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Contents

Section (i), English

<u>Sr. No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
1	Mya Mya , *An Investigation into Business Knowledge and Business Skills in <i>Market Leader Business English Coursebooks (3rd Ed.)</i>	1
2	Aung Kyi , A Study of State Counsellor's Translated Speech through van Dijk's Ideological Square	15
3	Thida Soe , Tracing Feminist Beliefs of an American Woman Writer through her Well-known Novel	29
4	Su Khine Oo , A Corpus-Based Study of Gender Representation through Incantations and Reporting Verbs Accompanying Incantations in the Novel <i>Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows</i> by J. K. Rowling	41
5	Aung Zaw Moe , A comparative Study of the Translation of Metaphorical Expressions in Zawgyi's 'Being Brave' (<i>Ye Khet The Pa</i>) Poem by Win Pe and Ah May Thar	57

Section (ii), History

<u>Sr. No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
1	Htar Thet Thet Oo , *Finding on Historical Records from the Photos of Yadana (B.O.C Workers Journal) 1956-1962	67
2	Myint Myint Moe , Bullock Cart Making Industry in Salin Township (1886-2014)	79
3	Wai Wai Hein , A Study of the Titles and Title-Related Facts during Konbaung Period	89
4	Aung Myo Tun , Don Paulo OR FR. P. Abbona in Myanmar History	101
5	Kyaw Swe Nyunt , Myanmar Society and Tea Culture	113
6	Khin Mar Lwin , History of the Monasteries in Taungthaman Village Tract	121
7	Myint Myint Than , A Study on the Traditional Bamar Turban	133
8	Nan Hlaing , Laterite Artifacts of the Mons in Lower Myanmar	141
9	Nilar Soe , Comings and Goings of French Adventurers Except Missionaries and Diplomats in Myanmar (1752-1885)	157
10	Nwe Nwe Aung , Achievements of Monasteries in Kyaing Tong for Propagation of <i>Sasana</i>	165
11	Shwe Thazin , The Development of Traditional Medicine in the Early Konbaung Period	177
12	Thaung Win Naing , Trends of Fertility and Mortality in Lower Myanmar (1852-1941); Measuring the Demographic Changes	185
13	Thida Myint , The Sacred Bodhi Tree That Found in the Myanmar Historical Documents of Monarchical Time	195

Section (iii), Philosophy

<u>Sr. No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
1	Chaw Kay Khaing Latt , The Impact of John Locke's Political Thought on the Revolutions in the West	207

Section (iv), Psychology

<u>Sr. No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
1	Nilar Kyu , *The Influence of Parental Pressure and Perceived Control on Career Exploration of Young Adults in Yangon	219

Section (v), International Relations

<u>Sr. No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
1	Chaw Chaw Su Win , *Achievements of Indonesian CSOs in the Democratic Transition: Lessons for Myanmar	235
2	Phyu Phyu Kyaw , Analysis on Cooperation between Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and ASEAN Countries	245
3	Thi Thi Lwin , China's Multilayered Relations Approach Towards Myanmar Since 2011	257
4	Aye Aye Myat , Asean's Stand in Rakhine Case: Involvement or Not	265
5	Oak Soe San , Assessing Myanmar's Geopolitical Consideration: Classical Context to Critical Discourse	277
6	Hein Myat Thu , Mangrove Conservation Efforts in Ayeyarwady Delta	289
7	Aye Ei Ei Aung Than , China-Myanmar Economic Corridor (CMEC) and Its Significant Factors	301
8	Myint Zu Win , The Effects of Public Diplomacy on Tourism Development in Myanmar's Democratic Transition	313
9	Yin Yin Kyi , Myanmar-India Relations: Economic Cooperation After 2011	323
10	Thida , Cooperation between Myanmar and China in Energy Sector: Oil and Gas Since 1988	333
11	Sann Sann Shein , Myanmar's Endeavor on Climate Change Mitigation	345
12	San San Khine , Development Assistance of the Republic of Korea to Myanmar	353

Section (vi), Oriental Studies

<u>Sr. No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
1	Tin Lin Phyo , The Power of Pāli Grammar	363

Section (vii), Archaeology

<u>Sr. No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
1	Soe Ni Tun, *Nanphaya: The Brahma's Temple in Bagan Period	373
2	Ei Shwe Sin Phyo, Burial Rites and Ceramics: Evidence of Early Metal Age Society in Samon Valley	385

Section (viii), Archaeology

<u>Sr. No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
1	San San Oo, Traditional Funeral Customs and Practices in Myanmar Society	395
2	Sandar Win, Reflections on Ancestor Worship; A Case Study of Poe Kayin People Living in Kamapar Village, Kungyangone Township, Yangon Region	405

AN INVESTIGATION INTO BUSINESS KNOWLEDGE AND BUSINESS SKILLS IN *MARKET LEADER BUSINESS ENGLISH COURSEBOOKS (3rd Ed.)**

Mya Mya¹

Abstract

Market Leader Business English coursebooks (3rd Ed.) are used for English for Business Course offered in the four-year Bachelor of Arts in English for Professional Purposes (BA (EPP)) Programme. The purpose of the course is to fulfil the needs of EPP graduates who are going to work in various business fields. The purpose of this research was to investigate the business knowledge and skills provided in the coursebooks and their usefulness in EPP employees' business field. Firstly, all English for Business coursebooks used in BA (EPP) programme were studied and analysed using an evaluation checklist proposed by Romanowski (2016) which was based on the theories of Hutchinson and Water (1987), Cunningsworth (1995), McGrath (2002) and McDonough and Shaw (2013) in order to examine business knowledge and business skills contained in the coursebooks. Then, EPP graduates working in business field were given a questionnaire to explore their responsibilities, and knowledge and skills they need in carrying out their daily business schedules and their opinions on the course. After that, the data were investigated and it was found that the business knowledge and skills contained in the prescribed English for Business coursebooks were suitable and helpful for BA (EPP) graduates and English for Business course was of great help for them to function in business field. The suggestions given were to integrate internship programmes in the course, include more practical tasks and arrange field trips for students so that they will get more experience from actual workplace and learn how the business is going well in real business world.

Keywords: English for Business course, Business skills, Business knowledge

Introduction

Nowadays, in Myanmar, public universities offer Business English courses as Business English is important in grasping job opportunities. The coursebooks used for English for Business Course offered in Bachelor of Arts in English for Professional Purposes (BA (EPP)) programme conducted by National Management Degree College are elementary, pre-intermediate, intermediate and upper-intermediate *Market Leader Business English Coursebook (3rd Ed.)*. According to Frendo (2005), Business English is English people use in their business activities such as negotiating, persuading, telephoning, interviewing, marketing, etc. According to Ellis & Johnson (1994), Business English is an area of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) and a combination of specific content and general content. But Cunningsworth (1995) stated that although the topics included in ESP coursebooks are different from those in general English coursebooks, criteria for coursebook evaluation are the same, adding a point that ESP coursebooks must contain balanced lessons of language and skills which are useful for business context. This arouse the researcher's interest to investigate the English for Business coursebooks prescribed for BA (EPP) programme. A series of *Market Leader Business English (3rd Ed.)* has been prescribed for BA (EPP) Programme starting from the 2012-2013 academic year. However, to the knowledge of the researcher, no research has been carried out to measure the effectiveness of the coursebooks. Thus, this research aimed to explore the business knowledge and skills provided in those coursebooks and their effectiveness in EPP graduates' business life. In this research, an evaluation checklist for Business English coursebook was used in analysing the coursebooks. A survey questionnaire was sent to EPP graduates working in different business fields via email to find out

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the business knowledge and skills they need in performing their tasks. Finally, the collected data were investigated to find out the usefulness of business knowledge and skills in the coursebooks for EPP employees in their business life. As a result, it was found that some practical tasks and writing activities should be added to the coursebooks although they are useful for EPP graduates in terms of business knowledge and skills.

Materials and Method

In order to investigate business knowledge and business skills in English for Business coursebooks prescribed for BA (EPP) students, *Elementary, Pre-Intermediate, Intermediate and Upper-Intermediate Market Leader Business English Coursebooks (3rd Ed.)*, *Teacher's Resource Books* and *Practice Files* were scrutinized, using an evaluation checklist proposed by Romanowski (2016) which was designed for Business English coursebook evaluation. There are ten topics in the checklist. They are “general attributes”, “design and organization”, “language content”, “skills and tasks”, “culture themes and intercultural communication”, “other relevant topics”, “methodology”, “teacher's book”, “practical considerations” and “overall/summary evaluation” (See Appendix A). Then, one hundred and thirty six EPP graduates who completed the course in the 2015-2016, 2016-2017 and 2017-2018 academic years were sent a survey questionnaire via email to explore their duties and responsibilities and their needs of business knowledge and business skills. 31 % of them who were employed in business fields responded to the questionnaire via email. The questionnaire comprised nine questions to search what they usually do in their business career, what business knowledge and skills they use and which language skills they use most in their daily business schedules. The questionnaire was set using open and closed questions taking into consideration the point made by Krosnick (2010) that “open items offer more reliable and valid measurement than do closed items” (See Appendix B). Finally, the collected data were studied to investigate whether the business knowledge and skills in the coursebooks help EPP graduates who work in business fields.

Findings

In this section, the results of the coursebooks' analysis and business skills and knowledge in the coursebooks and duties and responsibilities of EPP employees and the business knowledge and skills they need in their workplace are presented.

Referring to the data shown in Appendix C which is an analysis of *Market Leader Business English Coursebooks (3rd Ed.)*, the coursebooks can be said to aim at pre-experienced students who are still preparing to work in business field as most of the topics deal with general and basic business knowledge. They are not for a particular business field. The coursebooks contain main units and other sections such as revision, case study, writing file, activity file, grammar reference, audio scripts, glossary and working across cultures to be aware of other cultures. Moreover, practice file, test file and teacher's resource book with Audio CD and DVD-ROM are included in the course package. Therefore, the coursebooks were found to be complete. The contents are sequenced on the basis of complexity and learnability with reference to Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR): first year coursebook is of the level between A1 and A2, second year coursebook between A2 and B1, third year coursebook between A2⁺ and B1⁺ and fourth year coursebook between B1⁺ and B2⁺. The layout of each unit is very clear since each unit begins with an overview of the unit. The presentation of lesson sequence is also clear because of sub-headings. Each unit begins with “starting up” activity to introduce students to the topic of the unit, followed by “vocabulary”, “listening”, “reading” and “language focus” and it ends with “business skills”. In addition, pictures, photos, charts are respectively added to the lessons to make them look more authentic and interesting.

As seen in Appendix D which is the analysis of *Vocabularies section provided in each English for Business coursebook*, it can be said that vocabularies taught in English for Business course are fundamental and adequate for students who want to start their business life when they graduate. They are sequenced from more common vocabularies to specific vocabularies related to business. The vocabularies in the first year are quite similar found in most general proficiency coursebooks, for example, nationalities, days, months, dates, leisure activities, adjectives used in talking about jobs, travel details, food and dishes, choosing a product, choosing a service, describing people, etc. In the second year, business vocabularies such as career moves, describing companies, making sales, verb and noun combinations in relation to new ideas, opportunities, stress in the workplace, economic terms, word partnerships in marketing, making plans and describing plans, verbs and prepositions to describe skills and personal qualities, word-building to talk about qualities for negotiators and describing products are found. The third year coursebook deals with more specialized vocabularies such as brand management, British and American English, describing change, company structure, advertising media and methods, financial terms, idioms, employing the right people, free trade, words related to the ethics of different situations, words related to leaders' character, and sports-related competition expressions. In the fourth year, more specialized knowledge and skills that business people should have such as good communicators, marketing word partnerships, describing relations, successful business, synonyms and word-building in relation to the language of motivation and job satisfaction, describing risk, management qualities, prefixes of words used in talking about people and teams in the workplace, financial terms, complaints, handling crises, and describing mergers and acquisitions are included. Thus it is certain that students will be enriched with enough business vocabularies on completion of the course.

From the data shown in *Business knowledge provided in each coursebook* (See Appendix E), it was observed that reading texts are quite authentic and interesting as they are taken from the world's leading sources of professional information and they provide students with sufficient business knowledge. For example, the reading materials in the first year deal with successful business persons with their daily schedules, popular brands, companies, hotels, etc.; in the second year, business companies and their issues and how they expanded their business; in the third year, popular business groups and how they defeat their rival and how they managed their employees; and in the fourth year, business network, business risk, management styles, dealing with crises and finding finance. The reading materials in the first year provide students with basic business knowledge and with more business contents in the second and the third years, and in the fourth year, students are made to reflect the challenges and difficulties they might face in a real business world. Thus, it is clear that the reading materials could really enhance students' business knowledge as well as essential business vocabulary.

Moreover, a topic like "Working across cultures" section was included to help students raise awareness of different cultures in dealing with people with different cultural backgrounds. The cultural contents like cultural attitudes to eating out; different communication styles in China, Germany and the US; aspects of doing business in France and Russia and etiquette when invited into a person's home in Colombia; attitudes to team work in Asian, northern European and southern European countries; how to say "no" politely in different cultures; how to do business internationally; how to participate effectively in international conference calls; how to prepare to do business internationally; cultural difficulties when doing business in an international context; the ways that people communicate, not only through language, but also in other ways; and negotiations in a cross-cultural context can be found in the coursebooks and they can be seen in Appendix F.

Referring to the data shown in Appendix G which is the analysis of *business skills provided in each coursebook*, it can be said that business skills that are useful for students who are going

into the business world are integrated in the lessons of these coursebooks. In the first year, students learn some common language functions and business skills such as introducing oneself, giving opinions, meeting, negotiation and presentation skills. In the second year, essential skills needed to use in business world such as telephoning, presentation, negotiation and meeting skills are taught. In the third year, making arrangements, obtaining information on the phone, considering options, meeting skills, negotiation and presentation skills and in the fourth year, more advanced skills like dealing with communication breakdown, brainstorming, establishing good business relationships, reaching agreement, resolving conflict, active listening, dealing with difficult questions and making presentation are included. In addition, interview skills, social English and cold-calling which are essential in business world are also taught in the fourth year. The percentage of business skills distributed in the coursebooks can be seen in the following table.

Table 1 Percentage of business skills provided in English for Business coursebooks

Skills	Frequency	%
Socializing	4	8
Telephoning	6	13
Participating in discussions	8	17
Interviewing	1	2
Negotiating	6	13
Managing meetings	4	8
Making presentations	7	15
Problem solving	2	4

In order to practise business skills and to equip students with business knowledge and vocabularies for real-life situations, several speaking activities and the case study sections are in the coursebooks. Speaking activities comprise role-play, telephone conversations, group discussions, marketing meetings, preparing and giving presentations, negotiations, holding regular meetings, attending conferences and brainstorming meetings. Case study sections consist of simulations of real-life business world. As most activities are role-plays, students have opportunities to take different roles and different responsibilities depending on their tasks. The case study section puts students in situations that are unavoidable in business fields so that they can develop their business vocabulary, business knowledge and business skills.

Furthermore, the data shown in Appendix H proved that activities in the coursebooks aim to develop the integrated skills of students. The following bar graph shows the distribution of skills development activities in the coursebooks.

