The Beginnings of the Sudhamma Buddhist Order of Monks

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I. Introduction

In Myanmar, there are nine *Nikaya* of Theravada Buddhist *Samgha* recognized by the government of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar since 1980. They are the Shwegyin, *Mahadvara*, *Muladvara*, Weluwan, Hngettwin, Mahayin, Ganavimut-Kato, Anaukchaung *Dvara* and *Sudhamma*. Before thesesectarian group the others were the branches out of the *Sudhamma*. Therefore we need to explore the origin of *SudhammaSamgha* and how they were named as *SudhammaSamgha* during the time of king Mindon.

II. Political Situation and the attitude of King Mindon

When King Mindon ascended the throne on 17 February 1853, he was determined to help the Buddhist Religion prosper. On the other hand, he used the Religion as a guide to all his political programmes. Perhaps it was to atone for his sin in usurping the throne by a revolution. During the time of King Bagan [1846-1852], the second

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Anglo-Myanmar War broke out in 1852 and Lower Myanmar was ceded to the British Indian Empire on 22 December 1852. In the middle of the War, there also broke out a revolution in the capital, headed by Prince Mindon and his brother Prince Kanaung. Their revolution was successful(Rhwepran Epitaph L: 10-12). When he became king Lower Myanmar was under the British rule and for the purposes of easy reference we call it British Myanmar against the National Myanmar. According to this situation he decided to play the role of the Defender of the Faith. To realize this aim he needed much support of the people. He believed that only the Religion could make the people live in peace. In addition to this he asked his ministers to consider seriously how to get back the lost territories without the risk of another war. He reached a solution in three ways, viz. toraise a more powerful armed force(ROB IX 1989: 6), to seek an alliance both offensive and defensive with one or more European Powers, and to use religious propaganda more effectively to keep the people contented and happy.

Unfortunately neither he nor his ministers knew how to organize a respectable army on modern standards. On diplomatic level he could not find any European power that would take up Myanmar interest against the British. As religious propaganda was no longer useful in modern warfare(*ROB IX* 1989: vii), the King hoped that the monks could align the Myanmar people against further British aggression. He wanted to introduce both administrative and religious reforms, he expected that the good office of the monks might keep the people living in peace. He knew well that State and Religion would have a perfect coordination to work out in perfect coordination in the progress of the State as well as the Religion. So King Mindon considered that it was his duty to help the Religion as much as possible. King Mindon expected to have the loyalty of all Myanmar Buddhists. The only effective and peaceful means, therefore, of

organizing the people in the lost provinces of Myanmar was to use the Religion. King Mindon was well aware of the fact that Buddhism was much involved in the Myanmar social and political life and could use to his advantage by making himself an ardent promoter, propagator and patron of the Buddhist Religion. So in 1867, the King decided to hoist a new finial, commonly called hti on the Shwedagon Pagoda. It was made by MankriMahaman: Kyoau Than on behalf of the king. The ceremony of fixing it on the pagoda top was consiedered a sort of national rally. This shows that he too was a good Buddhist. The people accepted that he tried to honour the Samgha and promote their interests.

II. Religious activities of King Mindon

King Mindon was religious minded and his meritorious deeds were plentiful. He came down in history as a just king, good and exalted. He was very lavish in his offerings to the monks. King Mindon ordered the building of many monasteries and the monks were fully provided with the four requisites of monks. The monks were grouped, according to their titles or the years of ordination or ranks as lecturers, etc. and students. The offerings to them varied in accordance with their ranks. There were seventy titled Charatoaus and eight of them in turn recited Pathana every week during the Buddhist Lent. On that occasion each of them was offered a padesabin - an official tree laden with various offerings. Either monk or man who passed the religious examination called Pathamapranwas highly honoured. During the twenty six years of his reign, Mindon spent a sum of over 226 million ticals of silver on religious matters.

