

Notes on Printing Press and Pali Literature in Burma

Aleix Ruiz-Falqués

Beginning with a general reflection on the meaning of “printing revolution”, this paper offers a series of meditations about the role of printing culture in Buddhist Burma. In China and in Tibet, an indigenous printing tradition based on woodblock printing developed over the centuries, much earlier than in Europe. A similar technology, however, was also used in pre-Gutenberg Europe for printing the so-called “Bibles for the poor” (*Biblia pauperum*). I argue that we should differentiate the Gutenberg printing press from other reprographic means, even movable types. Burma has an almost uninterrupted history of relationships with China. Notwithstanding this vicinity, Burma has not developed any kind of reprographic technology. Manuscript culture, on the contrary, has been intensively cultivated at least since the Pagan period, 11th-13th centuries C.E. To judge from epigraphic records, the production of written texts in medieval Burma was extremely costly, for it demanded a great quantity of human labor. The profession of scribe was well known and well appreciated. Monasteries were usually endowed with scribes who would care for the replenishment of the library. The writing tradition was not static. It gained in strength over the centuries. And at the time of British annexation, literacy rates in Burma were higher than in England –without any intervention of the printing press. Even in modern times, two hundred years after the introduction of printing technology in Burma, the name for “literature” in Burmese continues to be “palm-leaf text” (*sa-pe*) and the manuscript imaginaire is still deeply related to Buddhism. The aim of this paper is to problematize printing culture from a particular, local perspective, and link it to the nature of its preceding manuscript tradition.

The satisfaction of the first need (the action of satisfying, and the instrument of satisfaction which has been acquired) leads to new needs; and this production of new needs is the first historical act.

K. Marx, *The German Ideology*, 1845

1. General Remarks

The convener of this panel has clearly expressed the object of the present discussion:

The aim of this panel is to challenge the idea of a universal cultural revolution caused by the introduction of the printing press by addressing some “harmless” questions: is this paradigm universally valid? Can we speak of one uniform “printing technology” or

should we rather think of different “printing technologies”? And if the latter case is true, how did these technologies affect different cultural traditions?

This formulation, in itself, contains a series of remarkable problems. I think it is necessary to tackle these problems before we go on with the history of the printing press in Burma, of which I can say only few, but hopefully significant things. Indeed, what I will try to do in this paper is precisely to offer some meditations, in the humanistic style, around the question of printing press and textual culture in Burma. With that I intend to highlight some of the main dialectic tensions in mainstream Burmese Buddhist written culture.

1.1. Revolution and Suddenness

It is generally accepted, with a more or less big degree of confidence, that the invention of the printing press triggered a major cultural revolution in Europe. This is considered a fact. By revolution here we understand not only a dramatic shift of paradigm, but a shift of paradigm that accelerates some sort of development. In the case of printing press, the development is in the dissemination of written texts. Revolution is not the change in itself, but something that alters the accustomed pattern –something that actually creates the awareness that the past was a pattern. Revolution causes events to develop at higher speed, or in a higher degree that “revolves”, i.e. spins around the preceding model. Revolution implies a break. A sudden break, a turning point, is essential in a Revolution. Unlike wars (remembered with date of beginning and date of end), revolutions are remembered as events that took place in a particular moment (May 1789, October 1917, May 1968, etc.), a turning point, even though we all know that the French Revolution was a process that lasted years. An Eastern archetypical model for Revolution would be the “setting in motion of the wheel of Dhamma” by the Buddha –by every Buddha. The moment of the Enlightenment of the Buddha is revolutionary.

1.2. Revolution as Progress

Originally, the concept of revolution was astronomical: for instance, the revolution of the earth with respect to the sun. In this way, the word revolution expressed cyclicity, a pattern. Today, however, the idea of Revolution is inseparable from the idea of Progress. If a state of affairs dramatically changes for the bad, we call it a “disaster” or a “catastrophe”, not a “revolution”. For instance, the massive extinction in the Jurassic was not a “revolution,” but the domestication of rice was.

When we talk about “universal cultural revolution” we understand immediately a certain acceleration in cultural Progress, a qualitative leap. The idea of Progress is highly controversial but I think we cannot do without it if we are talking about the possibility of a “universal cultural revolution”.

1.3. The Transformation of Quantity into Quality

The invention of the printing press has been considered revolutionary in the West because it suddenly allowed information to be disseminated quicker, thus accelerating the pace of progress, the spread of information both vertically (across social strata) and horizontally (across land and sea). Speed itself is the most prominent quality of a Revolution, because with acceleration, quantity is transformed into quality. For instance, one scribe could copy one hundred books in a certain amount of time, but a printing machine could do the same one thousand times faster. This turns the machine into a qualitatively different entity than the copyist, and quantity is changed into quality on account of speed.

