

JOURNAL OF THE MYANMAR ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCE



**History, Psychology, Archaeology,
International Relations and
Library & Information Studies**

Vol. XVI, No. 7, December 2018

Myanmar Academy of Arts and Science

Journal of the Myanmar Academy of Arts and Science

Vol. XVI, No.7

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ECONOMY OF MOGAUNG REGION DURING THE KONBAUNG PERIOD*

K. Khine Kyaw¹

Abstract

Mogaung region is rich with natural resources, well fertile soil and suitable climate for agriculture. Therefore, in the old days the people there never worried about food, shelter and clothing. Most of the people were agriculturalist by birth and calling. Their main job was to grow paddy in plain by ways of irrigating the field or wet-land paddy growing system. Jade business appeared in the reign of King Badon. Chinese speculators explored and achieved good fortune from jade business, which flourished in the reign of King Mindon. Another trade was Indian Rubber which was produced by the hill-tribes. Myanmar Kings got a considerable amount of taxes and duties from it were not more than Indian Rubber. There was another buying and selling of general and household article among hill-tribes, Shan, Myanmar and Yunnan Chinese. The medium for the trade transaction was silver or gold, but barter system was used for the trifle business.

Keywords: paddy, Indian rubber, jade

Introduction

This Paper is about economy of Mogaung region during the Konbaung period. The economy of Mogaung Region (now Kachin State) could have been divided into three main topics: firstly the agriculture for the self-sufficient, secondly Jade and Indian rubber production, and thirdly general trading with Chinese merchants in the Konbaung Period. The weather was fair enough for the paddy cultivation and orchard for the various fruits, but it was just for household use except paddy which was sold out surplus from own consumption. Jade was abundant in that region but local consumption was not much in those days and it was exported for China by the Chinese jade traders. Indian rubber was in a great demand from China. The general trading with China was based mainly upon jade and Indian rubber for export and household effect; textile and assorted food for import. The medium for the trade was based upon silver or gold and sometime and mostly for hill-tribes it

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* Best Paper Award winning Paper in History, (2017)

was bartered. In this paper, it will be described about the paddy cultivation, Indian rubber trade and jade trade. Moreover, the economic relations between the native people and Chinese merchants were also described.

Physical geography

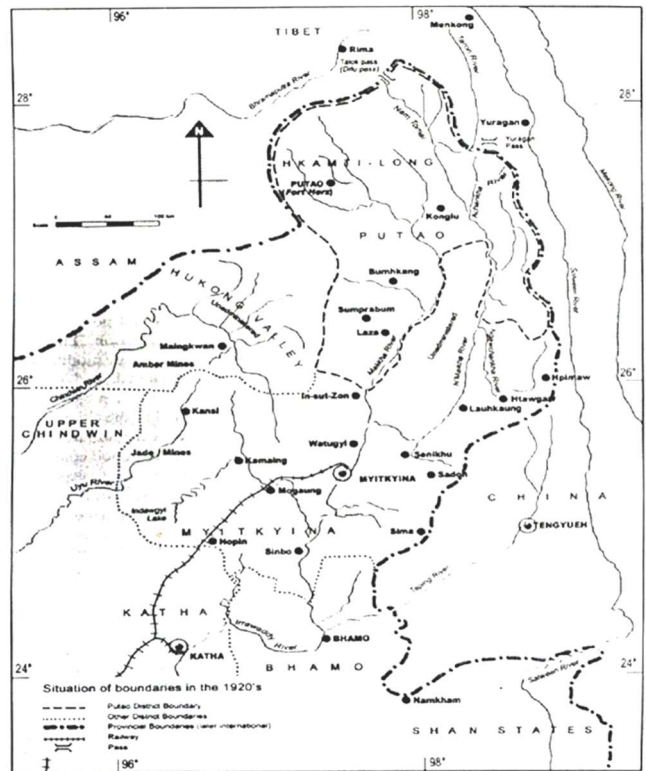
Physical geography of that region appears three main ranges. Those are namely *Kumon* range, *Kauk Kwé* range and Jade mine range. *Kumon* range starts from Hkamti-Long and extend to the North of Mogaung, *Kauk Kwé* range starts from near Mogaung runs southwards up to the west bank of Ayeyawady river and the last one Jade mine range situates along the west of Mogaung river. Mogaung river starts from Hukaung and flows through Hukaung valley at the north-west of Mogaung. Then it turns south easterly to flow into Ayeyawady of North Latitude 24° 53'. Mogaung river is called by the local people as *Nam Kaung* stream up to Kamaing village.¹ As for the plains in this region were as follows:

- (1) Putao valley along Malikha river
- (2) Hukaung valley along the rising place of Tanaikha or Chindwin river
- (3) Mogaung valley along Mogaung river
- (4) Ayeyawady river valley around Myitkyina and Waingmaw.²

¹ (a) Sir George Scott & Joseph Dantremer, *Burma British Rule*, Trans: by Sir George Scott, London, Fisher Unwin, 1916, 131-2 (Hereafter cited as: Scott & Dantremer, 1916).

(b) J.G. Scott, *Gazetteer Upper Burma and Shan States, Part I, Vol.I*, (In five volume) (Assisted by J.P.Hardiman), Rangoon, Government Printing, Burma, 1900, 21 (Hereafter cited as: Scott, *GUBSS, Part I, Vol.I*, 1900)

² Min Yu Swe, *Guide to travel in Ottra Plain: Kachin Land*, Yangon, Shwe Parabike Publication, 1998, 1 (Hereafter cited as : Min Yu Swe, 1998)



Map of Moguang Region

Source: Sai Aung Tun, 2009, 172

The above valleys are the cultivable lands for that region. Those places are well fertile by the alluvial loam which is suitable for the tropical and subtropical plants. The climate favours

especially for the fruit trees.³

The annual precipitation in the northernmost parts of this region gets 160 inches for the whole year. But the rainfall decreases gradually to the south till 80 inches of rainfall round the year. Temperature in the plain is 55° F for

³ W.A.Hertz, *Burma Gazetteer: Myittha District, Vol.A*, Rangoon, Government Printing, Reprint, 1960, 25 (Hereafter cited as: Hertz, *Vol.A*, 1960)

the lowest and 98° F for the highest. But it differs from place to place. Some places on the hills freeze in the coldest times.⁴

Agriculture

Shan, Shan-Bamar and *Kadu*, *Kanan* who lived in the plains earned their living by agriculture. Amongst the agriculture they mostly liked to cultivate paddy. They usually established the new paddy fields wherever they arrived at a new place. Their staple food is rice. So they always were thinking and inventing the new techniques and new instruments for paddy cultivation. Traditionally, they had got the system of wet-rice cultivation.⁵ Cultivation of paddy by that way was also called *Yele* (or) lowland paddy cultivation.⁶

Other way of paddy cultivation was called “*Lé Pok*” cultivation method. Latter method of paddy cultivation started in February or March, harvested in December and paddy yielded twelve to twenty baskets for each plot which had broadcasted one basket of paddy seed.⁷ The areas, south of Mogaung up to Mohnyin, Kamaing village to the north and Indawgyi to the west cultivated rice constantly.⁸ The areas to the east of Mogaung cultivated rice as well. *Sinbo* village also, cultivated paddy by the methods of *Yele* and hill-side cultivation.⁹

Hkamti-Long, the northernmost part of Mogaung region, locates between North Latitudes 27° and 28° and between East Longitudes 97° and 98°. That place is today Putao Township and once it was called Hkamti-Long by the Shan. The people who lived there were Shan and Shan-Bamar called themselves Great Shan or Shan-gyi and Assamese called them

⁴ Min Yu Swe, 1998, 1

⁵ Sai Aung Tun, *History of The Shan State: From Its origin to 1962*, Bangkok, O.S Printing House, 2009, 42-43. (Hereafter cited as: Sai Aung Tun, 2009)

⁶ Hertz, *Vol.A*, 1960, 105

⁷ J.G. Scott, *Gazetteer Upper Burma and Shan States, Part I, Vol.II*, Rangoon, Government Printing, Burma, 1900, 355-6 (Hereafter cited as: Scott, *GUBSS, Part I, Vol.II*, 1900)

⁸ Scott, *GUBSS, Part I, Vol.I*, 1900, 201.

⁹ J.G. Scott, *Gazetteer Upper Burma and Shan States, Part II, Vol.III*, (In five volume), Rangoon, Government Printing, Burma, 1901, 171 (Hereafter cited as: Scott, *GUBSS, Part II, Vol.III*, 1901)

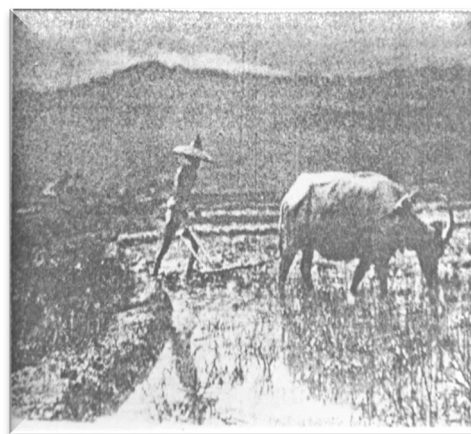


Elephant ploughing

Source: Sai Aung Tun, 2009, 43

and harvested in July. For the second crop, it was planted in May and harvested in August. For the last crop of the year; it was grown as wet-land paddy, in the raining season.¹² Buffalos, oxen and elephants were used in the agricultural works besides human labourers were also hired. At the early times of British annexation, labour charges for the whole paddy growing seasons was forty to forty-five baskets of paddy for one labourer. For a female labourer who transplanted the paddy seedlings was to be paid eight annas (one anna = the sixteenth part of a rupee) per day.¹³

It was not expected to spend much amount of expenditure for cultivation. The whole family member and domestic animal used to work cultivation together,¹⁴ field labourer hiring in the old days was not very



Buffalos ploughing

Source: Milne, 1910, 150

¹⁰ J.G. Scott, *Gazetteer Upper Burma and Shan States, Part II, Vol.I*, Rangoon, Government Printing, Burma, 1901, 123 (Hereafter cited as: Scott, *GUBSS, Part II, Vol.I*, 1901)

¹¹ Sai Aung Tun, 2009, 43

¹² Kawlu Ma Naung, A.T.M, *The History of The Kachins of the Hukawng Vally*. (Trans & notes by J.L. Leyden), Bombay, H.W. Smithe India Press, no date. 64 (Hereafter cited as: Kawlu, *Kachins*)

¹³ Hertz, *Vol A*, 1960, 10

¹⁴ Sai Aung Tun, 2009, 42

common. On the other hand, collective farming and to help each other alternatively was the usual habits in those days. Buffalos and elephants were mostly used in the cultivation jobs because those animals were stronger and more durable than the bullocks, and Shans were familiar with and clever to handle them.

Paddy was enough for consumption in the plains and surplus of paddy was sold to the hilly regions.¹⁵ Mr. Thomas Spears sent the price list of paddy to Arthur Phayre, in 18 March 1854 was follows:

- (1) Area in the south of Amarapura was 60 Kyats per 100 baskets
- (2) Village near Amaraapura was 50-57 Kyats per 100 baskets
- (3) Chindwin region, surrounding area of Moksobo was 52 Kyats per 100 baskets
- (4) Neighbouring area of Bhamo was 50 Kyats per 100 baskets¹⁶

It was possible to say that the prices were for the new crop of the year 1854. But C.H.E Adamson said that the price of paddy was 100 Kyats for 100 baskets and four Kyats per basket of rice in 1886 at Kamaing village, Mogaung Township.¹⁷ The duration from 30 January 1889 to 4 May 1889 while the fighting appeared between the British army and Kachin rebels, 639 houses and 509000 lbs (227.5 tons) of paddy at 46 villages were burnt down. That was one of the points to estimate the yield of paddy in that region.¹⁸ The amount of paddy which was burnt and destroyed even at the beginning of British occupation, while the country was in turmoil, was not a small amount. By that fact, it was able to estimate the agricultural condition and the size of its production. Paddy was cultivated in 30133 acres of the total cultivatable

¹⁵ Hertz, *Vol A*, 1960, 106

¹⁶ Dr. Kyaw Win, *Introduction to Konbaung*, Yangon, Yarpay Press, 2006, 73 (Hereafter cited as: Dr. Kyaw Win, 2006)

¹⁷ C.H.E. Adamson, *A Short Account of An Expedition to the Jade Mines in Upper Burma in 1887-1888*, with a map, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, J Bell and Co., 1889, 41 (Hereafter cited as: Adamson, 1889)

¹⁸ Hertz, *Vol A*, 1960, 42-48

land, 30774 acres, in Myitkyina district by the British Government's record which was compiled in the year of 1901-02.¹⁹

Other crops were grown, besides paddy, the major crops of that region. They were namely sweet potato, yam, beans (except ground-nut), and artichoke and eggplant.²⁰ Captain Hanney who arrived at amber mines area found that the tea plants were planted in that area. Similarly, he also had seen lemon and citron trees were grown well there.²¹ Local people planted these vegetables and fruit just enough for their home consumption. At Sinbo village, the native people grew papayas, guavas, jack-fruits and pumpkins in their orchard.²² Native Indian planted some sugar cane in their yard. Tobacco, both Havana and Virginia had been grown successfully in that area. Because of excellent soil and favourable climate for agriculture, the people in Mogaung region were able to obtain benefit as much as they could afford. Hertz remarked as follows: "This district can therefore never suffer from scarcity or famine, and it is more than able to maintain its population."²³

Indian Rubber

Another business of Mogaung region was Indian rubber trading. Indian rubber (*Ficus Elastica*) was no need to plant; it grew naturally in the forests of that region. Especially in Hukaung valley and upper parts of *Nam Kaung* river (or Moguang river) where there were the altitude of 2000 feet to 3000 feet above sea level. The heights of those trees were about 200 feet and girth round the outside of their aerial roots of 100 to 130 feet.²⁴ Those were not the same as the rubber trees which were planted in lower Myanmar. Latter called in common names as *Kyetpaung* or *Kawbat* and the botanical name is *Hevea*

¹⁹ *Burma Gazetteer, Myitkyina District, Vol.B., Including Town and Village Census Tables No.28*, Rangoon, Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1913, 11 (Hereafter cited as: *Myitkyina, Vol B*, 1913)

²⁰ Scott & Dantremer, 1916, 109

²¹ (a) Scott, *GUBSS, Part I, Vol.II*, 1900, 290

(b) Dorothy Woodman, *The Making of Burma*, London, The Cresset Press, MCMLXII, 90 (Hereafter cited as: Woodman, MCMLXII)

²² Scott, *GUBSS, Part II, Vol.III*, 1901, 171

²³ Hertz, *Vol A*, 1960, 104, 108

²⁴ (a) Hertz, *Vol A*, 1960, 111

(b) Scott, *GUBSS, Part I, Vol II*, 1900, 325

brasiliensis.²⁵ Native people took the sap of Indian rubber by scraping its bark with a knife. Kingdom Ward described in his book “In Farthest Burma” that “We saw many trees criss-crossed all over with V-shaped incisions made to tap the latex, some so exhausted that they already dead.”²⁶

It was not found in gregariously, scattered 200 yards to 300 yards and found 48 trees per acre in average. Big Indian rubber trees were found at *Loima* hill and the headwaters of Nam Kaung river.²⁷ The native people carried out the rubber balls by mules to *Laban* village. Thence they brought it to Mogaung by boats. About 1907, the price of rubber was kyats 2.8.0 per 100 viss at Laban, but local one viss was 1½ actual viss. The traders did their business by paying tax to the Kachin chiefs of Hukaung valley and amber mine area.²⁸ Most of the buyers were Chinese and they used to buy in barter system. They went to the uphill villages by mule to change rubber with piece goods, blankets, *pasos*, kerchiefs, yarn, blades, salt, matches, kerosene oil, cheroots, tobacco, and tinned-milk.²⁹ Native of Kamaing village participated as middlemen between the Kachin and Chinese, or as the boatmen to convey the Indian rubber.³⁰ Having been bought the rubber, sometimes Kachin workers brought rubber balls by boat and raft down the river *Indaw*.³¹

However, in Konbaung period, the sector of rubber trade was not negligible by seeing following comparison of its duty collection. The Tariff of 1883, expressed to collect duty on rubber trade at Mogaung and Bhamo areas.³² A man called *Let Wut* and his Chinese group got the right to collect

²⁵ W. John. Kress, et.al, *A Checklist of the Trees, Shrubs, Herbs and Climbers of Myanmar*, Washington D.C., Department of National Museum of Natural History, 2003, 231 (Hereafter cited as: Kress et.al, 2003)

²⁶ F. Kingdom Ward (Captain), *In Farthest Burma*, London, Seeley, Service and Co. Limited, 1921, 265 (Hereafter cited as: Ward, 1921)

²⁷ (a) Scott, *GUBSS, Part I, Vol.II*, 1900, 325

(b) Rev.O Hanson, *The Kachins: Their Customs and Traditions*, Yangon, American Baptist Mission Press, F.O.Phinney, Supt. 1913, 38 (Hereafter cited as: Hanson, 1913)

²⁸ Scott, *GUBSS, Part I, Vol.II*, 1900, 328

²⁹ Hertz, *Vol A*, 1960, 115

³⁰ Scott, *GUBSS, Part I, Vol.II*, 1900, 287

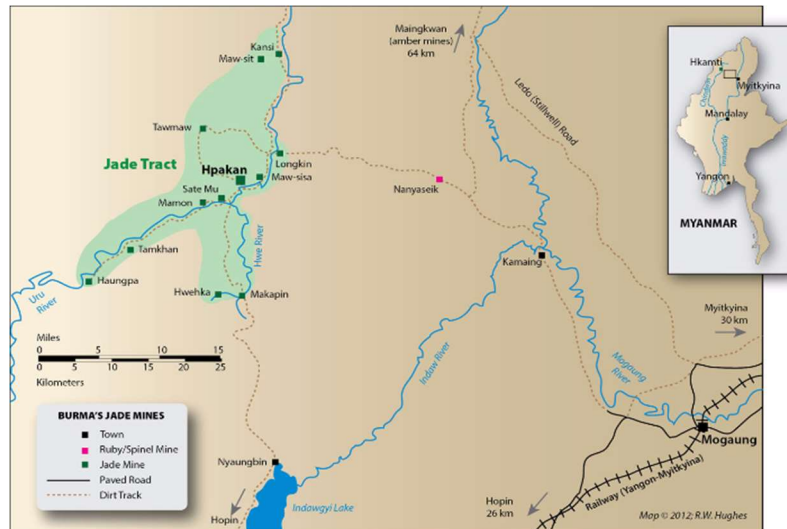
³¹ Adamson, 1889, 60

³² Ma Kyan, *Revenue Affair in Konbaung Period*, Yangon, Monywa Press, 2009, 142 (Hereafter cited as: Kyan, 2009)

rubber duty for the year of 1883-84 with a payment of kyats 60,000.³³ Major portion of rubber duty was got from Mogaung forest. Because, Scott described in his book “*GUBSS, Part I, Vol.II*” that Mogaung rubber duty was kyats 40,000 for the year of 1884. In the same year, Mogaung jade duty was only kyats 5800.³⁴ In comparison, it was found that rubber duty was seven times of jade duty. Therefore, rubber business was competed with jade business in those days in Mogaung region. Jade was well-known, but rubber trade was important in duty aspect, because it earned more duty in late Konbaung period.

Jade

Another major business in that region was jade mining and trading business. In the early days Chinese had found jade between North Latitude 25° 28' and 25° 52' and between East Longitude 96° 7' and 96° 24' where *Phakant*, *Lonkin*, and *Tawmaw* of Mogaung Township situated.³⁵



Jade mines map

Source: www.lotus-gemology.com

³³ Daw Kyan, *Final Episode of the Kingdom of Myanmar*, Yangon, State Historical Department Sarpay Beikman, 1978, 201-2 (Hereafter cited as: Kyan, 1978)

³⁴ Scott, *GUBSS, Part I, Vol.II*, 1900, 425

³⁵ *Culture and Traditional Customs of National Tribes: Kachin*, Yangon, Burma, Socialist Programme Party, 1967, 15 (Hereafter cited as: *Culture: Kachin*, 1967)

After Sino-Myanmar peace treaty of 1769; Chinese jade trader, miners and jade cutters came into the jade mines more than before.³⁶ In 1784 Chinese entrepreneurs found the quality jade on the right side of *Uru* river.³⁷

Jade boulders were found also at *Mamon* jade mines. Jade was possible to produce along *Uru* river bank to reach at *Sanka* village.³⁸ *Uru Seywa*: namely (1) *Haungpa* (2) *Kwan-hé* (3) *Sésin* (4) *Shwe-twin* (5) *Man-tan* (6) *Lé-Sé* (7) *Hmaw-Sé* (8) *Man-hé* (9) *Pha-tin* (10) *Man-Sein*, produced superior quality jade stones.³⁹

Chinese knew the quality of jade well and gave special consideration. They had concerned jade trade generation by generation. Only the Chinese did



Imperial Jade

Source: Beauty of Myanmar
Jade facebook.com

cutting and polishing the jade in those days. Stones for finger rings, brooches, bracelets and drinking cups were made from jade. Chinese believed that jade had medical virtue and mostly used the jade containers to put their food.⁴⁰ Therefore principal buyers of the jade were Chinese merchants from Momein (now Teng Chong). They came in to buy jade by crossing *Yunnan* border to reach *Talawgyi* and they continued to the jade mine.⁴¹

Chinese came into the mine at the end of rainy season. But they did not remain in the district when the monsoon came back. Jade stones were extracted by the elephants to the *Nam Kaung* stream, because *Kachin* leaders displeased the *Shan* or Chinese merchants to enter their area. The traders conveyed the jade stone by floating

³⁶ Dr.Khin Maung Nyunt, "History of Myanmar Jade Trade till 1938", *Selected Writings of Dr. Khin Maung Nyunt, Yangon*, Myanmar Historical Commission, University Press, 2004, 22 (Hereafter cited as: Dr. Khin Maung Nyunt, 2004)

³⁷ Dr. Kyaw Win, 2006, 62

³⁸ A.W.G. Bleek, "Jadite in the Kachin Hills", *Records of The Geological Survey of India, Volume XXXVI*, Calcutta, Governnt of India, 1908, 255-6 (Hereafter cited as: Bleek, 1908)

³⁹ Min Yu Swe, 1998, 47

⁴⁰ Woodman, MCMLXII, 90

⁴¹ Min Yu Swe, 1998, 54

on the raft to reach Mogaung. Mogaung became the centre of jade trade where buying and selling of rough jade stones were made at *Shwe tone Chone*,⁴² the opposite bank of Mogaung.⁴³ Shwe tone Chone appeared to be the given name in those days. But investigations for that place was failed, even the local elder persons could not point out the place where it was.⁴⁴

Jade stones from mines were carried to *Namya-Kyouk-Seik*. That was a river port village formed with Shan quarter and Kachin quarter. Shan quarter had some small shops.⁴⁵ From that village first batch of jade stones were carried down Mogaung river to reach Sinbo village on the bank of Ayeyawady river, in 1805.⁴⁶

Myanmar King's collectorate was established at Mogaung in 1806. One military officer and a troop of thirty soldiers stationed at the jade mines during the working season.⁴⁷

Actually, the King's collectorate for the jade was at *Tapaw* village which was a day's journey by boat from Mogaung. Duty for the jade was collected 33 percent *ad valorem* and issued permits which granted no more tax in the Kingdom of Myanmar. It was needed to pay hereditary tax to Kachin chiefs. That tax was called *Manhumanta* (Shans taxes collected for Mineral deposits) and to pay ten percent of the value of jade which was over 100 kyats, for the stones valued less than 100 kyats were exempted.⁴⁸

Therefore, the Chinese merchants estimated that jade duty was not more than 6000 kyats for the early years. Jade duty yielded about 21000 kyats per year, in 1836-40, the fruitful years of jade trade. But it was estimated not more than 3000 kyats per year after those years.⁴⁹ Those estimations were

⁴² Than Tun, *Historical Travelogue* (three volume), Yangon, Pyaesone Pree, 2004, 301 (Hereafter cited as: Than Tun, 2004)

⁴³ Andrain Levy and Cathy Scott-Clark, *The Stone of Heaven*, Boston, Little Brown and Company, 2002, 74-75 (Hereafter cited as: Levy & Scott, 2002)

⁴⁴ Interview: Daw Saw Kyi, Age 95, La / 73, A Lé Yat, Mogaung, 10.6.2017

⁴⁵ Adamson, 1889, 59

⁴⁶ Scott, *GUBSS, Part I, Vol.II*, 1900, 280-81

⁴⁷ (a) Than Tun, 2004, 301

(b) Scott, *GUBSS, Part I, Vol.II*, 1900, 281

⁴⁸ (a) Dr. Khin Maung Nyunt, 2004, 24

(b) Scott, *GUBSS, Part I, Vol.II*, 1900, 281

⁴⁹ Scott, *GUBSS, Part I, Vol.II*, 1900, 282

probably under estimation of the Chinese merchants. Therefore it was not easy to estimate the jade trade by looking the duty collected.

Payin or Amber

At that time amber mining was also a rather good business at Mogaung region, Amber was found in the south-west corner of Hukaung valley and south of *Mayankwan* village. Actual amber mines reached down to the depth of 50 Fathom (300 feet or 90 meter) under ground level. Amber resin sometimes with a size of one foot long and six inches in thickness had lain in the hard blue clay.⁵⁰ It was the resin of pine trees which had lain under the ground for many years, became amber.⁵¹

Dr. Griffith arrived at *Maing-Kwan* amber mine in 26 March 1837 and described as follows:

The article is much prized for ornaments by the Chinese and Singohos, but is never of much value, five rupees being a good price for a first-rate pair of earrings. MeinKhôn is visited by parties of Chinese for the purpose of procuring this article.⁵²

Payin (or Amber) was found and produced at *Shinbon*, *Lajamaw* and *Kadut Kha* river.⁵³ Lajamaw village was at the upper part of *Mung Gawn* (Maing Kwan) river. The local chief was from the “N’ Tawng Nawng” Kachin sub-tribe. Naije Bum amber mines which located seven miles away from Maing-Kwan, was worked by the Shan from Yunnan and they submitted tributes to local Kachin chiefs.⁵⁴

Payin or amber was used in Myanmar for many centuries as rosaries, beads, ear cylinders and Buddha statues. In Konbaung period, the price of amber was 25 kyats per viss (3.6 lb or 1.633 kg).⁵⁵ Today it is popular and

⁵⁰ L.W. Shakespear, *History of Upper Assam, Upper Burmah and North Eastern Frontier*, London, Mac Millian and Co., Limited 1914, 178-9 (Hereafter cited as: Shakespear, 1914)

⁵¹ Min Gaung Oo, *To The Golden River of Northernmos Myanmar: Travel to Tanaikha-Chindwin-I*, Yangon, Burma Socialist Programme Party, 1986, 94 (Hereafter cited as: Min Gaung Oo, 1986)

⁵² Scott, *GUBSS, Part I, Vol. II*, 1900, 291

⁵³ *Culture: Kachin*, 1967, 15

⁵⁴ Kawlu, *Kachins*, 63

⁵⁵ Scott, *GUBSS, Part I, Vol. II*, 1900, 294

people believe that it can cure some diseases and good for relieving muscle pains and maintain nerves system. Some like to make ornaments as pendant or bracelets.



Rare Amber

Source: www.realrareantiques.com

Trade

The prices of the most important and the briskest commodities which were trading between Chinese and Myanmar merchants in 1868 at Mogaung and Bhamo regions were as follows:

- (1) Opium - Poppy plants which produce opium, were cultivated on the hills of that region. Kachin, Shan and Chinese consumed opium. Its price was twelve to fifteen kyats a viss at Bhamo.
- (2) Rice - There were varieties of colour and quality. Local people preferred red rice and fifteen annas per basket.
- (3) Paddy - Paddy was rarely sold. Kachin and other bought when their land inundated or failed. The price was nine annas per basket.
- (4) Tobacco - It was grown on the Kachin hill, Shan valleys⁵⁶ and alluvial lands, Sinbo, *Hnokkyo*, *Hmangin*, *Pinlon* and *Manpwa*

⁵⁶ Captain A. Bowers, *Bhamo Expedition: Report on the Practicability of Re-opening the Trade Route between Burma and Western China*, Rangoon, American Mission Press, 1869, 120-21 (Bowers, 1869)

villages of Sinbo district which were included in Mogaung region cultivated it on the sand banks extensively and successfully. On the Hnokkyo Island it was broadcasted in October and transplanted in January or February. It was plucked in April till water increased in the river. There yielded 4000 viss per annum and the price were 22 to 25 kyats for 100 viss.⁵⁷

- (5) Indigo - It was obtained from Shan villages, and used for dying. The price was eight annas per viss.
- (6) Jaggery - It was a favourite commodity for the native people and Chinese to prepare food. The supply was drawn entirely from Momein. The price was four annas per viss.
- (7) Betel-nut - It was in great demand in the Shan State and Momein. But the whole supply was from Lower Myanmar. The price was varied from twelve annas to one kyat per viss at Bhamo.
- (8) Cutch - It was mixed in chewing betel-nut and used in dying purpose. The price was eight annas per viss.⁵⁸
- (9) Cowries - Kachin, Lisu and Palaung pleased to wear cowries. Shan also used sometimes. They liked it to use ornamentation and changed with their forest produce.
- (10) Beads and Trinkets - Those were useful in barter, Native tribes liked them very much.⁵⁹

Kachin bartered pigs, fruits, potatoes and opium for salt, cowries, Turkey red cloth and white long cloth.⁶⁰

The two most important articles of trade between China and Myanmar in those days were gold and opium. Gold was exposed in the market as gold leaf and small gold ingots. Gold leaf was more preferred to gold ingot

⁵⁷ Scott, *GUBSS, Part II, Vol.III*, 1901, 171

⁵⁸ Bowers, 1869, 122-24

⁵⁹ Ibid, 124

⁶⁰ Bowers, 1869, 19

because buyers were afraid of cheating and ingots were difficult to estimate its quality. So the value of gold ingot was eight annas less than the value of gold leaf per tical (unit of weight approx. 14 gm). The price of gold varied from ten to twenty ticals of silver for one tical of gold, but in 1863 it was 19 ticals of silver in average.⁶¹

Another article, opium was produced and sold by Kachin and Shan. But their products packed carelessly and often impure. Opium from China was packed with paper and labelled. It was attractive in the market. The price of opium from China was varying from ten to fifty ticals of silver, but the average prices were 20 ticals, 25 ticals and 30 ticals of silver per viss.⁶²

About a thousand Chinese came down yearly with five hundred mules conveying pots, *Kawsaws* (or carpets), cloth, opium and spirits from *Maingla* and *Santa* to jade mine area by crossing Waingmaw. But they did not sell their goods at Waingmaw or elsewhere. They conveyed them to reach the jade mines.⁶³ Among the Chinese merchants, jade mine workers had come along together because the eight Shan towns between Yunnan and Kachin mountains of Myanmar were thickly populated and cheap workers were available.⁶⁴

Silk, Ceramic, Yarn, Polishing stone (to shine gems), Carpet, Furred jacket, Blanket, Straw hat, Assorted paper, Flints, Wax, Ham, Duck egg, Walnut, Cinnabar, Chinese traditional medicine, Tobacco pipes and other household goods were majority of imported commodities from China.⁶⁵ These were distributed from Bhamo to the whole Myanmar. After 1863, England made cloth, wool and cotton cloth were imported from Lower Myanmar. Cotton was exported to China⁶⁶ over one million pounds weight per year.

⁶¹ Clement William, *Through Burmah to Western China, being Notes of a Journey in 1863*, Edinburgh, William Blackwood and Sons, MDCCCLXVIII, 34 (Hereafter cited as: William, MDCCCLXVIII)

⁶² Ibid, 35

⁶³ Scott, *GUBSS, Part II, Vol.III*, 1901, 331

⁶⁴ William, MDCCCLXVIII, 31

⁶⁵ U Tin, *Document Relating to the Administration of the Myanmar Kings and Penal Law or Royal order of Bodawpaya, Volume V*, Yangon, Ministry of Culture, Department of Cultural Institute, 1983, 5 (U Tin, 1983)

⁶⁶ William, MDCCCLXVIII, 35

Bhamo was at the centre of trade and commerce in those days. People from everywhere all over Upper Myanmar gathered there for buying and selling. Trade volume in the year 1885-86 was raised up to nine hundred thousand kyats, at Bhamo. The value of the goods which were imported from China was one hundred and twenty thousand kyats. Trade volume of the whole country, Upper Myanmar, was estimated over 8.6 million. That was not a small amount for that time being.⁶⁷

Jade and Indian rubber, the major products of Mogaung region, were also exported to China by the Chinese merchants. Therefore they had provided large warehouses for their cargo at Bhamo.⁶⁸ According to the localities, peddlers carrying goods on their shoulders or hawkers wandered to sell their goods and sometimes they conveyed by boats or by bullock carts. They reached many towns and villages even in the hilly regions. They had to pay taxes, as for the entrance fees to the respective local chiefs.⁶⁹



Shan Traders

Source: Shakespear, 1914, 164

Local products from *Tamu*, *Khan-pat*, *Maing-Kaing*, *Maing-Nyaung* and *Uru* ten villages, namely bee-wax, elephant tusks, Indian rubber, jade and pa-yin or amber were carried and sold at *Kin-dat* and *Yu-wa* on the bank of

⁶⁷ Daw Kyan, *Situation of Myanmar 1885-86*, Yangon, Sarpay Beikman Press, 1978, 30-31 (Hereafter cited as: Kyan, 1978)

⁶⁸ William, MDCCCLXVIII, 84

⁶⁹ Dr. Toe Hla, *Konbaung, the Golden Country of Alaungmintaya*, second edition, Yangon, Thaukkyia Press, 2002, 191.

Chindwin river. Jade trade in those ports, in the year 1885-1886 was valued over one hundred thousand kyats. The values of products from Mogaung were carried and sold at Bhamo in that year was as follows:⁷⁰

Valuable jade stones	- 150,000 kyats
Pa-yin or amber	- 5000 kyats
Elephant tusk	- 6500 kyats
Bee-wax	- 1000 kyats
<hr/>	
Total	- 162500 kayts

The economy of Mogaung region depended upon the internal affairs of China. If it was unrest, the trade would have to stop. So, in 1841 the first Anglo-Chinese Opium War, 1850 Taiping rebellion and 1857 Panthay rebellion slowed down the trade between China and Myanmar.⁷¹ Consequently those affected the economy of Mogaung region as well.

Dawson described in “Gazetteer Bhamo District” that “...expect for the first twelve years of preceding 1868, the routes were generally opened and large quantities of cotton and other goods continued to be exported”.⁷²

Conclusion

During the Konbaung period, Mogaung region was flourished by producing jade and Indian rubber in a wide scale and it had enough food by paddy cultivation. Local people used Chinese household goods and clothing which were imported from China via Bhamo. They made business with other forest produce just for home consumption. Native tribes were simple and honest, they contented their lives and livelihood was peaceful and most of them were not interested in trading, they concerned as brokers or labourer for the Chinese merchants. Chinese merchant accumulated great fortune by exploiting from the jade and Indian rubber trade and from the import goods as well. However, Mogaung was the trade centre at that time and thrived with

⁷⁰ Kyan, 1978, 31, 206

⁷¹ Hertz, Vol A, 1960, 121

⁷² G.W. Dawson, *Burma Gazetteer: The Bhamo District*, (reprint), Rangoon, Superintend, Government Printing and Stationery, 1960, 19.

the buyer and seller from China. In modern days the communication and transportation were more promoted and the trade practices were changed for the jade trade business. So, the trade centre move to Mandalay and Yangon. Indian rubber trade was substituted by the rubber which produced in lower Myanmar. Amber trade was popular in the year 2000s and it was also centred in Mandalay and Yangon. Therefore, Mogaung was no more crowded and merely became a transit town for those trades.

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Interview

Saw Kyi, Daw, Age 95, A Lé Yat, Mogaung, 10.5.2017

FILLING THE POWER VACUUM: THE RISE AND FALL OF THE SHAN IN CENTRAL MYANMAR (c. 1300-1550)

Shwe Zin Maw*

Abstract

This paper is an effort to reexamine the origins and development of Shan influence in Central Myanmar. Except Bamar, Shans were the only people who enabled to establish longest dynasty and larger empire in Central Myanmar. They dominated Central Myanmar from the decline of Bagan to the rise of Taungoo dynasty. This paper also discusses the changes of political landscape brought about by the rise and fall of the Shans in Central Myanmar.

Key words: The establishment of the Shan dynasty

Introduction

Shans entered Myanmar even before the beginning of Christian era. Their first settlements can be seen in northern Myanmar where the first kingdom of Mao Shan was established. They gradually migrated along Ayeyawaddy and Chindwin Rivers. Another Shan group moved from the eastern Shan States and founded the cluster of communities wherever they settled. After the collapse of Bagan dynasty, Three Shan Brothers become supreme lords of Central Myanmar and founded in Pinle, Myinzaing and Mekkhaya, the precedent city-states of Pinya and Inwa. They were assisted by another powerful Tai group from Lan Na, northern Thailand. The prevalence of power vacuum in Central Myanmar and absence of able Bamar leader paved the way for the rise of Shan dynasties of Pinya, Sagaing and Inwa. The main purpose of this paper is to depict the changes of political landscape of Myanmar from the downfall of Bagan dynasty to the rise of Taungoo dynasty. In this paper primary source materials and reliable secondary sources are analyzed and discussed with critical approach on the emergence and downfall of Shan dynasties in Central Myanmar.

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The Origins of the Shan

The Shan who belonged to the Mongoloid family of Tai ethnic group firstly settled in Central Asia, Huanghi River and Yangtze River valleys since the times immemorial. They later moved along the big rivers such as Brahmaputra, Chindwin, Ayeyawaddy, Shweli (Nam Mao), Than Lwin (Nam Kone), Me'nam, Me'kong, Black River (Nam-me-lam), Red River (Nam-me-long) and their tributaries and settled in southwestern China, Hainan, Vietnam, Laos Thailand, Cambodia, Myanmar and in Assam (Sai Aung Tun, 2009, 3-7). In Their new homes, Shans were known by variety of names: Tai Lam Tai Kau, Tai Leng, Tai Lai, etc. (Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 1.a, 187-88). The name of Shan mostly derived from the name of the places, rivers, creeks they lived. In some cases they were known by their costumes and even by their teeth.

The first kingdom which consolidated the Tai people was Nan-chao kingdom, located in south-western China, founded in AD 650. After the collapse of Nan-chao's power, Tai people went looking for a new center to reestablish their kingdoms. The main body of the migrants moved to the fertile regions of Mao near the Shweli River. They chose this area to establish their new empire known as Mong Mao Long. When Traced, the location of Mao region favored Tai people to invade Upper Myanmar very easily. Overtime, the Tai people from Mong Mao area moved southward along the Ayeyawaddy River. They were joined by other group coming down from the present-day Shan States to settle in Central Myanmar (Sai Aung Tun, 2009, 13-14). Indeed, since they lived in Yunnan Province, Shans established clusters of communities known as *muang*, *mong* or *keng*- meaning state or town which was ruled by a hereditary chief known as *sao-pha*-lord of the sky. The Myanmar word *saw-bwa* had derived from *sao-pha* (Zen Peng, 1900, 372) At the Beginning of Christian era, Shans were supposed to establish Mongs in Upper Sagaing District, Mohnyin, Mong kwang, Mong Mit and Bhamo. Meanwhile other Tai groups established petty states in Hsenwi, Hsipaw, Mong Nai, Mong Pai, Yawng Hwe (Nyaung Shwe) and Kyaing Tong (Shwe Zin Maw, 2015-1). When Bagan was founded by king Anawrahta (1044-77) in the first half of eleventh century A.D, the Shan principalities had

already existed in the Trans-Than Lwin area, some areas of present-day Shan States and northern Myanmar.

Decline of Bagan and the rise of Shan power

The diplomatic impasse with Mongol led to the downfall of Bagan. In September 1283, Mongol armies launched an offensive against Ngasaunggyan near Bhamo. This battle signaled King Narathihapati (1254-87) to flee from Bagan. The Mongol established a new province in northern Myanmar. It was known as Kien Mien (Than Tun, 2002,129-131). While the regions of Ayeyawaddy basin were plundered by Mongols, Three Shan Brothers from Myinzaing fought Mongol to defend Bagan. They were descendants of Chiang Mai, also known as Bhingharahta, and their ancestors come into Myanmar probably due the succession problem. Their father served under King Narathihapati who allotted fiefs to Three Shan Brothers near Kyaukse. However, Three Shan Brothers collaborated with Pyay-za Thihathu (son of Narathihapate and lord of Pyay) and revolted against Narathihapati (Yi Sein, 2011, 375-76). After the assassination of Nanathihapti, Kyaw Zwa (1287-98) ascended the throne. However, he was the titular king. The real power had fallen into the hands of Three Shan Brothers.

While Bagan was facing with the invasion of Mongol, a group of Tai people were organized in Chiang Mai under Phraya Mangrai between 1262 and 1273 (Ongsakul, 2005, 54-55). When Mangrai rose to power Mongols had already captured Yunnan, Myanmar and Tongkin. Mangrai, therefore, established a fortified *muang* in Kyaing Tong of Trans-Than Lwin region which became a buffer state between his Lan Na Kingdom and Mongol empire. The influence of Lan Na was not Limited to northern Thailand and Trans- Than Lwin area, but extended to Bago and Inwa. According to Chiang Mai Chronicle, King Mangrai went to Pukham-Ava in 1290-1291). He raised the huge army and arrived at the southern frontier of Inwa. The ruler of Inwa, after consulting with his minister, agreed to establish friendship by offering craftsmen and smithy to King Mangrai (Chaing Mai Chronicle, 1998,69). Mangrai also advanced to Bago and asked tributary gifts and daughter from Mon King (probably Wareru) as the gesture of alliance (Penth, 2004, 43). It is

attributed that Thihathu, the most ambitious ruler of Three Shan brothers, took assistance from Mangrai to build his power around Kyaukse and Inwa.

Three Shan Brothers chose the irrigated zones in Kyaukse area to establish their strongholds. Athinkhya, the eldest brother, built his stronghold in Myinzaing while the younger two Yazathingyan and Thihathu built their capitals at Mekkhaya and Pinle respectively. They won the allegiance of the Shan chiefs of Mohnyin and other principalities. Later they occupied Ma-le and Singu from Mongol's hands. When Mongols reinvaded into Myinzaing in 1301, they paid gold as bribes to the commanders of Mongol army (Hmannan, 2008, 220). In 1306, Thihathu observed *abhiseka* coronation by assuming the title of Anandathihathurazeyadewa. After the demise of his eldest brother in 1310, Thihathu killed his reigning brother Yazathingyan. During that time the influence of Mongol was wiped out from Central Myanmar and the Kien Mien, the Mongol subordinate state, was officially abolished (Than Tun, 2002, 154). The lack of the able leaders from Bamar and evacuation of Mongol army brought about to emerge a power vacuum in Central Myanmar. Thihathu and his successors were able to fill this power vacuum and established Shan dynasty in Central Myanmar.

After the assassination of Yazathingyan, Thihathu made unsuccessful attempts to build Inwa as royal capital for four times. (Inwa, MS, 1047). He then chosen Pinya and established new royal capital under the name of Vijarapura. (Pinya, MS, 679). He invited Queen Saw of Bagan to attend the opening ceremony of new palace. Queen Saw was recognized as the Queen mother and a good friend and royal adviser to the Shan Kings (Sai Aung Tun, 2009, 96). In order to strengthen friendship ties with Bamar, Thihathu married the daughter of Narathihapati, and had a son named Athinkhya Sao Yun (1315-23). Sao Yun became the founder of another Shan dynasty at Sagaing. His territory extended as far north as to Manipur, but lasted only fourteen-nine years (U Tin, 2012, 118). The important reason of the short-lived dynasty at Sagaing was the emergence of court intrigues in which the royalties assassinated each other and finally the state passed to a kinsman by marriage. There Narathu (1359-64), chief of Pinya, angry at an outsider's accession to the throne and invited Mao Shans to depose him. Mao Shans, led by Thochibwa, plundered Sagaing and Pinya. Crowds of Myanmar fled to

Taunggoo (Hmannan, 2003 a, 392-93). Narathu was arrested by Mao Shans and was taken as prisoners by Thochibwa.

Rise of Inwa

After the withdrawal of Mao Shans, Thadominphya (1364-68), who belonged to the Sagaing family, built Inwa. Although he reigned only for three years, died of small-pox in 1368, he became the successful founder of a new Shan dynasty at Inwa which lasted really 200 years. He was succeeded by his brother-in-law Mingyi Swasawke (1368-1401). Meanwhile Ka-le, Mogaung and Mohnyin, petty Ahom states in the north, fought each other. As they could not fight to win decisive victory, chiefs of Mohnyin and Ka-le asked for help from Inwa. Mingyi Swa took opportunity of this hostility and finally annexed Mohnyin (Toe Hla, 2012, 8). The remarkable achievement of Mingyi Swa was the building of Zidaw Weir in Kyaukse District and renovation of Meitila Lake. Another important step of Mingyi Swa to secure his power was to control Yamethin. He hold Yemathin as an appanage before he became king of Inwa. Yamethin was a major rice-cultivated zone after Kyaukse (Fernquist, 2005, 291). His influence extended to Rakhine by appointing chief of Rakhine (Hmannan, 2003 a, 414-16). In 1371 Mingyi Swa met with Banya U, Mon king of Bago to demarcate the frontier between the two kingdoms. However when Rajadarit ascended the throne of Bago in 1358, his uncle Laukpya wrote to Mingyi Swa, offering to hold Bago as vassal state to depose Rajadarit. The acceptance of Mingyi Swa to Laukpya's invitation signaled the outbreak of long hostility between Bago and Inwa.

While the war with Bago was escalating, Mohnyin Shans invaded into Mu Valley in 1391. Mingyi Swa organized *myozas* in the north and went upstream to Tagaung. However the land forces under Theinkhathu Saw Hnaung, commandant of Mingyi Swa, was unable to engage the Shans and withdrew to Sagaing. Shans followed Theinkhathu and stormed Sagaing. Mingyi Swa went downstream to Inwa and prepared strong defensive position. Thilawa, lord of Yamethin, summoned the chiefs of Taungoo, Taungdwin, Yamethin etc. and fought Shan forces. After fierce battle, Shans withdrew from Inwa and Sagaing with heavy losses (Hmannan, 2003 a, 431-32). When traced, Mao Shans, the powerful Shan groups from the north,

repeatedly invaded Central Myanmar and eliminated the two dynasties, Pinya and Sagaing, successively. After the unsuccessful invasion of Mohnyin Shans, kings of Inwa did not allow to rule *Sawbwa* at Mohnyin. Instead, *myo-za-town* fief-holder was appointed to rule Mohnyin.

When Mingyi Swa passed away in 1401, his son Mingaung (1401-22) ascended the throne of Inwa. In 1405, he was able to make friendship with Onbaung (Hsipaw) and Yawngghwe (Nyaung Shwe) *Sawbwas*. The establishment of friendship with these two principal *Sawbwas* eased tensions with the southern Shan States and favoured Mingaung to give priority to attack Rajadirit. However in 1413 northern Shan state of Hsenwi (Theinni) invaded Inwa and plundered the nearby villages. In addition Two Shan Brothers, chiefs of Mawke and Mawdon in Shwebo district, attacked Myedu. Rajadirit, taking opportunity on the distresses of Mingaung, invaded Inwa with strong naval expedition. When he encamped at Sagaing, Rajadirit met with *Thumyat*, an eminent monk of Pinya, who admonished him the sin of bloodshed. Rajadirit agreed to withdraw from Sagaing. However, the war with Mons prolonged due to the expedition of Mingaung to Lower Myanmar (Hmannan, 2003, 445-65).

After the demise of Mingaung, his son Hsinbyushin Thihathu (1422-26) ascended the throne. Thihathu assigned U-dein, lord of Myohla, as the commandant to fight against Mons. U-dein's ancestral line had traced back to king Narapatisithu of Bagan. After the conclusion of war with Mons, he was allotted Mohnyin as fief and known as Mohnyin Thado (Toe Hla, 2012, 9). The war with Mons continued in Hsinbyushin Thihathu's reign. When he besieged Dagon, Thihathu accepted the submission of Shinsawpu, sister of Bamyayan-the King of Dagon, as bride. However, he was killed in the plot of Queen Bo-me. After the demise of Thihathu, ministers had to face with the revival of Shan invasion, but they were able to defend Inwa. Thihathu was succeeded by his son Minhla-nge in 1462. He was assassinated by Queen Bo-me who invited another Shan chief known as Ka-le Kyetaungnyo.

The accession of Ka-le Kyetaungnyo was followed by the invasion of the king of Mohnyin who was accompanied by his two sons and sacked the fleet of Inwa. Ka-le Kyetaungnyo fled from Inwa to Salin where he died of sickness. The death of Kyetaungnyo opened the way for Mohnyin Thado

(1427-1440) to take the throne of Inwa (U Kala, 2006 b, 60-62). Mohnyin Thado made efforts to secure his throne. He enabled to subdue Taungdwingyi, Yamethin, Pinle and Taungoo. In his reign, Onbaung attacked Myedu and even for eight months drove Mohnyin Thado out of his place, withdrawing on payment of large sum of money. Mohnyin Thado was succeeded by his sons Minye' Kyawzwa (1440-43) and Narapati (1443-69). During the reign of Minye' Kyawzwa, Shan chiefs of Ka-le and Mohnyin fought each other Myinye' Kyawzwa, accompanied by his brother-in-laws Thihapate and Thirizayathura, advanced to Mohnyin. However when he arrived at Myedu, Mohnyin Sawbwa and Ka-le Sawbwa took refuge under Minye Kyawzwa. The King deposed two Sawbwas and allotted Mohnyin to Thihapate and Ka-le to Thirizayathura (U Kala, 2006 b, 73). In 1441, he ordered his two brother-in-laws to attack Mogaung. As Mogaung *Swabwa* withstood the attack of Mohnyin and Ka-le, Minye' Kyawzwa led an army to Mogaung as reinforcement. He could not return to Inwa, passed away at Mogaung.

In 1480s, Mohnyin and rising principality Mong Mit strengthened themselves through trade with Ming dynasty of China. Mong Mit even sent tribute mission to the Chinese Court (Fernquist, 2005, 298). Mid- fifteenth century saw the chaotic situations in Mohnyin and Mogaung due to the rebellion of Mohnyin against Inwa. This rebellion was led by son of Thihapate, nephew of late Minye' Kyawzwa, named Min U-di. He collaborated with Mogaung Sawbwa Thopokbwa to attack Inwa. However, U-di was betrayed by Mogaung *Sawbwa* who gave information to Narapati, King of Inwa, the plot. U-di was killed by Narapati. Thopokbwa was allotted Mohnyin as reward. Between 1476 and 1507, the hostilities broke out among Mohnyin, Mogaung and Ka-le. Even in this situation Mohnyin Shan Salon invaded into Dipe'yin and forced King of Inwa to recognize Myedu and Ngayane' as the Mohnyin's subordinate towns.

Since 1507, the power of Mohnyin reached at its peak and enabled to challenge the weak king of Inwa. Mohnyin *Sawbwa* Salon organized 200 elephants, 800 horses and 120,000 men and annexed Mingin from thence to Myedu. Although the king of Inwa made utmost effort to defend Myedu, his forces collapsed under fierce attack of Mohnyin Salon. The areas between Chindwin and Ayeyawaddy fell under Mohnyin Shans. Inwa lost control over

its northern frontier and food supply when Mohnyin invaded and occupied the northern part of Mu River Valley (Fernquist, 2005, 317).

In the reign of Shwenankyawshin (1502-1527), son of Narapati, Mohnyin Shans enabled to occupy Sagaing, Kani, Kane, Nattaung, Badon, Amyint, Pakhan, Bankyi and the regions located in the west of Ayeyawaddy River comprising Sa-gu, Salin, Baunglin and Legaing. Mohnyin Salon entered alliance with the lord of Pyay and returned to Inwa. Shwemankyawshin was under helpless situation and looked for the assistance from Onbaung Khonhmaing. In 1526 Shwenankyawshin was killed in the battle against Mohnyin Salon who successfully annexed Inwa (Toe Hla, 2012, 13). However, Mohnyin Salon could do nothing to solve the chaotic situation of the country. In 1527, he returned home after installing his son Hso Han Hpa (Thohanbwa) on throne of Inwa. Thohanbwa was noted by chroniclers as a full-blooded savage. He destroyed pagodas and monasteries, killed monks whom he thought against him. Finally he was killed by Mingyi Yannaung who offered throne to Hkun Mong (Hkon Maing), Sawbwa of Hsipaw in 1546. Although Hkon Maing attempted to unite Shans and Bamars, he could not implement his plan and passed away in 1546. He was succeeded by his son Mobyè Narapati, Sawbwa of Mong Pai. (Sai Aung Tun, 2009, 103-04). Meanwhile, Tabinshwehti (1531-50), rising Champion of Hanthawaddy, enabled to exploit the disunity of Shans and extended his power to Inwa. His successor King Bayinnaung (1551-81) successfully ousted the Shan influence from central Myanmar and put all of the Shan principalities under his rule from 1557 to 1581 (U - Thayaw, 2006, 200-220). The disunity of Shan chiefs and rise of Taungoo dynasty marked the end of Shan influence in central Myanmar.

Conclusion

At the beginning of the first millennium A.D, Shans established their first city-states in northern Myanmar, in some areas of Southern Shan States and Trans-Than Lwin region. Before the power of Bamar was consolidated in Bagan in the eleventh century, Shans were organized under their first kingdom known as Mao, located around Shweli River. Although the Shan established their city-states and kingdom in said areas, there was no significant relation with Myanmar during Bagan period. When Bagan was invaded by Mongols,

three Shan Brothers, descendants of northern Thailand, attacked the Mongols and involved in a plot to dethrone King Narathihapate of Bagan. After the fall of Bagan, they became the real rulers of Myanmar. They entered alliance with Chiang Mai and other Shan principalities. Lack of Bamar leaders to fill the power vacuum after the fall of Bagan opened the way for the Shans to establish dynasties of Pinya. Thihathu, youngest brother, became the founder of Pinya. His successors dominated Sagaing and Inwa. The first powerful Shan dynasty was established by Thadominphya who belonged to the Sagaing Shan family. His dynasty lasted about 180 years. However the kings of Inwa could do nothing for the consolidation of the Kingdom and their throne. Inwa was repeatedly invaded by the powerful Shan group from Mohnyin. Although the chiefs of Mohnyin had the opportunity to prolong the Shan influence in Inwa, the rivalries and power struggles among Shan chiefs led to their decline in mid-sixteenth century.

Acknowledgements

History of the Shan States is familiar to me since I had prepared for my M.A Thesis. When I had the opportunity to write Ph.D Dissertation, I chose the field of Shan History and worked under the supervision of U Sai Aung Tun, Member of Myanmar Historical Commission and notable Shan scholar, and under valuable advices of U Sai Kham Mong, Director of the Center of Tai Studies, Taunggyi, Shan State. I would like to thank to my supervisor and mentors who fulfilled knowledge on the history of Shans. My special thanks also goes to the Director General and officials of the Department of Higher Education (Mandalay Branch), and the faculty members of Kyaukse University, headed by Rector and Pro-rector, who made efforts to complete this research paper.

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DECLINE OF MYANMAR MODERN PLAYS

Ngwe Wut Hmuon Zan^{*}

Introduction

The period between 1947 and 1954 was the golden age of modern plays, in which plays stood as public favourites. However with the advent of new film technology and talkie movie together with other variety of modern entertainment programmes declined after 1954 and then again after 1989 though some plays were revived again at Waziyar Theatre it did not last long. Within one or two years the play performing art also declined because of the other variety of modern entertainment programmes appeared.

This paper analyzes the causes for the decline of modern plays its present days. The plays reached its peak in the post independence period and it met with a gradual decay after 1995, due to the advent of modern entertainment techniques and infiltration of decadent cultural influence of the west that overwhelmed the typical culture of Myanmar performing arts like, Drama, Anyeint, and Pyazat. The accounts of personal interviews and memoirs of the play artists, who were caught in a vicious circle of play arena, would probably be a clue to draw a true judgment for the decline of modern stage plays in the present days.

Decline of Myanmar Modern Plays

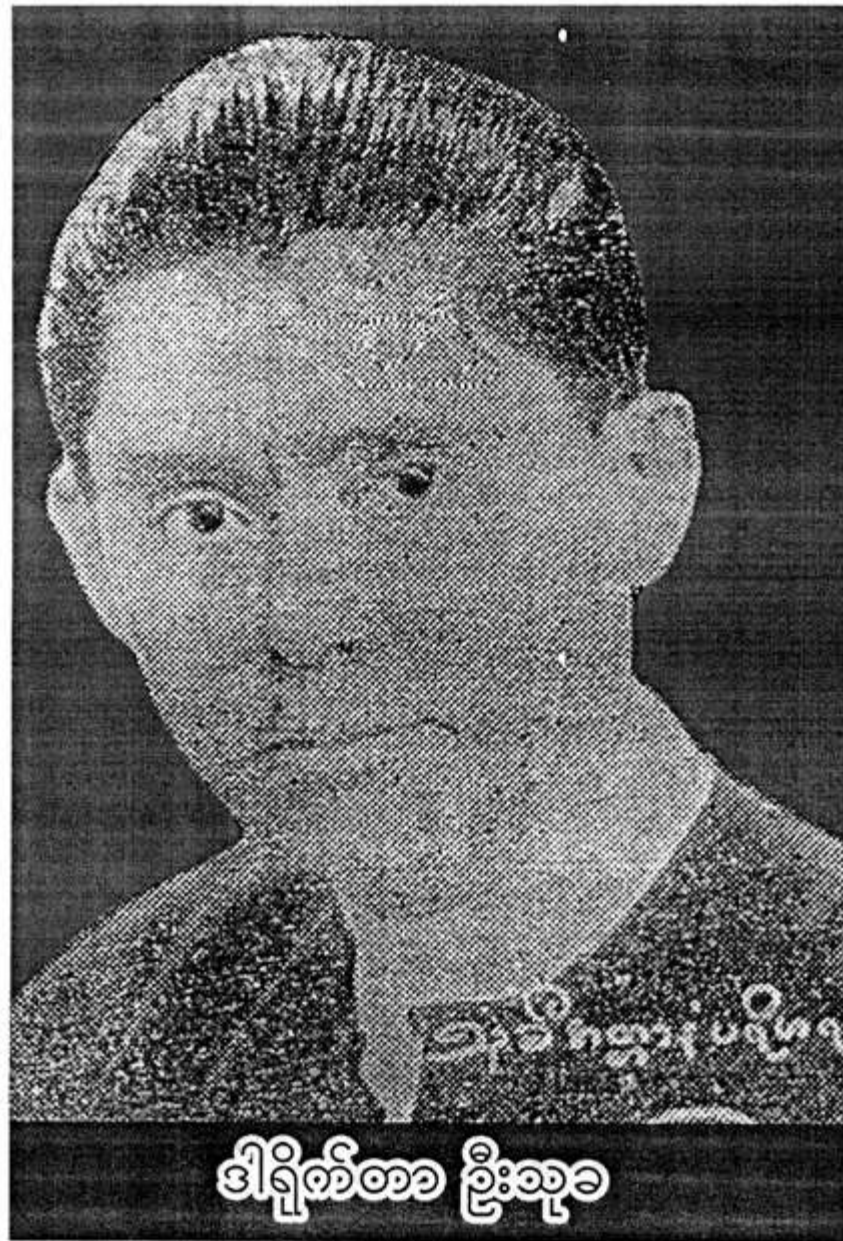
The resurgence of the movies and cinemas in Yangon in the postwar period led to a gradual decline of the play troupes and the play houses, especially of the theatres which staged only plays (Pyazats) only like the Myaing theatre at Kandawgyi Lake Side. The Myaing group was one of the famous play troupes during wartime, which paid highest art fees to its troupe members. The Myaing troupe could not maintain these art fees and allowances as before due to the decrease in number of play audience. The “Yadanar Theik” play which was arranged to stage at the Myaing Teatre was suspended due to the assassination of Bogyoke Aung San and some of his cabinet members on 19 July 1947, and all further performances also had to stop because of the curfew order in Yangon. Later the government auctioned the

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theatre for its defaults on land tax and income tax contracts. Thus ended the play career of the Myaing troupe and the theatre during the golden age of staged play at other theatres. However the plays continued to be performed, at such theatres in downtown Yangon as the Zaw, Zeim, Karhtay, Win Win and Town Hall theatres etc. When the cinematographers resumed their former professions of filming in the post independence period, many play casts, most of them former film stars, played the joint performance of both play and film.

There was a scarcity of popular play casts, who performed play only in this period, and thus it was necessary to choose the new ones, the potentials for future play world. A business-minded manager of the Karhtay Theatre, U Theik Soe, who, being worried about future prospect of the play world, consulted with director U Thukha and Toe Tak Yay U Thein, to hold a contest for selecting play actress in 1950.