King Mindon liked the title of the Sasanadayaka-Defender of the Faith and Promoter of the Religion(Thaung 1959, 172). While King Mindon resided in Ratanasinkha (Shwebo) until he moved to Amarapura, he appointed Neyya as the Supreme Leader for deciding religious affairs. As he assumed himself as Sasanadayaka, he tried the Samgha to live up to the Vinayathrough the Supreme Leader. Neyyawas well - versed in Pitaka and its commentaries. In addition to this he also had a character beyond reproach (Silavanta). Moreover, he could be of great use in the extension and propagation of the Buddha's Religion. He had been a Supreme Leader of his father's time (King Thayawady 1837-46). He also had a great experience in extension and propagation of the Buddha's Religion. So King Mindon appointed him as the Supreme Leader with the title of Neyyadhammabhimunivarannanakitthisiridhajadhammasenapatima hadhammarajadhirajaguru which means the most Supreme Leader for all Samghaand the Leader of the king(ROB IX 1989, 7). He had to keep Buddhism promote greatly. This Order was passed on 16 April 1853 and proclaimed by Min Htin Min GyawYaza, Liaison Officer at SudhammaZayat in front of the Rhwetanja Pagoda in Ratanasinga.

IV. History of the SudhammaZayats under the Myanmar Kings

Kings of Myanmar used to build the *Sudhamma*Zayat for religious purposes. This Zayat was built to use for preaching the *Dhamma*. For example there was one of the religious buildings called the *Dhammasa* (hall for holding lectures on Buddhist Philosophy) where most of the preaching was done during the Bagan Period (11th century to 13thcentury)(Than Tun 1978, 85). Later Kings built religious buildings for preaching as well as for doing other religious matters. The *Dhammasa* and the *Sudhamma*Zayat had the same purpose for the Religion. The *Sudhamma*Zayat was

regarded not as an ordinary guest house but as a sacred place for the Myanmar Buddhists. The SudhammaZayat was used for the following occasions:

to appoint the Supreme Leader(Sirisobhana 1974, 7) to copy the Pitaka when a new king ascended the throne (Minhtinraja 1969, 125) to discuss the affairs of Samgha and Sasana affairs (ROB V 1986, 158,168,743) to give a feast to the monks(ROB II 1985, 88) to hold religious examinations(Taw Sein Kho 1977, 9) to proclaim the Orders of Kings, Supreme Leaders and Sasanapru Charatoaus on all religious affairs(ROBIX 1989, 8) to solve disputes among monks(ROB III 1985, 82-83) and to supervise and check the copying of manuscripts, etc.

In this way, the SudhammaZayat became a convocation hall of the Buddha's Religion. We find that the Konbaung Kings carried on their practices of building the SudhammaZayats. The meeting and deciding of religious problems by elderly and learned monks were found to be very useful and King Mindon was determined to continue this practice in his new city. The Royal Order to build Mandalay and seven monuments including SudhammaZayat was passed on 13 January 1857(ROBIX 1989, 47). Eventually the SudhammaZayatwas built on 15 May 1859. The construction was completed on 19 July 1861(Than Tun 1977, 130). King Mindon enjoyed the esteem of the people because his predecessors used to build one or two SudhammaZayats whereas he had thirty three(Sasana 1994, 2). Before he moved to Mandalay the elderly and Learned Charatoaus used the SudhammaZayat which was in Amarapura. Now in 1861, King Mindon had built the SudhammaZayat in Mandalay. The learned monks enabled to meet at these Zayats in Mandalay. It was a meeting where the members of SasanapruCharatoaus discussed the religious affairs and decided the Samgha cases. SasanapruCharatoaus passed on their directives to keep the Samgha under good control at SudhammaSabha. Thus the SudhammaZayats became the centres where the SasanapruCharatoaus met for religious purposes.

V. The Supreme Leader and SudhammaSabha

The Supreme Leader was the chairman of the Samgha who attended the SudhammaSabha. In addition there were other seven Charatoaus who attended the SudhammaSabha. These Charatoaus helped the Supreme Leader *Nevya*. So the Supreme Leader and these Charatoaus took care of the Samgha cases sent to the Sudhamma. Many directives of the Supreme Leader were passed at the SudhammaSabha. On 26 June 1862, King Mindon appointed a committee consisting of eight *Charatoaus* who were elderly, learned and known to be Lajjipesalasikkha Kama (ashamed, devoted to discipline, desirous of Three Training) Charatoaus. Neyya was the chairman of this committee for the propagation and perpetuation of the Religion. Viriyarambhadhajadhipatimahadhammarajadhirajaguru (*LhathweCharatoau*) helped this committee. King Mindon appointed Mahadanwun (Officer of Religious Affairs), and MahadanSayay (Clerk of Religious Affairs) and then he ordered them to make the morning round in the city streets and to take note of those monks who were not careful about their behaviour, and to report to the SudhammaSabha for admonition. Thus, the SudhammaSabha became the only place for discussing and deciding the affairs of monks. Therefore King Mindon had both the learned Charatoaus and the officers to take care of the religious affairs. Whatever King Mindon wanted to do in connection with religious matters, he discussed it with the Charatoaus who attended the SudhammaSabha . Thus the SudhammaSabha was having a great effect on the Samgha in good order. In Lower Myanmar there were also Guin:up and Guin:thokCharatoaus who continued to respect the SudhammaSabha.