1.4. The Medium is the Message

McLuhan and others have insisted on the fact that the medium, namely Gutenberg’s printing press, and not the product (books) is the fundamental agent of this revolution. McLuhan has expressed, however, the paradox of conceiving the medium as the container and the message as the content. He says, for instance, that

Our conventional response to all media, namely that it is how they are used that counts, is the numb stance of the technological idiot. For the “content” of a medium is like the juicy piece of meat carried by the burglar to distract the watchdog of the mind. The effect of the medium is made strong and intense just because it is given another medium as “content”. The content of a movie is a novel or a play or an opera. The effect of the movie form is not related to its program content. The “content” of writing or print is speech, but the reader is almost entirely unaware either of print or of speech. (McLuhan 2001: 19)

McLuhan has repeatedly argued that our consideration of a medium as a container is based on our conception of space, thus establishing a relationship that can only be fully grasped against an anthropological background. In tribal culture or in electric age, McLuhan claims, space ceases to be static and therefore the identity of medium and message becomes conspicuous. An example of this phenomenon, nowadays, is the tendency to reduce all mental and spiritual content, which is a sort of

self-narrative, to chemical agents: “It is not love, it is endorphins”. Etc. The tribal man and the man of the electric age is ready to identify the content with the container and is ready to understand that light itself is the information. McLuhan claims that the separation of the medium from its message is a product of literacy and the dissociation of form and meaning that is inherent in alphabetical culture.

In saying this, McLuhan seems to acknowledge that his main theme (“the medium is the message”) is but an epiphany of a literate man awakening in the apparently “tribal” age of electricity (today we would say “of internet”).

1.5. McLuhan, Writing and Printing

Sometimes, however, there seems to be some confusion in McLuhan’s arguments, for he tends to equate the literate man with the man of the printing age. In his seminal work *The Gutenberg Galaxy* he devotes only one chapter to the distinction of literacy and typography. This chapter has the title “Only a fraction of the history of literacy has been typographic”. But this chapter is devoted mostly to Joyce, and McLuhan does not clarify what distinguishes the impact of mere literacy from typographical literacy. This ambiguity, I think, involves, again, a greater problem, namely the arbitrary homogenization of human collectives. McLuhan refers to “the tribal man”, “the literate man”, “the Elizabethans”, etc. as if these labels would comprise all the members of the collective he is talking about. This simplification is perhaps useful in the presentation of McLuhan’s argument. Nevertheless, simplification hinders a full assessment of the complexities in the revolutionary processes under examination.

If we take literary practices (oral or written) as the expression of the dominant class, surely these practices cannot account for the dominated class. The dominated class is ultimately the medium’s medium. In other words: if, as McLuhan claims, the novel or the narrative is the content of the book, and the book the content of the printing press, then it follows that the printing press is the content of a mechanized technology involving the physical and mental energy of potentially illiterate workers –let them be the workers in the printing press, or let them be the smiths and carpenters who effectively build and carve the pieces for a printing press. These men and women may be as “Elizabethans” as the others, but they are the medium of the upper class’ medium. They are alienated, that is to say: they are producing books while they are illiterate themselves. And when I say illiterate I do not only mean that they don’t have the ability to read and write, but also that they don’t have the time or opportunity to apply this ability in case they have it. For the products of the dominant class are never the result of the needs of the dominated class.

To sum up, my first claim against McLuhan is that he overlooks the internal dialectic of literary material production, not to mention the mutual dependence between demand and supply.

When we say that the printing press was revolutionary we tend to forget the objective conditions that allowed this revolution to succeed. This is very important, for the idea of Revolution is also (in Marxism) deeply connected with the concept of objective conditions. In Europe, it was not by chance that printing started in the land of Protestantism, for this was an objective condition that allowed the Revolution to take place. It is not by chance that the overseas expansion of European colonial powers began at the same time. In the case of Burma, as I will show, printing culture arrived, precisely, with Protestantism (the north American Baptist Mission) and with colonialism. It was therefore an episode of the long story that began in the fifteenth century.