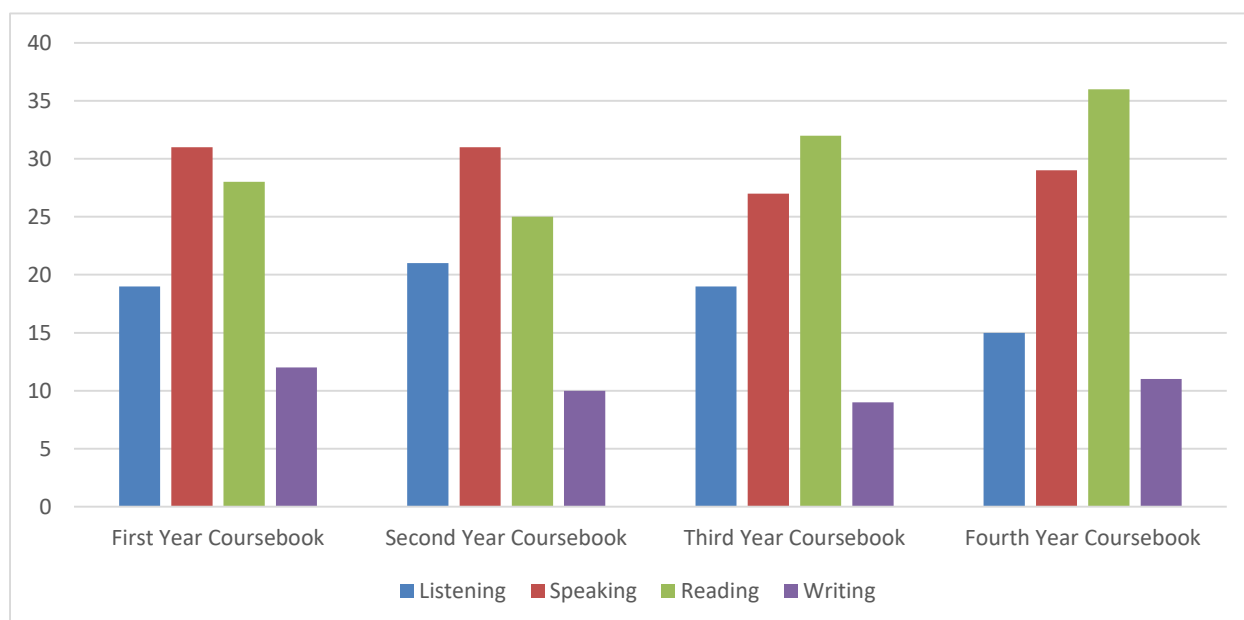


Figure 1 Percentage of activities and exercises for each language skill

As seen in Figure 1, the percentages of reading and speaking skills activities in the coursebooks were higher than those of listening and writing. Materials for spoken English in each coursebook are well-designed to equip students with useful language phrases used in performing their tasks in real-life situations. Speaking activities are developed to initiate meaningful communication having a balance between individual response, pair work and group work. They are also adequate for students who want to do business since the speaking activities called for role-plays, discussions, presentations, meetings that students can practise their knowledge and language taking different roles and responsibilities depending on the situations and problems given. The listening materials in the coursebooks were authentic interviews with business people and background information was provided in the instruction. Moreover, it was discovered that the coursebooks contains a variety of listening tasks such as true/false, fill-in, completion, numbering, taking notes, answering the questions, choosing correct answer, discussion, error correction and summarizing (See Appendix C). Concerning business writing, different genres of business writing which are essential in business fields, for example, email, reply message, product launch, company profile, action minutes, letter, a proposal, report, summary, press release/letter, guidelines, and article/report were found in those coursebooks (See Appendix C). Thus, it can be said that students are more likely to feel confident in their business writing after completion the course.

In addition, from *the findings from the questionnaire sent out to EPP graduates* as shown in Appendix I, some concrete evidences of the helpfulness and effectiveness of English for Business course for EPP graduates can be witnessed.

The following are the findings from the questionnaire which consisted of nine questions.

Responding to Question 1, all respondents replied that the knowledge and skills they acquired from the BA (EPP) programme are applicable to their work since they can perform their tasks easily when they enter the business world.

Concerning Question 2, the use of English at workplace, it was found that over 60% of respondents used over 70% English in their work every day while 16% of respondents used less than 40% English in their daily routine (See Appendix J).

With regard to Question 3, it was observed that the respondents have different duties and responsibilities in their daily life and the skills and knowledge they learnt from the course help them in performing their tasks efficiently. For example, they can communicate with guests and travel agents, build good relationship with customers, participate in business meetings and negotiate prices as they have learnt socializing, establishing good business relationships, negotiation and meeting skills. Moreover, they can perform well in arranging events, brainstorming marketing strategies, solving customers' complaints, planning promotional activities and merchandising materials due to the fact that the coursebooks provide them with making arrangements, brainstorming, reaching agreement, resolving conflict, and presentation skills. As the coursebooks equip them with business knowledge like launching a new product, business strategy, management styles, brands, advertising technique, employee engagement, qualities of successful salespeople, conflict management, trade and the economic issues, raising new business finance, workplace problems, and the importance of teamwork in business, they can deal with project management, strategy development, marketing and digital campaigns, change management, HR strategy planning, employer branding, social media content, event planning for employee engagement and employee well-being, taking care of shopper marketing and creating idea for promotion for shopper, maintaining and developing brand image, developing new products, working with internal and external teams for brand events, and marketing plan.

In response to Question 4, all respondents used all English language skills. But the percentage of language skills they used every day varied according to their duties and responsibilities.

Table 2 Percentage of employees with their most used language skill

Language Skills	No. of employees	Percentage
Listening	10	24
Speaking	9	21
Reading	22	52
Writing	22	52

As shown in Table 2, over 50% of respondents used more reading and writing skills and over 20% used more listening and speaking skills. According to the analysis presented in Appendix H, the coursebooks contained more reading and speaking skills activities than writing tasks. The finding suggests that more writing activities should be added in the coursebooks in order to meet the required skills demanded in their everyday business life.

The responses of participants to Question 5 pointed out that employees had to perform different tasks applying different business skills. 93% of respondents needed to participate in discussions and over 80% involved in problem solving, socializing and negotiating. Over 70% dealt with managing meetings and making presentations, but only 40% needed to conduct interviews (See Appendix K).

Regarding Question 6, as seen in Appendix L, over 90% of respondents had to write emails and reports and over 60% needed to write business letters, action minutes and proposals. 55% had to write guidelines, but only 19% were involved in preparing press release. Thus it is clear that the business writing used most by EPP graduates are email writing and report writing.

The findings of Question 7 proves the effectiveness of the English for Business Course as most respondents did not attend any business English course when they started their business career

though some attended in-house training as well as business management courses (See Appendix I).

In response to Question 8, none of the respondents denied that English for Business Course is of great help to EPP graduates in their business life. Some very positive responses to that question are “English for Business course really makes my life easier at work”; “I don’t have to struggle like others in understanding the usage of Business English words and this also placed me in a better position in doing business deals with foreign companies”; “It gave me knowledge about writing emails, letters, vocabularies to use in meetings, dealing with customers and business partners and help me to get ready for those tasks when I started working”; “Managing meeting is easier and I can make conversation with superiors confidently”; “We can get knowledge concerning companies and products which can help us boost our career as a part in the future”, etc. Thus, in general, it can be summarized that English for Business course provides sufficient knowledge and skills for students. The only suggestion made by EPP graduates is to integrate practical work, projects and field trips into the course so that students can get more experience of actual workplace experiences and learn how to achieve success in real business world.

Discussion

According to the findings of the results of the analysis of English for Business coursebooks and responses of EPP employees, it can be said that business knowledge and business skills in the coursebooks meet the needs of EPP employees in performing their tasks. All the materials and activities in listening, speaking, reading and writing are suitable and support EPP students to enrich business vocabulary and business knowledge and to improve business skills. Although the percentage of exercises for reading and speaking is higher than listening and writing in the coursebooks, the employees need more reading and writing in their everyday business schedule. Thus, it is recommended that more writing activities should be provided with sufficient actual practice as more practical work and visit to real factories and companies are required in order to get more real-life workplace experiences.

As seen in Appendix H, the amount of activities for business skills improvement was sufficient for students because the coursebooks comprise 17% of participating in discussions, 15% presentation skills, 13% negotiation and telephoning, and 2% for interviewing. It shows that the coursebooks contained fewer activities for interview skills than other business skills. In real business world, EPP employees do not use much interview skills. However, it was found that activities for socializing, managing meetings and problem solving are not enough because their percentage was less than 10%. In real business world, over 70% of EPP employees had to use those business skills. Thus, more activities on those skills should be included to give more practice to students.

According to the findings of the percentage of writing activities in coursebooks shown in Appendix M, it can be said that the coursebooks contain the highest number of writing tasks for e-mail as its percentage was 40% and the least percentage went to writing proposals, guidelines and press release. But for writing reports, it was 23% and for business letters 17%. When comparing the percentage of writing activities in each coursebook to the employees’ needs, it was found that more activities for writing reports, business letters, action minutes, proposals and guidelines should be added in order to provide EPP students with adequate writing practice.

To put it in a nutshell, it can be concluded that English for Business coursebooks can equip BA (EPP) students not only with fundamental business knowledge but also with sufficient business skills to be able to function well in various business fields.

Conclusion

With reference to the findings of business knowledge and business skills in coursebooks and EPP employees' needs in their business life, it can be summarized that business knowledge and business skills in prescribed English for Business coursebooks: *elementary, pre-intermediate, intermediate and upper-intermediate Market Leader Business English coursebooks* are of great help to EPP graduates working in business fields. They can fulfil the requirements called for by different job positions and they also meet the needs of EPP employees. Therefore, EPP employees do not need to attend any course for their jobs except the on-the-job training. In conclusion, it can be claimed that *Market Leader Business English Coursebooks (3rd Ed.)* are suitable for students who want to work in different business fields with the exception that more practical work and writing tasks need to be added to the coursebooks.

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Appendix A**The proposed evaluation sheet designed by Romanowski (2016)**

There are ten topics in it. The topics with the detailed questions are as follows:

General attributes

1. What kind of learners is the course book aimed at: pre-experienced or job- experienced students?
2. Is it meant for a specific working area?
3. What components make up the total course package?

Design and organization

1. Is a vocabulary list/index included?
2. Are there reference sections for grammar etc.?
3. How is the content sequenced (e.g. on the basis of complexity, learnability, usefulness)?
4. What visual materials does the book contain (photographs, charts, diagrams)?
5. Are the layout and presentation clear?
6. Are the tests included in the teaching materials (diagnostic, progress, achievement)?
7. Is there adequate recycling and revision?
8. Is it well-organized and can it be used intuitively?

Language content

1. Does the course book cover the main grammar items appropriate for the level, taking learners' needs into account?
2. Is the material for vocabulary teaching adequate in quantity and range?
3. Is the Business English vocabulary clearly introduced?
4. Is vocabulary practice sufficient for the students?
5. Is there any material for pronunciation work included?
6. Does the course book deal with structuring and conventions of language use above sentence level (are tips given on how to structure conversations or various genres of writing)?

Skills and tasks

1. Are all four skills adequately covered?
2. Is there material for integrated skills work?
3. Is material for spoken English (role-plays, dialogues, etc.) well-designed to equip students for real-life situations?
4. Are the speaking activities developed to initiate meaningful communication?
5. Are the speaking activities balanced between individual response, pair work and group work?
6. Are the speaking activities adequate for business people?
7. Are the readings suitable for students at the proper level?
8. Are the readings interesting and authentic?
9. Is the listening material of good quality, authentic, accompanied by background information and various tasks?
10. Do the writing tasks have achievable goals and take learners' abilities into consideration?
11. Are all genres of writing present in business context well-practised?
12. Are the task instructions clear?

Culture themes and intercultural communication

1. Is there cultural content added in the texts/activities?
2. Do the activities raise cultural awareness of students?
3. Are the exercises, texts and recordings adequate in terms of developing learners' intercultural communicative competence?
4. Do the activities and exercises offer sufficient practice for business-related environment?

Other relevant topics

1. Is there sufficient material of interest to learners?
2. Are all the main topic areas covered?
3. Are the presented topics relevant to the professional life of the students?
4. Will the topics help expand students' awareness and enrich their experience?

Methodology

1. Can the activities be exploited fully? Do they embrace a variety of methodologies in ELT?
2. Does the material include any advice to students on study skills and learning strategies?
3. Are students expected to take a degree of responsibility for their own learning?

Teacher's book

1. Is there adequate guidance for teachers who will be using the course book and its supporting materials?
2. Are keys to exercises given?
3. Are there any additional photocopiable activities/exercises included?
4. Are tests incorporated into the teacher's book?

Practical considerations

1. What do the book and supplementary material cost? Does this represent good value for money?
2. Are the books strong and long-lasting?
3. Are they attractive in appearance?

Overall evaluation

1. Is the course book comprehensive enough to make up the syllabus of a course?
2. Can the materials be used as core or supplementary?
3. Is the book a sufficient resource for learners and teachers?
4. Is the course book flexible? Is it possible to omit some units or use them in a different order?
5. Does the course book allow for different teaching and learning styles?
6. Is some of the material suitable for self-study?

Appendix B**Questionnaire for employees (EPP graduates)**

Dear Students

In order to do research on an evaluation of English for Business Course offered in BA (EPP) programme, I would appreciate it if you would assist me by completing the following questionnaire. Your response will be anonymous and all information will be treated confidentially and exclusively for the research study. In order for the research study to be reliable, your exact and true information is needed. Thank you for your co-operation.

Name: _____

Age: _____

Academic year you finished BA (EPP) programme: _____

Educational qualification(s): _____

Designation/Position: _____

Department: _____

Company: _____

Years of service: _____

1. Do you think the knowledge and skills you acquired from the BA (EPP) programme are applicable to your work? Why?

2. Do you need to use English at your work? If so, what percentage of English do you use every day?

3. What are your duties and responsibilities? Please specify them.

4. Do you need to use all four skills at your work? What percentage of each skill is used at work?

listening _____% speaking _____% reading _____% writing _____%

5. Which of the following tasks do you perform in English at work? Please tick them.

- a) Socializing _____
b) Telephoning _____
c) Participating in discussions _____
d) Interviewing _____
e) Negotiating _____
f) Managing meetings _____

g) Making presentations _____

h) Problem solving _____

Others: _____

6. What kinds of business writing do you do in English at your work? Please tick them.

a) emails _____

b) product launch plans _____

c) company profile _____

d) action minutes _____

e) business letters _____

f) proposals _____

g) reports _____

h) press release _____

i) guidelines _____

j) articles _____

Others: _____

7. Did you need to attend a business course or training when you first entered the business world?
If yes, what course or training and why?

8. Do you think English for Business course is of great help for you in your business life? Why?

9. What suggestions would you like to give to improve English for Business course?

Comments:

A STUDY OF STATE COUNSELLOR'S TRANSLATED SPEECH THROUGH VAN DIJK'S IDEOLOGICAL SQUARE

U Aung Kyi*

Abstract

Public speeches are ideologically loaded type of political discourse. The purpose of the paper was to identify the use of manipulation techniques in critical discourse analysis of political speech translation based on Daghigh's (2018) model of political manipulation in translation. When public speeches are translated, they can be manipulated to serve the sociopolitical needs of the target society. State Counsellor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi delivered her public speech on March 25, 2020 when Myanmar identified the first case of Covid-19 disease. Her speech and its translated text by Aung Khin were used for data analysis in this paper. van Dijk's (1998) ideological square as well as Daghigh's model was used as research method in carrying out this analysis. It was found that the translator used promoting manipulation techniques more frequently than demoting manipulation techniques to keep his translation in line with the values set by the government. It is hoped that this study would help translation teachers and professional translators with better understanding of manipulation in political speech translation. It is also hoped that further studies on different genres of political texts could be undertaken in future.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, ideological square, manipulation techniques, political discourse

Introduction

Language is a multi-layered mode of communication. Therefore, different sides of a language must be investigated when analyzing a text. According to Daghigh, Sanatifar and Awang (2018) quoting Kwong Leung (2006) and Letcu-Fairclough (2008), translators tend to neglect the traditional notion of equivalence as they work under certain socio-political conditions to produce a translated text which is in line with the set values. In the context of political discourse translation translators employ manipulation, which is regarded as political or ideological because political translation implies the manipulation of a source text (henceforth ST) to a certain extent to bring its target text (henceforth TT) in line with a politically correct model or notion. This ensures the sociopolitical acceptance of a target society. According to Munday (2009), language is an instrument of manipulation to convey ideologies through lexical, discoursal and syntactic arrangements of words.

State Counsellor of Myanmar Daw Aung San Suu Kyi delivered her speech to the nation on March 25, 2020 on the updated situation of the Corona virus infection in the country. The transcript of her speech and its translation by Aung Khin, the senior translator of the newspaper 'The Global New Light of Myanmar', were used as data for this study. The purpose of the paper was to identify the use of manipulation techniques in the translation of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's public speech based on Daghigh's (2018) model of political manipulation in translation. His theory was based on the ideological square model of van Dijk's (1998) critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA).

Manipulation in translation is a translation act because of the nature of non-equivalence between different language pairs. However, it can become more than a translation act when a translator tries to influence the outcome of a translation. For example, nowadays in certain news coverage of Covid-19 disease in the USA, the negatively-loaded word 'CCP virus' [meaning 'Chinese Communist Party Virus'] is being used instead of the Corona virus. According to

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Fairclough and Wodak (1997), CDA is mediation of power relations. Therefore, it necessitates a socio-cognitive approach. The significance of the study is that the study can shed light on what was happening inside a translator's mind as he or she was trying to manipulate a political text in his or her translation.

It is assumed that translating a political speech of a political leader involves making manipulation techniques to achieve a maximum effect to keep the translation in line with the set values of the people in power. Based on this assumption, an attempt was made on whether the translator Aung Khin used manipulation techniques in his translation of State Counsellor's public speech on the fight against the Corona virus.

Research questions

1. What manipulation techniques are frequently used?
2. Which factors cause the translator Aung Khin to use these manipulation techniques?

Aim and objectives of the study

The aim of the study was to identify the use of manipulation techniques in the translator Aung Khin's translation of State Counsellor's political speech based on Daghigh's (2018) model of political manipulation in translation.

The objectives of the study are as follows:

1. To identify the instances where manipulation techniques are used by the translator Aung Khin in his translation of State Counsellor's public speech on the fight against the Corona Virus
2. To explain the factors which lead the translator Aung Khin to use these manipulation techniques

Literature Review

Many critical discourse studies have been conducted to analyze political discourse including speeches and manifestoes of political leaders and parties as well as political decision makers. According to van Dijk (1998), CDA studies the language of powerful elites as well as the people who are responsible for making political decisions and social reforms.

