TRADITIONAL FUNERAL CUSTOMS AND PRACTICES IN MYANMAR SOCIETY

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Abstract

Every society has its own culture. Depending on people's geographical and historical background, cultural practices differ. In Myanmar, traditional funeral practices are different among the ethnic groups. Myanmar is currently undergoing rapid urbanization. As a consequence, funeral practices are also changing in an urban context. In particular, the practicality and cost of a funeral in an urban setting are significantly different from the rural context. In urban areas like Yangon, free funeral service societies are emerging every ward and every township. Although funeral services have changed with urbanization, however, the customs related to death continue to be practiced. The topic of my paper is "Traditional Funeral Customs and Practices in Myanmar society". The aim of this study is to find out how death customs are practiced in Myanmar society and how urbanization affects funeral rites. Qualitative research methods such as key informant interviews and observation were applied in the data collection. As a result, in Myanmar society, no matter what the urban form, the rituals of death continue to be practiced in accordance with traditional beliefs.

Keywords: urbanization, death, funeral services, traditional belief, customs

Introduction

Customs and practices are not culture but a part of culture. Death and its associated rituals are one of the key rites of passage in the human life cycle and play a significant role in the function and organization of our societies (Turner, 2008). In every culture, neighbors and relatives have helped the funerary ceremonies since ancient times. Most countries are currently undergoing rapid urbanization, and as a consequence funeral practices are also changing in the urban context.

Urbanization is one of the defining trends over the past two centuries, resulting in often dramatic changes in social structures and practices as the relationship between people and the place is redefined (Harvey 1987, Kelly 1999, Forbes 2016). In China, with the continuous growth in population, industrial growth, and the acceleration of urbanization, ecological and environmental problems have been intensifying and spatial limits that affect key social practices, such as funerals, have increased (Zeng Sweet *et al*, 2016).

Similarly, Japanese traditional funeral systems have undergone changes due to urbanization. Murakami Kokyo (2000) describes funerals in Japan, where the funeral was traditionally handled by neighborhood funeral cooperatives and the village community. However, because of widespread migration of people into cities, these community and human relationship networks have also changed. As a result, when there is a funeral in the city, the connection between the people and temples is weak and it is very difficult to set up mutual-aid associations. Due to urbanization, traditional funeral services have changed and Funeral Companies and funeral insurance are used to this day.

Thai people, who live across the border from Myanmar, also practice Buddhism and perform similar funeral services. Like the Myanmar people, when a person dies, a coin is taken and placed in the mouth of the corpse, and a cotton thread is taken to bind the hands and feet of the corpse. A pretty flower is placed in the hands of the body (Phra Khru and Charles F. Keyes, 1980).

Also, in Japan, the Japanese people use many flowers as decoration as much they can afford. In a funeral ceremony, family of the deceased hand out packets of salt for attendees. It is done so because when they come back home, they can cleanse themselves with salt (San San Oo,

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2020b). The Japanese also hold ceremonies such as a seven-day ceremony, a 49-day ceremony, first Bon ceremony, 1st, 3rd, 7th, 13th, and 33rd-year anniversary memorial services. Although the seven-day ceremony was held separately, some families nowadays include it on the day of the cremation, due to a lack of leisure (Mark, 1996). According to Japanese law, when a person dies, he is cremated only after a 24 hours lapse. Then, according to the Japanese calendar, the funeral ceremony is not allowed to be held on days of Tomobiki which is friend's day. It is believed that friends of the deceased may die because it is Friends' Day (San San Oo, 2020b).

The rules around death are very important to all members of Chinese society. It is widely believed that bad luck will come to a family that does not honor the rules. In the Chinese Buddhist community, when a person dies, relatives and friends pour water over one hand of the deceased in a bathing ceremony. They then place the body in a casket and surround it with flowers, candles, and sticks of incense. Memorial ceremonies are held on the seventh, fiftieth, and hundredth days after death (http://www.royalpalmmemorial.com, 29.1.2020).