1.6. The Printing and the Profane

McLuhan suggests that printing technology, or in other words, the spread of literacy, generates an isolation of the sense faculties and creates the visual man.¹ The visual man is highly rational and distrusts the supernatural. Therefore the equation has been drawn:

Oral culture = Sacred

Literate culture = Profane

It is not that enlightenment fostered the increment of book printing, but the opposite: book printing fostered rationalism. In the light of the present situation in many countries with high literacy rates, I think it is clear that this equation does not hold good. Moreover, I would say that some openly religious disciplines are deeply rooted in literacy, for instance the Kabbalah, Zodiac correspondences or the tantric letter-symbols. Even mathematics (algebra) requires the use of letters, and the Periodic Table of Elements is also a collection of symbolic letters (a powerful example of the symbolic force of these letters is found in the opening title of the TV series *Breaking Bad*, using the symbols of the chemical elements, which are letters, as conventional letters).

¹ We have to understand that both oral and manuscript culture do not generate the conception of a static space, something that is achieved only through the mechanical copy of a static text (according to McLuhan).

1.7. Literacy and Three Dimensions

In the first sections of *The Gutenberg Galaxy* McLuhan explores the effect of alphabetic technology in the isolation of visual experience from other senses, and the consequent conception of a static space, which is the basis for the conception of a tridimensional space. It is difficult for us not to think that space is something static. We have seen too many maps and we actually believe they represent real space. But the fact is that for many societies, space is not something in which we exist, some sort of static plane in which we move, without the plane being moved. This idea, namely that there is something static in which things move, would be, according to McLuhan, the result of printed literacy:

The arbitrary selection of a single static position creates a pictorial space with vanishing point. This space can be filled bit by bit, and is quite different from non-pictorial space in which each thing simply resonates or modulates its own space in visually two-dimensional form. [...] Far from being a normal mode of human vision, *three-dimensional perspective is a conventionally acquired mode of seeing, as much acquired as is the means of recognizing the letters of the alphabet*, or of following chronological narrative. (McLuhan 1962: 16; italics mine)

The example chosen by McLuhan is from Shakespeare's *King Lear*:

Edgar... Hark, do you hear the sea?
Gloucester. No, truly.
Edgar. Why then, your other senses grow imperfect
By your eyes' anguish....
Come on, sir; here's the place. Stand still. how fearful
And dizzy'tis to cast one's eyes so low!

McLuhan boldly claims that “the anguish of the third dimension is given its first verbal manifestation in poetic history in *King Lear*.” That is true only with respect to anguish. The third dimension and the static point of view, and the marvel, not the anguish, of tridimensional perspective, was expressed in India much earlier, at least as earlier as the times of Kālidāsa, a poet who lived, allegedly, not later than the 5th century C.E. Consider, for instance, this stanza from Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* (“The Cloud Messenger”):

The mountains' flanks are covered
in wild mango trees shining with ripe fruit
and you are the color

of a well-oiled braid of hair.
 When you surmount the peak,
 it will surely become a worthy sight
 for coupling celestials,
 looking as it will
 like the breast of the world,
 dark in the middle, pale all around.²

Here, the tridimensional perspective is not only compatible with a sacral space, it is actually articulated within it. The static point of view is the one of the gods, high in the sky, and the filling of the three dimensions is clearly expressed by the voluminous image of the earth's breast.

Examples like this one show that printing technology is not necessary in order to configure the tridimensional conceptual space of the literate. Perhaps not even writing is necessary. Indeed, it is very difficult to distinguish the particular effects of printing culture from the effects of plain literacy (in manuscript culture), at least with respect to the dichotomy "literate vs. oral". Therefore, I think it is still to be proven that manuscript copying and printing technology are, from the visual point of view, essentially different technologies. They are different, however, in the qualitative leap of printing technology, which was revolutionary because it allowed a much faster and cheaper spread of information. These two things have to be kept separate in order to understand why the introduction of the printing press never caused a change of mindset in eastern cultures like the Burmese.

2. Printing of Pali texts in Burma

2.1. No indigenous printing culture in Burma

In China and in Tibet, an indigenous printing tradition based on woodblock printing developed over the centuries, much earlier than in Europe. A similar technology, however, was also used in pre-Gutenberg Europe for printing the so-called "Bibles for the poor" (*Biblia pauperum*) (McLuhan 2001: 172). That is why I think we should differentiate the Gutenberg printing press from other reprographic means, even movable types.

