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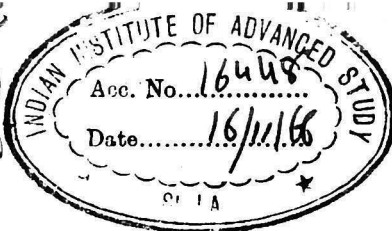
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THE KING OF THE WEAVING MOUNTAIN

By E. MICHAEL MENDELSON, M.A., Ph.D.

THE driver of the family with whom I spent, in Rangoon, about half of a recent eighteen months' stay in Burma, was called *Saya* (Master or Expert) by the other servants and obviously had a reputation for some kind of magical power.¹ To this, at first, I paid little attention, being concerned with the sociology of Burmese monasteries and the Buddhist Order's relations with the Government, whose programmes of ecclesiastical reform had been widely discussed at the time of the great Sixth Buddhist Council. Feeling that I ought to begin concerning myself with the less formal manifestations of Burmese religion, I allowed him one day to lead me off to his little hut at the end of the garden. Here he showed me his rough-and-ready alchemist's oven and bellows and the ritual paraphernalia in his room: pictures of the Buddha, of a variety of *nats* (spirits)—some of whom he discounted as weaklings, others whom he appeared to fear and propitiate—and offerings of coconuts and bananas: the conventional Burmese *kadawpwe*. From the ceiling hung a canopy of cloth, inscribed with *ins* (cabbalistic squares containing letters and figures) and hung with gilt cardboard leaves, also inscribed with *ins*. He claimed to sit under this every night for at least two hours, telling beads, repeating Buddhist formulæ and "directing his inner thoughts on 'pagoda,'" by which he meant religion in general and, more specifically, *paya*, a word describing the Buddha, Buddha images, pagodas and very important people such as kings and great monks. We talked for a while about his alchemy and his claims that it had brought him certain powers. He told me that he was invulnerable to pain and asked me to bang as hard as I could on his arm, with a hard instrument if necessary. Much later, after I had left Burma, I heard that he had refused help for snake bite and had only just been saved, at the last moment, by being forcibly removed to the hospital.

My attention was eventually drawn to some photographs on the altar. Most of them were formal portraits of a middle-aged man dressed in a velvet "royal" robe, with gold fringes, and a Burmese crown. There was another photo of the same person as a young man and some more as a very old man. The driver told me that all these were of his own *saya* Bo Min Gaung who could change, at will, from one physical appearance to another. He spoke at least twelve foreign languages and had travelled to many countries in his dreams or in his trances. His exploits were varied. Once, he had cut the top pieces off his index and little fingers—at the Shwedagon, in full sight of many observers—had then gone off into the "jungle" for some weeks and grown them again. My host, who followed this individual with great devotion and sometimes received him in the compound when he left his own place near Moulmein, declared that the *saya* would become King of Burma at the end of 2,500 years, though whether this

referred to the first part of the 5,000-year span of Gotama's religion or the second was not clear at the time.

At first, I thought of all this as mere eccentricity. In the intervening ten months between this first episode of my story and the next, I was to learn, mainly in Upper Burma, a great deal more about such *sayas*. I came to know that, besides the two components of Burmese religion described by previous authors—Buddhism proper and the cult of *nats*—there was a third component to which very few scholars had ever paid systematic attention. This component concerned the activities of *weikzas*. A *weikza* is a person who has achieved supremacy in one of a number of arts: astrology, alchemy, cabalistic signs, *mantras* (magical formulæ) and medicine. The student works for long years on his chosen discipline, imposing abstinences on himself, seeking the advice of living or "dead" masters and attempting to gain control over powerful spirits whose help is necessary to the completion of his task. The final stage usually requires a drastic self-initiation, by which the power inherent in the perfected product of his researches is made to pass into his own body. An alchemist, for instance, is buried for a number of days in a secret place. The key is entrusted to a disciple who must prevent all disturbances and, at the end of the appointed time, the buried man rises as a fully fledged *weikza*. He can now fly through the air, journey underground, make himself invisible, assume various shapes and, above all, live for very great periods of time, long enough, indeed, to witness the coming of the next Buddha, Maitreya, and listen to his saving predications.