At this contest Kyi Kyi Khin scored 12 marks and thus stood first and Khin May Kyin the second with 11 marks. Then both were selected and were renamed, by adding suffix "Htay" to their name, as Kyi Kyi Htay and Myint Myint Htay, in honour of the Karhtay Theatre, where they were selected. However, the newspapers of the following day wrongly reported their photos and names, and thus Kyi Kyi Khin was known as Myint Myint Htay and Khin May Kyin as Kyi Kyi Htay. With these names they became famous actress in both worlds of play and film. The first play performed by Myint Myint Htay was "Wun Nei Ma Lwe Thar Ma Me" (It can't be named a son unless he was conceived in mother's womb). It was directed by Shwe Done B Aung, and the co-stars in this play were Kyaw Aye, Myint Lwin, Nwe Nwe Htay, Tint Lwin, Dolly Htay, Rosy Htay etc. Myint Myint Htay had performed many plays among them the "Ei Wathon Myay" play was the most successful one of the play actress Myint Myint Htay had taken part.



Film and Play Director, U Thukha
Than Nwe, *The Modern Plays*, P-208

This play was an extraordinary one and its display of such scenes as Arahāt's traveling by Jhāna and the destruction of Ari images into pieces,

were greatly attractive to the audience so much, that its performance had to continue for the next three months.

The Queen of the Plays, Kyi Kyi Htay started her career of performing plays and dramas at the age of six. Her primary trainer was Saya Kha. Her first play was “Au main ma” (oh woman!) of director U Thu Kha, in which she casted as a crooked woman who swindled the diamonds. She performed in many plays of the Win Win theatre, directed by Dagon Saya Tin and Bogalay Tint Aung. Her acting in these plays were so outstanding and through that, she became a famous play actress in a sudden burst of speed in 1951. She scored the title of play Queen. Whilst performing in the plays, she took part in the film named “Chit Thet Wai”, together with the actor A-I U Tin Maung and she won the Academy award in this film. “Chit Thet Wai” the one and the only one. After her performance in the play “Myaypadethar”, at Win Win theatre, she transferred outright to the film world entirely, She also made recording of many songs with Columbia Gramophone Recording Company.

One of the plays of Dagon Saya Tin that lost public favor as well as (profit) admission fee was the play named “Tharsoe Mikhin” (Mother of a bad son), staged at Win Win theatre. It was a play of tragedy without actress, who was the main cast of play, and thus public hardly accepted this type of play. The director attempted to meet its target of ten days’ performance by presenting tickets for free admission.

Dagon Saya Tin therefore presented another play of comedy named “Gontu Gonpyaing” (jousting for glory) as a compensation for the loss of his former play “Tharsoe Mikhin”. The story of “Gontu Gonpyaine” play was simple but comic, and presented with full sense of humour. It was a wedding of the daughter of village headman and a son of a rural rich man.

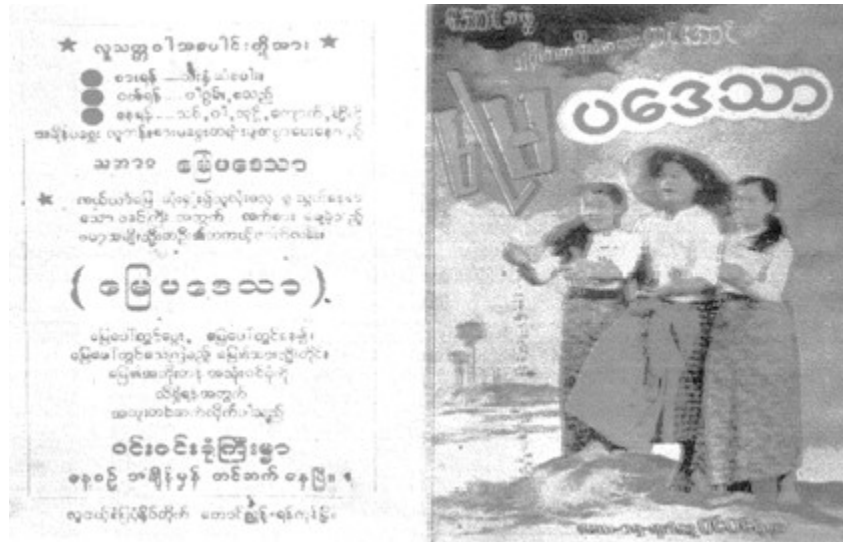
Their marriage was abstracted by the jousting tournament of the parents and their notable jousts with each other became the humour of the situation. The public accepted this type of comedy and thus it gained a favourable income.

One of the famous plays of Dagon Saya Tin was “Nge Kywan Swe”(An old flame), the story of his own creation. The original name was “Nge Kywan Khin”, but when Saya Tin heard the song, named “Nge Kywan

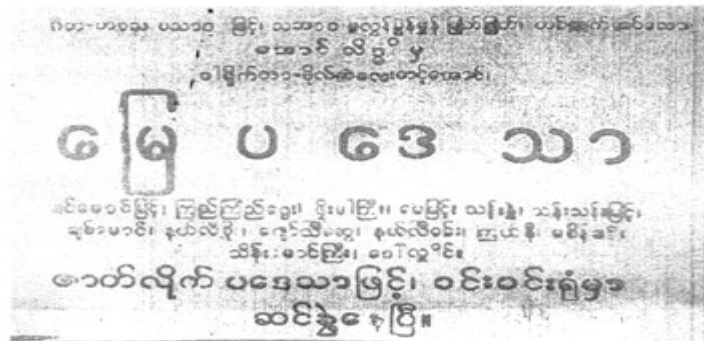
Khin” composed by Yan Naing Swe and sung by Shwe Myaing Kyi, he got an idea to change the name of his play.



Play Director Dagon Sayar Tin
The Nwe, *The Modern Plays*, P-29



A Pamphlet of, Myay Padethar Pyazat by Director Bo Galay Tint Aung
(By Courtesy of Bo Galay Tint Aung)



An advertisement of, Myay Pedathar Pyazat in The Light of Myanmar
Daily. 23rd, May 1953

The main casts were Pho Par Gyi, Khin Mg Myint, May Chit, Tin Tin Mu, Pho Par Lay, Ko Aye Myint (Pyidaungsu Kyaw Naing), U Kyaw Thaung, Daw Hlaing, Daw Thein Kywe, and Jolly Swe. The stage artist was U Hla Mg Gyi and Carpenter U Charlie, and the conductor was pianist Shwe Pyi Aye.

The “Nge Kywan Swe” play portrayed indirectly the living conditions of Yangon in the post-war periods, in which the newly emerged licensed hotels were seducing /women of good lineage into prostitution, and thus it gave them social lessons, that they should not enjoy a foolhardy adventure in love affairs. The director with his talents in play-art, displayed the finale of play in alternative with double purpose of getting public favour as well as materializing his original plot.

In those days Academy award for excellent plays was presented not by the government but by the play-critics, a columnist of the Newspaper, Thamadi Shinlone (a) U Nyi Nyi, a play-critic of Thamardi Newspaper, awarded this “Nge Kywan Swe” play a gold medal Academy, and he also chose the best actor and actress of the time, by making critiques on their actings. Myo Chit was selected as King of play and May Chit as Queen of the play. Kyi Kyi Htay also was selected as Queen in the next year.

The “Myepadethar” play portrayed the hardships and miserable lives of peasants under the oppressions of land owners and money lenders who were the pivots of the British imperialists. And the play pointed out the fact that ownership of land was the life-blood of the peasant class.

Another constructive play named “Shwe Phyt Ngwe Phyt” (A short cut business justified the wealthier life) was staged at Win Win Theatre and was directed by Dagon Saya Tin.

Dagon Saya Tin introduced a new programme for B.B.S (Burma Broadcasting Service), i.e. the broadcasting of the theme songs of the staged plays, sang by the casts themselves at the B.B.S studio. It was a dual purposes of Saya Tin who arranged it as an advertisement for the new plays as well as introducing a new programme for B.B.S. The new play usually changed fortnightly on every Friday, and thus the actors and actress had to go the B.B.S for broadcasting of the new songs at 8 a.m on Saturday Morning.

The year 1953 was a year of renaissance for films and cinemas, as the cinematography had advanced in its art and technology as well as in number of production. With the growing popularity of films the play troupes gradually declined in 1953, as the directors, casts and technicians of the play arena had to change their professions from play to film.

The most popular play with the box office income during the waning period of play was “Yin Hnit Thee Char” (An offspring) directed by comedian Kywuntaw Chit Mg, and was staged at Win Win Theatre on 19 June 1953. The preliminary press- show was presented and invited all play critics from newspapers and journals and let them criticize the play. The Writers’ Association presented a play at the annual Royal Poet Day, The Myawaddymingyi U Sa” play in 1951 and “Mg Pe Nge” play in 1952 respectively. The “Mg Pe Nge” play was staged at the Win Win Theatre and was directed by Saya U Thu Kha. In this play Ma Hla Than was casted as “Dai Khin Khin, Daw Khin Su as Su Phayalat, Thinkhar as King Thibaw and Bo Ba Ko as the Crown Prince and director U Thu Kha himself casted as Mg Pe Nge, The lord of Taung Thaman

In 1953 the writer’s Association presented another play of historical episode named “Hlaing Hteit Khaung Tin”, in which Shwe Nyar Mg and May Thit casted as main characters of Prince Kanaung and Princess Hlaing Hteit Khaung Tin respectively. The role of Hlaing Hteit Khaung Tin was ended with a tragic scene with the assassination of Prince Kanaung. This play was not popular with the audience and thus it lasted for only one week.

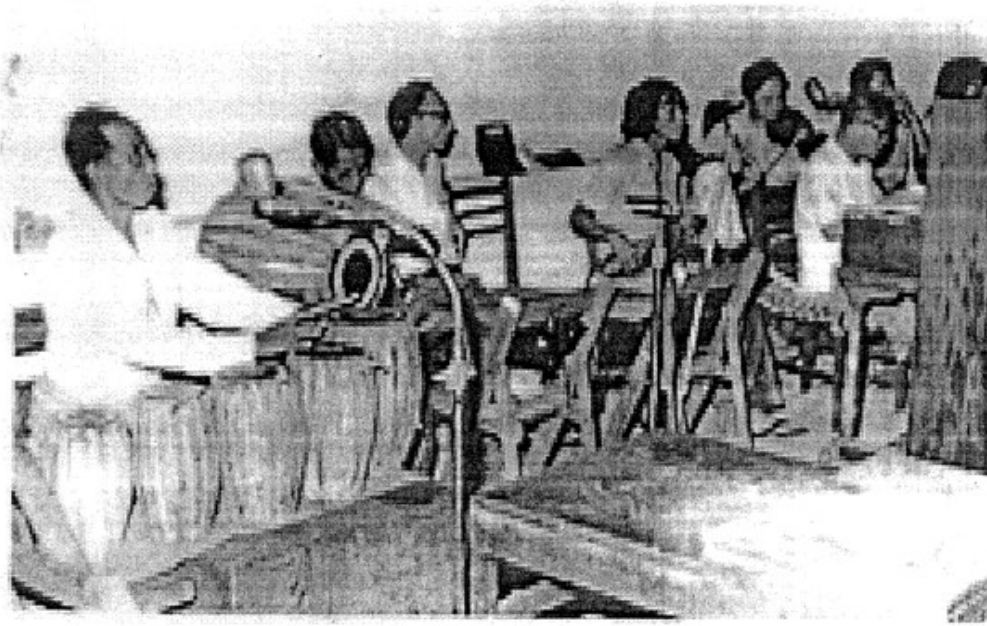
In 1954 Royal Poet day, the writers’ association presented the “U Pon Nya” play. The plot was written by Nan Nyunt Swe and Saya Thinkhar was casted as U Pon Nya. U Pon Nya was a famous poet and playwright and was well known in the writings of epistles during the reign of king Mindon. Many Princes approached him to study the writing of epistles, and king Mindon himself praised his writings. Prince Myin Kun and Myin Khuan Taing forced him to give them propitious time for their plot against of king Mindon. U Pon Nya being afraid of the nearest sword, and thus agreed to mastermind the plot. However King Mindon narrowly escaped from an assault but instead Prince Kanaung was slain on the spot. U Pon Nya was kept in custody at the Mayor U Tha Oo’s house, but later he was executed on charge of high treason. The

play concluded with a tragic scene of a weeping Khin Hmon, a favourite puple of U Pon Nya.

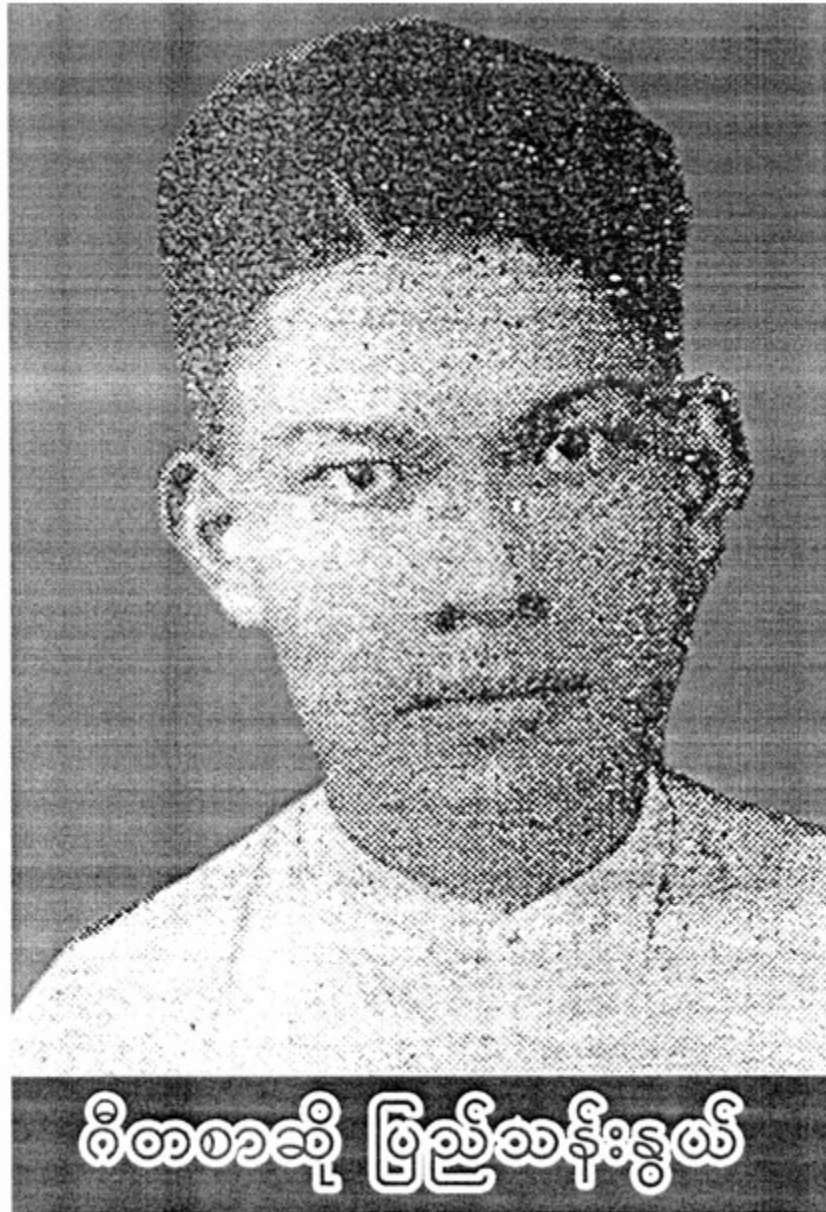
Another play “Let Weithondra” was prepared for performance on the 1955 Royal Poet Day. Both plays “U Pon Nya and Lakwai Thondra” were not so much popular, with the public that writers Association decided not to perform on stage for seven days, but to perform in such celebrations as giving public lecture on literature and paying homage to aged old writers alike.



Film and Play Actor, Takkatho Myo Chit
Than Nwe, *The Modern Plays*, P-142



Musician, Gi Ta Lu Lin Doctor Mg Ko Ko (By Courtesy of Bo Galay Tint Aung)



Film and Play Play Song Composer, Pyay Than Nwe
Than Nwe, *The Modern Plays*, P-19

The staging of plays fortnightly at the Win Win Theatre continued regularly up to 1956. One of the favourites of public till 1954 was the play named “Naung Chit Peitin” (An echo of the old flame) in which Myo Chit, Myint Myint Htay and Pho Par Gyi were the main casts.

This play was a drama type emphasizing the love and affection of the lovers who possessed the qualities of mutual understanding, sincerity and faithfulness in their relations as husband and wife. The play was very popular with the public so much and it lasted for four weeks.

Bogalay Tint Aung was a favourite pupil of Dagon Saya Tin, who trained him to become a co-director of his plays His younger brother Gita Lulin Mg Ko Ko was a musician of the music troupes. The “Apyone Laksaung” play made him a full-fledged director and ever since Bogalay Tint Aung presented over forty plays throughout the age of play.

The conductor Gita Lulin Mg Ko Ko joined the world of music and play at the age of thirteen, and he started composing theme songs in the plays, “Thanyawzin” and “Sispyan” He had written over 1000, stories of staged play and film, and composed over ten thousand 10000 songs. He also directed such plays as “Chit Kabar Si Tho”, “Gi Ta Lone May,” “Thu Ka Tot May Par Pyi” etc.

Similarly Comedian Than Nwe and Chit Mg presented the staged plays at Win Win and Karthtay theatres. Than Nwe’s play were “Hnit San Chit Pan”, “Muann Chit Thanthaya”, “Chit tar Par bei”, “Gon Pan ta Pwint”, “Myitta Tay Than”, “Khwar Nyo Thinbi May”, “Chit Kyay Muon”, “Myat Man Taw Nhyo Par Nei,” “Chit Khwint Ma Paine”, “Ta Wei Lei Lei”, “Ko Thway Ko Thar”, “Meinma Soda”, Mi Thar Pha Thar, “Ah Pyaw Sone Nay”, etc... Chit Mg plays were “Yway Kauk Pwe,” “Hnit Sint Myitta”, “Htoo Myat Chein Khar”, “Shwe Pyit Sone”, Lawka Yeitthar”, “Ahlin Nei Ahmaung”, “Yin Hnit Thee Char,” “Hnit Ko Ta Chit”, “Chit Ya Khet Tei, “Chit Thone Lee”, “Chit Tat Par Say”, “Chit Ya Nant Ma Pye” “Mingalar Pheith Sar”, Yamuonna”.

The music Bands played an important role in performance of plays. A music band consisted of piano, violin, jess band, Double Bass, and wind instruments. The popular conductors were. A. 1 Khin Mg, Pianist Hla Shwe (Sagaing), Shwe Pyi Aye and Gita Lulin Mg Ko Ko. The musicians wore uniforms that their troupe and plays a preliminary overture music and song. In

these overtures the name of director, actors, actress and even the plot of the play were referred and mentioned. As soon as the performance started, each cast introduced himself or herself by singing the songs. The actor, actress and even the comedians had to sing solo (or) duet song about the plot. Most of the theme songs were composed by Yan Naing Sein, Bogalay Tint Aung, Mg Ko Ko and Pyi Than Nwe. There were suitable pair of comedians in the plays in the plays as well as in the films. For example, “Hteik Peik and Hmat Kyi”, “Sai Ta Mot and Ywei Kyi”, “Sampa and Panchar” and “Kyai Ni and Ma Sein Khin” etc. Daw Sein Khin was a rare woman comedian of the Win Win playhouse, and stood as a perfect complement to comedian Kyai Ni. She retained her popularity as a comedian in the film world till her death.

Even though Daw Thein Kywe, who casted the character of a virago in the plays, was known with nick name as Meinmalei Thein Kyawe (Thein Kywe, the slicker) and Sein Nakat Thein Kywe (Thein Kywe, with diamond ear-rings), she was really a woman of good temper in the outside world, similarly the another female virago Daw Thein Yin, was renowned as Meinmashwin Thein Yin, (Thein Yin, the prostitute), due to her talented action in the play. Like the villains in the plays Aye Ngwe Gyi and Nyo Aye Gyi are the pious Buddhists in their daily life.

During the good income days of the play artists gambling and all sort of pleasures mushroomed around the play houses, like Poker, Mahjongg, and kat (domino-like blocks) and even a betting on horse race on every Saturday. The villain Mg Mg, the hunch-back (Khar kone Mg Mg), Academy U Thein Mg and the violinist Ko Di Poe were notorious for their interest in gambling and thus known with the nick name as (“gambler, the great (or) gambling specialists”).

The advent of film technology and popularity of the new talkie films such as cinema -scope, techni colour, 3Dis, 3 dimension films led to a gradual declined of play entertainment after 1953. Most of the actors, actresses, and even directors, script writers and technicians of the play troupes changed their professions from play to film after 1954, and thus play troupes at Win Win play house declined and dispersed. There were no new investments as well as incentives for the improvement of both the standards of the plays and its artists, such as, training of new play stars, advanced technology for stage-settings, and finding out perfect plots or stories by purchasing novels of the

popular writers etc. The owners of the play troupes had no interest in reinvestment of their profits for improvement, but instead enjoyed the benefits dividing among themselves'. Beside the development of other entertainment sectors like gramophone and the talkie films caused a rapid decline of the staged plays.

The last play of Win Win Theatre was “Chit Lun Lo” (In excess of love) staged in 1955, as a farewell to the play house by its members. After its performance, the administrative boards of Win Win playhouse decided to close it forever, and thus faded out the play age altogether in 1955. Since then the plays lost its pride of place in Myanmar performing arts, but it managed to linger on a partial programme in Nyint Oo Yan entertainments of the drama troupes and in the musical variety shows on the commemorative Days of the state such as Union Day, Peasants’ and workers’ Day and Independence Day celebrations.

However, Prime Minister U Nu in 1957, patronized the performance of play, named “Myat Mon Yadana” (a noble treasure), with the intention of upbringing the moral character of the youths of the country. It was staged at Myo Ma School, in honouring the National Day ceremony. The director was Bogalay Tint Aung and conductor was Gita Lulin Mg Ko Ko. The top film stars like, Kyi Kyi Htay, Myint Myint Htay, Khin Ohn Myint, San Shar Tin, May Nwe, Myo Chit, Ze Ya etc., took part in this play, which was sponsored by the Prime Minister himself.

Play performance is much more difficult than acting in film casts must have good looks and good body figures in addition to their vocal training and good dialogue because play is a live show where as film is only motion pictures (movies) So it is easy for play actors to acting film but film actors take sometime to become good play actors.

In 1989, Bogalay Tint Aung and Mg Ko Ko took the lead to resume performance of plays by renovating the old cinema, Waziya in Pansodan quarter. They reorganized the old comrades of the play world and then restaged such play of Dagon Saya Tin as “Gon Tu Gon Pyaing”, “Yaukkhama Yothey Atheshey” “Amay Chywayma Hla Hla Lay”, “Kyaw San Kay Hnit Yupamalar”.

These plays were performed outright as many as eighty or hundred shows altogether. And other plays like “Nge Kywan Swe”, ‘Chit Thaw Shwe

War”, “Thu Ko Hma Chit Te,” “Ahla Sone Ahchein”, were also staged at National Theatre.

However these performances could not retain characteristic of play against the newly emerged modern entertainment programmes like, video, VCD, DVD, Karaoke and Stereo Live shows of the modern music and thus totally faded out the play performances ever since then.

In summary the performance of plays began with the rise of play house like, Myaing, Zaw, Zeim, Karhtay and Win Win theatres in the post war period in Yangon. Most of the plays were for entertainment only, but some were the plays with constructive ideas for instructing the moral lessons, inspiring national spirit and patriotism and honoring the sacrifices of the Tatmadaw men. The period between 1947 and 1954, was the golden age of modern plays, in which plays stood as public favourites as an unparalleled entertainment programme.

However with the advent of new film technology and gramophone caused the modern play entertainment to fade out and declined. In 1989, there revived some modern plays but it totally dwindled because of the scientific development together with the film and other modern entertainment programmes of Video, VCD, DVD, Karaoke and the stereo live shows of modern music and today mobile and smart Phone.

Conclusion

The plays became diminished with the rise of talkie films and the performance of plays gradually declined after 1965, when the one and only one playhouse, Win Win had to cease from staging of plays in 1956, Some popular play artists, who indulged in pleasures and gambling during their hey-day, had now conclude their living with poverty at the sunset of their lives.

After 1988, the famous artist brothers, Bokgalay Tint Aung and Gita Lu Lin Dr.Mg Ko Ko had attempted to meet renaissance of a play age, but their efforts were in vain as the other sector of entertainments most are modernized liveshows, Karaok, Videos, V.C.D and T. V etc had already overwhelmed the typical live-shows of modern plays.

There is scarcity of literary records, that is personal documents or diaries compiled by the artists of the play would as they were not accustomed to take account of their activities in written records. Thus sources had to be gathered only on the memoirs of a few famous artists of play world, who explained their experiences and performances.

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Personal Interview

Name	Designation	Date
Bogalay Tint Aung	The play and film director	23 rd , October, 2007.
Nan Nyunt Swe	Writer	21 st , March, 2007.

Yuwady Kyi Oo

Writer

21st, March, 2007

Jolly Swe

Play and film comedian

2nd, February, 2008

SYSTEM OF TAXATION IN MYANMAR IN THE PARLIAMENTARY PERIOD(1948-1962)

Si Si San*

Abstract

There are four broad goals that might be attributed to a reasonable system of taxation. This includes the maximization of official revenue, limiting the negative impacts on economic welfare and the promotion of equity and political stability. Taxation system has been introduced in Myanmar since the beginning of monarchial period. Generally the rate of taxation was basically based on Dathamabaga or Thathamada that is one tenth of the percent of the produce of its labour. In the British colonial period (1826-1948), four types of taxation system was found; taxation for central government in the India Empire, taxation for provincial government, taxation for municipal department and taxation for local government. After independence of Myanmar on 4 January 1948, Myanmar's new government, an Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL) led by U Nu, faced horrendous difficulties because of internal insurrection in the country. The insurrection had substantial economic consequences its hit the government's finance very badly. Thus, in order to maximize of official revenue in the country to cover deficient of government finance, AFPFL tried to introduce systematic and efficient system of taxation. New taxes such as commercial taxes and state lottery tax are introduced. As an attempt to examine how AFPFL Government introduced efficient system of taxation, what sorts of taxes were collected and how the rate of taxation was fixed on different kinds of taxes, this research paper, "System of Taxation in Myanmar in the Parliamentary Period (1948-1962)" is written.

Keywords: AFPFL, Economy of Myanmar, Taxation

Introduction

There are four broad goals that might be attributed to a reasonable system of taxation. This includes the maximization of official revenue, limiting the negative impacts on economic welfare and the promotion of equity and political stability. Taxation system has been introduced in Myanmar since the beginning of monarchial period. The collection of taxes by Myanmar kings was for the prosperity and development of the country, to

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protect the internal and external enemies to have peace within the country so that the merchant could do commercial dealing well and the cultivators could do their cultivation without any harm and the ministers and kings could gain trust from the people. In other to succeed these aims and purposes, Thathameda taxes were collected from the cultivators from tithe of their produce to provide ministers and officials and to store rations for the armed groups.¹

Tax can be paid in cash or in kinds. There were three kinds of taxes such as Khun Ma², Khun Thay³ and Khun Shin⁴. Taxation also varied based on the locality.⁵ In some areas, taxes were paid as fixed taxes but in other areas, taxes were collected as variant taxes based on import, export and other duty free products.⁶

In collection taxation, it mainly considered that taxation should not be a heavy burden for the people and it should be fair collection. However, there were variant taxations systems depending on the localities. Myanmar kings promulgated laws and regulations to obey tax collectors and taxpayers. The taxpayers should not avoid paying taxes and they are expected to pay taxes

¹ U Tin, *jrefrmrif;tkyfcsKyfyHkpmwrf;ESifh bdk;awmfbk&m;\&mZowfac:aom trdefUawmf wrf;BuD; (Treatise on the Administration of Myanmar Kings and Royal Order of King Bodawpaya)*, Volume I, Yangon, Department of Culture, 1963, p. 64 (Hereafter cited as U Tin, *Administration of Myanmar Kings , Vol. I*)

² Main taxes collected from main sources of business or cultivation. Ma Kyan, *ukef;abmifacwftcGefawmfa&;&m (Taxation in Konbaung period)*, Yangon, Monywa Press, First Edition, 2009, p.8 (Hereafter cited as Ma Kyan, *Taxation in Konbaung period*)

³ It was a fixed to collect. Ma Kyan, *Taxation in Konbaung period*, p. 8

⁴ It was not a fixed tax and the rate of taxation varied from time to time. Ma Kyan, *Taxation in Konbaung period*, p. 8

⁵ U Maung Maung Tin (M.A), *Nrefrmrif;vufxufawmfpmwrf;rsm; (Papers during the reign of Myanmar Kings)*, Yangon, Sapai Oo press, No date, pp. 36-37 (Hereafter cited as Maung Maung Tin, *Myanmar Kings*)

⁶ U Tin, *jrefrmrif;tkyfcsKyfyHkpmwrf;ESifh bdk;awmfbk&m;\&mZowfac:aom trdefUawmf wrf;BuD; ? pwkwÅydkif; (Treatise on the Administration of Myanmar Kings and Royal Order of King Bodawpaya)*, Volume III, Yangon, Baho Press, 1970, p.186 (Hereafter cited as U Tin, *Administration of Myanmar Kings , Vol. IV*)

without fail. On the other hand, tax collectors should not collect taxes forcibly and more than it is demanded. They were also responsible to avoid the misuse of the collected taxes.⁷ There are many types of taxes according to the collected taxes and the nature of taxation.⁸

In the British colonial period (1826-1948), four types of taxation system was found; taxation for central government in the India Empire, taxation for provincial government, taxation for municipal department and taxation for local government.⁹ Taxes which were mainly collected by the British government until they withdrew from Myanmar when the Japanese imperial army entered into Myanmar were custom taxes, excise duties, income taxes, State lottery, excise revenue, stamps and forest product taxes. The taxes mostly levied during the Japanese occupation period in Myanmar were custom taxes, income taxes, excise duties, registration taxes, registration of vehicles, land revenue, forest product taxes, state lottery and stamp taxes.¹⁰ After independence of Myanmar on 4 January 1948, Myanmar's new government, an Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL) led by U Nu, faced horrendous difficulties because of internal insurrection in the country. The insurrection had substantial economic consequences its hit the government's finance very badly. Thus, in order to maximize of official revenue in the country to cover deficient of government finance, AFPFL tried to introduce systematic and efficient system of taxation. This research paper is to examine how AFPFL Government introduced efficient system of taxation, what sorts of taxes were collected and how the rate of taxation was fixed on different kinds of taxes.

⁷ U Tin, *U Tin, jrefrmrif;tkyfcsKyfyHkpmwrf;ESifh bdk;awmfbk&m;\&mZowfac:aom trdefUawmf wrf;BuD; ? wwd,ydkif; (Treatise on the Administration of Myanmar Kings and Royal Order of King Bodawpaya)), Volume III, Yangon, Baho Press,1970, pp. 151-152 (Hereafter cited as U Tin, Administration of Myanmar Kings , Vol. III)*

⁸ Ma Kyan, *Taxation in Konbaung period*, p.8

⁹ *Report on the Administration of Burma for the Year 1881-82*, Yangon, printed at the Government Press, 1882, p. 103

¹⁰ J. Russell. Andrus, , *Burmese Economic Life*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1947, pp. 321-325

I: System of Taxation in Myanmar (1948-1962)

The taxes which were collected mostly in Myanmar in the parliamentary period (1948-1962) were taxes on export and import, and taxes on income and profit. Moreover, taxes on agricultural land, forest and forest products, taxes on commercial trading, taxes on internal import and export, excise taxes, lottery taxes and others were collected. After independence, since the construction of the country from wartime damages were conducted that the import volumes for the commodities and machineries were increased and gained much more taxes from it.¹¹

Since the attainment of independence, an Act for the Business Profit on commercial trading was enacted in Presidential residence in Yangon on 22 October 1948. Commercial taxes were the Hotel and Restaurant Tax and Business Premise Tax. In the collection of commercial taxes, the most of money was received from the collection of sale taxes. This sale tax was levied from domestic products and foreign products. Since the production of the goods in the country and the imported goods volumes were steadily increased, the income collected from commercial taxes was increased.

Sales Tax

On 22 October 1948, Sales taxes, taxation on goods and service sold within the country which mandates the levying on goods at the points of sale was promulgated at the Presidential House in Yangon.¹² This Sale taxes was collected on companies, organization and joint venture trading enterprises and occupation which gained profit and professional businesses.¹³ In selling, there are two kinds; commercial dealing, trading enterprises and cotton trading. Sale tax was imposed from the profit by deducting the exempted money from the

¹¹ *r@dKifowif;pm* (*Mandiang Newspaper*), 26 January 1962

¹² *NrefrmEdkifiHawmfNyeFwrf;* (*Gazette of Union of Burma (Myanmar)*), 30 October 1948, p. 1 (Hereafter cited as *Gazette of Union of Burma*, 30 October 1948)

¹³ *Gazette of Union of Burma*, 30 October 1948, p. 111

investment. The ratio of sale tax should be $16 \frac{2}{3}$ % from the net profit.¹⁴ If a person could earn over 100,000 Kyats or more from his business, he was liable to pay sale tax from his profit. If he had more than one business, the profit from his businesses were totally calculated and imposed sale taxes from the total profit of his businesses.¹⁵ If it was joint venture business, the amount of invested money should be equal to the exempted money from taxation.¹⁶

Tax on Business Premise

Tax on Business Premise was passed on 9 April 1949. This tax was imposed on the hired building in which a business was running. Anyone who was running business was liable to pay 20 % from the annual hire fees of building. However, the amount of taxation was varied. If a large business hired a large building with high price, 1,200 Kyats was imposed annually as fixed tax.¹⁷

Taxes on the Hotel and Restaurant

This tax was also passed from Presidential House on 9 April 1949. The tax was collected on public hotel and restaurants and inns, which served food and beverages, private restaurants, cafes, lodgings, cold drink shops, and the other places which sell consumer goods. It was collected 20 % from the prices demanded by the owners. Sale tax will be imposed from the food eaten by the customers.¹⁸ According to the amendment of Tax on hotel and restaurant, the owner has to pay taxes on the food, which was taken in credit or without

¹⁴ *Gazette of Union of Burma*, 30 October 1948, p. 114

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 115

¹⁶ *NrefrmEdkifiHNyefwrf; a&mif;0, fvkyfudkifrSK tNrwwftpGef;cGef (Nyifqifcsuf) (Gazette of Union of Burma (Myanmar), Amendment of Business Profit Tax)*, 25 October 1952, pp. 1044-1055

¹⁷ *NrefrmEdkifiHawmfNyefwrf; (Gazette of Union of Burma (Myanmar))*, 30 April 1949, pp. 282-283

¹⁸ *NrefrmEdkifiHNyefwrf; a[mfw, faysmfyGJpm;&kHcGef (Nyifqifcsuf) (Gazette of Union of Burma Myanmar), Amendment of Taxes on Hotel and Restaurant*), 11 March 1950, p. 177

charge.¹⁹ This tax was in fact collected by the owners of hotels and restaurants from the customers on behalf of the government.

Taxes on Goods and Services

Taxes on goods and services was enacted on 29 September 1949 which was imposed on all moveable goods. The goods and commodities included luxurious goods in domestic products and foreign imports, all goods which obtained special imported licenses and other general commodities. It was collected 15 % of the prices of luxurious goods, 10 % on general commodities and 5 % on goods of special imported licenses.²⁰ After this act was enacted, Sale tax on general goods and services was abolished.²¹

After independence, most of the luxurious goods were imported from foreign countries. These goods were several kinds of ale and beer, tobacco, cigarettes, perfumed spirit, socks, jewelry, cutlery plated with gold and silver, metal furniture and cabinet wares and playing cards and so on. Other luxurious goods were bacon, ham and lard, starch and farina, hops, butter cheese and ghee, fruit juices, all sort of drink not otherwise specified, canes and rattans, belting for machinery, silk and ribbons.²² Over 106 kinds of commodities were included in general goods. The goods, which were granted special licenses, were bleaching paste and bleaching powder, camphor, silk sewing thread and electric lighting bulbs.²³ It is found that taxation on sale taxes was made by dividing the above three categories of luxurious goods, general goods and goods on special granted licenses. However, the donation of food and clothes for the poor, bibles and biblical books were exempted from sale tax. The import of medicines and operational materials for the

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ *NrefrmEdkifiHawmfNyefwrf*; (*Gazette of Union of Burma (Myanmar)*), 11 October 1952, pp. 939-944

²¹ Ibid. p. 953

²² *NrefrmEdkifiHawmfNyefwrf*; (*Gazette of Union of Burma (Myanmar)*), 4 October 1952, pp. 883-884

²³ Ibid., p. 887

theaters for Kyaington and Mawlamyine hospital by the missionaries were exempted from sale tax.²⁴

Sale taxes on animals were also imposed on elephant, horses, cattle, donkey, goat, sheep and pig. In Shwe Daung Township, one Kyat was imposed on selling cattle which were seven years old or over. Young calf and pig were imposed 0.50 Kyats.²⁵

Taxes on Agricultural Land

On 26 October 1953, the Land Nationalization Act was enacted by the AFPFL Government²⁶. Following this act, taxes on agricultural land was promulgated in October 1955 on a per acre basis. Taxation on agricultural land was made according to the lands of monsoon rice fields, irrigated lands owned by the state, dry land, nipa-palm lands and garden land. The collected taxes were drawn to the government treasury according to the instructions.²⁷ However, some lands which had low production and destroyed because of insects were exempted from taxation.²⁸

Taxation on agricultural land varied according to the regions. In Sittwe District, taxation was collected 3.25 Kyats on per acre of paddy land, 2.50 Kyats on garden land and other plants, 5 Kyats on nipa-palm and areca plants. In Mrauk U Township, 3 Kyats was imposed on per acre of paddy land, 2.50 Kyats for garden land of areca plants and nipa-palm. In Minbya

²⁴ *NrefrmEdkifiHawmfNyefwrf*; (*Gazette of Union of Burma (Myanmar)*), 25 June 1953, p. 744

²⁵ *NrefrmEdkifiHawmfNyefwrf*; (*Gazette of Union of Burma (Myanmar)*), 5 October, 1953, p. 1160

²⁶ *NrefrmEdkifiHawmfNyefwrf*; (*Gazette of Union of Burma (Myanmar)*), 14 November, 1953, pp. 1337 (Hereafter cited as *Gazette of Burma*, 14 November, 1953)

²⁷ *NrefrmEdkifiHawmfNyefwrf*; (*Gazette of Union of Burma (Myanmar)*), 7 July, 1956, pp. 1052-1053

²⁸ *NrefrmEdkifiHawmfNyefwrf*; (*Gazette of Union of Burma (Myanmar)*), 15 December 1956, pp. 1613-1614 (Hereafter cited as *Gazette of Burma* 15 December 1956)

Township, 3.25 Kyats was collected on per acre of paddy land, 3.50 Kyats on garden land and other plants, and 5 Kyats on areca palm and nipa-palm.²⁹

However, in Taungoo and Pyuu Townships in Taungoo District, from 1.00 to 2.00 Kyats were collected on per acre of high yield paddy land, from 1.50 to 3.00 Kyats on dry land and 2 Kyats on garden land.³⁰ It is found that taxes on agricultural land were mainly imposed on paddy land, dry land, alluvial lands on seasonal flooding, garden land and nipa-palm land. If the production of land was reduced to ¼ % of total production, that land was exempted from taxation.

Taxes, Tolls and Fees on Internal and External Trade

The Union of Myanmar promulgated the enactment of these taxes on the goods and commodities of internal and external trade at the numerous checkpoints of the roads, highways, bridges, rivers, ports and airports on 1 October 1953. This act was effected on 1 October 1953.³¹ Taxation was imposed 150% on the imported food of dried or salt meat, butter and margarines, 75% on preserved milk and butter, 50% on exported dried fish and prawn, 100% on imported sardine tins, and 25 % from imported chemical sugar, sugar and coffee seeds. For the beverages and tobacco products, 400% was collected on all kinds of imported grape wine, 200 % on imported Champaign and Rum which contained 42% of alcohol, cigarettes, 50 % on tobacco, betel leaves and areca leaves, 55 % on areca and 125 % on cigars and cheroots.³²

The goods which contained fat, oil, wax, and grease and other animal fats, oil from groundnut, sesame and coconut were imposed taxes on 10 %, and engine oil and petroleum and gasoline was imposed 0.25 Kyat on per imperial gallon. The chemical spirit used in dyeing and making leather was

²⁹ *NrefrmEdkifiHawmfNyeFWrf*; (*Gazette of Union of Burma (Myanmar)*), 15 December 1956, pp. 1613-1614

³⁰ *NrefrmEdkifiHawmfNyeFWrf*; (*Gazette of Union of Burma (Myanmar)*), 18 August 1962 , pp. 1029-1030

³¹ *Gazette of Burma*, 14 November, 1953, pp. 1280-1281

³² *Gazette of Burma*, 14 November, 1953, pp. 1284-1285

collected 10% as tax, spirit and other ales used for manufacturing of beverage 40% and dye produced from tar 5%. It was collected 20 % from manufactured rubber, and 30 % from wood and wood products, and 25 % on canes and rattan products.³³

Taxes on port were imposed on boats, sampans, cargo barges, motor boats, ships and bamboo rafts. These boats and ships are liable to pay annual taxes in these boats and ships conducted trading and loading goods for nine months in a port. If the period is over six months, these boats and ships had to pay $\frac{3}{4}$ % of annual tax, and $\frac{1}{4}$ % of annual tax if these boats and ships stayed in a port over 15 days. As a daily tolls at port, it was collected 0.10 Kyats on boats, sampans and raft and 3 Kyats on motor boats and ship which had 40 feet in length and above.³⁴

Taxes on Vehicles

Taxes on vehicles were imposed on vehicles within area of townships and on vehicles which entered into townships. It was an advanced tax collected for a year. If the vehicle is available in township over nine months, it is liable to pay annual tax, $\frac{3}{4}$ % of annual tax for over six months, $\frac{1}{2}$ % of annual tax for over three months and $\frac{1}{4}$ % of annual tax for over 15 days. In Katha Township, from 2.50 Kyats to 90 Kyats were imposed as annual taxes on vehicles. As daily tolls, a lorry was imposed one Kyats and a cart 0.20 Kyats. In Myeik Township, the annual taxes on vehicles were imposed from 5 Kyats to 60 Kyats, and daily tolls were collected from 0.25 Kyats to one Kyats. In Paunde Township, annual taxes on vehicles were imposed from 3 Kyats to 30 Kyats.³⁵ It is found that taxes on vehicles were varied according to townships.

Other Taxes in Parliamentary Period (1948-1962)

The small businesses such as food manufacture, wielding, car workshop, machine tools workshops were imposed 10 Kyats in a year. Storing

³³ Ibid, pp. 1280-1281

³⁴ *Gazette of Burma*, 15 December 1956, pp. 1615-1616

³⁵ *Gazette of Burma* 15 December 1956, pp. 1617-1618

of paddy from 5,000 baskets to 100,000 baskets were collected 25 Kyats in a year. The business of making raw and dried leather was liable to pay 50 Kyats and the business of parboiled rice 100 Kyats in a year.³⁶ Taxes on residential land and housing, on water supply and electricity were also collected. In Maymyo Township, taxes on residential land and housing were collected 3 % on the houses which were worth to the value of less than 240 Kyats and 5 % to 7 % to the value of above. Tax on water supply was collected 20 % on the houses which were worth to the value of less than 240 Kyats and 33 % to the value of above. Tax on sewage was collected from 15% to 33 % from each household.³⁷

In Thanatpin Township, tax on electricity was imposed 0.75 Kyats on the houses which were worth to the value of less than 200 Kyats and 2.50 Kyats to the value of above in a month.³⁸ In Dawei Township, taxes on sewage was collected yearly 6 % on the houses which were worth to the value of less than 360 Kyat and 10 % to the value of above, and taxes on electricity 10 % on the houses which were worth to the value of less than 360 Kyat and 10 % to the value of 600 Kyats and above.³⁹

Conclusion

Taxation has been continuously practiced in Myanmar since the colonial period and it did not halt even during the Japanese occupation period and in the Second World War. Myanmar's political history has been tumultuous with a long running civil war beginning soon after independence in 1948, undermining the newly established parliamentary democracy period (1948-1962). As a reasonable system of taxation, the ruling AFPFL Government tried to collect tax revenues in order to maximize the official revenue in the country. As discussed above, many taxes were introduced and enacted to acquire revenue as much as possible for the reconstruction and rehabilitation in the post-war period. However, the country avoidably faced

³⁶ *NrefrmEdkifiHawmfNyefwrf*; (*Gazette of Union of Burma (Myanmar)*), 23 March 1962 , pp. 338-339

³⁷ *NrefrmEdkifiHawmfNyefwrf*; (*Gazette of Union of Burma (Myanmar)*), 18 March 1962 , pp. 610-611

³⁸ *Ibid* , pp. 610-611

³⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 611-612

the civil war again which retarded the government reconstruction and development measures. The system of taxation in Myanmar in the Parliamentary period varied based on the geographic position and the items. It is especially found in taxation of agricultural products from the regions. It seems that geographic positions of fertile land and the yield of products were highly considered in collecting taxes. Moreover, the government could not efficiently introduce taxation system within the country because of internal insurrection and there were some businessmen, who evaded taxes but the existing prescribed law could not efficiently take actions to those. Taxation is major role of the government's earning. The efficient financial system is crucial for every country especially in developing countries. Thus, it is analyzed that although AFPFL Government in Parliamentary period could introduce more comprehensive taxation system in the country, it could not accomplish to carry out successful taxation in the country.

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r@dKifowif;pm (Mandiang Newspaper), 26 January 1962

A STUDY ON THE CAUSES OF THE DISINTEGRATION OF HANTHAWADDY KINGDOM

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Abstract

The Kingdom of Hanthawaddy was ruled from the 14th century by a dynasty of Mon Kings. Tabinshwehti occupied Hanthawaddy in 1539. He then attempted to create a united kingdom in which there was no discrimination. Although Tabinshwehti did not discriminate between Mon and Myanmar and gave favour and position equally to both, yet there were some Mons who remained dissatisfied and assassinated him on 1 May 1550. Following Tabinshwehti's death, the Kingdom of Hanthawaddy fell into disarray. Bayinnaung, after administering an oath of loyalty in the whole country, was able to unify the Kingdom of Hanthawaddy and extend it into the largest Kingdom in Southeast Asia. But the Kingdom came to a pitiful end. His son Nandabayin ascended the throne in 1581. The attempt of Bayinnaung and Nandabayin to maintain an extended empire, an area far more extensive than was needed for the stability of the Ayeyarwaddy Valley, was one of the causes of the collapse of the Kingdom of Hanthawaddy. In particular, there was no permanent army under the direct control of the King. What made it worse was that Nandabayin could not control his nucleus of manpower within the Mon region. He branded the Mons on the right hand with their name, rank and village; those who were too old for service were sent to Upper Myanmar, and sold in exchange for horses. He instituted a reign of terror among the Mons, executing them wholesale, and he horrified all by killing the pariah dogs in Bago. The final ruin of Hanthawaddy was brought about by the decline of agriculture and the disunity which developed in the reign of Nandabayin.

Key Words: discrimination, extensive, horrified and disunity

Introduction

This paper deals with the causes of the disintegration of Hanthawaddy Kingdom (1539-1599). During this period of about sixty years, Hanthawaddy was ruled by three successive Kings, Tabinshwehti, Bayinnaung and Nandabayin. The paper is organized under three parts. The first part deals with political causes of the Hanthawaddy Kingdom. After occupying Hanthawaddy in 1539, Tabinshwehti began to attempt to bring the whole of the territories of

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Hanthawaddy under his rule. Bayinnaung who succeeded Tabinshwehti was able to establish his rule over the territories formerly ruled by Tabinshwehti and to further extend the Kingdom. Nandabayin succeeded his father, Bayinnaung. But unlike his father Nandabayin could not control the nucleus of manpower within the Mon region, and this finally led to the collapse of the Kingdom.

The second part deals with government of the Hanthawaddy Kingdom. The Kings of Hanthawaddy divided the administration of the Kingdom into two parts: one was the central administration by the King himself and the other was the provincial administration under the chiefs of the regions or royal relatives in the zone of dependent provinces. The practice of having royal relatives rule as governors and to give them a great measure of independence helped to strengthen the military might of the Kingdom when they were in agreement with the King. However, if they became estranged, it could lead to a weakening and the destruction of the Kingdom.

The third part deals with economic causes. As the basic economy of the Kingdom was agriculture, the Kings of Hanthawaddy encouraged farmers in the growing of their crops. Despite the King's encouragement of the cultivation of rice, since the whole period of Hanthawaddy was full of wars, large numbers of cultivators were pressed into military and corvee service even during the growing season. With some agricultural districts practically deserted, the price of rice, already inflated, reached absurd levels. The final ruin of Hanthawaddy was brought about by the decline of agriculture and the disunity which developed in the reign of Nandabayin. The purpose of this paper is to take lesson in implementing peace and in building a democracy nation.

Political Causes

The Kingdom of Hanthawaddy was ruled from the 14th century by a dynasty of Mon Kings which was established by Banya U (1369- 1384) who moved his capital from Mottama to Hanthawaddy in 1369.¹ Made up of three regions, Hanthawaddy, Mottama and Patheingyi, Kingdom of Hanthawaddy was

¹ Aung Thaw, *Historical Sites in Burma*, Yangon, Sarpay Beikman Press, 1972, p.104

able to profit from the maritime trade of the Indian Ocean because of its location in Lower Myanmar. A new threat to the Kingdom of Hanthawaddy developed in the early part of the 16th century during the reign of Thushin Takayutpi. The Kingdom of Inwa had declined and had fallen under the influence of Shan Sawbwas of the east and the north. With the decline of Inwa, Taungoo which had been subject to it, asserted its independence and became powerful under Mingyi Nyo (1485-1530) who conquered some of the neighbouring territories and established the new city of Taungoo in 1510. Tabinshwehti succeeded his father Mingyi Nyo as King of Taungoo in 1530. Young, energetic and courageous, Tabinshwehti showed his interest in Hanthawaddy soon after his accession. In several campaigns, Tabinshwehti had failed to conquer Hanthawaddy. With Hanthawaddy putting up a strong defence, Tabinshwehti decided to use political guile in addition to military force.² Thus, Tabinshwehti occupied Hanthawaddy in 1539 without much difficulty.³ After Thushin Takayutpi's death, the Mon chiefs who had owed allegiance to him shifted their allegiance to Tabinshwehti. Tabinshwehti welcomed them and strengthened their allegiance to him by showing respect for Mon culture, and traditional institutions and providing equal treatment with his own men from Taungoo. He thus attempted to create a united kingdom in which there was no discrimination.

Although Tabinshwehti did not discriminate between Mon and Myanmar and gave favour and position equally to both, yet there were some Mons who remained dissatisfied. In 1549, Thamein Htawyama, son of Banya Yan, former Mon King of Hanthawaddy, started an uprising, met with defeat near Makaw and retreated to Thanlyin. Bayinnaung was then ordered to march and end the insurrection. During the absence of Bayinnaung, Thamein Saw

² Nai Pan Hla, [HomOwDacwf&mZm"d&mZfESifhbk&ifahemif (Yazadarit and Bayinnaung in Hanthawaddy period), [HomOwDacwf armfuGef;wifpmwrf;rsm; (Recorded Eassays of Hanthawaddy period), Yangon, Hna Lone Hla Press, 1976, p.151

³ G.E. Harvey, *History of Burma from the Earliest Times to 10 March 1824 The Beginning of the English Conquest*, Landon, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1967, p.127 (Hereafter cited as Harvey, History of Burma)

Htut, who was close to Tabinshwehti and had been appointed Governor of Sittaung, assassinated Tabinshwehti on 1 May 1550.⁴

Following Tabinshwehti's death, the Kingdom of Hanthawaddy fell into disarray. On hearing the news of Tabinshwehti's death Thihathu the younger brother of Bayinnaung and governor of Taungoo, who had been assigned to safeguard Hanthawaddy returned to Taungoo and enthroned himself there as King Mingaung. Thamein Saw Htut, who had assassinated Tabinshwehti, came to Hanthawaddy and enthroned himself as King ThameinSekkawaw. But the ministers at Hanthawaddy would not accept him and instead enthroned Thamein Htawmyama as King. At Pyay, the Governor, Thado Dhamma Raja assumed the title of Thadothu raised an uprising. Thus the Kingdom of Hanthawaddy disintegrated with several pretenders claiming the succession.⁵

Bayinnaung, after administering an oath of loyalty in the whole country, was able to unify the Kingdom of Hanthawaddy and extend it into the largest Kingdom in Southeast Asia. During the reign of Bayinnaung, the Hanthawaddy Kingdom extended in the east to Vietnam, in the southeast to the whole of Ayutthaya up to the boundary of Malaya, in the west Assam and Manipur with Rakhine excluded, in the north and northeast the nine Shan States including part of Yunnan.

In 1580, Min Phalaung, King of Rakhine, who had established cordial relations with Hanthawaddy in previous years, attacked some territories of Hanthawaddy. Hence, Bayinnaung decided on a campaign against Rakhine. The forces of Hanthawaddy going by land and sea rendezvoused at Thandwe, then the combined forces attacked Mrauk-U, the capital of Rakhine. But the Rakhine campaign was suddenly abandoned in October 1581 because of the death of Bayinnaung.⁶

⁴ U Kala, *U Kala, r [m&mZ0ifBuD; (The Great Chronicle), Vol. II*, Yangon, Yapye Press, 2006, p.196 (Hereafter cited as Kala, *The Great Chronicle*, Vol. II)

⁵ *rSefeef; &mZ0ifawmfBuD; (The Glass Palace Chronicle), Vol. II*, Yangon, Myanmar Alin and Guardian Press, June, 1993, pp.258-259 (Hereafter cited as *The Glass Palace Chronicle*, Vol. II)

⁶ *rSefeef; &mZ0ifawmfBuD; (The Glass Palace Chronicle)*, Vol. III, Yangon, Myanmar Alin and Guardian Press, 1993, pp. 60-61

Four days after the death of Bayinnaung, his son Nandabayin, the Crown Prince, who became known as Ngasudayaka ascended the throne on 14 October 1581. Prince Naresuan of Ayutthaya who continuously kept watchful eyes on developments in Hanthawaddy came as representative of his father Maha Tammaraja in May 1582, to renew homage to the new King as well as to assess the situation.⁷ Following Nandabayin's accession, rebellions broke out testing his strength and capability. The Sawbwa of Sanda was the first one who took up arms and revolted against the new King. However, Nandabayin subdued the rebellion. Although in 1583, Min Phalaung dispatched a delegation with valuable gifts to establish cordial relations between Rakhine and Hanthawaddy, a serious challenge to Nandabayin's authority came when his uncle Thado Minsaw, Governor of Inwa, took up arms against him because his daughter, married to the Crown Prince, had not been treated well. Nandabayin marched to Inwa to subdue the rebellion. The uncle and nephew fought on elephants in single combat. Nandabayin won, and Thado Minsaw fled to Kanti, where he died while trying to gain local support.⁸

For support against Inwa Nandabayin summoned Naresuan of Ayutthaya. Naresuan purposely delayed his arrival and came to Hanthawaddy only after Nandabayin had marched to Inwa. Naresuan instead of following Nandabayin to Inwa he marched to attack Hanthawaddy hoping to capture it in Nandabayin's absence. But hearing the news of Nandabayin's triumph, he withdrew to Mottama captured some captives, elephants and horses and returned to Ayutthaya.⁹ In 1584, Naresuan proclaimed the independence of Ayutthaya. Nandabayin dispatched an army led by the Crown Prince to reconquer Ayutthaya but it was defeated and had to withdraw to Hanthawaddy.