² Translation by James Mallinson (2006: 33). Sanskrit text of the same edition (based on Hultsch 1911):

*channopānta ḥpariṇataphaladyotibhi ḥkānanāmraais
 tvayyārūḍḥe śikharamacala ḥsnigdhaveṇīsavarṇe |
 nūna ṇyasyaty amaramithunaprekṣaṇiyām avasthā ṇ
 madhye śyāma ḥstana iva bhuvah, śeṣavistārapāṇḍu ḥ||*

Burma has an almost uninterrupted history of relationships with China. Notwithstanding this vicinity, Burma has not developed any kind of reprographic technology. Manuscript culture, on the contrary, has been intensively cultivated at least since the Pagan period, 11th-13th centuries C.E.

To judge from epigraphic records, the production of written texts in medieval Burma was extremely costly, for it demanded a great quantity of human labor. The profession of scribe was well known and well appreciated. Monasteries were usually endowed with scribes who would care for the replenishment of the library. The writing tradition was not static. It gained in strength over the centuries. And at the time of British annexation, literacy rates in Burma were higher than in England –this, I shall remind, without the intervention of printing press. Even in modern times, two hundred years after the introduction of printing technology in Burma, the name for “literature” in Burmese continues to be “palm-leaf text” (*sa-pe*).

2.2. The Baptist Missionary Press

The pioneering activity of missionary printing press in Burma was remarkable from the early 19th century. In the records of missionary literature we learn that “a printing press had been sent from Serampore, and a missionary printer, George H. Hough, who arrived from America with his wife in 1817, produced the first printed materials in Burmese ever printed in Burma, which included 800 copies of Judson's translation of the *Gospel of Matthew*” (Maung Shwe Wa, Sowards, and Sowards 1963). Judson, an indefatigable man of God, published also the first Grammar of the Burmese language and a Dictionary in the Baptist Mission Press of Rangoon.



Fig. 1. Judson imprisoned in Ava: “It took Judson 12 years to make 18 converts.”

(Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adoniram_Judson#/media/File:Adoniram_Judson_imprisoned.jpg, accessed 1st May 2017)

The first Pali materials to be printed were also the work of another Baptist, Rev. Francis Mason, who published a *Pali Grammar on the basis of Kacchayano, with Chrestomathy and Vocabulary* (1868). This book was the first to combine Devanāgarī, Ashokan Brahmi and Burmese scripts with Roman script—a commendable tour de force, given the precarious conditions under which Mason was working. A self-awareness that he was producing something never attempted before is noticeable in the preface. Mason says:

It is an interesting fact that the Pali, which has the oldest alphabet in India, has been printed by Karens whose own language is among the last reduced to writing. Some of the earlier forms show their inexperience, but the general character of the work has been commended.

The Deputy Commissioner in his official report to Government, dated 23, Oct. 1867, wrote: “The Printing department of the Institute I consider a *great success*. Dr. Mason has learned the printers’ art, and taught three Karens to print. The Pali Grammar, a copy of which I shall send you with a separate letter, has been printed by these men, and I think reflects great credit on Dr. Mason and his pupils.”

The Rev. E.B. Cross writes: “I wrote you a hasty note on Saturday, which did not fully answer my purpose. I ought first of all to have expressed my ADMIRATION of your printing in all the characters and languages which it represents, for it is certainly very neatly and BEAUTIFULLY done.” (Mason 1868, iii)

The work was printed with the assistance of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1864, which paid for the types. The book was destined to a group of subscribers, around 150, 50 being for The Government of India and 50 for Trübner and Co.

2.3. Printing and Popular Culture

The blossoming of printing activity in Burma took place shortly after the Second Anglo-Burmese War (1852), in the advent of British occupation of the southern provinces.

In 1870, Mandalay was still the capital of Upper Burma, and the cultural capital of the Kingdom. The court of King Mindon in Mandalay promoted a series of reforms in order to modernize the country. Modernization was an attempt to save the last portions of territory from British annexation, following the reformist diplomatic skills of the Thai rulers. Modern photography and electricity were introduced, but strangely enough, no printing press was established. By contrast, a monumental edition of the Pali Tipiṭaka was engraved in stone slabs in commemoration of the so-called 5th Theravada Buddhist Council. The large investment devoted to stone inscriptions instead of printing

press is highly symbolic. Today, scholars all-over the world can consult the stone inscriptions in a cd-rom and a new digital edition of the stones is being prepared by a team directed by Professor Mark Allon (University of Sydney). In this way the 5th council edition has skipped printing technology.