Leaving aside the problem of whether such persons really exist or not, we can say that the idea of the *weikza* is a very powerful one in Burmese religious thinking and some familiarity with the subject makes me certain that it cannot be dismissed as a merely "popular" or "rustic" phenomenon. The *weikza*, while not immortal—nothing is in a Buddhist context—is not subjected to the normal human process of transmigration, life following life with intervals of dying. The *weikza*, if he "dies" at all, only seems to "die"—like a snake shedding his skin and growing a new one—no mere mortal can say for sure how old he is, what is "death" and what is voluntary change of appearance. While a specific person can, then, be identified as a "*weikza*" at any specific time, room is left for the imagination to construct what it will: whole lineages of "*weikzas*" are elaborated and seen now as "different" persons, at other times merely as aspects of the same person. The field is obviously open to any individual to test his authority by making his claims and awaiting the arrival of disciples.

Time is a highly paradoxical concept in Buddhist thought. On the one hand the cosmology inherited from Hinduism speaks of immense spans of time, vast world-cycles interrupted by cosmic conflagrations; on the other hand Buddhist philosophy, carried to its ultimate conclusions, sees time as only relative: in the absolute it does not exist. The *weikza* can be seen as a personification of this paradox, pure duration triumphing in the relative mind over its unimaginable opposite. Likewise, there is a paradox in the idea of *Nirvāna* where the fullest extension of being is no different from the complete extinction of being. This paradox has always been at the heart of Buddhism, a religion whose very basis is the notion that different

people are set on different rungs of the ladder of understanding. Those who are set on all rungs but the very highest must see that highest rung as the fullest extension of being; that is as the highest development of human power. The *weikza* is again the personification of this idea. Buddhism, in opposition to Hinduism, has stressed the negative side—the idea of No-Time as opposed to the Great-Time, the idea of extinction as opposed to full extension of being, but Hinduism has left its mark on Buddhism and the frailty of the human imagination is on its side. The notion of power brings with it the notion of salvation and the *weikza* is looked up to as a benevolent, ever-present guide in all forms of tribulation. While he in turn must bow to the next Buddha, ordinary mankind, in the great intervals between Buddhas, turns to the *weikza* for advice along the way.

In short, the Burmese, long subjected to Hinduism and *Mahāyāna* Buddhism before the consolidation of their own *Theravāda* Buddhism, have preserved in their *weikza* lore much that is relatively unorthodox. The picture is not simply one of an austere faith, tolerant of human beliefs in spirits who rule over fields too mean to be regarded as its concern and which can always be relegated into the background as mere survivals of a pre-Buddhist state of things—rather it is one of a continuum in which the whole range of worldly desires is expressed before all desire is finally allowed to be extinguished, one in which power first controls the individual (as in the case of the *nat* possessing the medium), in which power is then, in ever more refined degrees, controlled by the individual (as in the case of the *weikza*) in which power is finally extinguished in the knowledge that there is no individual to enjoy it (as in the case of the Buddhist proper). Shall we persist in reserving the term Buddhism for the higher aspects of this continuum and relegate the rest to “Magic,” “Animism” and such dubious categories or shall we keep closer to the facts, abandon our notion of a “pure” Buddhism and grant this latter term to a whole religion practised by a whole people in one place and one time? Progress both in the study of Buddhism and in that of religion will depend on our answer to this question.

But we have strayed from our *weikzas*, whose task, I submitted, is concerned with the promotion of the well-being of the religion and its believers in the periods between the appearance of Buddhas. I have said that the prime aim of the *weikzas* is to ensure that they will be themselves, with all their powers, when Maitreya comes and not go astray, or run the risk of going astray, in the endless cycles of transmigration.² In the orthodox view, as expressed for instance in the *Cakkavati Sihanāda Suttanta* of the *Digha Nikāya*, Maitreya will arrive at the end of a very long process of decrease and then increase in the human life span, a time far longer than the original 5,000 years' span allotted to Gotama Buddha's religion in other scriptures. Furthermore, Maitreya was designated by Gotama as the next Buddha and has been awaiting his time in the *Tusita* heaven ever since. The *Digha Nikāya* says that a *cakravartin* (a great ruler by the power of faith) will appear in order to look after Maitreya and tidy up the land so that he may preach his religion in peace.