In their research paper "Persuasion and Political Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Imran Khan's Election Speech (2013)" the researchers Khalil, Chattha and Qazalbash (2017) critically analyzed the election speech of Imran Khan, a chairman of a major political party in Pakistan. They tried to uncover the ideologies behind the election speech. Using Fairclough's (1995) framework they studied how specific words and phrases carry power to achieve political objectives. By means of Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional approach of description, interpretation and explanation, the researchers employed CDA tools such as word choice, repetition, referential strategies, persuasive strategies, positive self-representation and negative other-representation. They found that political discourse could be invented to project specific ideologies. They also found that politicians employed certain linguistic strategies to persuade people to follow their hidden agenda.

In another paper "Modelling van Dijk's (1998) Ideological Square in Translation Studies: Investigating Manipulation in Political Discourse Translation" Daghigh et al. (2018) studied 31 English opinion articles along with their Persian translations to identify how manipulation was used in political discourse translation. They used van Dijk's ideological square in identifying

political manipulation in their data. They proposed their model of preserving, blocking, demoting or promoting strategies in Persian translation of English opinion articles based on van Dijk's model of ideological square. They found that Persian translators manipulated the undesired negative/ positive representation of English texts by means of blocking or demoting strategies very frequently. The researchers also found that Persian translators attempted to preserve or promote the desired positive/ negative representation of English texts on most occasions.

Materials and Method

State Counsellor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's public speech on Covid-19 disease which she delivered to the nation and its written translation by the translator Aung Khin were used as material for data analysis in this paper.

State Counsellor's speech and its translated text were analyzed based on van Dijk's (1998) Ideological Square, which is composed of 'our own group versus other group' or 'us versus them'. We tend to represent our own group positively and negatively represent other group. Under other-negative representation authors or translators or trans-editors (translation editors) emphasize bad things of other group by preserving or promoting the negative representation of ST in TT. They also de-emphasize good things of other group by blocking or demoting the positive representation of ST in TT. Under self-positive representation authors or translators emphasize good things of their own group by promoting or preserving the positive representation of ST in TT. They also de-emphasize bad things of their own group by blocking or demoting the negative representation of ST in TT.

Other-negative representation	Self-positive representation
Emphasize their bad things by preserving & promoting the negative representation of ST in TT	Emphasize our good things by preserving & promoting the positive representation of ST in TT
De-emphasize their good things by blocking & demoting the positive representation of ST in TT	De-emphasize our bad things by blocking & demoting the negative representation of ST in TT

Van Dijk's Ideological Square (1998)

The procedure of the analysis used in the study was as follows: align the ST and its corresponding TT segments to identify the instances where manipulation techniques are used based on Daghigh (2018); then evaluate whether the manipulation techniques are promoting strategies or demoting strategies; and finally explain the causes in light of van Dijk's ideological square model used in CDA.

Daghigh's (2018) theoretical framework which was based on van Dijk's Ideological Square was as follows:

Demoting undesired representation of ST in TT	
Manipulation techniques	Explanation
Partial omission	To partially remove an undesired representation of ST in TT so that the degree of representation is minimized
Nominalization	To lower the loading of an undesired representation of ST in TT by nominalizing, by which the details of subject and object are removed
Implication	To lower an undesired negative/positive representation of ST in TT by implying the meaning
Change of modality	To lower an undesired representation of ST in TT by replacing the probability/obligation of an event/action by using a modal, which expresses a lower possibility/probability
Particularization	To particularize an undesired negative representation of ST in TT as opposed to the generality of a ST representation so as to lower the load of negativity
Passivization	To omit the subject of an undesired negative representation of ST in TT as opposed to an active structure so as to remove the responsibility of the actor(s)

Promoting desired representation of ST in TT	
Manipulation techniques	Explanation
Addition	To add an item which intensifies a desired positive representation of ST in TT
Explication	To make a desired positive/negative representation of TT more explicit as opposed to that of ST
Generalization	To generalize desired positive/negative representation of ST in TT as opposed to the specificity of the ST representation
Change of modality	To intensify a desired positive/negative representation of ST in TT by replacing the probability/obligation of something by using a modal which expresses a higher possibility
Activization	To add subject to a desired positive/negative representation of ST in TT to intensify the representation
Lexicalization	To intensify a desired negative representation of ST by either replacing it with a more negatively-loaded item or adding an extra negatively-loaded item

Data Analysis

As for the promotion of desired ST representation in TT, all the promoting instances can be summarized in the following table.

Tally Table of Promoting Instances	
Manipulation Technique	Number of Instances
Addition	6
Explicitation	4
Generalization	-
Change of Modality	-
Activization	21
Lexicalization	1

There were 6 instances of addition found in the data analysis of State Counsellor's translated public speech. The words and phrases were added to promote the desired positive representation of ST in TT so that self-positive representation of the government could be maintained in the TT. Consider the following examples.

Example 1,

ST [u]l lrsu] lyzm;emlcit? acmifqllcit? armyetEltEG lltit? pwh COVID-19 a&m*goib& vUpm wppwpm&r&uusefma&Xme olw, lzletell aelpOlyrerysuruluf taMumifMum;&rñ lzplygw, /]

TT [They should report **their health conditions** to the health centers by telephone whether they have COVID-19 symptoms such as fever, cough and fatigue.]

Example 2,

ST [vltlyxbñ; wllO, lla&m*guir, h tvm;tvmuyrsm;ygw, /]

TT [If you go into the crowd to buy **these commodities**, there is more likelihood that you will catch the disease.]

Example 3,

ST [rlyelyñ; zlltwlylnobawom t"uyg/ llynbaw&lpwvwnlñrl tiftm;uomt"dulzplygw, /]

TT [People are the key to prevent the spread of **this virus**; the ability of the people to remain calm plays a pivotal role.]

In Example 1, the words [health conditions] were not present in the ST. The addition of these words promoted the self-positive representation of the government. The government was trying to make sure that its health centres were available for the citizens to report their health conditions. As a result, its political image could be improved. In Example 2, the words [these commodities] were added. This addition improved the government's image. The government was reminding the people not to buy these household items in panic. This panic buying could result in the transmission of the disease between the people. In Example 3, the addition of the word [virus] promoted the self-positive representation of the government because the government let the people know that it was depending on the people's cooperation in trying to prevent the spread of the disease.

As regards the explicitation instances, there were altogether 4 instances. Consider the following.

Example 1,

ST ['Mh&m*g ul;pubEspDaw&&amumit owit;xulvmvmell pl&thyelewevyl allumu& olaw& &ur, f qlvvm celr&Elygw, /]

TT [We could estimate that there would be people with anxieties and fear as soon as news came out that two persons infected with **COVID-19** have been found.]

Example 2,

ST [uleftae& Efi&awmftp&u& ul;pm;lymy& lymbaw&lyemum;csi&wmuawmh allumu&v& wevyl&icif r&uygel& acgita&t&at;xm;ly&ow&up&ne& usef&rma&O&em&u&Xme&ell t&bcm;t&pl&Xmersm;&ll x&wly&exm;wh COVID-19 e&ll yw&bou&wh&emum;csuf aw&u&u&u&em&uz&ly& llzplygw, /]

TT [I would like to make a plea to the public on behalf of our government, 'don't get into a panic' about it, and follow the directives and announcements of **the Ministry of Health and Sports** and other government agencies regarding COVID-19 calmly and without any nervousness.]

Example 3,

ST [, clt&se& x&ll&E&fi&f&st&v&ly& vly&u&u& h&ewh u&ler&w&E&fi&B&E&fi&bm;rm;ly&n&w&f&u& t&pl&v&u&f tly&v&u&f ly&ev&n&f O&ia&m&u&h&ewm u&lv&u&cl&v&su&ly&gw, /]

TT [**Myanmar** is welcoming back the influx of **Myanmar nationals** who were working in Thailand.]

In Example 1, the name of the virus [Covid-19] was substituted in place of the ST word ['Mh&m*g']. This made the TT representation of the ST phrase more explicit. As a result, the desired other-negative representation of the ST increased. In Example 2, the more explicit phrase was [Ministry of Health and Sports]. This substitution of a more specific word for a less specific word [usef&rma&O&em&u&Xme&ell] made the TT phrase more explicit. This, in turn, increased the self-positive representation of the ST in the TT because this ministry was leading the way in the fight against the disease. In Example 3, the phrases [Myanmar] and [Myanmar nationals] were substituted for the ST phrase [ulef&r&w&E&fi&B&E&fi&bm;rm;ly&n&w&f&u&]. This substitution made the TT phrase more explicit because the name [Myanmar] was more specific than the generic term [country]. As a result, the self-positive representation of the government increased because the government was welcoming back its own citizens from Thailand.

There were no instances of generalization. Moreover, there were no instances of modality change to promote desired representation of ST in TT so that the probability of something happening became strong. To promote desired ST representation in TT, there were many instances of activation found in the data. There were altogether 21 instances of subject addition in the TT. Consider the following examples.

As regards partial omission, there were 7 instances of partial omission found in the data analysis of State Counsellor's translated public speech. Consider the following.

Example 1,

ST [COVID-19 a&m*g[mxeifcsyVW&allumi f urqilusefma&tZMUBU allym xm;lyDlzpkygw, /]

TT [The World Health Organization has announced that **COVID-19** can be controlled.]

Example 2,

ST['bowifay:yWrom usefma&Xmetaeell vltiyucsubsi fterll aq;ulorl ay;Ell rñilzpygw, /]

TT [Only then, could the respective health center provide **free medical treatment**.]

Example 3,

ST [aps;0, lwitcgrbm;pmU? tptztMUIroth;bl wpDwnf;wpa, mulwnf;wmOef, lyD rñm;pk twuf trawu, MitywlyrmPulybth;a&muf 0, f, Muapvlygw, /]

TT [It is also advised that only one person should go for buying, instead of going in groups and that only the quantity that is really needed should be bought.]

In Example 1, the word [disease] was partially omitted in the phrase [Covid-19 disease]. This omission removed an undesired representation of the ST in the TT. In Example 2, the word [prompt] or [immediate] was omitted in the phrase [subsi fterll aq;ulorl]. This minimized an undesired self-representation of the ST in the TT. Similarly in Example 3, the omission of the word [family] minimized an undesired self-representation of the ST in the TT.

As regards nominalization instances, there were no such instances found in the data. As for implicitation instances, there was only 1 instance found in the data. For example,

ST ['Mbumv[mvaw&allumi h llynbawfitaell t xwlvvellerzpluygell/] TT [Please do not get panicked by such news.]

In the above sentence the substitution of [news] in place of [rumour] made the TT phrase less explicit because [news] was less specific than [rumour]. This substitution lowered the undesired negative representation of the ST in the TT. Moreover, there was 1 instance of modality change under the demotion of desired ST in TT. For example,

ST [uU rñuU lyzm;emlci f? acsmif,qñlci f? armyet;Eef;EG lci f? pwlCOVID-19 a&m*golb&vuPm wppwvp&m&r&Uusefma&Xme oW, Mzelell aelpOlyrñrysuruuf tallumi fMum;rñilzpygw, /]

TT [They **should** report their health conditions to the health centers by telephone whether they have COVID-19 symptoms such as fever, cough and fatigue.]

In this example, the probability of people reporting their health conditions to health centres decreased by using a modal, which expresses a lower probability. As for particularization and passivization instances, there were no such instances found in the data.

Findings and Discussion

It was found that the translator Aung Khin tried to promote desired representation of the ST in the TT as suggested by Daghigh et al. (2018) by using promoting manipulation techniques such as addition, explicitation, activization and lexicalization. Activization strategy was used dominantly because there were 21 such instances. Subjects were added on most occasions to intensify self-positive representation of the ST in the TT. Addition and explicitation techniques were also used to enhance self-positive representation of the ST in the TT. There were 6 instances of addition and 4 instances of explicitation in the data. The least used promoting manipulation technique was lexicalization because there was only 1 instance of it in the data.

As for demoting manipulation techniques, the translator attempted to use the techniques of partial omission, implicitation and change of modality. There were 7 instances of partial omission. However, these instances of omission were less frequent than those of addition. As for implicitation instances, there was only 1 such instance as opposed to 4 instances of explicitation. Moreover, there was 1 instance of modality change belonging to demoting category. As for its promoting category, there was no such occurrence. It was found that the translator used promoting manipulation techniques more frequently than demoting manipulation techniques to keep his translation in line with the values set by the government.

Conclusion

The aim of the study was to identify the use of manipulation techniques in critical discourse analysis of political speech translation based on Daghigh's (2018) model of political manipulation in translation. In light of van Dijk's (1998) ideological square, Daghigh et al. (2018) proposed manipulation techniques in translation. By means of these manipulation techniques, an attempt was made to study State Counsellor's public speech on the fight against the Corona virus and its translated version translated by the senior translator of the newspaper 'The Global New Light of Myanmar' Aung Khin.

The current study investigated manipulation in political speech translation from critical discourse analysis. Through descriptive-explanatory approach taken in this study, it was found that the ST speech was spoken by Myanmar political leader. The translator of her speech was also an official translator from Myanmar. Therefore, it can be concluded that there was no hostile representation of the ST as stated in 'us versus them' representation of van Dijk (1998) that could have a great impact on its TT production. However, it was found that the translator Aung Kin used promoting manipulation techniques on most occasions in order to make sure that his translation was in line with the values set by the government. It is hoped that this study would help translation teachers and professional translators with better understanding of manipulation techniques in political speech translation. It is also hoped that further studies on different genres of political texts and different manipulation techniques could be undertaken in future.

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Appendix A

Elif bawm\ twi\ yic\ k'w\ a':atm\ gelp\ un\ nebe/ twi 59\ trswi 77/25rw\ 2020/

[illegible]

Covid-19 a&m*g_l mx&efcsyV&allumi& ur&use&rma&;tz&u&u alym&xm;ly&lp&pygw, / a&m*g&obaw&x&rs u&f m&f&te&p&a&m&u&v&h& m&c&l&E&ef;[m 4.4 lp&pygw, / 'g&allumi&ubov&w&h a&m*g&q&l wmv&n&f&xi&f&n;ygw, / u&f m&f&ol&rm;[ma&m*g&t&c&ol&rm; u&l b&h&t&m;en&f&ol&rm;e&l u&lor&b&h l&ci&f aem&uf&us&ol&rm;lp&pygw, / 'g&allumi&a&m*g&lp&E&l b&lc r&m;ol&rm;t&ae&l t&x&l*&w&p&u&f a&e&luz&w&u&w&ef csi&f&ygw, / y&ly&t&a&;m&u&w&it&csu&f&aw&mh apm&p&h&a&q;u&lor&b&h E&l b&a&;lp&pygw, / a&m*g&v&u&P&m ay:v&m&ly&v& x&i&p&m&lp&v&mw&m&el csu&f&ci&f&ael&ra&u&n&ra&u& t&e&lq&u&se&rma&;Xme&ol o&f&n;ap&csi&f&ygw, / “ap&m&ap&m&al&y&m? ap&m&ap&mo&l t&m;v&h&t&us&f&f& q&w&it&w&f&f&yl use&rma&;Xme&ul ap&m&ap&m&al&y&mo&i&f&v&m al&y&my&/ , c&k&t&c&f&er&f&iq&f&i&a&m*g&f&f&allumi& o&f&f&o&E&f&ol&el x&aw&ol&ol&rm;t&m;v&h t&ap&m&q&h use&rma&; Xme&ul t&oy&yg/ 'g[m&u&l m&h&la&;u&l f&yw&De&f&usi&f&v&h&la&; E&f&f&yp&v&h&t&w&f&lp&pygw, / w&f&w&ers l&y&n&ol&t&cs&u& t&p&l&r&f&v&ely&f& w&f&w&ers&x&ub&ha&e&lw&, m&h&o&f&ygw, / 'm&v&ly&f&ci&f[m&b, b&ol&u&rs t&us&f& r&ly&E&l f&yg&b&t&/ wu, f&yl a&m*g&y&f&f&ely&f&q&f&f& b, f&of&n;of&n; u&l f&ell&t&wy&f&of&n;f&ny&/u&l f&f&y&f&f&n&f&n use&rma&; Xme&ul b&f&n;ly&f& t&p&p&f&yg/v&h&f&yl&w&lor&b&h f&yg/ u&l f&f&f&f&f&w&al&umi&h t&rm;u&ly&f&E&ul&p&u&f&v&m r&f&f&lp&f&q&ap&el/

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Appendix B

Translated Text of State Counsellor's Speech

Citizens of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar

I am presenting a report regarding the latest update about the Covid-19 disease for the information of the public. Yesterday, we found two persons who tested positive for Covid-19. One of them was a man from Chin State who had returned from the United States, and another man was from Yangon who had returned from the UK. Both of them are being given medical treatment and we understand that they are “not in critical condition.”