In April 1585 the Crown Prince advanced against Ayutthaya for the second time, but was forced to retire to Hanthawaddy in July, 1586. Subsequently Nandabayin himself advanced against Ayutthaya by the

⁷ Rong Syamananda, *A History of Thailand*, Bangkok, Thai Watana Panich Co., Ltd, 8th ed. 1993, p.55 (Hereafter cited as Rong Syamananda, *A History of Thailand*)

⁸ Harvey, *History of Burma*. p.180

⁹ U TunNyo, *U TunNyo's History of Burma* (awmifilacwf) (The New Chronicle, Taungoo Period), Yangon, AhmanThit Press, August 2007, p.202

Melamao-Kamphaengphet route in November 1586 and laid siege to Ayutthaya. But he was unable to capture the city and returned to Hanthawaddy.¹⁰ Nandabayin dispatched the Crown Prince to subdue Ayutthaya for the fourth time. But the Hanthawaddy forces fell into an ambush and were forced to withdraw.¹¹

Naresuan now took the initiative and advanced to attack Hanthawaddy, but he was defeated by the Governor of Mottama and withdrew to Ayutthaya. In 1592, Hanthawaddy launched a campaign against Ayutthaya for the fifth time. In this time, the Crown Prince of Hanthawaddy was killed in a duel on elephants.¹² After his death in 1593 Hanthawaddy made no more attempts to re-conquer Autthaya.¹³ After his victory in the battle against the Crown Prince of Hanthawaddy, Naresuan fought Chiang Mai, Lanchang, Kengtung, Chiang Saen, Lakhon, Chaiya, Songkhla and Thani.¹⁴

Nandabayin was unreasonable in many of his actions. He put many of his most loyal officers to death and suppressed the Mons. When Hmawbi raised insurrection in 1593, he crushed the insurrection. With the failure of the Hmawbi rebellion, some of the Mons ran away to Rakhine, Pyay and Taungoo while other Mon captives were all executed. Nandabayin even slew many Mon Buddhist monks. Thousands of people abandoned their country and fled, and the delta became depopulated from war, famine and migration. In 1594, the Governor of Mawlamyine sided with Naresuan and revolted against Hanthawaddy. Nandabayin was unable to subdue the rebellion and the southern half of Hanthawaddy Kingdom including Mottama fell under the influence of Ayutthaya.¹⁵

¹⁰ Rong Syamananda, *A History of Thailand*, pp.57-58

¹¹ U Kaka, ၵုၼ်ႈႁၢၼ်ႈႁၢၼ်ႈႁၢၼ်ႈ (The Great Chronicle), Vol. III, Yangon, Yapye Press, 2006, pp. 90-91 (Hereafter cited as Kala, *The Great Chronicle*, Vol. III)

¹² There is another version stating that the Crown Prince was killed by being shot from a swivel gun

¹³ San Nyein, "Trans Peninsular Trade and Cross Regional Warfare between the Maritime Kingdoms of Ayudhaya and Pegu in mid-16th century- mid 17th century", *Port Cities and Trade in Western Southeast Asia*, Bangkok, Chulalongkorn University, 1998, p. 62

¹⁴ Tun Aung Chain, *Chronicle of Ayutthaya*, A translation of the YodayaYazawin, Yangon, Myanmar Historical Commission, 2005, p. 42

¹⁵ Rong Syamananda, *A History of Thailand*, p.60

In 1596, Naresuan joined the Governor of Mawlamyine and advanced on Hanthawaddy. He besieged Hanthawaddy for three months but had to withdraw because reinforcements arrived from Chiang Mai, Inwa and Taungoo to the assistance of Hanthawaddy.¹⁶

While Naresuan was attacking Hanthawaddy, Thado Dhammayaza, Nandabayin's son who was the Governor of Pyay, instead of marching to the assistance of Hanthawaddy, rebelled against his father and attempted to capture Taungoo during the absence of his brother, who had gone to defend Hanthawaddy. But with Naresuan's withdrawal and return of the Governor of Taungoo, Thado Dhammayaza had to withdraw to Pyay.¹⁷

Nadabayin tried to repopulate the country around the capital which had suffered from Naresuan's attack. He also made demands on his Governors to send men, elephants and their sons to Hanthawaddy. The Governor of Taungoo defied Nandabayin's order and refused to send Natshinnaung, his eldest son, to Hanthawaddy. The Governor of Nyaungyan also fortified his town and stayed aloof. Nandabayin was abandoned by all who might have supported him. The Governor of Taungoo wrote to the King of Rakhine proposing a joint attack on Hanthawaddy and a division of the spoils. Min Khamaung, the son of Rakhine King, came with a large force and took possession of Thanlyin. Nandabayin had no means of resisting this aggression.¹⁸

The Governor of Taungoo sent an army under his son Natshinnaung, and together with the Rakhine forces, invested Hanthawaddy. With a shortage of food in the city, the people in the city took refuge with the enemy troops outside. Even the Crown Prince, Minyekyawswa, submitted to the Governor of Taungoo, requesting that he be allowed to live peacefully. He was sent to Taungoo but was secretly executed there on the order of Natshinnaung. When Nandabayin was informed that his son had joined Taungoo, he yielded. The

¹⁶ *The Glass Palace Chronicle*, Vol. III, p. 97

¹⁷ Kala, *The Great Chronicle*, Vol. III, p. 96

^{18(a)} U Panni ၵပျီၼ်းသံဃာတော် (The New Chronicle of Danyawaddy), Yangon, Pyigyimantaing Pitaka Press, 1910, pp. 207-208

^(b) Arthur P. Phayre, *History of Burma*, London, Susil Gupta, 1967, p.112

Governor of Taungoo, after the capture of Hanthawaddy took Nandabayin to Taungoo. Thus the Kingdom of Hanthawaddy established by Bayinnaung disintegrated in December, 1599¹⁹ into petty kingdoms as Pyay, Taungoo, Inwa, etc. The vast territories that Bayinnaung conquered and kept under his control through personal relationships and loyalty to his charismatic character all broke apart.²⁰

The attempt of Bayinnaung and Nadabayin to maintain an extended empire, ranging from Manipur to Laos, an area far more extensive than was needed for the stability of the Ayeyarwaddy Valley, was one of the causes of the collapse of the Kingdom of Hanthawaddy. What made it worse was that Nandabayin could not control his nucleus of manpower within the Mon region, thus bringing about the collapse of the Kingdom of Hanthawaddy.²¹

Administrative Causes

As the Kingdom of Hanthawaddy was one of the largest in Southeast Asia of that time, the Kings of Hanthawaddy divided the administration of the Kingdom in two parts: one was the central administration by the King himself in the nuclear zone and the other was the provincial administration under the chiefs of the regions in the zone of dependent provinces. Ayeyarwaddy delta region, Sittaung delta region and the lower part of the river Sittaung basin were under central administration. Mons, Myanmars, Rakhines and Shans who were experienced and skillful in military, political and administrative affairs were appointed as ministers without any discrimination of race.²²

Together with the system of central administration, there was a system of provincial administration which was arranged in a hierarchy, with the King

¹⁹ Kala, *The Great Chronicle*, Vol. III, p.100

²⁰ U Thaw Kaung, "Accounts of King Bayinnaung's Life and Hanthawaddy Sinbyushin Ayedawbon, a Record of his campaigns", *Aspect of Myanmar History and Culture*, Yangon, Loka Ahlin Publishing House, 2010, p.118

²¹ Pamaree Surakiat, "Siamese- Myanmar Warfare during the sixteenth century and its connection to the growth and development of the First Taungoo Empire", *Myanmar Historical Commission Conference Proceedings*, Yangon, Myanmar Historical Commission, 2005, p.77 (Hereafter cited as Pamaree Surakiat, "Siamese- Myanmar Warfare")

²² Harvey, *History of Burma*, p.178

appointing his brothers, sons and trusted persons as governors of the provinces according to their seniority. In local administration, headmen were appointed to administer villages. After the annexation of regions away from the capital, the regional lords were allowed to administer their respective regions as Governors. When Tabinshwehti conquered Hanthawaddy, the Mon ministers and officials who submitted to him were not condemned or punished but were granted insignias of rank and fiefs by the King.²³

After the successful war against Ayutthaya, Tabinshwehti made the King of Ayutthaya present the yearly customs revenue of the port of Taninthayi. In the same manner, Bayinnaung, after his victory against Ayutthaya in 1564, ordered the King of Ayutthaya to send to his court yearly thirty war elephants, 300 viss of silver and particularly the customs revenues of Taninthayi. Thus the Kings of Hanthawaddy did not directly administer the regions which they annexed into their political domain but instead had local rulers and chiefs continued their rule under the authority of the King of Hanthawaddy.²⁴ Bayinnaung in 1557 boasted that he controlled the states of Taungoo, Bago, Pyay, Bagan, Inwa and the Shans. Nonetheless, these states continued to exist as separate polities. Annexation simply meant placing on the throne either the former rulers or new nominees who were tributary to Hanthawaddy.²⁵

The subordinate rulers also had the obligation of providing soldiers to be used in war in numbers fixed by the King. The King of Hanthawaddy appointed governors of vassal states from the chief families of the respective states, and thus exerted indirect control over the manpower in distant areas. The governors who came from local ruling families would already have ties of

²³ Kala, *the Great Chronicle*, Vol.II, p.148

²⁴ Dr.Sunait Chutintaranond, "Mergui and Tenasserim as Leading Port Cities in the Context of Autonomous History", *Port Cities and Trade in Western Southeast Asia*, Bangkok, Chulalongkorn University, 1998, p.12 (Hereafter cited as Sunait Chutintaranond, Mergui and Tenasserian)

²⁵ Victor B. Lieberman, *Burmese Administrative Cycles. Anarchy and Conquest, c.1580-1760*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1984, p.33 (Hereafter cited as Lieberman, *Burmese Administrative Cycles*)

widespread patronage and manpower networks in their states, and this enabled them to raise men at the King's request in time of war.²⁶

Through the period of the rule of Myanmar Kings, the relations between central government and local government were cemented by consecrated water ceremoniously drunk as a symbol of loyalty (thitsayay). This was the most binding tie in the relationship between the central government and the provincial government. Beyond these ties of loyalty, sons of rulers of distant provinces were made to live in the capital to deter rebellion on the part of these rulers. There were also marriage ties between Governors and daughters of the King.²⁷ At the capital the sons of the provincial rulers were taught the art of administration. They were appointed as rulers of their respective provinces on the death of their father. However, poor internal communication and the task of subordinating so many formerly independent principalities to a single centre created difficulties in maintaining a lasting relationship between the centre and the peripheral provinces.

During the reign of Nandabayin, royal relatives continued to administer the chief provinces as governors as in the reign of Bayinnaung. Thus Thadominsaw, son-in-law of Bayinnaung and governor of Inwa, Thado Dhammayaza, brother of Bayinnaung and governor of Pyay, Mingaung, brother of Bayinnaung and governor of Taungoo, Minye Nandameik, son of Bayinnaung and governor of Nyaungyan, Thrithudhammayaza, son of Bayinnaung and governor of Mottama, Nawrahtaminsaw, son of Bayinnaung and governor of Chiang Mai continued to administer their territories as before. Nandabayin also appointed his sons and brothers to the administration of the provinces. The practice of having royal relatives as governors in the chief provinces and to give them a great measure of independence helped to strengthen the military might of the Kingdom when the rulers of these provinces were in agreement with the King. However, if they became estranged, it could lead to a weakening and the destruction of the Kingdom. Since Nandabayin was not able to maintain cordial relations with his uncles and brothers who were powerful militarily, the Kingdom of Hanthawaddy disintegrated.

²⁶ Sunait Chutintaranond, *Mergui and Tenasserim*, p-12

²⁷ Lieberman, *Burmese Administrative Cycles*, p-34

The Kingdom of Hanthawaddy lasted sixty years from Tabinshwehti's capture of it until Nandabayin's deposition. Each reign ended with major revolts and disturbances.²⁸ It was because of the wide extent of the Kingdom, the inclusion of many nationalities and the presence of many different traditional customs and religious beliefs. Moreover, the rulers of the provinces were independent and powerful and drinking the water allegiance did not provide a strong enough bond binding them to the King.

Because the three successive Kings of Hanthawaddy, Tabinshwehti, Bayinnaung and Nandabayin built up the Kingdom mainly on the basis of military power, they gave priority to the development of military power. To fight many wars in which the Kingdom was involved, they organized the army systematically by recruiting many new soldiers. But the army was not a standing army. It was made up of troops contributed by governors when the need for military action arose. When there was such a need, governors recruited and mobilized ordinary farmers (who were acquainted with art of war) as soldiers to fight in the campaigns.

The Kings of Hanthawaddy maintained a strict military discipline and honoured those who successfully accomplished their military tasks while punishing those who failed to do so. For example, in the Ayuttha campaign of 1568, Bayinnaung executed his loyal commanders Banyasat and Sawtainghan for failing to carry out their military assignments.²⁹ Though the Kings of Hanthawaddy severely punished those who failed in their military assignments, they pardoned those enemies who had exceptional abilities. After the annexation of Mottama, Tabinshwehti pardoned Saw Banya, the Governor of Mottama, and giving him insignia of office, reappointed him Governor of Mottama. Bayinnaung also granted a pardon to the Mon minister Banya Dala who had a strong Mon nationalist sentiment and made several attempts on his life because Banya Dala was a minister of great ability.³⁰

²⁸ Lieberman, *Burmese Administrative Cycles*, p-66

²⁹ Kala, the Great Chronicle, Vol.II, p.314

³⁰ U Tin, jrefrmrif;tkyfcsKyfyHkpmwrf;ESifh
bdk;awmfbk&m;BuD;\ &mZowfac:aom trdefUawmfwr;BuD;
(Treatise on Administrative Pattern of Myanmar King and King Bodawphaya's Royal
Order Known as Yazathat), Vol.III, Yangon, Baho Press 1970, p.34

Despite the King's encouragement of the cultivation of rice, since the whole period of Hanthawaddy was full of wars, large numbers of cultivators were pressed into military and corvee service even during the growing season. Rice could not be grown in the fertile delta without men to plant it. Yet, despite the reduced labour available in the delta, the government refused to reduce its demand for rice, or for corvee labour and military service. There were increased demands for rice and various services during times of war, so the burden on the remaining cultivators increased.³³

In 1566 and the next two to four years, Bayinnaung concentrated labour in the capital for elaborate building projects and rice shortages in Hanthawaddy pushed prices to exceptionally high levels. Famines occurred because too many people were concentrated in Hanthawaddy. Later in 1593, after the Crown Prince's forces were defeated in the Ayutthaya campaign, Nandabayin sought to prepare fresh invasions, but many men fled into the jungle or to neighbouring provinces and other youths entered monkhood to avoid royal demands. Soon the country districts were thick with vagabonds. With some agricultural districts practically deserted, the price of rice, already inflated, reached absurd levels. In 1595 the new Crown Prince, Minyekyawswa, had men work two or three thousand yokes buffalos to produce rice for his private granaries. He stored the crop, and made the people buy from him alone. Moreover, in 1596 a plague of field rats swarmed on to the royal granaries destroying much of the remaining food stocks. The royal retainers, armed with swords and spears failed to stop the rats and starvation threatened even the King's servicemen at Thanlyin and Bago. One basket of rice came to cost one viss of copper.³⁴ The price going up nearly six times. Monks and nuns throughout the whole Kingdom had to live on just a bowl of thin rice gruel a day.

Because Bayinnaung expanded the Kingdom and brought many war captives to Hanthawaddy, the capital was crowded with people of diverse nations and abounding with everything necessary for human life, pomp, festivity, gold, silver, perfumes and wealth of precious stones, especially

³³ Lieberman, *Burmese Administrative Cycles*, p.39

³⁴ Kala, *the Great Chronicle*, Vol.III, p.96

rubies.³⁵ The majority of the people lived by farming and the cultivation of crops. Some artisans and other craftsmen contributed to the development of the Kingdom with their skills and talent. Foreign trade flourished and the King obtained increased revenue from trade in addition to that from agriculture. The Kings of Hanthawaddy were therefore wealthy while the citizens also lived comfortable lives when there were no wars.³⁶ The country lay open to every stranger, Moor, Turk, European to make themselves master of its fertile fields and the rich commerce. But the Kingdom came to a pitiful end. During Nandabayin's reign, he dragged people from all over the country to populate Hanthawaddy. He also branded the Mons on the right hand with their name, rank and villages; those who were too old for service were sent to Upper Myanmar, and sold in exchange for horses. He instituted a reign of terror among the Mons, executing them wholesale, and he horrified all by killing the pariah dogs in Bago.³⁷ Mons in large numbers fled to Rakhine and Thailand. The final ruin of Hanthawaddy was brought about by the decline of agriculture and the disunity which developed in the reign of Nandabayin.³⁸

Conclusion

In conclusion, Tabinshwehti occupied Hanthawaddy in 1539. He attempted to create a united kingdom in which there was no discrimination. Following Tabinshwehti's death, the Kingdom fell into disarray. Bayinnaung was able to unify the Kingdom of Hanthawaddy and extend it into the largest Kingdom in Southeast Asia at that time. But Nandabayin could not control his nucleus of manpower. Despite the great territorial expansion of the Kingdom, the Kings were not able to develop an effective administrative system to control and hold together their vast empire. In particular, there was no permanent army under the direct control of the King. The final ruin of

³⁵ A. Macgregor, "A Brief Account of the Kingdom of Pegu", *JBRS*, Vol.XVI, Part II, 1926, p.1

³⁶ U Toe Hla, [Hom0wDqifjzL½Sif ta&awmfyHkarmfuGef;O'gef; (The Recorded utterance of the campaigns of HanthawaddyHsinbyushin), Yangon, Myanmar Historical Commission, 2006, p.si()

³⁷ Harvey, *History of Burma*, p.180

³⁸ Ibid, p183

Hanthawaddy was brought about by the decline of agriculture and the disunity which developed in the reign of Nandabayin.

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Yangon, Myanmar Alin and Guardian Newspaper Press, 1993

INTRODUCTION TO WESTERN EDUCATION IN MAWLAMYAING

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Abstract

This paper is focused on the introduction of Western Education in Mawlamyaing during the colonial period. In the early 19th century, the Westerners began to expand towards Myanmar with three purposes which are referred to as 3M Policy that are foreign merchant, missionary and military. At the end of First Anglo-Myanmar War in 1826, the British occupied Yakhine and Taninthayi. Since 1827, the British made Mawlamyaing as the earliest capital of Taninthayi until 1852. Mawlamyaing became an interesting place for the missionaries to propagate Christianity. American Baptist missionaries firstly arrived at Mawlamyaing in 1827, Roman Catholic missionaries in 1828 and Anglican missionaries in 1833. Before the outbreak of Second Anglo-Myanmar War, Mawlamyaing was the headquarters of American Baptist Mission from 1827 to 1852 and the headquarters of Roman Catholic Mission from 1830 to 1856. Christian missionaries concentrated on the development of western education among the native people as an important groundwork for their missionary work. In order to do so they established the missionary schools. During the colonial administration, western education became popular, because western education gave the chance to the students to get employment in the Government Service. Missionary schools could introduce Western education and produce western educated persons to certain extent. Some of them could play vital role in nation-building of Myanmar in later period.

Key words: western, education, Christian, school, Mawlamyaing

Introduction

During the reigns of Myanmar Kings, one of the outstanding features of Myanmar social life was the existence of Monastic schools where all the boys learned reading, writing and basic elements of mathematics. Some monasteries taught Astronomy, Astrology and herbal medicine. Buddhist studies and moral value were also taught by monastic schools as an advance course of studies. In other words, monastic schools in those days were free and opened as learning centre for all young Myanmar. The only disadvantage

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was the girls could not learn at the monastic schools. But there were women writers during the reign of Myanmar kings because they could study literature from their relative men who studied at the monasteries.

After the first Anglo-Myanmar War (1824-26), the British occupied the coastal regions of Yakhine and Taninthayi. The British began to import their culture to Myanmar through missionary enterprises. The British freely permitted missionary activities in their occupied regions. Hence, American Baptist Missionary (ABM), Roman Catholic Missionary (RCM) and Anglican Missionary arrived in Myanmar and began the western education system by establishing their Churches and schools.

The Arrival of American Baptist Missions in Mawlamyaing

The activities of American Baptist Mission were started by Reverend Adoniram Judson (1788-1850).¹ He was famous as a missionary and also as a lexicographer and translator. He learned Myanmar Language and tried to propagate Christianity in Myanmar for 37 years from 1813 to 1850. His wife Ann Hasseltine Judson (1789-1826) was the first American woman missionary, who volunteered for overseas missionary works.²

After the occupation of Lower Myanmar by the British, the Judsons wanted to open American Baptist Mission in the regions under the protection of British Government. So they left Yangon to explore the territorial areas ceded to the British by the treaty of Yandabo. On 2 July, 1826 they arrived at Kyaikkami region³. Mg Ing, the second convert⁴ and Mg Shwe Bay, the fourth convert had preceded the Judsons to Kyaikkami to establish the first Baptist missionary school.⁵

To reinforce the missionary work, Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan Wade Mr. and Mrs. Sarah Hall Boardman also joined the activities of missionary work at

¹ U Ba Khin, Hanthawaddy, *Foreign Missionary Organizations*, Yangon, Hanthawaddy Press, 1963, pp. 25-26 (Hereafter cited as U Ba Khin, *Foreign Missionary Organizations*)

² <http://www.adoniramjudson.com>

³ Mathieson, *Judson of Burma*, London, p. 169 (Hereafter cited as *Mathieson Judson*)

⁴ *The First Convert was U Naw*

⁵ Shwe Wa, *Burma Baptist Chronicle*, Rangoon, University Press, pp. 54-55 (Hereafter cited as Shwe Wa, *Baptist Chronicle*)

Kyaikkami, on 17 April, 1827.⁶ The three missionary families started to propagate the Western education and Christianity among the ethnic races. Because of her deteriorated health, Mrs. Boardman had to go to Mawlamyaing to get proper medical treatment.⁷

Activities of American Baptist Missions in Mawlamyaing

British Families came to settle in Mawlamyaing as it became the earliest capital of the British dominion in 1827. When Boardmans family arrived in Mawlamyaing, it was growing much faster than Kyaikkami. Hence, they decided to settle at the town to begin missionary activities⁸. General Campbell granted a plot of land to the mission. It paved a way for American Baptist missionary to open a center for the development of Western education and Christianity in Mawlamyaing.

The first Baptist Church in Mawlamyaing was founded by Rev. Judson on 25 December 1827. It was known as Mon-Myanmar Baptist Church until the Mons could open Mon Baptist Church in 1907.⁹ Mr. Wade and Rev. Judson decided to move their service to Mawlamyaing in December 1827. Since then, Mawlamyaing became the chief center of Baptist missionary up to the end of the Second Anglo-Myanmar War in 1852.¹⁰

The Establishment of Missionary Schools in Mawlamyaing

There were three types of schools in the colonial period. They were (1) Vernacular Schools in which the medium of instruction was Myanmar, (2) Anglo- Vernacular Schools in which the medium of instruction was English, used Myanmar as the auxiliary medium of instruction in the primary classes and (3) English Schools in which the medium of instruction was English with

⁶ E.R.Pitman, *Lady Missionaries in Many Lands*, London, Pickering & Inglis Ltd, p. 58

⁷ Shwe Wa, *Baptist Chronicle*, p. 54

⁸ Shwe Wa, *Baptist Chronicle*, pp. 57-59

⁹ Dr. Min Nwe Soe, *Mawlamying township and Christianity*, type paper, Mon Baptist Christianity (Hereafter cited as Dr. Min Nwe Soe, *Mawlamying township and Christianity*)

¹⁰ Shwe Wa, *Baptist Chronicle*, p. 61

Myanmar as a second language.¹¹ The missionaries opened those three types of schools in Mawlamyaing.

American Baptist Missionary Schools

A.B.M Boys' School (Judson Boys' School)

The first school opened by American Baptist missionaries in Mawlamyaing was A.B.M Boys' School (Judson Boys' School). It was opened by Rev. Boardman and Rev. Judson in 1827. The subjects taught at the school was Reading, Writing, Grammar, Geography and Arithmetic. It was an Anglo-Vernacular school and medium of teaching was English.¹²

Mr. Cephas Bennett, an educator and a printer was another important person in the propagation of American Baptist missionary. The Bennetts came to Mawlamyaing in January, 1830. He brought a printing press with him. The arrival of Rev. Bennett was a big support for the mission because there had been no one able to do printing work in Myanmar since the war.¹³ The press was set up in the campus of Judson's Boys' School. It became the main center for Christian publication and promoted the rapid growth of the churches and schools in Lower Myanmar.

People later named the school as Judson's Boys' school in order to honour Rev. Judson. Originally, it was opened mainly for the Myanmar boys, although a small number of European pupils also attended. The average number of students attending at the school was 150 per year. The school was one of the successful schools and had produced many educated youths during the colonial period. The School still stands as No. 5 Basic Education Middle School in Mawlamyaing.

¹¹ Octennial Report on Education in Burma (1947-48 to 1954-55),Govt. Printing and Staty, Union of Burma, Rangoon.1956.pp 3-4.

¹² *Report on the Administration of Tenasserim and Martaban Provinces for (1860-61)*, Maulmain, The Tenasserim Press, 1862, para-90 (Hereafter cited as RATM)

¹³ The first printing press used in Myanmar was the gift of the English Baptist Mission at Serampore (in Hooghly District in the Indian State of Bengal). This was set up in Yangon by Mr. Hough. When the first Anglo-Myanmar War broke out, he took the press back to Calcutta.



Judson Boy's School
(Now No. 5 B.E.M.S)

Morton Lane Girls' School

The role of the A.B.M women missionaries was very important for the missionary education. The goal of women's foreign mission was elevation and Christianization of women and children in foreign lands.¹⁴ The most popular girls' school in Mawlamyaing was opened by Miss Susan Haswell. She founded Morton Lane Girls' and Normal School, the English Girls' High School and hospital in Mawlamyaing. The first institution of her founding was Morton Lane School in 1867. The parents in Mawlamyaing sent their daughters to attend the Morton Lane Girls' School which was mainly opened for Myanmar girls. Miss Susan devoted herself with singular energy to the cause of female education in Mawlamyaing. Religion, Myanmar, English, Arithmetic, Roman History, needle work, fancy work and music were taught in the school, but no Pali.¹⁵

¹⁴ R.L. Howard, *Baptists in Burma*, New York, the Judson Press, 1931, p. 91 (Hereafter cited as Howard, *Baptists in Burma*)

¹⁵ *Report on Public Instruction in British Burma (1876-77)*, Rangoon, Government Printing, 1877, p. 112 (Hereafter cited as *RPI (1876-77)*)



Morton Lane Girls' School
(Now No. 6 B.E.H.S)

A small hospital was opened by the American Baptist missionaries for women and children within the Morton Lane School compound in 1877 and employed a nurse.¹⁶ The senior students of Morton Lane School assisted the nurse in caring after the patients and they gained much practical and valuable knowledge of the right treatment of the sick. During the colonial period, the student attendance at the school was nearly 200 per year.¹⁷ The teachers taught them not only Western education but also vocational training and it had produced educated girls who became nurses and teachers during the colonial period. Some Buddhist girls who attended the school were converted to Baptist. After regaining the independence, Morton Lane School was opened as Mawlamyine Intermediate College from 1953 until 1959.¹⁸ Therefore, the school stands as a milestone in the education history of Mawlamyaing. Morton Lane School still stands as Number 6, Basic Education High School in Mawlamyaing.

Morton Lane Normal School

Normal school attached to Morton Lane School gave teachership training for female trainers. Increasing in number of the lay schools in Myanmar in 1868-69, automatically needed more qualified teachers. All the

¹⁶ Shwe Wa, *Baptist Chronicle*, p. 240

¹⁷ *Report on Public Instruction in British Burma (1876-77)*, Rangoon, Government Press, 1877, p.112

¹⁸ Ant Kyaw, "U Toe Aung's 100 years commemorate Issue", *Mawlamyine University Annual Magazine for 2005-2006*

native vernacular schools wanted to have a teacher, holding teachership certificate awarded by government. It was because the schools which had good examination results were aided by the government. Therefore, demands for well qualified teacher, holding teachership certificate became vital for schools. The school which had a teacher holding teachership certificate was higher in standard than other schools in the surrounding area. The government, therefore, opened Normal schools to fill the vacancies of school masters and mistresses.

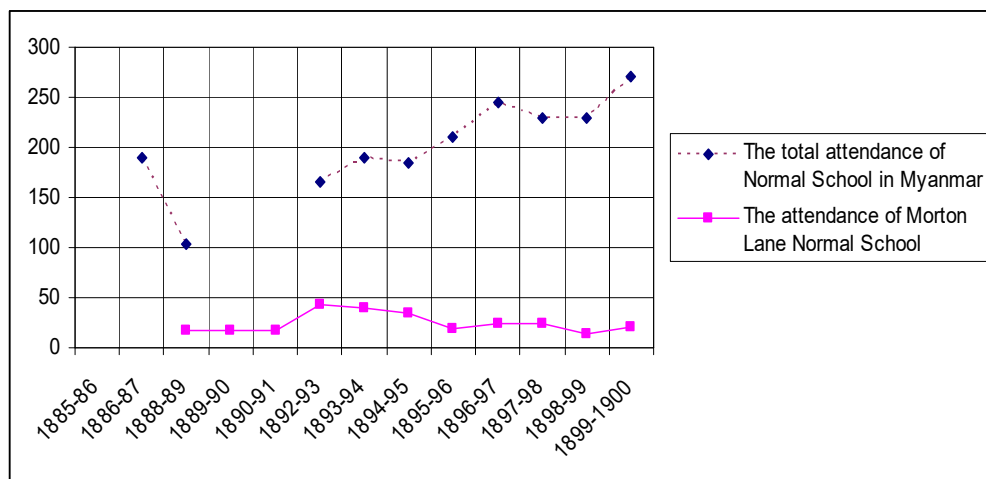
In Myanmar, Teachership Training School was opened at Yangon in 1875. Yet, demands for qualified teacher could not be solved by Yangon Teachership Training School (Yangon Normal School) all alone. To solve such problem two Teachers Training Schools, one at Mawlamyaing and other at Sittway were opened.¹⁹ The government opened a normal class at Mawlamyaing Government High School in 1881. It was opened for male teachers.²⁰ Most popular Normal School for females was Morton Lane Normal School run by American Baptist Mission in 1884. The government aided the school and it was run by successful teacher Miss Whitehead.²¹ Kindergarten Teachership Certificate and the Elementary Teachership Certificate was awarded by Inspectors of schools to each successful candidate.

The following table shows the attendance of the Morton Lane Normal School and total attendance of Normal Schools in Myanmar.

¹⁹ U Khin Zaw Win, "Accessment about the activities of the British Government in Myanmar Education, in Early Colonial Period (1860-90)", *JBRIS, Vol. III, part II*, 1969, p. 98

²⁰ *Report on Public Instruction in British Burma (1880-81)*, Rangoon, Gov Press, 1881, p. 39 (Hereafter cited as RPI (1880-81))

²¹ *Report on Public Instruction in British Burma (1892-93)*, Rangoon, Gov Press, 1893, p. 53

Table (1) Attendance of Normal Schools in Myanmar²²

The table shows the number of pupils in the Normal Schools was no more than three hundred and the number of certificated teachers was less than one hundred for each year. In the later period, many vernacular schools appeared and the number of certificated teachers became insufficient to fill up the vacancies of the schools. The attendance of Morton Lane Normal school from 1884 to 1900 was 283 and 112 pupils were awarded teacher's certificates.

Morton Lane Normal School had produced many scholars. Among them, Ma Nyein Tha became an efficient headmistress of her school. Ruth Ah Syoo, a daughter of a person from Mawlamyaing, was a teacher in a nearby Judson Boy's High School. Ma Mya Yin was a Deputy Inspectress of Schools in the Taninthayi Circle. Ma E Tin was in the High Department of Morton Lane School. These facts proved that Morton Lane Normal School had given Myanmar girls very high standard of education in the colonial period.

²² *Annual Report on Public Instruction in British Burm, (1885-86) to (1899-1900)*

Kayin Normal School



Kayin Normal School
(Now. No. 4, B.E.H.S)

At Diangwunkwin ward in Mawlamyaing, Mrs. J.G Binney opened a school for Kayin, in 1843 and it was attended by seventeen students.²³ The name of the school was Kayin Normal School. She invited Mr. Hough, the headmaster of Mawlamyaing Government School, to

work with her in the activities of the school. He devoted much time to the preparation of vernacular text-books for the school. The reading and writing of Kayin and English, Mathematics, Geography, Science and Singing were taught at the school. In Kayin language, the two dialects of Kayin, Viz, Sgaw and Pwo were taught and a Bamar teacher was employed two hours daily to teach Myanmar Language.

The pupils made their own cooking and pounded the paddy grains into rice themselves. The small boys kept the paths clear of grass and the older boys were trained to do carpentry work.²⁴ The girls were taught weaving, needle and fancy work. Kayin Normal School was a government aided school. The school was a more reliable school for Kayins. At the beginning of the 20th century, the average attendance of the school was over 100 per year.²⁵ The school gave Western and vocational education to the pupils in the colonial period. On 1 April, 1965 the school was nationalized. Kayin Normal School still stands as Number 4 Basic Education High School in Mawlamyaing.

²³ P.E.Jamieson, *Burma Gazetteer, Amherst District*, Vol. A, Rangoon, Office of the Superintendent Government Printing, 1913,p.72 (Hereafter cited as Jamieson, *Burma Gazetteer*)

²⁴ *Report on Public Instruction in British Burma (1875-76)*, Rangoon, Gov Press, 1881, p. 39
RPI (1875-76), pp. 137-138

²⁵ *RPI (1880-81)*pp,15-20

Kayin Theological School

Another Kayin School of Mawlamyaing was Kayin Theological School. The school was opened at Daingwunkwin in 1845 by Mr. Binney and from May 1845 to April 1850, altogether thirty-six pupils had attended the school. Out of the student's one-third were from Mawlamyaing and the remaining from Yangon and Patheingyi. The school opened eight months a year. In 1851, he was succeeded by Mr. Vinton. He ran the school for a year, till he moved to Yangon. Therefore, the school had to close down because of the lack of teacher.²⁶ In later period, the school was shifted to Yangon. The School was opened at Insein in 1894 and the school was reinstituted as Insein Theological School.²⁷

Before World War II, American Baptist missionaries had opened two English Speaking Schools, English Girls' High School at Mawlamyaing and Baptist European High School in Yangon. Neither of these schools was reopened after the War.²⁸

School for Indian Children

During colonial period, there were influxes of Indians to Myanmar who worked as cultivator, labourers and in civil service. The first Indian missionary in Myanmar was Rev and Mrs. Arstong, in 1884.²⁹ They made their efforts to propagate Christianity among Indian community at Mawlamyaing.³⁰ Rev. Arstrong built Mizpah Hall School at Mawlamyaing in 1885. It was upgraded to middle school level in 1893-94. The enrollment at the school was declining because Indian had to work hard for their livelihoods, and could not send children to school.³¹ Therefore, Mizpah Hall School could

²⁶ Shwe Wa, *Baptist Chronicle*, p. 123

²⁷ U Ba Khin, Hanthawaddy, *Foreign Missionary Organizations*, Yangon, Hanthawaddy Press, 1963, p. 31

²⁸ Shwe Wa, *Baptist Chronicle*, p. 298

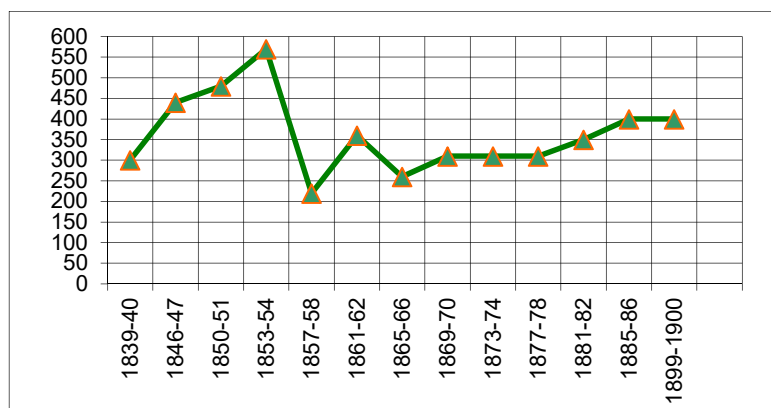
²⁹ Lizbeth Hughes, *The Evangel in Burma, a Review of the Quarter Century 1900-1925 of the Work of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society in Burma*, American Baptist Foreign Mission Society in Burma, ABM Press, Rangoon, 1926, p. 118

³⁰ Shwe Wa, *Baptist Chronicle*, p. 301.

³¹ *Report on Public Instruction in British Burma (1897-98)*, Rangoon, Gov Press, 1898, p. 26

only produce small number of educated Indian youths. After the end of Second World War, Mizpah Hall School could not reopen.³²

Table (2) Population of Students attending American Baptist Schools³³



American Baptist missionaries deserved credit for educating Myanmar and ethnic races like Bamar, Mons and Kayins, so that they became knowledgeable and Western educated people, they could lead their people in the social and political affairs. The most famous missionary was Rev. Judson. He tried for propagating and educating the native people in Myanmar and nowadays we can see Judson's Church and Judson College still stands as historic and heritage buildings in Yangon. One of the outstanding students was Dr. Shaw Loo who studied at Judson's Boys' School. He studied at the Saint Louis Burg University and became the first Myanmar Medical Doctor in USA in 1867. The American Baptist missionaries should be praised for the self-sacrifices, risking their health and making utmost effort to convert Myanmar and devoting their whole lifetime for their religion. Young people attending the school had to attend religious sermons, but they were free to choose their own belief. Not all the children who attended missionary school were converted, as some remained as Buddhists.

³² Shwe Wa, *Baptist Chronicle*, p. 302

³³ *American Baptist Mission Union, Annual Report*
Annual Report on Public Instruction in British Burma (1867-68) to (1899-1900)

The Arrival of Catholic Missions in Mawlamyaing

After the First Anglo-Myanmar War, there was a great flow of immigrants to Mawlamyaing from other places of Myanmar and also from Madras, Kolkata and others countries. Among them some were Catholics. They wrote to the Bishop of Thailand to dispatch a priest. Not long after their request Father Jean Pirre Barbe³⁴ came to Mawlamyaing in 1828. With the help of an Irish man, he built a wooden church and a school.³⁵ It was the first settlement of Roman Catholic missionary in Mawlamyaing.

Fr. Barbe left Myanmar in 1829 and Bishop Frederick Cao arrived at Mawlamyaing in 1830.³⁶ Bishop Cao was appointed as the head of the mission. He proclaimed Mawlamyaing as the headquarters of Roman Catholic Mission and Mawlamyaing became the headquarters from 1830 until 1856.³⁷ Mawlamyaing became not only the headquarters of American Baptist Mission but also Roman Catholic Mission.³⁸

Roman Catholic Missionary Schools

St. Patrick School



With the progress of the Churches, the Catholic Fathers opened Catholic Missionary schools in Mawlamyaing. Among them, the most popular school was St. Patrick's School and it was opened for

St. Patrick's Boys' School
(Now No. 5 B.E.H.S)

³⁴ Fr. Barbe left Myanmar in 1829 and came back in 1856. He died in 1861 and was buried in the Pazundaung cemetery. He gave fund for founding of a Normal school in Patheingyi which was named as St. Peter's School.

³⁵ Vivian Ba, "The Early Catholic Missionaries in Burma", *The Guardian Magazine*, Vol. X, No. 3, March 1963, p. 20 (Hereafter cited as Vivian Ba, "Catholic Missionaries", Vol. X, 1963)

³⁶ Paul Amroise Bigandet, *An outline of the History of the Catholic Burmese Mission from 1720 to 1887*, Yangon, Hanthawaddy Press, 1887-1886, p.28 (Here after cited as Bigandet, Catholic Burmese Mission)

³⁷ *History of Catholic missionary in Mawlamyaing*, 150 Anniversary of St. Patrick Church, Mawlamyaing, p. 3 (Hereafter cited as 150 Anniversary)

³⁸ Langham Carter, *Old Moulmein*, Moulmein Moulmein Sun Press, 1933, pp. 45-46 (Here after cited as Carter, Old Moulmein)

boys within the compound of the St. Patrick's Church in 1842.³⁹ The cost of the school was donated by John Boudville, while, the management was done by E. Abrew.⁴⁰

The institution was under the supervision of the Bishop and Resident Chaplains of the St. Patrick's Church. The school was opened to all, without discrimination of race and religion. Therefore, the school was attended by Myanmar, Chinese, and Persians, Americans, Bengalis, Malayans and Cingalese, and Thailand students. Hence, the school became a multi-national school. Thereby, the students got chances to learn foreign languages from their classmates.⁴¹ The subjects taught at the school were Reading, Writing, English, Myanmar, Grammar, Rhetoric, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geography, Book-keeping, Ancient and Modern History, Elements of Natural History, Drawing, and Vocal Music. .⁴²

The distinguished Catholic Fathers and Brothers who taught at St. Patrick's school up to 1896 were Barbe, Cao, Ceretti, Bartelli, Delprino, Balma, Ducoty, Gurein, Abrew, Philomius, Zeboras, Berchams, Anthelm Lewis, Octacian, Venere and Gabrich.⁴³ At the later years of the 19th Century, there were over 300 students attended at the school. One of the famous students was Prince Sukkasem, the heir to Lunna Throne, had studied at the St. Patrick's school. ⁴⁴The percentage of students who passed examination from the school was highest, next to the government High School in Mawlamyaing. Therefore, St. Patrick's school proved to be a school which gave good education to the boys of many nationalities in colonial period. Now, the school still stands as Number 5 Basic Education High School.

³⁹ *150 Anniversary*, p. 4

⁴⁰ Cater, *Old Moulmein*,, p. 87

⁴¹ Vivian Ba, "Catholic Missionaries", Vol. X, No. 8, August 1963, p. 20

⁴² Holloway's Ointment, *The Maulmain Almanac and Directory for 1863 Maulmain*, The Advertiser Press, 1863, p. 15 (Hereafter cited as Holloway's, *Maulmain*)

⁴³ *Brief History of No. 5, Basic Education High School*, p. 1

⁴⁴ Heritage Building of Mawlamyine ,Mon State, November, 2015, p. 9

St. Joseph's Convent School



St. Joseph's Convent School
University of Distance Education
(Mawlamyaing Branch)

Another important school of the Roman Catholic missionary was St. Joseph's Convent School. It was opened by Catholic missionary in Mawlamyaing on 29 June 1847. It was opened for young lady students under the care of the sister of St. Joseph of Apparition. Sister Paula and Sister Ann arrived at Mawlamyaing from on 27 June, 1847.⁴⁵ The school English speaking school and the given at the school included

English and French Languages, Grammar, Arithmetic, Geography, History, Embroidery and other branches of needle works. At least, there were over 100 students studied at the school per year. St. Joseph's Convent School was upgraded to the high school level in 1886-87 and the pupils could attend Kolkata Medical College.⁴⁶ It produced many educated girls in the colonial period. After regaining independence, St. Joseph's Convent School was opened as Mon State Regional College in 1977 to conduct the first and second year classes but that Regional College system was abolished in 1981. And then, University of Distance Education was started in 1992.⁴⁷ Since St. Joseph's Convent School stands as University of Distance Education, Mawlamyaing Branch under government control.

St. Mary's Church and St. Mary's School

In Mawlamyaing, there were two distinct Catholic Churches, the first one was St. Patrick's and the other was St. Mary's at Mayangon ward,⁴⁸ and St. Mary's Church in Mayangon was built in 1843.⁴⁹ The Church was served by

⁴⁵ Bigandet, *Catholic Burmese Mission*, p. 123

⁴⁶ *Report on Public Instruction in British Burma (1888-89)*, Rangoon, Gov Press, 1889. P. 25

⁴⁷ Nwe Nwe, *History of the Development of Mawlamyaing University (1953-2010)*, PhD (Dissertation), Department of History, University of Yangon, Myanmar, May, 2014. pp 19-20

⁴⁸ Bigandet, *Catholic Burmese Mission*, p. 84

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 41

Father Bertelli until his death in 1856.⁵⁰ The name St. Mary's was given by Rev. Bigandet in 1859.⁵¹ A Girls' School was constructed on the South of the Church in 1865 and the cost was donated by Mrs. Regina Amisitta. It was named as St. Mary's School.⁵² The school was a girl school attended by an average of fifty students in average annually. The facts that registration fee for students being low, the contribution made by government was also minimized, and the passed results of the students from the school became poor, and after 1885, the school reputation went down.

Roman Catholic Mission could open three government recognized schools, which educated over 350 students annually. The Catholic schools gave chances for Myanmar children to learn Western education during the colonial period. Western education gave them wider outlook and some students got the chance to get further studies abroad. Moreover, by opening girls' school, missionaries gave the chance to the girls in Mawlamyaing to get western education.

The Arrival of Anglican Missions in Mawlamyaing

Anglican Rev. H. Hamilton from East India Company came to Mawlamyaing in 1833 and initiated missionary works in the British army. The arrival of Anglican Missionaries was ten years later than the arrival of American Baptist Missionaries and five years later than the arrival of Roman Catholic Missionaries. It was because the British used the policy of non-intervention in religious affairs and the authorities did not invite Anglican chaplain to visit Mawlamyaing. Because of the appeal of the British soldiers, an Anglican Church was built on the western section of Upper Main Road near two principal military barracks.⁵³ The Church was dedicated to St. Matthew's in 1834.⁵⁴ Later, in 1877, St. Matthew's Church was moved to

⁵⁰ Carter, *Old Maulmein*, p. 47

⁵¹ Min Nwe Soe, *Mawlamyaing Township and Christianity*, p. 6

⁵² Carter, *Old Maulmein*, p. 47

⁵³ Dr. Min Nwe Soe, *Mawlamyaing Township and Christianity*, pp. 3-5

⁵⁴ Carter, *Old Moulmein*, pp. 37-38

Upper Main Road and U Zina Pagoda Street corner. The Church was built with fund left by Mr. W. H. Kenny of East India Company.⁵⁵

St. Matthew's Boys' School

Along with St. Matthew's Church, St. Matthew's Boy's School was opened in 1837.⁵⁶ It was established by an Anglican Bishop, Rev. H. Hamilton, at Yebawkone Ward.⁵⁷ It was the earliest Anglican Missionary School in Myanmar.



St. Matthew's Boys' School
Now, No, (1) B.E.M.S

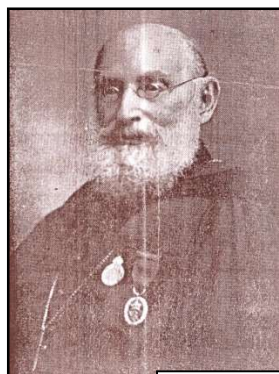
The school was established by Rev. Hamilton was later run by Rev. Parish, Miss Gordon, Rev. T. George. Menhinick, and Rev. Fairclough. The school started as a Primary School. In 1882-83 academic years it was promoted to be Middle School The school took care of boy students till they got employments and girl students till they got married or until some respectable family offered them a house. Fifty students studied at the school annually. ⁵⁸ In between World War II, the kindergarten class-room was decorated with frescoes by the famous artist, U Ba Nyan, while a student of the school. The frescoes portrayed the legend of Maung Tin De and five other legendary figures of Myanmar. At present, the school still stands as Number I Basic Education Middle School in Mawlamying.

⁵⁵ Dr. Min Nwe Soe, *Mawlamyaing Township and Christianity*, pp. 3-5

⁵⁶ Horden, Education Report (1867-68), The Advertiser Press, 1868,p.Appendix ,xii(Hereafter cited as Horden, education Report)

⁵⁷ Carter, *Old Moulmein*, p. 87

⁵⁸ *RPI* (1880-81), p. 23



Dr. Marks

The Society for the Propagation of Gospel (SPG) Missionary School

The Society for the Propagation of Gospel in Foreign Parts also arrived in Myanmar. Mr. Cockey was the first SPG missionary in Myanmar and he arrived at Mawlamyaing in 1854. He initiated to open a school and began missionary work enthusiastically. And then Rev. Augustus Shears of St. John's College, Cambridge was sent out by the S.P.G Mission in

1859 to superintend the mission work in Myanmar.⁵⁹ On 12 May, 1859, he opened SPG School at Maunggan ward in Mawlamyaing. The school became rapidly popular among the natives.⁶⁰ The school was the first SPG missionary school ever opened in Myanmar. In May 1861, the most prominent SPG missionary Dr. John Ebenezer Marks arrived at Mawlamyaing and took over SPG missionary school. Since then, the number of students rapidly grew to more than 300 after 1860.⁶¹ Soon after Dr. Mark was transferred to Yangon, the School had to close down in 1872.

Church of England School (Town School)

The third Anglican school at Mawlamyaing was the Church of England School or Town School. Mr. Gilbert was the Headmaster of the school and the students attending the school were Europeans, Anglo-Myanmar, and Eurasian. The subjects taught at the school were English, French, Latin, Algebra, Arithmetic, Geography, Drawing, Needle-works, Music, Singing and Religious Instruction.⁶²

⁵⁹ Purser, W.C.B, *Christian Missions in Burma*, S.P.G, Westminster, 1913,p-109

⁶⁰ Holloway's Ointment, *The Maulmain Almanac and Directory for 1863 Maulmain*, The Advertiser Press, 1863, *Moulmein*, pp. 4-5

⁶¹ A Committee for Compilation of History, *History of Christianity in Myanmar*, Yangon, U Charli Press, 2000,p.195

⁶² Horden, education Report, p. 35

Mr. Gilbert move to serve as principal of the Government High School at Yangon in 1876-77 academic years.⁶³ The vacant post of the school was given to Mr. W.G. St. Clair and Mrs. Clair. They were appointed by the Local Management Committee.⁶⁴ From the year of 1875, the debt of the school had increased owing to the reduction in the number of students attending the school. Therefore, Moulmein Church of England School or Town School had to close down in 1885.⁶⁵ Later, the school was opened as St Matthew's Girls' School. The school had been running from January 1863 to 1885. Now, the School still stands as Number 7, Basic Education Middle School in Mawlamyaing.

St. Augustine's Church and School

The fourth school established by Anglican missionaries was St. Augustine's School. It was founded by Rev. James Alfred Colbert in Maungan ward in 1880 and it was also known as Colbert school. The school was a middle school. It was an Anglo-Vernacular School. At the beginning of the opening of St. Augustine's School more than 100 students attended the school. The students attending the school were Myanmar, European, Eurasian, Chinese and Indian children. During the Japanese Occupation period, St. Augustine's school was used as a stable.⁶⁶



St. Augustine's School
Now, No.(7) B.E.H.S

school still stands as Number 7,
Education High School.

In the colonial period, Anglican Missionaries could open four prominent Schools in Mawlamyaing. Those schools contributed western education to local Children in the colonial period. Learning English language and modern knowledge at the schools to a certain extent was useful for young Myanmar. Western educated class began to have a wide outlook and liberal

⁶³ *Report on Public Instruction in British Burma (1876-77)*, Rangoon, Gov Press, 1877, p.11

⁶⁴ *Report on Public Instruction in British Burma (1881-82)*, Rangoon, Gov Press, 1882, p. 19

⁶⁵ *Report on Public Instruction in British Burma (1882-83)*, Rangoon, Gov Press, 1883 p. 26

⁶⁶ Naw Agnes, *A Brief History of St. Mathew's and St. Augustine's*, Research Paper presented to the Holly Cross Theological College, Yangon, February, 2012 p. 29

ideas. But, a few became Anglophiles and tried to imitate the English way of life.

Conclusion

After the First Anglo- Myanmar war, Mawlamyaing became the first capital of British Burma between 1827 and 1852. British government had transformed Myanmar, its government, society and institution under their control. After the war, American Baptists Mission, Roman Catholic Mission, Anglican Mission arrived Mawlamyaing and opened missionary schools to give western education to the local people and to propagate Christianity. There were three main types of schools under the British Government. They were Vernacular schools, Anglo-Vernacular schools, and English schools. Most of the missionary schools were Anglo-Vernacular schools, and English schools. The Christian missionaries opened fourteen government recognized schools in Mawlamyaing and at least one thousand students could study at the missionaries' schools annually. The missionary schooling system based on western ideologies and student skills that had market value. So, the students of the missionary schools could enter the work-force and allowed them to work in the colonial administration. The advantage of the missionary schools was that the students of these schools could use up-to-date reading books which gave them wider outlook. In the colonial period, the Myanmar people began to realize that to enroll in the missionary schools allowed them to attend university in abroad and to get a job in the government offices. Moreover, the western education system had a positive effect on female education and increased female literacy because women were permitted to enroll in those schools. It could not be denied that the first educated youths in Myanmar were produced by the missionary schools during the colonial period. In 1898, several western educated people in Mawlamyaing saw a need to foster traditional teaching in the context of western institutions and values. So, they found the ways to establish national institution and could open the first Myanmar Shin Mahar Buddhaghosa National School in Mawlamyaing in 1899. In the turn of the 20th century, the rise in the number of educated people in the whole Myanmar, including Mawlamyaing and realized that how they had been second-class citizen in their own country and they led to fight for independence from their western colonizer

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A STUDY OF SOCIAL ANXIETY WITH RELATION TO SOCIAL AND ACADEMIC FUNCTIONING OF ADOLESCENTS*

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Abstract

The present study was intended to explore social anxiety as an important factor for understanding the relationship between social and academic functioning of adolescents. The numbers of subject were 300 subjects. Two types of questionnaires namely social anxiety scale (SAS) and social functioning questionnaire (SFQ) were used in this study. Only in the 9th grade, there was no relationship between academic functioning between social anxiety. For 10th grade, there was relationship between academic functioning and social anxiety. It showed that there was negative correlation between social anxiety and over all academic subjects. All urban area and rural area adolescents in this study have no differences in social anxiety.

Key words: Social Anxiety, Social Functioning, Academic Functioning

Introduction

Social anxiety is different from stress. Social anxiety comes from a concern over lack of control over circumstances. In some cases being anxious and worrying over a problem may generate a solution. Many people feel temporary discomfort in a variety of social situations, including: public speaking, participating or presenting at meetings, talking with a group of people, being assertive with others, dating or talking to romantic interests, being watched while writing or eating, having one-on-one conversations, and talking with authority figures because social anxiety is a normal part of life. Having extreme and frequent social anxiety often interferes with a person's quality of life and ability of function well at work, school, or in relationships with others. Social anxiety when meeting or interacting with unknown people is a common stage of development in young people. For others, it may persist into adulthood and become social anxiety.

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* Best Paper Award winning Paper in Psychology, (2017)

Another view (from Wikipedia) is that anxiety is a “future-oriented mood state in which one is ready or prepared to attempt to cope with upcoming negative events” suggesting that it is a distinction between future versus present dangers that divides anxiety and fear. Anxiety is considered to be a normal reaction to stress. It may help a person to deal with a difficult situation, for example, at work or at school, by prompting one to cope with it. When anxiety becomes excessive, it may fall under the classification of an social anxiety.

Social Functioning

Social Functioning, according to Peter Tyrer, Saffron Kaelsen and Mike Crawford (2002), the way in which each of us acts and reacts in occupational, personal, social and leisure setting, has increasingly been recognized as one of the most important elements in mental health. It was first given a separate area of description in formal classifications in the third edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-III) in which a new division (axis) of description was given over to social functioning. The point of recording social functioning independently of other variables concerned with mental state perhaps needs to be stated.

As mentioned above social anxiety and social functioning play a major role in an individual's life. These two factors have never been studied in Myanmar. Therefore, this is one of the first studies to conduct the relationship between social anxiety and social and academic functioning in Myanmar. The researcher wanted to investigate whether the high school adolescents have social anxiety and how it determines social functioning and the relationship between social anxiety and academic functioning.

Social Anxiety of Adolescents

Social Anxiety first occurs in infancy and is said to be normal and necessary emotion for effective social functioning and developmental growth. Cognitive advance and increased pressures in late childhood and early adolescence result in repeated social anxiety. Adolescents have identified their most common anxieties as focused on relationships with peers to whom they are attracted, peer rejection, public speaking, blushing, self-consciousness,

and post behavior. Most adolescents progress through their fears and meet the developmental demands placed on them. In public places, such as work, meeting, or shopping, people with social anxiety feel that everyone is watching, staring, and judging them. The social anxious person cannot relax, “take it easy” and enjoy themselves in public.

Millions of people around the world suffer from social anxiety and related conditions. Despite being the most common type of anxiety and the cause of much impairment and suffering, it is under-recognized and under-treated. Yet virtually everyone knows what it is like to feel shy or lacking in social confidence, often to an extent that can limit opportunities and happiness. Because social anxiety issues are still relatively unknown amongst the wider public, most are not even aware that the thing which can have such a huge impact on their lives has a name.

“Regular” social anxiety is known to all of us as an uncomfortable feeling of nervousness. Many people have particular worries about social situations like public speaking or talking to authority figures, or experience more general feelings of shyness or a lack of confidence. If an individual have experienced or do experience feelings such as these, you could well have Social Anxiety or the more severe form. Experiencing these kinds of feelings and thoughts can be very isolating, you can feel like the only person in the world with these kinds of problems, but one of the most reassuring things that many people gain from joining the social anxiety (UK) community is that they are not alone, that others have experienced and continue to experience the same thoughts and feelings. Many techniques and methods are now employed in helping people cope with and overcome the thoughts and feelings that drive social anxiety, and support is always available through the SAUK Forum and Chatroom.

The Journal of Clinical Psychiatry (1998:59, supplement 17, 4:9) suggests two different major subtypes of social anxiety, generalized and specific. Generalized social anxiety is when the persons fears a wide range of different social situations. Specific social anxiety is when the person fears only one specific social situation, such as public speaking, or only a couple of specific social situations.

The most common situations that are feared by people who have social anxiety include the following: Speaking in public, Eating and drinking in public, Writing in front of others, Meeting new people, Being the centre of attention, Meeting or talking with people in positions of authority, Meeting or talking to members of the opposite sex, Being watched doing something, Being teased, Being criticized and Using the telephone, etc. Arousal is an individual's level of alertness, wakefulness, and activation (Anderson, 1990). It is a state of physical and psychological readiness for action provoked by the activity of the central nervous system, including the brain.

In the early part of the twentieth century, Yerkes and Dodson (1908) showed that very low arousal and very high arousal are both associated with poor performance. A moderate level of arousal is associated with the best performance. People generally also feel their best when their level of arousal is moderate (Berlyne, 1960). Expert teachers habitually use a moderate level of arousal to their students' advantage. In one study, individuals who had a history of childhood shyness and a traumatic early experience were much more likely to experience social anxiety than individuals for whom neither of these factors was present (Stemberger et al., 1995). Recent findings indicate that cultural factors, too, may play a role in social anxiety.

According to La Greca & Stone (1993), highly socially anxious children tend to perceive their level of social acceptance and self-esteem to be and are less well liked and more rejected by peers. In addition, based on research by Strauss et al. (1989), we expected children with high social anxiety to be rated by adults as demonstrating poor social skills, particularly in the area of assertiveness. Specifically, the results show that negative relation between social anxiety and social functioning (Social Acceptance, Self-Esteem, Positive Peer Interaction, Negative Peer Interaction), and academic (examination marks) functioning.

Peer relations play a critical role in children's social and academic development. It is in the context of peer relations that adolescent learn how to share and take turns, how to interact with others, and how to place others' concerns before their own. Impairments in peer relations during the high school years have been linked with poor adjustment outcomes during adolescence. In recent years, evidence has begun to accumulate showing that

anxious children demonstrate impairments in their peer relations. Adolescents spend more of their time in school and in school-related activities than in any other setting. Clearly, then, adolescent's experiences in school play an important role in their social and academic development. In school, adolescent do not merely acquire information that contributes to their cognitive growth; they also have the opportunity to acquire, and practice, many social skills. They learn to share, to cooperate, to work together in groups to solve problems.

Social Functioning of Adolescents

Strauss, Frame, and Forehand (1987) found that adolescent in schools who were rated by their teachers as highly anxious were less liked and more actively disliked by their classmates than were their non-anxious counterparts. In addition to problematic peer relations, they have been found to evidence impairments in other aspects of their social functioning.

Dunn and colleagues (Dunn, 1996; Hughes & Dunn, 1997; Macguire & Dunn, 1997) have likewise shown that adolescent who perform well on theory of mind tasks have relatively positive peer interactions. In two different studies, Watson, Nixon, Wilson, and Capage (1999) found that adolescent's theory of mind was positively correlated with teacher-rated social competence, even after controlling for age and language. However, theory of mind ability was not related to teacher ratings of adolescent's popularity. Finally, Bosacki and Astington (1999) reported a significant correlation between adolescent's theory of mind and peer-rated social competence, even after partialing out verbal ability. In contrast, the relationship between theory of mind and peer-rated likeability was not significant once verbal ability was controlled.

Academic Functioning of Adolescents

As Harter (1993, 1998) suggests, another possible way of maintaining self-esteem at acceptable levels involves a reorganization of the student's domain-specific evaluation, whereby he reduces his investment in those areas that represent a threat to his self-esteem and invests in others that are potentially more rewarding. In this way, students with poor results at school

are able to protect their self-esteem by reducing their investment in the Academic Functioning and investing in other domains in which they perform well, such as interpersonal relations. In a previous work, Alves- Martins & Peixoto, (2000) have found that ninth grade low achievers present high perceived competence in areas not related to school and depreciate those that are related to school.

The objective of this study is to measure social and academic functioning of adolescents (14—17 years), and to measure the relationship between social anxiety and social functioning, and to measure the relationship between social anxiety and academic functioning, and to compare social anxiety between adolescents in rural and urban areas. More specifically, on the basis of the literature reviewed, we generated the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: There is negative relation between social anxiety and social functioning.

Hypothesis 2: There is negative relation between social anxiety and academic functioning.

Hypothesis 3: There are differences between urban and rural adolescents concerning social anxiety.

Method

Participants

Sample of 300 adolescents were used as participants. They are high school students between 14 to 17 years of age. The number of subjects were 150 nine graders and 150 ten graders. One hundred subjects were (grade nine and ten) from BEHS No.1 Dawpon and 150 subjects were (grade nine and ten) from BEHS No.1 Tadaywa, Yangon.

Procedure

Social Anxiety Scale (SAS) and Social Functioning Questionnaire (SFQ) were administered to 300 adolescents. Academic functioning of the adolescents was obtained from the students' report cards. Based on

these findings, the relation between social anxiety and social functioning and academic functioning of adolescents was investigated.

First, Social Anxiety Scale (SAS) was given to the subjects and they were given instructions. The time taken was about (15) minutes. After that Social Functioning Questionnaire (SFQ) was administered and instructed to completely answer the questionnaire as much as possible. The total time taken was about (30) minutes.

Measures

The construction of Social Anxiety Scale as originally conceptualized by Watson and Friend (1969). Social Anxiety Scale for Children-Revised (SASC-R; La Greca & Stone, 1993) has been used with children (La Greca & Stone, 1993; Silverman, La Greca, & Wasserstein, 1995) and has been modified for use with adolescents (La Greca & Lopez, 1998; Vernberg et al., 1992).

In this research Social Anxiety Scale for children-Revised (SASC-R) was originally developed by La Greca & Stone (1993) has been translated and adapted in accordance with Myanmar school settings. After the original items of Social Anxiety Scale (SAS) were translated, they were reviewed by some Professors from Psychology Department. Then, Myanmar version of Social Anxiety Scale was constructed. The answers are to given a four-point scale viz, 4 points for “not at all”, 3 points for “sometime”, 2 points for “often”, and 1 point for “always” for each item. There were 44 items in initial item pooling before factor analysis was carried out. Social Anxiety Scale (SAS), consisting of 44 items had internal consistency. The Myanmar Version of Social Anxiety Scale (SAS) was used to test 106 high school students. The students were given clear instructions before they completed the questionnaire and were allowed 15 minutes for completion.

Another questionnaire to measure “Social Functioning” was translated and adapted based on the questionnaire used by Harter (1985). Social Functioning Questionnaire (SFQ) consists of 60 items. It consists of 20 items for Social Acceptance (SA) and 10 items for Global Self-worth or Self-esteem (SE) and 15 items for Positive Peer Interaction (PPI) and 15 items for Negative Peer Interaction (NPI). Then, Myanmar version of Social

Functioning Questionnaire (SFQ) was constructed. The answers are given on a five-point scale ranging from 5 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree). The (106) students were given clear instructions before they completed the questionnaire and were allowed 15 minutes for completion.

Academic Functioning of the adolescents will be calculated from the report cards in which the ratings of their teacher can be obtained.

Demographic Questionnaire: This questionnaire included demographic variables of particular interest as control variables (i.e., age, sex, education level).

Results

In data analysis process, Social Anxiety, Social Functioning and Academic Functioning were scored according to their scoring keys. And then these scores were grouped into demographic characteristics of respondents. The obtained Social Anxiety scores for each area ranged from 41 to 123 and skewed positively. These Social Anxiety scores were categorized into low, medium and high groups by means of median (shown in table-1)

Table 1: Social Anxiety Scale (SAS) of Respondents (N=300)

Area	Social Anxiety			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Rural 9 th grade	32	11	32	75
Rural 10 th grade	34	8	33	75
Total	66	19	65	150
Urban 9 th grade	34	8	33	75
Urban 10 th grade	34	6	35	75
Total	68	14	68	150
Subjects Total	134	33	133	300

Obtained total Social Functioning scores ranged from 72 to 147 and skewed positively with the medium of 97. The results of each component of Social Functioning of respondents were shown in table-2.