Some Burmese appear to have tampered with this orthodoxy and I am not far from thinking that this tampering has been determined by beliefs

connected with *weikzas*. To begin with, while the *weikza* is indeed the symbol of duration, human patience is short and will seek to identify the man on the spot, the *weikza* it has at hand, with the *summun bonum* or an embryo-form thereof. Human patience being short, the long span of time before Maitreya's coming will also be reduced and 5,000 years will be accepted as the period when one religion ending will give way to another. Finally, a king, influenced by the custom whereby royalty in Burma was dignified with the titles of *caṅṅavartin* and embryo-Buddha, appears to have claimed, in his impatience and desire for great power, that he was Maitreya come to earth at the end of such a 5,000-year span. This king was Bodawpaya (1782-1819).³

It is no coincidence perhaps that the first appearance of an embryo-form of the *caṅṅavartin* who is to precede Maitreya is situated in Burmese legend in the time of Bodawpaya.⁴ This king is said to have had a relative whom he wished to drown and the relative was saved by a famous *weikza* Bo Bo Aung. The latter saved him from drowning and sent him to dwell in a spirit heaven until such time as he should be ready to descend to earth. On January 25 last, I described to the Society an association formed in an Upper Burma town whose leader, described as an incarnation of another *weikza* Bo Min Gaung who had died at Popa around 1952, was regarded as the coming *Setkyamin* (the Burmese form of the word *caṅṅavartin*). It was hinted furthermore that this leader might also be an embryo-form of Maitreya Buddha, though this claim was no more than a hint.⁵

At the time I investigated this association, I remembered that my Rangoon driver had referred to his *saya* as Bo Min Gaung. A monk in the same town as the association, on seeming to recognize the latter as the true one, was confronted with my data on the association and then opined that, for all he knew, the spirit of Bo Min Gaung might have passed into more than one person. I had my own ideas about this and was not surprised, on visiting the Moulmein *saya*, to be told that he and he only was the true Bo Min Gaung. But I anticipate.

Some time later, on my return from Upper Burma, I discovered that our driver would be taking a holiday in the shape of a visit to his *saya* and promptly arranged to meet him there. Shortly after arriving at Moulmein I secured a rickety truck and set out towards Mudon. About five miles from here my companion and I were welcomed in a small village by our driver and a small band of people. We were shown into the hut and into the presence of a plump man, somewhere between his forties and fifties with a soft charm of manner which must have been an important factor in his charismatic authority. He behaved throughout with simplicity though he had obviously made up his mind long ago to live his part to the hilt and was probably convinced of his own powers. At first things did not go too well owing to the disrespectful attitude of my companion which irked the disciples of the *Bodaw*, a term reserved for such personages and also used of the Upper Burma *saya*. I eventually succeeded in conveying the need to conform and after this all went well.

I was told that the *Bodaw* had originally come from Popa-Taungalat, the place where Bo Min Gaung had died, and asked if I had seen him there. He had chosen this place because it was opposite a hill called the

"Weaving Mountain." The *outtazaungs*—beings usually in the shape of pretty girls who guard treasures, often for the sake of the coming Buddha—were weaving there and moving their treasure constantly about. This could be heard at night and meant that whatever good works would be performed here would be heard all over the world. His object was "to spread Buddhism and to enable all beings to go to *Nirvāna*." Encouraged by his good will towards me I pressed home some questions of importance. Was he the only Bo Min Gaung? Yes was the answer to this; any others I might have heard of were charlatans and pretenders. Was he the *Setkyamin*? This he was less forthright about, but I was given to understand that Bo Min Gaung and *Setkyamin* were one being. Further, I was most excited to hear that "*Setkyamin* is the king who will become the future Buddha Maitreya. They are not two different persons. After being *Setkyamin*, he must go to *Tusita* heaven." This *saya* did not hold the view that Maitreya would come at the end of Gotama's 5,000 years; rather, he kept to the orthodox interpretation that "one full up-and-down movement of the human life span, an *antraṇa*" (from Pali: *antara-kappa*) "would have to take place before Maitreya's coming." There were sixty-four of these periods altogether in this *kaba* or world epoch—we are in the twelfth—after these the world would be destroyed by fire, wind or water. In this time there would be Maitreya and ten other Buddhas.⁶ Would there be Buddhas in the worlds after? The answer to this was that "Where there are men there are Buddhas," and that *Byammamin* (the Burmanized Brahma) kept a record of the passing worlds.