We could estimate that there would be people with anxieties and fear as soon as news came out that two persons infected with COVID-19 have been found. I would like to make a plea to the public on behalf of our government, ‘don’t get into a panic’ about it, and follow the directives and announcements of the Ministry of Health and Sports and other government agencies regarding COVID-19 calmly and without any nervousness.

The World Health Organization has announced that COVID-19 can be controlled. Out of those infected by this disease the death rate is 4.4 per cent. Therefore, it is clear that it is a curable disease. Those who died from this disease were patients with chronic diseases, poor immune system or late treatment. So we wish to suggest that those persons who are vulnerable to this disease need to take this matter seriously. What is most important is to get medical treatment early. As soon as a person gets symptoms, he should go to the nearest healthcare centre immediately, without procrastination.

Just as in the saying “report early, know early, benefits everyone”, please inform the health centers what you need to tell them. At this time, all those who had contact with the two infected persons should report to the health center at the earliest. This is both for individual safety as well as the safety of the respective community. I heard that some residents in Tiddim Township are fleeing in panic out of grave concern. This type of behavior does not benefit anyone. In reality, if someone is infected with the virus, it will be carried in the body wherever this person goes. Please go to the health center in your village and get tested. Please get the necessary treatment. Myanmar is welcoming back the influx of Myanmar nationals who were working in Thailand. They are advised to stay at home or a designated place in a responsible manner for home or facility quarantine for 14 days to prevent the spread of the disease. Those who have arrived back home should cooperate with a full sense of responsibility. Those who have arrived back in Myanmar should not go into hiding because of fear and concern. This is important. They should report their health conditions to the health centers by telephone whether they have COVID-19 symptoms such as fever, cough and fatigue. Only then, could the respective health center provide free medical treatment. Those in 14-days home quarantine must follow the directives of the health departments without fail. By doing so, cases of infection could be detected immediately and early treatment could be given to them. It could also effectively prevent their family members and communities from becoming infected. By providing early treatment we can effectively reduce the death rate.

As soon as the news came out that two person infected with COVID-19 have been found, some people began buying foods, medicines and household items in panic. There is no likelihood that we will run out of stock. If you go into the crowd to buy these commodities, there is more likelihood that you will catch the disease. People are the key to prevent the spread of this virus; the ability of the people to remain calm plays a pivotal role.

I wish to inform that the government has to plan to shut down necessary public services, markets or commodity centers. It is also advised that only one person should go for buying, instead of going in groups and that only the quantity that is really needed should be bought.

Fake news are [sic] floating around that enterprises, factories, workshops will be closed; and that entry and exit points to townships and villages will be closed. Please do not get panicked by such news. I hope you know the “Four wrongful paths”. A wrongful path is a path which is wrong. What pushes onto the wrongful path are: Intention, Hatred, Fear and Ignorance. It is important we should not be pushed onto the wrongful path with regard to the COVID-19 disease that other countries are facing. Pushed on by Intention: do not participate in unlawful gatherings; hoarding of commodities and medicines and neglecting of healthcare instructions. Pushed on by Hatred: do not spread false information and rumors which affects the peace and stability of communities. Fear: Fear must not turn into panic buying and covering up symptoms of infection. Ignorance: could result in negligence of official announcements and advice to prevent wrong doings. I wish to request all of you not to follow the above mentioned “Four Wrongful Paths”.

Don't fall into the trap of intention. We can face against all the challenges with our hearts in close proximity despite social distancing. Don't bear hatred. Let us overcome all challenges with loving-kindness for each other. Don't get filled with fear. Let us meet our challenges by uniting the strength of the people and the strength of the nation.

Don't be submerged in ignorance. Instead, people should study the official announcements; do not get onto false path by listening to rumors. We can overcome the Covid-19 problems with mindfulness, relentless effort and wisdom. Based on responsibility, accountability and transparency which are the basic fundamental needs of good governance, our government will release up-to-date information in real time all information that the people need to know. People are the key. Thank you. (Translated by Aung Khin)

TRACING FEMINIST BELIEFS OF AN AMERICAN WOMAN WRITER THROUGH HER WELL-KNOWN NOVEL

Thida Soe¹

Abstract

This research explores radical feminist beliefs injected by an American woman writer Marilyn French in her well-known novel *The Women's Room* which was first published in 1977. The objectives of this research are to investigate types of feminist beliefs found in the novel, to find out which type of belief is the most dominant in the novel, and to examine whether the writer's beliefs reflected her society at that time. The investigation was conducted mainly based on Willis' (1984) feminist radicalism, focusing on core beliefs of radical feminists, and some American scholars' social texts that revealed the conditions of women in the mid twentieth century. The findings showed that of all types of beliefs, political beliefs occurred most in the novel. Moreover, the research proved that Marilyn French's feminist beliefs reflected the bitter experiences of women in the patriarchal society in America at her time.

Keywords: radical feminist beliefs political beliefs patriarchal society

Introduction

With the recognition of discrimination and oppression in society, women have become interested in claiming their rights on the ground of the equality of the sexes. Feminists who believe that women should have the equal rights and opportunities as men have taken part in campaigns for reforms on different issues under the label of feminist movements. At different times in history, feminist groups with different goals and beliefs were actively involved in feminist movements to change women's lives and to create the new world for women where they could enjoy freedom and human rights as men. Before the 1960s, feminists were despised as women almost nearly as man-haters or witches (Walters, 2005). An American woman writer, Marilyn French, was a radical feminist and she was accused of a man-hater by critics who were shocked by her radical views presented in her well-known novel 'The Women's Room'. Radical feminists were regarded as extremists because of their strong radical ideologies. The goal of radical feminists was 'to eliminate male supremacy in all areas of social and economic life' (Willis, 1984). As a radical feminist, how French presented her feminist beliefs in her novel through the voice of the characters she created is an enthralling work. The aim of the research is to trace Marilyn French's feminist beliefs injected in her novel and to explore whether these beliefs genuinely reflected oppressions, restrictions and inequalities women suffered in the patriarchal society of America. Synthesizing and analyzing data presented in the extracted texts and also examining the real-life situations of women living in that period, American culture and American way of life in 1950s and 1960s could be understood.

The adopted theory for the research

The research was done based on radical feminists' beliefs discussed by Willis (1984) in her social text 'Radical Feminism and Feminist Radicalism'. Feminist theorists' concepts of power differed, and their aims and attitudes also differed. Among them, the attitude of radical feminists towards unequal power relationships between men and women was serious. Their aim was to abolish the patriarchy in order to change the life of women experiencing social, sexual, intellectual and political injustice. Montoya (2016) comments that 'for radical feminists, gender is a system of male domination, a fundamental organizing principle of patriarchal society, at the root of all other systems of oppression'. Radical feminism challenged the patriarchal domination in society that

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made women feel inferior and subservient. After careful and serious consideration, radical feminists' firm beliefs discussed by Willis (1984) were categorized into three types: *Political Beliefs*, *sexual beliefs* and *gender-role beliefs*. In the book 'Sexual Politics', Millet (1969) defines the term *politics* as 'power-structured relationships, arrangements whereby one group of persons is controlled by another'. Therefore, in this research, the term '*political beliefs*' refers to beliefs concerned with power relations between the sexes. Next, the term '*Sexual Beliefs*' is used with reference to beliefs about 'sexuality' of men and women. In the field of women's studies, the term 'sexuality' represents 'biological, physiological and sociological aspects of human existence involving sexual experience and expression' ([grccwomen.files.wordpress.com>2010/09>a-glossary-of-women](http://grccwomen.files.wordpress.com/2010/09/a-glossary-of-women)). '*Gender-role beliefs*' are those concerning 'opinions about males and females and about the purported qualities of masculinity and femininity' (Deaux & Kite, 1987). Radical feminists' beliefs drawn from ideologies discussed by Willis (1984) were categorized as follows:

Political beliefs

- Male supremacy exists in all areas of social and economic life.
- Male superiority is not a biological fact, and the patriarchal and sexual repression are not prerequisites of civilization.
- Men have always had more license to be 'bad' than women and have ever been required to be 'bad' to prove their manhood.
- Women do not enjoy equality in family and home: 'equal sharing of housework and child care, equal attention to emotional and sexual needs.'
- Women must have reproductive rights, including freedom to make choices to give birth, have an abortion, use birth control, or get sterilized. Abortion should be legalized.
- Women suffer from economic inequality in the patriarchal family system. Women are denied access to men's incomes'
- Different forms of male aggression are weapons used by males to enforce male dominance.

Sexual beliefs

- Pornography is an industry and practice leading to harm to women.
- Prostitution under patriarchy is oppression of women sexually and economically.
- Rape is not sex and (different forms of male aggression are weapons used by males to enforce male dominance.)
- Men are free of sexual guilt and repression, but women are not.
- Lust is male' and women's lust was ignored. Women were sexually repressed and frustrated.
- Women have right to be lesbian and celibate by their own choice.
- Women have equal rights for sexual pleasure.
- The body was integral to both women's oppression and their shared identity.

Gender-role beliefs

- Men are active agents whereas women are 'passive recipients of social indoctrination'.

- Feminine behaviour was both enforced and internalized: women were trained from birth both to conform to the feminine role and to accept it as right and natural.

Materials and Method

The material used for this research is Marilyn French's well-known novel *The Women's Room* which focused on issues of inequities and discrimination between men and women. As a radical feminist, to what extent Marilyn French injected her feminist beliefs into her immensely popular novel was traced with enthusiasm. In tracing data, radical feminists' beliefs discussed by Willis (1984) were followed. First, the novel was read repetitively and thoroughly, exploring the area which revealed French's feminist beliefs. Next, the texts that reflected the author's radical feminist beliefs were collected. Then, the beliefs instilled in the extracted texts were identified and classified into different types of feminist beliefs. In identifying feminist beliefs and categorizing them into different types, it was noticeably found that some excerpts reflected two beliefs at the same time. In such case, both types of beliefs were included in the tabulation. Beliefs in each type were also counted to find out which type of belief occurred most in the novel. After that, interpretations for some excerpts that reflected different types of feminist beliefs were given. Moreover, the genuineness of Marilyn French's radical feminist beliefs about women's condition and experience depicted in her novel was discussed based on the writings of famous scholars at that time. Finally, how the insertion of these beliefs added to the meaning of the novel and how it had great effect on women audience were discussed.

Findings

After tracing radical feminists' beliefs of Marilyn French injected into her well-known novel, the findings revealed that of all the three types of feminist belief, the most dominant type of belief found in the novel was the political belief. The reason why political beliefs concerning power relations between the sexes were mostly found was that the goal of radical feminists was to eliminate firmly established male superiority over females in authority, power or status in all domains of social and economic life in the unjust male-dominated society (Willis, 1984, p- 229). The second prevalent type of feminist belief found in the novel was the sexual belief concerned with male and female sexuality. The gender-role belief reflecting the qualities of masculinity and femininity was found as the least dominant type. The following pie chart shows the frequency percentages of types of feminist belief found in the novel. (See detailed results in the Appendix Section).

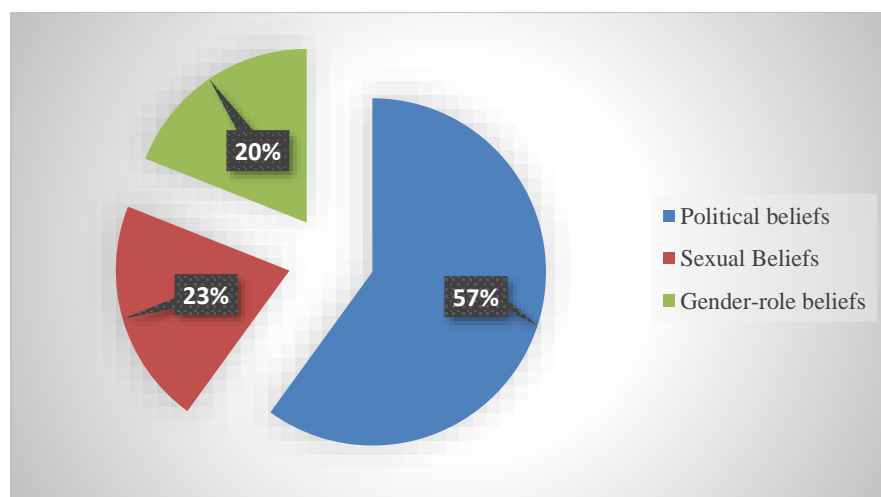


Figure 1 Frequency Percentages of types of Feminist Beliefs Found in the Novel

Moreover, French's radical feminist beliefs were found to be genuine to a certain degree on the evidence of some famous scholars' writings about women's unfavourable conditions in the mid twentieth century.

Discussion

Marilyn French's feminist beliefs that reflected in the extracted texts were of three types: political beliefs, sexual beliefs and gender-role beliefs. As radical feminists were those who totally rejected the male supremacy, it was not surprising that political beliefs highlighting men's use of power as oppressors were mostly found in the novel. One of the political beliefs held by radical feminists was that **'women suffer from economic inequality in the patriarchal family system. Women are denied access to men's incomes (Willis, 1984).** In the patriarchal society, power was in the hands of men and women were said to be oppressed in all spheres of their life. A woman's bitter experience concerning her lack of power in treating the income of her husband was depicted by French in the novel to inject the aforementioned political belief. She made the readers visualize the unequal economic status between males and females through the dispute between the main female character Mira and her husband Norm. Mira's friend Samantha was in an economic disaster as her husband lost his job. When they were in great debt, her selfish and irresponsible husband left her and the kids to stay in his mother's house. As a brave mother, Samantha tried her best to cope with this unpleasant situation. However, she urgently needed three hundred dollars for one month's mortgage payment to avoid moving out on the street at once. Mira wanted to help her friend though she was not requested to do so. She thought this amount of money was not much as she knew her husband spent that amount every month at the golf club. However, as a money maker for the family, Mira's husband did not agree with her strong desire to help her friend. Trying to control her anger at her husband's refusal to lend Samantha some money, Mira asked him if she was not an equal participant and contributor in their marriage. Her husband answered, *'You contributed different things' but 'You don't contribute money.'* In fact, Mira was in great surprise as she realized that her husband did not recognize her supporting role that enabled him to make that money. He despised her as the one who could not contribute money to their marriage. She started to notice her lack of power in the household. *'She (Mira) felt that he had eradicated her. He was annoyed that she did not understand her powerlessness. (.....). She could not give that money to Samantha without his permission.'* (p-208). Mira had to work from dawn to dusk, caring all the things necessary for their children and home, but her job at home was unpaid. Therefore, she did not have her own money. The money in the bank account was not hers and it belonged to her husband only. Although she assumed she had right to use that money as her own will, in practice she was not allowed to use it. She needed to get permission from her husband to spend the money for helping her friend in need. Despite her husband's denial of lending Samantha some money, Mira drew the required amount of money from the bank and gave it to Samantha to be able to cope with her state of emergency. Taking the role of a decision maker in the household, she used money as she wished without caring her husband's refusal. When her husband found out her conduct later, he treated her coldly as if she were a total stranger. His pride seemed to be hurt by Mira's 'declaration of independence' for the first time in their marriage. In the patriarchal system, it seemed that women did not have full right in managing men's incomes in marriage and their right to use the money was restricted. Therefore, the main female character Mira's request for allowing her to use three hundred dollars to save the life of her close friend who was experiencing the financial crisis was instantly turned down by her husband, Norm. When Mira complained about her right in using this money, the remark he gave was her lack of contributing money in their marriage. According to rigid gender roles set by society, 'men were breadwinners and women were wives and mothers.' (DuBois & Dumenil, 2016). For a woman who took the role of a perfect wife and mother at home, it was impossible for her to contribute money in marriage as she could not

work outside to make money. However, the universal truth is 'Money is power'. In the case of Mira and Norm, Mira's powerlessness as a homemaker could clearly be seen. Not having opportunity to earn money in the role of mother and housewife caused women to lack authoritative voice in the household. Therefore, it seemed that women had no voice to make major economic decisions in marriage. In the book '*The American Woman*', Chafe (1972) described that **'the housewife who provided no monetary assistance to the household improbably had the right to demand for major economic decisions'**. His writing proved the real-life situation of American women in the mid twentieth century. It was also the evidence for the genuineness of one of French's beliefs. In the novel, Norm denied Mira's claim to use his money in helping her friend who was in great trouble. This might be due to the relationship between power and money. Allowing a housewife to manage money as she desired could be assumed as sharing the power. In a patriarchal family system, it seemed that power was not easily shared to women. Mira's experience of economic discrimination was an example of women's suffering of economic inequality in the patriarchal society where men exercised their absolute power over women.