Table 2: Social Functioning Questionnaire (SFQ) of respondents (N=300)

Grade	Social Functioning Scores		
	Minimum Score	Maximum Score	Median score
10 th Grade			
• Social Acceptance (SA)	24	54	40
• Self-esteem (SE)	18	39	28
• Positive Peer Interaction(PPI)	5	33	16
• Negative Peer Interaction(NPI)	7	21	15
9 th Grade			
• Social Acceptance (SA)	27	49	40
• Self-esteem (SE)	19	37	28
• Positive Peer Interaction(PPI)	4	32	16
• Negative Peer Interaction(NPI)	5	21	15

As part of the measure, for the data on Academic Functioning, monthly tests marks were collected from the schools. From their report cards, the grades given by their teachers were obtained. Academic Functioning was determined by the examination records of school subjects for 9th grade; the academic subjects are Myanmar, English, Mathematics, Geography, History, and Science and, for 10th grade; the academic subjects are Myanmar, English, Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics, and Biology. Academic Functioning of respondents were taken from their examination records of academic subjects. Average academic functioning scores of respondents ranged from 63 to 139, skewed positively with the median of 117. The results of academic functioning including total marks in each academic subject of 9th and 10th grade adolescents were shown in table-3.

Table 3: Academic Functioning including total marks in each academic subject of respondents

Academic subjects	Academic Functioning (Academic Subject Marks)		
	Minimum	Maximum	Median
10 th Grade			
• Myanmar	57	144	87
• English	46	186	84.5
• Mathematics	41	174	89
• Chemistry	46	197	81
• Physics	67	187	95
• Biology	60	186	87
9 th Grade			
• Myanmar	51	173	103
• English	58	181	96
• Mathematics	53	195	96
• Geography	52	180	92
• History	47	164	97
• Science	49	181	105

Table 4: Relationship between Social Anxiety and Social Functioning (9th grade)

Social Functioning	Spearman correlation; rho value	p
	Social Anxiety	
Social Acceptance (SA)	0.508	0.0001
Self-esteem (SE)	0.346	0.0001
Positive Peer Interaction(PPI)	0.461	0.0001
Negative Peer Interaction(NPI)	0.385	0.0001

The relationship between social anxiety and social functioning were presented in table-4. It showed that positive correlation existed between social anxiety and over all social functioning: Social Acceptance (SA), Self-esteem (SE), Positive Peer Interaction (PPI), and Negative Peer Interaction (NPI) significant at 0.0001 level.

Table5 : Relationship between Social Anxiety and Social Functioning (10th grade)

Social Functioning	Spearman correlation; rho value	p
	Social Anxiety	
Social Acceptance (SA)	0.384	0.0001
Self-esteem (SE)	0.504	0.0001
Positive Peer Interaction(PPI)	0.445	0.0001
Negative Peer Interaction(NPI)	0.375	0.0001

Table-5 shows the relationship between social anxiety and social functioning of 10th grade adolescents. It was found that there was positive correlation between social anxiety and over all social functioning: Social Acceptance (SA), Self-esteem (SE), Positive Peer Interaction (PPI), and Negative Peer Interaction (NPI) significant at 0.0001 level.

The relationship between social anxiety and academic functioning of 9th grade adolescents were shown in table-6. It represented that there was positive correlation between social anxiety and academic subjects of Mathematics, History and Science. But, there was no significant correlation between social anxiety and the remaining academic subjects (Myanmar, English, and Geography) of 9th grade adolescents.

For 9th grade students, they are not social self-conscious as they are still young. This may be the reason why they social anxiety scores are not high. Therefore, there was positive correlation between social anxiety and academic subjects.

Table 6: Relationship between Social Anxiety and Academic Functioning of 9th grade adolescents

Academic Functioning (Academic Subjects)	Spearman correlation; rho value	p
	Social Anxiety	
Myanmar	0.082	0.320 (NS)
English	0.044	0.596 (NS)
Mathematics	0.218	0.007
Geography	0.113	0.170 (NS)
History	0.179	0.029
Science	0.279	0.001

The relationship between social anxiety and academic functioning of 9th grade adolescents were shown in table-7. It represented that the correlation between social anxiety and academic functioning was not significant.

Table 7: Showing the correlation between social anxiety and academic functioning (9th grade)

	Academic Functioning (All Academic Subjects)	p
Social Anxiety	0.145	0.08

Table-8 illustrates the relationship between social anxiety and academic functioning of 10th grade adolescents. It showed that there was negative correlation between social anxiety and over all Academic Subjects, (Myanmar, English, Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics, and Biology) significant at 0.001 level.

Table 8: Relationship between Social Anxiety and Academic Functioning of 10th grade adolescents

Academic Functioning (Academic Subjects)	Spearman correlation; rho value	p
	Social Anxiety	
Myanmar	-0.418	0.001
English	-0.280	0.001
Mathematics	-0.375	0.001
Chemistry	-0.360	0.001
Physics	-0.296	0.001
Biology	-0.445	0.001

Table 9: Showing the correlation between social anxiety and academic functioning (10th grade)

	Academic Functioning (All Academic Subjects)	p
Social Anxiety	-0.356	0.0001

Table-9 illustrates the relationship between social anxiety and academic functioning of 10th grade adolescents. It showed that there was negative correlation at the level of 0.0001.

Table 10: Differences between social anxiety of rural area and urban area adolescents (9th and 10th grade)

	Social Anxiety						
	Low	Medium	High	Total	χ^2	df	p
Rural	66	19	65	150	0.86	2	0.65
Urban	68	14	68	150			
Total	134	33	133	300			

Table 11: Differences between social anxiety of rural area and urban area adolescents (9th grade)

	Social Anxiety						
	Low	Medium	High	Total	χ^2	df	p
Rural	32	11	32	75	0.55	2	0.76
Urban	34	8	33	75			
Total	66	19	65	150			

Table 12: Differences between social anxiety of rural area and urban area adolescents (10th grade)

	Social Anxiety						
	Low	Medium	High	Total	χ^2	df	p
Rural	34	8	33	75	0.35	2	0.84
Urban	34	6	35	75			
Total	68	14	68	150			

Discussion

All urban area and rural area (9th and 10th grades) adolescents in this study have no differences in social anxiety. Specifically, we examined linkages between social anxiety and social functioning. According to La Greca & Stone (1993), highly socially anxious children tend to perceive their level of social acceptance and self-esteem to be and are less well liked and more rejected by peers, we expected similar relations in our sample. In addition, based on research by Strauss et al. (1989), we expected children with high social anxiety to be rated by adults as demonstrating poor social skills, particularly in the area of assertiveness. Specifically, the results show the negative relation between social anxiety and social functioning and academic functioning.

The findings from this investigation are the first to provide support for the utility of the social anxiety scale (SAS) with a sample of adolescents. In according with the research by Strauss et al.,(1989), which stated that

adolescents with high social anxiety to be rated by adults as demonstrating poor social skills, particularly in the area of assertiveness.

The results of this research will be helpful for parents, peer group and the students. Moreover, the finding of this research will be applied to understand the nature of social/ school environment.

Conclusion

The present study social anxiety and social functioning play a major role in an individual's life. These two factors have never been studied in Myanmar. Therefore, this is one of the first studies to conduct the relationship between social anxiety and social and academic functioning in Myanmar. Therefore, this study was to find out the relationship between social anxiety and social functioning and academic functioning of adolescents.

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EU's CHANGING POLICY TOWARDS MYANMAR SINCE 2011*

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Abstract

In the agenda of Myanmar's domestic politics, military has been directly or indirectly involved in control of the state's power. Myanmar elicited the imposition of sanctions by the EU along with other Western actors due to the military government negation on the results of 1990 election which was won by National Leagues of Democracy (NLD). Since the inauguration of President Thein Sein in March 2011, Myanmar opened up to the outside world by liberalizing economically with the relaxation of many authoritarian controls and also announced overall reform strategies. These reforms enabled Myanmar to mend its deteriorated relations with the West, particularly EU and the US. It was against this backdrop that EU lifted its sanctions on Myanmar in 2012 and finally suspended them (with the exception of the arm embargo) on 22 April 2013 by guiding Comprehensive Framework. Nation-wide free and fair elections in November 2015 embarked again an important milestone in the transitional process of Myanmar and landslide victory for the NLD, led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. In this context, EU consistently shows her cooperative approach to Myanmar's new civilian administration. Based on this background, this study will analyze the manifestation of the EU's roles under specific policy actions on Myanmar. It is also interesting to find out what are the driving forces and motivations of the EU's policy shift on Myanmar.

Keywords: Democracy, Sanction, Reform, Democratic transition, Liberalization

Introduction

With the inception of new democratic government in 2011, Myanmar under Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) administration led by President U Thein Sein embraced the reform measures in line with the democratic transition. Historically, the military administration was directly or indirectly involved in control of the state's power more than four decades. During the military administration of State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), Myanmar elicited the imposition of sanctions by the EU

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* Best Paper Award winning Paper in International Relations, (2017)

along with other Western actors due to the military government negation on the results of 1990 election which was won by the opposition party, National League for Democracy (NLD). Democratic government initiated the reforms by liberalizing economically with the relaxation of many authoritarian controls and also announced overall reform strategies by prioritizing political unity and poverty reduction. These reforms enabled Myanmar to mend its deteriorated relations with the West, particularly EU and the US. These changing domestic political landscape of Myanmar was the positive outcome to military government's designated political agenda by configuring Seven Step Road Map that was adopted in 2003. Setting for reform agendas were launched for revitalizing Myanmar's domestic political development and also for acquiring the reputational cause in Myanmar's external relations. With the initial success of democratic reform in Myanmar, it rendered a series of diversify Myanmar's foreign relations. It was against this backdrop that EU lifted its sanctions on Myanmar in 2012 and finally suspended them with the exception of the arm embargo on 22nd April 2013. Nationwide free and fair elections in November 2015 embarked an important milestone in the transition process of Myanmar and landslide victory for the NLD, led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. EU consistently shows her cooperative approach to Myanmar's new civilian administration. Under such background, this study will analyze the manifestation of the EU's roles under specific policy actions on Myanmar. It is also interesting to find out what are the driving force and motivations of the EU's policy shift on Myanmar. The following s represent the conceptual framework of this study.

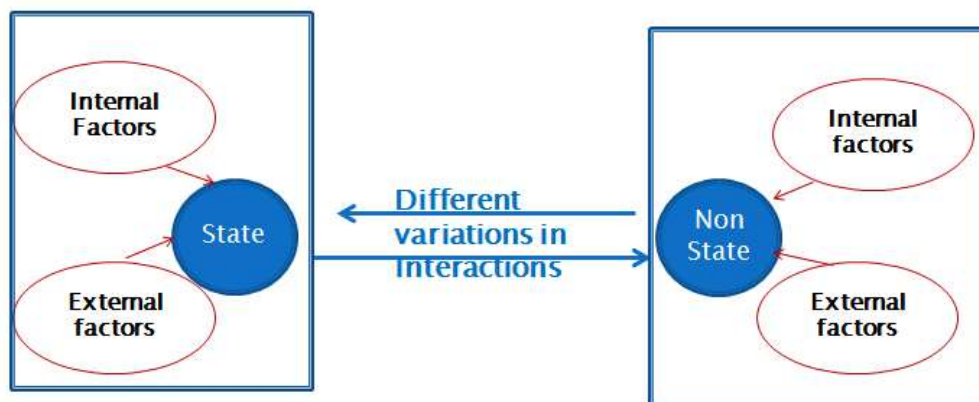


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework : Basic Idea

Source: Compiled by Author

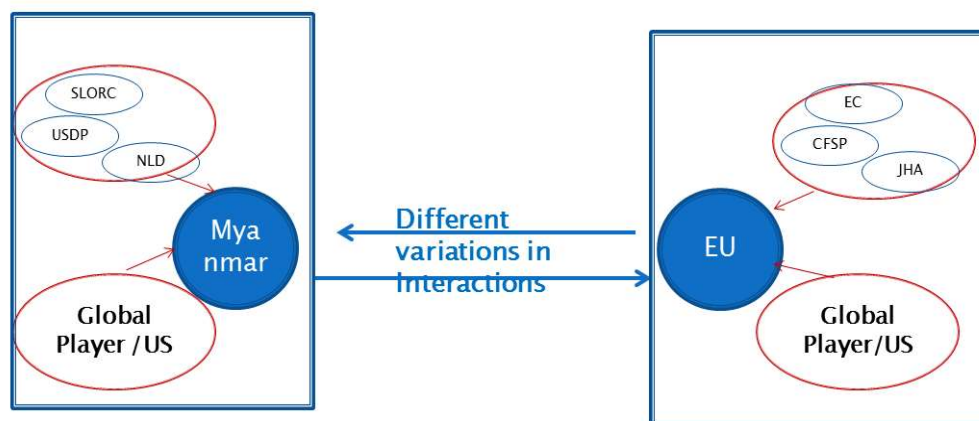


Figure 2: Conceptual Framework: Developed Idea

Source: Compiled by Author

Under this conceptual framework, this research represents the interaction of the state and the non state actor in the prevailing conditions in domestic political situation and international context. Based on the internal and external underlying factors, there were different variation in the outcomes of interaction between EU and Myanmar. In this study, the internal underlying factors for Myanmar side focus on the changing context of domestic political system and for EU side it represent the three main pillars of EU integration

process such as European Communities, Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and Justice and Home Affairs. This study focus the EU position on Myanmar concerning CFSP.

As the external influencing factors, this study will focus on the role of US as the global player in accord with the aforementioned conceptual framework. In this context, this study highlight that Myanmar's domestic political changes makes repercussion in its external relations and in the case point, EU policy towards Myanmar brought different vibration and motivation to some extent.

This research will firstly examine the brief background of EU policy on Myanmar during the period between 1988 to 2010 by pointing out EU sanction policy on Myanmar. Secondly, it will find out the underlying causes for EU changing approach on Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP). Thirdly, EU policy and program in cooperation with new civilian NLD administration will be discussed.

EU Policy and Actions on Myanmar 1988-2010

Aftermath of social unrest in 1988, SLORC¹ came into power and the domestic political and economic uncertainty, foreign and political pressures on the Myanmar military government became the important concerns for the major Western governments' especially the US and the countries of European Community. In the wake of the violent crackdown on pro-democracy protesters in August 1988, almost the entire spectrum of EU actors started to reconsider their approach towards Myanmar. Most member states issued strong protest notes to the military government of Myanmar over the deaths of a large number of protestors in 1988 uprising.

In the late 1980s, European governments accomplished to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms in European political cooperation with the implementation of EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), and in implementing. Even prior to the adoption of the EU's CFSP, the individual member states coordinated their positions on Myanmar

¹ State Law and Order Restoration Council which was renamed as State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) in 1997.

and, on several occasions, expressed deep concern over the deteriorating human rights situation in the country. In a number of declarations, the EC called on the military government of Myanmar to improve its human rights record and initiate political reform.

Due to the failure of Myanmar government efforts to perform the significant progress on political reforms and human rights improvements, the EU policy on Myanmar was guided by the “Common Position on Burma” in 1988 and it consists of a series of restrictive measures such as an arms embargo, an export ban from the EU for any equipment that might be used for internal repression, a visa ban and a freeze on funds held abroad for regime members and their families, a prohibition on investment in Myanmar’s state-owned enterprises for EU companies, and the suspension of high-level government visits to Myanmar.

The EU first imposed limited sanctions on Myanmar in 1990. Moreover, the Community adopted an arm embargo in 1990. In 1991, the EU implemented several measures such as the suspension of defence cooperation, a visa ban for top officials of SLORC and their family members, the expulsion of Myanmar’s military personnel from the embassies of EU member states, the suspension of high-level bilateral government visits to Myanmar, and the suspension of all bilateral and multilateral non-humanitarian aid and assistance.

In December 1996, the EU suspended Myanmar’s trade privileges under the General System of Preferences (GSP) for industrial products. This measure was further expanded in April 1997, based on evidence from the International Labour Organization (ILO) that demonstrated the ruling government’s use of forced labour. In 1998, the EU expanded the scope of its earlier visa ban to include Myanmar’s tourism officials, as well as a prohibition on entry and transit visas to all senior SPDC officials.

EU’s sanction on Myanmar continued until the 2000s by pointing out the domestic political situation of Myanmar. In 2000, the EU imposed an export ban on all equipment that could be utilised for internal repression. In addition, it published a list of 153 Myanmar people included in the visa ban and proceeded to freeze their assets. Subsequently, in 2002, the EU updated the list of people subject to restrictive measures and issued a statement saying

that should Myanmar fail to show progress on key issues pertaining to national reconciliation, the EU would strengthen and broaden the assets freeze, travel ban measures, and arms embargo in October 2002. The Common Position was further strengthened in 2007 because of the military government brutal crackdown during the Saffron Revolution by prohibiting EU-based companies from investing in the logging, mining, and gemstone industries in Myanmar. This measure also included a ban on the export of these products to the EU.

EU's Policy Approach to Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) Government

After almost five decades of military rule, Myanmar began undertaking a series of reforms in March 2011, when a new, nominally civilian government came to power in December 2010. The new government, led by the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) under U Thein Sein, initiated the liberalization measures including greater freedom of the press, association and assembly; the release of political prisoners; and the opening-up of the political sphere – though in a limited fashion.

USDP government led by President U Thein Sein initiated three phases of reforms measures: political reform, social economic reform and administrative reform under democratic transitional process. The government also emphasized on undertaking reforms geared towards political liberalization and national reconciliation during the initial stage of the reform process.

The priorities for economic reforms in Myanmar under new civilian government was articulated in the government's Framework for Economic and Social Reform (FESR) that was presented to the international donor community in early 2013. It highlighted ten priorities in the government's economic strategy: fiscal and tax reforms, infrastructure, private sector development, monetary and financial sector reforms, liberalization of trade and investment, health and education, food security and agricultural growth, governance and transparency, mobile phones and internet access, and effective and efficient government.

As the second step of the reforms, the government launched an economic reform by promulgating a new Foreign Investment Law and making endeavored by built up special economic zones and industrial zones. Concerning economic reform agenda, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) reported that gross domestic product of Myanmar grew 8.3 percent in 2013/14. Rapid growth will be critical to reducing Myanmar's poverty rate—estimated at 25.6 percent in 2010 by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and at 37.5 percent by the World Bank.

The third step of the reforms agenda was carried out since it has been an important need for an administrative sector. On December 2012, President U Thein Sein delivered a speech on reforms to improve the management and administrative capacity of the government. In his speech, he highlight that some government officials ignored the voice of the people, not taking enough transparency and timely and effective action on matters presented by the people, and corruption is in existence. On account of these weak points, President called for the reform in administrative sector.

To be a clean government with good governance, the government is formed committees at township level to make joint discussions, joint decision and take joint leadership in the implementation in line with the administrative reform agenda He called for coordination between the central government and region or state governments to carry out effective undertakings and also identified the cooperation in addressing the difficulties and challenges, especially in cracking down on bribery and corruption.

More importantly, these reforms enabled Myanmar to revitalize its cool relations with the West, particularly the United States and the EU. It was against this backdrop that the EU suspended its sanctions on Myanmar in 2012 and finally lifted them (with the exception of the arms embargo) on 22 April 2013. EU also congratulated the Myanmar government on the series of reforms that had been initiated by President U Thein Sein government.

In this context, EU eased its sanction policy on Myanmar, in April 2011 and suspended the visa ban on selected members of the new government – those who had no affiliation with the military or were “essential for dialogue with the international community” according to Common Position 2011/239/CFSP – and allowed for the resumption of high-level meetings.

Again in January 2012 the EU welcomed the remarkable progress in Myanmar's domestic politics and extended the suspension of the visa ban to the president, cabinet, and parliamentary speakers. It announced that a further easing of the measures would be made if progress continued, pointing to the upcoming by-elections scheduled for April 2012.

During the EU commissioner Andris Piebalg's visit to Myanmar in February 2012, EU offered funding to alleviate poverty, to support peace initiatives, and to strengthen the rule of law and the capacity of civil society and the public administration. In this context, the political willingness for a rapprochement was manifested. In addition, during the EU's Representative Catherine Ashton's visit to Myanmar, an EU office was opened in Yangon in late April 2012.

Due to Myanmar's reform measures under President U Thein Sein, EU's Foreign Affairs Council adopted the Comprehensive Framework on 22nd July 2013 and it became the significant EU policy approach for Myanmar. This framework represents three-year action plan which focuses on four main areas— namely, peace, democracy, development, and trade – as well as Myanmar's engagement with the international community. The preamble of the framework stated that

“the European Union – which has, over the years, called for change and imposed sanctions – has a responsibility to help”

The Comprehensive Framework also stated its aims to fulfill the requirements for Myanmar in entering into a partnership with the government and other stakeholders to address a legacy of conflict, poverty, oppression, and weak institutions in the country.

As for EU, it is believed that the peace as a prerequisite for the consolidation of democracy, the promotion of development, and the protection of human rights. In addition, in order to address the issue of regional peace or ethnic conflict, the EU showed its willingness to encourage an immediate end to all hostilities across the country especially in Kachin State, support inclusive political negotiations, build the capacity of all stakeholders, press the Myanmar government for uninterrupted access to humanitarian assistance, and undertake rehabilitation and development in ethnic minority areas plagued

with insurgencies. These actions underline the EU's ambition of speaking with one voice in international affairs, based on a coherent normative approach.

EU's Policy Approach to National League for Democracy (NLD) Government

Substantial process of reform under President U Thein Sein government was one of the first important steps towards democratization, peace with the country's ethnic armed groups and socio-economic recovery of New Myanmar. The holding nationwide free and fair elections in November 2015 embarked an important milestone in the transition process and provided the National League for Democracy (NLD), led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. The new NLD-led government took office in April 2016, with U Htin Kyaw becoming the first civilian President in more than half a century. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi also take a key role in the new administration as State Counsellor, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Minister of the President's Office.

The new administration, NLD government, set up the importance of developing a market-oriented system "in all sectors" of the economy; a fair distribution of natural resources between states and divisions, to promote national reconciliation and the building of a federal state; addressing infrastructure shortcomings; and reviving agriculture and boosting agricultural exports.

State Counsellor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi focus to achieve the internal peace and national reconciliation as the "first priority" of the NLD administration. As for NLD government, it is believed that lasting peace and a political framework that can deliver tangible results for all communities in the case of maintaining domestic stability, pursuing growth policies, and undertaking reform for institutions. New administration launched several important measures intended at streamlining Myanmar's peace architecture by establishing of the National Reconciliation and Peace Center, to be in charge of peace talks and put it under the Ministry for the State Counselor's Office. The new body replaced the Myanmar Peace Center. She also leads the peace process and chairs the Central Committee for the Implementation of Peace, Stability and Development in Rakhine State.

On 1st June 2016, a Joint Communication, entitled “Elements for an EU strategy vis-à-vis Myanmar/Burma: A Special Partnership for Democracy, Peace and Prosperity” set out a vision for an ambitious and forward-looking EU engagement with the country in the following areas:

- (1) democracy, rule of law and good governance;
- (2) the peace process;
- (3) human rights;
- (4) poverty reduction and sustainable development;
- (5) economic engagement; and
- (6) working together with Myanmar in ASEAN and the region.

EU Foreign Ministers endorsed these aforementioned strategies in Council conclusions on 22nd June 2016. With regard to the first area of EU engagement strategy on Myanmar, the EU police training project (2013-2015) provided the support for the Myanmar Police Force to work in a more professional way, in particular within their local communities. In order to improve police work at community level and their relationship with the local population, the effective measures were also carried out. Experienced police officers from EU Member States showed how to secure and protect the democratic rights of citizens to assemble. 4 000 police officers were trained in best international practices to crowd management. The project also addressed police relations with the media and civil society to encourage better mutual understanding.

In addition, My Justice (2015-2019) programme enhances access to justice for the poor, vulnerable and marginalized across the country. My Justice adopts a people-centred approach to encourage learning, trust and collaboration among all actors. It empowers communities to deliver appropriate solutions to the justice challenges they face and have a lasting impact on the way in which disputes are resolved and justice is delivered. It equips communities, legal practitioners and justice institutions to use innovative approaches, such as community mediation and paralegal services.

As for consolidating the lasting peace in Myanmar, the EU performed as one of the largest donors to the peace process. The Myanmar Peace Centre,

which the EU supported since its establishment in 2012, played a crucial role in bringing the government and the ethnic armed organizations to the negotiating table and in providing expert advice to all the relevant parties.

To become an inclusive and broad-based process, the civil society and women need to participate. Most EU support and activities focus on community development in conflict-affected areas, reconciliation, peacebuilding, implementing ceasefires and civilian ceasefire monitoring. Other projects are working to improve access to livelihoods, poverty reduction and development in ethnic areas. The EU has taken the lead in setting up the new multi-donor Joint Peace Fund to support the peace process in a more coordinated way.

The new Joint Peace Fund supports nationally-led efforts to achieve a lasting settlement of the ethnic armed conflict in a flexible, responsive and coherent manner by working together with the government, ethnic constituencies, civil society and academia and encourage the participation of women. The Joint Peace Fund started operations in April 2016 with over USD 100 million pledged by the EU and nine other donors.

The EU, the only Western witness to the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement, should work with all concerned to implement an inclusive peace architecture, disarm, demobilize and reintegrate former combatants. To sustain the peace, the EU will share its experience of federalism, and work on building confidence between the parties and fostering reconciliation.

In addressing the complex challenges of Rakhine State, the EU follows a comprehensive approach by mobilizing all the instruments at its disposal — political dialogue, humanitarian assistance and development cooperation, in close coordination with local authorities and communities. The EU remains committed to improving the situation of human rights defenders, the rights of vulnerable groups and minorities and economic and social rights. The active involvement of the EU Special Representative for Human Rights underlines the EU's strong commitment in assisting the country to advance its human rights record. The EU has tabled resolutions on the human rights situation in the UN General Assembly and Human Rights Council. Taken by the new government to improve human rights, in September 2016 the EU took the decision not to table a human rights resolution in the UN General Assembly

Third Committee. In view of the remaining human rights concerns, in particular the recent violence in Rakhine State following the 9th October 2016 attacks on three border guard posts, the EU continued the resolution in the UN Human Rights Council in March 2017.

As for poverty reduction and sustainable development, the multi-donor Livelihoods and Food Security Trust Fund (LIFT) was set up to address the early recovery and rehabilitation needs in the aftermath of the devastating cyclone Nargis (2008). Over the years, LIFT has gradually expanded its scope of activities and adapted to the changes in Myanmar with the aim of improving the lives of smallholders and the landless rural poor. Some EUR 330 million, EUR 115 million of which is from the EU, has been committed to support more than three million people through 90 projects. LIFT projects contribute to better harvests and increased access to credit and markets. As a result, the income of targeted households has grown and nutrition and food security improved. LIFT is best practice for inclusive rural economic transformation.

In the area of economic engagement, the EU played a vital role in stimulating the country's trade and economic development by removing sanctions and reinstating trade preferences under the Everything But Arms scheme in 2013. Bilateral trade reached EUR 1.2 billion in 2015 up from EUR 404 million in 2012. Exports to the EU quadrupled between 2012 and 2015, from EUR 165 million to EUR 675 million. Garments represent more than 60% of Myanmar exports to the EU. Machinery and electrical appliances constitute almost half of EU exports. As the country develops, it will require more capital goods for infrastructure and manufacturing, offering further opportunities for European companies. Since 2011 EU services exports to Myanmar have increased sixfold — though from a very low base. The services sector is likely to expand quickly.

According to the country's official statistics (as of January 2016), the EU was the 4th largest foreign investor in 2015 but with less than 10% of total investment it still lags behind China, Singapore and Hong Kong. The EU is working towards concluding an Investment Protection Agreement to enable European businesses to realize the full potential offered by the country's economy.

Negotiations on an Investment Protection Agreement were launched in March 2014. Once in force the Agreement established a level playing field for all EU investors and ensure the protection and fair treatment of investment from both sides, as well as promote transparency and good administrative behavior for measures that impact investment. The Agreement also aims to protect workers' rights and the environment, as well as boost responsible business conduct. Together with other EU initiatives in governance, rule of law and state building, the Agreement improved the legal certainty and predictability of investments, thus creating business opportunities and much-needed development. A Sustainability Impact Assessment provides an in-depth analysis of the Agreement's potential economic, social, environmental and human rights impact.

Myanmar and the EU are members of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), which offers the opportunity for fuller engagement on broad security and defense-related matters in the Asia Pacific region. The EU and Myanmar co-chaired the ARF Inter-sessional Support Group Meeting on Confidence Building Measures and Preventive Diplomacy and the Defense Officials Dialogue in December 2013 in Yangon and in April 2014 in Brussels. This provided a good opportunity to work with the country's diplomatic leadership as well as defense officials, paving the way for further engagement. The Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) is the other multilateral forum where the EU and Myanmar cooperate. Both sides will have ample opportunity to enhance their cooperation in the future, particularly in view of the country's decision to host the 13th ASEM Foreign Ministerial Meeting in 2017.

The further repositioning of Myanmar under the new government inside ASEAN and beyond will offer good opportunities for deeper cooperation with the EU. There is for instance ample scope for the country to play a more active role in strengthening EU-ASEAN cooperation in priority areas and by raising its profile and strategic significance.

A stable and prosperous Myanmar will also serve as an encouraging example of successful political transition and further strengthen ASEAN's integration process, in line with the priorities set out in the 2015 EU Joint Communication on EU-ASEAN relations and in the ensuing Council conclusions and the EU's strategic priorities in the Asia Pacific region.

All in all, it is found that overall framework of EU policy and engagement on Myanmar is operated by practicing the carrot and stick strategy that is mainly based on the changing domestic political landscape of Myanmar. In addition, US position on Myanmar is one of the considerable factors for shaping EU policy and approach to Myanmar. Between 1988 and 2010, EU position on Myanmar was mainly based on Myanmar's domestic politics by accounting un-democratic nature of military government. It is also found that SLORC/ SPDC government did not designed a well-considered strategy towards EU and did not demonstrated its interest in active diplomatic lobbying to persuade European governments in order to reconsider their Common Position and to prevent the imposition of new sanctions. In this context, EU sanctions impacted Myanmar almost immediately, as foreign investments, mainly from OECD countries, began declining from 1997 onwards because many multinational companies withdrew from Myanmar with the notable exception of the French oil multinational TOTAL. It cannot be denied that EU's policy approach to USDP government led by President U Thein Sein was cautious and its easing of sanctions was accordingly timid. However, EU response on Myanmar's reform measures can be assumed that positive approach which is composed of a limited suspension of sanctions and a resumption of development aid. Comprehensive Framework became the EU policy to support Myanmar's transition and it was significant optimistic reaction of EU in the case of democratization of Myanmar by supporting political, social and economic development. Overall policy framework of EU can be found on fostering respect for human rights and assisting Myanmar government in rebuilding its place in the international community. Current EU policy and program in coordination with NLD has been carried out under the a Joint Communication, entitled "Elements for an EU strategy vis-à-vis Myanmar: A Special Partnership for Democracy, Peace and Prosperity. That is why, it can be seen that EU policy on Myanmar after 2011 definitely shaped the way for transitional process and also pave the way forward to Myanmar's democratic consolidation. The EU's approach towards Myanmar cannot be assumed to the possibility of backward steps as it is based on a scenario of ongoing, linear political and economic reforms since 2011. However, it can also be noted that Myanmar government's position in handling its internal

affairs and shaping domestic political landscape will make repercussion in dealing with the EU's policy and approach to some extent.

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ASEAN-US RELATIONS UNDER OBAMA ADMINISTRATION

San San Tin¹

Abstract

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) established in 1967 has become the centerpiece of the construction of a regional architecture in the Asia-Pacific region. ASEAN as an organization seeks to balance external actors in the region while seeking to avoid antagonizing great powers. In the post-Cold War period the US policy has little interests in Southeast Asia. However, ASEAN's relation with the US has evolved due to China's expanding influence on ASEAN countries and US' policy change. ASEAN and the US share a mutual interest in preventing conflict and maintaining the independence of regional states. The US under the Obama Administration has explicitly expressed intent to pay greater attention to Southeast Asia and work with ASEAN, to cooperate on issues of mutual interests. The US's re-engagement with ASEAN allowed America to become directly involved in regional institutions. Thus, the purpose of this research paper is to explain only the changes in ASEAN-US political relations. This research is conducted with documentary analysis and archival research method which relies on both primary and secondary sources. This research, divided into three parts, discusses Obama's policy change in ASEAN-US relations, explains China factor in ASEAN-US relations and explores Myanmar issue in ASEAN-US relations. And the paper points out that why ASEAN and the United States tried to extend their political relationship under the Obama administration.

Key words: centerpiece, antagonizing great powers, influence, policy change, re-engagement

Introduction

The ASEAN-United States Dialogue relationship began in 1977 focused on economics, trade and development. Since dialogue meeting in Brunei in 1993, ASEAN and the US put political issues for discussion on their formal dialogue agenda. In spite of US' significant economic and diplomatic presence in Southeast Asia, the Southeast Asian countries disappointed over the slow and inadequate response of the US to the Asian financial crisis in

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1997. The Asian financial crisis posed their lowest point in the relations between ASEAN and the US. During President George W. Bush's Administration, there were a number of diplomatic and initiatives aimed at improving US relations with Southeast Asia. However, many of the Bush Administration's initiatives were undermined by a belief among Southeast Asian elites that the US lacked a strong commitment to ASEAN. American absence from repeated ASEAN meetings has reinforced the feeling in the region that US placed a low priority on relations with Southeast Asia. However, the US' initiatives to strengthen ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) help maintain the US role in the region's strategic balance, particularly in view of China's activism in the ARF Defense Ministers' Meeting. It is clear that the presence of the US in Southeast Asia is necessary to maintain the balance of power and eliminate any attempts by China to expand its sphere of influence to this region.

Obama's Policy Change in ASEAN-US Relations

The relations between ASEAN and US would remain a key pillar in the evolving political and security architecture of Southeast Asia. A common goal of both Bush and the Obama has been to increase the multilateral dimension of US policy in Southeast Asia. On July 22, 2008, at the 21st ASEAN-US dialogue, Singapore Foreign Minister George Yeo stated no major strategic issue in Asia could be resolved without the active participation of the US. ASEAN's Secretary, Surin Pitsuwan said that proactive re-engagement of the US with ASEAN has reinvigorated ASEAN-US relations. Regarding this ASEAN-US dialogue noted that it has also focused on political and security discussions over the years.

After Barack Obama became president in 2009, US also modified its external policies. Under this new administration, the US prioritized the Southeast Asia both bilaterally and multilaterally which is different from the Bush administration. Obama came to power envisioning a foreign policy based on three pillars: changing relationship with the rising powers in Asia; cooperating replaced conflict in Muslim world; and reinvigorating progress toward nonproliferation and nuclear disarmament. Obama's resulting "strategic pivot" to Asia was an attempt to generate confidence in the United

States' future leadership role in the region. Thus, Obama's policy has departed from the Bush's policy and sought engagement with Southeast Asia towards the goal of balancing China's rise. ASEAN interaction with US is accelerating in the new Administration. By upgrading regional integration, there have been high level visits to the region.

In the first time, US Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton's trip to Asia in February 2009 defines the Obama's determination to return and pay more attention to the region. Inclusion of visits to the ASEAN secretary office and Indonesia not only reveals the US new foreign policy focus on the establishment of tighter relationships with countries in Asia, it also reveals the importance of Southeast Asia for US national interest. During Clinton's visit to Southeast Asia to participate in the ARF Foreign Ministerial Meeting in Thailand, the US acceded to *ASEAN's Treaty of Amity and Cooperation* (TAC) on July 23, 2009, which promotes the settlement of regional differences by peaceful means. Formerly, the US did not accept the TAC because of TAC's non-interference in domestic affairs principle. This treaty established guiding principles intended to build confidence among its signatories with the aim of maintaining regional peace and stability.

There is a very positive development in ASEAN-US relations when the US signed the TAC in 2009. With the acceptance of the US toward TAC, the new Obama administration has reviewed US policy towards Southeast Asia and decided to re-engage with the region. Further, the US wants ASEAN to remain strong and independent, stability, growing prosperity and greater freedom, to achieve their goals for integration and to work in partnership with ASEAN on bilateral, regional and global issues. After signing TAC, the US becomes not only just a dialogue partner but also a member of the ASEAN family.

ASEAN-US relationship underwent a major change when the leaders of ASEAN and the US met at the 1st ASEAN-US Leaders Meeting on 15 November 2009 where leaders were provided with an opportunity to exchange views on regional and global issues. In this meeting, President Obama expressed his "strong support for ASEAN's ambitious goal of creating a community by 2015, including its bold effort to achieve economic integration." The president pronounced the US policy of enhancing

engagement with ASEAN which it regards as a key partner in the promotion of peace, stability and prosperity in the Asia Pacific region. This meeting shows enhancing relationship between ASEAN and the US.

On November 14, 2009, in his address in Suntory Hall, Tokyo, President Obama reiterated that the US is a Pacific power and that the US is committed to constant engagement with Southeast Asia. He said,

“...Because the US also has been a nation of the Pacific, Asia and the US are not separated by this great ocean; we are bound by it...”

Moreover, the Obama underscored the increased relevance of ASEAN to US foreign policy. ASEAN gains from direct engagement with the world's superpower in a relationship that is not limited to greater geopolitical influence for the US. US also benefits from a variety of partners under one entity in a region rich in resources. The US has sought to forge more open ties with ASEAN by institutionalizing the ASEAN-US Leaders meeting and participating in the East Asia Summit (EAS) in 2010. Generally, US's participation would minimize China's increasing domination of EAS. Thus, increasingly ASEAN is moving closer to the geographically distant US.

Moreover, the US has new adjustment and changes of its political and economic situation: President Obama has taken office under the slogan of “Reform”, the economic crisis has hard hit the US. Though the US is busy with internal economic affairs, it never stops returning to the Asia-Pacific region, and in fact has attached more importance to the area. The US returns to this region because of the vested interest and the crucial strategic position of the Asia-Pacific region. In addition, Obama said that the Asia Pacific region would be the center point for new economic growth and security concerns in the first part of the 21st century. Therefore, the US began series of adjustment in order to carry its Asia-Pacific strategy forward more effectively.

With Obama's attendance to the first ASEAN-US leaders meeting, he referred to himself as “President of Asia-Pacific” amidst the 17th APEC Summit. The first leaders meeting highlighted the Obama's commitment to engage the Southeast Asia region with high level diplomacy and concrete proposals. In this meeting, the President pronounced the US policy of

enhancing relations with ASEAN which regards as a key partner in the promotion of peace, stability and prosperity in the region. The first leaders' meeting represented a change of US policy toward Asia and reinforced Secretary of State Clinton's statement at the 17th ARF in July 2009 that "US is back". President Obama has made the engagement with the ASEAN, something that has been accomplished in part through the US signing of the *TAC*; invigorating the ASEAN-US Leaders' meeting; supporting ASEAN's constructive engagement with Myanmar; the opening of a permanent US mission in ASEAN; supporting a regional solution to the South China Sea conflict, and strongly engaging Indonesia. Most Southeast Asian leaders have welcomed the Obama shifted policy toward Southeast Asia and enhanced US cooperation in the region.

With the good condition of ASEAN-US relations, the second ASEAN-US Leaders Meeting was held on September 24, 2010 in New York. In reality, ASEAN and the US have been much more integrated and interdependence after the Leader meetings. In this meeting, Obama declared the intention of the US to play a leadership role and a constructive role that promotes peaceful relationships among countries in this region. The annual ASEAN-US Leaders Meeting also signifies the US is paying more attention to ASEAN after ignoring it for many years. The US also tries to expand the relations with ASEAN.

President of the US in his remarks had referred to ASEAN as an "organization of global importance". Southeast Asia leaders also generally have welcomed the Obama administration's move designing to boost the US's standing in Southeast Asia. Although the US's policy toward Asia has vacillated between deep engagement and benign neglect, the US continues to become the predominant power that wants to keep the status quo in Asia. The US's primary strategic objective is also to prevent the rise of hostile powers that could dominate Asia and alter the power equation in the region. China's rise has caused American to initiate a set of strategy centered on Beijing's potential challenge to its strategic interests in Asia, which is reflected in the transformation in the focus of US foreign policy. Recent US's accession to *TAC* and Washington's opting for membership of the EAS in turn could be interpreted as a response aimed at preventing Chinese hegemony in the region.

ASEAN also expects the US to be an important diplomatic partner as well as strategic economic partner. However, ASEAN captures an important position in Great Power's strategies including the US because ASEAN states are geographically situated in sensitive areas in the region. ASEAN is also a unique regional organization in a developing world, which successfully attracts all major Powers to engage in regional political, security and economic forums. For that reason, ASEAN asserts itself as an indispensable element in the establishment of a new balance of power and regional order in Asia-Pacific in the Post-Cold War. Stemming from the strategic requirements of the US as well as ASEAN's political role and economic dynamism, ASEAN constitutes a considerable element in the US policy vis-à-vis Asia-Pacific as well as China's rise as a new power. All in all, ASEAN in Southeast Asia was the strategic location in the US foreign policy since the early 20th century.

The development of the relationship between ASEAN and US is recognition of the rise of ASEAN's political status in international affairs. Thus, the US engagement in Southeast Asia is gradually moving from a bilateral to a multilateral focus with the appointment of an ambassador for ASEAN. On April 26, 2011, David Lee Carden officially became the first US representative to the ASEAN, in a move seen as underlining the regional bloc's growing importance to the United States. Therefore, ASEAN does matter to the US for matters of peace, economic opportunity and position. The US also matters to ASEAN to counter China's influence on Southeast Asia and ASEAN's sense of insecurity. To get rid of the sense of insecurity, ASEAN found that the best way was to maintain US presence in this region to control China's growing influence.

China Factor in ASEAN-US Relations

After the end of Cold War, the China factor was also a key element contributing to the change of ASEAN relation with the US. At the regional level, all-around China-ASEAN relations have improved greatly through institutionalized bilateral and regional cooperation mechanisms. China began also to appreciate the strategic value of Southeast Asia, most especially of a unified ASEAN, as a potential ally in the emerging balance of power in Asia.

Formerly, although China was viewed mostly with fear and suspicion, the relations between ASEAN countries and China reflected increasing cooperation and growing trust. China also viewed Southeast Asia as potentially the most fruitful and receptive region for the projection of Chinese influence. Moreover, China has seen Southeast Asia as an integral part of its political and strategic interests.

With regard to the 1997 financial crisis, Southeast Asia region was grateful to China for not devaluing its currency and for offering bilateral aid and loans with no strings attached. While Western nations were slow to react to the crisis, China's timely decision not to devalue its currency was perceived as standing up for Asia. After the crisis, ASEAN Secretary General Rodolfo Severino announced that China was really emerging from that smelling good. Specifically, the crisis provided China with opportunities to demonstrate its political and economic value as a partner, even a regional leader. With China capitalizing on opportunities to expand its influence, US influence in Asia appeared to be waning. The recovery of most of the members of ASEAN from the Asian financial crisis and China's continued modernization has improved China-ASEAN relations.

After the financial crisis, China-ASEAN relations also picked up momentum. China's recent foreign policy toward the region has stressed trade and not human rights. This policy stance is relatively well received in many Southeast Asian countries. President Jiang Zemin quoted that the "beginning of a new stage of development in China-ASEAN relations" involving more active participation, enhanced mutual trust, and strengthened cooperation. China's embrace of market-led economic development mitigate against past assertive postures in the region and lead to more multilateral and cooperative approaches. With regard to Southeast Asia, China wanted to play a constructive role in regional economic and political affairs, perhaps with a view to building a stable foundation for greater influence in the future.

China was the first state to become party to the ASEAN led *TAC* treaty in Southeast Asia. By acceding to the treaty in June 2003, China agrees to perform and carry out all the stipulations contained in the *TAC*, whose purpose is to promote perpetual peace, everlasting amity and cooperation based on mutual respect, non-interference principle and peaceful settlement of

disputes. China was also positioning itself to be able to play a more active role in Southeast Asian security by acceding ASEAN's *TAC*.

The leaders declared that ASEAN and China establish a strategic partnership for peace and prosperity because ASEAN's *TAC* is the grouping's founding nonaggression pact aimed at promoting regional stability. The purpose of the establishment of a strategic partnership for peace and prosperity is to foster friendly relations, mutually beneficial cooperation and good neighborliness between ASEAN and China by deepening and expanding ASEAN-China cooperative relations in a comprehensive manner in the 21st century. The strategic importance of ASEAN-China relations to development and cooperation in the region demonstrated that political trust between the two sides has been notably enhanced.

China's growth was dramatically changing its political relations with Southeast Asia, an area where the United States has strong political, economic, and strategic interests. China wanted to play a constructive role in regional political and economic affairs and to build a stable foundation for greater influence in the future. This could drive potentially, but not necessarily, bring American and Chinese interests into conflict in Southeast Asia. Because of that, Southeast Asia became the site of a contest for influence between China and the US.

From China's view, Southeast Asia was perceived as China's traditional "backyard" and ASEAN was an important competing object that China needed to win over in order to strengthen its position and create a counterbalance to the other great powers in Asia-Pacific. Therefore, the relationships have been transformed from one of fear and suspicion to one of increasing cooperation and collaboration, particularly in the area of trade. However, the ASEAN governments remained concerned about the long-term possibility of Chinese dominance in the region, preferring that a balance of major powers be maintained. Relations between China and individual ASEAN states are being buttressed by trade, aid, diplomatic agreements, and prospects of joint ventures. ASEAN became a supplier of gas and oil and an instrument in China's energy security. For this reason, China's strategic intention requires paying attention to Southeast Asia in order to maintain domestic order and stability, and her economic growth. As the China rising was also a key

element contribution, Western and Asian observers have warned that China was making significant advances in extending its strategic influence over Southeast Asia. The rise of China's power and influence in the world has had a profound strategic impact on Southeast Asia as well as the challenge of American interests in the region.

China's rise thus far had direct negative impact on US interests and leadership in Southeast Asia. China opposed US leadership in several ways, and a danger existed that such opposition could grow in importance as China expanded relations and influence in Southeast Asia. China also posed as an alternative to US leadership for Southeast Asian states, encouraging them to move away from past close alignment with the US. While few Chinese officials saw the US superpower leading an effort to destroy China, they recognized that US led opposition to aspects of China's rise could seriously impede Chinese political stability and economic development. Therefore, China strengthened the good neighborly and friendly relations with ASEAN which is a basic tenet of Chinese foreign policy. China's enhanced presence in Southeast Asia could challenge the US interests in the region. China's dramatic growth in diplomatic and military might have influenced Southeast Asia and raised the US attention to the region.

China's influence in Southeast Asia has been growing on the one hand and American influence was declining on the other. Southeast Asia's particular geographical position, the long-standing involvement of both the US and China in the region, and ASEAN's central role in regional initiatives were seen as pull-factors to attract the US and China in contending for influence. However, during the Bush administration, China played a key role in the US relationships with ASEAN countries.

As China has deepened its political and economic ties in Southeast Asia region, and even taken some steps to build security ties, this region has also become an important site of "soft power" rivalry in which the longstanding leadership role of the US could be challenged by rising China. Harvard Professor Joseph Nye coined the term "soft power" to describe a nation's ability to attract and persuade. Whereby, soft power arises from the attractiveness of culture, political ideals and policies. According to Nye, although soft power is attraction and persuasion, some analysts describe that

China's soft power may include diplomacy, trade and investment, foreign aid, and the view of China as a vast, potential market. Consequently, the emergence of China as a great power in an increasingly multi-polar world has made diplomatic challenges for ASEAN as it seeks to shape an international order that promotes peace and stability for the region. Furthermore, many observers contend that China's diplomatic outreach, including building links to ASEAN, has surpassed that of the US during the past several years. In this power rivalry, most Southeast Asian leaders have welcomed engagement from the US and China because of the benefits that strong relations bring; they did not want a single foreign influence to dominate the region, and excluding either power was not an option. The ASEAN countries themselves had much depending on fostering good relations with both US and China.

Chinese expanding influence in Southeast Asia region may be a precursor to more serious challenges against the US interests in Asia because it might rapidly become the predominant power in this region. As long as China continued to expand power and the US continued to invest efforts in response to China's rise, Southeast Asia would become the critical region. If China would successfully keep the US from increasing its presence in Southeast Asia, ASEAN's balancing strategy might be disrupted and Beijing could attain a position of hegemony. China's rise also created concern about how Beijing would use its growing economic and military power. When China, the dominant regional power in Asia and one of the world's emerging great powers has gained influence in Southeast Asia, US influence in Southeast Asia was far from being marginalized and remained robust. With rising China, the US began to direct more attention in Southeast Asia. The United States' expanded international posture led to an American encirclement of China. Knowing that China viewed Southeast Asia as its own, ASEAN leaders looked to the US to provide balance in the region. In the interest of the US, it was to provide a helpful, comprehensive presence that contributed to regional stability, thereby diminishing prospects for effective intimidation directed at ASEAN members states.

The rise of China's power and influence in the world has had a profound strategic impact on Southeast Asia. So also, the Chinese dominance and influence over Southeast Asia caused a great concern to ASEAN. China's

power capability makes strength its political influence in regional affairs. As China's influence continued to expand in terms of military, economic and political power, ASEAN became more and more aware of China's development. Thus, China's increasing influence in Southeast Asia forced ASEAN governments to closely cooperate with the US. In addition, ASEAN-US leaders pledged continued dialogue and cooperation in many areas, including engagement with the government of Myanmar.

Myanmar Issue in ASEAN-US Relations

The US strongly opposed to ASEAN's adoption of Myanmar as a full member in 1997 and the US exerted diplomatic pressure on ASEAN to keep Myanmar out of its group. With regard to Myanmar, the Thai Foreign Minister has proposed to implement a constructive engagement policy at the ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Meeting in 1991. The term of the constructive engagement is to engage and create ties with Myanmar rather than to ignore and isolate it. The acceptance of Myanmar by ASEAN as its member is the most important and fundamental embodiment of the engagement policy. Divergent ASEAN and the US approaches to Myanmar has also been an irritant to ASEAN-US relations since Myanmar became a member of ASEAN. In the meantime, the US needs to be creative in finding ways around Myanmar to engage ASEAN fully. The US could not afford to allow developments in Myanmar to drive the broader ASEAN-US relationship.

ASEAN's constructive engagement policy also finds its expression in the cooperation and dialogue mechanism between ASEAN and dialogue partners. The roles played by ASEAN in these mechanisms mainly are: striving to prevent Myanmar from being discriminated against and win more legitimacy for the Myanmar military government in the international community, protecting the effectiveness of ASEAN as a regional organization, calling for and supporting partners to engage Myanmar to justify and seek more space for the constructive engagement policy and especially demands from partner states to give up its non-interference policy. "Constructive engagement" is the collective stand taken by ASEAN on the Myanmar issue; the individual policy of different member states keeps in line with this policy with some variations. The policy of sanctions against

Myanmar pursued by the West comes into conflict with ASEAN's value concept on human rights, which believes that the Western actions not only impair the economic and development right of the Myanmar people but are intervention in the internal affairs of Myanmar. ASEAN hopes that regional problems would be settled within the region. If ASEAN impose sanctions on Myanmar, it would mean interference in the internal affairs of Myanmar. Therefore, ASEAN rejected outside pressures and intervention on its regional affairs.

The United States' most vigorous interaction with ASEAN has been its attempt to persuade ASEAN to pressure Myanmar to abdicate the ASEAN chair in 2006. Moreover, Myanmar government's subsequent repression on peaceful protestors in September 2007, further strained the relationship between Myanmar and the US. In July 2008, US Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice urged ASEAN to put more pressure on Myanmar to improve human rights, adopt democratic reforms, and free political prisoners. Even though ASEAN appreciated the concern of international society over political situation in Myanmar, ASEAN denied their concerns to expel Myanmar from ASEAN. ASEAN's extension of membership to Myanmar and subsequent policy engagement of the military regime stood in stake contrast to the US policy of isolation and sanctions. Therefore, with regard to Myanmar, ASEAN and the US worked with different norms.

Realistically, the inauguration of ASEAN-US Leaders Meeting would likely have to await an improvement in Myanmar-US relations. The first Leaders Meeting in 2009, ASEAN leaders welcomed the high level dialogue and the policy of the US to engage with Myanmar. ASEAN also underscored the importance of achieving national reconciliation and that the general elections to be held in Myanmar in 2010 must be conducted in a free, fair, inclusive and transparent manner in order to be credible to the international community. In 2009, the State Department announced a new Myanmar policy, in which the US would hold dialogues with the Myanmar leaderships while still maintaining the US sanctions. The Obama administration acknowledged that the US strategy solely relying on sanctions, which was unsuccessful to achieve the political changes and reforms in Myanmar, and there should be a better policy instrument to achieve this goal. Therefore, he

initiated a comprehensive policy review of US-Myanmar policy that led to the adoption of a more pragmatic, yet still principled policy of engagement vis-à-vis Naypyidaw. The Obama's decision to balance sanctions with pragmatic engagement is a good first step. For almost two years though the policy shift failed to produce major results, notwithstanding Daw Aung San Su Kyi's release from house arrest during this time. The situation has changed radically, and Myanmar is broadly expanding its relations with the United States and other countries.

After the general elections in Myanmar on November 7, 2010, the new nominally civilian government opted to embark on a process of national reconciliation that in many ways satisfied American demands and hopes for such a process. The Obama administration suggested that it's more pragmatic policy toward Myanmar was fundamentally about supporting democracy and human rights as well as stability and greater prosperity in Myanmar. With regard to this suggestion, there have been signs of a thaw in Myanmar-US relations in light of the Obama's policy review on Myanmar. The US pragmatic engagement policy intends to promote the relationship between American and Myanmar and also aims to refresh its relations with the ASEAN.

The US' fresh approach has been enthusiastically embraced by ASEAN, which has long advocated a reduction in sanctions against Myanmar. While maintaining sanctions, US attempted in order to find a way to better engage the Myanmar government. The Obama Administration's revision of US policy towards Myanmar has coincided with a similar review by ASEAN of its stance on relations with the military regime. As a result, there may be an opportunity for ASEAN and the US to confer and coordinate their policies towards Myanmar government.

The Obama policy had also appreciated that President Bush's hard-edged Myanmar policy had to some degree complicated relations with the Association as a whole because the US had applied pressure on ASEAN countries to advance political change in Myanmar. Though promoting such change was to some extent shared by regional countries, ASEAN governments preferred economic and diplomatic engagement. The review of Myanmar-US policy and American's decision to embark on a more pragmatic approach could be seen as part of an attempt not only to be effective in

bilateral relations with Myanmar, but also to refashion US ties with ASEAN. The both sides stressed on discussion on Myanmar affair in the first leaders meeting. The US openly embraced ASEAN as a partner in its attempts to bring about reforms in Myanmar. Senior US officials repeatedly warned that engagement with Myanmar was going to be a long, slow and step-by -step process. In the second ASEAN- US Leaders' Meeting in New York, the US is a growing acceptance that encouraging Myanmar to develop stakes in the international system may be more effective in moderating its behavior than attempting to impose Western ideas of democracy. That is President Obama's proactive approach towards Myanmar.

The political awakening of Myanmar is one of the most important, and positive, developments in Southeast Asian affair. The new Myanmar government, formed on March 30, 2011, has effectively and successfully grasped the chance for rapprochement with the United States. On September 7, 2011, Derek Mitchell, who became the special representative and policy coordinator for Myanmar. The Secretary of State, Clinton's visit to Myanmar from November 30 to December 2, 2011, was a major turning point in the bilateral relationship. ASEAN Leaders expressed their hope that the US and Myanmar continued to deepen their engagement, including through taking advantage of Myanmar's role as country Coordinator for the ASEAN-US dialogue relations in July 2015. ASEAN welcomed the United States' continuing engagement in Myanmar.

The present US role in Myanmar's political reforms would lead to a greatly expanded presence in the country. By normalizing relations with American, Naypyidaw would have gone some way to restoring the balance historically favored in Myanmar's external relations. Furthermore, the Myanmar regains wider international assistance for development and humanitarian aid, and rapprochement with the US has also reshaped Myanmar's international and regional relations. The US pragmatic engagement policy made to promote the relationship between the US and Myanmar as well as its relations with ASEAN. And then, ASEAN and US leaders also encouraged further progress towards a democratic and open political and economic system. Thus, Myanmar's democratic reform strengthened ASEAN organization and facilitated ASEAN's relationship with the US.

Research Findings

The US under the Obama administration emphasized a return to Southeast Asia and adopted a re-engagement policy. Although Bush's policy stressed on bilateral relations with ASEAN countries, Obama pursued both multilateral and bilateral relations and accepted to the *TAC* in order to upgrade its presence in Southeast Asia. Since the end of cold war, China's soft power has increased significantly in Southeast Asia and also played a key role in ASEAN's relations with the US. The US also views ASEAN as a partner with mutual interest in containing China's domination in the region. In 2009, the US signed the *TAC*, a step the Bush Administration had refused to take, largely because of Myanmar's ASEAN membership. Especially, Obama adjusted the policy on Myanmar from sanctions alone to sanctions with engagement although Myanmar's military regime was the major obstacle for the US's relation with ASEAN. The US pragmatic engagement policy intends to promote the relationship between American and Myanmar and also aims to refresh its relations with the ASEAN.

Conclusion

ASEAN and the US had normal relations during the Cold War since ASEAN's inception. In the post-Cold War era, as the US under Clinton administration paid very little attention to Southeast Asia, the US refused to help the Asian countries in the 1997 financial crisis resulting in strict relations between them. Since the end of the Cold War, China has increased its influence in Southeast Asia and actively improved its relations with ASEAN, especially as an integral part of its political and strategic interests. As for the US, it paid more attention to establish closer strategic partnership with ASEAN. ASEAN also expected the US to be an important strategic and diplomatic partner. In addition, Myanmar's political change made the opportunities for ASEAN relation with the US. After the first ASEAN-US summit, the US is committed to strengthening its engagement in Southeast Asia both with its individual allies and with ASEAN as an institution. The Obama changed a new strategy focused on collaboration with Myanmar, because of US sanctions, which had been a major obstacle to closer ASEAN relations with US. Although the relationship cooled before, US policy has

moved to prioritize alignment with the ASEAN group since 2009. ASEAN countries also continued to rely on US as a guarantor for enduring peace, regional stability and to balance China's growing power. Thus, US's increased participation in regional multilateral fora, such as participating in ARF, joining the EAS and signing the ASEAN's *Treaty of Amity Cooperation* and, expanded diplomatic representation in the region were signs of enhanced ASEAN-US relations.

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MYANMAR-UNITED STATES RELATIONS BEFORE AND AFTER 2015 ELECTION

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Abstract

This article analyses Myanmar-US relations before and after 2015 election. After the military government's suppression on the 1988 democracy uprising, Myanmar-US relations were strained for over two decades. This situation gives China better opportunities to expand her political and economic linkages over Myanmar. In the meanwhile, at the regional circumstance, China's growing influence in Asia made greater concern for US to reconsider its role and security interests in the region. In 2009, with President Obama's 'Pivot to Asia' policy and with the success of Myanmar's democratic transition under the civilian government, Washington reconsider and reviewed its foreign policy towards Myanmar. Under such situation, bilateral relations gradually improved and finally tended to normalized relations. After 2015 election, NLD led by Daw Aung San Su Kyi become a democratically elected civilian government. Therefore, it can be assumed that NLD government will focus on the closer relations with US. However, Daw Aung San Su Kyi as a new Foreign Minister paid the first official state visit to China instead of US. This research will explain why did Myanmar pay first state visit to China? How would it make impact on Myanmar-US relations? What are the effects of US new President Trump's foreign policies on Myanmar and future of Myanmar- US relations? What will be the challenges in improving Myanmar-US relations?

Key words : Myanmar, United States, relations, foreign policy

Introduction

Soon after the Myanmar military government came to power in 1988, the United States started to isolate and exert pressure on Myanmar through sanctions, suspension of aid and loans, and bans on trade and investment on the grounds of human rights violations, democratic values and drug problems. Since that time, their relations become strained over two decades. Under US and western countries sanctions, the military government had to relies on

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China both for the economic and political matters. Therefore, US sanctions on Myanmar was a great opportunities for Chinese interests.

In 2009, with new President Obama's Asia Pivot policy, the Obama administration changed the old policy towards Myanmar and launched a comprehensive review and engaged with Myanmar government. Within a few years, Myanmar-US relations has changed and opened their new chapter in bi-lateral relations till normalized relations. After 2015 Election, most of the experts and scholar expected that US relations with NLD government led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi would be closer than previous President U Thein Sein government. However, in reality, their relations seem to be cool relations than before. Upon this scenario, this research aims to analyze the relation between Myanmar and US before and after 2105 Elections. This research question finds out why Myanmar-US relations seem to be steady and slow under civilian NLD government as unexpected. As external factor, this research also explains Myanmar-US-China relation after 2015 Election with new government's balancing act foreign policy.

Myanmar-US relations before 2015 Election

Obama, as newly elected US President, introduced "Pivot to Asia doctrines" with his Smart Power foreign policy after he took office in 2009. In regards with his smart power policy, he asserted in his speech at the UN general debate in 2009 that the US has entered a "new era of engagement" with the world, based on "mutual respect". It illustrate that the Obama Administration's commitment to smart power, which has significant implications for Southeast Asia and, in particular, the people of Myanmar. The essence of smart power is liberal internationalism, which argues the world is a safer place if it is made up of liberal democratic states. It also posits the use of multiple foreign policy tools to achieve this goal rather than simply coercion through the use of force. These tools include diplomatic, economic as well as military means to achieve strategic ends. Pivot to Asia doctrines of the US is a new strategy to face the new challenges of China growing presence in Asia region. During US Senator Jim Webb 'unofficial visit in Myanmar as part of his five country tour in August 2009, he said that

"We are in a situation where if we do not push some kind of constructive engagement, Burma is going to become a province of China"

Although this visit was not announced as an official visit, it was clearly viewed as an element of the Obama administration's review of policy options towards Myanmar and also undeclared foreign policy of the administration. However, at that time, there was no clear and official announcement of the Obama administration policy towards Myanmar.