When questioned about his birth, the *Bodaw* merely said that he had come from *Tusita* heaven; there had been many comings—not all of them in Burma, some, even, in England. Some of these comings had been as kings, and he gave a list in the following, rather erratic, order: Inwa Mingaung, Pegu Dhammazedi Mingaung, Prome Duttabaung, Alaungsithu Mingaung, Abiyaza Mingaung, Dili Mingaung of India, Bo Min Gaung. I unfortunately missed asking him whether the list included Bo Bo Aung. He was reluctant to discuss the process of these "comings," but eventually said that his *winyin* (cf. Pali: *Viññāṇa*), that is: spirit or consciousness, would pass into another person on the *Bodaw*'s pretended "death," and that the other person's *winyin* would go into one of the higher *nats*: a *nat-weikza*. He further claimed to be the only person alive capable of doing this.

These explanations, similar to those I had been given in Upper Burma and additional to them in some cases, suggest that the *Setkyamin* episode of the legend is only part of a cycle, for we remember that Bo Bo Aung sent his spirit into a *nat* heaven. While such *Bodaws* are wary of admitting to foreigners that they will be the great *cakravartin* of Maitreya and perhaps Maitreya himself, there is little doubt that they claim this to their disciples or allow them to claim it for them. I shall do no more than mention in passing that such ideas remind me strongly of the so-called "Living Buddhas" of countries to the north of Burma.

Of himself he declared "Staying in this body there are many," and of *weikzas* in general, of which he claimed to be the king, he said that some changed their body form when old, while others always appeared in the

shape of a *nat-weiḥza*. *Nirvāna* he declined to discuss, stating merely that those who can go straight there should do so. In Maitreya's time, those who would want to go could do so; others might prefer to stay. I had previously been told that *weiḥzas* had to await Maitreya because they were unable to achieve *Nirvāna* by themselves. It seemed to me listening to this *Bodaw* and from other evidence, however, that *weiḥzas* might wish to achieve *Nirvāna* not as laymen but as one of the grades of Buddhas or Buddha's disciples.⁷ Here again were some suggestions that the *Bodhi-sattva* ideal of the *Mahāyāna* may well have left its traces in this *Theravāda* land.

This *saya* claimed to prefer meditation techniques to any of the others, although our driver told me that he had become interested in alchemy of late and had consulted him in these matters. Without meditation on the different precepts and the Buddha's virtues, "none of the other things work." When I began to ask about *ins*, however, the *Bodaw* showed some excitement, edged over to the table I had been given and began making a few drawings from which, however, I gathered that he was no great expert in this field. He stated that an *in-weiḥza* "had to get the *sa-da-ba-wa* in straight and then bury himself like an alchemist." There are many interpretations of this famous *in*, made up of the four Burmese letters *sa*, *da*, *ba* and *wa*, the two he offered being: *sa*: the "four promises," *da*: the *Dhamma* or *Tripitaka*, *ba*: "the whole of Learning" and *wa*: *weiḥza*.⁸ The letters could also stand for the Four Buddhas of this *ḥaba* before Maitreya.

To close the interview, the *Bodaw* declared that he would bless us and lit a couple of cigarettes. He looked very absorbed while puffing at these, and muttered a few words in a sort of hidden language very similar to that I had heard used by other people of his kind. I believe this to be a mixture of Pali, Hindi and nonsense with which such *sayas* pretend to have the gift of tongues. His "English" was made manifest in such ejaculations as "Yes, sir!" and "All right!" After puffing for a while, he transferred the cigarettes to us and told us to smoke them through. They were mentholated cigarettes and must have given his villager disciples the illusion that they contained some potent medicine.

On the way back, my companion, an educated Mon gentleman, told me that he had heard the villagers refer to the *Bodaw* as *Setkyamin*, *Alaungdaw* and *Payalaung*—all terms of the highest respect which can be applied to a future king or Buddha. I had seen that they always prostrated themselves to him on coming in and going out. He had also gathered that the *Bodaw* had married the young daughter of the house he lived in, claiming that he had been king and she the queen of China in previous existences. Someone, presumably an unbeliever, had added that the *Bodaw* had been chased out of Yenangyaung before coming here by the *Yahanbyo*, a strongly disciplined association of monks with headquarters in Mandalay.

Commenting on our visit, my companion added that such people worked through the charm they exerted over simple people, and "if they can make men love them, you cannot imagine what they do to women!" Women frequently went to such *sayas* to get back the love of an erring husband, and after a while fell for the *saya*. One such Indian *saya* in a town

near Mandalay was now living with the wife of one of Rangoon's richest merchants.