Fig. 2. Stone slabs in the Kuthodaw pagoda, Mandalay. <http://www.photodharma.net/Myanmar/Kuthodaw-Sandamuni/Kuthodaw-Sandamuni.htm>, accessed 1st May 2017)

Local printing press became very active in Rangoon and the southern provinces by the 1870s. These printing presses mostly published popular literature in Burmese language (Myint-U 2001, 152). For the first time written culture ceased to be the monopoly of Buddhism. British investments on the harbour city of Rangoon, rather than on Upper Burma's capital Mandalay, produced a renaissance in Lower Burma culture. From 1850 until 1880 Lower Burma “grew as a sort of ‘alternative Burma’ which sapped the legitimacy of Mandalay, allowed an unprecedented flight of cultivators, produced a new source of Burmese culture, especially through printed books, and threw up a new class of indigenous administrators, schooled by the British and who retained very limited family and other connections with the old elites in the north” (Myint-U 2001, 207).

Local printing presses of Pali texts like the Suddhammavati Press of Rangoon became active only later on, in the 1920s and 1930s.

2.4. Manuscript Culture and Nationalism in the 20th Century

The manuscript as a medium of transmission of sacred texts was used well into the 20th century. For instance, in the 1920s in the city of Thaton (southern Burma) manuscript provisions for an entire monastic library were commissioned by U Pho Thi, an influential businessman of the region. The printed books and the manuscripts of that library sometimes overlap in their contents. Indeed, they were respectively printed and copied at the same time.

And even though the manuscript copy could be considered an object of worship rather than reference material, many of the manuscripts present signs of having been used, consulted, read. On the other hand we must not overlook the symbolic effect of the library itself, the so-called *Tipiṭaka-taik*.

We ignore how much these manuscripts have been used by monks. The library was established to serve monastic examinations that were independent from the British education system. The copy of Pali manuscripts in the early 20th century, therefore, was meant to be a challenge to English colonial education transmitted by modern printed school books.

A fine instance of the symbolic power of manuscript is the still popular use of lacquered *kammavācā* manuscripts (texts to be recited during the ordination). Christian Lammerts has highlighted the features of the tamarind-seed script used in this kind of text: the letters are extremely squared and bold, and thus difficult to read, a factor that may enhance memorization. On the other hand, this is the only manuscript style still produced in Burma. (Lammerts 2010, 236-237).

2.5. The printing of the 6th Council Edition

Not long after independence in 1947, Prime Minister U Nu organized a 6th Theravada Council (the 6th according to the Burmese tradition only). The outcome of this council was a systematic printed edition of the Canon, Commentaries, Sub-commentaries and ancillary works, which is the origin of the digital edition called the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana CD (www.tipitaka.org).

A different version of the canon, published by the Handhawaddy Press³, can still be found, but it is not easy and has been systematically removed from monastic library shelves and Pali bookshops.

The late 1950s and 1960s were very productive in printed Pali editions. In the course of time, however, and following the economic decline that started in 1962 and ended only a few years ago, the printing of Pali works, canonical and non-canonical, has suffered a shortage and as a result of this many books are only to be found, today, in bound photocopies. Offset techniques have replaced true printing types. This change, I think, entails a significant restriction to the lively work in progress extended over the different editions of the same text. Additions, corrections, updates are ruled out.

The spread of offset is known all over the world. In Burma, a country that never signed the Copyright treatise, Pali bookshops are usually also Pali “copy presses” exposed to no legal prosecution.

³ Hamsavati Press. Hamsavati is the Pali name for Bago, which was the capital of the Mon kingdom in the south of present day Burma.

2.6. Photocopy as printing: a modern workshop

In my last visit to Burma, I was looking for some rare grammatical texts. At first it became apparently impossible to find copies of these books in any major Pali bookshop both in Yangon and Mandalay, the biggest cities in terms of monastic education. Later I visited Sagaing, a small city with a large monastic concentration, not far from Mandalay. In the library of a monastery in Sagaing I found the books I was looking for. I enquired how I could obtain a copy of these books. The librarian told me about a bookshop in Mandalay where rare Pali books were still sold. I went there the same day and what I found was a small monastery, a bungalow really, in a suburb of Mandalay. In the first floor of that house, the head monk had a copying machine and a very remarkable collection of old Pali editions, most of them damaged by insects, weather, or both.



Fig. 3. The balcony of the lost pages. Every two weeks three erudite monks from the Mandalay area meet here and talk about rare books while enjoying a hot tea (photo: A. Ruiz-Falqués, 2012)

This monk uses “clean” pages from different editions and composes a photocopied edition—a new, flawless version of the text. These books are no longer in print. Most of them are very rare indeed, for they are not canonical works and even many Pali scholars ignore their existence. The self-made printer monk has published a catalog and he caters for the monasteries in the Mandalay area—the area with the largest concentration of scholar monks in Burma.