The Obama administration's policy on Myanmar was officially announced during US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's visit to Indonesia in 2009. She announced that US was reviewing its policy towards Myanmar and she also admitted that sanctions imposed by the US on Myanmar had been ineffective in bringing the democratic changes in Myanmar.

After seven months of policy reviewed, Hillary Clinton announced the Obama administration's engagement policy towards Myanmar at the United Nations general debates on 23 September 2009. She said that

"First, the basic objectives are not changed. We want credible, democratic reform: a government that respond to the need of the Burmese people; immediate, unconditional release of political prisoners, including Aung San Suu Kyi....."

This shows that Myanmar had re-entered the US foreign policy agenda. This policy of diplomatic engagement policy alongside economic sanctions is the hallmarks of smart power. In Myanmar, under military government, Myanmar had limited legitimacy in international community because of its isolationist policy and imposing sanctions by US and western countries. Therefore, Myanmar had depended on non-democratic countries for its power survival, economic assistance and diplomatic protection as well. China rapidly took its opportunities and seriously influence on Myanmar. Later, military government realized that the growing concern of Chinese interests and anti-Chinese sentiment of the people.

Under such situation, the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) implemented for replacing the military law with "discipline-flourishing democracy" in accord with the Seven-Step Roadmap which was

laid down in 2003. Actually, at that time, the motivations of the SPDC government to start and improve relations with the US have been difficult to calculate. However, as undeclared policy, the government has willing to reduce their growing dependence on China both in economically and politically.

In accord with the Seven-Step Roadmap, the SPDC transferred the state power to a new civilian government On 30 March 2011. President U Thein Sein became a new President of the civil government after 2010 election. Newly elected government implemented a serious of reforms with add momentum for a top-down transition. Significant reforms were released of political prisoners, offered to negotiated cease fire agreement to all armed ethnic group, form Myanmar national Human Rights Commission and passed labor Organization and so on.

Concerning with it, Obama recognized about Myanmar's improving democratic reform when he attended East Asia Summit in Indonesia on November 17. He said about Myanmar's reforms and described as "after years of darkness, flickers of progress" in the last few weeks. It mentioned the progress of the bilateral relations depended on Myanmar government's taking more concrete action.

Soon after his statement, Obama announced Hillary Clinton visit to Myanmar for opening a new chapter between two countries by responding the meeting of President U Thein Sein and Daw Aung San Su Kyi. Hillary Clinton's visited on 30 November 2011 was the historic visit and it was a testament to how far the two countries have come together in a short period of time. Since that time, Myanmar-US relations has been normalized with step by step process. Mutual visits between government officials and State leaders have given the ways to improve bi-lateral relations.

According to the Obama administration's actions for action policy, U.S formally eased sanctions on Myanmar in 2012 and allowed US companies to invest in all sectors of the Myanmar economy. Myanmar Economic Forum was also held in New York in September 2014 with the name of Myanmar; Asia's last Frontier.

While going to a deep diplomatic and economic relation with the United States and the West, Myanmar has avoided and handled carefully on sensitive and strategic matters such as the South and East China Sea disputes. Myanmar's successful stands on this issue can be seen at the 49th ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Meeting in 2016. As Councillor's first attending to this meeting, it showed that Myanmar's attitudes and neutral foreign policy between major powers.

During Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's visit to Washington after Beijing visit in September in 2016, it was announced that economic sanctions against Myanmar would be lifted. Before it, Obama had notified the U.S. Congress that he would be reinstating preferential tariffs for Myanmar under the Generalized System of Preferences, which provides duty-free access for goods from poor and developing countries.

Therefore, her visit was an opportunity to begin laying the groundwork for a "new normal" in bilateral ties. On October 7, 2016, President Obama issued an executive order with sanctions program. This formally concluded US economic sanctions against Myanmar nearly 20 years after their inception. As a result of President Obama's EO on October 7, 2016, the following changes took effect immediately:

- All individuals and entities on OFAC's Specially Designated Nationals and Blocked Persons List (SDN List) who had been listed under the 'Burma Sanctions Program' were delisted, and all property or interests in property blocked under the program were unblocked.
- The SDN list is a number of individuals and companies, periodically designated by OFAC, whose assets are blocked and with which dealings are prohibited by 'US persons'.
- The ban on the importation into the United States of Myanmar-origin jadeite and rubies, and any jewelry containing them, was revoked.
- OFAC announced it would remove the Burmese Sanctions Regulations, 31 C.F.R., part 537, prohibiting property and certain other transactions related to the country.

- OFAC-administered restrictions regarding financial and banking transactions involving Myanmar have been lifted. The US Department of State's reporting requirements regarding certain new investments in Myanmar by U.S. persons have been made voluntary.

Therefore, when analyzing Myanmar-US relations before 2015 Election, it can be divided into two parts. First three years periods under President U Thein Sein and Obama is the most active and implement the considerable changes by going step by step process. Next two years, they open a new chapter and build the normalization between two countries.

Myanmar-US relations after 2105 Elections: Steady and slow?

Most of the scholars and policy experts regarded and assumed that democratic government of Myanmar and US relations would become more friendly and active from the step of normalization after 2015 Election. However, in reality, it did not become as much as expected by scholars. One of the reasons Myanmar-US relations seem to be steady and slow rather than previous government was that a new government's more pragmatic and balance of power foreign policy.

New government's balancing foreign policy after 2015 Election

The 2015 multi-party general elections were held on 8 November 2015. It was represented as historical landmark in Myanmar's democratic transition. After the National League for Democracy (NLD) led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi won a landslide victory with 77.1% of the vote, Myanmar's first-ever elected civilian government was formed on 31 March 2016. U Htin Kyaw has been chosen as the president. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi holds two offices and also serves as State Councillor. She became the main person who drives the country's foreign policy. The international community is also keenly interested in the future direction of new government's foreign policy.

After the formation of the government, the key leaders gave inaugural speech and it was regarded as the fundamental principles of Myanmar's foreign policy. Like that, the brief inaugural speech of President U Htin Kyaw

focused on four areas of domestic policy: national reconciliation, internal peace, emergence of a constitution aimed at establishing a democratic federal union, and improving the quality of life of the majority of the people.

Furthermore, during State Councillor's Myanmar New Year message on 18 April, she emphasized on the state domestic factors: national reconciliation, peace, the rule of law and constitutional amendment.

More definitely, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi as a Foreign Minister met foreign diplomats on 22 April 2016 and laid out a new vision of Myanmar's foreign policy. She asserted that the NLD government will continue to practice "neutrality and non-aligned" principle and will maintain "friendly relations with all countries." By adhering to this long-standing principle of "neutrality" in foreign policy, the government will try to build strong relations with all major global powers. Therefore, this new foreign policy will not focus on one country like US but aims to make multifaceted arrangements in foreign policy.

Therefore, some scholar expected that the foothold of Myanmar's foreign policy has become increasingly pragmatic, shifting from bilateralism to regional integration and multilateralism. For example, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's first pragmatic approach can be seen in inviting Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi to Nay Pyi Taw, only a few days after the new government was formed in April 2016.

First priority of the government on the national reconciliation

Another one is that the NLD government's first priority on the national reconciliation as expressed in the speech. It stated that the new government would need to address immediately the peace negotiation process between ethnic arms groups and Myanmar Tatmataw. It was the basic fundamental needs for the economic development of the country.

As Myanmar's largest neighbor, China has been and will remain a critical player in the Myanmar peace process. A number of major ethnic armed groups operate along the China–Myanmar border area. These include: the Kachin Independence Army (KIA), the UWSA, the Myanmar National

Democratic Alliance Army (MNDAA), otherwise known as the Kokang Army and etc.

China's official position follows the principle of noninterference and its official policy is "persuading for peace and facilitating dialogues." In practice, its attitude has been more ambiguous. Whatever it is, ethnic reconciliation and peace in Myanmar is not only important to the country itself but also vital to security and stability along the China-Myanmar border as well as to the friendly cooperation between two countries.

Therefore, State Counselor's first invitation is the Chinese Foreign Minister and her very visit is also China rather than US after assuming the office in 2016. All of these situations concern in accord with the country's first domestic priority policy in national reconciliation.

China's role in Myanmar-US relations with new government's balancing act policy

When we discuss about Myanmar-US relations, we cannot excuse the role of China because China is Myanmar's largest neighboring country as well as it also important for US in her security and military in the Southeast Asia region. On the other hand, building friendly relations and security cooperation between Myanmar and US could be a strategic problem for China because of Myanmar's geographic and geostrategic position in the region.

However, US government did not admit officially that their Asia Pivot policy and engagement policy towards Myanmar would not concern about the growing influence of China on Myanmar and in the region as experts and scholars expected. Hillary Clinton said about it

"...we are not opposing any other country, we are about supporting this country(Myanmar)....So from our perspective, we are not viewing this in light of any competition with China"

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi also confirmed it in her speech to US Institute of Peace during her visit to Washington in 2012. She stated that Myanmar's engagement with the US was not about containing China. Myanmar can work cooperatively both China and US.

As expressed above, new government also clearly addressed that the government would maintain friendly relations with its neighbouring countries and major power as well. As showing her pragmatic approach, she invited Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi after taking office. This invitation linked to the

Moreover, her first visit to China in 2016 was clearly a move to pave the way for building relations between two countries. In another interview to *The Washington Post* during the same period, she said that her country's relationship with China was "good". She refused to give credit to the US alone for the democratization process in Myanmar.

By seeing it, her decision to visit China indicates that she has desire the need to maintain relations with her country's great power neighbor rather than relations with US. She also wants to re-establish the relations with China which was sour because of suspending the Myint Sone Dam project under previous government.

US President Trump's nationalist foreign policy and Myanmar

Newly elected US President Trump's victory and his new administration have caused deep concern about the future of the Myanmar-US relations. According to President Trump, "America First" is an attempt to put American citizen's priority above citizens of foreign countries. Trump has signaling on reduction of US engagement in international stages, and to put national interest above all else.

So America First foreign policy basically a policy of which United States will disengage from any international involvement unless U.S. has a clear financial benefit from such arrangement.

Furthermore, as contrary with Obama's Asia Pivot policy, he is not willing to focus on the Asia region and there would no longer be a counterbalance to China. Instead of it, he seems to be interested in the Middle East region in accord with his very first official visit to this region after taking office in May 2017.

Therefore, Myanmar-US relations can be assumed to be stable and steady in the early 2017. One of the experts Murray Hiebert expressed in his

article on 2 June 2017 that the new US president should call Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. He also said that Trump should invite her to Washington and noted that his administration's lack of contact with Myanmar and also pointed out that more active relations has been seen between Myanmar and China after 2015.

Soon after that, US embassy in Yangon issued that State Counsellor and Foreign Minister Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and US Secretary of State Tillerson spoke by phone on June 20, 2017 and underscored the ongoing U.S commitment to Southeast Asia and discussed important regional security challenges.

Although it is difficult to predict exactly the Trump's administration policy towards Asia, it can still impact Myanmar and its relations at the international and domestic level. At an international level, the U.S' potential disengagement with Asia would create instability in the region, and more difficulties for Myanmar to hedge against China's strategic position. At the domestic level, Trump's rhetoric hate speech on Islam which further spread hate against Muslims in Myanmar. Trump's anti-Muslim agenda is supported by Buddhist nationalists in Myanmar. It can also impact the context of Rakhine issue.

Conclusion

After Myanmar and U.S had strained relations over two decades, their relations became normalized. US assumed that normalization with Myanmar is the U.S's victory on the symbol of democratic values. In analyzing the Myanmar-U.S relations, it can be seen that US's declared foreign policies and undeclared foreign policies on Myanmar. Declared foreign policies are to be a democratic country, the release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and political prisoners and have human rights. Greater concern about the rapid growth of China in the region and counter-balance of Chinese influence are undeclared foreign policies.

The shaping of the foreign policies also depend on the leadership style and personal behaviours. The leaders of country (Myanmar-U.S) personal behaviours, their leadership styles and personally friendships effect on their

bilateral relations. Although the State Counselor is more comfortable and friendly personal relations with the West (US) she realized well and made it clear that Myanmar cannot change its geography and cannot choose the country's neighbours. Therefore, she wants good relations with China as well. For Myanmar's Peace Process and national reconciliation as a country's first Priority.

Myanmar needs close relationship with China, on the other hand, Myanmar also build its relationships with US and try to negotiate to ease the remaining sanctions on Myanmar. Although it seems to have steady and slow relationship with US after 2015, in reality, it was the new government's balancing act foreign policy. It also showed Myanmar's more pragmatic and active foreign policy and foreign relations.

Therefore, Myanmar will balance its foreign policy, but it will not do so between the two countries only. As expressed in the country's foreign policy, it will be expected that Myanmar will make a serious effort to balance Myanmar's relations between China, India, Japan, the rest of Southeast Asia, and the West. Building such multidirectional collaboration can definitely help Myanmar to advance its development and security. It is important for Myanmar to handle carefully its diplomatic strategy to maintain the balance relations among major powers around the world, particularly between U.S and China.

Acknowledges

I would like to express my very sincere thanks to Dr. Aye Myint Oo(Professor, Head of the International Relations Department, Yadanabon University) for her encouragement in this research work.

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TERRACOTTA VOTIVE TABLETS OF S'RIKSETRA*

Than Than Thein¹

Abstract

Sri Ksetra is one of the ancient cities of Pyu in Myanmar. It is situated at the present village of Hmawza, about 5 miles southeast of modern Pyay, Bago division between lat 18° 50' N and long 05° 20' E. It was built in 101 Buddhist Era (443 BC) and the people of Sri Ksetra became Buddhists before the Christian Era. It had favorable geographical condition for internal trade as well as trade with other foreign countries. By trade relation with India, Sri Ksetra received Theravāda Buddhism from Southern India at least as early as the 5th or 6th century AD. Besides, Mahāyāna Buddhism was introduced to Sri Ksetra from Northeastern or Eastern India after 6th century AD and between 6th and 9th century AD, Theravāda Buddhism and Mahāyāna Buddhism flourished side by side in Sri Ksetra.

Votive tablets were a sign of Buddhist influence of Pyu period. These evidences were numerous found at Sriksetra, Bagan, Thaton and Kautgon caves near Pha-Am in Kayin state. But, terracotta votive tablets were not yet found in Beikthano, Halin and Maingmaw (Pinle) old cities. The term of “votive tablet” in Pyu language has not yet been determined. In the Bagan period, ring of Queen Ci Pe and King Thi Luin (1084-1113) century A.D both referred to votive tablet as “Patima” in Pali¹. This word means image of the Buddha. A large number of terracotta votive tablets were being found at S'riksetra museum and are concerned with Mahayana and Theravada

¹(a) Dr Than Tun, *Myanmar Terracottas pottery in Myanmar & Votive Tablets of Myanmar* Monywe History Series, 2002.p-53(Hereafter cited as Dr Than Tun, *Myanmar Terracottas*),

(b)Khin Ma Ma Mu, Associate Professor, Archaeology Department, Yangon University, “Votive Tablets of S'riksetra & Arimaddana”.p-1(Hereafter cited as Khin Ma Ma Mu, “Votive Tablets of S'riksetra & Arimaddana”)

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* Best Paper Award winning Paper in Archaeology, (2017)

Buddhism. Professor G. Coedes suggested that the practice of making clay votive tablets was confined only to the Buddhist.²

There are four Cetiya as in the Buddhist tradition: Saririka (bodily relics of the Buddha) cetiya, Paribhoga (a thing used by the Buddha) cetiya, Uddissana (a thing made sacred by dedication) cetiya and Dhamma (a memorial in honour of the Law) cetiya.³ Therefore, S'riksetra people might be made the terracotta votive tablets for the enshrine of Uddissana cetiya. The practice of making of votive tablets might be reached Myanmar as part of the adoption of Buddhism from India by pilgrimages.⁴ Some assumed that the art of making of votive tablets came to Myanmar in the 7th century A.D.⁵ Votive tablets were made of earth. Therefore, all Buddhists whether poor or rich, commoners or kings can make the votive tablets easily.⁶ The Ancient Pyu might be used the moulds which were made of terracotta, bronze and stone during the making of terracotta votive tablets. A bronze mould, 1 inch high, oval shaped, was discovered in Sriksetra.⁷ It did not know exactly that mould was either imported from India or locally.⁸

S'riksetra votive tablets have different forms and styles. In analyzing the forms of votive tablets, the following points are significant. There are seven shapes in S'riksetra Pyu old city.

1. oval

² Dr Than Tun, *Myanmar Terracottas*, p-54-55

³ Ibid, p-53

⁴ *Hanthawady Newspaper*, No.174, 4.2.1973, p. extra sheet

⁵ Gordon H.Luce, *Old Burma-Early Pagan*, Volume one, Artibus Asiae and the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1969, p-97 (Hereafter cited as G.H.Luce, *Old Burma-Early Pagan*)

⁶ Dr Naing Pan Hla, *Archaeological Aspects of Pyu, Mon, Myanmar*, Thin Sarpay, Yangon, 2011, p.77 (Hereafter cited as Dr Naing Pan Hla, *Archaeological Aspects*)

⁷ (a) Dr Than Tun, *Myanmar terracottas*, p.54 (b) See figure-1

⁸ (a) Dr Than Tun, *Myanmar terracottas*, p.54

(b) Maung Maung Swe, *NrefrmEdkifiH&SdysLurÁnf;pmrsm;rS
ysLtu©&mpmwrf;rsm;ESifu yslpmvkH;a&om;ykH
pepfrrsm;udk avUvmcsuf (Study on Pyu Writing System and Pyu Characters
of Myanmar Epigraphs)*, Ph D Dissertation, Department of Myanmar Language,
University of Yangon, 2006, p.100 (Hereafter cited as Maung Maung Swe, *Pyu Writing
Systems*)

2. oval with pointed top
3. square
4. circular
5. rectangular
6. rectangular with pointed top
7. rectangular with rounded top⁹

Some assumed that oval shape and oval with pointed top of votive tablets were imported from India. Circular and square shapes may have been made locally during the old city of S'riksetra. Oval, oval with pointed top and circular shapes are most common. Generally the length and width of the votive tablets are 3.6"×4", 4"×3", 2.25"×1.75" or 5"×3".¹⁰ The smallest votive tablets are oval or circular, 1.5" in diameter.¹¹ The largest are square shaped tablets, 7.5" high and 6" wide.¹² Some Pyu tablets have frames but others are without a frame.

There are ninemudras of Buddha seen in the S'riksetra Pyu period:

1. Bhumi-phassa mudra or touching the earth
2. Dharmacakra mudra or turning the wheel of law; the teaching of the Buddha's doctrine
3. Dhyana mudra or meditation; both hands on the lap
4. Varada mudra; giving a gift
5. Abhaya mudra; showing fearlessness and security
6. Namaskara mudra; prayer, with both hands at the breast in an attitude of prayer
7. Vitarka mudra; discussion in a dialectical manner
8. Alingana mudra; attitude of embrace

⁹ (a) Khin Ma Ma Mu, "Votive Tablets of S'riksetra & Arimaddana", p-2

(b) Dr Than Tun, *Myanmar Terracottas*, p.58 (c) See figure-2

¹⁰ U Mya, *Votive Tablets of Burma*, part II, Pl.41 and P.25 (Hereafter cited as U Mya, *Votive Tablets of Burma*)

¹¹ See figure-3

¹² See figure-4

9. Anjali mudra; salutation, with both arms stretched upward above the head. Some scholars take it to be a prayer attitude with clasped hands¹³

During the Pyu period votive tablets from S'riksetra show the Bhumiphassa mudra in two ways:

- (1) Left hand on the lap and right hand touching the earth (Usual mudra)
- (2) Right hand on the lap and left hand touching the earth (Unusual mudra)¹⁴

Unusual or reverse Bhumiphassa mudra terracotta votive tablet was discovered from S'riksetra.¹⁵ Unusual Bhumiphassa-Mudrā stone image was discovered in Be Be temple, Sriksetra. The style of this image is used to give a 7th century A.D date.¹⁶ U Mya and G.H Luce thought that this image belonged to 9th or 10th century AD.¹⁷ Some scholars assumed that the above reverse Mudrā (Unusual Bhumiphassa mudra) images were wrongly made by pioneer sculptors of Sriksetra.¹⁸ But, such images were also found at Ananda temple in Bagan period.¹⁹ Therefore, that kind of mudra was made intentionally during the Pyu period.

There are three kinds of Asana of the Buddha in the S'riksetra Pyu period;

¹³ (a) G.H.Luce, *Phases of Pre-Pagan Burma Language and history Illustrations Vol.I,II*, Pl.55-63 p.157-159.(Hereafter cited as Luce, *Phases of Pre Pagan*)

(b) U Mya, *Votive Tablets of Burma*, part II, Pl.41 and P.25

¹⁴ (a) Luce, *Phases of Pre Pagan*, Pl.61(f) and p.157

(b) U Mya, *Votive Tablets of Burma*, part II, Pl.41 and P.25

¹⁵ See figure-5

¹⁶ (a) Elizabeth Moore, E.H, *Early Landscapes of Myanmar*, River Books, Co.Ltd, Bangkok, Thailand, 2007, p.171

(b) See figure-6

¹⁷ Dr Than Tun, *The Pyu where had they gone*, Monywa offset, Yangon, 2006 p.140

¹⁸ Nihar-Ranjanray, *An Introduction To The Study of Theravada Buddhism In Burma*, University of Calcutta, 1946, p.67. (Hereafter cited as N.R Ray, *Theravada Buddhism*)

¹⁹ Cao Htun Hmat Win, *Myanmar Buddhist Iconography*, Department of Religion, 1986, p.69. (Hereafter cited as Cat Htun Hmat Win, *Buddhist Iconography*)

- (1) Paryankasana, with ordinary folded knees, seen as a casual style
- (2) Dhyanasana, where the Buddha sits in meditation, cross legged position
- (3) Bhadrasana or Pralambanasana, sitting with both legs pendant

Paryankasana is most commonly found but Dhyanasana is also fairly frequent in the S'riksetra Pyu period.

In 1927-28, Mons. Charles Duroiselle discovered many hundreds of terracotta votive tablets by the excavation of a mound near Mahtaw village. All of them, a votive tablet which portrayed the two miniature stupas flanking the Buddha was discovered.²⁰ Each of these ornamental stupas is supported by a lotus on its stalk, and is shaded by an umbrella. The Buddha is in the common earth-touching attitude, seated within a trifoliate arch surrounded by a flamboyant design. Of the three panels forming the pedestal, the middle one contains a lion face, the other two have each a flower-bowl placed on a stand.²¹ The stanza “Ye dhammā hetuppabuavā” was inscribed in the upper part of votive tablet. Moreover, on the reverse of votive tablet inscribed a line of Pyu characters. The Myanmar translation of this Pyu line is “bā: carke” presumably the name of the donor.²² It is 5" high and it is 1" wide. U Mya suggested that the date of this votive tablet may be between 8th and 9th century A.D.²³

Numerous votive tablets with Buddha figures and containing Pali formula of “Ye dhammā hetuppabuavā” have been discovered from S'riksetra. This formula was uttered by arahant Assaji when he told Sāriputta the keynote of the Buddha's teaching. It runs:

Ye dhammā hetuppabuavā tesaṃ hetum Tathāgato āha tesaṃ ca yo nirodho, evaṃvādī Mahāsammano.

²⁰ See figure-7

²¹ *Archaeological Survey of India (1927-28)*, Central Publication Branch, Calcutta, India, 1931, p.129

²² Luce, *Phases of Pre-Pagan Burma*, p.155

²³ U Mya, “*Votive Tablets*”, Vol.II, p.17

The conditions which arise from a cause, of these the Tathāgata has stated the cause, also the way of suppressing these same: this is the teaching of the Great Ascetic.

In this stanza it can be found the essence of Theravada Buddhism. Moreover, during the king Kanishka (c.200 B.C) the Buddhist religion was divided into two sects: Mahayana and Hinayana in India. Language is the main distinction of these two sects.²⁴ Mahayana sect used the Sanskrit language but Theravada sect used the Pali language in the recording of religious literature.²⁵ Therefore, votive tablets which inscribed the “*Ye dhammā*” stanza by Pali language were might be concerned with concept of Theravada Buddhism.

A large number of votive tablets were discovered from a mound on the south of Ngashintkan-kone. All of them a votive tablet with flat base and pointed top was discovered.²⁶ A Buddha image is sitting down on the lotus throne at the center of tablet. The two hands are placed on the chest. It can be seen a letter line faintly at the foot of throne. By the comparative study of other votive tablets these alphabets were formula of “*Iti pi so bhagavā*”. These alphabets are similar to Telegu-Canares writing system used in Southern India about 5th -7th century A.D. Therefore, the date of this votive tablet may be 5th -7th century A.D.²⁷ This formula extracted from Mahāvagga Pali, Digha Nikaya, Suttanta Pitakas²⁸ and composed of Buddha’s attributes.

There are Mahayana votive tablets in the Pyu period. Ardibuddha (universal Buddha), Avalokiteswara or Lokanatha and Arimatera are found. Some Ardibuddha have weather crowned or not. The mudras and asanas of

²⁴ PROF. P.V. BAPAT, **2500 YEARS OF BUDDHISM**, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, India, 1956, p.143. (P.V. BAPAT, **2500 YEARS OF BUDDHISM**)

²⁵ U Myint Swe, ဝုသုဝေသိဟ် နရေဖ်မ္ပယုနုဖ်ဂ, ဖုဟ်က (“The Relationship Between Sanskrit and Myanmar Literature”), *Literature and Social Science Journal of Myanmar*, Vol.1, No.2, 1968, p.273

²⁶ See figure-8

²⁷ U Mya, “*Votive Tablets*”, Vol.II, p-14,15

²⁸ Daw Than Swe, ယလုမ္ဗိနီဖာ & ဟဲယုနုဖ်မ္ပယုနုဖ်ဂ (*Study on Pyu Literature of Khinba Gold-leaves*), Department of Myanmar Language, Yangon, 1992, p.21. (Hereafter cited as Daw Than Swe, *Study on Pyu Literature*)

Adibuddha and Bodhisatta in Arimaddana (Bagan) are not as varied as the (Theravada) votive tablets of S'riksetra.²⁹

A votive tablet with Bodhisattava figure was discovered from Hmawza. The leg style of Bodhisattava is Rājāḷilasana and sitting on lotus pedestal. The stanza “Ye dhammā” was written by ancient Nagari character at the edge of votive tablet. It might be made during 8th and 9th century A.D. Some researcher assumed that this figure may be Avalokitesvara (or) Lokanātha.³⁰ On the reverse of this tablet inscribed the name *SrīNālandāya*. If that is the correct reading that it might mean some sort of link between Nālanda and S'riksetra.³¹

An interesting Mahayana votive tablet was also discovered from a field near the Taung Lone Nyo village.³² In the size, the height is 4½" and the shape is similar to a small cave. There are three images at the center of votive tablet. The middle one is wearing the headgear and sitting down on the lotus throne like a preaching style (Dhamma Cakka mudra). The flanked images are also portrayed the preaching style and sitting down on the face of opposite side of the middle image. They were also wearing the headgears. The date of this image may be 9th or 10th century A.D.³³

During the Pyu period votive tablets of ordinary Buddha image which were flanked by Bodhisattavas was also discovered. Such kind of votive tablet was found at Mathaw village, on the south of Ngashintkan mound, S'riksetra.³⁴ The shape of this votive tablet is circle. The leg style of Bodhisattava is Rājāḷilasana_royal ease with the left knee raised and right leg folded loosely.³⁵

²⁹ Khin Ma Ma Mu, “Votive Tablets of S'riksetra & Arimaddana”, p-

³⁰ Win Maung (Thamine), တၢ်ကၢၤဖၢၤဂၢၢ်ဖၢၤကၢၤမၤ; ယၢ်: ယၢ်အမၤ"သၢ်ဝံ (Bodhisattava on the surface of Votive Tablet), *Dhamma Yokesone Magazine*, No.6/96, 1996, Yangon, p.103. (Hereafter cited as Win Maung (Thamine), “Oakkhwet Phaya”)

³¹ (a) Dr. Than Tun, “Myanmar Terracotta”, p.81

(b) See figure-9

³² See figure-10

³³ U Mya, “*Votive Tablets*”, Vol.II, p-33

³⁴ See figure-11

³⁵ Win Maung (Thamine), “Oakkhwet Phaya”, p.102

The stanza “Ye dhammā” written by Nagari character was inscribed under the ordinary Buddha image.³⁶

Conclusion

Many kinds of religious evidences were discovered from S'riksetra by the archaeological excavations. These are structures, stone, bronze and gold images and terracotta votive tablets. S'riksetra people might be made the terracotta votive tablets for the enshrine of Uddissana cetiya. It can be seen three kinds of votive tablets. They are concerned with Theravada, Mahayana and another one is concerned with by both. Such kinds were differentiating by images e.g Buddha and Bodhisattava images. Although Theravada votive tablets were portrayed the ordinary Buddha images, Mahayana images were portrayed the Bodhisattava, Arimaitaeya and Avalokitesvara etc. Third kind of votive tablet was portrayed the Buddha images flanked by Mahayana deities. Therefore, S'riksetra people might be accepted concepts of both of Theravada and Mahayana. It had a problem in the differentiate of what kind of votive tablet by the alphabetical ground. Because, the formula “Ye dhammā” was inscribed by both of Pali and Sanskrit languages. In ancient India, Mahayana sect used the Sanskrit language but Theravada sect used the Pali language in the recording of religious literature. So, it did not exactly express that a votive tablet with “Ye dhammā” formula was concerned with Theravada or Mahayana Buddhism. But, the main theme of “Ye dhammā” formula was to escape from rebirth (Samsara) which is the main purposes of Theravada Buddhism. Therefore, votive tablets with “Ye dhammā” formula without Mahayana deities might be concerned with Theravada Buddhism. In the compare of votive tablets, it can be known that Theravada Buddhist votive tablet might be earlier than 7th century A.D and Mahayana votive tablet later than that date. Therefore, the concept of Theravada Buddhism might be early accepted by S'riksetra people than the concept of Mahayana Buddhism.

³⁶ U Mya, *Votive Tablets*, Vol.II, p.17

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Figure 1: A bronze mould discovered at Sriksetra
(From U Mya, 1961)

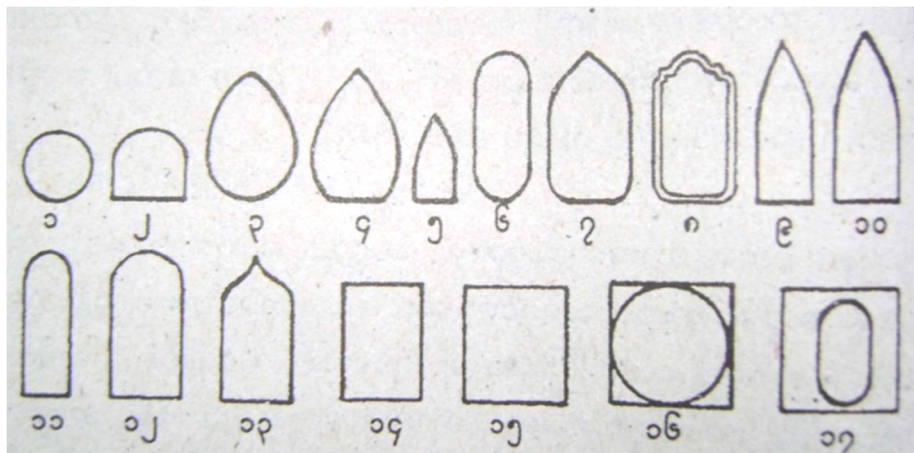


Figure 2: types of terracotta votive tablets
(From Dr. Than Tun, 2002)



Figure 3: The smallest votive tablets



Figure 4: the largest votive tablet



Figure 5: Unusual Bhumiphasa-mudrā Terracotta Votive Tablet, Sriksetra



Figure 6: Unusual Bhumi-phassa-mudrā image of Be Be Temple, Sriketra



Figure 7: Votive tablet of two miniature stupas flanking the Buddha



Figure 8: votive tablet with “*Iti pi so bhagavā*” formula (from U Mya 1961)



Figure 9: Avalikitesvara (or) Lokanahta votive tablet and *SrīNālandāya* letter, Sriksetra (From U Mya, 1961)



Figure 10: A Mahayana votive tablet from Taung Lone Nyo village
(From U Mya, 1961)



Figure 11: A votive tablet with Buddha image flanked by Mahayana deities
(From U Mya, 1961)



Votive tablets of S'riksetra at Shwe Phone Pwint museum

THE VEHICLES OF GOD AND GODDESS (HINDU RELIGIOUS)

Khin Than Aye*

Abstract

This paper is 'The Vehicles of God and Goddess (Hindu Religious)'. The aim of paper is different type of Hindu cults and their important of Hindu culture were described in archaeological point of views. In ancient day of India, most of the people worshiped so many gods and goddess. They believed the 'deva'. Each deva had their own vehicles. According to the legend, they had 55 animals, now another have been found was '**Black cat**'. This finding cause there may be left a lot of animal to find out for Hindu vehicles. This paper present thinking and finding by archaeological point of view of Hindu custom and religion.

Introduction

The term '*vahana*' is a Pali word means 'vehicle or carrier of something.' The Myanmar was known as 'Vo'. In Myanmar tradition 'Vo' has been used by royal family such as King, Queen, Prince, Princess, Monks and other elites. In the religious view, ancient day of India some of the people worship spirits, and then a lot of god appeared in Hindu religion. The people believed god and goddess with their own vehicles. They believed that gods were shining. The brightness or wisdom is called deva in Sanskrit. Therefore, they called gods as deva. The Indian had four vedas in Sanskrit language.

The word vahana also means either any vehicle or animals which can be ridden. Therefore, it can be said that there are two kinds of vahana. They are animal vahana and nonanimalvahana. The gods and goddess in Brahmanism and Hindusim have their respective vahanas. There are over three million animals in the world. They lived in different habitats. Basically, animal can be classified into two main groups- vertebrate and invertebrate. According to the record, most of the vehicles are animals. They are only 55 animal vehicles of gods and goddess of Hindusim.

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History of *Vahanas*

Indra

According to the Hindu Vedas, Indra is the god of rain and thunderstorms. He is a bringer of rain and lives in Thavataimsa. Indra figure can be found in Buddhist art and architecture. Indra and Brahma appear as attendants of the Buddha.

Indra's *svahara* is mythical creature – three headed white elephant, and its name is Airavata. Airavata represents strong, brave, and trustful. It is believed that Indra can give good fortune to his believers.



Brahma

Brahma is the god of creation. Brahma appears at the lotus stem that came out of the navel of the reclining Vishnu. So he created five heads. The fifth head was at the top so that he could see her when she reached in the sky. However, the fifth head was chopped off by Siva. Therefore, Brahma is usually illustrated with four heads.

Brahma's *vahara* is swan or goose, a brahmanical duck. It is believed that brahmanical duck can fly very fast and connect between the sky and water. The elegant swan is symbolic of intelligence.



Saravati

Saravati is the goddess of wisdom. She is graceful, intelligent, generous, young and having good will. Saravati is one of the popular goddesses in Myanmar. She was mentioned in Veda texts. The original name of Saravati is Saraswati. Saras means water and wati means having. Her name literally means water goddess. She is the consort of Brahma and the symbol of knowledge and wisdom.

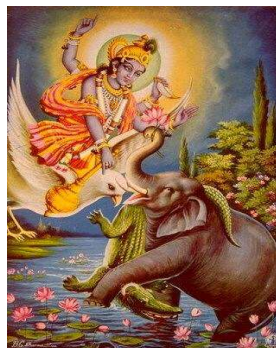
Another name of Saravati is Vani. Her vahana is a swan. The elegant swan is symbolic of intelligence. Sometimes, she rides peacock or lion or sheep. The peacock represents arrogance and pride over its beauty.



Vishnu

The god Vishnu is popular among its believers because he is the preserver and maintainer.

Vishnu's vahana is Garuda, a giant bird god. The word Garuda is derived from the Pali word Garudha. Actually, he is a mythical being a bird with a human head with a falcon's beak. He is also known as serpent-slayer.



Lakshmi

Lakshmi is the goddess of fortune and wealth. She represents the beautiful and bountiful aspect of nature. She is the wife of Vishnu. She was also the wife of Vishnu in his previous incarnations. When he was a dwarf his wife, name was Kamalā. Prathurama her name was Dhārani. When he was an ideal person, Ramā, her name was Sida.

Her vahana is wise old white owl. The owl symbolized patience and intelligence. It also has the mythical powers of fortune telling. Sometimes, she mounts on the tiger. Tiger represents brave.



Shiva

Shiva is one of the main deities of Hinduism. He is the destroyer and the restorer. The high-caste calls him as Maha Deva, and the low-caste calls him as Bhimā or Rudra. Some Hindu texts mention that there are 48 names of Shiva.

Shiva is creator, preserver and destroyer. His vahana is bull (nandi). The bull represents strength and strong. His main consort is Pavati. Hindu people believe that he is the destroyer. He also represents the richness.



Kali

Kali is consort of god Shiva. She is also known as Maha Devī or Maha Mata. She is a destructive mother goddess like her spouse, Shiva.

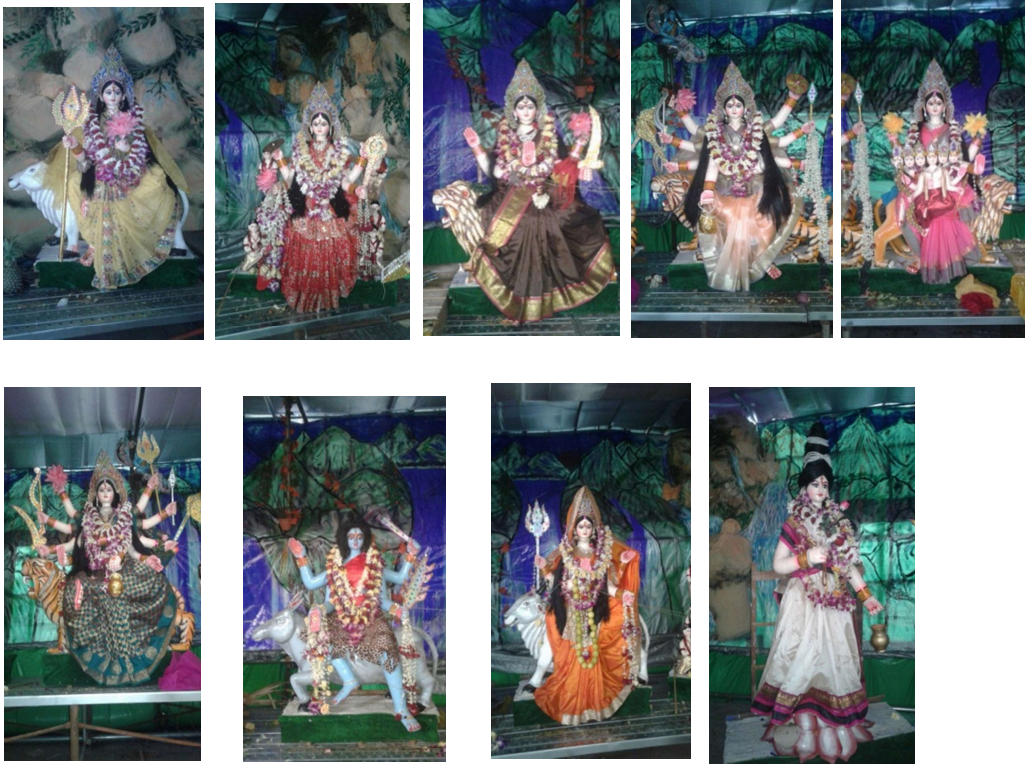
Kali represents mother. Most of her features are auspicious and fearful. She is riding a lion representing brave and industrious but sometime she can also be seen on a tiger. She has four arms. She also rides the lion. Lion represents brave, strong.



Nine Forms of Kali

- (1) The name of the one form of Kali is Srī Shyākpukrī. Kali's worshippers believe that she can help not to break their virtue. Her vahana is bull (Nandi). Nandi is helpful animal for human.
- (2) Srī Bahmācārīnī is another form of Kali. She protects the man who is paragon of virtue. She has no vahana.
- (3) Another form of Kali is Srī Kyandavamtā. Her duty is to help the people who continuously keep the virtues in their whole lives. Her vahana is lion. Lion is the king of animal, and it represents brave and industrious.
- (4) Srī Kurhmanda is the goddess and she protects the economy and brings good fortune. Her vahana is Tiger.
- (5) Srī ehakandamātā helps young people to be good nature, intelligence, educated and success in their life. She also rides the lion.

- (6) Srī Kashyāyanī is another form of Kali. The worshippers of Sri Kashyāyanī believe that she can give good offspring. Her vahana is Tiger.
- (7) Srī Kālaralarī is the goddess. The worshippers believe that she can protect them from danger. Her vahana is mule. Mule represents perseverance.
- (8) Srī mahāgorī is another form of Kali. She is symbol of love. She can make to meet lovers, to become happy marriage and family, and bring good cheers. The bull is her vahana. Sometime her vahana is crocodile.
- (9) Srī Siddhidālari can give good offspring. Her vahana is lotus. Lotus represents purity and cool.

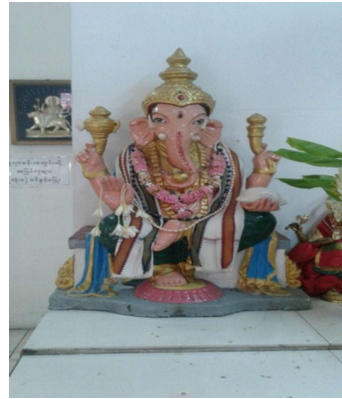


Ganesha

Ganesha is a fat elephant headed god. He is the remover of obstacles. He has only one tusk. He mounts on a mouse. Mouse has the ability of gnawing its way through most things. It represents Ganesha's ability to destroy every obstacle.

He is one of the most popular Hindu gods. His parents are Shiva and Parvati. He is their elder son and his brother is the god Cakanda. The incarnations of Cakanda are Kātikeya and Murugan.

The term Ganesha means the leader of gods. He is gentle and wise. His large head symbolized wise and large ears symbolized knowledge. According to the Puranas, Ganesha has two sons, their names are mentioned as Subha and Lābha.



Kārtikeya (Kattakeyay)

Kārtikeya is the war lord who leads the Shiva's army. He is a son of Shiva and Parvati. He has six heads and six arms. He is also known as Kumā.

Once, Indra and Asūrā fought each other. Indra's army was defeated by Asūrā's army. Kārtikeya became the general of Indra's army. He could fight back Asūrā's army and won the battle.

He is also known as Chamukha because he has six heads. Cha means six and Mukha means head. His vahana is peacock, and sometimes he rides

rhinoceros. Peacock symbolizes happiness, peace and tranquility. In contrast, it represents fighting and war.



Brahmanism in the Contemporary Records

The evidences of Brahmana art and architecture, images and objects of Brahmanism are found in Myanmar. Most of them were belonged to Bagan Period.

Some facts which were concerned with Brahmanism are also found in the contemporary records. King Kyansittha, one of the kings Bagan Dynasty recorded about the founding of his new palace. He inscribed about the founding of his new palace on six tall four-sided sandstone pillars.

Kyansittha's Palace Inscriptions are ones of the most well-known inscriptions of Bagan Period. They mentioned about the full account of the founding of new palace and numerous ceremonies which held on the occasion.

Followers of Hinduism believe that the Buddha is the ninth avatar of the god Vishnu. Silver coins which were minted in Sandra Dynasty of Rakhine bear the sings of conch shell and bull. These coins were belonged to the fourth century CE.



Conch shell is one of the attributes of the god Vishnu and the bull is Shiva. Vishnu images are found in Bagan. Nat Hlaung Kyaung of Bagan is well known by the reclining Vishnu and his ten incarnation images.

The most beautiful standing Shiva image is housed in Bagan Archaeological Museum. It was found in Nat Hlaung Kyaung but it is not the original place of that Shiva image.

Mural paintings which are concerned with Hinduism can be seen on the walls of some temples of Bagan Peirod.

Abeyadana Temple is well-known for its wall paintings. These figures were painted on the East, West and South outer walls of the corridor.

There are 14 tondos. These paintings are depicted about the Vedic or Hindu gods and goddesses. They are riding on their respective vahana.

The depictions of Hindu gods and goddesses are as follow: 1. Brahmā on Hamsa, 2. Shiva on Nandi, 3. Vishnu on Snake, 4. Devi on Lion, 5. Six-armed god on a charging Elephant, 6. Rāma on Hanumān, 7. Revanta on Horse, 8. God on cuckoo, 9. Yamamin on Buffalo, 10. Mara with soldier on Lion, 11. The river-goddess Yamunā on Tortoise, 12. Two armed God on Buffalo, 13. God on horse, 14. Indra with Indrāni on Airāvata.





The evidences of Brahma images are also found in Mye Bontha Phaya Hla Temple.

There are 51 Brahma images in the niches on the throne of Buddha image. However, 31 Brahma images are in good condition, 19 images are damage and 1 image is missing.



The evidences of Hinduism in Myanmar archaeological context are found not only in Bagan but also in Sri Ksetra, one of the Pyu cities. A sandstone rectangular slab which bears Vishnu and Lakshmi in bold relief is house in Hmawza Archaeological Museum.



The top of the slab is broken off. Vishnu is standing on his vahana, garuda, and Lakshmi is standing on the double lotus plinth. Sri Ksetra city was founded by the god Vishnu.

Conclusion

The Hindu vehicles are popularly used by most of the Indian art and architecture. Indian art and architecture reached the extensive relationship in other country, and also reached in Myanmar. According to archaeological finding of artifact show that symbol of Hindu vehicles, for example, on coins, wall painting and so on. Especially in Bagan area, some monument were set up in the riches on the scenes of Hindu Gods and Goddess, for example, sculpture of Brahma's head in Nan Phaya and many kind of god statues in Nat Hlaung Kyaung. Moreover, 51 Brahma images were set up in the throne of Buddha image in Myay Bon Thar Phaya Hla Temple, beautiful scenes of Hindu Gods and Goddess were painted on the walls of Abeyadana temples. Each Hindu Gods and Goddess is riding their respective animals Vahana. These animals have their own powers. Their powers also represent the powers of their master. Now, the new finding of Hindu vahana was '**Black cat**'. It was ride by *Shashthi* goddess. Therefore, we can say that 'the vehicles of gods and goddess' tend to think and find of Hindu custom and religion in archaeological point of view.

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DERIVATION OF POTTED BELLY OR FAT MONK IMAGES IN MYANMAR

Saw Tun Lin^{*}

Abstract

The image commonly called fat monk, which is typically different from any other Buddha images and is frequently found in the relics chamber of ancient religious monuments in Burma. It is always in cross-legged seated posture with the hands usually in Dhyāna Mudrā or supporting his large belly. Not like the ancient Buddha images found in Burma, he has no ūṛṇā or uṣṇīṣa. He usually has long ear lobes, mostly touching to the shoulder, and has smooth bowl-like head with hair ending at the nape of the neck, but the head sometimes covers with snail curl or shaven head. The most prominent feature of the fat monk image is his protuberance belly, which looks like an obese man. He is normally with bare torso, but it is occasionally found with a robe. He generally seats on the double lotus throne, sometimes on a plain base. The images are usually small in order to enshrine them into relic chamber, and are made of stone, terracotta, bronze, silver or bronze-gilt, sometimes coated with lacquer and gilded with gold. Scholars have been controversial over who this fat monk was, and why Buddhists venerated him together with Buddha images in Myanmar. There have been considerable disputes over the definitions of fat monk image such as, Mi Lo Fo' or Maitreya, Jambhala or Kubera, Gavampati, Moggallāna, and Saccakapribajaka. Was it a Buddha or monk or divinity image, and what was his status in Buddhism of Myanmar?

Introduction

The fat monk is distinctive for its exclusive use in relic chambers over a long period of time. However, the inconsistencies in the iconography have defied any certain identification of the image. In this essay, I will review the changing style and scholarly speculations about the image. In my conclusion, I summarize these and suggest that the diversity is part of the meaning. As objects of *htarpanar* or relic chambers, the fat monk served to add 'extra blessing' to the overall contents of the relic chambers. Comparison with present day relic chamber contents suggests a deliberate range of objects in various materials and style, were included to facilitate the success of the pagoda consecration. I will return to this theme in my conclusion.

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Archaeological Findings

A number of fat monk images have been found throughout Myanmar from Pyu (c 200 BCE- 900 CE) period through the 9-13CE Bagan and onto the post Bagan period, 17th century. They stylistically not similar, except the protuberant belly. The iconographic variation of the image presumably shows the differences between one period and another. Generally, the fat monk images can be classified according to their styles. They are as follows - the image: without robe and with hair like wearing a thin helmet or shaven head, with a robe and long hair, and then wearing robe and curly clustered hair. These are the most typical types of the images so far discovered in Myanmar.



Figure 1: side view (left), front view of the Fat Monk image, Pyu period (middle), back view (right)

photo – Luce, 1970, Plate 90 a, b& c.

Stone figures of the fat monk image were found inside the relics chamber of Kyaik Dè-ap (Botahtaung) pagoda at Yangon (Fig-1). One was found in association with a four-faced golden Buddha image, a small stone stūpa, a laterite cone, and votive tablet written Pali credo, which dates about the 7th century¹. The image is supposed to be the earliest fat monk image in Burma. Iconographically, he has long earlobes touching his shoulder, large pouting lips and big nose. As he is in meditative posture, the eyes are closed and the hands with long thumbs are touching each other under his potted

¹ Luce, Gordon H. 1969 & 1970. *Old Burma-Early Pagan*. Volumes I, II & III. Artibus Assiac. New York: J.J. Augustin, 1970, II, p.75

belly. He has bowl like head with a long hair ending at the back of his neck. There is a small hole perforated at the back, probably to enshrine relics. No evidence of a robe can be found.

Another type of figure (Fig-2), which was recovered from one of the relic chambers of the ruined pagoda at Bagan², is relatively significant because of his square face and shaven head. Vague outlines on the throne indicated that he is seated on double lotus pedestal. No trace of the robe can be found on his torso.



Figure 2: Fat monk with shaven head
photo – Luce, 1970, Plate 91 e.

Another stone image (Fig-3) found a village near Mandalay³ is conventionally with a protruding belly and in crossed-leg position seated on double lotus throne. The significant feature is his long hair⁴ like wearing a stocking cap or turban. Two lines on his neck and leg indicate that he is wearing a robe.

² *ibid*, p.77

³ *ibid*, p.76

⁴ Most scholars identify a fat monk image with a shaven head.

A different type of fat monk figure gilded silver⁵ (Fig-4) is in the Shwemawdaw pagoda museum at Bago⁶. The typical characteristic of this image is the clustered hair in conventional curl, which is different from the other image found in Burma. He is seated on the beautiful double-tier lotus throne⁷ embossed with flower patterns and inserted jewels on it. He is wearing the monastic robe, which covers only the left shoulder. Although it is a potted belly image, its appearance is more similar to the image of the Chinese god of wealth.

Apart from these four types of images, there is another type of image, which can also be considered as the fat monk. The different style of fat monk image (fig-5) has recently been found near Yangon, the ancient Mon area. The face and left side of the lower part of image was damaged, but it can be clearly seen other part of the body. The image is shown here seated on plain pedestal. He has a smooth round head and probably has a long hair because of the thin helmet, which looks like the image of the Bagan period. The drapery is blanketed his body rather than wearing a monastic robe. The figure is seated in crossed-leg position, one on another. The distinctive feature of this image is the hand position, which is not similar to the other image; the right hand covering his protuberance belly and the left hand touching his chest.



Figure 3: Front view of the long hair fat monk wearing robe (left) and back view (right)

photo – Luce, 1970, Plate 91 c & d.

⁵ It is supposed that some images are lacquered and gilded later for the purpose of reuse them.

⁶ Luce, 1970, II, p.77

⁷ Luce (ibid) suggests that the date of the throne is not contemporary with the image.

Duroiselle⁸ found one interesting image of the potted belly statue, which is seated back to back with Ganesha image, near Bagan. He is sitting in meditative position, and his right hand closing his eyes and right hand closing the mouth (Fig-6) while Ganesha is also close his eyes. The protruding belly indicates that this image is likely to be a fat monk image. This kind of image ('the arahat closing all the doors [Dvāra] of his body') is very common in Thailand, and he is called 'Phra Gawam': 'Phra Pit Ta'⁹ and 'Phra Pit Ta Maha Ut'¹⁰ (Fig-7). Big sized image of Phra Gawam (Gavam [pati]) is rarely found in Thailand although small statues and amulets are the object of worship today¹¹. Phra Pit Ta means "covering the six roots of sensations: eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and desire to free from human desire and passion"¹².

Lagirarde believes that Phra Gawam, Kaccāyana and Gavampati of Mon are identical to the mysterious fat monk image of Myanmar¹³. However, the recent discovery of potted belly image (Fig-5) has different hand posture from figure-6 and Phra Gawam image of Thailand. It is also hard to deduce that the image attached to the Hindu god Ganesha is the fat monk or Gavampati. These figures are, nevertheless, closely related. If these are the fat monk images, why they have different hand posture, and what is the purpose of these images are still in questions.

⁸ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) 1929-30*, edited by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni. 1935. Delhi: Manager of Publications, p.158

⁹ It is also spelled as 'PhraPidta'.

¹⁰ Lagirarde, Francois. 2005. "From the Mon-Myanmar Cult of Gavampati to the Thai Cult of Kaccāyana: more questions about the Fat Monk". In *Myanmar Historical Commission Conference Proceedings*. Part 2. 12-14 January 2005. pp.125-35. Yangon, p.126

¹¹ *ibid.*

¹² <http://luckybobi520.blogspot.co.uk/2013/01/knowning-phra-pidta-definition-of-phra.html>, (accessed on 9 January 2016)

¹³ Lagirarde, 2005, pp.152-154



Figure 4: Fat monk with clustered hair and seat on elaborated throne
Photo – Luce, 1970, Plate 91 h.



Figure 5: Fat monk image with different hand Posture

Photo: Courtesy of Win Naingphoto: Luce, 1970, Plate 89 g.



Figure 6:Potted belly image back to back with Ganesha image

The stories of Maha Kachai of the Shan, the Chinese god of wealth, and Sangkachai or Kaccāyana of the Thai are almost similar to each other. In Thailand, one can clearly identify the images between Kaccāyana, and

Chinese laughing monk Qici or Budai (Maitreya)¹⁴ although they both have been occasionally installed in Buddhist monastery¹⁵.

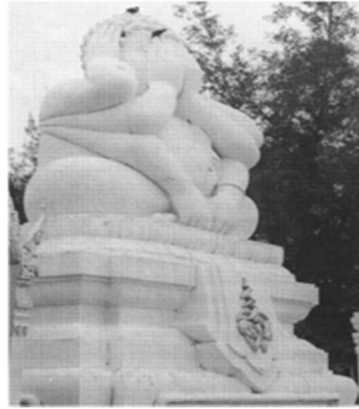


Figure 7:Phra Gawam closing his six roots of sensations, Entrance of Wat Nerancharama in Cha-am
photo: Lagirarde, 2003, p.153



Figure 8 & 9: 13th century Buddha image of Bagan (left) and naked Fat Monk image, probably 13th century, Bagan
Photo: Hudson, 2011, p.11

¹⁴ Qici or Budai is similar to Maha Kachai of the Shan.

¹⁵ Lagirarde, Francois. 2003. "Devotional Diversification in the Thai Monastery: the Worship of the Fat Monk", in the *Buddhist Monasterh: a cross cultural survey*, pp.149-268, P. Pichard et F. Lagirarde, eds. Paris, EFEO (Etudes the matiques 12), p.152

With regard to the role of fat monk, a sandstone image (Fig-9) was discovered amongst the ruins of the Sutaung Pyi (wish fulfilling stūpa) pagoda in Bagan. It is found together with two Buddha images of different period, a small miniature bronze stūpa and two reliquaries containing relics¹⁶. These all are supposed to be objects of the former relic chamber of the ruined pagoda. In comparison with the early 13th century Buddha image (Fig-8) found in this ruin, the facial expression and long earlobes of fat monk image are exactly same. These two images were no doubt created in the same period. Stūpas usually enshrine with relics, Buddha image, plates or books inscribed canonical texts, and objects related to Three Jewels (Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha). In this case of the discovery of potted belly image together with the enshrinement objects, he could be regarded as the Buddha or the monk representing for the whole Sangha community. The status of fat monk image later changed into or regarded as the Buddha (Fig-10) can be seen at Myeik in the Lower Myanmar. It has been renovated and turned into Buddha holding a begging bowl. It is noted that sometimes changing the role of status by renovating the image can be seen.



Figure 10 : Fat monk image worshipped as the Buddha
Courtesy of Naing Soe

¹⁶ Hudson, Bob. 2011. "Revealed in the Ruins: Buddha Images and Reliquaries from a Bagan Pagoda". TAASA Review, *Journal of the Asian Arts Society of Australia* 20 (1): pp.10-11

‘Mi Lo Fo’ or ‘Maitreya’

The first interpretation was made by Taw SeinKo¹⁷ in his article in his article ‘Chinese Antiquities at Pagan (Bagan)’ that the images¹⁸ (fat monk) discovered from the relic chamber of the Sittana pagoda built by Zeyatheinka (1204-27 AD) (Fig-11) and Shwesandaw pagoda built by Anawrahta (1010-1052 AD) are the image of ‘Mi Lo Fo (Fwo)’ or Maitreya¹⁹ (Fig-12), ‘the laughing Buddha’ who is usually illustrated with a smiling face and prominence belly. He believed that the cult of fat monk image in Burma was derived from the Chinese Mahayana Buddhism. According to the Chinese belief, they generally worship Mi Lo Fo for ‘wealth’ and ‘happiness’. Moreover, he can fulfill those who believe strongly with children, as one of the most prominent forms of Mi Lo Fo is ‘five children surrounding him’. In the Chinese art, the image of Mi Lo Fo is normally depicted with a fat pleasantly laughing figure with protruding abdomen in a seating posture, and with a large bag next to him²⁰.

There is no trace of a large bag beside the fat monk images found in Burma, and almost all the figures are in Dhyāna Mudrā and sometimes his hand supporting the large belly²¹. According to Stadtner, it is noted that there is no temple, which was only devoted to Maitreya in Burma and he was remarkable from the Bagan period to the 19th century but no longer venerated nowadays²². However, the Burmese believe in concept of the future Buddha,

¹⁷ Taw Sein Ko. 1911. “Chinese Antiquities at Pagan”. *Journal of the Burmese Research Society*. pp.1-6, Vol.1. Part II, p.1

¹⁸ This fat monk statue probably is the oldest one found together with the datable votive tablet inscribed Pali texts, dating from about 7th-8th century AD (Luce, 1969, I, pp. 206-7).

¹⁹ Mi Lo Fo is also known as Ajita, and is equal position with the other popular Bodhisattvas in Mahayana Buddhism such as, Avalokitesvara, Manjusri, Samanthabhadra, and etc (Ming, 1985, p.132).

²⁰ Ming Kuan. 1985. *Popular Deities of Chinese Buddhism*. Malaysia: Kuan Yin Contemplative Order, p.132

²¹ One image of the fat monk found in Bagan is closing his eyes and mouth with his hands. It will be discussed later.

²² (a) Stadtner Donald M. 2013. *Ancient Pagan, Buddhist Plain of Merit*. Thailand: River Book, p.35

(b) There is pentagonal stūpa in Bagan to honor the past four Buddhas and the future Buddha Maitreya. None of the Buddha images in the five shrines attached to this stūpa looks like the fat monk image.

Maitreya but no worship of his image, pagoda and vihara solely dedicated to him in Myanmar, except the Chinese people (Mahayana) cult of Maitreya.

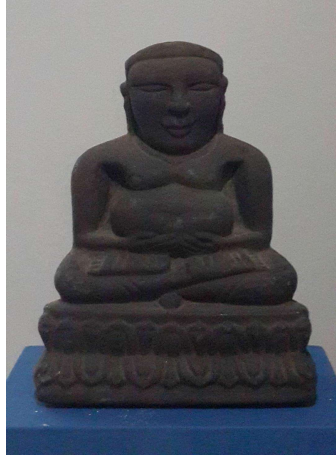


Figure 11: Sand stone statuette of fat monk



Figure 12: Mi Lo Fo or Maitreya Buddha, China

photo: Ming, 1985, p.135

Nonetheless, the practice of this Chinese god of wealth can still be found at Kentung, which is a town in Shan state, Myanmar and is also a border town near the trade route between China and Thailand. The Shan call him Maha Kachai. Legendarily, he was a follower of the Buddha, and extremely handsome. Because of his beauty, women ignored even Buddha when contributing their offerings. To escape from the attention of women, he turned himself into fat and ugly²³. The story of Maha Kachai is closely similar to the fat monk called Sangkachai of Thailand. It will be more discussed later.