Marilyn French's injection of her sexual beliefs into the novel was also interestingly apparent. She depicted a rape scene and the unfair court judgment on it in the novel to make the readers aware of one of the sexual beliefs of radical feminists: **'Men are free of sexual guilt and repression, but women are not.'** (Willis, 1984). Her strong opinion about male sexuality was injected into the novel through the words of Valarie, a helpless mother of a rape victim who could not protect her daughter from unfair and harsh treatments of the male lawyer and the judge at the court. Valarie's daughter, Chris, was raped by a 21-year-old black boy on her way back home one night. As the streets were deserted at that time, she was pitifully helpless. She was in a terrible panic and she did not dare to scream and fight him back. Having experienced a terribly disgusting sexual assault, she was extremely scared as she knew that she might be killed by the rapist. Therefore, she managed to outwit her enemy by convincing him that she wanted to be his friend and also had the interest to meet him again another night. When the rapist asked her to exchange their names and addresses for the next encounter, she gave him the wrong name and address. Using her sharp wit, she saved herself and could go back home at that night. However, when Chris brought the rape case to the trial for justice later, the way the state male attorney tossed questions was very cruel and he treated her as if she was a criminal. Valarie, Chris's mother, assumed that the attorney was bullying her daughter by asking leading questions to cause her to be the one who 'had the will in the case'. He also insulted Chris with a sneer comment on her disgusting experience: *'You may find it shocking, but lots of pretty little white princesses want to try a little black meat.'* Moreover, the policemen at the station did not behave in the appropriate manner in dealing with Chris. Even the lawyer showed no enthusiasm in handling her case. It showed that no one believed Chris as they completely believed the rapist's words 'she is his friend', not knowing his ulterior motive in not telling any of the details. No one had interest in Chris's mental and physical sufferings. All the males at the court showed no sympathy for Chris. They regarded Chris as a problem maker and they mocked Chris's attempt to fight for the safety of women in the world. Even at the trial, the judge's facial expression of contempt was unbearable for her. After hearing the rapist's admission that he was guilty, the judge and the lawyers were greatly surprised as his response did not meet their expectation. Then, the boy was sentenced to only 6 months' imprisonment. As a rape victim, Chris assumed that the punishment did not fit the crime. The judge gave a verdict in favour of the black boy though he was *'a member of species they heartily despised'*. Chris noticed the eyes of males at the court which expressed their doubt that the black boy might be the victim of a wicked woman. Although the rapist was on the trial for the sexual assault he committed, the male lawyer and the male judge at the court showed irrational understanding to him. On the other hand, they treated the rape victim with disrespect. Men at the court assumed that the boy was not guilty, and it was Chris who created him as a debauched person. The black boy was considered to be less guilty than a powerless and helpless female victim. After

seeing the miserable and disgusting conducts of all men at the court, Chris's mother 'Valarie' described her bitter feelings towards men as "[A]ll men are rapists and that's all they are. They rape us with their eyes, their laws and their codes (p-476)." The judgement on the unpleasant occasion made by a black character in the novel was that black men's feelings of hatred for white people were strong and white women were their targets to retaliate against white people for the racial discrimination black people suffered. It could be interpreted that the source of Chris's case was a black man's revenge against white men by exercising the power and strength of a man over a white woman. It was sure that the black boy was the victim of discrimination in American society. It seemed that by means of his sexual misconduct towards a white woman, he conquered his fear of the whites. Despite his inferiority complex as a member of the oppressed group, the black boy exercised his male power to defeat a white female who was a weak member of the group of oppressors. Therefore, radical feminists seemed to claim that rape is not sex and it is the male's weapon that represents the male's power and dominance. They believed that rape was a powerful weapon used by males in the oppression of women in American society. 'Women's fear of rape at that time kept them off the streets at night and kept them at home. This fear caused women to be passive and modest as they may be thought provocative.' (Griffin, 1971, cited in Martinez, 2012). According to a feminist author Brownmiller (1975), rape is merely a process of deliberate coercing used against all women by all men. She also claims that it is a typical act done by a male to show a female that 'she is conquered by his superior strength and power and it is not an act of the uncontrolled sexual desire by a man'. During the 1970s, radical feminists argued that rape was not a biological predisposition among men but the socialization of men that projected women as objects (Doude & Tapp, 2014). In the second-wave feminist movement, violence against women became the major theme and during this period, rape was viewed as a weapon driven by men's desire to exert control over women. 'Rape shield' laws were adopted by Congress in 1975 in the United States of America (Bishop, 2018).

Concerned with the gender role, one of the radical feminists' belief was that 'feminine behaviour was both enforced and internalized: **women were trained from birth both to confirm to the feminine role and to accept it as right and natural**' (New York Radical feminists, cited by Willis, 1984). This ideological belief was highlighted by French in her novel through the attempt of the main character Mira's traditional and conservative mother to train her daughter to be able to display feminine behaviours for drawing the admiration of males.

Mrs Wards had loved the novels of Jane Austen in her youth. At home, Mrs Wards taught her (daughter) not to cross her legs at the knee, not to climb trees with boys, not to play tag in the alley, not to speak in a raised voice not to wear more than three pieces of jewelry at a time, and never to mix gold and silver. When these lessons had been learned, she considered Mira "finished". (p- 10)

In her youth, Mira's mother seemed to be influenced by Jane Austen's novels that portrayed the lives of women in the 19th century. 'The common theme of her novels was the trying experiences of young ladies on the path to marriage' (Brody, 1995). Mrs Wards taught her daughter Mira feminine behaviour in her early teen-age. In her eyes, Mira needed to have womanly qualities as she was a girl with rebellious nature who was not interested in displaying feminine behavior to the opposite sex. At that period, it seemed to be necessary for a woman to make a good impression on men so that she could choose a good man to marry. The aforementioned excerpt from the novel drew attention to women's traditional subservient role in the male-dominant world. Marilyn French's dissatisfaction with women's condition in 1950s America can clearly be seen through the narrator's explanation about Mira's condition in her youth. The main character Mira's mother, Mrs Wards, taught her teen-aged daughter the old taboos about how to dress and how to behave. As a woman who accepted the traditional norms, Mrs Wards gave guidance to her daughter to have typical qualities of a true woman which would be of useful help for her to be a proper life partner

of a man. French pointed out women's desperate condition at that time and described her attitude towards women in the novel through the voice of the narrator:

'If the men think they (women) are attractive, they are; if they don't, they aren't not. They give men the power to determine their identities, their value, to accept or reject them. They have no selves.' (p-246)

French expressed her opinion about the condition of women in the middle of the twentieth century. In fact, men and women were expected to take their respective gender roles set by society. An American historian, Chafe (1972) describes, '(F)or women, the maternal and homemaking roles were a *near-universal*'. He also restates the view of Montagu that 'being a good wife, a good mother, in short a good homemaker is the most important of all the occupations in the world.' In the mid twentieth century, the image of American women presented in magazines was how they worked to get and keep a man. The purpose of girls' going to college was to get a husband and the reason why 60 percent of women left college in the mid-fifties was to marry. They assumed that education might be a hinderance to marriage (Friedan, 2001). To fulfill women's dream of being a happy housewife in their married life, it seemed to be necessary for women to consider men's view on every move they made and everything they did. It could be assumed that women's circumstances had relations to the ways they had to live at that time. Feminists believed that it was absolutely unfair to force women to control or exhibit their manners and behaviours to be favoured and well-liked by men. However, 'most middle-class women in America were brainwashed by the traditional belief to have the ultimate goal of raising the status of their husband or families 'through setting proper standards of behavior, dress and literary tastes' (Lerner, 1979, cited in Cruea, 2005). The experience of Mirra Komarovsky, an American pioneer in the sociology of gender, concerned with a woman's tension to be feminine at every stage of her life was reiterated by Chafe (1972) in his book 'The American Woman'. To her experience as a child, she was urged to choose girls toys, and she was trained to be more restrained, sedentary, quiet and neat. Later, when she reached college, her parents stressed her to get achievement in academic field, but warned her not to be too smart to avoid scaring off prospective suitors. These social conventions drew attention to women's traditional subservient position in the male-dominant world. Komarovsky's experience as a woman highlighted the world's treatment of injustice to women in the olden days in America and woman of her time were sufferers of discrimination in society. Therefore, it was clearly seen that French's belief about women and femininity genuinely reflected the situation of American women at that time.

The author's injection of feminist beliefs could draw the attention of women readers to their subservient role in society. The novel became more meaningful and eminently readable due to the striking presentation of her beliefs that shockingly threatened the men who were endowed with power and authority in society. With this novel, French seemed to highlight female subservience and male centrality. In fact, she was brave enough to make a great challenge to male dominated society with the belief that men are not entitled to absolute power by nature. Through her novel filled with feminist beliefs, the core message French wanted to give the readers seemed to be that both males and females must have equal rights though they may have different values and women's empowerment is crucial for the development of women's situations. As a feminist writer, French presented her bitter beliefs so wonderfully that her novel became the centre of attention among women readers and critics at her time.

Conclusion

Through an in-depth analysis of French's radical feminist beliefs injected into her novel 'The Women's Room', her efforts to raise awareness about women's miserable conditions in her time could clearly be seen. In tracing her feminist beliefs in the novel, most of them were found to be political beliefs based on power relations between the sexes. Being a radical feminist, French was disgusted at male supremacy and she challenged male dominated society by presenting harsh realities of women's lives openly in her novel. Women's suffering in Patriarchal society in the mid twentieth century could be understood due to her dexterity in portraying women's sufferings. Some evidence found in the writings of scholars in that period proved that the subjection and oppression of women and sexual assaults on women unquestionably existed in America. French's some radical feminist beliefs were too strong for general audience to accept. However, women audience at her time were moved by her philosophy boldly presented in the novel. Although it is difficult to concede that all her beliefs are undoubtedly rational, most of them are agreeable to a certain degree. It is undeniable that women were victimized in the patriarchal society in the past era of America. However, there might have been women who led their lives happily according to the biblical teaching without having any inferiority complex. Such women might be far away from accepting the challenged ideas about women's liberation as they had been friendly with conventional feminine norms. In the book '*Radical Womanhood, Feminine Faith in a Feminist World*', McCulley (2018) describes that the emergence of rebellious ideas of feminists is not because of concocted schemes to give offence. She claims that some men's sexual assault to women, some men's act of abusing their wives and children and many men's misconduct to degrade women actually occur in the real world. Men commit sins to devalue womanhood and to control women's liberation for their egocentric reasons. In her opinion, feminism is not totally wrong, but feminists condemn others for desperate troubles in life. Her personal opinion may partially be true, but the views of people may not always be the same. Different people see the world in different ways. It can be considered that radical feminists' ideological beliefs are mostly rational, but some are likely to be erroneous assumptions. For example, French bitterly claims that 'all men are rapists'. Such accusation is extremely wild. It is not reasonable to sweepingly assume that all men are sexual assaulters. Moreover, all men are not bad oppressors and all women are not pitiable victims. However, firm beliefs declared by Marilyn French as a feminist in her novel seem to be reasonable. Unless feminists made efforts to arouse the awareness of women, there would be no one who recognized the practical sufferings of most women in the male dominated society to sum up, women in the world may have different opinions about their suffering and their experience in life. However, women's situations are still under discussion as the world's topical issue up till now.

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APPENDIX :

Table 1 Excerpts from the novel in which Feminist beliefs of Marilyn French could be traced

Sr No	page no	Excerpts	political beliefs	sexual beliefs	gender-role beliefs
1	3	The school had been planned for men, and there were places, she had been told, where women were simply not permitted to go. It was odd. Why? She wondered. Women were so unimportant anyway, why would anyone bother to keep them out?"	√		√
2	8	Women are capable of anything. It doesn't really matter. Wife or whore, women are the most scorned class in America. You may hate niggers and PRs and geeks, but you are a little frightened of them. Women don't even get the respect of fear?	√		√
3	10	Mrs Wards had loved the novels of Jane Austen in her youth. At home, Mrs Wards taught her (daughter) not to cross her legs at the knee, not to climb trees with boys, not to play tag in the alley, not to speak in a raised voice not to wear more than three pieces of jewelry at a time, and never to mix gold and silver. When these lessons had been learned, she considered Mira "finished".			√
4	16	When Mr ward came home from work, even though he was the gentlest man in the world, all Mrs Ward's friends would scurry home, their cups of coffee still half full.	√		
5	19	She tried to read Nietzsche again and found that he said women were liars, calculating out to dominate the man. He said you should take a whip when you go to woman.	√		√
6	20	..that a lot of them (magazines) had pictures of women in black underwear on them, or women chained up and naked and a man standing over them with a whip.	√	√	
7	22	That was the great secret, that was what boys knew and laughed at, that's why they were always poking each other and looking at girls and laughing. That was why they were the conquerors. Women were victims by nature.'		√	
8	27	Marriage and a child make her totally dependent on the man, on whether he is rich or poor, responsible or not, where he chooses to live, what work he chooses to do.		√	
9	29	Sex meant surrender to the male. If Mira wanted the independent life, she would have to give up being sexual.		√	
10	36	That a woman was not marked as the property of some male made her a bitch in heat to be attacked by any male, or even by all of them at once.'	√	√	
11	38	She had no choice but to protect herself against a savage world she did not understand and by her gender alone was made unfit to deal with.	√	√	
12	39	Armed by the title of, property of some man, she felt stronger in the world. They would be less likely to attack her if they knew some man had her under his protection.	√		
13	43	[H]e, like them, believed he had innate rights over her because he was male and she was female; he, like them, believed in things they called virginity and purity, or corruption and whoredom , in women.		√	

Sr No	page no	Excerpts	political beliefs	sexual beliefs	gender-role beliefs
14	75	Why have women no money? Haven't they, throughout time, worked as hard as men, labored in vineyard and kitchen, in field and house? How is it the men ended up with all the pounds and pence?	√		
15	128	It doesn't seem so important to men. Women, victims again. Why should men be so important to us and we not to them? Is that nature too?		√	
16	162	Lily and Carl became engaged . At that moment, things changed. She was permitted more liberty, her father stopped beating her, although he might slap her around a little. She understood that she was now seen as the property of another man.	√	√	
17	165	A child would mean the end of his life. (.....) He insisted she have an abortion.	√		
18	184	She was a full-grown woman of thirty-two, but needed permission to do something just as if she were a child.	√		
19	206	Yes. It's because they don't care about their kids. They just's don't care about them. So they're free. Women are victims. All the way through," Mira heard herself say.		√	
20	207	"Am I not an equal participant in this marriage? Don't I contribute to it?..... 'You don't contribute money.'	√		
21	208	She felt that he had eradicated her. He was annoyed that she did not understand her powerlessness. (.....) She could not give that money to Samantha without his permission.	√		
22	216	The assumption that the men are the ones who matter, and that the women exit only in relation to them, is so silent and underrunning that even we never picked it up until recently.	√		
23	225	Women and men. They played by different rules because the rules applied to them were different.	√		
24	239	We understood that the laws were all for THEM, that the setup of society was all for Them, that everything existed for THEM. But, we didn't know what to do about it. We half believed there was something terribly wrong with US. We crept into our holes and learned to survive.	√		
25	246	If the men think they are attractive, they are; if they don't, they aren't not. They give men the power to determine their identities, their value, to accept or reject them. They have no selves.	√		√
26	255	Ever since the divorce, she had grown more and more bitter at that injustice, at that injustice of the way the world treats women, at Norm's injustice to her.	√		
27	267	They (men) can't help it, they are trained to be bastards. We 're trained to be angles so they can be bastards. Can't beat the system.			√
28	286	And the goddeamned school is antifemale, they look down on women, especially women my age. It's a goddamned monastery that's been invaded by people in skirts, and	√		
29	348	Castraters and smotherers, they were unpaid servants of the Evil One. It is true that men are responsible for much of the pain in women's lives -- one way or another , whether personally or as part of a structure that refuses to let women in at all, or keeps them in subordinate positions.	√		√

Sr No	page no	Excerpts	political beliefs	sexual beliefs	gender-role beliefs
30	382	"That's what it was, although it would never stand up in court. Rape is the right of husbanda and lovers'.		√	
31	385	Mira's divorce was a terrible blow to them. They could not forgive Mira for being the first member of the family so to disgrace it . Although they knew that it was Norm who wanted the divorce, and that Mira had been an exemplary wife , they still believed deep down that a woman's first job is to hold on to her husband, ,.....			√
32	410	Because what we threaten is male legitimacy itself. (.....) Men always seem to think power is more attractive than lovingness."	√		
33	425	They demoralized me, they had the kind of power. (.....) I can't feel legitimate in the face of them. (.....) I am sick of trying to prove Harley that I'm as rational and intelligent a humanbeing as he, I'm sick of trying to prove to Harvard that I too can write disembodied intellectual tours de force.	√		
34	444	And the man will be seen as serious , and the woman as trivial, no matter whar she does or tries to do."	√		√
35	444	And when a man loses his sense of legitimacy, what he is really losing is a sense of superiority. He has come to find superiority over others necessary to his very existence. (.....) When a man loses superiority, he loses potency.	√		
36	476	Whatever they may be in public life, whatever their relations with men,in their relations with women, all men are rapists and that's all they are. They rape us with their eyes, their laws and their codes."	√		
37	476	That guy -- the minister -- and the way Tad treated Chris, the kid who raped her , the lawer who raped her soul, the courts and the way they treated her, the cops with their guns hanging down and the way they looked at her , and the men on the streets, one after another , looking at her, making remarks. There was no way I could protect her from it, the way she is feeling now, no way I can't help her to bear it.	√		
38	476	Women are invisible,trivial, or demons, castraters; they are servants or cunt, and sometimes both at once.	√		√
39	508	The major issue in the trial was whether or not Anita was educable. If she was attending school simply to find more trade, then she was a prostitute, and prostitutes can't be raped. These things were not stated but implied.	√	√	
			29	12	10

A CORPUS-BASED STUDY OF GENDER REPRESENTATION THROUGH INCANTATIONS AND REPORTING VERBS ACCOMPANYING INCANTATIONS IN THE NOVEL *HARRY POTTER AND THE DEATHLY HALLOWS* BY J. K. ROWLING

Su Khine Oo*

Abstract

Taylor (2003) advocated that gender is “an all-pervasive and extremely influential construct in the lives of individuals”. The way gender is represented in youth literature is worth studying as it can reflect the attitude of society towards gender. It is important to observe how language expressions explicitly or implicitly contribute gender representation through discourse elements like reporting verbs. In analyzing such elements from which gender representation can be inferred, corpus-based approach should be used as it offers, in Hunt (2015)’s words, “a degree of objectivity and efficiency not possible in manual ideological analysis, as well as a set of tools particularly useful for the lexical analysis of considerable quantities of text”. This paper attempts to explore gender representation through types of incantation and reporting verbs which accompany dialogues of incantation. Types of incantation were categorized using definitions by Rowling (2012) and Levy (2013). To reinforce reliability of data analysis and interpretation, WordSmith 8.0, Kendall's tau-b (τ_b) correlation coefficient and Stepwise Multiple Regression were used in this paper. It is hoped that this paper will be useful for demographic researchers, teachers and students who are approaching gender representation through dialogues in the novel.