In 1990, Myanmar people today encounter many funerals-related difficulties including the sharp rise in transportation costs as a result of cemeteries being moved to the outskirts areas which are far away from the wards of human settlement. It places financial pressure, on the family of the deceased. The number of those who give a helping hand has also deceased because of urbanization (Kyaw Yin Hlaing, 2007). Therefore, in urban areas such as Yangon, funeral services have changed due to urbanization. Now, in every Township and ward, funerary associations are established to try to alleviate the agony and the pain of the bereaved families to some extent (San San Oo, 2020a). However, I would like to explore whether the traditional funeral customs will continue with urban development. Therefore, this research will focus on how death customs are practiced in Myanmar society and how urbanization has affected funeral rites.

Methodology

The ethnographic research design, a qualitative research method was applied in this study. Ethnography is a social science research method, taking its roots in the fields of Anthropology and Sociology (Agar, 1996). Data sources relevant to this study were also available through secondary sources. In my study, I interviewed a total of thirty participants. Elders and the family members of the deceased, and volunteers of free funeral service societies in Yangon were interviewed to obtain the information concerning practices of traditional funeral customs in the current situation in Yangon.

This study focused on North Dagon Township, Yangon Region. It was established in 1989 and was recently designated as an urban area, so it was chosen as the study area. This study was conducted in 2018-2019. Key informant interviews and observations were conducted in this study. Key informant interviews were conducted with volunteers, family members of the deceased's, and elders who were familiar with the customs of death. Ten community elders, ten volunteers, and ten of the family members of the deceased were interviewed.

Traditional Beliefs and Funeral Practices

The majority of Myanmar people are Buddhists and many believe in the afterlife. Therefore, they believe that only if they do good things in the present existence, they will have a better afterlife. Buddhists believe that, if a person at the time of death is obsessed with his or her children and property, he or she will not emancipate from the life cycle (Samsara). Therefore, they donate robes, money, and food to monks and tend to express their wish that the deceased person may acquire the benefit from their meritorious deed. Moreover, the family members of the deceased person want to do the best for their beloved one's last journey. Therefore, family members conduct the deceased person's last journey in accordance with the traditional custom without fail.

If they fail to do according to custom, they believe that it could be difficult for the dead person to pass on to the afterlife. Therefore, they do their best to perform the last sites of death according to custom in order to provide a better afterlife for the deceased. The mourning period in Myanmar lasts a total of seven days.

Ferry Toll (Gadoe-ga)

According to Myanmar tradition, when a person dies, twenty-five pyas, called "ta-mat" or "mat-sae", is put in the mouth of a dead person. This tradition has been practiced since ancient times until the present. This is known as Gadoe-ga. In the Myanmar dictionary, the ferry toll (Gadoe-ga) is money given for the ferry.

According to oral history, the origin of Gadoe-ga originated on the island of Thi Ho. Long ago, there was an epidemic in a village and many people died. As there were many deaths, the villagers could not bury them all. So, they requested a religious practitioner to help them. This person a *khaung-yan* flower (Hibiscus Rosa-Sinensis) in the hair of the dead body and the clothes on the body tunned inside outside. Then twenty-five pyas is put in the mouth so the dead man as payment for ferry toll. Then the practitioner recited some incantations and infested life into the corpse (*phote-thwin*). The dead body there come alive and stood and walked to the river bank on the west of the village. When he came to the boat of the ferryman, he took out the coin in the mouth, and instantly became a dead body again. The ferryman than rowed the dead body to the other bank and cremated the body. Since then, twenty-five pyas have been put into the mouth of the corpse as ferry fare.

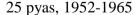
Some believe that such coins appear to be for ferries and that if they fail to put the coin the dead could not be released to go anywhere, he likes. In Myanmar, the twenty-five pyas used as *Gadoe-ga* were produced and in respectively in 1952, 1965, 1966, 1980, 1986, and 1991 (Republic of the Union of Myanmar, 2014). See figure-1.