‘Jambhala’ or ‘Kubera’

Duroiselle and Ray²⁴ identify this image as Jambhala or Kubera, the God of wealth, who is the “Lord of Yakshas”, and/or is also the important

²³ Enriquez, C.M. 1918. *A Burmese Loneliness, A Tale of Travel in Burma, The Southern Shan State and Keng Tung*. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co, pp.16-17

²⁴ Duroiselle Charles (Edited). 1960. *Epigraphia Birmanica, Being Lithic and Other Inscriptions of Burma*. Archaeological Survey of Burma (ASB), Vol.1, Part II. Rangoon: Union of Burma, p.16 and Ray Niharrajan. 2002. *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*. Reprint version. Thailand: Orchid Press, p.54

Tibetan deities. The figure of Jambhala or the Buddhist Kubera is usually illustrated with ‘pot-bellied’ and notable for wearing rich ornament. Moreover, he holds a lemon (Jambhara) in the right hand and a “mongoose (nakula) vomiting jewels” in his right hand (Fig-13)²⁵. The image of Kubera (Fig-14) in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology at Mathura in India (it is now called the Government Museum) is typically represented with protruding abdomen, which is fasten with a scarf, and he is in Rajalila Asana, left knee raised and right leg in meditative position²⁶. Although both hands are missing, it is supposed that the left hand hanging loosely over the left knee, and the right hand probably leaning on the ground are the usual position of Hindu deities. He wears big earrings and a heavy garland hooping his neck. The hair on his head looks like a snail curl, and small knot supposed to be the end of long hair is above the large abdomen. His torso is completely bare, but he wears a short garment in his lower part.



Figure 13: Jambhala or Buddhist Kubera

Photo: Majupurias & Kumar, 2006, p.166



Figure 14: Kubera, Lord of the Yakshas, Mathura²⁷

²⁵ Majupurias T.C. & Kumar R.(Majupria). 2006. *Gods, Goddesses & Religious Symbols of Hinduism, Buddhism & Tantrism [Including Tibetan Deities]*. India: Chandaroshana, pp.166 & 252

²⁶ Agrawala Vasudeva.S. 1933. *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology Muttra*, Allahabad, p.25

²⁷ http://www.panoramio.com/photo_explorer#view=photo&position=3602&withphoto id = 26467368&order=date_desc&user=3196599, (accessed on 28th, Dec, 2015)

There are some differences between the fat monk images of Burma and Kubera of India. All images found in Myanmar are in Padâmasana or cross-legged posture, and none of the images wears jewelry or ornaments. Most are in Samadhi mudra or meditative posture, but different hand posture can be found occasionally. The potted belly images in Burma are more similar to a monk²⁸ or a Buddhist hermit than a mythical deity as they are sometimes shaven head or sometimes with long hair. It is not also identical to the Tibetan Buddhist Kubera as no lemon or mongoose can be found in the hand of potted belly image of Myanmar.

One interesting thing about Kubera is that 'he bowed before Sakyamuni Buddha'²⁹. Most of the fat monk images are found in the relics chamber, and together with the relics and image of the Buddha. Supposedly, the role of the potted belly image may be one of the disciples before the Buddha or Bodhisattva. The fact that Kubera is a popular deity is, however, difficult to clearly link the derivation of the cult of fat monk in Myanmar. Moreover, no literary account is mentioned the worship of Kubera in Myanmar.

'Gavampati'

Another identification of the fat monk image was raised by U Mya and Luce³⁰ that the image is Gavampati, who is 'the patron saint of the Mon'³¹. There is no literary account to prove that Gavampati is grossly fat, but there are several factors to be considered that he is a monk, and also some inscriptions and legendary account mentioned that he was revered in lower Myanmar (Mon), Pyu period and also in Bagan. Most of the local scholars suggest that Gavampati, the saint of Mon and the fat monk image found in Myanmar are identical to each other despite the lack of evidence to prove that Gavampati is grossly overweight. Therefore, the historical sources and

²⁸ Luce (1969, I, p.207) said that "since Jambhala was not a monk, that origin is also difficult to maintain."

²⁹ Majumurias & Kumar, 2006, p.297

³⁰ Luce, 1969, I, p.208

³¹ Duroiselle firstly made this assumption about the fat monk as Gavampati because the image was found together with Ganesha image. (A.S.I, 1929-30, P.158)

inscriptions on the role of Gavampati, and how important the cult of Gavampati in the ancient Myanmar need to be examined.

The story of Gavampati is written in several versions in the Mon literary accounts and they are slightly different in details. Most of them are stated³²that he is one of the followers of the Sakyamuni or a monk of the native Mon, who brought the Buddha's tooth relics to Thaton. Shorto³³believes that the KalyaniSima (ordination hall) is the place called 'Gavampati image hall' to mark the point where the monk goes into the town according to the chronicle. The status of Gavampati in accordance with the Mon literature is the patron of the Mons and also the protector of the kingdom. However, no statues of potted belly have yet been discovered in and near Kalyani ordination hall.

According to the Glass Palace Chronicle³⁴, the name Gavampati occurs three times in the history of Myanmar. The first Gavampati who consulted together with the mythical deities of Buddhism and Vedas such as, Rishi, Sakra, Naga, Garuda, Candī and Paramesura. They founded the Sriksetra city in compliance with the prophecy of the Buddha. Gavampati is the advisor of King Dwattabaung of Pyu³⁵. Secondly, he is the consultant of King Pyusawhtiof Bagan³⁶. The third one is the saint AshinGavampati of Mon, who the brought thirty-two tooth relics of the Buddha to Thaton, the ancient capital of Mon also known as Suvannabhumi³⁷. The first two Gavampati seems to be a deity and the last one similar to the Mon monk of lower Myanmar.

The cult of Gavampati's image and his story was inscribed in some of the inscriptions in the Bagan period. In Shwezigon inscription, Buddha is smiling as he knows the future of the king who will rule in Bagan, and will

³² Shorto, H. L. 1970. "The Gavampati Tradition in Burma" in *R.C. Majumdar Felicitation Volume*, ed. Himansu Bhusan Sarkar, pp.15-30, Calcutta, K.L. Mukhopadhyay, pp.16-19

³³ *ibid*, pp.20-21

³⁴ The Glass Palace Chronicle (Hmanan Yazawin) is the chronicle of the kings of Burma, which was written by scholars designated by King Bagyidaw in 1829 AD.

³⁵ (a) PeMaung Tin & Luce. G.H (Trans). 1960 *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma*. 2nd Printing, Rangoon University Press. p.14

(b)The similar passage is also stated in the Great Shwezigon inscription.

³⁶ Pe Maung Tin & Luce, 1960, p.42

³⁷ *ibid*, p.79

support his religion. Ananda asks the reason why the Buddha smiled. Buddha answered that:

*“Ānan [Ananda], hereafter a sage named Bisnū (Vishnu), great in supernatural power, great in glory, possessing the five transcendental faculties, together with my son Gavampati (Gavampati) and King In [Indra], and Bissukarmmadewaput, and Katakarmmanāgarāja shall build a city called Sisīt (Sriksetra)”*³⁸.

Gavampati mentioned in the inscription is one of the disciples of the Buddha. Moreover, the role of Gavampati as stated by the inscription is a narrator who explained king of Deva in Tāvātimsa heaven about the Buddha's prophecy³⁹.

All the literatures do not demonstrate the icon of the Gavampati's characteristics although the Lettheshe inscription of King Anawrahta (1044-77) indicates the life-sized standing figure of Gavampati carved by the king⁴⁰. No standing fat monk image has yet been found in Myanmar. The largest Gavampati image⁴¹ discovered in Burma is also a sandstone statue of about 50cm (1.6 feet) high⁴².

In the inscription of the construction of a new palace for Kyanzittha (1084-1112), an image of Gavampati is set in a prayer hall of the new palace beside a golden Buddha image together with three sacred books of Buddhism such as, Vinaya, Sutta and Abhidhamma⁴³. According to the inscription, Gavampati seems to represent for the whole monastic organization (Sangha) out of three jewels: Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha.

Another inscription recorded the donation to pagoda and monasteries in about 1239 AD stated “Gavampati temple and another on the occasion of the presenting of a Gavampati image to the *kuni* or Red Temple pagoda”⁴⁴.

³⁸ Duroiselle, 1960, p.114

³⁹ *ibid*, pp.113-129

⁴⁰ Shorto, 1970, pp.21 & 24

⁴¹ This image was restored and now display in the Bagan Archaeological Museum.

⁴² Lagirarde, 2005, p.127

⁴³ Than Tun. 1956. *History of Buddhism in Burma A.D 1000-1300*. P.hd. Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Arts, University of London, p.56

⁴⁴ Shorto, 1970, p.22

The last one mentions that two gold-painted images of Gavampati were installed together with the images of ‘the Lord Sāriputtrā’, and ‘the Lord Mokkalān (Moggallāna)’⁴⁵. Moreover, three sets of robes were also presented⁴⁶. Shorto suggested that the duplication of Gavampati probably had ‘some other function’⁴⁷. Why did they donate only three robes for four images? From this donation of three robes in the inscriptions, it is no doubt that two robes out of three are for the two Arahats, Sāriputtrā and Mokkalān as they are the attendants of the Buddha. One of the two images of Gavampati is not included in the donation of robes. Therefore, it could be speculated that one image of Gavampati is naked or bare torso had a naked or bare torso and that this in turn could be linked to the bare torso of the fat monk images.

The main problem for the assumption of the fat monk identified as the saint Gavampati in the tradition of Mon or Burmese is that he is not grossly fat. Although one Burmese historical account mentioned similar story as Mon, the epigraphical evidence of Gavampati is completely different from the Gavampati’s story of Mon. Before many fat monk images were found in Myanmar, it is supposed that the image was imported from the east (China and Thailand)⁴⁸. However, the origin of the fat monk image is still in question. Lagirarde⁴⁹ has an opinion that the fat monk is Gavampati of Mon, and also Kaccāyana or Sangkachai of Thailand. According to his assumption, the cult of Gavampati was originated in Myanmar and later diffused to Northern Thailand, Laos, Siam and Cambodia. He compared Gavampati with the Thai cult of Kaccāyana.

Having discussed the Mon-Burmese cult of Gavampati, it will now be moved onto an analysis of the cult of Kaccāyana in Thailand and the correlation between Kaccāyana and Gavampati. In Burma, the cult of fat monk image was practiced from about 7th century AD to 17th century AD, based on the available archaeological evidence. Although the worship of Gavampati ceased in Myanmar about 17th century, it has been continuously worshipped from the 7th century up to the present day by the Mons and those

⁴⁵ Lagirarde, 2005, p.129

⁴⁶ Shorto, 1970, p.22

⁴⁷ *ibid*

⁴⁸ Luce, 1969, I, p.207

⁴⁹ Lagirarde, 2005, pp.125-35

who were influenced by them from Thailand, Cambodia and Lao⁵⁰. The fat monk in Thailand is known as Sangkachai (Sāṅkāccāyana) or Kaccāyana since the end of the 18th century.



Figure15: Kaccāyana or Sangkachai above other monks who are in veneration posture, Wat Khanikaphon, Bangkok

Photo: Lagirarde, 2003, p.151



Figure16: Fat monk installed above the Buddha image, Wat Saen Muang Ma, Chiang Kham,

Photo: Lagirarde, 2003, p.155

In Pali text, the Vientiane manuscript (GavampatiSutta) and the Siamese manuscript (Kaccāyana or Gavampatinibbāna)⁵¹, a monk known as Brahmaputta, who was the famous disciple of the Buddha, was extraordinarily handsome, and had a golden complexion. He transformed himself into an ugly dwarf and changed his name to Gavampati as the people, sometimes, mistook and confused him with the Buddha when he enters a village for food-collection⁵². Iconographically, Kaccāyana of the Thai and fat monk found throughout Myanmar are closely similar, but not to the Mon Gavampati.

⁵⁰ *ibid*, pp.129-30

⁵¹ Different texts use to describe the same person in different names. They, however, do not give an explanation of “the conflation of Kaccāyana, Kaccāna, Mahākaccāyana and Gavampati” (Lagirarde, 2003, p.152)

⁵² Lagirarde, 2005, pp.132-3 and Maung Paw. *Maha Kaccayana Maha Thera, Wish Fulfilling Arahant*. Compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious, A gift of Dhamma, PDF can be accessed on <http://acejaw.net/Buddha/Article/The%20Venerable%20Kaccaana.pdf>, p.6

The cult of Kaccāyana in Thai tradition has still survived and his image can be found in the Thai monasteries. Although his role is one of the disciples of the Buddha, the image of Kaccāyana is placed sometimes above the other monks or above the Buddhaimage or in special vihāra dedicated to him (Fig-15&16). Therefore, the status of the fat monk image in Thailand is complicated. If he is a monk, it should not be placed as equal as the Buddha or higher than the Buddha. Therefore, given the status of the fat monk in Thailand was unknown, is there reason to link to Mon and Burmese examples?

Although the cult of Gavampati image is repeatedly mentioned in the inscriptions of the Bagan period, they did not state that he is deformity. No evidence to prove that the Mon worship of Gavampati until the 15th century⁵³. Moreover, unrelated stories between Gavampati and Kaccāyana indicate that they are divergent from one another. The iconographical similarity of the fat monk in Myanmar and Kaccāyana in Thailand remains question, perhaps indicating copying from external models but in different eras and unrelated contexts

‘Moggallāna’

Duroiselle⁵⁴ later changed his opinion and maintained that he is Moggallāna, the left disciple of the Sākyamuni (also know as ‘a master of magic’). In *Māratajjaniya Sutta* (50) of *Majjhima Nikaya*⁵⁵, the discourse on the rebuke to Māra, the Evil one, is therein stated that “[...] the venerable Moggallāna the Great was pacing up and down in the open. Now at that time Māra the Evil One, entering the venerable Moggallāna the Great's belly, got into his stomach. [...] Now why is my belly heavy as if it were heaped full”. Therefore, Duroiselle deduce that the fat monk image is the depiction of Māra entering into the belly of Moggallāna.

⁵³ (Stadtner, 2013, p.40)

⁵⁴ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) 1928-29*, edited by H. Hargreaves. 1933. Delhi: Manager of Publications, p.110-1

⁵⁵ *Māratajjaniya Sutta (50) of Majjhima Nikaya* translated from the Pali by Horner, I.B. 1954. The Pali Text Society. (accessed on 3rd January 2016), <http://obo.genaud.net/dhamma-vinaya/pts/mn/mn.050.horn.pts.htm>

Nevertheless, the image of Moggallāna is usually depicted with a normal human figure through sculptures and murals from the Bagan period to present day. The present of the fat monk image which are in bare torso and sometimes with long hair is also difficult to prove that he is Moggallāna, a great disciple of the Buddha. It is, therefore, suggested that fat monk images cannot be regarded as Moggallāna.

‘Saccakaparibajaka’ or ‘Nirgrantha’ of Jina

San Tha Aung⁵⁶, on the other hand, states that the image is Saccakaparibajaka, who was a ‘Nirgrantha Jina ascetic’, with the evidence of the inscription written on the backside of the fat monk image(Fig-17) found in Arakan and translated as “Saccakaparibajaka (ji) na”. This is the only one image with the inscription found in Burma⁵⁷. Moreover, San Tha Aung⁵⁸ also dated the image back to the beginning of the 1st century in accordance with the paleographical deliberation of the Brahmi script. Singer⁵⁹ assumes that this inscription was probably incised in modern time by a later religious devotee. If the fat monk was Saccakaparibajaka of Jainism, it will be more complicated because most images were found in association with the Buddha image of Buddhism. The practice of Jainism was not also popular in Myanmar apart from some parts of Arakan. This identification of fat monk image is beyond the bounds of possibility.

⁵⁶ San Tha Aung. 1979. *The Buddhist Art of Ancient Arakan, An Eastern Border State Beyond Ancient India, East of Vanga and Samatata*. Rangoon: Ministry of Education, p.15

⁵⁷ The image is not in original condition as the possessor has recently renovated (San Tha Aung 1979, p.15)

⁵⁸ (ibid)

⁵⁹ Singer, Noel. F. 2008. *Vaishali and the Indianization of Arakan*. New Delhi: Navin Shahdara, p.28



Figure 17 : Fat monk image with Arakanese inscription on back
 Photo: San Than Aung 1979, Plate 9

It is a question whether the different stylistic features of the potted belly images represent for different characters or not. There are two possibilities out of many identifications of the Fat monk image. They are the Chinese god of wealth, who can also be regarded as Bodhisattva Maitreya, and the monk Kaccāyana of Thailand. Although the Pyu and Burmese of Bagan period predominantly followed the art, architecture and custom of Indian, the Chinese influence over Myanmar was obvious especially in Pyu and Bagan period. Therefore, the cult of fat monk image probably derived from China along with trade, the option noted above that the similarity of the Mon-Burmese fat monk and various images from Thailand. It could be accounted for through copying of foreign images. Another assumption for the origin of the fat monk image was local innovation. This links to the copying from external models resulting in a variety of local innovations.

In conclusion, it is argued that Gavampati of Mon and Kaccāyana of Thailand are not similar as the Burmese and Mon literary account of Gavampati is contrasting with Pali, Thai and Vientiane account of Kaccāyana. However, it is no doubt that Kaccāyanais identical to the Burmese fat monk image while we do not precisely know where the origin of the cult of potted belly image was. The iconographical changes of the fat monk image, from bare torso image to monk wearing a monastic robe, also indicate either changing or varied concepts in practice related to this image. At times, it may

have been akin to Gavampati in being a guardian deity with the fat monk's status at other times being one of the disciples of the Buddha. Moreover, the image has been turned into the Buddha image in some part of Myanmar as they do not know the status of this statue. Whether he was transformed into bodhisattva as a Chinese god of wealth is still a question. To return to my emphasis stated in the Introduction that a large number of the provenance of fat monk images have been recovered from relic chambers, I would like to conclude that the popularity of the fat monk lay in his transmutability. In other words, in one relic chamber the fat monk served one role and in another case a different one. Often we search for a single answer, like searching in English for the exact word. In Myanmar language, however, we usually use two or three words to explain a concept, and slight variations can show how one thing is just a bit different than the other. Maybe this was the case with the fat monk, favored for his flexibility but always bearing blessings and good fortune.

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EDXRF ANALYSIS ON ANCIENT NUMISMATIC EVIDENCES; A CASE STUDY ON PINLE (MAINGMAW) COINS

May Su Ko*

Abstract

There are different methodological approaches on ancient numismatic evidences in Myanmar archaeology literature. All of these research works usually emphasize on symbolic and typological analysis except for a few. Therefore, these studies intend to reveal ancient beliefs and religious customs through conceptual framework. There are, however, some approaches on numismatic evidences in terms of element analysis applications_ such as thermal neutron, lead based chemical analysis and proton- induced X-ray emission (PIXE) method_ to investigate the ancient metallurgy. Coins uncovered from Pinle can be grouped into three. Among them Heterogeneous coins are assumed to be the earliest one. The large variety of coin types in Myanmar suggest that they were produced by a number of different centuries, which had common auspicious symbols, local preferences for certain symbols and symbols combination and sufficient autonomy as well as silver resources to produce their own coins. The finding spots of silver coins indicate the existence of trading centers which may be connected by land and sea routes across the Mainland Southeast Asia or Bay of Bangal or Indian Ocean. Formerly some scholar assumed that Pyu coins were minted as symbol and some were used as ornaments. But as a result of thorough investigation, there is every reason to believe that Pyu coins were used as money for they have various standard weights and sizes. A controversial coin is more likely to be an amulet or insignia than to be used as money or medium of exchange. This paper is an attempt to review on different methodologies and their application. It also presents not only the result of metallurgical analysis from numismatic evidence of Pinle (Maingmaw) but also the evolutionary stages in the development of Pyu coin.

Keyword: *Energy Despersive X-ray Flouriscence, Pinle, Heterogeneous, Common Pyu coins and Controversial Pinle coins*

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Introduction

Pinle (Maingmaw) is located in the Kyaukse plain. This region is endowed with rich soil and watered by perennial rivers and streams. The city is circular in shape and similar to Beikthano and Sri Ksetra. At one and a half miles in diameter, enclosing 548.562 acres, Pinle is one of the largest ancient cities on the entire Kyaukse plains. It has two inner enclosure walls, the outer of which is square while the inner one is circular. The city is bisected by a canal, thought to be contemporary to the city, although no scientific dating has yet confirmed that Pinle has been tentatively dated to the first millennium B.C, based on its Pyu artifacts. It has also yielded distinctive silver coins which are identical to those found at Beikthano and Beinnaka. If the funerary urns at Beikthano represent a Pre-Buddhist period Pinle may have been contemporary with the former. Pinle's favourable geographical condition enabled it to evolve from village to a City State; in a process that commenced around 200 B.C. Silver coins have been found in Pinle. Such coins had wide dispersal and have been found in bulk at Dvaravati, Funan, Bangladesh, Rakhine, the Shan States and today Lower Myanmar. By studying the form and style of symbolic design numismatic evidences from Pinle can be grouped into three as Heterogeneous coins, Common Pyu coins and Controversial coins. Heterogeneous coins are assumed to be the earliest one. Common Pyu coins might have been derived from the so-called Heterogeneous coins of Pinle. And Controversial coins are the latest Pyu coins. The study of Heterogeneous, Common Pyu coins and Controversial Pinle coins reveal their belief, trade, production and utility.

Numismatic Evidences from Pinle (Maingmaw) Ancient City

Pinle (Maingmaw) is located in Myittha Township Kyaukse District. To the North of Pinle is Panlaung river and to the West is Samon river. Maingmaw also had good access to Yunnan in the past. The site is often assigned to the second century A.D. Systematic exploration on Pinle was first carried out by U Aung Myint in 1977. There are altogether 18 sites excavated in Pinle. The explorations and excavations in and around Pinle revealed structural remains, earthen ware, ornamental objects, metal ware and numismatic evidences. Among them numismatic evidences are of great interest.

Materials and Method

There are two kinds of studies for ancient silver coins such as typological analysis of the coins and metallurgical analyses by using Energy Dispersive X-ray Fluorescence (EDXRF). Numismatic evidences collected from Pinle have great archaeological value. Depending on their form and style of symbols and shape, these evidences can be grouped into three,

- Type 1 (a) Heterogeneous with Rising Sun and Srivatsa
 (b) Heterogeneous with Wheel (full sun) and Srivatsa¹
- Type 2 (a) Common Pyu coins with Badhapitha and Srivatsa
 (b) Common Pyu coins with Rising sun and Srivatsa
- Type 3 Controversial coin (Fantasy coin)²

Heterogeneous coins are also known as Pinle coins for most of them are uncovered from Pinle. According to Tampawaddy U Win Maung, many coins of this type were found in Beinnaka (Pyawbwe) and caches of 30 coins were accidentally dug out from Pinya Township.³ This type of coin is said to be found in the surrounding villages of Unepoke, Maingmaw, Taw Twin, Nyaung Pin Tha and Kan Swe near Maingmaw and Pindaya area. General distinctive characteristic feature of heterogeneous coin differs in the shape of srivatsa and fewer in number of minor symbols than common Pyu coin. The shape of srivatsa from heterogeneous coin is slenderer than that of common Pyu coin. In some cases one side of the coins is convex (puffy) while the other side, srivatsa is weakly struck. There are slight differences in their shape of both the rising sun and srivatsa motifs among the Heterogeneous with rising sun and srivatsa. But it can be said that early coins of Pinle are simple and beautiful. Generally at the top of the srivatsa symbol of common Pyu coin,

¹ (a), Dietrich Mahlo, *Early coins from Burma*, Thailand, White lotus, 2012, Pp.44-45 (Hereafter cited as, Mahlo *Early coins from Burma*)

(b) Bob Hudson, "The origins of Bagan: "Ph.D Thesis, University of Sydney, 2004, Pg-140 (Hereafter cited as, Hudson, "The origins of Bagan")

² Than Tun (Dedaye), *Auspicious Symbols and Ancient coins of Myanmar*, Malaysia, Percetakan Sdn Bhd, 2007, Pg- 115 (Hereafter cited as, Than Tun (Dedaye), *Coins of Myanmar*)

³ Than Tun, (Dedaye), *Coins of Myanmar*, Pg - 115

there are symbol of sun and moon and is enclosed by swastika and Badhapitha. Unlike common Pyu Coin sun and moon symbols are not traceable on the obverse of Pinle Coin (Heterogeneous-coin). Within the srivatsa of heterogeneous coin there are one crescent like curved line on the top, two elongated dots and one bulb like symbol at the bottom. These symbols are probable to be the representation of Goddess of Sri and assumed to be the earliest and basic form in the evolutionary stages of the figure of Sri.⁴ Outside the bottom of srivatsa there are two dots in heterogeneous Pinle coins.⁵ For these reasons heterogeneous Pinle coins are assumed to be the earliest Pyu Coins. That means the common Pyu Coin might have been derived from the so-called heterogeneous coin of Pinle. Another significant coin also available at Pinle is Heterogeneous coin with wheel/srivatsa. Srivatsa and associated symbols of wheel/srivatsa Pinle coin are exactly similar to those of heterogeneous Pinle coins of rising sun/srivatsa. And on the obverse is a wheel or full sun with 16 rays or spokes. Rays or spokes are encircled by embossed line. Within the embossed lines are beads. Outside the beaded border there are parasols like symbol.⁶ In some cases, one side of the coin bearing the wheel is like that of Heterogeneous rising sun/srivatsa coin convex. Scientific study reveal that Heterogeneous Pinle coin of rising sun/srivatsa and that of wheel/srivatsa are almost identical to one another in their weight and sizes having 8.83 gm to 9.95 gm in weight and 29 to 32 mm in sizes. It is therefore obvious that the producers have intended and attempted to produce standardized money or coin with specific weight and sizes. But slight variation in their weight and sizes clearly indicate their technological defect. Thus no two heterogeneous Pinle coin are identical. Since rising sun/srivatsa and wheel/srivatsa of convex shape coins have been uncovered mostly from Pinle they are named by the collectors as Pinle coins⁷. Unlike other common Pyu coins, there were no smaller denominations of heterogeneous Pinle coin. There may be some reasons for the absence of smaller denomination among the so called heterogeneous coin from Pinle.

⁴ (a) Fig - 4

(b) Interview with U Win Maung (Tampawaddy) on (5-8- 2013), The Coins of Pinle Old City.

⁵ Fig- 1 (a)

⁶ Fig- 1 (b)

⁷ Interview with Than Tun (Dedaye) on (2 - 10 - 2009), The Coins of Pinle Old City.

Since, these types of coins are considered to be the earliest one; they might not have been used as money. But on the other hand there was no trace of string holes to be used as amulet or insignia or charm. But because of the presence of auspicious symbols on the surface of heterogeneous coins it is thought to be used as ceremonial object. Type 2 (a) has the symbol of conch in srivatsa on the obverse and baddhapitha on the reverse. Apart from Pinle (Maingmaw) this type of coins have been reported from Hmawza (Old Prome), Halin and Saigon (Ho Chi Min City). These coins occur in $\frac{1}{4}$ unit (17-18 mm, 1.9-2.1 gm), $\frac{1}{2}$ unit (23-24 mm, 4.7-5.5 gm) and full unit (26-27 mm, 10.1-11.3 gm) denominations.⁸

Common Pyu Coins with rising sun/srivatsa coins are also discovered from Pinle. They are almost similar in their weight having 9 gm to 7.4 gm and 9.7 gm to 10 gm respectively. But unfortunately there were no small rising sun coins reported from Pinle. Since most of the flat shaped rising sun/srivatsa coins were unearthed or discovered from Halin, they are named as Halin coins by the scholars.⁹

Rising sun/srivatsa coins were unearthed from the excavation at MM-17 by U Myo Nyunt of Archaeology Department in December 2009¹⁰. The excavation at MM-17 uncovered square on brick structure together with burial urns. Burial structure and urns as well as rising sun/srivatsa coins are exactly similar to those found at Halin¹¹. Brick sizes and finger marks are also identical in both sides. Therefore it is possible that Pinle and Halin were to some extent contemporary. This type bears srivatsa flanked by swastika and baddhapitha symbol on the obverse and the symbol of rising sun on the reverse. Coins are typically struck to a weight of approximately 9.2 - 9.4 gm on a flat 30-33 mm flan. A number of small rising sun weighing between 2.2 - 2.3 gm are known and probably represent the one quarter unit companion to the larger class coins. Even smaller specimen, perhaps a fractional one-eight unit have also been reported. Another class of rising sun/srivatsa weighing

⁸ Fig- 2 (a)

⁹ Tha Tun Maung, *Material Culture of Halin*, Ph.D (Dissertation), Department of Archaeology, Yangon University, Pg-75(Hereafter cited as Tha Tun Maung, *Halin*)

¹⁰ Fig- 5

¹¹ Fig - 2 (b)

between 5.4 and 8.9 gm are concentrated in central Thailand and Cambodia, offering a possible geographical division of Rising sun coins. Rising sun symbol, the most Common Pyu coin found ranging from Shwebo in the north to Minbu and Taungdwingyi in the south, often called the Halin coin, were probably minted from silver from the Shan Hills¹². Coins with a rising sun symbol are also found at Sriksetra, Wadi, Beikthano and Halin. These coins were also reported almost a century ago at the east of Pyawbwe.¹³ Mahlo does not consider that this coin to be common at Sriksetra, although it is represented with one excavated specimen. They have been found on the Malay peninsular,¹⁴ across the Dvarawati sites such as U Hton and a deposit of several hundred formed at Nakon Si Thammarat, 420 km South of Tanathayi. This coin is seen in Vietnam and was copied by local in the Dvarawati centers of Thailand. It has been described as the most widespread of all ancient coinage from Southeast Asia, but with an origin in Upper Myanmar¹⁵. The range of their coin type might suggest a stable long-term relationship between Beikthano, Pinle and Halin, over a timescale that also allowed the coin to spread to Thai sites and to pre 6th century A.D Oc-Eo¹⁶. A number of ancient coins including rising sun coins were collected from Bangladesh. Considering all the different sources from the past and present, we can confidently say that thousands of rising sun coins had been found from Halin and its environs and find spots were quite widespread stretching up to Oc-Eo of South Vietnam to the east and Camilla district (Jeff-Col) of present day Bangladesh to the west. But surprisingly there is no rising sun coin uncovered from Rakhine State except srivatsa/ baddhapitha. It is therefore believed that thorough investigation may reveal rising sun coin from Rakhine State. The find spots of rising sun/srivatsa coins were quite widespread

¹² (a) Mahlo, *Early Coins from Burma*, Pp.40-44

(b) Tha Tun Maung, *Halin*, Pg- 76

¹³ Tha Tun Maung, *Halin*, Pp. 76-77

¹⁴ (a) Win Maung (Tampawady), *Some Symbolical Designs on Early Silver Coins*, 2002 Unpublished. (Hereafter cited as, Win Maung (Tampawady), *Early Silver Coins*)

(b) Tha Tun Maung, *Halin*, Pg. 75

¹⁵ (a), Robert S Wick, *Money Market and Trade in Early Southeast Asia*, , New York, Cornell University, 1992 Pp. 116-119, 159-162 (Hereafter cited as, Wick, *Trade in Early Southeast Asia*)

(b) Tha Tun Maung, *Halin*, Pg. 75

¹⁶ Oc-Eo = Sea port of Funan

stretching from Myitkyina to the north and Nakhon Si Thammarat to the south at Malay Peninsula and from Camilla district of present day Bangladesh to Oc-Eo of South Vietnam to the east. The recovery of a large quantity of rising sun coins from such a wide-ranging area would point to the existence of a trading centre which may be connected by sea route or land route.¹⁷

Controversial Coins uncovered from Pinle area have rather complex auspicious symbols but basic forms are similar to other Pyu coins. Controversial coins are made of both silver and gold as well as some kind of alloy, they don't have standard weight and sizes, the smallest one having 22 mm in sizes and 1.88 gm in weight. And the largest coins have 45 mm in sizes and 13.8 gm in weight. They are hardly identical in their weight and sizes to be used as money or medium of exchange. Similarly the symbols represented by each coin is also different from one to another except specimen one F and 7 F of Soe Moe Naing¹⁸. According to the result of statistic analysis it is found that only 2% of so called controversial coins are exactly similar in their symbolical style. Generally, this type of coins can be grouped into three classes depending on their sizes, the smallest denomination are ranging from 22 mm to 27 mm the medium denomination are from 31 mm to 33 mm and the largest one are 39 mm to 45 mm in their diameter. Therefore, this type of controversial coins uncovered from Pinle have different weight and sizes. That means they don't have standardization of weight, sizes and symbol as well to be used as money.

On the other hand, almost all the so called controversial (Pinle coin) has two string holes at the top of the symbol of baddhapitha, therefore, it is possible that the user of this coin might have considered or believed baddhapitha as auspicious symbol. On the other word, baddhapitha is clear to be one of the most influential symbols among the user. By finding two holes at the edges of almost all the coins of this type, it is also considered to be used as amulet or insignia or charm.

The auspicious symbols depicted on this type of coin are rather complex but basic form are similar to other Pyu coins. The baddhapitha (harmony) and srivatsa symbols are adorned with wave-like lines, circles and

¹⁷ Tha Tun Maung, *Halin*, Pg.75

¹⁸ Fig - 3 (a), (b)

semi-circles as well as dots. Therefore they look more beautiful than the rest of Pyu coins. In some cases symbolical design bore on the auspicious symbols are likely to be a scroll-work with floral motif. According to the indigenous people, Pinle was once ruled by Shan princes. And beautifully arranged auspicious symbolical coins are also assumed to be used as amulet or charm by the indigenous Shan. Some coins were obtained from Pinle, some from Pindaya, Yaksauk, Inlay and Loikaw areas¹⁹. It is also learnt that exact location of the source of this type of coin is difficult to pinpoint. Some collectors assumed that these coins were brought to different part of Shan State from its original mint, Pinle²⁰. Unfortunately, no evidences for the production of coin have not been recovered so far to be assumed Pinle was once a production site of coin.

Excavations and Explorations conducted in and around Pinle revealed variety of archaeological evidences, structural remains, earthen ware, ornamental objects, metal tools and weapons, numismatic evidences and etc. Among them numismatic evidences are of great interest and valuable. By the study of numismatic evidences it is learnt that there were variety of Beikthano, Sriksetra and Halin. Type 2 might be a contemporary Pyu coin and the last one might have been later than Pyu period. Their symbols are rather controversial to be termed. But it is clear that one side of that Controversial coin represent the symbol of harmony and symbol on another side is supposed to be srivatsa. Both Badhapitha and srivatsa symbols depicted on the so called Controversial coin. Pinle coins are varying in their form from those of Common Pyu coins. And minor symbols like sun, moon, thunderbolt, moving sun (swastika), and conch, Badhapitha are not traceable on controversial Pinle coins. Instead some floral like design and lines of wavy zigzag and dots are adorned with thinner line. Thus style of the design represented by controversial Pinle coins looks more beautiful and fantastic than those of Heterogeneous and Common Pyu Coins. These controversial coins are adorned with dots, curved lines, circles and semicircle. Thus, the representation depicted looks more beautiful and artistic than the former ones.

¹⁹ Than Tun (Dedaye), *Coins of Myanmar*, P - 116

²⁰ Ibid, P - 117

But since they don't have specific weight and sizes they are more likely to be used as amulet, insignia or charm than money or medium of exchange.

Result and Conclusion

According to this EDXRF results, following major content rate of metals are found in an Pinle (Maingmaw) silver coin; silver (Ag), iron (Fe), copper (Cu), and lead (Pb). Furthermore, other minor cases of metals are silicon (Si), iridium. Pinle (Maingmaw) contains high amount of silver percentage (98.12%). Depending on their form and style of symbols. Type-I (a) Heterogeneous with Rising sun and srivatsa (b) Heterogeneous with Wheel (full sun) and srivatsa. Type II (a) Common Pyu coin with Badhapitha and srivatsa (b) Common Pyu coin with Rising sun and srivatsa. Type III Controversial Coin. The shape of srivatsa from Heterogeneous coin is slenderer than that of common Pyu coin. One side of this coin is convex (puffy) while the other side, srivatsa is weakly struck. Some scholars assumed that Heterogeneous Pinle coins are earlier than those of common Pyu coins. The common Pyu coin might have been derived from the so-called Heterogeneous coin of Pinle. Pinle (Maingmaw) is likely to be earlier than the rest of Pyu city states. Pinle coins are varying in their form from those of common Pyu coins. And minor symbols like sun, moon, thunderbolt, moving sun (swastika) and conch, Badhapitha are not traceable on controversial Pinle coins. Instead some floral like design and lines of wavy zigzag and dots one adorned with thinner 42 lines. Thus style of the design represented by controversial Pinle coins looks more beautiful and fantastic than those of Heterogeneous and common Pyu coins. Among the silver sources available in Myanmar Pindaya, Bawsaing and Yomethin are very close to Pinle, therefore these three areas might have been used for providing raw material in the production of Heterogeneous (Pinle), Common Pyu coins and controversial coins by the Pyu from Pinle (Maingmaw). But thorough investigation is needed. Different scholar has different interpretation on the symbol or coins. In general these symbols represent the concept of both Buddhism and Brahmanism, which many have been flourished in Pinle and other Pyu sites. On the other word these symbols show the influence of Indian culture. Although the symbols one ideologically influenced by the Indian,

these styles of the symbols depicted on the coins are arranged in typical manner of Pyu.

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Type 1**Figure 1 (a)** Heterogeneous Coins**Figure 1 (b)** Heterogeneous Coins**Type 2****Figure 2 (a)** Common Pyu Coins

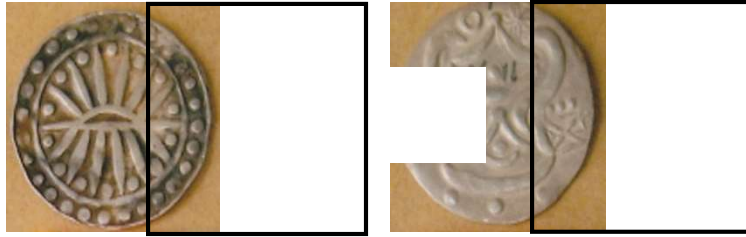


Figure 2 (b) Common Pyu Coins

Type 3



Figure 3 (a) Controversial Pinle Coins



Figure 3 (b) Controversial Pinle Coins

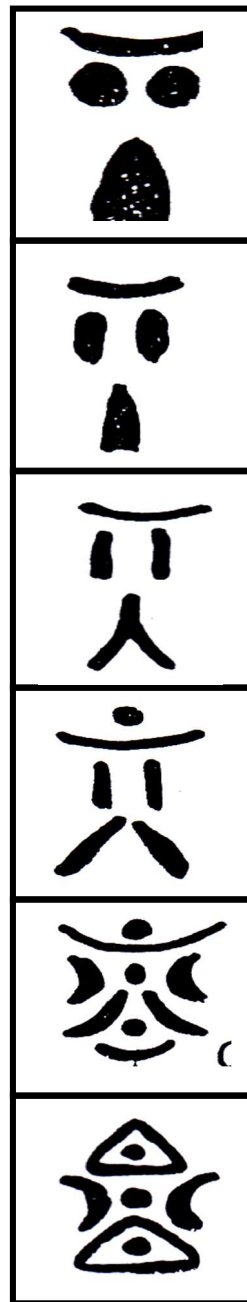
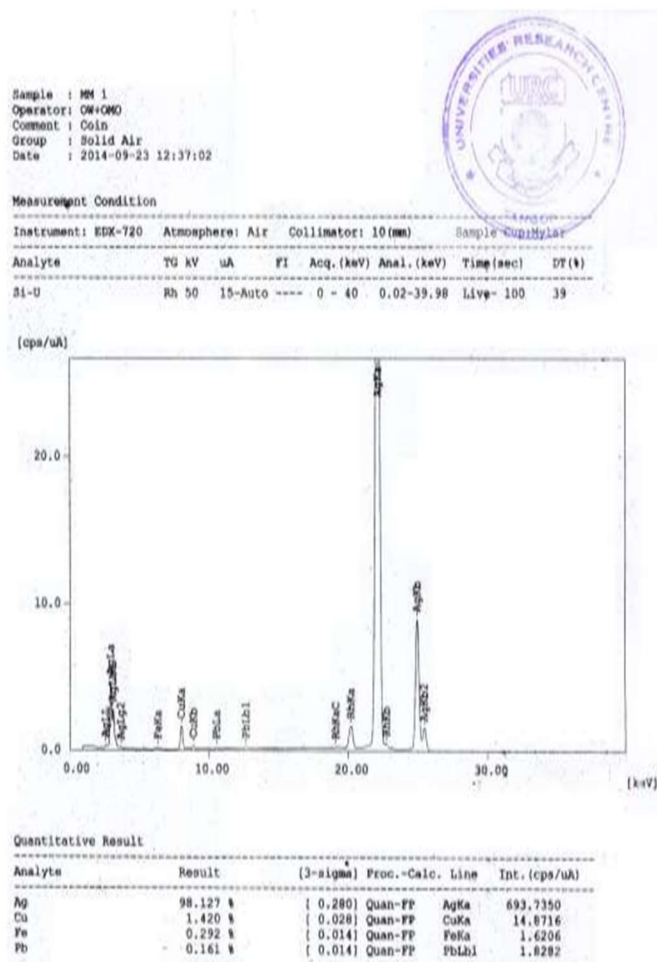


Figure 4: A probable evolutionary pattern of the figure of Goddess Sri
 (Adapted from Win Maung (Tampawady))



Figure 5: MM - 17

EDXRF Result of Pinle (Maingmaw) Coins



THE STUDY OF MYANMAR TRADITIONAL POTTERY MAKING IN OH-BO VILLAGE, SAGAING REGION

Naing Naing Lay Maw*

Abstract

In Myanmar, earthenware has been used since Neolithic period. From that time onwards, potteries have been commonly used for different domestic and religious and ritual repurpose. Earthenware production centers can be found throughout Myanmar. One of the well known earthenware production centers of central Myanmar is Sagaing. Sagaing is famous for its earthenware, *sagaing oui*. Sagaing is situated in Sagaing Region. Oh-Bo village is one of the earthenware production places of Sagaing. Oh-Bo pottery business particularly focuses on making only water storage pot and *Ata Oui* or Thingyan pot. The potters of Oh-Bo village make these earthenware pots by using traditional way. They produce them by hand-made through five production stages. These production stages are collecting raw materials, preparing paste, shaping pot, applying before firing decoration techniques and firing. Because of the plastic bottles and cans, the earthenware production business of Oh-Bo village is now facing the danger of extinction.

Key words: Oh-Bo village, earthenware, water storage pot, *Ata Oui*, Thingyan pot

Introduction

In Myanmar since the Neolithic Period, Pottery has been commonly used for different domestic and religious and ritual purposes, including cooking, drinking, storing and preparing. The earliest pottery was found in Badalin Cave,¹ which is located in the area between Nyaunggat and Yebok villages in Ywagantownship in the Taunggyi district of Southern Shan State. Hence, the culture was gradually developing and the tradition of using pottery had become popular across the country.

In Myanmar, popular pottery business includes Sagaing Pottery at Ywar Htaung-Oh-Bo village in Sagaing; Yandabo Pottery in the Yandabo village at Bagan; Kyauk Myaung Pottery in New Nyein village at Shwe Bo district and Twantae

¹ U Aung Thaw, "The Neolithic Culture of Padalin Cave, " *Journal of Burma Research Society (JBRS)*, Vol.LII, June,1969, pp.10-11

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Pottery in Yangon. Among them, Sagaing Pottery art is known as a simple traditional handicraft which is making by the local raw material without using any advanced hi-technique. Sagaing is located on the west bank of the Ayeyarwaddy River, 21 kilometers to the south of Mandalay. Sagaing is a place which has been well known for handicrafts including cane furniture, silver work, stone sculpture and pottery.

Most of pottery business flourishes in Oh-Bo village, which is located in Ywar Htaung village tract of Sagaing division and is easily reached along the sides of Sagaing-Mandalay-Monywa road. There are 344 houses with 11 pottery cottage industries in the village.² Almost all the villagers earn their livings by making pots. The pots are well known as “Sagaing pots”, named after the town name “Sagaing”.

Unlike other pottery business producing various types of pots, Oh-Bo pottery business particularly focuses on making only “Water pots” and “Thingyan pots”. Although it appears to be a small cottage industry, due to its good quality and affordable prices, “Sagaingpots” occupies huge market of pottery in Myanmar. The market **spreads** from the northern to southern parts of Myanmar, in which trades are distributed by road, rail and sea.³

However, nowadays, the traditions of “Water pot” usage are gradually fading away with modern technology offering new forms of plastic water bottles and cans. The pottery businesses are facing difficult times and the tradition of pottery usage is in real danger of extinction. With the aims of discovering the history of traditional pottery works, tracking changes in pottery making techniques and in pottery business, and exploring the tradition and culture, and difficulties of local people regarding with pottery works, the current paper studied traditional pottery making techniques in Oh-Bo village.

The study conducted in-depth-interview and focus group discussion in Oh-Bo village in March 2017.⁴ In-depth-interview was conducted with an owner of traditional pottery business in Oh-Bo village and focus group discussion was performed with 10 workers in the pottery workshop. Interview questions included area focusing on pottery making techniques, tradition and culture of pottery usage among local people, and difficulties and challenges in the pottery business.

² 2011 Myanmar Population and Housing Census

³ Hla Min Naing, "Sagaing Pottery", *Traveler Journal*, January 21, 2014

⁴ Field Trip (4.3.2017)

Pottery making techniques of Oh-Bo village

It was found that Oh-Bo used traditional hand-made technique in the pottery business. There are five stages in pottery making including (1)collecting raw materials (2) preparing the paste (3) shaping pot (4) decoration and (5)firing.

(1) Collecting raw materials

Oh-Bo uses clay, which is available from "myayni"(the red clay)⁵ of the Khotaung Chaung Pouk village, and "myaynak" (the black clay) ⁶ at the east bank of the Ayeyarwaddy River kilometers (6 miles) away, near the impressive Kaung Mhu Daw pagoda⁷in the Shwe Min Won village. Both raw materials can be gained easily by self- digging or by buying from others clay or mud or ceramic sellers.

(2) Preparing the paste

"Sagaing pots" are made of paste (clay) which is made of a mixture of red and black mud. The proportion is 11 bushel (wif;awmif;) of "myayni" (red clay) and 8 bushel (wif;awmif;) of "myaynak" (black clay). At first, black clay is preserved for one night soaking with water in a huge bowl or brick tank. Then, red clay is put into the bowl as per the ratio and then kneaded with the black clay to get well-mixed mud paste. Once thoroughly kneaded, the paste is kept for one or two days covering securely with jute bags or Penang bags to prevent from garbage, sand or pebbles. When the paste is ready to use, it is spread on the jute bags and kneaded again to get the clay. The paste must be sticky enough to make smooth surface of pots as well as to get satisfactory shape of pots. One brick tank of clay (19 bushel)can produce 65-70pots ,10 liters size "Water pots".

⁵ Fig.1

⁶ Fig.2

⁷ Mick Shippen, *The Traditional Ceramics of Southeast Asia*, University of Hawai'i press, Honolulu, 2005, p.166 (Hereafter cited as Mick Shippen, *The Traditional Ceramics of Southeast Asia*)

(3) Shaping pot

Next stage is to shape a pot. Two people is required for this process: one is for putting blocks of clay on the potter's wheel or spinning wheel,⁸ which is used to shape a raw pot, while another is for spinning the wheel by hand.⁹(Generally, in other area, the process is required only one person since electronic or foot-controlled-spinning wheel is used for shaping process.)The challenges for this two-workers-technique ¹⁰is that it needs harmony between two workers and considerable skill and experience are required to throw pots of an acceptable standard. After 3-5 minutes, semi-dry and granulated condition in a mould is formed.¹¹Then the mould is dried in the air for a few minutes, the timing base on weather condition or present of moisture in the surrounding air. The best condition of the raw pot to pass through the next step of production is neither too soft nor too hard. After getting a standard consistency, the second step is to make a smooth and rounded pot, which is done by using paddle and anvil technique. This is the most important step and it is supposed to be assured that the recent raw pot is thick and large enough as well as is good shaped to become round in figure. The process includes different manual technique which can be alteration of impressing, bulging, and using paddle and anvil technique¹².Paddle and anvil- use of two tools to press and shape the wall of a ceramic vessel.¹³Pots are often beaten with a paddle, to smooth and thin them. An anvil which is made of baked clay is held inside the pot so it does not collapse. The terracotta anvil is used to be decorated with incised floral designs on its side. Sometimes, the name or sign the owner of the anvil is inscribed on the flat surface of handle knob of anvil. The anvil is dipped in dry sand and again so it does not stick inside to the pot.¹⁴The potter use his

⁸ Fig.3 and 4

⁹ Fig.5

¹⁰ Fig.6, 7 and 8

¹¹ Fig.9 and 10

¹² Fig.11,12,13 and 14

¹³ Douglas, "*Principles of Archaeology*", McGraw Hill Companies, New York, 2007, p.301

¹⁴ Bob Hudson, "Handmade Pottery in Myanmar/ Burma", p.2, Handmade pots.pdf

hands or other tools, including paddles or small sticks, as well as knives, fluting tools and wires for cutting the extra clay on the mould.

(4) Decoration

There are two kinds of decoration techniques: use of "plar" and use of paddle and anvil technique. Once the raw pot is made, the pointed wooden tool called "Plar"¹⁵ is used to tap the outside of pot to get the desired designs. Most of the Sagaing pottery use simple designs including floral and Zip-zap designs¹⁶ by using of paddle and anvil technique. Then, the pottery ware is dried in the sunshine one day.

(5) Firing

The last stage is firing pottery. In Oh-Bo village, woods and straws are mainly used for firing. First, a pile of pots (1000 pots) are placed upside down on the ground layers by layers and woods spread around the pile of pots making wall of woods around the pile.¹⁷ Then straw are placed like fencing besides the woods¹⁸ and sticky mud is coated over the straw.¹⁹ This straw fencing and mud coating was done three times and then a pile of pots is surrounded by a layer woods and three layers of mud coated straw fences. Finally, a pile of post is covered by straw and mud is poured on the cover again. The process is called plastering in which the pots are enclosed in mud coated straw layer on the top and in a layer of firewood and three mud coated straw layers. The process requires three trucks of firewood (Htawlar Gyi) and 500 bunches of straw. The purpose is to fire the pots slowing first with burning straws and then slow baking the pots with the heat of firewood within a closed mud-cover. Actually, mud-cover serves as temporary kiln which assists to rise temperature inside the pile of pots. The process takes nearly 11-12 hours, which usually starts at 3 pm and finishes at 4 am of the following day. About 8 to 10 workers are hired for firing a pile of pots. The baked pots are collected by other workers.

¹⁵ Fig.15

¹⁶ Fig.16 ,17 and 18

¹⁷ Fig.19 and 20

¹⁸ Fig.21

¹⁹ Fig.22

After cleaning, the pots are ready to be used.²⁰ Half the pots will be picked up by buyers a day or two after firing, the rest will be stacked by the roadside and sold to passing trade.²¹

The potters of Oh Bo provide water pots for Upper and Central Myanmar as well as for the Shan States. They view the pots they produce as an essential and permanent part of Myanmar culture. From the clay foundation below their feet they have formed a thriving, self-reliant community which is sure of its place. Any suggestion that these wonderful pots may one day face challenges due to changing lifestyles, as seen in neighboring Thailand, is flatly rejected by the woman.²²

Tradition and culture of pottery usage among local people

According to in-depth interview and focus group discussion, it was found that tradition of pottery usage is gradually fading in present time. Even some local people become to use plastic bottles and cans for drinking and storing water due to mobilizing of living standards. However, as the pots can cool water naturally and are affordable and easy to be used, there are some households which are still using pottery. In addition, it is found that people still use pottery in traditional events including seasonal festivals and religious events such as Thingyan festival and Kason- Bodi Tree- water festival.

Difficulties and challenges in pottery business

Due to life style and living standards changes in present time, pottery business owners are facing tough times to maintain the good market of pottery ware. According to interviews with an owner of pottery business in Oh-Bo, it was found that the pottery market is active only in certain seasons such as Tagu (April) and Kason (May) for traditional-cultural usage, while the market was active in the whole year in old days. The reason is that in previous decades, there was domestic-pottery-ware market across the country since people used earthen ware to store drinking water and plastic water bottle were not quite popular meanwhile as well. In present time, the market only relies on

²⁰ Fig.23 and 24

²¹ Mick Shippen. **The Traditional Ceramics of Southeast Asia**, 2005, p.174

²² Mick Shippen, **The Traditional Ceramics of Southeast Asia**, 2005, p.174

traditional usage of pots such as Thingyan-pots (Atar-pot) and Kason-pots which are used for seasonal traditional events. Apart from these two seasons, pottery business halts in other seasons.

The busy moment is from Tazaungmon to Tagu and potters usually produce pots in Nattaw and Pyarho at which they can get better clay for the raw materials. In addition, due to its better quality of cooling water, pots made in these two months appeal customers much more than pots made in other months. A regular pot prices 800 kyats for wholesale market and it is sold at 1500-2000 kyats in retailed shops. Price at the retailed shops can be higher or lower depends on location and consumers' demand. However, since wholesale prices are generally fixed, the pottery makers and workers cannot get benefits from prices changes.

Discussion

The current study found that the pottery market in Oh-Bo is in crisis conditions and the pottery production business is vanishing from generation to generation. Currently there are only 11 households out of 344 doing pottery production while previously the whole Oh-Bo village did their living with pottery production. These days, the demand for large storage jars and drinking-water-pots has been disappeared and this affects not only to owners of pottery business but also to the employers of the business. Majority of employers in pottery business are local villagers who lives near the business area and are daily wage. Since the pottery market is active in only two seasons, it is also difficult for them to survive with working at the pottery business and some villagers moved to urban area for other job opportunities and hence, there are fewer workers for pottery making. In addition, rising competition from mechanical or factory-style pottery production market with cheap ceramics, the traditional hand-powered pottery making becomes more difficult every year. Moreover, there is almost no demand for handmade pottery household ware, Oh-Bo handmade pottery workshops, which mainly focus on producing water-pots, becomes dying family trade.

Limitation

The current study has some limitations. First, the present study only focused on Oh-Bo village and findings would not probably generalize the whole pottery business across the country. Second, due to time-limitation, the study conducted interview with only one owner of pottery workshops in Oh-Bo and it might be difficult to use the findings as representative for all Oh-Bo handmade pottery workshops. Finally, the study didn't analyze advantages and disadvantages among machine-powered pottery ware, handmade pottery ware and currently used plastic bottles and cans which would be important for future direction in maintaining handmade pottery tradition.

Conclusion and recommendation

Currently, the tradition of Oh-Bo' handmade pottery production becomes in danger of extinction due to economic reason. With decreasing demands of handmade pots and jars for household purposes as well as competition from mechanical pottery production, the demand for Oh-Bo handmade pottery ware becomes disappeared and it is important to save the fading craft. It could be better if Oh-Bo pottery workshops focus on other crafts which appeals to consumers in present times, including cups, smaller pots and vases. Since making the pottery ware by hand is a precious beautiful work, Oh-Bo pottery workshops could also focus more on making artistic things such as traditional pottery gifts with Oh-Bo signature, for example, as "Bagan's Lacquer ware". Finally, future studies focusing on analyzing handmade vs mechanical pottery business would be required for future directions to save the fading tradition.

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Figure1: the red clay



Figure 2: the black clay



Figure 3: putting block of clay on the spinning wheel



Figure 4: the spinning wheel



Figure 5: shaping and spinning the wheel by hand



Figure 6: shaping and spinning the wheel



Figure 7: shaping and spinning the wheel



Figure 8: shaping a pot



Figure 9: the rough pot



Figure 10: the rough pots



Figure 11: an anvil with sand



3 inches

9 inches

Figure12: paddle tool



Figure 13: using the paddle and anvil



Figure 14: using the paddle and anvil



Figure 15: Plar tool



Figure 16: the floral design pots



Figure 17: the decorated pots



Figure 18: the zip-zap designs pots



Figure 19: pots upside down the ground layer



Figure 20: woods spread around the pile of pots



Figure 21: straw are fencing besides the woods



Figure 22: sticky mud is coated over the straw



Figure 23 : firing the pots



Figure 24: a woman carrying the
Sagaing pots

A STUDY ON U SHWE ZAN AUNG, A PROMINENT WRITER WHO MADE THE FIRST TRANSLATION OF BUDDHA ABHIDHAMMA INTO ENGLISH*

Nitra Soe Min¹

Abstract

People of all races throughout the world have different religious beliefs. Their faithfulness in religion can support them to follow the strict code of moral conduct and to preserve their own traditional cultures and customs. Among the world religions, Buddhism is an Asian Religion based on the supreme teaching of Buddha. But increasingly, it is gaining adherents in western countries. The essence of Buddhism is Buddha Abhidhamma or ultra-doctrine. It has been introduced to the worldwide readers by U Shwe Zan Aung with all his pen might. Having mastery of Buddhism, he shared his religious view with the members of religious communities from home and abroad. Many of his books had attracted worldwide attention. This study mainly focuses on the life and works of U Shwe Zan Aung. His biography and his concerted effort to translate books from Pali into English are submitted. One of the highlights of his works is *Compendium of Philosophy*. Peace keeping is an essential sector in a perfect world. No doubt, only Abhidhamma can show the way to the end of suffering and to enjoy eternal peace.

Keyword: Buddhism, Biography

Introduction

Among the world wide religions, Buddhism is mainly a highly significant discovery in Asia. The teachings of Lord Buddha are indescribable amazing. They have been divided into three collections called Ti-pi-taka (ဝသယံဇာတ) .Among them, Abhidhamma Pi-ta-ka (ပဋိပက္ခ) is the third collection. Significantly, the prefix **abhi** means great or excellent. **Dhamma** is the Pali word meaning the doctrine or the teaching of the Buddha.

In Abhidhamma, the Buddha analyzed mind and matter in minute detail in terms of the ultimate realities known as paramatthas (ပရမတ္ထ) in the universe. The principles and causal relations expounded in Abhidhamma

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* Best Paper Award winning Paper in Library and Information Studies, (2017)

are so natural and logical that they can pin-point the root cause of miseries in the world and the ways to eradicate them.

Additionally, Abhidhamma spotlights the mind which is undoubtedly the most powerful agent in the world. The true ability of every person lies in his / her mind. Abhidhamma is an analysis of the mind. The characteristics and the functions of the mind are also described. Moreover, how to purify the mind from defilements are propagated.

As supplementary information, Abhidhamma also reveals Nibbāna, the highest goal of Buddhism which is free from mind and matter. Only Abhidhamma can show the way to realize the unique peace of Nibbāna. Thus, knowledge of Abhidhamma should be used as the guiding torch for attaining the noble stage of Nibbāna.

Scope of the Study

This research work focuses on the personal profile of the famous Rakhine writer, U Shwe Zan Aung who was the very first translator of Buddha Abhidhamma from Pali into English. His treatise entitled *Compendium of Philosophy* had also become a real hit in the literary world. It had been published for four times in order to make available to the public from home and abroad. Up till now, it has been using as an instruction manual for those who want to gain religious education.

Method of the Study

By using the vital literary search method, the personal data of U Shwe Zan Aung are collected. The required reference books are provided by Universities' Central Library and the University of Yangon Library.

Organization of Research Paper

The contents of this research paper comprise various forms of Myanmar words. For having the correct spelling system, *Myanmar (Burmese) Romanization* published by Library of Congress is being used.¹

In contributing transliteration, the titles of books and the publishing houses are significantly recorded according to the system. However, the titles

¹ *Myanmar (Burmese) Romanization*. Washington DC: Library of Congress, 1981.

of some well-known magazines and publishing houses are exposed in their original spelling.

eg. Sarpay Beikman (pmayAdrme f)

All personal names and the names of towns are not included in this procedure.

eg. U Shwe Zan Aung (OD; a&TZHatmif)

Sittwe (ppfawG)

Outcome of the Study

Learners can fully appreciate the essence of Buddha Abhidhamma. Moreover, how the outstanding features of Abhidhamma had been exposed to the world by religious experts can attract the attention of the researchers. In evidence, the talented Rakhine writer, U Shwe Zan Aung widely shared his religious views and highlighted the importance of Abhidhamma.