Keywords: Corpus, Gender Representation, Incantation, Reporting Verbs

Introduction

Gender representation in Harry Potter series has been considered significant as the writer J. K. Rowling has endeavored to depict characters by conforming their personalities in accordance with gender stereotypes most of the time through the series. Although Harry Potter series are fantasy, Rowling has attempted to illustrate the nature of their characters as close as possible to the reality. As Butler (1999) pointed out, an individual gender identity “can be the same, different or a variation of both their biological sex and their gender expression”. Language expressions used by characters in Harry Potter series and their actions do not always conform to the set criteria for masculinities and femininities. Depending on their mood and situation, characters tend to use various language expressions. This paper deals with gender representation in *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows* which is contemporary novel as it can provide its reader with how contemporary people are viewing gender roles. This paper attempts to investigate gender representation by observing different types of incantation used and reporting verbs the writer used to reinforce the emotions and behaviours of characters.

In analyzing the use of incantations, types of incantations defined by Rowling (2012) and Levy (2013) were used. Reporting verbs were focused in conducting Concordance analysis of incantations and were categorized using types of reporting verbs proposed by Caldas-Coulthard (1987). The correlation between the use of types of incantation and the gender of user was justified using WordList, Kendall's tau-b (τ_b) correlation coefficient and Stepwise Multiple Regression to strengthen the reliability of data analysis and interpretation. Kendall's tau-b (τ_b) correlation coefficient was used rather than Pearson's correlation as two assumptions of the test – (i) Female characters do not use cruelest incantations, and (ii) Reporting verbs accompanying male characters' incantation are unemotional – had failed in exceptional cases. Overall, it was found that the use of types of spells and their level of seriousness were directly related to the gender of user in most

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cases, and that more prosodic reporting verbs accompanied female characters when they cast incantations to reflect their weak control over emotion whereas incantations by men were mostly depicted without reporting verbs and with paralinguistic and neutral reporting verbs due to their inner strength and indifference.

Aim and Objectives

The aim of this paper is to investigate how gender is represented through the use of different types of incantation and the reporting verbs that come along with these incantations in the novel *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows* by J. K. Rowling.

Objectives of this paper are:

- (i) To explore gender representation through different types of incantation
- (ii) To investigate gender representation through reporting verbs that accompany magic casts
- (iii) To justify the interpretation of gender representation using Concordance and WordList, and
- (iv) To prove the reliability of interpretation using Correlations and Coefficients for Stepwise Multiple Regression.

This paper attempts to answer the following research questions.

- (i) How can gender representation be inferred through different types of incantation and reporting verbs that accompany incantations?
- (ii) How are gender and reporting verbs correlated in Concordance and WordList?
- (iii) To what extent is the interpretation of the results of WordSmith 8.0 in line with that of Correlations and Coefficients for Stepwise Multiple Regression?

Literature Review

WordSmith 8.0

Mike Scott developed WordSmith Tool[®] first in 1996. It is a computer-specific software for linguists, researchers, teachers and students who study three core areas of corpus namely: Concord or comparison of different patterns of a word, WordList or word forms, and Keyword or keyness between the corpus and the reference corpus.

Concordance

Concordance is a computer-specific tool which identifies a large body of texts, lists surrounding words of every word entered and engages lexical analysis of patterns found in phrases and idioms.

WordList

WordList is one of the tools in WordSmith which studies the type of vocabulary used and the comparison of the frequency of words in different text files. It compares words in two lists and identifies words which appear more significantly in one than the other.

KeyWords

According to Scott (2015), the term KeyWords in WordSmith refers to the words which occur more or less than “would be expected by chance in comparison with reference corpus”. Not only content words including proper nouns but also function words usually appear in KeyWords.

Types of Incantation

Curse

Curse is the worst and cruelest kind of magic which causes the victim to suffer terribly and even causes instant death. Rowling (2012) curse as something “reserved for the worst kind of dark magic”. *Avada Kedavra* is the worst killing curse which makes the victim to suffer like scorching knives are stabbed into his body.

Spell

Levy (2013) categorized spell into three: healing spells, transfiguration spells and counter spells. Healing spells are used to cure illness and sufferings whereas transfiguration spells help the caster to transform into another person or animal. Rowling cited in Simpson (1998) explained transfiguration as a spell for “the alteration of the form or appearance of an object, via the alteration of the object's molecular structure”. *Anapneo* is an example of healing spell which helps the victim to alleviate from choking. *Avifors* is a kind of transfiguration spell which can transform small objects and statues into birds. *Expelliarmus* is a counter spell which causes the victim to disarm during the fight.

Hex

Rowling (2012) believed that “Hex” has “a connotation of dark magic”. It is not made to kill or torture like curse but is not as weak as jinx. Hex can cause harm to certain level and is short-lived. The victim will relieve from certain harm once the caster stops doing it. For example, *Redactum Skullus* is a kind of hex which causes the victim's head to shrink with certain level of pain.

Charm

According to Levy (2013), “Charm alter the spell caster's targets or other capabilities and qualities”. Charms are basically used to add certain properties to an object or individual. For instance, *Reparo* in Harry Potter series is used to repair things and even body parts.

Jinx

Levy (2013) stated that jinx is irritating but amusing to the caster and the victim. The intention of casting jinx is to have fun or to make the victim feel embarrassed. *Tarantallegra* is the dancing feet spell which forces the victim to dance wildly.

Gender Language

Stephens (1996) constructed a schema for masculinities and femininities from which gender language can be inferred.

Table 1 Masculinities and femininities proposed by Stephens (1996)

Male characteristics	Female Characteristics
Strong (inner strength)	Beautiful (inner beauty)
Violent	Non-violent
Unemotional	Emotional
Aggressive	Submissive
Transgressive	Obedient
Competitive	Sharing
Rapacious	Caring
Protective	Vulnerable
Powerful	Powerless
Player	Prize
Independent	Dependent
Active	Passive
Rational	Intuitive

Yule (2010) defined women's speech as speech with the use of rising intonation to end sentences, hedges and tag questions whereas men's speech as assertive and strong language. Feminine language is considered to be reciprocal with exchanging roles while masculine language is regarded as dominant.

Reporting Verbs

Caldas-Coulthard (1987) categorized reporting verbs into 7 types:

- (i) Neutral Verbs – simply report or signal “the illocutionary act—the saying; the intended meaning (illocutionary force) has to be derived from the dialogue itself” (Caldas-Coulthard, 1987) (e.g. say, tell)
- (ii) Structuring Verbs – build and develop a dialogue in the way “in which a given speech act fits into a sequence of speech acts” (Caldas-Coulthard 1987, 155). (e.g. prospection (ask, question) and retrospection (reply, return))
- (iii) Metapositional Verbs – show “what kind of illocutionary act we are confronted with” ((Caldas-Coulthard 1987). (e.g. assertive (agree, assent), expressive (complain, lament), directive (urge, order) or commissive (offer, promise))
- (iv) Metalinguistic Verbs – signal a linguistic act (quote, narrate) or relate the act of telling
- (v) Prosodic Verbs – include “vocal effects constituted by variation of pitch, loudness and duration (e.g. scream)
- (vi) Paralinguistic Verbs – are grouped into voice qualifier verbs (whisper, murmur, sob, mutter) which show manner and voice qualification verbs (growl, thunder) which reveal “the attitude of speaker in relation to what is being said”
- (vii) Signalling Verbs – “project character traits, since hesitation, pauses, silences or interruptions can all encode attitudinal stances, as will be demonstrated in section” (e.g. repeat, pause, break off)

Previous Researches

Riddle (2016) in her thesis titled “Gender in Young Adult Literature: Harry Potter and The Hunger Games”, she explores how adolescents related to those novels “through the lens of gender dynamics” and how the authors attempted to conform female protagonists to traditional gender roles. She adopted descriptive qualitative method and used gender theories proposed by Oakley (1972) and Delphy (1993). Firstly, she studied how strenuous for a young teenage girl to be responsible for her family’s survival in The Hunger Games. Secondly, how Hermione in Harry Potter endeavoured to fight for injustice and inequality in wizardry world. Riddle’s main focus was on observing how gender identities affected the lives of female protagonists, relationships and inner mind. The results of her research showed that both Hermione in Harry Pooter and Katniss in The Hunger Games were portrayed as innovative female protagonists in male-led adventure stories.

In her thesis titled “Gender Roles in the Harry Potter Series”, Müllerová (2019) attempted to clarify the distribution of gender roles in wizardry world of Harry Potter. Gender theories used in her thesis were those by Oakley (2000), Connell (2002) and Brannon (2017) in justifying gender roles. She highlighted the distribution of traditional gender roles in patriarchal society based on three levels of negative perception of a certain group – “Stereotyping, Prejudice and Discrimination”. Her results of data analysis showed that the wizardry world of Harry Potter did not reflect gender inequality and most characters were not confined into stereotyped gender roles. She concluded that “J. K. Rowling managed to create a universe, that is balanced in terms of gender roles and does not show a gender inequality”.

Similar to previous researches mentioned earlier, this paper attempted to explore gender representation in selected young adult literature – *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows* by J. K. Rowling. In contrast with these researches, the focus of this paper was on the use of types of incantations and their level of seriousness, and on the use of reporting verbs accompanying these incantations. Method used in this paper is different from previous researches in that not only descriptive qualitative but also quantitative methods were used. Besides, this paper uses computer-specific tool called WordSmith 8.0 for the reliability of data entry and SPSS to justify the interpretation of data. In addition, although both of these previous researches conformed to gender theory by Oakley (1972), and other scholars like Delphy (1993), Connell (2002) and Brannon (2017), this present research was based on characteristics of gender by Stephens (1996) and gender language by Yule (2010).

Research Methodology

This paper attempts to investigate gender representation through incantations and the reporting verbs that accompanied with incantation in the novel *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows*. This novel was particularly chosen to analyze as it includes the highest number of frequency of magic casts among all Harry Potter Series. In addition, it explicitly displays characteristics of masculinities such as Potter’s bravery to sacrifice his life for the good of wizardry world, Professor Snape’s protective nature although he seemed aggressive, Ron and Neville’s courageousness to destroy the last horcrux and Voldemort’s competitiveness for power. What was more, feminine characteristics like Hermione’s intuitive awareness of danger, her emotional reaction towards the death of Dobby, her submissive nature, Mrs Weasley’s vulnerability even though she tried to get into a fight with Voldemort Team and Professor McGonagall’s caring nature towards her students.

Mixed method – descriptive qualitative as well as quantitative method – was used in analyzing and interpreting the collected data. WordSmith Tools (Version 8.0) by Scott (2020) was used in collecting the data from the novel *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows* written by J. K.

Rowling in 2007. The reason why this novel was particularly chosen to analyze was that out of all 8 Harry Potter series, this series included the highest number of incantations and characters. Although the number of females in wizardry world of Harry Potter series was smaller than that of males, most supporting but important female characters like Professor McGonagall, Mrs. Weasley, Luna Lovegood, Bellatrix, and Tonks were mostly found in this series.

In the process of analysis, first, incantations used in the novel were analyzed by constructing concordance with WordSmith Tools 8.0. Second, those incantations were categorized using types of incantation categorized by Rowling (2018) in *Fantastic Beasts: The Crimes of Grindelwald*. Third, the use of reporting verbs that accompanied incantations was listed in WordSmith Tools 8.0. Reporting verbs were categorized using Coulthard (1987)'s taxonomy. Next, Stephen's schema for masculinities and femininities was used in analyzing gender representation through incantations and reporting verbs used beside them. To cross-check the reliability of research results, Correlations and Coefficients for Stepwise Multiple Regression (SPSS) were used in analyzing the relation between the use of types of incantation and gender.

Analysis of the Use of Incantation

In analyzing the data, concordance related to incantations used by male and female characters in the novel *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows* was focused. Then reporting verbs which accompanied dialogues in which incantations were uttered were listed in accordance with types of reporting verbs by Caldas-Coulthard (1987).

The followings are the tables in which the results of concordance analysis by WordSmith 8.0 can be found.

Table 2 Concordance of the Use of Curses

No	Concordance
1.	as she turned slowly away from him again. 'Avada Kedavra.' The flash of green light illuminated eve
2.	.. He laughed before casting the curse ... 'Avada Kedavra!' The green light filled the cramped hallw
3.	the small ones' whining in the orphanage – 'Avada Kedavra!' And then he broke: he was nothing,
4.	Malfoy pulled him out of the way. 'It's that Mudblood! Avada Kedavra!' Harry saw Hermione dive aside and his fu
5.	missed. Crabbe wheeled round and screamed, 'Avada Kedavra!' again. Ron leapt out of 1791/2144 sight
6.	best hope to the heavens, pointing Draco's wand: 'Avada Kedavra!' 'Expelliarmus!' The bang was like a cann
7.	his wand at the falling sidecar, and yelled, 'Confringo!' He knew a dreadful, gut-wrenching pang for
8.	him; as it struck, Hermione screamed, 'Confringo!' and her spell flew around the room, explod
9.	'What else did you take, what else? ANSWER ME! CRUCIO!' Hermione's screams echoed off the walls upst
10.	done that.' As Amycus spun round, Harry shouted, 'Crucio!' 1681/2144 The Death Eater was lifted off his
11.	' mimicked Crabbe. 'What's going – no, Potter! Crucio!' Harry had lunged for the tiara; Crabbe's cur

No	Concordance
12.	, and no man alive can threaten me now! Watch! Crucio!’ Harry had been expecting it: knew his body
13.	waitress, who collapsed in front of the door. ‘Expulso!’ bellowed the Death Eater, and the table
14.	and whispered, for the first time in his life, ‘Imperio!’ A curious sensation shot down Harry’s arm,
15.	pointing his wand at Travers, he muttered, ‘Imperio!’ once more. 1512/2144 ‘Oh, yes, I see,’ said
16.	Harry pointed his wand at Travers. ‘Imperio!’ The wizard turned and set off along the dark
17.	Gringotts goblin. And we need the Clankers!’ ‘Imperio!’ Harry said again; his voice echoed through
18.	her wand at the groggy Death Eater and said, ‘Imperio.’ Amicus got up, walked over to his sister,
19.	say –’ ‘He lost his hood during the chase. Sectumsempra was always a speciality of Snape’s. I wish
20.	pointing it directly at Lupin’s back – ‘Sectumsempra!’ shouted Snape. But the spell, intended fo
21.	car to avoid them. Wriggling round, he cried, ‘Stupefy!’ and a red bolt of light shot from his own w
22.	just been, as Harry, still invisible, yelled, ‘Stupefy!’ The great, blond Death Eater was hit in the
23.	led beneath the Invisibility Cloak, and said, ‘Stupefy!’ There was a flash of red light; Umbridge cr
24.	He tried to draw his own wand, but too late. ‘Stupefy!’ Yaxley slid to the ground to lie curled on
25.	‘What d’you think you’re playing at, woman?’ ‘Stupefy,’ she screamed, ‘stupefy!’ 1313/2144 They wer
26.	playing at, woman?’ ‘Stupefy,’ she screamed, ‘stupefy!’ 1313/2144 They were no match for her, even
27.	aco and Greyback wheeled about; Harry yelled, ‘Stupefy!’ and Lucius Malfoy collapsed on to the heart
28.	, pointed all of them at Greyback and yelled: ‘Stupefy!’ The werewolf was lifted off his feet by the
29.	t and knew that the only way out was through. ‘Stupefy!’ he bellowed, and Ron and Hermione joined in