In Myanmar, coins have been used for decades, but today they are out of use and replaced by one hundred or one thousand kyats as Gadoe-ga. Ten deceased families were interviewed and all were found to have used *Gadoe-ga* for the deceased. A deceased family said that

"Everyone practices the custom of putting Gadoe-ga. Otherwise, the deceased would not be able to go anywhere without it."

As a result, *Gadoe-ga* was gradually transformed from twenty-five pyas to one hundred or one thousand kyats, but the custom is still in practice today.









25 pyas, 1966





25 pyas, 1980

25 pyas, 1986-1991

Source: Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Coin catalog,

Figure-1 "*Ta-mat*"or"*mat-sae*"(25 pyas) or Ferry Toll or Gadoe-ga

Offering of food (Thet Pyauk Swan)

The funeral-related expenses also include cultural norms that have to be followed in accordance with religious beliefs. When a person passes away, a Buddhist monk has to be fetched and then offered alms-food (*Thetpyauksoon-worseppowses*) to share the meritorious deeds with the deceased person. *Thet-pyauk-swan* literally means "offering of foods to monks for the benefit of the deceased on the day of his death" (Myanmar dictionary). The practice of bathing the dead is also mandatory at home or in a morgue in a cemetery. After that, the corpse is dressed with new clothes. Then, a monk is invited to often a meal known as *Thet-pyauk-swan*. Rice (swam) is put in the alms-bowl, but curries in the food-container. On that day, refuge in the three venerables: Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha are recited to share merit with the deceased person. It is done to share merit with the deceased. Some families offer (*Thet-pyauk-swan*) and the vow of refuge in the Three Gerns (*Tharanagon*) are conducted together. There ceremonies are practiced in every township and ward in spite of urbanization.

Rite of taking refuge in the Triple Gem "Saranagon"

In the past, due to communication and travel difficulties, there was a lapse of five or seven days between the time of death and their rites until relatives arrived. Nowadays, most Myanmar people bury or cremate the body of the dead person on the third day after death, but some bury the dead the same day. On that day, three to five Buddhist monks have to be called for in order to make the vow of refuge in the Three Triple Gems (Saranagon-2009) to share the merit with the deceased person either at home or at the funeral hall.

In the Myanmar Dictionary, the Saranagon means that the monks are invited to the home or the rest house in the cemetery and the bereaved family makes the dedication to the dead person takes refuge in the Triple Gem (Saranagon). When someone dies, Buddhists must perform the rite of taking refuge to the Triple Gem (Saranagon) without fail before cremation. In this rite, people donate robes, money, other requisites and they observe five precepts and share merit to all. When there is failure to perform the rite of taking refuge in the Triple Gem there is much displeasure and eniticism by relatives. Therefore, the rite is deeply rooted in Myanmar's funerary service.

The word "Saranagon" has its origin in the Pali language-saranagamana. "Sarana" means refuge and "gamana" is to take. Therefore, Myanmar believes the essence of Buddhism is to consider the Triple Gem as the real refuge. When anyone does not believe in the Triple Gem or he dies or converts to another religion, Sranagon has no more meaning. In the past, a death invitation the letter was sent to the homes of relatives and friends, but now the deceased's families make announcements on social media. Even though they were unable to attend the funeral, many via social media to convey condolences.

Preparing the dead body

The corpses can be prepared either by themselves or by the cemetery staff who are found to prepare each corpse at a price of 35,000 kyats¹ (23 US\$). If the bereaved family members want to prepare the dead body on their own, they have to fullfill requirements and follow instructions of the cemetery authority. They require things such as a cloth of five-elbow lengths (To wrap the dead body), flowers, 1 water pot, 2 pairs of clothes (One pair of clothes is to dress the corpse and another one is to cover on the dead body), 1 pillow, 1 coconut, incense sticks, and candles. Those things have to be bought and prepared by the bereaved family members themselves. In addition, if the deceased smokes cigarettes, must also be included in the prepared coffin together with a box of rice.