A Study on U Shwe Zan Aung, a Prominent Writer Who Made the First Translation of Buddha Abhidhamma into English

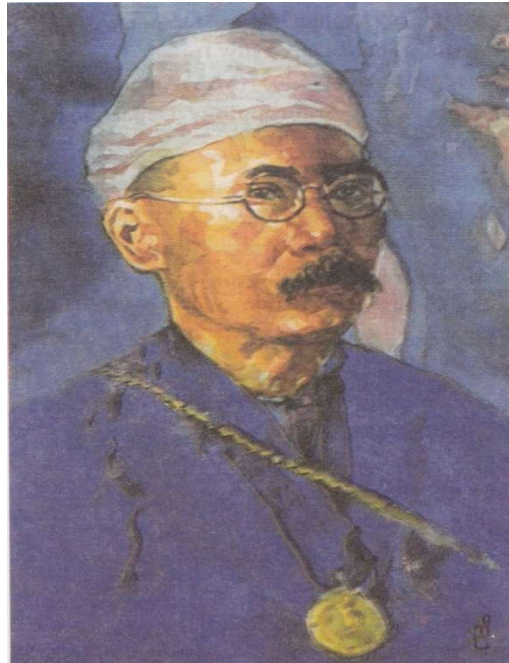


Figure 1: Photo of U Shwe Zan Aung

Childhood Life

U Shwe Zan Aung was born on January 20, 1871 in Akyab{Sittway (ppfawG)}. He was the son of U Shwe Thar {I.S.O, K.S.M, (usufoa&aqmif a&TpvG, f&rif;) A.T.M (trSlxrf; aumif; wHqdyf&rif;) } and Daw A Phyu Zan. His father was District Superintendent of Police. He had four siblings and he was the second in his family. When he was young, he was thin, fair skinned and tall for his age.²

Student Life

He was first educated at the Government Middle School Akyab{Sittway (ppfawG)} in 1881. Since childhood, he was the brightest student in the class. In 1885, he won the Middle School Scholarship. He then continued his studies at the State High School Rangoon from which he matriculated in 1887. He joined the Rangoon College and obtained B.A (Bachelor of Arts) in 1891.³

Professional Life

In 1892, he entered Government Service in the Department of Education. In 1893, he served in the Land Records Department. In 1894, he was transferred to Kyaukse (ausmufqn). After serving for nine years, in 1903, he was transferred to the Burma Subordinate Civil Service, Rangoon {Yangon (&efukef)}. In 1907, he was promoted to Land Requisition Officer of the Provincial Civil Service. In 1909, while serving as Tax Inspector in the Rangoon Collector's Office, he was put on special duty of settling squatter's rents in Rangoon, a task full of difficulties in those days.

² Samuiñ' sutesana ū" cī" thāna, "U Shwe Zan Aung, Buddha 'Abhidhamma kui pathama chum" English bhāsā prañ' chui sū (OD; a&TZHatmif? Ak' ``tbd" r@mudk yxrqHk; t*Fvdyfbmom jyefqdkol)," In *Khit-yay-zee hte' ka poke-go myar* (acwfa&pD; xJuyk*3dKvfrsm;). Naypyitaw: Department of Historical Research, 2011. 471. (Hereafter cited as Department of Historical Research, 2011)

³ Zeya, Mran' mā myak' pvañ' lū' dhale' (jrefrmhrsufyGifhvlY"avY) (Yangon: Yarpayae Sapay, 2010), 115-124. (Hereafter cited as Zeya, 2010)

His recommendations were accepted, and thus, he was conferred the title of A.T.M (trSlxrf;aumif;wHqdyf&rif;) in 1914.⁴

In 1912, he was selected for a very important duty of acquiring lands for the Twantay Canal (wHGaw;wl;ajrmif;) and in 1913, for Special Tenure Enquiry in the rising Town of Syriam{Thanlyin (oefvsif)}. As Sub-divisional Officer, Kyauktan (ausmufwef;), in 1918, he raised a large sum of money for the Second War Loan. He officiated twice as Deputy Commissioner, Hanthawaddy ([Hom0wD), Before he was appointed Officiating Secretary to the Financial Commissioner Burma in 1920. After that, he was transferred as Deputy Commissioner, Thaton (oxHk) where he is still remembered as an adorable Officer. He had no easy time, but his administration was successful. The title of K.S.M (usufoa&aqmifa&TpvG,f&rif;) was conferred upon him in 1923.⁵

He was once more selected to serve on the Municipal Taxation Enquiry Committee in India. The President very favourably mentioned his services as a member of the important Committee. He had the distinction of being the first Burman Excise Commissioner, and he was one of those few who rose to the top of his service by sheer merit. After a long and loyal service of over thirty years, he retired from Government Service on the grounds of health, in 1926.⁶

Family Life

In 1893, U Shwe Zan Aung married Daw Tin. Her parents were U Tun Aung, Extra Assistant Commissioner and Daw Htwa. They had two children,

⁴ *Who's Who in Burma*(Rangoon: Indo-Burma Publishing Agency, 1927), 11.(Hereafter cited as *Who's Who in Burma*, 1927)

⁵ Nhạc 'chay' rācu Mran 'mā cāre"charā myā "nhan "cācu carn' " (Ditoua tvai) (ESpfq, f&mpkjrefrmpma&q&mrs;ESifYpmpkpm&if; ('kwd,wGJ) (Yangon: Information and Public Relation Department, 2003, 164-167.

⁶ Department of Historical Research, 2011, 471.

Sanskrit. He closely observed the essence of Buddhist Philosophy and due to his in-depth study, he became an expert in that field.¹¹

Being a talented translator, U Shwe Zan Aung made translation of "*Abhidammattasaṅgaha kyaṃ*" (တပည့်သမ္မာသမ္ဗုဒ္ဓါ၏အဘိဓမ္မာ) compiled by Venerable Ashin Anuyudra Mahtay (အရှင်အနုယုဒြာမာတေယျ). As he had a desire to propagate Buddhist Doctrines to worldwide attention, he contributed his article to *Buddhism*, an international magazine that was published and made available to the public once every three months. In 1900, the article entitled "The Processes of Thought" appeared in *Buddhism magazine*, volume one, part two and had become a literary hit for worldwide readers. It was in the interest of the west that those facts of Abhidhamma (တပည့်သမ္မာ), Buddhist Doctrine were made known. Mrs. Rhys Davids (M.A, D. Litt) (Master of Arts, Doctor of Literature), President of Pali Text Society, London was one of his enthusiastic readers. With the help of venerable Annada Myittarya (အရှင်အနန္ဒမိတ္တရ), she made personal contact with the writer, and then, they were on intimate terms. Due to her encouragement, U Shwe Zan Aung translated "*Abhidammattasaṅgaha kyaṃ*" (တပည့်သမ္မာသမ္ဗုဒ္ဓါ၏အဘိဓမ္မာ) from Pali into English and sent it to her. It took her for about three years to consider the translation of the treatise over and over again. U Shwe Zan Aung's original manuscript and her own manuscript were sent back to him. After assessing the two manuscripts, he compiled a new book entitled *Compendium of Philosophy*. In 1910, the first edition was published by London Pali Text Society and the second edition came out in 1925. He won maximal recognition for his translation as it helped to open the eyes of the West.¹²

He also won high praise from the learned people from the West. Furthermore, he tried to convey the important treatise from the West to the East. Based on a treatise, *Logic*, compiled by a learned English Professor, G. Bann, he made translation from English into Burmese. The title of the treatise on Logic was *Takkiyanya dīpānī 'amaññ' rhi yutti beda*

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Bagan U Khin Mg Gyi, *Buddha Abhidhamma* (အဘိဓမ္မာ) (Yangon: Aye Aye Press, 1970), 69-70.

kyam"" (wudú, e, 'DyeD trnf&Sd , kwdÅaA'usrf; .) Without making direct translation, he just referred to its ideology and process. He adapted the terms commonly used in Burmese, Pali and Sanskrit languages.¹³

He was highly skilled at dealing with ancient literature. He also had considerable expertise in creating poems, lyrical odes and verses. From 1911 to 1920, he constantly contributed many useful articles to *JBRS* (Journal of Burma Research Society) and some international journals. He held discussions on ancient stone-inscriptions with Bagan Wun Dauk U Tin and U Taw Sein Ko. Moreover, he made exact translation in English about *Maijā ton'khre ratu* (rJZmawmifaǰc&wk), a lyrical poem composed by Letwe' Thondra (vuf0JokE' &).¹⁴

In concern with Buddhist Doctrines, he had compiled seven treatises. Of the seven treatises, three were written in English and the remaining four were in Myanmar. The years of publication were also expressed.

1. *Jarā lakṣha ṇā di dīpanī kyam*"" (Z&mvu©Pm'd 'DyeDusrf;). Rangoon: Kawi Myet Hman Sapay, 1908.
2. *Compendium of Philosophy*. London: Pali Text Society, 1910.
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4. *Yamaka: Being the Sixth Book of Abhidhamma Pitaka*. London: Pali Text Society, 1913.
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¹³ Zeyar, 2010, 115-124.

¹⁴ Aye Thein. "Dr. Shwe Zan Aung (a'gufwma&TZHatmif)." In Aye Thein, *Nuñ' ṇaṃ 'akyui"pru 'aphui"tan' ratanāmyā*". (EdkifiHtusdK; jyKtZdk; wef&wemrsm;). Yangon: Gon Htoo Sapay, 2007, 126-129.

6. *Points of Controversy or Subjects of Discourse: being translation of the Katha- Vatthu from the Abhidhamma-Pataka*. London: Pali Text Society, 1915.

7. *Rūpadīpanīkyam* (လယ်ပုဏ္ဏား) (Discussion with Reference to the Elements). Rangoon: Kawi Myet Hman Sapay, 1915.

In 1915, he contributed *Rūpadīpanīkyam* (လယ်ပုဏ္ဏား). The original treatise, *Rūpabeda* Treatise written by Gant Hnawt (ဂဏ္ဍဝါ) had been translated from English into Burmese.¹⁵

After retirement, he had finished writing *Lūmyui* (လူမ္ပယူ) 'tac' rā' tac' pā kyam' (လူမ္ပယူပုဏ္ဏား). However, it was unpublished. Additionally, the treatise entitled '*Abhidammattasaṅgaha kyam*' (အဘိဓမ္မတ္တသာဏ္ဍာန်ပုဏ္ဏား) compiled by Srilanka Shin Anuyudra (စင်္ကြာမာ) was translated from Pali into English, and then, his book had been translated into German. It became internationally famous especially in England and Germany.¹⁶

He also took responsibility to write the script for the film *Myadabet* (မြေပုံ) produced by Myanmar Asway (မြေပုံကုမ္ပဏီ) company. U Shwe Zan Aung could be regarded as the world famous writer. In 1932, the Rangoon College Syndicate nominated to award **Doctor of Literature** for his achievement. However, ten days before the ceremonial occasion, the writer passed away.¹⁷

¹⁵ Mg Zeyar, 2010, 190-193.

¹⁶ "Kyam" (လယ်ပုဏ္ဏား) 'taū' kvey' lvan'le prī (လယ်ပုဏ္ဏား; လယ်ပုဏ္ဏားပုဏ္ဏား; လယ်ပုဏ္ဏားပုဏ္ဏား; လယ်ပုဏ္ဏားပုဏ္ဏား) , "Thuriya Newspaper" 12 May 1932, 14.

¹⁷ *Nhac'chay' rācu Mran'mā cāre* "charā myā" nhañ' 'cācu carñ' (Dutīya tvaī) . (လယ်ပုဏ္ဏား, လယ်ပုဏ္ဏားလယ်ပုဏ္ဏား; လယ်ပုဏ္ဏားလယ်ပုဏ္ဏား; လယ်ပုဏ္ဏားလယ်ပုဏ္ဏား) (လယ်ပုဏ္ဏား, လယ်ပုဏ္ဏား) Yangon: Information and Public Relations Department, 2003, 14-167.

U Shwe Zan Aung had made regular contributions to the following magazines and journals.

1. The Buddhism Magazine
2. The Journal of Burma Research Society(JBRS)

List of Pseudonyms used by U Shwe Zan Aung

1. Shwe Zan Aung (B.A)
2. U Shwe Zan Aung

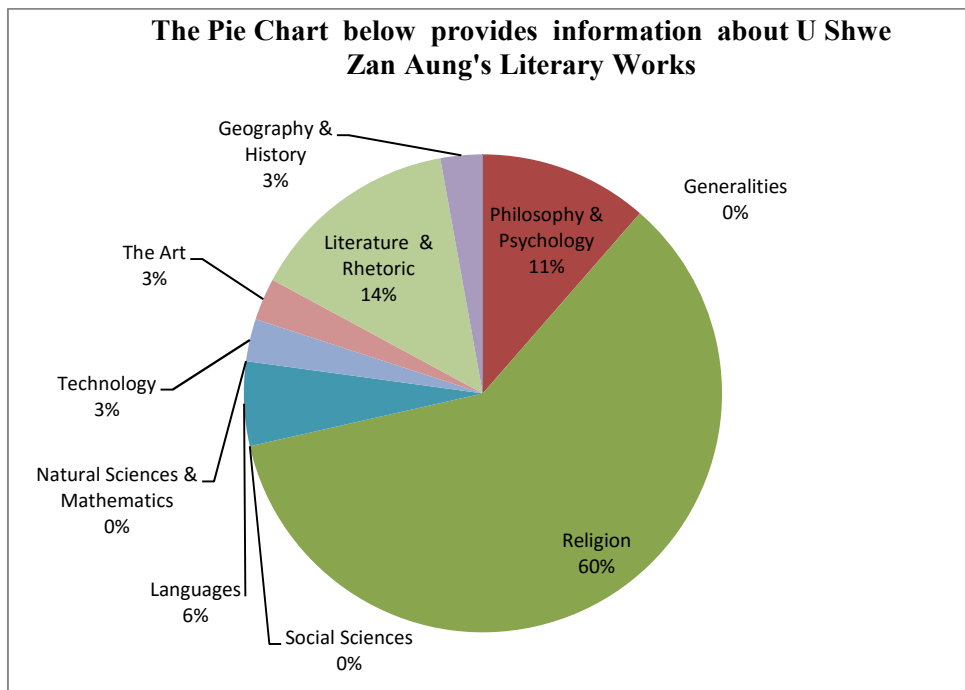


Figure 2: Different types of books contributed by U Shwe Zan Aung

According to the pie chart, it can generally be stated that the most preferable genre for U Shwe Zan Aung is Religion. Literature and Rhetoric on the other hand, accounted for only about 14%.

Reviewon Compendium of Philosophy.

(i) *Compendium of Philosophy*. London: Pali Text Society, 1910.

_____. 2 ed. ____: ____, 1925.

_____. 2 ed (reprint) ____: ____, 1956.

_____. 3ed. ____: ____, 1963.

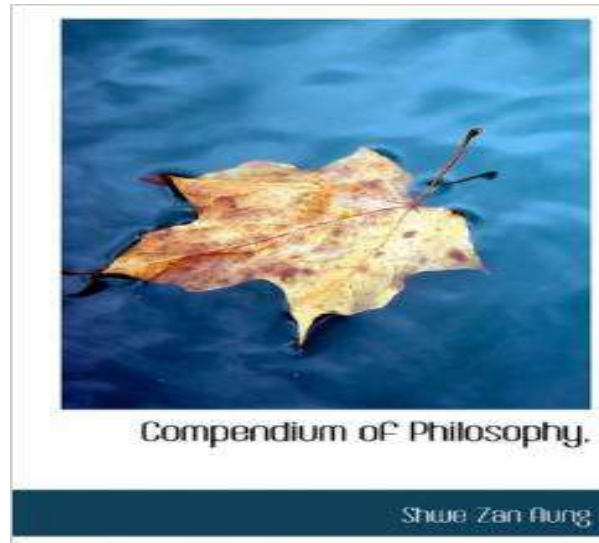


Figure 3: Book Cover of *Compendium of Philosophy*

This book is chosen for review as it may be pronounced useful for expressing most of the commonly accepted view of things with theoretical analysis. For students of Buddhism in Buddhist countries, it can be regarded as the best introduction to get on with the Abhidhamma sources.

The book was the first attempt to treat of Buddhist Philosophy by East and West hand-in-hand. In editor's preface, Mrs. Rhys Davids expressed words of gratitude to U Shwe Zan Aung for sharing the idea of their collaborated translation. They had set down the living translation of many philosophical concepts, thus, she trusted that it might prove a valuable contribution to Western enquiry in Buddhist Philosophy. Moreover, she had a

high opinion on “Abhidhamma” or “ultra-doctrine”. She also gave a broad hint that Buddhist teachings were more abstract, analytical and advanced.

The contents of the manual were divided into nine parts.

- Part I Compendium of Consciousness
- Part II Compendium of the Mental Properties
- Part III Compendium of Particular Concomitants in Consciousness
- Part IV Compendium of the Process of Cognition
- Part V Compendium of Consciousness not Subject to Process
- Part VI Compendium of Matter. *Nibbana*
- Part VII Compendium of Categories
- Part VIII Compendium of Relations
- Part IX Compendium of the Stations of Religious Exercise.

In Part I, of the manual, the writer enumerated different classes of Kāmmā-consciousness. Modes of consciousness can be analyzed into eighty-nine classes.

In Part II, the fifty-two mental attributes or properties were enumerated. A brief consideration of their most salient features was also given. Additionally, distribution of each property and synthesis of properties were fully informed.

In Part III, the writer had made the summary in thoughts and its concomitants. Treating of feeling, of the six conditions (hetu's), of function, of doors (or six organs), of objects of consciousness and of bases were considered to be the methods of mind's concomitants.

In Part IV, under consideration of the process of cognition, the writer had made discussion on the eight types of procedures. For further information, he first highlighted the processes of six-doored cognition and then the intersection of the life-continuum that happened to be constituted and continually as long as one lifetime lasted.

In Part V, the main topic was Compendium of consciousness not subject to process. The writer made summary of the four realms of life, fourfold rebirth, fourfold Kāmmā, fourfold advent of death and the stream of becoming.

In Part VI, the primary concern was Compendium of Matter. Nibbana. The writer described the ultimate kinds of things in serial form. Mind first, and next, concomitant of mind, body third and Nibbana last in kind.

Part VII, the writer categorized the distinctive kinds of states, each with its mark. The contents were serialized in four parts, namely evil categories, mixed categories, a compendium of what pertains to enlightenment and a compendium of the whole.

In Part VIII, the paññatti-object (name, idea, notion, concept), with its several sub-classes were enumerated. Though the subject covered a wide field, the writer explained it briefly. The evolution of evil from ignorance was discussed under the doctrine of paticca-samuppāda.

In Part IX, the writer highlighted the ten stations of religious exercise which were all suitable for everyone. The methods for practising preliminary exercises of meditation on the attributes of the Buddha were indicated. The stations of exercise must be cultivated by the meditators to enjoy the Doctrine's essence and gain its mastery.

Additionally, full details of the subject index and Pali words index were submitted in appendix for the lay readers to use it easily and effectively. In 1970, Pagan U Khin Maung Gyi made translation of U Shwe Zan Aung's book from English into Myanmar. The book entitled *Buddha Abhihamma* (အကုသိုလ်တရား) was published and distributed by Aye Aye Sarpay, Rangoon.

Conclusion

Myanmar is a land where many significant persons have emerged and risen to prominence. Some became famous for their martial prowess and the others were outstanding for their mental faculties. Among them, U Shwe Zan Aung was a talented writer in the field of Burmese literature and traditional cultures. In concern with religion, he had mastery of Buddhist doctrine.

Owing to his earnest effort, his books on Buddhism had attracted worldwide attention.

Due to his acquired virtue, he had got a great chance to study Abhidhamma treatise in Burmese, Pali and English. He had first-hand experience of Pali language from Venerable Ashin Gandama (တံၤဆိဖ်*ေႃၤမ္မ) and Ledi Sayadaw (လၢ်, ဖၢၤသီၣ်မၢၤမ္မ). He could skillfully translate *Abhidhammta saṅ gaha kyam* (တၢ်သီၣ်မၢၤမ္မ*ေႃၤမ္မ[သီၣ်မၢၤမ္မ;]) from Pali into English. Being an expert in literal translation, he made translation of G. Benn's treatise on Logic from English into Burmese.¹⁸

At that period, the country educational system was narrowly specialized. However, the writer's unusual talent gained him worldwide recognition. Many learned people from the West were full of praise for sharing his religious knowledge. He always took a firm stand on his native country. He tried to upgrade Burmese literature, concepts and traditions by making good use of his outstanding abilities.

The proof of his attachment to his native language could be checked when he was on duty as a member of the Curriculum Committee for the Universities in Burma in 1924. Some committee members had suggested to include poems, verses and lyrical odes, in the course of study. The other members were against the formers' proposal for the sake of having essential time to teach foreign languages. U Shwe Zan Aung intervened personally in the crisis by advising them not to overestimate foreign languages. From his practical experiences, he thought that *Lokaniti kyam* (လၢ်မ္မေႃၤသီၣ်မၢၤမ္မ[သီၣ်မၢၤမ္မ;]) was the best to learn and practise. Evidently, he had a strong feeling of pride in his native language.¹⁹

By the early decades of the twentieth century, Rakhine had gained for itself a reputation for producing several men of national importance. Among them U Shwe Zan Aung was the honourable one with rare abilities. As he was a painstaking and dedicated writer, his classical book _ *The Compendium of*

¹⁸ Mg Zeyar, 2010, 190-193.

¹⁹ Ibid, 115-124.

Philosophy is still holding its own in the field of Buddhist Literature in English.

The national prestige of Myanmar and its cultural heritage are now recognized by worldwide nations. Thus, all the citizens of Myanmar are deeply indebted to U Shwe Zan Aung for all his literary work. Indeed, he can be regarded as an unforgettable person in the Union History.

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Appendix I

Different types of literature contributed by U Shwe Zan Aung are ascending order of publication:

English Section

I. Article Genre

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2. "Hypnotism in Burma." *JBR* vol.2, pt.1 (1912): 44-56.
3. "Archaeological Find at Taungoo." ___ vol.2, pt.1 (1912): 78- 88.
4. "A Philological Study of Burmese language." ___ vol.6, pt.2 (1916): 57-78.
5. "Ratus or Lyrical Poem of Letwe- Thondra." ___ vol.6, pt. 3 (1916):98- 102.
6. "Philological Curiosities in a Comparative Study." ___ vol.6, pt. 3 (1916): 145-200.
7. "Letter of Professor Luce." ___ vol.6, pt. 3 (1916): 193.
8. "The Buddhist Philosophy of the Real (part I)." ___ vol.7, pt. 1 (1917): 1-11.
9. "The Buddhist Philosophy of the Real (part I cont.)." ___ vol.7, pt. 2 (1917): 147.
10. "Some Philological Notes on My Comparative List." ___ vol.7, pt.1 (1917):88-94.
11. "Dr. Brandstetter's Introduction to Indonesian Linguistics," ___ vol.7, pt.1 (1917): 94-109.
12. "Buddhist Prayer," ___ vol.7, pt.2 (1917): 127-135.
13. "The Buddhist Philosophy of the Real (part II)." *JBR* vol.7, pt.2 (1917): 221-239.
14. "The World is Round." *JBR* vol.7, pt.2 (1917): 184-186.
15. "The Buddhist Philosophy of the Real (part III)." ___ vol.7, pt.3 (1917): 147-158.
16. "The Probable Origin of Burmese Poetry." ___ vol.8, pt.1 (1918): 9-14.
17. "Buddhism and Science." ___ vol.8, pt.2 (1918): 99-106.
18. "A Reply to Dr. Ross on Buddhism." ___ vol.8, pt. 2 (1918): 166-171.
19. "Dialogue on Nibbana." ___ vol.8, pt. 3 (1918): 233-253.
20. "The Buddhist Philosophy of Change." ___ vol. 10, pt.1 (1920): 5-12.
21. "Ratus or Lyrical Poem of Letwe-thondra." ___ vol.11, pt. 2 (1921):98-101.
22. "The Influence of Bengal on the Mon Language of Indo-Burma." ___ vol.11, pt. 3 (1921): 119-123.
23. "Hinayanism and Mahayanism" *JBR* vol. 12, pt. 1 (1922): 46-49.
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II. Books Genre

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 _____. 3ed. _____. 1963.

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29. *Points of Controversy or Subjects Discourse: being translation of the Katha-Vatthu from the Abhidhamma-Pitaka*. by Mrs. Rhy Davids(M.A). London: The Pali Text Society, 1915.
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(a) Articles Gene

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Myanmar Section

IV. Books Genre

40. *Jarā lakkha ṇā di dīpanī kyam*“(Z&mvu©Pm'd 'DyeDusrf;).Rangoon: Kawi Myet Hman Sapay, 1908.
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V. About U Swe Zan Aung

(a) Articles Genre

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(b) Book Genre

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VI. Unpublished Genre

54. Shwe Zan Aung, U. *Lūmyui" tac' rā' tac' pā"* *kyam'"* (vlrdsK;wpf&mUwpfyg;usrf;) . (vufa&;rl)

Appendix II

Pali- English Glossary

abhidhamma	ultra-doctrine, the systematic Teaching of Theravada Buddhism containing a treatise of Buddhist psychology and philosophy
kāmmā	volitional action (of body, speech, and mind)
nibbana (or) nirvana	the ultimate goal of Buddhists. Literally, Nibbana means non-attachment.
Paññatti	'conventional' or 'relative' truth; which means: 'concepts, ideas, notions, names or terms'.
paṭicca-samuppāda	commonly translated as dependent origination or dependent arising.

Source: A Dictionary of Buddhism, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

ANALYTICAL STUDY ON THE OWAY MAGAZINE

Nwe Nwe Yee*

Abstract

Nowadays the old Myanmar Magazines are very rare but those resemble Myanmar social life and custom including the situation of politics and social affairs of colonial period as well as of Independence period. This research attempts to study and focus on the Oway Magazine, a famous old Myanmar Magazine published from 1931 to 1961. It was fostered as the growth of patriotism and as leader of students' strength. This paper reveals special appearance, background history, editors and editorials of the Oway Magazine, and different kinds of literary works appeared in this Magazine. Literature survey method is applied in this research. The emphasis is put to describe the role of the Oway Magazine in Myanmar literature, to know writings of authors and how to affect its influence upon national movement, and to express it was important for nation and nationalities. So, it is useful for scholars and researchers who doing researches in several topics.

Introduction

The origin of Magazine in Myanmar came from the words, “Maggazaein (magazine)” and “Magazine” which issues monthly or quarterly or a normally comprising of fictions, non-fictions, articles, poems and cartoons. The first Myanmar Magazine is known as “Myanmar Maggazaein (Myanmar Magazine)” which was published in February 1905.¹

The earliest Magazines in Myanmar were: the Kawi Tagun (u0dwHcGef), the Kawi Myetmhan (u0drsufrSef), The Myanma Alin (jrefrmhtvif;), the Thuriya (ol&d,), the Kyeebwaye (MuD; yGm; a&;) the Toe Tat Ye (wdk; wufa&;) were

¹ Maung Hsu Shin and others. *Cā nay] jaṃ]*" *hūsaṃ]* (pme, fZif; [lonf) (Yangon: SarpayLawka, 1974). 42-45.

¹. Dr, Lecturer, Department of Library and Information Studies, University of Yangon

published.² Actually there were rare history of each Magazine in Myanmar. Out of those Magazines in pre-war period, the Oway Magazine was the one. There was reflected the University education, students' efforts and their movements. This paper is an observation on a pre-war Magazine, namely "Oway Magazine".

Scope of the Study

The research attempts to study on the Oway Magazine published from 1931 to 1961. The total numbers of Magazines are 19 issues. In this paper, the Oway Magazine, Vol. III, No. 1 (1933-34) was omitted because of it was not found everywhere. The paper is presented 18 issues of the Oway Magazine.

Method of the Study

The study is primarily based on the subject analysis which is a method for various aspects of the Magazine. Literature survey method is applied in the research. Required data were collected from the Universities' Central Library and the University of Yangon Library.

Oway Magazine (1931-1961)

Establishment of the Oway Magazine

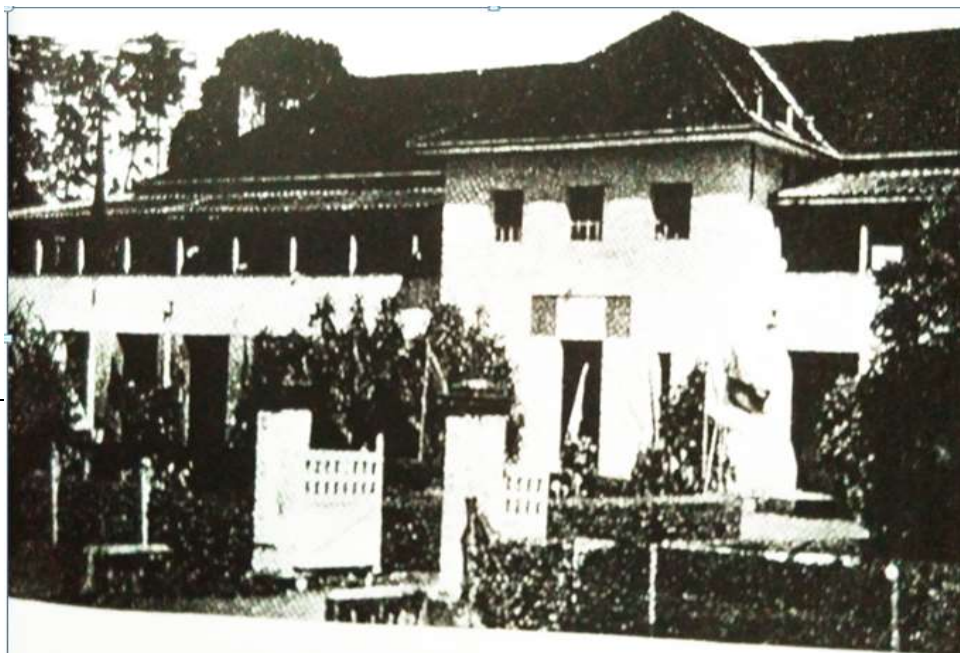
Yangon University Students' Union (ယန်ဂွန်တက္ကသိုလ်ကျောင်းသားသမဂ္ဂ) was founded in 1930. The association of Yangon University Students' Union started to publish **Union Magazine** (ယန်ဂွန်တက္ကသိုလ်ကျောင်းသားသမဂ္ဂ) in the year 1931-1932. The very first editor for **Union Magazine**, Volume-1, No.1 was U Tun Tin, and it had been published once a year. During that time, there were two types of magazines in Yangon University: magazines published by **Organ of State Power** and magazines published by **University Students' Union**. Editor for college

² U Tun Win. *Cā nay] jaꣳ]"samui]"cā tam]myā]" dutiyatvai* (pme, fZif; ordkif; pmwrf; rsm; 'kwd, wJG) (Yangon: Sarpay Beikman, 1978). 501-508.

magazine was chosen and assigned by the headmaster although editor for **Union Magazine** (or ³4r³4Zif;) was employed by the students.³

Until 1934-1935, the magazines had been published by the name of **University Union Magazine** (wuúúúodkvfor*¾r*¾Zif;) every year. During the period of 1936, Ko Aung San (Executive Editor) and Ko Nyo Mya (U Thein Tin, secretary) changed the name of the magazine “Yangon University Students’ Union Magazine” into “Oway Magazine”. In respect of the article called “Hell Hound at Large” (i&JacG; aqmif;yg;) which was included in Oway magazine published in February, 1936, Executive Editor Ko Aung San was expelled from school for two years. At the same time, U Nu was also expelled from school for his political speech. The students went on a demonstration from 25th February to 10th May in 1936 as they were not satisfied with that matter. However, it made the Oway Magazine a great success. The Oway Magazines published by University Students’ Union had been issued eight in number from 1931 to 1941 and eleven in number from 1947 to 1961. ⁴

The Oway Magazine supported anti-imperialist and struggle of independence. During the time of British Government, it was struggling along for independence and it was important to propagate the Students' Union's efforts through magazine. And then, it exhorted people and students when nationalism rose to apex before independence.



Building of Yangon University Student's Union (1959-1960)



Cover of The Union Magazine



Cover of The Oway Magazine



Cover of The Oway Magazine

Oway Magazine (1931-1961)

The first publication Vol. I, No. 1 had been published in 1930-1931. There were eight publications from beginning to 1941. The logo of the Association of Yangon University Students' Union is the fighting peacock and it can also be seen that the picture of peacock is used as a logo for the Union Magazine and the Oway Magazine. It can be found that the picture of a peacock is used on Magazine cover. In addition, the size of the Magazine was not the same. In the early period paper was of 6" × 7" and 7" × 9" in size with about 100 pages. Cover was different colour-paper. There were eight publications from 1931 to 1941. Although English section was not described from first to sixth publications, the last two was mentioned in the Magazine. Oway Magazine articles and poetry from Vol. I to Vol. XIII (1931-1941) mentioned in support of anti-British activities and struggle of freedom forces.

During the time of Japanese was retreat and the British victory, the old number of volumes was not continued. Only after six year, independence period, its publications reappeared Vol. 9, No. 1 in 1948. The outstanding characteristic was separated from the pre war publications. The post-war issues was of 7½" × 9½" in size with over 150 pages. The cover was in colour and inside papers were white paper with black-ink printing. Printed words were of Gread Primer with a few 16 point words and the price of book was one kyat for each issue.

The magazine had been published yearly and it was printed in University Students' Union Press. Sometimes the Oway Magazine had special issues. Those issues were University Strike Special Issue, First Volume (1936) and University Strike Special Issue, Second Volume (1938). It also emerged as leader in student party which was published in Myanmar but some issues were inserted in English section. The role of Myanmar was firstly described and English was described later in the Magazine. It can be seen that page numbers for Myanmar and English sections were also set differently.

Table 1: Year – Wise Distribution of Items

Year	Volume	Number
1931-32	Vol. I	No. 1
1932-33	Vol. II	No. 1
1933-34	Vol. III	No. 1
1934-35	Vol. IV	No. 1
1935-36	Vol. V	No. 1
1936	Vol. VI	No. 1
1938	Vol. VII	No. 1
1941	Vol. XIII	No. 1
1948	Vol. IX	No. 1
1949	Vol. IX	No. 2
1949-50	Vol. IX	No. 3
1951	Vol. IX	No. 4
1952	Vol. IX	No. 5
1953	Vol. I	No. 6
1954-55	Vol. I	No. 7
1956-57	Vol. I	No. 8
1957-58	Vol. I	No. 9
1959-60	Vol. I	No. 10
1960-61	Vol. II	No. 1
Total	19 Publications	

Source: Union Magazine and Oway Magazine, Universities' Central Library

Editors and Editorials of the Oway Magazine

Any influential Magazine needs to comment on current internal and external politics, social and economy. Actually executive editor is a responsible person for a Magazine. The Oway Magazine editor advised on how to solve the insurgency problem. While it consoled the insurgents to have right thought, it advised the government how to handle the political problems. The editorial had great influence on the students. Editorials might provide though, stood on the side of the public and students, and energized to University students. So, the editor continuously urged to change over the university education, student and politic, the university administrative. It also gave political passage to politicians educating the students. Items that should be included in the Magazines were stated University Students' Union, university education, student and politics, freedom of university education,

and honour of ones. Its editorial exposed their view with the title of “our view”, “our belief” and “our aim”.

Table 2: List of Editors (Year-Wise)

Year	Executive Editor	Editor in Myanmar	Editor in English
1931-32	Maung Tun Tin	Maung Kyaw Din	-
1932-33	Maung Thet Tin	-	-
1933-34	-	-	-
1934-35	Maung Nan Nwe	Maung Than Be	-
1935-36	Ko Aung San	-	-
1936	Ko Nyo Mya	-	-
1938	Ko Nyo Mya	Maung Hla Myint	Maung Su Myine
1941	Maung Mya Sein	Maung Htay Myine	Maung Tin Aung
1948	Ko Maung Maung	-	-
1949	Ko Maung Maung Than	Ko Tin Ohm	Ko Win Pe
1949-50	Ko Ko Gyi	Ko Maung Maung Khin	Ko Win Pe
1951	Maung Tin Tun	Maung Maung Khin	Maung Set Maung
1952	M. KhaingMye Po Chein	Maung Maung Lin	Ko Tin Latt
1953	Ko Ba Kaung	-	-
1954-55	Khin Maung Ohm	-	-
1956-57	Ko Aung Than	-	-
1957-58	Ko Nyan Yin	-	-
1959-60	Ko Aung Thein Naing	-	-
1960-61	Ko Hla Shwe	-	-
Total	18	8	6

Source: Union Magazine and Oway Magazine, Universities' Central Library



Bogyoke Aung San

(President of The University Students' Union and Executive Editor of The Oway Magazine)

In studying the above table, it can be observed that some of the editors; Ko Aung San (Bogyoke Aung San), KoNyo Mya (Author, Nyo Mya), Maung Htay Myine (Author, Dagon Tar Yar), and Ko Win Pe (Author, Win Pe) were well-known in politic and literature.

Covers of the Oway Magazine

Cover-artists illustrated editors' thought and article-writers' views. Artist reporter exposed his view and outlook clearly on Magazine cover. It can be found that peacock is used on the Magazine cover. Artists of the Oway

Magazine cover now because famous artists: U Ba Yin Galay, Kyaw Thein, Pe Thein and Ba Gyan.

Advertisement of the Oway Magazine

Having advertisements in the Magazines meant a sort of financial aid. Oway Magazine, on the other hand, stayed away from organ of power politics and holds its own Magazine stand by the students' Union. So, it stood without depending on advertisements.

Most of the advertisements in the Oway Magazine were: book distribution, paraphernalia of family life, cosmetic, tailors, sports shop, textile, and manufacturing.

Cartoon and Photograph of the Oway Magazine

By observing the cartoons of the Oway Magazine, cartoonists illustrated as satire on politics, colonial education, student movement, the jobless, religion, and disagree between each student parties, medical profession, convocation hall and lady student. It was stated memorial photographes. The Oway Magazine was illustrated by the cartoon artist vividly. Most of the cartoons were drawn by cartoonist, Pe Thein and Ba Kyi (Painter).

The Presentation of Subject Matter

There are different parts such as poem, ornate writing, article, fiction, drama, astrology, remark, speech, note, story, record of regret, formal message, report, editorial, letters to the editor, pass list of examination, cartoon and photographs that the different writers wrote it started publishing from 1931 to 1961. Some publications described with Myanmar section and English section.

It is found that there are (268) poems written by 162 poets in Myanmar section and generally, those poems were composed on nationalism, anti-expansionist, university education, and University Students' Union before independence. After independence period, it presented on peace, result of the war and civil war.

Moreover, there are also about seasonal festival, student life, love and others. Most of the poets were Min Thu Wun, Shanpyay Maung Lin Yon, Min Yu Wai, Mya Kay Tu, Win Pa and Shwetaing Than Nwe. Their poems mainly indicated that to get freedom, encourage the students and Students' Union, change the university education and aim for nationalism. In English section, there are 28 items and are described on freedom, the Buddha, Youth and Leadership written by Min Yu Wai, Min Thu Wun, U Saung, M. Po Choe, Min Thant, and others. Most of poets were written by Win Pe.

The Oway Magazine articles included 298 items in Myanmar and 156 items in English. Those articles are also translated items. Most of Myanmar articles related to students, war and peace, Students' Union, politic, education, nationalism, Myanmar literature and biography.

Most of Myanmar literature articles were written by Thakhin Ko Daw Hmine, Zawgyi, P. Moe Nin, Min Yu Wai, and Maung Htin. Andthen, the authors; Thakhin Ko Daw Hmine, Dagon Tar yar, Ko Aung San, Thakhin Ba Thang, Thakhin Than Tun and Thein Pe Myint were well-known in student and politic. By observing the Oway magazine, it is found that the brief biographies on a National Leader, Bogyoke Aung San, P.Moe Nin, Thakhin Po Hla Gyi, Yegaw Ba Hein (Ko Ba Hein), Yathe (Hermit San Thein), and U Kan Thein (care-kaker of the University Students' Union.)

Most of the dramas were presented about peace, politic, university student life, Myanmar culture, and administrative system. Remarks on thanks and request are described in a separate and Reports of the magazine committee were also stated that is how it was important in Myanmar politic and freedom and procedures of the Students' Union.

It is found that short stories are described in Myanmar and English sections. Most of the Myanmar stories focus on politic, education, the University Strike, nature of the University hostel student, anti-British, leadership, and love. In English stories, the authors wrote related to politic, philosophy, Myanmar custom, donation and love.

There are four speeches of Ko Nu (President of the University Students' Union), U Thwin (President of the National University Administrative Committee), U Yu Khin (Rangoon University Student), and

SoeThein (visiting educational expert, Rangoon University). Moreover, it is found that satisfied and encouraged formal messages were written by Thakhin Ko Daw Hmine. Dr. Htin Aung, and U Kyaw Khin. The magazine expressed the record of regret on an executive member of library committee of the University Students' Union.

Table. 3: Categories of Myanmar Section in the Oway Magazine (1931-1961)

Sr. No.	Types of Subject	No. of Items
1	Articles	298
2	Astrology	1
3	Cartoon	33
4	Drama	12
5	Editorial	18
6	Fiction	2
7	Formal message	5
8	Letters to the editor	2
9	Note	10
10	Ornate writing	38
11	Pass list of examination	1
12	Photograph	93
13	Poetry	268
14	Record of regret	1
15	Remark	10
16	Report	18
17	Speech	2
18	Story	146
Total		958

Source: Union Magazine and Oway Magazine, Universities' Central Library

Table.4: Categories of English Section in the Oway Magazine (1931-1961)

Sr. No.	Types of Subject	No. of Items
1	Articles	156
2	Cartoon	9
3	Editorial	8
4	Letters to the editor	3
5	Note	3
6	Photograph	12
7	Poetry	28
8	Short Story	18
9	Speech	2
Total		339

Source: Union Magazine and Oway Magazine, Universities' Central Library

Conclusion

The present study intends to identify the characteristics of literature used by the Oway Magazine.

The Oway Magazine was one of the outstanding Magazines which had been published in Myanmar. It had been mentioned 19 publications between 1931 and 1961. The first publication Vol. I, No. 1 had been published in 1931 and the second time publications dated Vol. IX, No. I in 1948 (post-war period). Only after six years, its publication reappeared. At first, the sizes of the Magazines were 6" × 9" and 7" × 9", it became 7½" × 9½" size in the late 1948. It can be seen that page numbers for Myanmar and English sections were also set differently. In a word, the first time publication of the Oway Magazine flavored political objectives and colonial education while the second time publication favoured peace, literature, religion, and students' movement.

The Oway Magazine included various literary forms. Its editors were now became famous politicians in Myanmar. Editorials were mainly stated students and politics and university education. It also highlighted advertisements and cartoons. It is to conclude that in the field of politics, education, economy, and national freedom.

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A STUDY ON THE BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

Khin Thuzar Kyi*

Abstract

This paper studies the biographical sources. They are one of the important sources of reference service in a library. They give not only information about people who are or were well-known, their birth, deaths and the descriptions of their lives and achievements but also inspiration and entertainment for readers. Biographical sources reflect a person's experiences thoughts and feelings. The paper includes background history of biographical sources and their types, characteristics and usefulness as a reference work. It uses Survey research method was used to collect the biographical sources. It is provided to librarians for reference service and readers to know valuable and useful biographical information.

Key words: biographical sources, reference sources

Introduction

Most people who read books tend to have a particular type of book they favor. Some of the readers read novels, some even focus on a certain genre, like science fiction or mysteries. Some read extensively and largely exclusively in their area of career focus. Reading a great biographical books can be allowed the reader to see the world in new ways.

Today, libraries give many services to readers and scholars. After collecting the information sources, they are arranged symmetrically according to classification scheme. These procedures are called technical services that include collection, cataloguing and classification of library materials. Librarians provide many services for readers and scholars depending on library materials especially books. Main function of a library to fulfill is the need of users that at right time and right information. Among the information sources, reference books are essential to provide right information for scholars and research students. Biographical sources are one of the reference sources for users who want to know about a person. They can motivate people to be a very good person. This provide basic facts about individual. Usually, these

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provide answers to the following questions; what has been written by a particular author? From when he got his education? Which positions have been held by him? What is his full name? Where he was born? What is his address? Some of these sources also provide portraits or photographs, which have an additional value. Questions relating to biographical information occur in all types and sizes of libraries. Very often indexes are appended, which help one to know about leading figures in particular field and occupation.

A biography is defined as written life of a person. People in general interest in the lives of great men as well as others who are notable in some way. Biography in one of the most popular field of study providing information, inspiration and entertainment.

A biography is a detailed description of a person's life. It involves more than just the basic facts like education, work, relationships, and death, it portrays a person's experience of these life events. A biography presents a true life story, highlighting various aspects of his or her life, including intimate details of experience, and may include an analysis of the subject's personality.

Biographical sources of information form important sources of information. These tell us about the dates of birth and death, qualifications, the position held, and the contributions. The amount and kind of information varies from one biographical source to another. Some may be a listing of a few essential facts and, some may be a long interpretative essay. Librarians have to select the most useful biographical sources for reference services.

This paper is focused on the study of biographical sources. It is one type of the direct reference sources. Biographical reference sources provide information about people who are or were well known, their birth and death dates and descriptions of their lives and accomplishments. Some of the sources provide long essays on each biographies covered. With the result, such sources can be extremely useful for one who wants to write an article or a speech or requires detailed information about a person. These would also provide basic facts about each individual covered. They are helpful to understand a person because they tell us about actual people and events. Biography transmits a mirror image of the individual human being in his

immediate life experience. So, they are very important not only to know a person's biography but also to learn the past events.

Biographical sources divided into two main classes, collective biography and individual biography. Collective biography is a collection of group such as same professional, same period and same public figures. Sometimes it is a collection of famous group in a nation or all over the world. Individual biography is simply an account of someone's life written by another person.

Objectives of the Study

Main objectives of the presenting of the research paper are;

- to share the knowledge of the biographical sources
- to show how the biographical sources are important in providing the reference service
- to know that the biographical sources are more valuable and useful lessons in life
- to take advantage of the experience of others by reading biographies of historical figures
- to help librarians for selection of Myanmar biographies for libraries
- to know that biographies might give an event more depth and detail than a general history book
- to describe how importance biographical sources are in Myanmar Literature

Scope of the Study

It includes background history of biographical sources that covers from the Bagan Period to until now. Moreover, the meaning of biography and types are discussed. It also presents characteristics of biographical sources.

Method of the Study

In this study, the required data were collected through literature survey. So, the necessary information was collected from various documentary sources, such as books, encyclopedia and online e-resources.

Background History of Biographical Sources

Myanmar has a very ancient civilization and its people have a good system of recording historical events. Myanmar Scholars wrote the beginning of biographical literature was Bagan inscriptions. Many Bagan inscriptions and other ancient inscriptions of Myanmar are the earliest historical records of the lives of kings, rulers, and subject of that time. Myazedi Inscription and Shwesigon Mon Inscription are the most famous inscriptions.

Myazedi Inscription¹ was inscribed in 1117AD by Razakumar, son of Kyansittha and Thumbula(U Sauk Pan). Razakumar donated a golden image and other things for his father and he had inscribed the Myazedi Inscription. This inscription revealed the life story of their family.

Another inscription tells the biography of Kyansittha and is known as Shwesigon Mon Inscription². It was inscribed by King Kyansittha, it was erected on the Shwesigon pagoda compound and another copy was erected near the Tharapa Gate. It is as famous as Shwesigon Inscription, but the recorded information are not about Shwesigon pagoda. It fully recorded the life and reign of King Kyansittha. This inscription is not only a record of donations of Kyansittha but also like a declaration to the public.

Other type of biographical source is Yazawin. It is described the lineage of Myanmar kings. The prominent Myanmar historical sources are: U Kalar's Maha Yazawin Daw Gyi, the Great Chronicle and Hman-nan Maha Yazawin Daw Gyi (The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings). These historical texts are about Myanmar kings and historical events from the earliest times to

¹. *Myazedi Inscription in four Languages* (Pyu, Mon, Pali and Burmese, Rangoon National Museum, 1960).

². Yin Yin Sein, *Analytical Study of Selected Myanmar Biography and Autobiography Published in Myanmar*. MRes, Thesis (Yangon: University of Yangon, 2002), 7 (Hereafter cited Yin Yin Sein)

the Konbaung period. They are the root of biographical literature and historical record.

Moreover, Ayedawbon Kyans were sources for early biographies of kings and historical events. They are monographs which give historical accounts of royal campaigns and lives of Myanmar kings. Razadirit Ayedawbon is now widely accepted as being translated by Banya Dala, a Mon Minister and General who served under King Bayinnaung. It was first published in 1877 under the title of Razadirit Ayedawbon by the British Burma News Press.

The Razadirit Ayedawbon was compiled and translated into Myanmar language from Mon historical records. In 1952, Sithu U Kaung, Burma Historical Commission Chairman requested the Mon Scholar Naing Pan Hla who accordingly edited and published the Mon version of Razadirit Ayedawbon for the Burma Research Society. Naing Pan Hla translated it into the Myanmar version and published it in 1977.³

Inscription, Yazawin and Ayedawbon Kyans were the most important sources in Myanmar literature. They told the biography of Myanmar kings and their functions. In the early period, biographical sources were the life of Myanmar kings. The biography of monks and the significant persons were later recorded. In 1851, the biography of Sayadawmyathathoke-patti (Lives of the Venerable monks) was compiled by Min Hla Thiha Thu, a court official of Kingdom of Bagan (1846-1853). It contains the lives of one hundred and five noted monks, beginning from Shin Maha Thilawuntha to Gywe Cho Sayadaw Nyana Wuntha.⁴

In 1879 Mingyi Maha Thiri Zeyathu (Maing Khaing Myosa U Yan), the Royal librarian and keeper of the Royal Archives under King Mindon and King Thibaw wrote the biographies of four famous monk-poets. Shin Rathathara, Shin Teyzawthara, Shin Agga Thamadi and Shin Thilawuntha. Beside them, tombstones are the very important sources of biography. (Example. U Yan's tombstone). It is an evident for next generation.

³ Yin Yin Sein, 8.

⁴ Ibid, 9.

In the early colonial period few biographies were published. A prominent biography was “Athtokepattihtu” (Distinguished lives). This book was published by the Myanmar Awba Press in 1906. It contains Ba-me Sayadaw and eleven short accounts of other persons. It was the first published source of biographical literature.⁵ Myanmar biographies and autobiographies were rarely published in the colonial period. Biographical writing was developed only in late 19th century and different types of biographies were published in Myanmar literary field. It has long been one of the most popular forms of prose.

Biographical literature was developed with the movement of independence. In 1920, Myanmar had great nationalist movements and the Myanmar people demanded political and educational reforms. Many national schools were established and people became interested in Myanmar literature and history.

In the early 1930s U Thein Maung, a journalist, and editor of the Thuriya (Sun) monthly, produced biographies of Min Ye Kyaw Swa, General Bandoola, King Bayinnaung, the emperor; and Alaungphaya, founder of the Konbaung dynasty. U Po Kya's, Myanmar Gonyi and U Thein Maung's Burmese Heroes Series books had influenced the young people activated for nationalist movement. But some historians said that the author had adapted the historical events for a good readable story and that some facts are wrong.⁶

In 1937 U Thein Pe Myint wrote a fictionalized biography of U Lun (Thakin Kodaw Mhaing)⁷, the national poet and patron of the Nationalist Dobama Movement. The book is in two parts. Part one describes the boyhood of Saya Lun. The part two describes the family life and life as an editor, national college teacher and the relationship of author and biographer. U Thein Pe Myint presented Saya Lun's patriotism and activities for nationalist

⁵ Yin Yin Sein, 8.

⁶ OD;vSMudKif(yg&*l) ESifhtjcm;? twåKyÜwådpmay ?
&efukef? pmayAdrmef? 1971/ 10/ (aemifwGif
OD;vSMudKif (yg&*l) [knTef;rnf)

⁷ Thein Pe Myint, *Thakin Kodaw Mhaing Athtoke-patti*. 4th ed. (Yangon: Bamakhit Sarpay, 1974).

movement, but one weakness is that it does not emphasize upon Saya Lun's literary writings.⁸

During the 1940s Myanmar was struggled for independence and these historical events gave births too many biographies, autobiographies and memoirs. After the independence many biographies, autobiographies and memoirs were published about the struggle for independence and rebellion against the Japanese occupation.

The Burma Translation Society (Sarpay Beikman) was established and then it published the Myanmar Encyclopedia and compiled biographies of famous Myanmar, and published Myanmar biography books.

After the World War II, Thu Lo Lu was one of the famous biographical books. It was written by Jawngaw Ma Ma Lay. It describes her late husband, Jawngaw U Chit Mg.

Biographical sources reflect the condition of the period, noble and famous person's activities and their feeling.

Meaning of Biography

The word of biography comes from the Greek words "bios" meaning a life and "graphein" meaning to write. Therefore "biography" means writing of a life.⁹ A biography is simply a bio that gives an account of detailed description about the life of a person. It contains basic facts such as childhood, education, career, relationship, family and etc. Athtoke-patti comes from Pali word often used in Myanmar literature. According to Oxford Dictionary, it is (i) an account of someone's life written by someone else: (ii) biographies as a branch of literature.¹⁰ The biographical information can be obtained from the following sources of information. Almanacs, biographical dictionaries, dictionaries, directories, encyclopedias, literary handbooks and manuals, obituary columns of newspapers, etc. Most of them include brief biographical information.

⁸ OD; vSMudKif (yg&*l)? 11/

⁹. Yin YinSein, 3.

¹⁰. *Oxford Dictionary* (England: Oxford University Press, 1989).

Biography is the story of a real person's life written by someone other than that person. It is found that autobiography, individual biography and collective biography, memoirs, diaries are included in the autobiography. There is a direct focus on an event and the biographer might give an event more depth and detail than a general history book would and perhaps give it a human slant. It should be used as sources for reference service in a library.

Types of Biographical Sources

Main types of biographical sources are two types; collective and individual biography. There are many sources to get the biographical information beside the books. The biographical information can be obtained from the following sources of information. Almanacs, biographical dictionaries, dictionaries, directories, encyclopedias, literary handbooks and manuals, obituary columns of newspapers, etc. Periodical and newspapers indexes are also valuable sources. In this paper, the study covers biographical sources based on books.

(a) Collective Biography

Collective biography is meant lives of a number of persons selected or grouped or assembled in alphabetic form or according to class, profession and etc.¹¹ Sometimes it is written by single author. Biographical dictionaries are collective work of sketches of people's lives. In addition to biographical dictionaries, directories, almanacs such as general and subject encyclopedias, often include biographical essays. They are lists, and identifies notable persons giving significant data about each. Almanacs and directories give brief biographical information. It has a great usefulness as a quick guide to information concerning a number of persons.

Example. – *pmqdkawmfrsm;twåKyÜwåd* [armi foku]
 – *jynfolcspfaomtEkynm&Sifrsm;*
 [vɪxka':tɪm]

¹¹ Krishan Kumar. *Reference service* (New Delhi: Vika, 1998).

(b) Individual Biography

Individual biography is a description of someone's life and character.¹² It is commonly implied by the word biography and includes within itself all variations of substance and treatment. Life's of rulers, soldiers, generals, statesmen, religious leaders of teachers, path breakers in art, learning or science, represent and old and familiar type of biography. It includes autobiography, memoirs, reminiscences, diaries and journals, confessions, and letters. An individual biography is likely to provide more information than a collective biographical sources. It usually deals with not only biographical data but also actual events.

Example

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rjruav;ESifhvSdKifxdyfacgifwif\b0ESifhpmay
[vSordef]
- olvdkvl [*sme, fausmfrrav;]
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(i) Autobiography

Autobiography is a branch of biography. It is most commonly defined as the biography of a person narrated by that person or the story of a person's life as told by himself or herself. Autobiography in its primary form is a continuous, organized story of a person life experience, complete or partial.¹³ A good autobiography should be honest, simple and above all interesting. It is to explain or justify their actions. Many of the world's greatest works of literature are autobiographies. Autobiographies are usually written by politicians and writers. Among the writers, P. Monin's P. Monin, and Maha Swe's Maha Swe are very popular autobiographies. It is studied biographical data, their idea, feeling and thoughts.

Autobiographical writing may takes various forms. The most familiar ones are memoirs, reminiscences, diaries, journals, confessions, letters and

¹² Timothy James, *Advantages and disadvantage of an autobiography* (New York: Routledge, 1987), 15. (Hereafter cited as Timothy James)

¹³ Timothy James, 21.

correspondence. It may provide information for a memoir, autobiography or biography. Authors use autobiographies not only share events that occurred in their lifetime, but help future

generations relating to those events by explaining their effect on the lives of those who lived through them. The prime objective of a writer of an autobiography is the narration of his own life. It is a primary source of information.

Example. – *yDrdk;ESif;* [*yDrdk;ESif;*]

– ' *kefwm&mESifh ol \uAsm
[' *kefwm&m]

(ii) Memoirs

A memoir is slightly different in character from an autobiography. While an autobiography typically focuses on the “life and times” of the writer, a memoir has a narrower, more intimate focus on his or her own memories, feelings and emotions.¹⁴ Memoirs have often been written by politicians or military leaders and writers as a way to record and publish an account of their public exploits. It represents a form that belongs to both autobiography and biography. The term “memoirs” usually denotes autobiographical narrative or reminiscences, informal and often more or less, fragmentary. The singular “memoir” usually means an account of a person’s life written by another person.

Example – *uRefawmfhb0ZwfaMumif;* [*aomfwmaqG*]

(iii) Reminiscences

Reminiscences at their best are both valuable and delightful. In reminiscences, observation and experience stored up in a rich and varied life are drawn from memory and told simply and spontaneously to a reader listener illuminating by ways of life and thought and casting revealing side-lights on famous or interesting people. It is a story told about a part event remembered by the narrator. Memoirs and reminiscences which are personal description in personal history.

¹⁴ Yin Yin Sein, 5.

Example. – *olwdkUaw;? olwdkUb0? olwdkUtEkynm*
[ewfarmufxGef; &Sdef]

(iv) Diaries and Journals

Diary is a type of autobiography. They are virtually the same, with some differences only in the terminology as use by the writer. Diaries generally are a factual consecutive record of objective experience. A diary is a record with discrete entries arranged by date reporting on what has happened over the course of a day or other period. A personal diary may include a person's experiences, and thoughts or feelings, including comments on current events outside the writer's direct experience. It is generally written not with the intention of being published as it stands, but for the author's own use, the word journal may be sometimes used for diary but generally a diary has diary entries, whereas journal-writing can be less frequent.

In Myanmar biographical literature, a very few diaries have come out. The Kinwun Mingyi's diary of Pyinthit Naingan Thwa Nayzin Humat Tan and Theikpan Mg Wa's diary of Oxford Takkatho are well-known. Jarneikyaw U Chit Mg's diary records the events of the period between 23.11.1943 to 17.8.1944. The dairy shows the politic, economic and social conditions of the country. It is a primary source of information.

Example. – *ppftwGif;aeUpOfrSwfwrf;*
[odyÜHarmi f0]

(v) Confessions

They are subjective and introspective, outpourings of inner conflict, closely allied to the journals that reveal the inner life. It is a formal statement admitting that one is guilty of a crime.¹⁵

(vi) Letters

¹⁵ Yin Yin Sein, 6.

A letter is one person's written message to another pertaining to some matter of common concern. Letters can serve several purposes. Letters are closely allied to journals. Letters especially often deal with subjects or experiences of specialized interest.¹⁶

Characteristics of Biographical Sources

1. Describe and discuss the life of a real person.
2. Information is based on fact.
3. Incidents, dialogue, and people are accurate and from a reliable sources using first person accounts when available.
4. The person's life story is told with respect to other people and events of the time in which they lived.
5. Develops an understanding of the places, times, events, and other people which the person lived.
6. Tells the story in a style and tone that the reader or listener can related to the person and believe in their humanness.
7. An international biographical dictionary is usually biased towards the country where published. Thus it may usually lay more emphasis on covering national of the country in which it is published.
8. A national biographical dictionary is likely to cover more nationals and provide more information about them than an international dictionary.
9. A special biographical dictionary is likely to provide more information than a general sources.
10. Books on state or district or local history usually provide more information about prominent persons than national biographical dictionaries. Also these are more likely to cover less prominent persons.
11. Newspaper and periodical indexes are excellent sources for obituaries, significant achievements, opinions and views held about notable persons.

¹⁶ Ibid.

12. Encyclopedias are excellent sources for biographical information on person no longer alive. But for contemporaries, these are not as good as biographical dictionaries.
13. It is usually more difficult to locate the biography of a non -writer than a writer.
14. Well edited biographical source may provide descriptive as well as evaluative account.
15. A biographical source published at a given time is represented the opinions held at that time.

Conclusion

Biographies and autobiographies provide not only interesting facts but also an insight into the individual's life and times as well as the political and social condition of the country. It is very popular type of Myanmar literature. The main purpose of a biography is to tell the new generation about the noble and famous person's idea, thought and feeling. Reading biographies provide the most valuable lessons in life. People who write autobiographies usually have an interesting story to tell about the trials and tribulation of their own lives. Many advantages can be learnt from them. So, biographical literature need to develop in Myanmar literature.

One of the best ways to take advantage of the experience of other is by reading biographies of historical figures, not academic tomes about history. These can be valuable and successful shortcuts to help everybody make improve and get results in most any area of their life. One will discover ideas and approaches on his own through the stories and experiences of others. Reading a biographical source about someone from a different era, a different background or a totally different set of life experiences will give the reader new perspective.