Table 3 Concordance of the Use of Spells

No	Concordance
1.	holding on to the bike for dear life, ‘Hagrid – accio Hagrid!’ The motorbike sped up, sucked towards
2.	desk where he had left his glasses and said, ‘Accio glasses!’ Although they were only around a foo
3.	on his jeans. She raised her wand and said, ‘Accio locket!’ Nothing happened. Ron, who had been s
4.	the room again, raised his wand and murmured, ‘Accio locket.’ Nothing happened, but he had not expe

No	Concordance
5.	pointed it into the depths of the magical bag. ‘Accio dittany!’ A small brown bottle zoomed out of t
6.	, or d’you reckon it’s too early in the season? Accio salmon!’ There were several distinct splashes
7.	voice. ‘Yesss ... hold you ... hold you ...’ ‘Accio ... Accio wand ...’ But nothing happened and h
8.	Yesss ... hold you ... hold you ...’ ‘Accio ... Accio wand ...’ But nothing happened and he needed h
9.	the wand at the silvery shape and murmured, ‘Accio sword.’ It did not stir. He had not expected i
10.	there without touching anything?’ asked Ron. ‘Accio cup!’ cried Hermione, who had evidently forgot
11.	still echoing around the distant mountains. ‘Accio Cloak!’ roared one of the Death Eaters. Harry
12.	he could not remember where to go next ... ‘Accio diadem,’ cried Hermione in desperation, but no
13.	how do I stop it raining?’ 697/2144 ‘Try Finite Incantatem,’ said Hermione at once, ‘that should st
14.	ir wands raised, and heard both of them shout ‘Protego!’, a cry that was echoed on all sides – ‘Ron!
15.	at haze upon their clearing. ‘Salvio hexia ... Protego totalum ... Repello Muggletum ... Muffliato .
16.	pocket, Hermione had raised her own. 883/2144 ‘Protego!’ she cried, and an invisible shield expanded
17.	f Harry’s hands and he reacted instinctively. ‘Protego!’ The invisible shield erupted between Ron an
18.	in a circle around them, waving her wand. ‘Protego totalum ... Salvio hexia ...’ ‘That treachero
19.	Bellatrix’s wand at the waterfall and cried, ‘Protego!’ They saw the Shield Charm break the flow of
20.	idea where the diadem of Ravenclaw is?’ ‘... Protego horribilis – the diadem of Ravenclaw?’ squeak
21.	his wand and directed it at Molly Weasley. ‘Protego!’ roared Harry, and the Shield Charm expanded
22.	his wand at the sidecar and shouted, ‘Wingardium Leviosa!’ The sidecar rose like a cork, unsteera
23.	wand at a twig on the ground and said, ‘Wingardium Leviosa!’ The twig flew up from the ground, spun

Table 4 Concordance of the Use of Hexes

No	Concordance
1.	had cast a heat haze upon their clearing. ‘Salvio hexia ... Protego totalum ... Repello Muggletum .
2.	them, waving her wand. ‘Protego totalum ... Salvio hexia ...’ ‘That treacherous old bleeder!’ Ron pa

Table 5 Concordance of the Use of Charms

No	Concordance
1.	s into his eyebrows, which ignited. 634/2144 ‘Aguamenti!’ screamed Hermione, and a jet of water stre
2.	which were crumbling to soot at their touch. ‘Aguamenti!’ Harry bawled, but the jet of water that so
3.	one pointed her wand at the handle and said, ‘Alohomora.’ There was a click, and the door swung open
4.	at each of the guards in turn and murmured, ‘Confundo,’ twice. Unnoticed by Travers, who was lookin
5.	off at any moment; then he heard Hermione yelling, ‘Defodio!’ She was helping the dragon enlarge the pass
6.	out of her hair and trembling all over. ‘D – Diffindo,’ she said, pointing her wand at Ron, who roa
7.	t. ‘Oh, I’m so sorry, Ron, my hand’s shaking! Diffindo!’ 478/2144 The severed ropes fell away. Ron g
8.	her arms. ‘Well, I’ve had a change of heart. Diffindo!’ Nothing happened. ‘Hermione, how do I get r
9.	then he pointed Hermione’s wand at the ice. ‘Diffindo.’ It cracked with a sound like a bullet in th
10.	spun on to the floor, hitting the opposite wall. ‘Duro!’ cried Hermione, pointing her wand at the tape
11.	examine, and had decided was made of blackthorn. ‘Engorgio.’ The spider gave a little shiver, bouncing
12.	with her wand, ‘so Ron’s dad said I could borrow it. Erecto!’ she added, pointing her wand at the misshape
13.	chin and forced her face back. ‘EXPECTO PATRONUM!’ The silver stag soared from the tip of
14.	can muster; do yours, Hermione.’ ‘Expec – expecto patronum,’ said Hermione. Nothing happened. ‘It’s
15.	really ... come on, Hermione ...’ 752/2144 ‘Expecto patronum!’ A silver otter burst from the end of He
16.	Hermione that he thought as he whispered, ‘Expecto patronum!’ The silver stag burst from his wand and
17.	he pulled out a wand. ‘Stag! You idiot – expecto patronum!’ Something huge and horned erupted from
18.	for the boy, after all?’ ‘For him?’ shouted Snape. ‘Expecto patronum!’ From the tip of his wand burst the silv
19.	their wands were fully raised, Hermione shouted, ‘Glisseo!’ The stairs beneath their feet flattened int
20.	Hermione, and she raised her wand and said, ‘Homenum revelio.’ Nothing happened. 494/2144 ‘Well, you’v
21.	swear ... I swear ... Potter’s upstairs!’ ‘Homenum revelio,’ said the voice at the foot of the stair
22.	be more diifficult to fix, so as an interim measure try Impervius to protect his belongings –’ ‘Say it again,
23.	of Hufflepuff’s cup, hooking it on to the blade. ‘Impervius!’ screeched Hermione, in an attempt to protect

No	Concordance
24.	raised her wand, pointed it at Harry and whispered, 'Levicorpus.' Hoisted into the air by his ankle, Harry h
25.	crept out of the room. On the landing he whispered, 'Lumos,' and started to climb the stairs by wandlight. On
26.	e door and even that was swallowed by the darkness. 'Lumos,' said Harry, and his wand ignited. He gave a start
27.	half of the wand resealed itself. Harry held it up. 'Lumos!' The wand sparked feebly, then went out. Harry poi
28.	him. Now fear came: her presence had meant safety. 'Lumos!' he whispered, and the wand-tip ignited. The impri
29.	you? And hurry, we have very little time!' 1528/2144 'Lumos!' Harry shone his lit wand around the vault: its be
30.	raised Draco's wand beneath the Cloak and murmured, 'Lumos.' The black stone with its jagged crack running dow
31.	, Hermione tapped on the door and tiptoed inside. 'Muffliato,' she whispered, waving her wand in the direction
32.	exia ... Protego totalum ... Repello Muggletum ... Muffliato ... You could get out the tent, Harry ...' 'Tent?
33.	It was not moving. 'You cast the Muffliato charm over us, right?' he whispered to Hermione.
34.	Hermione. 'I did everything,' she whispered back, 'Muffliato, Muggle-Repelling and Disillusionment Charms, all
35.	With difficulty he dragged it over himself, murmured, 'Nox,' extinguishing his wandlight, and continued on his
36.	pointed her wand at Dolohov's forehead and said, 'Obliviate.' At once, Dolohov's eyes became unfocused and dr
37.	appeared over the top of the sideboard. 1206/2144 'Obliviate!' cried Hermione, pointing her wand first into hi
38.	leave his hand as the Cloak slipped off him. 'Petrificus Totalus!' screamed Hermione from out of sight, and the
39.	muttering under his breath. 'And now – piertotum locomotor!' cried Professor McGonagall. And all along
40.	very pink umbrella. 173/2144 'Hagrid! No! Let me!' 'REPARO!' There was a deafening bang and the sidecar broke
41.	broken like this –' 'Please, Hermione, try!' 'R – Reparo.' The dangling half of the wand resealed itself. Ha
42.	it with the very tip of the Elder Wand and said, 'Reparo.' As his wand resealed, red sparks flew out of its
43.	out his wand, he pointed it at the rag and said, 'Tergeo.' The wand siphoned off most of the grease. Looking
44.	fumbled with logs for the fire, he muttered, 'Tergeo.' The dust vanished from the photographs,

Table 6 Concordance of the Use of Jinxes

No	Concordance
1.	Hermione came running downstairs. ‘Let’s see ... Relashio!’ The chains clinked and withdrew into the arms of
2.	but it was no use. Pettigrew was turning blue. ‘Relashio!’ said Ron, pointing the wand at the silver hand,
3.	cuffs chaining the beast to the floor he yelled, ‘Relashio!’ The cuffs broke open with loud bangs. ‘This way!’

Reporting verbs are of importance in inferring gender representation as they imply how characters behave and how they sound. Analysis of the use of reporting verbs along with different types of incantations can best be summarized as follows.

Table 7 Categorization of Reporting Verbs Used along with Dialogues for Casting Incantations

No	Reporting Verb	Gender		Type of Incantation					Taxonomy
		Male	Female	Curse	Spell	Hex	Charm	Jinx	
1	<i>NIL</i>	27	11	15	8	2	12	1	<i>NIL</i>
2	whispered	3	3	0	0	0	6	0	Paralinguistic
3	murmured	4	0	0	1	0	3	0	Paralinguistic
4	muttered	3	0	1	1	0	1	0	Paralinguistic
5	said	10	8	2	4	0	11	1	Neutral
6	added	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	Signalling
7	shouted	5	3	2	4	0	2	0	Prosodic
8	cried	1	7	1	4	0	3	0	Prosodic
9	yelled	3	1	2	0	0	1	1	Prosodic
10	bawled	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	Prosodic
11	screamed	2	4	4	0	0	2	0	Prosodic
12	screeched	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	Prosodic
13	bellowed	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	Prosodic
14	roared	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	Prosodic
Total		62	39	29	23	2	44	3	

Findings and Discussion

With regard to the tables in analysis section, it can be said that both male and female characters in the novel *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows* used all types of incantation. As there were 11 male characters and 5 female characters who cast incantations in the novel, it can be said that the number of male is 55% larger than that of female in this male-led adventure story. The house of barman who cast Expecto Patronum was unknown. In order to compensate the reliability of data analysis with one missing house of barman, Kendall's tau-b (τ_b) correlation coefficient was used in this section.

The following is the table which shows the summary of types of incantations used by both male and female characters.

Table 8 Findings on the Use of Incantations

No	Type of Incantation	Incantation	Frequency	User Gender		House				Job										Role	
				Male	Female	Griffindor	Slytherin	Ravenclaw	Hufflepuff	Student	Professor	Dark Lord	Death Eater	Game Keeper	Wife of Ministry of Magic Employee	Auror	Editor of the Quibbler	Barman	Main	Supporting	
1.	Curse	Avada Kedavra	6	6	0	1	5	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	
2.		Confringo	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	
3.		Crucio	4	4	0	1	3	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	
4.		Expulso	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
5.		Imperio	5	4	1	5	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	
6.		Sectumsempra	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	
7.		Stupefy	9	6	3	6	2	1	0	5	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	9	
8.	Spell	Accio	12	9	3	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	10	2	
9.		Finite Incantatem	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
10.		Protego	8	3	5	6	0	1	1	5	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	5	3	
11.		Wingardium Leviosa	2	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	
12.	Hex	Salvio Hexia	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	
13.	Charm	Aguamenti	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	
14.		Alohomora	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
15.		Confundo	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
16.		Defodio	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
17.		Diffindo	4	2	2	4	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	
18.		Duro	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
19.		Engorgio	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
20.		Erecto	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
21.		Expecto Patronum	6	3	3	5	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	1	
22.		Glisseo	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
23.		Homenum Revelio	2	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	
24.		Impervius	2	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	
25.		Levicorpus	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
26.		Lumos	6	6	0	6	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	
27.		Muffliato	4	1	3	4	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	
28.		Nox	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
29.		Obliviate	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	
30.		Petrificus Totalus	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
31.		Piertotum Locomotor	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
32.		Reparo	3	3	0	3	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	
33.		Tergeo	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	
34.	Jinx	Relashio	3	3	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	
Total			101	65	36	81	15	3	1	79	6	5	5	2	1	1	1	1	75	26	

The data were arranged based on the seriousness of incantations. Curse is regarded as the worst and cruelest kind of dark magic and is followed by spell, though not as cruel as curse, which can create long-term negative impact on the victim. The third strongest incantation is known as hex which can harm the victim for a short time. The fourth one is charm which is normally used to

add certain kind of properties to human and objects. The weakest and mild one is jinx which is often use for humorous effect on the victim.

According to the data in Table 8, it can be observed that 2 out of 11 males were fond of using the worst kind of incantation whereas 1 out of 5 females were likely to use curse. However, the cruelest curse – Avada Kedavra – was used only by wizards. This led to the conclusion that male characters are, in Stephen (1996)'s words, violent, unemotional, aggressive and rapacious for power. The curse witches mostly used was Stupefy which caused the victim to freeze and remain unconscious. Different from wizards, their intention was obviously to protect themselves in non-violent way rather than to hurt others seriously.

The use of spell by wizards and witches in Table 8 proved that males liked to summon objects or levitate victims in air to frighten them, using Accio whereas females preferred to use counter-spell – Protego – to protect themselves because women are vulnerable and powerless by nature. This fact was reinforced with the use of hex as protective enchantment by witches only.

The use of charms was significant due to the fact that more female characters liked to use charms than male characters. To be exact, 2 out of 11 wizards would use charms while 4 out of 5 witches used charms very often. Being gentle kind of magic, charms were not preferred by wizards whose nature was violent and aggressive. The highest number of the use of charm by wizards was found in Lumos which only Harry Potter used to get light in the dark. Charms mostly used by witches were Expecto Patronum which was used to ask for help from a guardian and Muffliato which caused the people around caster to hear nothing but an unidentifiable buzzing sound. Due to playful nature of men, only wizards used jinx – Relashio – which caused the victim to lose his hold on whatever he had in his hands like butterfingers.

In addition to gender representation through types of incantation, reporting verbs accompanying dialogues in which incantations were cast can be used to infer masculinities and femininities. The following table shows reporting verbs that are generated by WordSmith 8.0 with focus on WordList of Harry Potter Corpus and that of *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows*, and Concordance between gender of characters and reporting verbs.

Table 9 Harry Potter Corpus WordList and Concordance of Reporting Verbs

No	Reporting Verb	WordList Frequency (in Harry Potter Series)	WordList Frequency (in Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows)	Concordance (Collocates Gender and Reporting Verbs)	
				Male	Female
1	whispered	83	104	2	2
2	murmured	60	26	0	0
3	muttered	242	35	2	0
4	said	11897	1979	25	5
5	added	211	41	2	1
6	shouted	320	87	3	0
7	cried	134	52	0	1
8	yelled	214	50	3	0
9	bawled	3	2	0	0
10	screamed	121	47	2	1
11	screeched	19	8	0	0
12	bellowed	97	29	2	0
13	roared	130	31	1	0

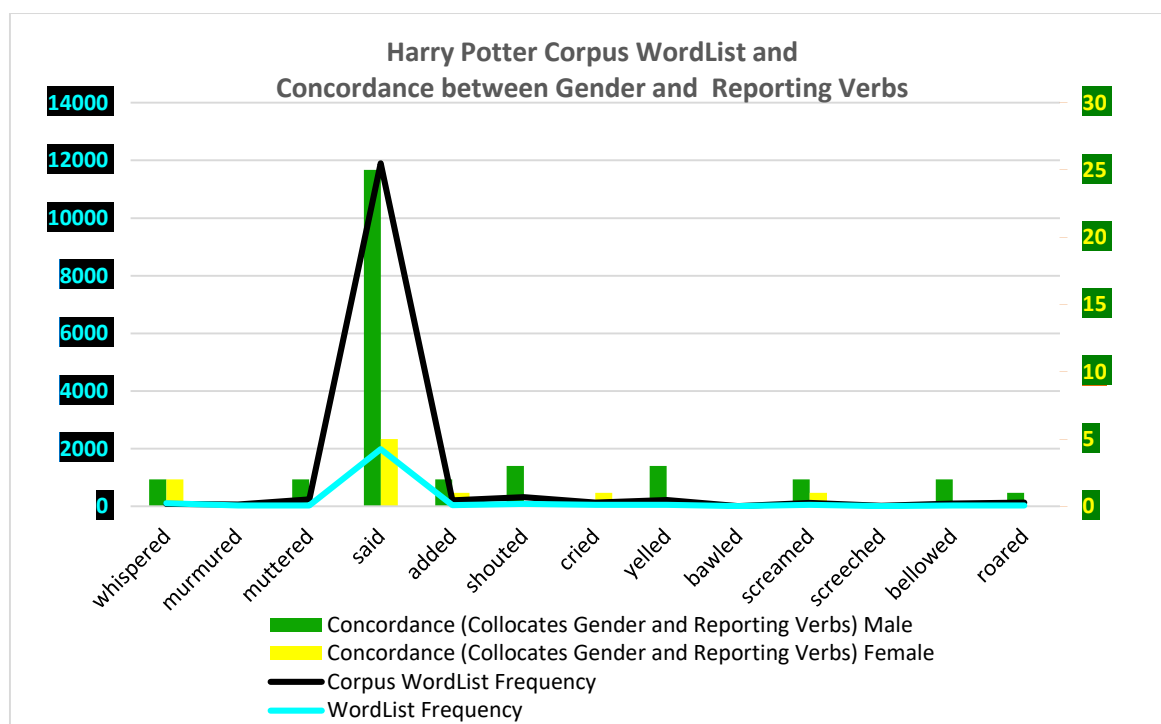


Figure 1 Harry Potter Corpus WordList and Concordance between Gender and Reporting Verbs

With regard to Table 7, it seemed vivid that in casting most charms and curses, the writer did not use reporting speech as they were uttered all of a sudden or in response to previous cast by characters. There were some charms like *Levicorpus*, *Lumos*, *Muffliato* and *Expecto Patronum* which were whispered by both wizards and witches. Their act of uttering charms were accompanied by paralinguistic reporting verbs like *whispered*, *murmured* and *muttered*, and neutral verb – *said*. Only one signalling verb was used when Hermione said the charm – *Erecto*. Her bossy characteristics was found when she was not satisfied with the charm Ron used. Prosodic verbs were used more in dialogues of female characters. 3 out of 5 witches were inclined to using variation of pitch and loudness in casting incantations as the nature of a typical female is emotional whilst only 1 out of 11 wizards would use such prosodic features during their cast.