What kind of picture does the sociologist obtain of Burmese religion from phenomena such as these? He is struck, above all, by the lack of any very marked formal organization in these matters: this cult, if we may call it so, has no church, no organized body of priests, no regular congregation, no system of parishes, no written body of laws and sanctions from which anyone can derive a clear idea of what can and what cannot be done by either master or disciple. Nor is there much history to go on: while we can trace the first *Setkyamin* to the time of Bodawpaya, while we can show that the famous rebel of the 1930s, Saya San, set himself up as a *Setkyamin*, while our research showed evidence of at least two claimants to this position in 1958-59, there is no evidence for or against such claimants having existed throughout Burmese history, although ideas about *caṅgavartins* and Maitreya have a long and respectable ancestry. At the most, we can say that such claims appear to be modelled on the type of kingship which Burma derived at an early date from India and that, since the end of the Burmese kingship, they have been associated at times with nativistic movements and nationalist upheavals against the British. In so far as they continue after the achievement of Burmese Independence, however, we can safely admit that their religious aspects are at least as important as their political implications.

We notice at the same time that the other two components of Burmese religion are also loosely organized. The Order of monks draws its unity from a way of life laid down in the first "Basket" of the Scriptures, but it is not a church with a head over it enjoying absolute authority: in the last resort each monk is his own master and each layman follows the dictates of a monk or monks only in so far as he finds them useful in pursuing his own path. No one can tell who is "in" and who is "out" of Buddhism; all that can be offered is advice that such a path will lead to a goal and another will not. Likewise, the cult of *nats*, who appear predominantly as hereditary and residential spirits, is securely tied to particular localities, and mediums bear no responsibility either to superiors or to those who come to consult them.

While Buddhism as a "higher" way, then, sets the tone of Burmese religious life and gives it a goal towards which it can strive, there is room for a wide variety of individual choice according to the level of understanding reached by any particular person. Groups, such as there are, form and dissolve solely on the basis of the authority and power of conviction of particular individuals and this is as true of particular sects and associations within the Order of monks—despite the fact that a great monastery can carry on for some length of time the system of discipline laid down by a great monk—as it is of associations in the other spheres. What, then, holds the system together? The force which lifts Burmese religion from a medley of small local cults to the semblance of a national religion is not so much the Buddhist Order itself as the idea of hierarchy, of levels of individual's claims to leadership are theoretically absolute for those who can be persuaded to follow him, the very existence of higher levels of power and

understanding limits the leader's claims in so far as he himself is concerned and ensures that he will never obtain the allegiance of too great a number of followers. Once we understand this we can see the true role of the monks: not as priests, not as intermediaries between individuals and the supernatural, but as those who live the highest type of religious life on behalf, as it were, of the less gifted and more world-involved majority of the society. Closely associated with this is, of course, the idea of *karma* according to which each individual bears the sole responsibility for improving himself while, at the same time, this responsibility is anchored to the level of understanding he has been able to achieve as securely as a Hindu is theoretically tied to the caste in which he was born. "Given my limitations, what can I do and to whom can I turn for help?" is the question of the average Burmese Buddhist, and not "What is Buddhism and are my practices within it or outside of it?" "Buddhism" is the sum total of all available practices in the country at the time, and only for the very sophisticated, with a historically educated frame of mind, does the second question tend to appear.

Such ways of thinking favour individual autonomy and do not make for successful administrative systems. It is curious that Burmese political history yields the same kind of picture. Theoretically the king was absolute in his power and authority, yet in practice his power was often sadly limited. A successful and strong king extended his frontiers by war, but his weak successor would lose them just as rapidly and rebellion from border princes was a staple factor in Burma's history. Here again a balance within the system itself ensured against the rigours of the total application of a theory. An alternative way would have been for royalty to establish a strong administration in conquered territories and thus ensure both the stability of the empire and the happiness of well-governed subjects. This way was not followed, however, any more in politics than in religion.⁹

It is thus perhaps not very strange that the original aberrations of ideas about the *cakravartin* and Maitreya can be found in the sphere of royalty. The king's authority required a powerful backing, all the more so when ecclesiastics could so easily point to the defects of a vainglorious and short-lived policy of conquest. What better justification for conquest than to assimilate it to the policy of a great conqueror and defender of the faith such as Asoka had been? And what better still than to become the ruler of the very Order which criticized one's policy? We cannot enter now into the mind and motives of such a king as Bodawpaya, but it may not be entirely fruitless to suggest that such ideas may have been at least partly responsible for our driver's would-be king in his village of the Weaving Mountain.