In Myanmar society, there is a tradition of laying the body under a gold umbrella if the deceased is a parent of a monk or a devoted donor. On the day of the burial or cremation, the body of the deceased is decorated with flowers, and friends and relatives sent flowers basket, and wreath to express their sadness and sympathy.

Funeral Procession

In Myanmar culture, there are two kinds of social occasions: Auspiciousness and Inauspiciousness (*Mingalar* and *Amingalar*). Auspiciousness refer to social occasion of joy such as weddings and donation ceremonies. The social occasion of grief means usually means events of death and disaster. There is a Myanmar proverb: "A visit to a funeral is equal ten visits to the monastery". Therefore, people try to go to the social occasion of grief more than that of joy, comforting the bereaved family, and attending a funeral. In days of old, the Municipal Committee provided hearses for a fee in large towns and cities. But usually, the deceased was transported by rickshaw or trishaw, but now with the emergence of free funeral service society they are being transported by hearse (car). See figure (2). If friends and relatives have cars, they use their cars in order to attend the funeral procession.





Figure 2 Transportation before and after of free funeral service societies

In the former times, the dead person was placed in his or her house, and only on the day of burial or cremation cremating, he or she was sent to the cemetery. However, nowadays with increasing urbanization and it is difficult to place the dead body in apartment houses. So, the remains are sent to the morgue of the cemetery. In the past, it was customary to strike the triangular brass gong when transporting the deceased from the home to the cemetery, but now it is struck only when the body is transported from the hall in the cemetery to the crematorium. On the day of cremation, relatives and friends have to go to the cemetery and attend the funeral occasion.

¹ The price of Yayway Cemetery

Myanmar people try to convey the dead person's last journey without fail. The dead person's family members feel proud if there are many people attending their family member funeral.

Moreover, those who accompany the funeral procession on the day of cremation are usually provided with a bottle of purified water and a hand fan without fail. There are two kinds of hand fans such as plastic and paper hand fans. Nowadays, paper hand fans are no longer used and plastic hand fans are becoming more popular. The name and age of the deceased and a *Thanweiga's* poem is printed on the fan. Some bereaved family members who can afford a considerable amount of money give the guests a bottle of soft drinks and a Dhamma booklet along with the aforementioned presents. In some regions, people who attend the funeral are given a bottle of purified water, a hand fan, and a bar of soap or a bag of soap powder as presents. See figure (3 and 4).





Figure 3 Some Dhamma booklets

Figure 4 Hand fan, purified water bottle and Dhamma booklet

It is said that, the purpose of giving soap is in order for the attendees coming back from the cemetery to wash themselves.

A 48-year-old bereaved family member recounted her experience as follows:

"On the day of cremation, the guests have to be provided with invitation letter, hand fan and purified water bottle. Some people even add Dhamma booklet. These presents have to be packed in plastic bags that have to be bought in advance. If we expect a hundred people will accompany the funeral procession, we have to buy and pack a hundred purified water bottles and a hundred hand fans beforehand."

During the funeral, the grieving family will receive a lot of visitors who come to pay condolence. The guests bring their gifts which are practical commodities like money and food for poor families or flower wreaths for wealthy ones. The host will thank them and treat them with some refreshments—tea and black watermelon seeds.

Crushing the Pot

The tradition is that just before the corpse is put into the cremation chamber, the water pot is crushed at the assigned spot. Some crush the pot at the entrance of the house on the way to the cemetery. It is done to indicate that the living and the dead are set apart and that there is no contact between them. Its objective is to prevent that the dead from coming to haunt the bereaved family. It is not known exactly when or who started the practice of breaking the pot of water, but it is believed to be related to the "Atsaka drama" (econ-gi q-og J) in the 550 Nipattaw preached by the Buddha (Ashin Jawti, 2016). Today, the practice of breaking water pots is considered meaningless

from a religious or practical point of view, but it is still practiced by some. Despite the passing of time some are superstitious so the custom of crushing pot remains unchanged to this day.