Fig. 4. The picture of a picture. The copy monk with his machine, featured in a local newspaper (photo: A. Ruiz-Falqués, 2012)

The existence of this photocopy workshop was certainly surprising to me. It offers, I think, an example of the ways in which tradition finds its own way to survive. Of course, the labors of this monk would be barren if there would not be a demand.

This is a case of 2013, in the Internet era. The monk being already old, it is difficult to know how long this individual enterprise will last, probably not long, but it has set an admirable example, and surely pdf scans will be done on the basis of his patchworks.

3. Conclusions

With respect to Pali publications in Burma, the copy machine has replaced in many cases the printing press. Today, several websites are replacing paper altogether. This gives a new perspective in evaluating the role of printing press in Pali literature of Burma. The great law of bibliography says that “the more there were, the fewer there are” (McLuhan 2001, 172). Mainstream culture changes constantly and tends to forget, whereas the elite tends to preserve its relatively small corpus of texts, sacred and always threatened by the lack of popularity. Since Pali literature is minoritarian and elitist, we can say: “the lesser they were, the better they survive.” This is true, at least, in a country where preservation of manuscripts and Buddhist texts in general is much more secured than secular literature and receives constant (if sometimes insufficient) institutional support.

McLuhan says that “repeatability is the core of the mechanical principle that has dominated our world, especially since the Gutenberg technology.” (McLuhan 2001, 173). McLuhan also suggested that modern nationalism was a product of printing technology. This seems to be very suitable for Burma, because the first period of popular exposition to printing in Burmese (secular literature) coincided with the explosion of Burmese nationalism in the 1920s. Nevertheless, the same could be said of manuscripts or stone inscriptions. I have already pointed out McLuhan’s overlooking of broader material conditions. Material conditions are much more important than the implementation

of certain technologies. For instance, there are many houses now with A/C apparels in Burma, but electric power shortage persists. One may end up possessing the technology as a potential, but the actualization of this technology depends on other factors. But this problem is too complex to be addressed here.

3.1. Winding Up

Now, if we ask again the following questions:

Can we speak of one uniform “printing technology” or should we rather think of different “printing technologies”? And if the latter case is true, how did these technologies affect different cultural traditions?

The reply to the first question is that the variety of printing technologies (Gutenberg style) is possible due to certain material conditions, and that applies to Burma as well.

In this case the material conditions were determined by Western colonialism and the Christian missions.

To the second question we could provisionally answer that the effects of printing technology in Burma were primarily caused by the content of the printed texts. If the first printed text in Burmese is the *Gospel of Matthew*, the entire project of printing seems bound to fail. For we cannot ignore the almost imperceptible impact of evangelization in a Buddhist country. The impact is inversely proportional to that of printed Bibles in Christian Europe. This seems to demonstrate that the medium is not the message and that the success of Gutenberg in Europe had to do with other factors involving the content of the printed books, especially the Reform of Martin Luther.

References

- Hultzsch, Eugen. 1911. *Kalidasa's Meghaduta. Edited from Manuscripts with the Commentary of Vallabhadeva and Provided with a Complete Sanskrit-English Vocabulary*. London: Royal Asiatic Society.
- Lammerts, Christian. 2010. “Notes on Burmese Manuscripts: Texts and Images” *Journal of Burma Studies* 14, Northern Illinois University: 229-254.
- Mallinson, James. 2006. *Messenger Poems by Kālidāsa, Dhoyī and Rūpa Gosvāmin*. New York: New York University Press / JJC Foundation.
- Mason, Francis. 1868. *A Pali Grammar on the Basis of Kachchayano with Chrestomathy & Vocabulary*. Toun-goo: Institute Press.
- McLuhan, Marshall. 1962. *The Gutenberg Galaxy*. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press.
- McLuhan, Marshall. 2001. *Understanding Media*. New York: Routledge.

Myint-U, Th. 2001. *The Making of Modern Burma*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shwe Wa, Maung, Genevieve Sowards, and Erville Sowards. 1963. *Burma Baptist Chronicle*. Rangoon: Board of Publications, Burma Baptist Convention.

Aleix Ruiz-Falqués, BA Classics University of Barcelona, MA Sanskrit University of Pune, PhD South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge. My research focuses on Pali Literature and Buddhism in South and Southeast Asia. At present I work on a new critical edition of the *Dīgha Nikāya* at the Dhammachai Institute in Bangkok.