When *DhammaVinaya* Order was passed on 15 Febrary 1856, it was written by Nanda, Rham:kalekywan:Charatoau. It was stated that an alajji monk could produce a thousand alajji monks so that the King wanted all monks to live as lajji monks and this order passed on. After passing the *DhammaVinaya* Order *Jagara* came to live in Mandalay . He was a disciple of Nanda and Nanda was a disciple of Candima. According to the Rhwekyan account, King Mindon wanted to take particular interest to promote the Buddha Sasana that all monks lived in accordance with the Vinaya. He thought that only LajjipesalasikkhakamaCharatoaus could only help the samghato live a pure life. On the other hand he had a committee consisting of LajjipesalasikkhakamaCharatoaus, so that this committee should work in earnest for the purification of Sasana. But he searched for another monk and found Candima who was a disciple of the Pannajota (Ba:karaCharatoau II). He treated Candima (1786-1860) for a model monk to promote Pariyatti and PatipattiSasana. But Candimadid not accept the king's idea. He persuaded Nanda, one of the disciples of Candimato help him in this programme. Nanda came to Amarapura on 14 June 1855. King Mindon expected that this DhammaVinaya Order, written by Nanda would keep the Samgha well organized and that indirectly would restore law and order in his kingdom. After the publication of the *DhammaVinaya*Order, *Nanda* followed by many of his diciples came to reside in Amarapura. Although Nanda died on 6 November 1858, the work he had started survived him. When he started the monastic establishment at Rham:kalekywan: there were with him Jagara, Medha and fourteen

others. As *Jagara* was one of the disciples of *Rham:kalekywan:Charatoau* he was asked by King Mindon to join the activities of the purification of the *Sasana*. He promised the King to help but he did not want to reside at the capital. But the king succeeded in persuading, *Jagara* come and live in Mandalay.

VI. The beginnings of Rhwekyanin Upper Myanmar

Soon after Jagara was in Mandalay, he became famous as Rhwekyan Charatoau. King Mindon used to build monasteries for some monks and he asked where Jagara would like to have his monastery built. He chose a site on the north of Mandalay Hill(Than Tun 1981, 33). Eventually the monastery of Mahadhammikarama was built in 1861. Soon it was crowded with the disciples for Jagara and Mahadhammikarama came to be known as the Rhwekyan monastic establishment because Jagara's native village was Rhwekyan. KingMindonbuilt the monastery of Mahadhammikarama at a cost of Ks. 222, 355 under *Jagara*, there were twelve monastic establishments (Maung Maung Tin 1994, 63). In addition to this RhwekyanCharatoau and his followers had had to live by themselves (Gana-vimutti). So they left alone the SudhammaSabha. Moreover, RhwekyanCharatoau had Guin: Kyup (Local Monk Leaders), Guin: up (Deputy Leaders), and Guin:thok (Assistant Leaders), of his own choice. Gradually RhwekyanCharatoau had many more disciples. It seems that he was in favour of having his own group though he would not admit that he was having a sect. On the other hand RhwekyanCharatoau was famous in Mandalay because he was a Rajavalabha - friendly with the king. In this way the people referred to this group as "Rhwekyan group".