Splitting coconut

This is another practiced based on superstition. According to my observation, before the dead person is placed into the crematorium, the coconut has to be split. It is split into halves and its liquid is poured on the face of the dead person. To do this, a special place was set up in front of the crematorium. In some regions, this is done in his or her house before conveying the corpse to the cemetery. According to most the reason for doing this is to enable the dead person to be able to live peacefully in the afterlife. One of the bereaved families shared her beliefs about the practice of splitting coconuts as follows:

"Coconut splitting is traditionally practiced, as is the custom in ancient times, and it is believed that the dead can live in peace in the afterlife".

Calling Spirit

According to Myanmar custom, the deceased is invited to attend a seventh-day memorial. To do so, before the body is cremated, one of the flowers decorating the coffin is brought home. In some regions, a branch of a tree near the burial place is brought to the house. When this is done, the name of the deceased is invited to go home to listen to the sermon. When reaching home, it is placed at the house with the dead person's clothes. Rice and curries are placed on a table for the spirit of the dead person till the seventh day. Doing that is letting the spirit of the dead person stay at home within seven days. On the seventh day after death, donations are made to the monks and shared with the deceased, then the flower or branch of the tree is abandoned. This custom is still practiced faithfully by some in cities like Yangon today.

Card playing

According to my interview, most funeral homes play cards, whether for fun or business. Although a dead body is normally placed in a mortuary in cities, corpses have to be prepared only at home in rural towns in accordance with Myanmar's traditional norms. Previously, relatives, friends, and neighbors often came to care for the dead and their families until the body was buried. Some who come for such purposes often engage in group conversations, while others engage in card-playing to drive away boredom. The money collected from the card-playing is used to cover the cost of the funeral. Hence, funerals and card game playing have become a co-existing custom for a long time. In the cities, although a dead body is no longer kept at home, the custom of card-playing still persists. The people are permitted to play such card games, only in the times of funerals, because in Myanmar gambling in any form is illegal. However, in the past, they were intended to provide social assistance, but now they are becoming more commercial.

Seven Day Ceremony "Yet-le-swun-thut-ta-yarnar pwe"

On the seventh day after death, five or ten monks are invited and served with a meal and desserts. Requisites such as robes, umbrella, slippers, and towels are donated to the monks. Before the seventh day, relatives and friends are invited beforehand. During the funeral, the bereaved family will receive a lot of visitors who come to pay condolence. The guests bring their gifts which are practical commodities like money and food for poor families or flower wreaths for wealthier ones. As thanks to the guests from the host, rice, curry, or *moghingh*¹ tea and black watermelon seeds are served. From the day of death to the seventh day, the food is prepared is also placed in

¹ Myanmar Traditional Food

front of the photo of the deceased. After taking refuge in the Triple Gem and five precepts, the bereaved family shares merit by calling the name of the dead person. Thus, on the seventh day, the rite of sharing merit dedicated to the deceased person is known as "Yet-le-swun-thut-ta-yarnar pwe".

Memorial ceremony and food

People who can afford money invite monks, relatives, and friends, and offer alms-food to monks in one month of a person's demise. But those who could not afford the money donated only to one monk. When offering alms-food to the monks on the seventh day of a person's demise, Myanmar traditional food, *Mohingar* is mostly fed. At the annual Memorial, people cook their favorite food and serve it to their guests. Then, on a certain day after a year and then annually, offering rice, curries, and desserts to monks are called "Swan-thut-ta-yar-nar-pwe". On that day they share the merit of the deceased to bring them to the afterlife. After that, the guests are also treated with food and snacks. Therefore, even those who are financially not well of do their best to donate as much as they can. Cultural norms and responsibilities for funerals are mandatory because they are social issues related to religious beliefs.

Taboo Custom about Funeral

According to the interview, if a person dies in the hospital or away from home, the body is not allowed back into the village or ward where the deceased lived. It will be kept in the morgue, although in rural areas, it is not uncommon to see a coffin with its corpse laid out for burial on the outskirts of the village. This concept has been practiced for generations and is still believed to be harmful to the people of the village or ward if the corpse is brought back to its place of residence. If a person dies before the burial or cremation of the first-person, the next person must be buried or cremated first. If a person dies on the last day of the month or year, he or she must be buried on that day without crossing the next month or year.