Nowadays, biographical sources have become more popular because documentary biographical films based on the lives of famous person get the more interested from the audience and successful by economically.

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my sincere thanks to Rector, Dr. Kyaw Kyaw Khaung and Pro-rector, Dr. Tha Dune Maung, University of East Yangon for their kind permission for submission of this research paper.

I would like to extend my gratitude to Dr. Saw Mya Kyi Tha, professor and head of the Department of Library and Information Studies, University of East Yangon for her valuable advice, encouragement throughout my work.

Special thanks are due to U Thein Shwe, Retired Professor, Department of Library and Information Studies, University of Yangon for his valuable advice, and good suggestions to my research paper.

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A STUDY ON THE ARTICLES ON RELIGION APPEARED IN THE JOURNAL OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY (1911-1977)

Yi Yi Aung*

Abstract

The paper only focuses the articles on religion appeared in the Journal of the Burma Research Society during the year 1911-1977. Periodicals are the primary sources of information and important media for communication. The Journal of the Burma Research Society had 59 volumes spanning a period on 70 years, with a total of 377 authors writing about 631 subjects. The paper aims to study and analyses the articles on religion appeared in the Journal of the Burma Research Society. The research covers 92 articles, notes and reviews on religion during the year 1911-1977. Among the studied articles, some of articles are analyzed with brief description of each article and its facts according to the categories. Besides, list of articles on religion appeared in the Journal of the Burma Research Society during the year 1911-1977 are also presented in this paper. The method used in this paper is mainly based on literature survey method. The result of the paper will helpful for the scholars and researchers who are interested in the field of religion and its related subjects.

Key words: Religion (3) Buddhism (3) Information Sources

Introduction

The field study of this paper is a brief extract and its aim is to know the articles of religion in the Journal of the Burma Research Society (1911-1977). Periodicals are essential materials to use the researchers. A periodical is anything that comes out with regular issues. A daily newspaper, a weekly news magazine, a monthly journal and an annual book series are all examples of periodicals. Periodicals provide a platform for the communication of ideas, the experience and the transmission of current information.¹ They are

¹. D.E. Davinson, *The periodical collection: Its purpose and use in libraries.*(London: Andre Deutsh, 1969) 38.

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informative, educative and research oriented documents. It contains ancient and latest information for research purpose.

Some periodicals are published in ways that make them more valuable to scholars. Periodicals that are scholarly, refereed or peer-reviewed, all have articles that are reviewed by experts in the subject. Like, an academic or scholarly journal is a periodical publication in which scholarship relating to a particular academic discipline is published. Academic journals serve as permanent and transparent forums for the presentation, scrutiny and discussion of research. They are usually peer-reviewed or refereed.² Content typically takes the form of articles presenting original research, review articles and book reviews. Especially, they are the indicators of literature growth in any fields.

Therefore, this paper mainly focuses the articles on religion in which the scholar and researcher issues many articles in all fields. In this paper, articles on religion in the Journal of the Burma Research Society (JBRS) during the years, 1911-1977 are presented. JBRS had 59 volumes spanning a period of 70 years, with a total of 377 authors writing about 631 subjects. It comprises more than 132 issues with over 1300 articles.

This paper consists 85 articles on Buddhism, three articles on Christianity, three articles on Hinduism and one article on Islam. Therefore, the result of this paper will help to use in searching the articles of religion to the interested persons in that subject.

Aims and Objectives

The main of this research paper is to identify and analyses the articles on religion in the Journal of the Burma Research Society (JBRS) during the years, 1911-1977. The objectives of this research are as follow:

- (1) To study how many articles of religion in the Journal of the Burma Research Society (JBRS) during the years, 1911-1977
- (2) To provide descriptive and evaluative information about religion

² Gary Blake and Robert W.Bly, *The elements of Technical Writing*. [Book on-line] (New York: Macmillan Publisher, 1993 ,accessed date 6.9.2017) available from <http://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Acad>

- (3) To know valuable information in JBRS
- (4) To assist the researchers and interested persons who use necessary information in doing research works

Research Methodology

To collect required data, literature survey method was applied and data were searched in the Universities' Central Library and Journal of Burma Research Society (1911-1977) CD- ROM. This search was applied to identify and analyses on relevant information for this paper.

Scope

In this paper, articles on religion in the Journal of the Burma Research Society (JBRS) during the years, 1911-1977 are collected and studied. These articles comprise articles on Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, etc. that are related to religion.

Background History of the Journal of the Burma Research Society

The Burma Research Society was inaugurated on 29 March 1910 at a meeting held at the Bernard Free Library in Yangon. For the society, Mr. Herbert Eales was appointed as its first president and Professor Charles Duroiselle was also appointed as its first secretary and editor.³ Its aims were the investigation and encouragement of Art, Science and Literature in relation to Burma and the neighboring countries. The main feature of the society is the publication of the journal, the printing of manuscripts that have never been published before and reprints of some rare books.⁴ The journal of the Burma Research Society was the first academic journal devoted to Burma studies. The journal started in 1911 about the same time as the Journal of the Siam Society. It was published in Burma (Myanmar).

From the start, the Burma Research Society represented a fusion of the energy and initiative of a generation of both Burmese (Myanmar) and

³. Mg Than Aung, "Index to the Journal of the Burma Research Society (1911-1977)" (Diploma paper: University of Yangon, 1978) i

⁴. Ibid.

Europeans. These early leading luminaries included John S. Furnivall, Charles Duroiselle, May Oung, Gordon Luce and U Pe Maung Tin.

The Journal of the Burma Research Society was originally published by The Burma Research Society. The principal work of the society is the publication of a journal which at present appears twice a year.⁵ Volume one of the JBRS was published in 1911 with two parts. In 1924, U Pe Maung Tin was appointed as professor of the Burmese and Pali Language Department, by facilitating the publication of rare Burmese manuscripts by the Burmese Research Society. During the pre-war period, most of the journals were published in three parts. In some years, only two parts were published. The journal volume 31 was the last in pre-war period. During the Second World War, journal no published.⁶ During the Second World War and immediately after the war, the society published a series of 11 Burma pamphlets in India. After the Second World War, journal was published again in 1948.

In earlier periods, contributions are usually in English, but some in Burmese (Myanmar) are also issued, especially in the independence period. The Burma Research Society has played a leading role in the publication of rare Burmese (Myanmar) manuscripts in the fields of literature and history, and in the publication of prescribed school text books. Moreover, its society has also published a series of 46 Burmese (Myanmar) books during 1924-1941. The society also published its Fiftieth Anniversary Publications (Rangoon: Burma Research Society, 1960- 61, 2 volumes), the first volume consisted of papers read at the society's fiftieth anniversary conference, and the second, 524 pages, reprinted a selection of articles from earlier issues of the journal.

The society's meeting and Journals were a forum for enthusiastic debate and research on Burma for seventy years. In 1980, the society

⁵. Than Htaik, U(Thutaytana), *Myanmar nuiniāi Sutesana á saī]*" (101) *nhac]* *pra* *á* *thim]*" *á* *mhat]* *Cātam]*".
(jrefrmEdkifiHokawoetoif; (101)ESpfjynfh
txdrf;trSwfpmwrf;) (Yangon: Thin saypay, 2011). 9.

⁶. Mg Than Aung, "Index to the Journal of the Burma Research Society (1911-1977)" (Diploma paper: University of Yangon, 1978) iii.

celebrated its seventieth anniversary with a conference at Rangon University, but was closed down soon after and its journal ceased publication.

A Study on the Articles on religion appeared in the Journal of the Burma Research Society (1911-1977)

The word religion is derived from Latin 'religio' (what attaches or retains, moral bond, anxiety of self-consciousness, scruple) used by the Romans, before Jesus Christ, to indicate the worship of the demons. Religion is the set of beliefs, feelings, dogmas and practices that define the relations between human being and sacred or divinity. The majority of religions had developed starting from a revelation based on the exemplary history of a nation, of a prophet or arise man who taught an ideal of life.

A religion may be defined with its three great characteristics; believes and religious practices, the religious feeling i.e faith, unity in a community of those who share the same faith: the church. It is what differentiates religion from magic.

The study of disappeared or existing religions shows the universal character of this phenomenon and a very large variety in the ritual doctrines and practices. One generally distinguishes the religions called primitive or animists, the oriental religions (Hinduism, Buddhism, Shintoism, Taoism..) and the religions monotheists derived from the Bible (Judaism, Christianity, Islam). Christianity has itself given birth to several religions or Christian churches (Catholic, orthodox, protestant, Evangelic..).⁷

There are an estimated 10,000 distinct religions worldwide⁸ but about 84% of the world's population is affiliated with one of the five largest religions, namely, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism or forms of folk religion.⁹

⁷. Joseph Joubert (1754-1824), notebooks tome 1, *Those who kneel to God are Learning how to prostrate themselves before a king*, accessed 6 August 2017, available from atheisme.free.fr/religion.

⁸. African Studies Association, University of Michigan, *History in Africa* (volume 32, ed., 2005. 119. ,accessed 2 July 2017), available from [https://en.m. Wikipedia. org>wiki>Religi](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religi). .

⁹. The Global Religious Landscape (Retrieved 18 December 2012,accessed 2 July 2017), available from [https://en.m. Wikipedia. org>wiki>Religi](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religi). .

The role of education plays a vital role in an attempt to develop the human resources of a country. The country's education development is mainly based on its political situations, economy, society and culture.

Therefore, this study intends to gather and inform the list of the articles on religion in the JBRS. Because of The Journal of Burma Research Society was one of the earliest journals in Myanmar. It included reliable sources for religion in Myanmar. So that this section mainly discusses on religion which are Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam and others. In this paper, the collected articles are classified into four categories such as Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism and Islam. Under each category, articles are systemically arranged. The following table shows the list of articles on religion in the JBRS during (1911-1977).

List of the articles on religion in the JBRS

No	Religion	Total
1.	Buddhism	85
2.	Christianity	3
3.	Hinduism	3
4.	Islam	1
	Total	92

Buddhism

There are twelve classical world religions. Among the religions, Buddhism is included in history of world religion survey. This category describes to give the information sources on Buddhism appeared in the JBRS (1911-1977).

Buddhism is a religion and dharma that encompasses a variety of traditions, beliefs and spiritual practices largely based on original teaching attributed to the Buddha. Buddhism originated in Ancient India sometime between the 6th and 4th centuries BCE, from where it spread through much of Asia, where after it declined in India during the Middle Ages. Two major

extant branches of Buddhism are generally recognized by scholars: Theravada (Pali: The School of the Elders") and Mahayana (Sanskrit: The Great vehicle). Buddhism is the world's fourth largest religion, with over 520 million follower or over 7% of the global population, known as Buddhist.¹⁰

According to the list of JBRS, there are 85 articles on Buddhism relating to the Buddhist philosophy, Biography, Pagodas and etc..Buddhist-Architecture were written extensively. In this category, 79 articles were issued in English and six articles were issued in Myanmar. The writer, Shwe Zan Aung, U Pe Maung Tin and Charles Duroiselle had written many articles on Buddhism. The articles on Buddhism are also subdivided into four portions as the following tables.

Table 2: List of the articles on Buddhism

No	Buddhism Religion	Total
1.	General	63
2.	Pagoda	15
3.	Biography	3
4.	Buddhist, Architecture	4
	Total	85

"The central conception of Buddhism and the meaning of the word dharma. U Shwe Zan Aung. 14:1 (1924) 62-68"

In this article, the writer discussed content of a monography that the central conception of Buddhism and the meaning of the word dharma wrote by professor, the Stcherbatsky, Ph.D of the University of Petrograd was published in 1923 by the Royal Asiatic Society, as volume VII of the prize publication fund. It include about the technical term Dharma as the central concept of Buddhism.

"The Greater Temples of Pagan." G.H. Luce. 8:3 (1918) 189-198.

It was written about pagodas in Bagan which included Htilominlo, Kyauk Ku Ouming, Kantaw Pullin, Thabyinnyum, Damayangyi and Ananda

¹⁰. Pew Research Center. "Global Religious Landscape: Buddhist", accessed 6.August 2017, available from [http:// en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki>Budd..](http://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buddhism)

Pagoda. Especially, the writer presented those pagodas from the archacological point out.

“The Shwedagon Pagoda. U Pe Maung Tin.” 24:1 (1934) 1- 91.

It was about the story of the Shwedagon Pagoda. In this article, the writer elaborated on it with evidence of the Inscriptions and Mon texts in three parts.

Table 3: Articles on General wrote in English Language

No.	Title / Aauthor	Vol.	Pt	Year	pages
1.	Anatta: the doctrine of 'No Ego' / K.M Ward.	9	2	1919	97-102
2.	The ari of Burma and Tantric Buddhim/ by C. Duroiselle. Review by G.H luce.	9	1	1919	52-55
3.	The ari of Pagan Editors.	3	1	1913	15
4.	The Bodhisattva Maitreya in Burma/ C. Duroiselle.	2	1	1919	101
5.	The Bodhisattva Maitreya in Burma/ CM. Enriquez.	4	2	1914	69-70
6.	Buddhism; a study of the Buddhist norm/ S.	2	2	1912	248-256
7.	Buddhism and Bergsonism and Shwe Zan Aung versus Dr. Ross/ K.M. Ward.	8	3	1918	263-270
8.	Buddhism and Science/ U ShaweZanAung.	8	2	1918	99-106
9.	Buddhism in Europe/Bhikkhu Silacāra.	10	3	1920	107-111
10.	Buddhism in Indo-China/ by finot. Review by C.Duroiselle.	1	1	1911	148-149
11.	Buddhism in the Iscriptions of Pagan/ U Pe Maung Tin.	26	1	1936	52-70
12.	Buddhist China/ by Johnson. Review by G.K.Nariman.	4	2	1914	148-152
13.	The Buddhist legend of Jimutavahana/ U Pe Maung Tin.	4	2	1914	77
14.	Buddhist Mysticism/ by Dr. Ba Maw. Review by J.S. Furnival.	15	1	1925	89-91
15.	Buddhist Nibbana: an essay. Pe Maung Tin.	8	3	1918	223
16.	The Buddhist philosophy of Change/ U Shwe Zan Aung.	10	1	1920	5-12

No.	Title / Author	Vol.	Pt	Year	pages
17.	The Buddhist philosophy of the real/ by Shwe Zan Aung (a review) G.R.T Ross.	8	1	1918	57
18.	The Buddhist philosophy of the real/ U Shwe Zan Aung.	7	1	1917	1-11
19.	The Buddhist philosophy of the real/ U Shwe Zan Aung.	7	2	1917	147-158
20.	The Buddhist philosophy of the real. (concluded)/ U Shwe Zan Aung.	7	3	1917	221-240
21.	Buddhist prayer/ U Shwe Zan Aung.	7	2	1917	127-135.
22.	Buddhist psychology/ By Mrs. Rhys Davids. Reviews by G.R.T Ross.	5	3	1915	172-174
23.	The Buddhist review (Jan-Feb 1922)/ S	12	1	1922	61
24.	A Buddhist Tantra, Sd/ by Kazi Dawa-Samdun. Review by S.	10	1	1920	20-23
25.	The central conception of Buddhism and the meaning of the word dharma/ U Shwe Zan Aung.	14	1	1924	62-68
26.	Clarification and critical analysis of the various processes involved in the attainment lokiya-samadhi through samatha/ U Hpe Aung.	37	2	1954	17-23
27.	Compendium of philosophy/ by Shwe Zan Aung. Review by Ananda M.	1	1	1911	131-136
28.	Compendium of philosophy/ by Shwe Zan Aung. Review by Dr. G.R.T Ross.	1	2	1911	60-65
29.	Concerning Nibbana/ Bhikku Silācāra.	9	3	1919	125-128
30.	Das buch der charaketer/ by Bhikkhu Nanatiloka. Review by C. Duroiselle.	1	1	1911	143
31.	Dialogues of the Buddha/ by Rhys Davids. Review by C. Duroiselle.	1	1	1911	140-141
32.	Dialogues on Nibbana/ U Shwe Zan Aung.	8	3	1918	233-253

No.	Title / Author	Vol.	Pt	Year	pages
33.	Did sona and Uttara come to lower Burma?/ Sao Saimony Mangrai.	59	12	1976	155-156
34.	Die reden des Buddha/ by Bhikkhu Nanatiloka. Review by C.Duroiselle.	1	1	1911	142-143
35.	Discourses of Gotama the Buddha/Bhikkbu Silasara.	4	2	1914	79
36.	The essence of Buddhism/ by Ladi Pandita. U Pe Maung Tin.	5	3	1915	174-175
37.	Gotama the man/ by C.A.F. Rhys Davids. Review by U Pe Maung Tin.	19	11	1929	28
38.	Guide to Sanchi/ by Sir John Marshall. Review by Taw Sein Ko.	8	2	1918	176
39	Hinayanism and Mahayanism/ U Shwe Zan Aung.	12	1	1922	46
40	The history, of the relics of the exalted one (founded at Peshavour)/ C.M Enriquez.	4	3	1914	161-168
41.	Ksatriya Clans in Buddhist India/ by Bimala Charen Law. Review by W-S. Deasi.	12	3	1922	160-162
42.	The language problem of primitive Buddhism/ ChiHsien-Lin.	43	1	1960	9-16
43.	Logical empiricism and Carvaka and Buddhist System of philosophy/ K.N. Kar	37	2	1954	10-16
44.	Mahakassapa Sect and his tradition/ Dr. Than Tun.	42	2	1954	119
45.	Mahāyāna Buddhism/ BhikkhuSilācāra.	8	1	1918	15-20
46.	Mahayana Sutralamkara/ G.K. Nariman.	2	1	1912	112-116
47.	Metteya and Shinmale/ J.S. Furnivall.	9	3	1919	158
48.	Pali Buddhism in Übersetzungen/ by Herr Seidenstucker. Review by C. Duroiselle.	1	1	1911	143-145
49.	PanchaSilaby Bhikkhu Silacara. Review by N.	1	2	1911	52-56

No.	Title / Author	Vol.	Pt	Year	pages
50.	Prayers of ancient Burma/ G.H Luce.	26	3	1936	131-138
51.	Psalms of the early Buddhists (the Brethem)/ U PeMaung Tin.	4	2	1914	73-75
52.	Religion in Burma/ A.D. 1000-1300. Dr. Than Tun.	42	2	1959	47-70
53.	A reply to Dr. Ross on Buddhism/ U ShweZanAung.	8	2	1918	166-171
54.	Sayings of Buddha/ by Jutin H. Mooze. Review by C. Duroiselle.	1	1	1911	136-140
55.	Singularity of Buddhism/ by Sinha. Review by C. Duroiselle.	1	1	1911	145-146
56.	Six Buddhist Nyaya tracts/ G.K Nariman.	2	1	1912	116-117.
57.	Theravada Buddhism in Burma/ by Nihar-Ranjan Ray. Review by U Pe Maung Tin.	33	2	1950	263-265
58.	The way to Nirvana/ by L. De La Valee Poussin. U Pe Maung Tin.	7	2	1917	192-194
59.	The world is round/ U Shwe Zan Aung.	7	2	1917	184-186

Table 4: Articles Wrote in Myanmar Language

No.	Title / Author	Vol.	Pt	Year	pages
1.	Budda vaūsakathā saūgāti vaūsakathā, sasanāvaūsa kathā, rājavaūsa kathā cātam]"/ U Shan Ak' '0Houxm? oH*Dwd0Houxm? omoem0Ho uxm? &mZ0Ho uxmpmwrf;/ OD;&Srf;/	11	3	1911	123-152
2.	Mahakassapa guiō]/ Dr. Than Tun r[muóy*dkPf;/ a'gufwmoef;xGef;/	4	2	1959	81-91
3.	Mahayin guiō]/ Mranmar nuij'iaü Bagan sui' rhe" ūcva rok'sa□□/á kroij"/ U Tin r[m,ef*dkPf;jrefrmEkdi fiHy k*HodkYa&S;OD;pGma&mufonfh t aMumif;/ OD;wif /	19	2	1929	36-42
4.	Rhe" khet/ Buddhabāsā sa□□] jma□□] sa□□] baāsā ca kā kui suü" khai pā sana□□]/ Kyi Shin Lin a&S;acwfAk' 'bmomonfrnfonfh bmompum;udkoHk;cJh ygoenf;/ usd,SOfhvif/	43	1	1960	1-8

Table 5: Articles on Pagodas Wrote in English Language

No.	Title / Author	Vol.	Pt	Year	pages
1.	Answer to MR. Bell's query/ Taw Sein Ko.	2	1	1912	74-76
2.	La Porte oriental du stupa de Sanchi/ by M.A Foucher. Review by C. Duroiselle.	1	2	1911	81
3.	True and false pagodas/W.C. Cooper.	3	1	1913	86
4.	The Legend of AndawPayoda, Sandoway/ San Shwe Bu.	8	2	1918	164-166
5.	The Legend of the Kyaukwaing Pagoda/Yeo Wun Sin.	2	2	1912	214-217
6.	The Myat-Saw-nyi-naung Pagodas/ U Po Saung.	15	1	1925	76
7.	The new htee for the Shwedagon Pagoda/ Mayor Duncan.	14	1	1924	39-50
8.	Note to the legend of the kyaukwaing Pagoda. U May Aung.	2	2	1912	217
9.	An old temple at lawksauk/ G. H luce.	18	2	1928	69-70
10.	The Shwedagon Pagoda/ U PeMaung Tin.	24	1	1934	1-91
11.	Shwe Nat Taung Thamaing/ by SayaLun. Review by U May Oung.	1	2	1911	56-57
12.	Shwe –zet –Daw/ C.M. Enriquez.	11	2	1921	62-65
13.	The story of Mahamuni/San Shwe Bu.	6	3	1916	225-229

Table 6: Articles on Pagodas Wrote in Myanmar Language

No.	Title / Author	Vol.	Pt	Year	pages
1.	Shwebo mrui' Jabbu chã mã" Pagoda á kroï]" / SayaThein. a&TbdkNrdKUZAÁLqDrD;bk&m;taMumif;/ q&modef;/	7	1	1917	277
2.	Hanthawaddy ,Pegu mraui' nay], bhuyā" krā" cetā to á kroï]" /SayaThein. [Hom0wDyJcl;NrdKUe,f? bk&m;BuD;apwDawmf taMumif;/ q&modef;/	5	3	1915	153-158

Table 7: Articles on Buddhagosa – Biography wrote in Myanmar Language

No.	Title / Author	Vol.	Pt	Year	Pages
1.	Buddhagosa/ U Pa Maung Tin.	12	1	1922	14
2.	Buddhagosa and Burma/U Lu Pe Win.	38	1	1975	93-100
3.	The life and work of Buddhagosa/ U Pa Maung Tin.	15	2	1925	164

Table 8: Articles on Religion Institute wrote in English Language

No.	Title / Author	Vol.	Pt	Year	Pages
1.	The greater temples of Pagan/ G.H. Luce.	8	3	1918	89-198
2.	The monasteries of Pagan/Maung Mya.	10	3	1920	55-157
3.	Religious buildings of Burma/ A.D. 1000-1300. Dr. Than Tun.	42	2	1959	71

4.	The smaller temples of Pagan/ G.H. Luce.	10	2	1920	41-48
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Christianity

Christianity is an Abrahamic monotheistic religion based on the life and teachings of Jesus Christ, who is the focal point of the Christian faith. It is the world's largest religion¹¹ with over 2.4 billion followers, or 33% of the global population known as Christians.

This category extracts the articles on Christianity appeared in the JBRS (1911-1977). In the JBRS, the researchers wrote some articles relating to the Christian missions. According to the List of the JBRS, three articles are included in English language. One of them, the article was written by G. Appleton. "Christian missions in the Nicobars." Among those articles, the following the article is presented in brief.

"Felix Carey and the English Baptist mission Burma. B.R Pearn. 28.1 (1938) 187-192."

In this article, the writer wrote about Felix Carey` He is the eldest son of Dr. William Carey, the pioneer of English missionary enterprise, was born at Moulton in Northampton.

Table 9: Articles on Christianity- Mission

No.	Title / Author	Vol.	Pt	Year	Pages
1.	Christian Missions in Burma /by Rev. W. C. B. Purners. Review by A.D K.	1	2	1911	57-59

¹¹. Rachel Zoll, *Study: Christian Population shifts from Europe* (Associated Press. Retrieved 25 February 2012, accessed 6 August 2017), available from <http://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/christ...>

2.	Christian Missions in the Nicobars/ G. Appleton.	30	1	1940	347
3.	Felix carey and the English Baptist Mission in Burma/BR. Pearn.	28	1	1938	187-192

Hinduism

Hinduism is the dominant religion of the India subcontinent and consists of many diverse traditions. It includes shaivism, Vaishnavism and Shaktis among numerous other traditions, and a wide spectrum of laws and prescriptions of daily morality based on Karma, dharma and societal norms. Hinduism is the world's third largest religion with over 1.15 billion followers or 15-16 % of the global population, known as Hindus.¹² Hindus form the majority of the population in India, Nepal and Mauritius. Significant Hindu communities are also found in other countries.¹³

In this category, it involves three articles. All articles were issued in English Language. One of them, the article was written by Taw Sein Ko in Myanmar. "Is there any separate temple dedicated to Braham in India?"

"The word of Lalla. Review of Sir Richard" Temple's work." P.G.G. 15:2 (1925) 162-163.

It was written about the Lallā Vākyāni. Lalla was a Mystic Prophetess of ancient Kāśmir who flourished in the last quarter of the 19th Century.

Table 10: Articles on Hindusim

No.	Title / Aughor	Vol.	Pt	Year	Pages
1.	The Brahmanical Gods in Burma R.P.C.	24	2	1934	112-114
2.	Is there any separate temple dedicated to Brahma in India? /Taw SeinKo.	8		1981	2

¹². "The Global Religious Landscape-Hinduism", A report on the size and Distribution of the worlds Major Religious Groups as of 2010(Pew Research Foundation. Retrieved 31 March 2013, accessed 6 August 2017), available from <http://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hid...>

¹³. Steven Vertovec, *The Hindu Diaspora: Comparatice Patterns*. (Routledge. 2013, 1-4, 7-8, 6-64, 87-88, 141-143, accessed 6 August 2017), available from <http://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hid...>

3.	The word of Lalla. Review of Sir Rechard Carnac Temple's work/ P.G.G.	15	2	1925	162-163
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Islam

Islam is a religion that believes in one God (Allah). All of its teachings and beliefs are written out in the Qu'an (also spelled Quran or Koran) People who follow Islam are Muslims. It is the world's second largest religion and the fastest growing major religion in the world with over 1.8 billion followers or 24.1% of the global population.¹⁴

According to the list of JBRS, there is one article on Islam. It was published in English Language. Information about the religion of Iranism People was written by G.K. Narinam, review by CD.

Table 11: Articles on Islam

No.	Title / Author	Vol.	Pt	Year	Pages
1.	The religion of Iranism People/ by G.K. Narinam Review by CD.	2	1	1912	119-121

Findings and Discussion

The paper presents to know the articles on religion issued in JBRS, (1911-1977). According to the list of JBRS, 92 articles on religion were included. Those articles consist 85 of Buddhism, three of Christianity, three of Hinduism and one of Islam in which are information about the Buddhist Philosophy, pagodas, biography, Christian missions, etc.

Included articles on religion in the JBRS were written by the scholars and researchers from western countries and Myanmar. Among those writers, U Shwe Zan Aung, U Pe Maung Tin, C. Duroiselle and G.H Luce wrote many articles on religion, especially in English Language. Most common articles covered about Buddhism, especially in Myanmar Buddhism.

¹⁴ Pew Research Center. *Why Muslims are the world's fastest-growing religious group* (2017-04-06 Retrieved 2017-5-11, accessed 6 August 2017), available from <http://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/IS>.

Studying in Buddhism category, it was founded that writers wrote 85 articles, consisted of 79 articles in English and six articles in Myanmar language. In this category, most of the articles were written by U Shwe Zan Aung, U Pe Maung Tin, C. Duroiselle and G. H. Luce. As well as, most of the writers wrote extensively on Budhisattva Maitreya in Burma, Buddhism in the inscriptions, Buddhist Philosophy of the real, Dialogues of the Buddha, Mahayana Buddhism, Theravada Buddhism in Myanmar and Pagodas, etc. Under this heading, 21 articles were involved in books reviewed.

Under the category of Christianity, it was found that there were three articles. All articles were written in English Language. Among those articles, one article was involved in book reviewed.

In the heading of Hinduism, it was found that three articles were involved. Those articles were written by the writers, R.P.C, Taw Sein Ko and P.G.G in English Language. Especially, this category also included about Brahmanical Gods in Burma (Myanmar).

In the category of Islam, one article was presented. It was written by G.K Nariman in English Language. It was also included in book reviewed. The following table reveals the list of articles and name of writers on religion in the JBRS.

Table: 12: The List of Articles and Name of Authors

Sr.No.	Name of Author		List of Articles Written by Authors	
	Myanmar	English	Myanmar Author	English Author
1.	Editors			1
2.	U Hpe Aung	A.D.K	1	1
3.	Lu Pe Win	Ananda M.	1	1
4.	Maung Mya	Bhikku silācāra	1	4
5.	U May Oung	BR. Pearn	2	1
6	U Pe Maung Tin	C.Duroiselle	11	10
7.	U Po Saung	C.M. Enriquez	1	3
8	San Sainong Mangrai	Chi Hsien-Lin	1	1
9.	San Shwe Bu	G.appleton	2	1
10.	Saya Thein	G.H-Luce	2	5
11.	U Shan	G.K. Narinan	1	3
12.	Taw Sein Ko	G.R.T. Ross	3	3
13.	Dr. Than Tun	J.S. Furnival	5	2
14.	U Shwe Zan Aung	K.M. Ward	11	2
15.	U Tin	K.N. Kar	1	1
16.		Mayor. Duncan		1
17.		N.		1
18.		P.GG		1
19.		R.P.C		1
20.		S.		3

21.		W.C-Cooper		1
22.		W.S.Deasi		1
23.		Yeo Wun Sin		1
Total			43	49

All in all, this study can be found that most articles on religion appeared in the JBRS (1911-1977) were written by the writers from western countries. As well as, most writers wrote many articles on Buddhism in Myanmar in English language. Out of 92 articles based on religion, 23 articles were involved in Books reviewed. Among those articles, four are Myanmar writers and 19 articles are English writers. Moreover, some articles were translated in both Myanmar and English language. By studying the paper, anyone will come to know that what kinds of articles on Buddhism and others were appeared in which religion and who were the writers of those articles.

Conclusion

As a Journal of the Burma Research Society was distinguished and reliable association, the articles appeared in JBRS were written by distinguished scholars in their respective field of subject. Therefore, it can be said that the article in the JBRS is a result appeared by effort of scholars.

In this JBRS, articles on religion in Myanmar were written by the researchers in the JBRS during 1910 – 1977. This paper presents to analyse the articles on religion issued in JBRS, (1911-1977). According to the list of JBRS, 92 articles on religion were founded. Those articles involve 85 of Buddhism, three of Christianity, three of Hinduism and one of Islam. In this paper, articles on religion describes with the information on articles title, author, volume, date of publication, number and page numbers.

Therefore, it can assist in understanding the nature of religion. It also provides descriptive and evaluative information about religion widely and extensively continues to study on Myanmar research paper and articles. Moreover, this paper is beneficial for the readers who interested in Buddhism, Hinduism, etc.



Figure 1: The Crest of The Society

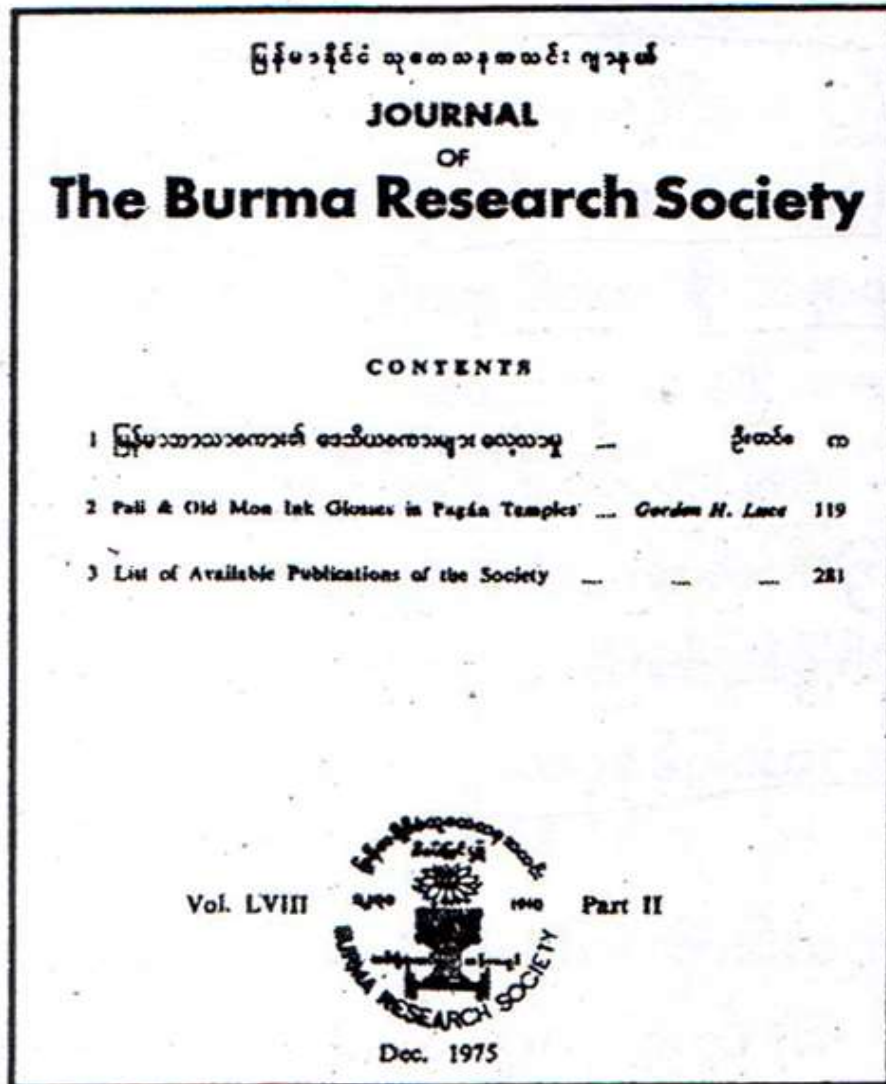


Figure 2: Cover of Journal of The Burma Research Society Volume 53 (1970)

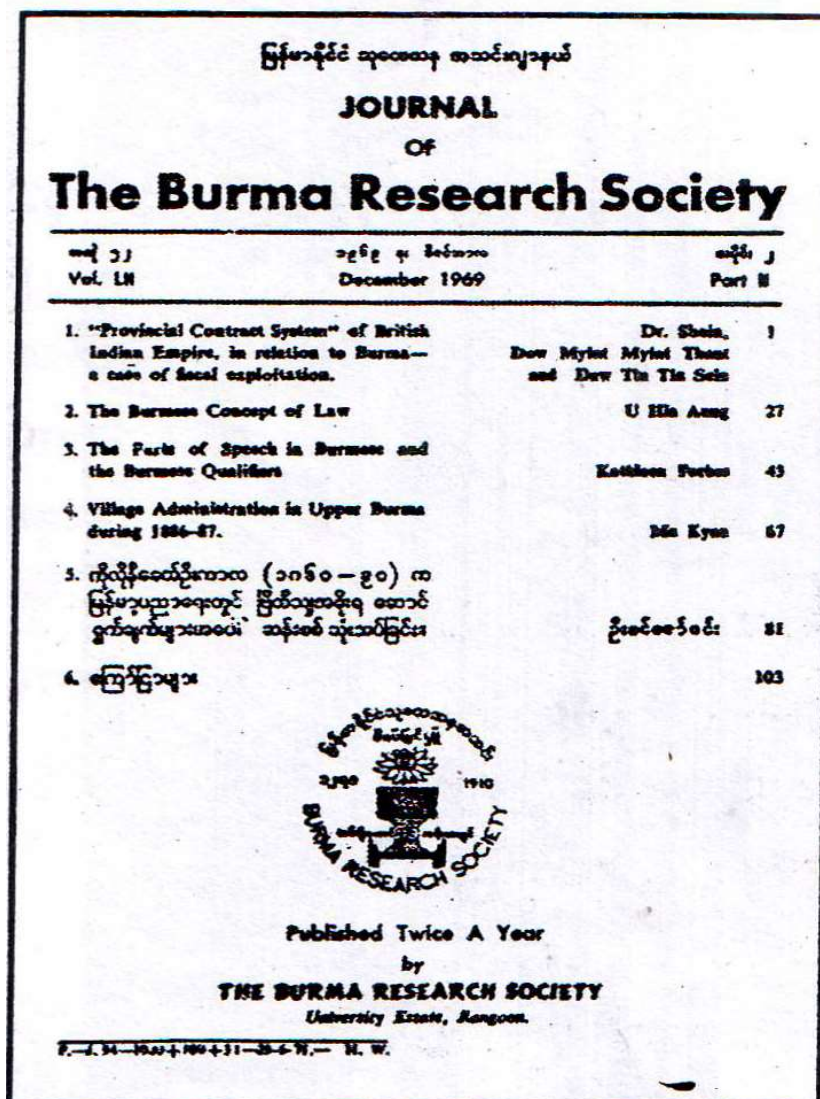


Figure 2: Cover of Journal of The Burma Research Society Volume 53 (1970)

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AN ANALYSIS OF MANUSCRIPTS BY DR. THAN TUN

KhinThida Latt*

Abstract

In the field of History in Myanmar, Dr. Than Tun is well known as the one and only of Myanmar. He himself not only wrote research papers but also supervised others'. Besides, several books and articles by Dr. Than Tun were published, but still his typewritten pages and manuscripts left. The topics in his manuscripts, which are presented in this paper, are very interesting and educative to others. In these manuscripts include historical evidence, cultural History, social affairs and so on. This paper aims to share valuable manuscripts by Dr. Than Tun, a rare type of Myanmar scholar, to researchers, librarians and historians. The method used in this paper is literature survey method.

Key Words: rare, valuable, historical, manuscripts, evidence

Introduction

Of the works by Dr. Than Tun from 1948 to 2005, his hand written scripts are presented. In doing so include the rare ones such as Literature and YARZAWIN, Mahatma and India Independence and the old irrigation canals at Kyauk-hse region. And is also described Anyein by Ludu Daw Amar, which Dr. Than Tun translated into English.

In Literature and YAZAWIN, his comparative study of Myanmar literature and Myanmar culture is very interesting to the reader. In Mahatma and India Independence, it is found that Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was the able one who could successfully lead his people to get Independence. It shows his great intention, which Anyein, a Myanmar culture, can be known all over the world, that he translated it into English. In the old irrigation canals at Kyauk-hse region, it is seen that ancient Myanmar kings were very skilful at dealing with dams and irrigation canals that play an important part in Myanmar cultivation.

As a matter of fact, it is deeply believed that the hand written scripts by Dr. Than Tun should be studied as the national heritage.

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Objectives of the Study

- to know about Dr. Than Tun manuscripts
- to support the researchers, faculty members and students for their studies
- to support these manuscripts to historians and scholars

Literature and Yazawin

Sayar-gyi (Dr. Than Tun) wrote comments about Literature and YAZAWIN of Myanmar. In this writing, include the beginning of Myanmar Literature, comparing literature with YAZAWIN and the future prospect of literature. They are presented as particular parts.

It is needed to know when Myanmar began to be able to write and read in the culture. Over a hundred years or two hundred years after writing started, it may have become pithy. The scholars considered that writing and reading came into prominence in Myanmar even in the four century, but in those days, there were still no one called Myanmar on the land of Myanmar. Myanmar people were not able to write before the eleven century.

Generally, literature is a kind of writing style based on inspiration. There are two kinds-prose and verse-in literature. So, it should be deliberated whether the prose of MahaYAZAWINGYI is literary style or not. YAZAWIN may be considered as a collection of short- stories or a record of politics, economics and social affairs of the race concerned. Though it is not created with imagination, it is a touchstone of culture. U Kalar's writing was good and masterly prose, YAZAWIN distinctly includes in Myanmar literature as a part.

The writing style of early Bagan era was brief and had a few words. It became improving in the late Bagan era and its syntax and usage also became long. The kind of verse with four syllables in a paragraph is found on the stone inscription of early Ava era . Guta Vei-hman Kyaung Mogun by Shin Maha Silawonsa is a good model for the poetry form above. The prosody became developing very well in Myanmar literature only in Ava era.

Myanmar literature began with Five Hundred and Fifty Jataka Stories. Every Myanmar people is familiar with these stories and, but their writing

style is so good that it can make the reader interest in them. From it, YAZAWIN was written in poetry form such as Mogun, Aye-gin and so on. Nevertheless, based on only imagination, no one presented deep ideas in those days. On the other hand, the deep ideas based on the events of real life were presented in Egypt literature and Babylon literature.

They expressed the poor's trouble, bad deeds, well striving to get good things and so on. The social affairs of those days can be known through the literature concerned, so those who study YAZAWIN should investigate the poems such as pjou (poem of epic proportions), mo gun; (poem of a significant event), and ei: gjin: (classical poem addressed to a royal child extolling the glory of ancestors), jadu (lyrical ode on the seasons, love, etc.) and jagan (satirical poem).

Comparing with YAZAWIN, literature continues to develop, but no literary forms advanced. It means that the stories from India were presented on the stage of Myanmar in those days, but now, the ones from Europe, India, China, Malaysia and Thailand. As a result, it is said that, though literature develops, no its forms change. Yet, the experience and thought of real life can be more presented than those days. It is firmly believed that they will be able to be more done in text in the future.¹

Mahatma and India Independence

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was the leader of India Independence Movement. He was the able one who bravely participated in revolting against the British, organising his people. He made workers, farmers and the educated take part in the association ruled by the colonial capitalists and native feudal lords. This could cause the movement that change India in any way. It was a thought for Sayargyi (Dr. Than Tun) whether the people nurtured Gandhi or Gandhi led the people to the Independence Movement.

Seeing the events under the British rule, Gandhi wanted to be against the oppression. In this way, he valiantly participated in the movements. As a result, it can be said that there is a interrelation between the leaders Mahatma Gandhi and the people's movements.

¹ Dr. Than Tun. "Yazawin". Special Collections, Lodu Library, Mandalay.

Mahatma Gandhi never lost sight of the people. He lived like the poor in India, his country, and considered their problems as his. He came to know that there could be no Independence without the India people and did regard the people must have got determination, but not lose kindness. Then, he addressed that the people could get Independence only when they had the two qualities above- determination and kindness. Gandhi wrote that he himself did not hate the British. He told that the India people would be skilled at home rule when they had helped the British in World War I.

The conflict between Hindu and Muslim in India was an obstacle for getting Independence. So, he did emphasize to join the movements together. And then, Gandhi started the civil disobedience with the Salt March on April 6, 1930. This continued to the succession of the people's strikes and the violence also broke out. Gandhi said that he wouldn't take part in the India movements at India Congress on December 30, 1934. But, in October, 1940, he led the civil disobedience again and proclaimed to drive the British out of India. On August 8, 1942, so did he again. At that time, most of the leaders including Gandhi were arrested. During the five months, 940 people were killed and 1630 people were hurt. On May 6, 1944, Gandhi was released from prison because of his poor health. Though the war ended, the British army did not leave India straightforwardly. Accordingly, in the late 1945, the strikes were continuously called. And, the unrest, violence and starvation started to break out all over the country on November 22, 1945. In the early 1946, the Royal Indian Navy mutiny occurred and so did the workers' strikes in 1947. Under the leadership of Gandhi, the India people could get their independence on August 15, 1947. But, their motherland was divided into two states –India and Pakistan. So, Gandhi had to go on with the activities for India. Then, Gandhi, the leader of India, said that we could not conquer the British with any weapon, but only our mental faculty. As a result, the victory of India is Gandhi's. On the day when India got her Independence, Gandhi was spinning without eating any food. ²

² Dr. Than Tun. "Mahatma and India Independence ". Special Collections, Lodu Library, Mandalay.

The old irrigation canals at Kyauk-hse region

Through Myanmar history, It is found that getting enough water has been very important in cultivation since the ancient times. So, the irrigation has been earnestly done in Myanmar since. A Myanmar king very famous for it was the king Anowrahtta in Bagan in the eleven cencuntry.

The king Anowrahtta, who founded the First Myanmar Naing Ngan in unite, did emphasize on the farming so that Kyauk-hse region could be called Myanmar's granary. Before his times, it was difficult to cultivate in this region, for it is a hot, dry region. Though there are the rivers such as Myint Nge, Panlong, Zaw-Gyi, Samone in Kyauk-hse region, the cultivation could be done only in Nayon, the third month on Myanmar calendar, for water can be got only in this month. It means that the cultivation depended on rain.

As a result, the king Anawrahtta built the irrigation canals very well in order to develop Kyauk-hse region. It shows that he was farsighted. For the development of Kyauk-hse region, the king built up the four dams-Kin-tar, Nga-line-zin, Pyaung-pyar, Kyee-mae - on the Panlong river, and the three dams-Nwa-tat, Nga-pyaung, Kun-sae - on the Zaw-gyi river.

The British government repaired and upgraded the dams built by ancient Myanmar kings from 1890 to 1905 with the help of modern technology. In the late 1905, as a diverging point of current, the main canals of the Zawgyi river - Ta-mot, Min-yè, Thin-twae, Kun-sae, Nwa-tat-were connected with the small ones that sent out water to the remote fields for cultivation. And, in 1925-26, not only Zee-taw dam but also the dams and irrigation canals of the Panlong river were repaired. Under the British government, especially Kin-tar dam was also done. Only at the original place, the British and today's technicians usually continued to use the dams and irrigation canals built by ancient Myanmar kings. It shows that the Myanmar kings could rightly choose the places for dams.

Besides, the canals in those days could not be equipped with floodgates like nowadays, but in the lowlands, the creeks were made in order to control the overflow of the river. And, the canals were curvedly constructed to protect bank erosion and speed of water flow. As a result, ancient Myanmar

kings' idea concerned with their canals and dams is very admirable to modern people.³

Anyein

ANYEIN is a kind of Myanmar entertainment that developed quite recently. Here is the story of its development. Unlike Zat or Yokethay that plays the whole night, an Anyein performance usually begins at 9:00p.m, and it would be over to enjoy it. Elaborate preparations are not necessary to stage this show and a few yards square of open space would suffice. And there are several excuses to get it performed. The sound of Anyein music could easily lead one to its source and to witness on Anyein one does not have to make reservations or to buy tickets. If you do not feel like retiring to bed early or if you find the night stuffy or if you feel that you need a walking exercise, go find an Anyein. The audience would be sitting on mats and you just stand for a few minutes at the edge of the seated crowd and "do the sampling". If you find the performances nice join the crowd. You would be only welcome. And if you allow yourself to stay on till the end of the show, give anyone of these excuses; the Lubyeks were so clever; the nautch-girls know their art very well; they were pretty; their voices so sweet or the songs are so mourning-full and you would be well understood. It is easy to enjoy on Anyein.

An Anyein is a conglomeration of these three; (1) the nautch-girls called Minthamees (2) the male companions called Lubyeks and (3) the music troupe. The girl sings and dances. Her songs are not necessarily composed about love and romance only. She has been given a wide licence. Any topic of popular or current interest could be the theme of her song. No one has set any limits to the scope of such songs nor such a limitation is considered necessary. Thus there are Anyein songs of love or war, and all social aspects of life, not excluding politics. Then what about Lubyeks? The freedom of speech is theirs and it is the most notable feature of the Myanmar Anyein. In an interval between one spree of singing and dancing and another by the nautch-girl, the male partners of the show talk and act funny. They provide a breather of five

³ Dr. Than Tun. "The old irrigation canals at Kyauk-hse region ". Special Collections, Lulu Library, Mandalay.

to fifteen minutes, and they might talk anything blasphemy, lewdness or satire, even to ridicule the liege lord.

Now you would like to know what are the occasions that called for an Anyein performance. Again, there is no limit, the excuse is there when a child get to be named or a special man is employed to say the prayer with offerings for the household called Phaya Koe Zu or the wonderful triumphed in the local tug-of-war or a good officer is being transferred to the Shan State or the father of a local tug-of-war monk died or a pretty good percentage of students of a local school pass the final examination this year or three candidates from the superman's tutorial school pass the examination with distinctions, etc. The reasons are many and varied.

This four-poster bed would be moved to a required place and using the four corner posts a cloth canopy was fixed above the platform. A few lamps of big glass bowing or six-sided glass cases to hold big candlesticks were hung down from the curtain rods. That was the stage of the show.⁴

Conclusion

The articles and books Dr. Than Tun, a researcher on History wrote in his times are very valuable to those who are interested in History. According to a term paper, only a few hand written scripts by Dr. Than Tun can be presented though there are many. I do intend to carry on with his works later.

His hand written scripts including the ones in this paper are not still printed, so they should be published for the sake of the people. I think the authorities concerned are responsible to do so. In short, I'm so pleased if the reader may get any knowledge and idea through the hand written scripts in this paper.

Acknowledgement

First of all, I would like to mention my sincere gratitude to U Aung Myint Oo (Librarian, Lodu Library). Dr. Zaw Soe (Lecturer, Department of International Relations) and U Yè Yint Soe (Poet Nay Yu) for the supervision and approval.

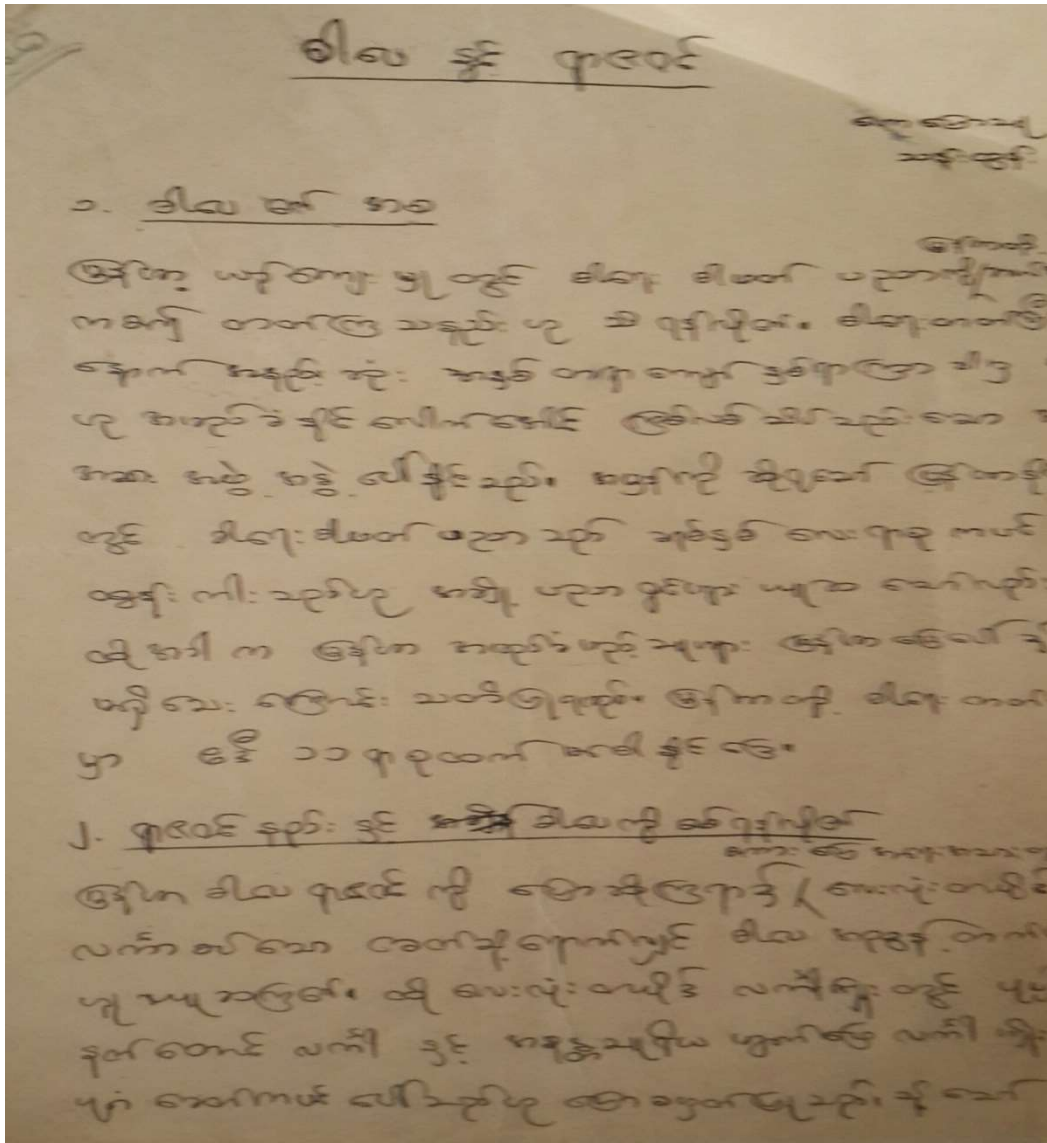
I am also grateful to Dr. Sandar Oo (Professor and Head), Department of Library and Information Studies, Yadanabon University for her guidance to complete this paper.

⁴ Dr. Than Tun. "Anyein ". Special Collections, Lodu Library, Mandalay.

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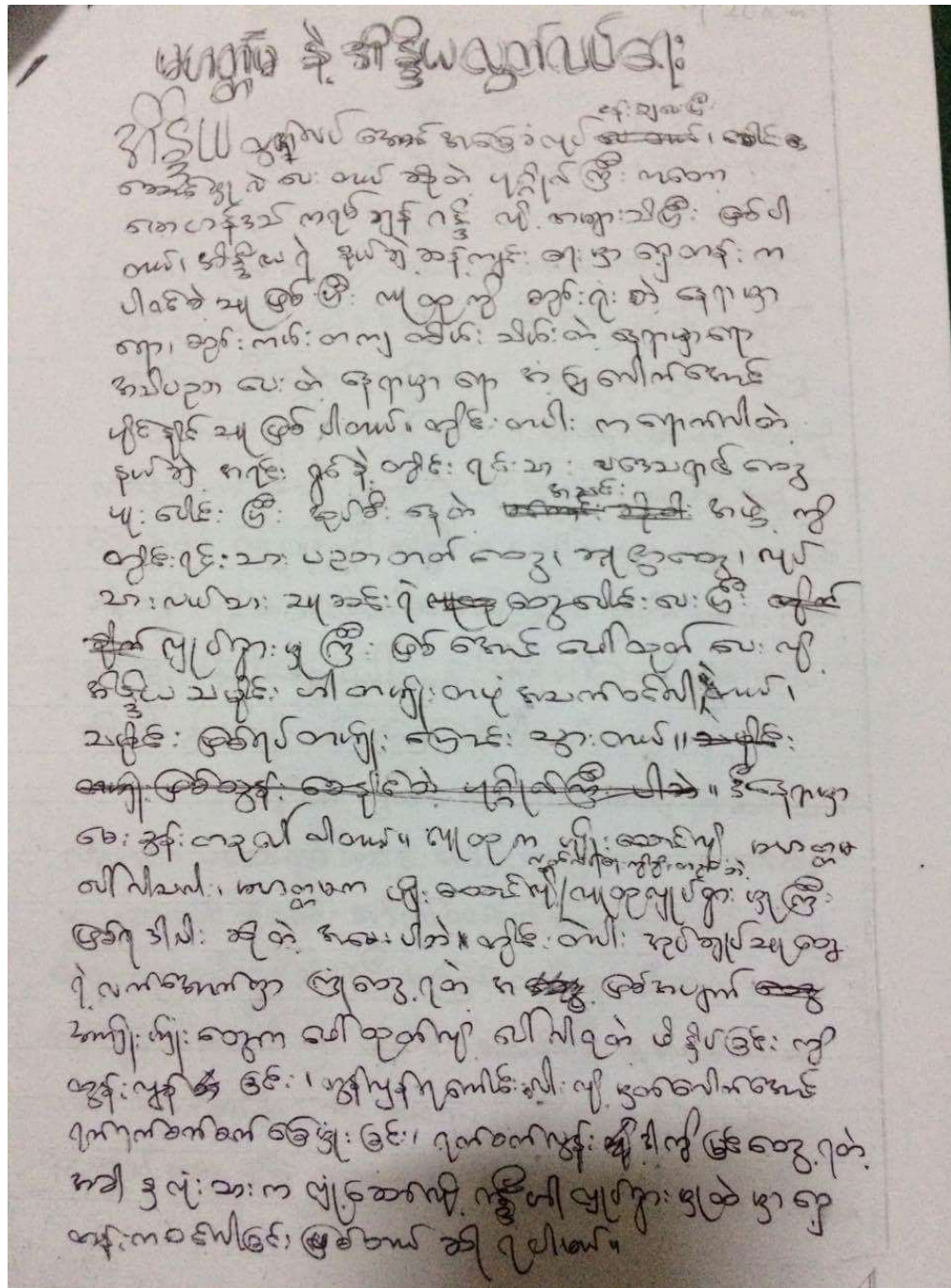


Figure 2: Manuscript of Dr. Than Tun

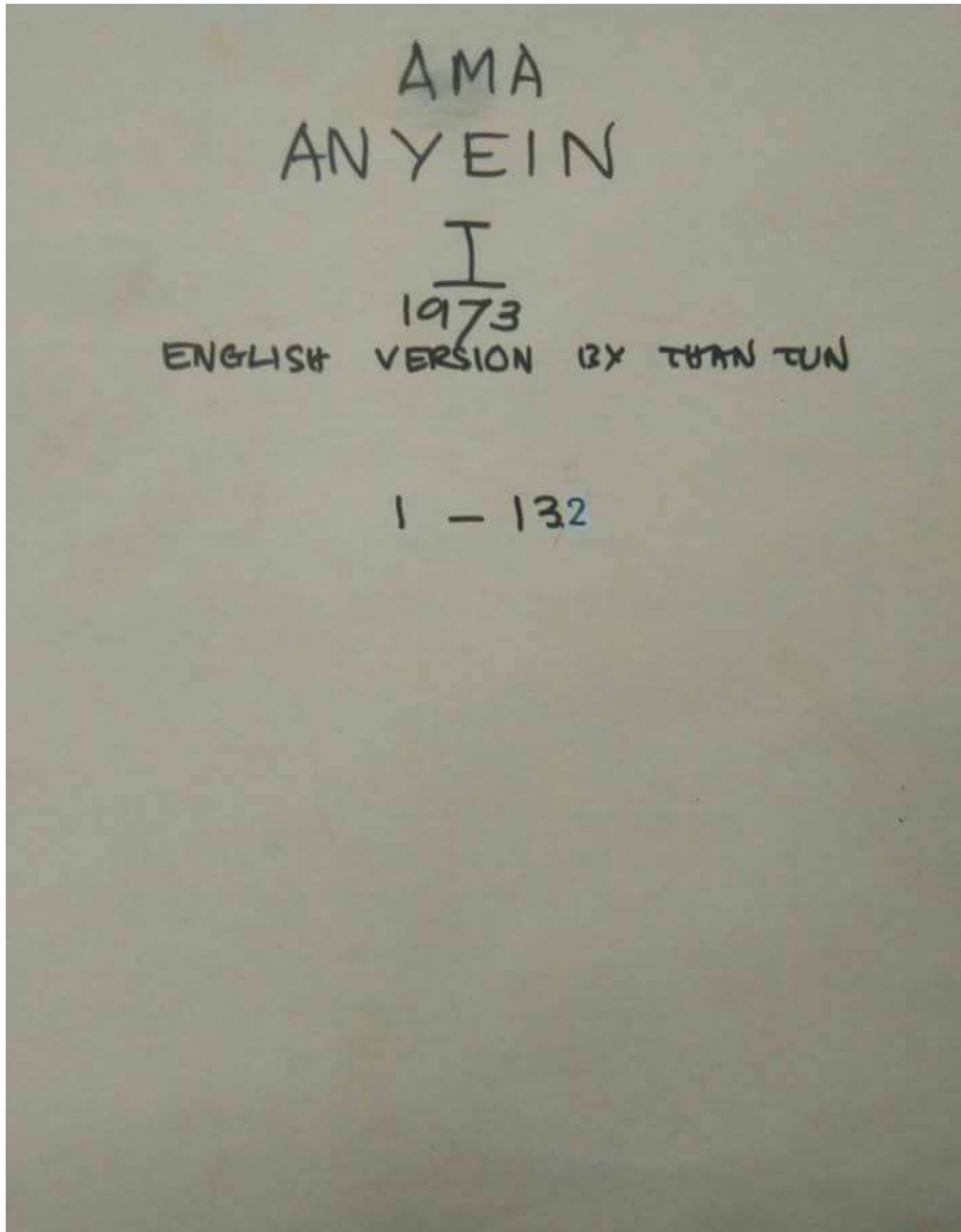


Figure 3: Manuscript of Dr. Than Tun