VII. The beginning of the division of the Sudhamma and Rhwekyan

The people used to call *RhwekyanGuin:* (*Gana*) and *SudhammaGuin*: (Gana). In this way, people called the Rhwekyan Buddhist Order of monks and Sudhamma Buddhist order of monks in about 1860. Because of RhwekyanNikaya had GanaVimutti- an independent identity, the *Rhwekyan* monks lived separately, from the *SudhammaSabha*. Only SudhammaSamghas were under the charge of SudhammaCharatoaus. At first RhwekyanCharatoau worked for the promotion of the Religion with SudhammaCharatoau(The SudhammaCharatoausamintoau 1861May). But King Mindon assigned Jagara to look after the religious affairs in the specific areas. In addition to this the number of Rhwekyan monks increased much and that prompted, the people to recognize them as a Gana or religious group. So it seems that the Samgha had knowingly or unknowingly separated into Sudhamma and Rhwekyan. Since 1861, people recognized that Sudhamma Buddhist and *Rhwekyan* Buddhist Order of Monks had stood parallel. According to some Rhwekyan accounts, the founder of the RhwekyanNikaya was King Mindon himself. Rhwekyans lived much more to his liking.

WII. The beginnings of Kam and Dvara in Lower Myanmar

During the time of King Mindon *Ukkamvamsamala* (1818-1906) became popular in Lower Myanmar. He was born on 8 February 1818, in Tharawaw across the Ayeyawady from Hinthada. He went to the monk Joaugyi, Sinbyugyun, Magwe. He was ordained in 1838 with Sirigunalankara, Makri:toCharatoau as his preceptor (upajjhaya). In 1842, he came to Pannajota (Ba:karaCharatoau II)'s monastic

establishment at Amarapura. Ukkamvamsamala was well trained under the charge of *Pannajota* (*Ba:karaCharatoau*) in Upper Myanmar. He had also studied in Sagaing under *Jina* (Mrasin:tanCharatoau). He came back to Lower Myanmar in 1851 and became Head of MahaweyamBuamsa monastery of Mangalakanu Monastic establishment in Ok-Po (now called Ingapu). After he had studied in National Myanmar where there were famous Learning Centre at that time, he taught his lectures in Lower Myanmar. While he resided at Ok-Po, there was a problem of Sima. In constructing a Sima (Ordination Hall) the monks used the permanent bridge Ukkamvamsamala thought that it should not be connected the land, so that when the bridge was built to cross the water, it should be only temporary. He said that the true ordination was by using a temporary bridge to proceed to the ordination Hall built above the water. So he insisted that all monks in this Ok-Po area had to be reordained. With his opinion, he stayed himself from the group of other Samgha who disagreed with him and went on in his own way with his disciples (Sirisobhana 1974, 337). From this time onwards, Ukkamvamsamalawas famous among the Samgha in Ok-Po area. There were 150 Samgha who studied Pitaka with him in 1866. Whenever he went to a forest recluse as an arannavasi monk, he left his students with Medha (Latbadan Charatoau). The monks who want to study Pitaka had to go to the Learning Centre of *Ukkamvamsa mala* in Ok- Po area. Thus he was famous for his lecturing and his criticism in view of the ordination procedure. After this there was a problem in 1855. This problem was to use *Kam* or *Dvara* in the opening stanza of the daily prayer.

When Kam, Dvaracontroversy in the opening stanza of the daily okasaprayer arose, Ukkamvamsamala led Dvara prayer group. Munindaghosa(Kri:sailethapCharatoau) led the Kam group. Ukamvamsamala accepted that the Dvara stanza was only true according to

tikanguttaraPali. Munindaghosa (Kri:sailethapCharatoau) said that Kaya Kam, Vaci-Kam, Mano-Kam is in the original text. Kammeans the work and this prayer is the only true way. AutpuiCharatoau group contended that Kaya Dvara, VaciDvara and Mano Dvara is the true way. These Charatoaus' concepts on those words were not important to stay away from each other. Anyhow the Dvara and Kam group stayed separate after that controversy had finished. The people, however, designated clearly as the Ok-Po Charatoau's group and Kri:saiCharatoau's group. As AutpuiCharatoau led Dvara-group and Kyethe Charatoau led Kam group, the people called them Dvara and Kam. There was no difference between Kam and Sudhamma. Since then the minority were Dvara led by AutpuiCharatoau and majority were Kam who were also known as Sudhamma and both stood as parallel groups in Lower Myanmar.