Discussion

In this study, the customs concerning Myanmar people's death are analyzed. It is found that they carry on the customs which must be done when a person dies. It has been observed that the custom of putting a coin in the mouth of the corpse is practiced in Thailand as well as in Myanmar. Although some are more superstitions which are meaningless, Myanmar people have a sensitive concept about the occasion of death. Therefore, they are done without fail. For example, although the custom of *Gadoe-ga* has changed from twenty-five pays to one thousand kyats step by step, this custom is still being continued.

In Myanmar society, the customs of offering food to the monks for the benefit of the deceased person on the day of his death and taking refuge in the three Triple Gems to share the merit with the deceased person are funeral practices that are necessary to be done. In addition, the dead could not eat anything, but rice and curry were usually served to the deceased until the seventh-day ceremony. This practice depends on the religious traditions of the people of Myanmar.

Decorating the deceased with flowers, sending flowers and relatives, and friends send their condolences to the bereaved is still customary. Similarly, according to Phra Khru and Charles F. Keyes (1980), the dead body is decorated with flowers in Thailand, and in Japan, flower arrangements at funerals are an important part of the ceremony. In Myanmar, a bottle of purified water, a Dhamma booklet, a hand fan, and a bar of soap or a bag of soap power are given to attendees who convey the dead person's last journey. Likewise, in Japan people who attend a funeral are given small bags of salt.

As Mark, (1996) described the Japanese hold such ceremonies as seven-day the ceremony, 49-day ceremony, first Bon ceremony, 1st, 3rd, 7th, 13rd, 33rd -year anniversary ceremonies. Although Chinese memorial ceremonies are held on the seventh, fiftieth, and hundredth days after death, Myanmar ceremonies are held on the seventh day, one month, and yearly after death. It is found that the seven-day ceremony is celebrated in Myanmar, as well as in China and Japan. However, despite the Japanese seven-day ceremony being held separately, some families joined in the cremation day. Memorial services are held in every country, but the number of years is different from one culture to another.

In Myanmar, if a person dies before the burial or cremation of the first-person, the next person must be buried or cremated first. If a person dies on the last day of the month or year, he or she must be buried on that day without crossing over to the next month or year. Similarly, the Japanese do not bury their dead on Friends' Day (Tomobiki). Therefore, even Japanese people in developed countries practice taboo customs about concerning funerals.

The deceased was previously held for three or five days but is now being held for one or three days. Previously, death invitations were sent to the homes of relatives and friends, but now via social media. In the past, the deceased was transported by rickshaw or trishaw, but now they are being transported by a car. These changes are due to the features of urbanization, such as population density, traffic problems, and improved communication.

Conclusion

As Yangon became urbanized in Myanmar, the funeral services have changed. Free funeral service societies are now emerging to reduce the burden of funeral cost to the urban poor. However, the customs which need to be done when a person dies are done without change. The custom of putting *Gadoe-ga* in the dead person is done throughout the eras till now. On the day of the death, the customs of offering food to monks for the benefit of the deceased person and taking refuge to the Triple Gem to share the merit with the deceased person are funeral practices that must necessarily be done. As in other countries, it is customary for relatives and friends to send flower baskets and wreaths to the deceased, depending on religious beliefs and social relations.

Although the customs of crushing the pot, crushing the coconut, and calling spirit are not done in the whole country, these customs are done in most places. Moreover, the bereaved family members tend to hold offering alms-food to the monks on the seventh day of a person's demise (called *Yekleswan*), but the affordable people can do the memorial ceremonies monthly on yearly. Till now, playing cards is also found as a custom related to the occasion of death not only in rural areas but also in urban areas. Despite the urbanization, the custom of death is still practiced in different ways. Therefore, in Myanmar society, no matter what the urban form, the rituals of death continue to be practiced in accordance with traditional beliefs.

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