One further point may be worth making. While we frequently refer to *Mahāyāna* "survivals" in a *Theravāda* land, we find, on many fronts, that the differences between the two great branches of Buddhism appear more and more elusive. Looked at in a certain way, the various *Mahāyāna* *sūtras* which form the basis of various schools within the Greater Vehicle can appear as efforts to establish hierarchies, with the adherents of the particular school in question in each text claiming to achieve a deeper level of doctrinal understanding than that of adherents of other sects. While

much research remains to be done into the sociology of Buddhism in general, it may be worth asking whether these inducements to potential disciples are very different from those we find among the competing religious personalities in an altogether less developed system such as that which prevails in Burma.

FOOTNOTES

¹ My anthropological field-work, sponsored by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, was done in Burma between June, 1958 and November, 1959.

² There is considerable evidence from the oldest inscriptions onwards for thinking that many, if not most Burmese prayed for a human birth in the time of Maitreya Buddha. One must distinguish, however, between such prayers and deliberate attempts to escape death altogether.

³ See Sangermano: *A Description of the Burmese Empire*, Rangoon, 1924, p. 61, and compare with p. 87.

⁴ In history, as opposed to legend, the first *Setkyamin* now remembered would seem to have been a "Prince Tsakyamen" in the reign of Bagyidaw (1819-37). See W. Desai: *History of the British Residency in Burma 1826-1840*, Rangoon, 1939, especially p. 335. Some informants and some texts ascribe the legendary *Setkyamin* to this reign.

⁵ Many slides were shown with this talk, and a report would have been maimed without them. Since this material will be very fully published with full references, footnotes, plans and photographs, in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, XXIV, part 3, October, 1961, I have preferred to offer here further evidence of the same kind and degree of interest.

⁶ The interpretation of these time periods varies: some would hold that, as there are only five Buddhas in this *ḥaba*, the ten Buddhas after Maitreya would appear in subsequent *ḥabas*. . . . For references to the idea of ten future Buddhas, see Minayeff's edition of the *Anāgata-vamsa*, Journal of the Pali Text Society, 1886; Than Tun *Mahā-kassapa and his Tradition*, Journal of the Burma Research Society, XLII, 2, 1959, p. 117; Luce and Pe Maung Tin: *The Glass Palace Chronicles*, London, 1923, p. 160 and Eliot: *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, p. 84; and *Ceylon Journal of Science*, section g, Vol. II, Colombo, 1928-1933 p. 67.

Certain contemporary texts on the *Setkyamin* (identified or not with Bo Min Gaung), argue whether the prince is the embryo Maitreya or the embryo Rāma and come to different conclusions. Now Rāma is the first of the Buddhas after Maitreya in the above lists. I shall present these texts elsewhere.

⁷ An old Mandalay informant referred to the following classes of people (not necessarily *weikḥas*). I give the Pali equivalents of his classes, but stress that his interpretations are not necessarily the same as our dictionaries'. I also leave out his time periods as they are open to question: they decrease from 1 to 5. 1. *Samasam buddha*: a *Payalaung*, one who prays to become a Buddha or *Payagyi*. 2. *Pacceka Buddha*: one who will become a *Payagale*, a Silent Buddha when there is no religion on earth. 3. *Agga sāvaḥa*: one who will become a disciple of the right or left side like Sariputta or Mogallāna. 4. *Mahā sāvaḥa*: one who has a firm prediction from a Buddha as to when he will be a disciple of right or left. 5. *Paṇṇāti sāvaḥa*: one who can through meditation come to *Nirvāna* in this *ḥaba* but will not become a Buddha. The latter class is divided into 1. *Ugghaṭṭitaññū*: One who can become an *arahat* at a glance. 2. *Vipaṇṇitaññū*: one who has to work very hard to become an *arahat*. 3. *Neyyapuggala*: one who must work day and night to become an *arahat*. 4. *Pada-parama*: one who must sacrifice his life to obtain *arahatship* in his existence.

Note that in his system, since all other classes than five involve *ḥabas* after this one, Maitreya is not involved.

⁸ More precisely: the four truths: *dukkha sacca*, *samudaya s.*, *nirodha s.*, *maggā s.*; *a-tat* (Burm.)—*paññā* (Pali): Learning, Knowledge.

⁹ For further elaboration see this author's *Religion and Authority in Modern Burma*, The World Today, Chatham House, March, 1960, and *The Uses of Religious Scepticism in Modern Burma*: forthcoming in Diogenes.