When DvaraCharatoaus had done the missionary works between 1853 and 1868 Dvara Buddhist Order spread most of the towns with their efforts. Most popular Charatoaus were AcinnaSagaranana (PhakuCharatoau), Siridhammalankara and Vimala had done the missionary works at various places mostly in Lower Myanmar including Yakhine. Dvara Buddhist Order spread in the country up to Kama and down to Beik, and Dawe(Sirisobhana 1974, 480). There were forty Dvaramonasteries in Yakhine (Tin Shwe 1982, 101). Thus Dvara monasteries gradually increased and Dvara Buddhist Order also prospersed between 1853 and 1868.

The Sudhamma Council continued to settle disputes on Religion. Many of the leading monks of Lower Myanmar continued to regard Mandalay as the focal point of their religious loyalty. So they came to Mandalay and asked the decision for the Monk Leaders. These Charatoaus gave the decision on 19 March 1865 that the alajjimonks should not be given any provisions by the people (DhammaVinaya 1898, 8). In this way King Mindon tried to get the popular support of the Lower Myanmar people with the help of the SudhammaCharatoau.

King Mindon maintained that he wanted to keep all the monks under one control but he was not successful. The schism between *Rhwekyan* and *Sudhamma* monks became more pronounced. Of course, strict disciplinarians have a right to stay away from other monks who would not live up to the *Vinaya*. This method of solutions popularly known as *Dhammacak*. However, the king did nothing. So the monks could do nothing except that one group avoided the company of another. Therefore two different groups viz. *Rhwekyan* and *Sudhamma* Buddhist Order of Monks appeared during the time of King Mindon. And similarly, the schism between *Kam* (*Sudhamma*) and *Dvara*(*Rhwekyan*) also became obvious. These show that King Mindon's policy of the unification of *Samgha* was a failure.

IX. The Lineage of SudhammaSamgha

The SudhammaSamgha maintained that they were the descendants of Guna(Min-O Charatoau). Guna (Man:oCharatoau), Tipitakalankara (BakaraCharatoau I) and Suriya (Saian:Charatoau) were the most famous teachers of all Samgha in Myanmar about the half of the 19th century. They have many disciples, but, only a few were noted as worthy successors of these Mahatheras. Theravada monks in Myanmar accepted and maintained these Charatoau's ways of Pariyatti and Patipatti. As these Charatoaus were the Supreme Leaders in their time, they had a leading role in all the religious affairs of the kingdom. After the death of Suriya (Saian) Charatoau in 1846, Neyya (Mon:thonCharatoau II) was made the king's preceptor by King Thayawady (1837-1846). During the reign of King Bagan (1846-52) Pannajotabhidhaja (Ba:karaCharatoau II)

became as Supreme Leader. Until his time, all Samgha in Myanmar remained in one and only group under the leadership of the Supreme Leader. During the first seven years of Neyya's time, there were no groups like Dvara, Rhwekyan, and Sudhamma. But later the Sudhamma group of Samghawho traced these lines from Neyya (Mon:thon II) appeared side by side with the Rhwekyan group in the line of Candima (Si:luam:) and AupuiDvara group are of the line of Ukkamvamsamala and Jina (Mrasian:tan) Charatoaus. But they all had the common teacher Guna (Man:o) Charatoau.

When the people recognized Samghaas Dvara, Rhwekyan and Sudhamma, the SudhammaSamghamaintained that they were the line of Guna(Man:auiCharatoau), Suriya(Saian: Charatoau), and Neyya(Mon:thon II Charatoau). They traced their lineage from the supreme leaders who were eventually known as SudhammaCharatoaus, who attended the same assembly called SudhammaSabha. As such they had had their unbroken line of teachers and pupils since the time of King Mindon. In this way, SudhammaSamgharallied under their own leaders. SudhammaSamghahad their own hierarchy. Under SasanapruCharatoau (Supreme Leader), there were SudhammaCharatoaus, AnuvijjakaCharatoaus, Tuik-up, Tuik-Krup(PresidingCharatoau), CakhyaCharatoau(LectuingCharatoaus), Casan(Student monks) Casan (Student novices) and Sutoau(Lay men). In the provinces, each division has a Guin:up (Leader) and Guin:thok (Assistant Leader) and they took orders from the SudhammaCharatoaus if there was any misconduct among the monks in their localities.

