass Palace, xvii-xx.
23 Glass Palace, xxi-xxii.
24 Glass Palace, xxi-xxii.
25 Glass Palace, xi.
26 Glass Palace, xi-xiii.
27 Glass Palace, xv.
29 Twinthintaikwun Mahasithu, Twinthin Myanmar Yazawinthit (Yangon: Mingala Press, 1968), 14
31 Hmannan, 1,160.
32 Yazawinthit, 2.
34 See above note 10.
35 Hmannan, I, 230.
36 Review of Mrs. Rhy Davids’ Psalms of the Sisters, JBRS, I, i (June 1911),119.
37 Glass Palace, 35.
38 Glass Palace, 53.
39 Glass Palace, 115.
40 Glass Palace, 129.
41 Glass Palace, 14.
42 Glass Palace, 15, 62, 63-64, 80, 83.
43 Sunaparanta is usually designated as the land north of the Ayeyarwady River and Tampadipa the land south of it; the Ayeyarwady here taken to mean its middle course from about Mandalay to Bagan where it takes a westward course.
44 Sunaparanta, “Westward”, was a country southwest of Savatthi. Its port, Supparaka, identified as the modern Sopara to the north of Bombay, was the birthplace of Punna who, going to Savatthi, heard the Buddha preach and joined the Order. After his return to Sunaparanta, Punna built a cell of red sandalwood which the Buddha visited. P. Malalasekera, Dictionary of Pali Proper Names (London: Luzac and Co., 1960), II, 220-221, 1210-1211, 1222-1223.

45 Tambapanni, “Copper Leaves”, or Tambapannidipa, “Island of Copper Leaves”, was the name applied to Sri Lanka although originally it denoted that district of Sri Lanka where Vijaya, the first Aryan king of Sri Lanka landed. Malalasekera, Dictionary, I, 995.

46 Glass Palace, 7. "The poem was written in 1767 by the mahathera Saranankarasangharaja of Sri Lanka.

47 Glass Palace, 5. "The poem was written in 1767 by the mahathera Saranankarasangharaja of Sri Lanka.

48 Glass Palace, 15. "The poem was written in 1767 by the mahathera Saranankarasangharaja of Sri Lanka.

49 Glass Palace, 72. "The poem was written in 1767 by the mahathera Saranankarasangharaja of Sri Lanka.

50 Glass Palace, 74. "The poem was written in 1767 by the mahathera Saranankarasangharaja of Sri Lanka.

51 Glass Palace, 130. "The poem was written in 1767 by the mahathera Saranankarasangharaja of Sri Lanka.

52 Glass Palace, 141-142. "The poem was written in 1767 by the mahathera Saranankarasangharaja of Sri Lanka.

53 Glass Palace, 27. "The poem was written in 1767 by the mahathera Saranankarasangharaja of Sri Lanka.

54 JBRs, II (1912) 174-183; III (1913), 22-33, 148-159. The poem was written in 1767 by the mahathera Saranankarasangharaja of Sri Lanka.

55 “The Shwegugyi Pagoda Inscription, Pagan, 1141 A.D.,” JBRs, x: (1920), 64-74.


57 “Chronicle of the City of Tagaung,” JBRs, XI (1921), 29-54.
Glass Palace, 140.

Hmannan, I, 6.

Hmannan, 1,163.

It must, nevertheless, be pointed out that Luce himself disentangled the historical from the legendary in his “A Cambodian (?) Invasion of Lower Burma—a comparison of Burmese and Talaing chronicles,” JBRS, XII (1922), 39-45.

Maung Tin, “Missionary Burmese,” JBRS, I, i (June 1911), 87.