X. Conclusion and Discussion

In about 1860, King Mindonpatronised one group of monks led by Jagarawho was popularly called the RhwekyanCharatoau. The king built him one monastic establishment which grew into as many as twelve. Even though the king had appointed one Supreme Leader at this board of Religious councillors (SasanapruSasanaconAphwe) he allowed Jagaraand his followers to remain aloof from the council. He was called RhwekyanCharatoau because he came from Rhwekyan village. Although no one admitted that there was a division among the monks, the division itself became evident and RhwekyanCharatoau and his followers remained separate. The majority of the monks came to be known as Sudhamma. Thus, in 1860, there were the Sudhamma on one hand and RhwekyanCharatoau and his disciples on the other hand at Mandalay. The SudhammaSamghaclaimed that there was only one kind of monks in TheravadaBuddhism and any other sectarian group would be nothing but a branch of the Sudhamma. Anyway, even after 1860, most of the monasteries were under the charge of the SudhammaCharatoaus.

Later the *Rhwekyan* monastic establishments increased while the Dvaramonastic establishments increased. We find similar divisions among Buddhist monks in Srilanka and Thailand. They are Amarapura Sect and *Ramanna* Sect living side by side since 1858 in Srilanka. In Thailand, the MahaNikaya and the DhammayuttiNikaya prospered since 1837. In Myanmar since the time of King Mindon, the Dvara, Rhwekyan and Sudhamma Buddhist Order of Monks prospered side by side. They observed the same Vinaya, and there are not much difference between them. King Mindon on his part, he believed that the Religion had a great influence over the people. It brought them to live in peace and to respect law and order. They can get religious guidance from the monks whether Rhwekyan or Sudhamma in their daily life. The monks also depended on the charity of the people and they considered it their duty to teach them to abstain from doing any evil and live a good Buddhist life. In other words, to keep the people satisfied is to build up a good nation. In those days, the glorious history of Buddhism revealed, its greatness discovered and brought back to the interest both of India and the world.

When King Mindon ascended the throne, he wanted to be interested in trying to bring back Buddhism to its ancient strength and prosperity. For this purpose, the king did all the religious affairs like King Asoka but he ignored the division between the *Dvara*, Rhwekyan and Sudhamma Buddhist Order of monks. But the division had grown wider and wider and that brought about many adverse effects. During the time of King Thibaw, he appointed two Supreme Leaders; one for Sudhamma and one for Rhwekyan Buddhist Order of Monks. Thus the rise of the term of Sudhamma Buddhist Order of Monks became the most popular among the Theravada Buddhist monks Then what about any difference between the Sudhamma Buddhist Order and others especially? There was and there is not any schism, rift or split. There was no intention and no effort on the part of the Charatoaus to found a separate order. Both Sudhamma and other order of monks are governed by the DhammaVinava. So it is evident that there is no doctrinal difference or controversy. The difference in certain practices are the result of the ideas, view, or idiosyncrasy of certain *Charatoau* like *KayaKamma*, VaciKamma etc. The difference, however, is not sectarian but quite individual. There is no doctrinal and principle difference among Dvaya, Rhwekyan or Sudhamma. Although they are the popular of Dvara, Rhwekyan and Sudhamma, the monks tried to promote the Sasanais the same purpose for them. The leaders of these separate order of monks played an important role in their time that they led the *Pariyatti* and *Patipatti* as well as they gave the people in living peace with the principle of Buddha.

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This article uncovers the beginning of the Sudhamma Buddhist order tracing its background history. After ascending the throne, being interested in trying to bring back Buddhism to its ancient strength and prosperity, King Mindon paid fully attention in all the religious affairs like King Asoka. Therefore, the different Sangha associations had emerged in his time. It had grown wider and wider and that brought about many adverse effects. During the time of King Thibaw, to reorganize the Sangha associations, he appointed two Supreme Leaders; one for Sudhamma and one for the Rhwekyan Buddhist Order of Monks. Thus the rise of the term of Sudhamma Buddhist Order of Monks became the most popular among the Theravada Buddhist monks. This article, tracing its history, will answer the question that what about any difference between the Sudhamma Buddhist Order and others especially?

Key Words: Sangha, Sudhamma, Dhamma, King Mindon, King Thibaw