Concordance between gender and reporting verbs in Table 9 proves collocation between reporting verbs and gender of user throughout *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows*. It can be seen that “*said*” accompanied the dialogues of male characters for 42 times (which is 81%) whereas for female characters, it was only 10 times (which is 19%). Again, the reason behind this is that Rowling indirectly conveyed that male characters were less emotional than female ones. Regardless of the frequent use of prosodic reporting verbs in dialogues of witches when they cast incantations, in concordance analysis based on collocation between gender and reporting verbs, those verbs were collocated more with wizards especially in the dialogues *said* out of anger and violence.

Kendall's tau-b (τ_b) correlation coefficient shown below proved the strength of correlation which existed between gender and type of incantation. Sig. (2-tailed) is .034 ($p < 0.05$) and this led to the fact that there is significant correlation between gender and their choice of incantations.

Table 10 Kendall's tau-b (τ_b) correlation between gender and type of incantation

Correlations			Gender	Type_of_Incantation
Kendall's tau_b	Gender	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.198*
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.034
		N	101	101
	Type_of_Incantation	Correlation Coefficient	-.198*	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.034	.
		N	101	101

*, Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

In order to justify the findings of this research, the following Stepwise Multiple Regression was used in testing the reliability of the results. Sig. for Purpose (of the use of incantation) is .035 which is less than ($p < 0.05$) and thus it can be said that dependent variable – Gender – is very much related to the purpose in using certain incantations.

Table 11 Stepwise Multiple Regression for gender and purpose of using incantations

Coefficients ^a						
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	1.635	.126		12.960	.000
	Purpose	-.075	.035	-.210	-2.133	.035

a. Dependent Variable: Gender

With regard to data analysis and findings of this research, it can be concluded that in *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows*, gender was correlated with the use of reporting verbs, type of incantations and purpose of using particular incantation. Even though the focus of Riddle (2016) was on life, relationship and inner feelings of female protagonists only, there were similarities between her results and those of this research. Both results proved that not only wizards but also witches like Hermione used curses in order to win the fight and to protect themselves. Although the frequency of curse used by witches was obviously lower than that by wizards, it was found that even minor character like Mrs Cattermole used Stupefy curse to get rid of death eaters.

According to the results of “Gender Roles in the Harry Potter Series” by Müllerová (2019), it was observed that both wizards and witches were given almost equal share in using incantations regardless of the level of incantations in the wizardry world of Harry Potter. There were situations in which curse were used by witches though it was assumed that wizards’ inborn nature of violence and certain level of cruelty led them to use more curses than witches. Regardless of the fact that witches’ feminine nature of caring caused them to use more charms than wizards, even main male character Harry used the charm – Lumos – for 6 times in this novel. Likewise, prosodic reporting verbs which revealed the loudness, pitch and emotion mostly found in the dialogues by witches when they cast incantations. Yet, with regard to the results of collocation between gender and reporting verbs in Concordance analysis, such prosodic verbs were collocated more with witches. With due respect to those findings, it can be concluded that in Müllerová (2019)’s words, “J. K.

Rowling managed to create a universe, that is balanced in terms of gender roles and does not show a gender inequality”.

Conclusion

This paper attempts to investigate how gender, incantations they used and reporting verbs accompanying their dialogue on incantations were correlated using gender theory by Stephens (1996) and Yule (2010), definitions of incantations by Rowling (2012) and Levy (2013) and categorization of reporting verbs by Caldas-Coulthard (1987). In order to analyze the data objectively, computer-specific tool called WordList 8.0 by Scott (2020) was used. Interpretation of data was strengthened and justified with results generated by Kendall's tau-b (τ_b) correlation coefficient and Stepwise Multiple Regression. The cross-checked results proved that the use of incantations, purpose and reporting verbs accompanying dialogues in which incantations were cast mostly depended on the gender of user. Yet, Rowling's distribution of gender equality was reflected in some parts of the novel and that helped the description of characters not to be stereotyped. Further corpus-based researches can be done on other series of Harry Potter with focus on gender role illustrated by Rowling as a whole. It is anticipated that this paper will come in handy for researchers, teachers and students who are observing gender through novels and adopting corpus-based approach to novels.

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE TRANSLATION OF METAPHORICAL EXPRESSIONS IN ZAWGYI'S 'BEING BRAVE' (YE KHET THE PA) POEM BY WIN PE AND AH MAY THAR

Aung Zaw Moe¹

Abstract

This research focuses on the comparative study of the translations by *Win Pe (Mya Zin)* and *Ah May Thar* of metaphorical expressions in *Zawgyi's 'Being Brave' (Ye Khet The Pa)*, the sixth of the forty-one poems under the title 'Hyacinth's Way' (*Beda Lan*). The entire poem is regarded as a highly metaphorical poetic piece by many scholars and critics. The translator, *Win Pe*, is a prolific author, poet and scholar. He has translated many classical as well as modern Myanmar poems into English. By permission of the original poet, *Zawgyi*, his translations of the series of 'Hyacinth Way' poems appeared in the 'Working People's Daily' at different times from 1989 to 1990. On the other hand, *Ah May Thar* is also a well-experienced poetic translator who has translated many Myanmar poems into English. In this paper, the translation procedures the translators use in rendering the metaphorical expressions in the poem were studied comparatively, based on the theories proposed by *Newmark (1988)*. The study revealed that in translating metaphorical expressions in the poem, *Win Pe* used the metaphorical translation procedures of 'reproducing the same image in the target language', and 'conversion of metaphor to sense', and *Ah May Thar* used the procedures of 'reproducing the same image in the target language', 'conversion of metaphor to sense', 'deletion', and 'producing the same metaphor combined with sense' are used and the procedure of 'reproducing the same image in the target language' is most common in the translations.

Keywords – metaphor, image, object, sense, source language (SL), target language (TL) source text (ST), target text (TT)

Introduction

The importance of translation has ever grown during the past few centuries and it has always drawn the attention of many scholars across the world. *Newmark*, as cited in *Munday (2012)*, suggests the following terms and their definitions:

"Communicative translation attempts to produce on its readers an effect as close as possible to that obtained on the readers of the original.

Semantic translation attempts to render as closely as the semantic and synthetic structures of the second language allow, the exact contextual meaning of the original. This allows the reader closer access to the language and customs of the source culture." (*Newmark, 1981*)

According to *Hasson (2011)* stated, "Translation plays an important role in increasing awareness and understanding among diverse cultures and nations. Literary translations in particular help these cultures reach a compromise," and "a literary translation must reflect the imaginative, intellectual and intuitive writing of the author. In fact, literature is distinguished by its aesthetics."

In literary translation, the translatability of poetry has been a debatable issue for many years. *Nida (1964)* states that in poetic translation, "only rarely can one produce both content and form in a translation, and hence in general the form is usually sacrificed for the sake of the content". According to *Newmark (1988)*, "in most examples of poetry translation, the translator first decides to choose a target language poetic form as close as that of the source language (SL henceforth) in which the precise order of the rhyming scheme may have to be dropped though it is part of the form, he then reproduces the figurative meaning, the concrete images of the poem and lastly, the

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setting or the thought-words". He continued that the translation of metaphors in poems is rather complex as it usually involves cultural aspects, social aspects, geographical aspects and aesthetic aspects. In this paper, the translation of metaphors can be dealt with in terms of four factors: definition, elements, types and procedures to metaphor translation.

Newmark (1988) states that "metaphor means any figurative expression: the transferred sense of a physical word, the personification of an abstraction, and the application of a word or collocation to what it does not literally denote, and metaphor may be a single word, a collocation, an idiom, a sentence, a proverb, an allegory and a complete imaginative text". Again, he describes the following elements of metaphor: image, object and sense. Image is the picture conjured by the metaphor while object is what is described or qualified. Sense is the resemblance or semantic area overlapping object and image. He distinguishes six types of metaphor: dead, cliché, stock, adapted, recent and original metaphors.

Dead metaphors are those "where one is hardly conscious of the image, frequently related to universal terms of space and time" and cliché metaphors are "metaphors that have perhaps temporarily outlived their usefulness and used as a substitute for clear thought". A stock metaphor is "an established metaphor in which an informal context is effective and concise to cover a physical and/or mental situation both referentially and pragmatically" and adapted metaphors are adapted stock metaphors. A recent metaphor is "a metaphorical neologism often 'anonymously' coined" and original metaphors are those "quoted or created by the original writer". (ibid: 106-112)

Newmark (1988) states seven procedures for metaphor translation which are put in the following order of preference:

- (a) Reproducing the same image in the target language (TL henceforth)
- (b) Replacing the same image in the source language with a standard TL image
- (c) Translation of metaphor by simile, retaining the same image
- (d) Translation of metaphor by simile plus sense
- (e) Conversion of metaphor to sense
- (f) Deletion
- (g) Producing the same metaphor combined with its sense.

Based on these theories of metaphor types and metaphor translation procedures, this paper aims to comparatively study the translations of metaphorical expressions by *Win Pe* and *Ah May Thar* in Zawgyi's 'Being Brave' (*Ye Khet The Pa*) Poem. This poem is the sixth of Zawgyi's 'Hyacinth's Way' (*Beda Lan*) poem cycle which is regarded as a highly metaphorical poetic piece by many scholars and critics as it is believed that *Ma Beda* represents a tough and calm female who always tries to negotiate and overcome the mental as well as physical challenges in her way up and down the river. Naturally, the use of metaphors is common throughout the poem. And the objectives are to study the translation procedures by the translators used in the translation of metaphorical expressions in the poem, to examine which procedures are dominant in each task of the translation, and to compare and contrast their ways of rendering the metaphorical expressions from language to language, culture to culture.

Materials and Methods

This study adopts a descriptive qualitative as well as quantitative research, based on the theories of elements of metaphor and metaphor types as well as translation procedures proposed by Newmark (1988). For clarity, the source text and the two target texts by the translators are given. The metaphorical expressions are collected and categorized. The image and the object as well as the implied meaning of each metaphorical expression are identified. The translation procedures used by the translators are studied. *Win Pe* is identified as Translator 1 and *Ah May Thar* as Translator 2 and their translations are identified as Target Text 1 (TT 1 Henceforth) and Target Text 2 (TT 2 henceforth). The proportions of the metaphor translation procedures used by the translators are shown in percentage. Finally, the findings are discussed.

Source Text(ST henceforth)

ရဲခဲသည်ပျံ

၁

မြစ်တန်းမှာတဲ့ လေကြမ်းဆင်။

ထန်လိုက်လေ လေမုန်တိုင်း၊ လှိုင်းက ဘောင်ဘင်။

တစ်လှိုင်းထွက် တစ်လှိုင်းဝင်၊ ဗေဒါခင် ဖြစ်နဲ့။

ရေလှိုင်း ဗလပွေ့နဲ့

မုန်တိုင်းလေ ရေတစ်ရိုးမှာ၊ စိုးရွံ့မှာပဲ။

၂

မြစ်ရိုးမှာတဲ့ မိုးသက်ဆင်။

လျှပ်ကြိုးပျံ မိုးသံထစ်၊ မိုး စစ်ဘုရင်။

မိုးညစ်လို့ မြစ်မမြင်၊ ဗေဒါခင် ဖြစ်နဲ့။

ရေလှိုင်း ဗလပွေ့နဲ့

မိုးသက်လေ ရေတစ်ရိုးမှာ၊ စိုးရွံ့မှာပဲ။

၃

စိုးမရွံ့ တွန့်မတုန်။

မိုးနှင့်လေ ရေရှုပ်ထွေး၊ ရွေးမျှမဖြူ။

ဆန်လိုက်ပြန်တုံ၊ စုန်လိုက်ပြန်ရ။

ခေါက်ပေါင်း မရေနိုင်လို့

ဗေဒါခိုင် သည်မြစ်ထဲ၊ ရဲခဲသည်ပျံ။ ။

Target Text 1 (TT 1 henceforth)

Being Brave

The wind is wild on the straight stretch
of river

The storm is intense, the waves rough.

Miss Hyacinth's lot is to suffer
the waves sweeping in and out.

Tumultuous waves and the storm raging,
Hyacinth should be afraid.

Heavy rain threatens along the river.

String lightning flies, thunder roars.

Target Text 2 (TT 2 henceforth)

Had Braved

Along the line of the creek, the wind has started
blasting about,

What a fierce storm with waves rolling over!

With one wave after another coming in and out:
Miss *Beda*, with all the water, billowing about her
in the raging storm, wind and water

She's going to fear for sure.

Along the line of the creek, a torrent of rains has
started,

Lightening flashed, and thunder crashed

As if the rain warrior king in a fit has darted:

It is the warlord rain.

Miss Hyacinth's lot is poor visibility
on the river in murky rain.

Tumultuous waves and wind-bringing rain,
Hyacinth should be afraid.

No trembling and no nervousness.
Though rain is confounded with wind
there's not the slightest fear.

If she goes upstream, downstream
she comes.

So many times up and down this river,
Hyacinth flower is brave.

Unseeing the creek, Miss *Beda*

For the outburst of rains has it covered,

In the raging storm, wind and water

She's going to fear for sure.

Never fearing, never recoiling, never trembling,

The rain, wind and water, not a bit do they bother

Has always been rising up, always down creek
ebbing,

The trips hither, countless in number,

Had always braved this creek, the bunch of *Beda*

Findings

There are five metaphorical expressions in the poem. The setting is the tidal creek which is full of heavy downpours, fierce winds and raucous soundscapes of nature. It can make anyone in it feel small indeed.

(1) The first metaphorical expression appears in the last line of the first stanza of the poem.

ST: ရေလှိုင်းဗလပွန့်

မုန်တိုင်းလေရေတစ်ရိုးမှာ၊ စိုးရွံ့မှာပဲ။

TT 1: Tumultuous waves and the storm raging,

Hyacinth should be afraid.

TT 2: With all the water, billowing about her in the raging

Storm, wind and water

She's going to fear for sure.

The metaphorical expression in this line is 'စိုးရွံ့မှာပဲ' which is translated as 'Hyacinth should be afraid' by *Win Pe* and 'She's going to fear for sure.' *Ah May Thar*. Hyacinth is personified as a human being and she is compared to a young woman or a woman who is facing dangers or threats.

In this metaphorical expression, the image is Hyacinth and the object is a human being. The sense is that they would feel fear when facing dangers or threats. This is an extended metaphor. Both translators render it literally and use the procedure of producing the same image in the target language. But their ways of choosing words and expressions are found to be different.

(2) The second metaphorical expression appears in the last line of the first stanza of the poem.

ST: လျှပ်ကြိုးပျံ မိုးသံထစ်၊ မိုးစစ်ဘုရင်။

TT 1: String lighting flies, thunder roars.

It is the warlord rain.

TT 2: Lightening flashed, and thunder crashed

As if the rain warrior king in a fit has darted:

The metaphorical expression in this line is ‘မိုးစစ်ဘုရင်’ which is translated as ‘the warlord rain’ by *Win Pe* and “the rain warrior king” by *Ah May Thar*. The rain is personified as a human being and compared to a warlord or warrior king who is roaring and threatening.

In this metaphorical expression, the image is the warlord and the object is the rain. The sense is that they typically roar thunderously. This is an extended metaphor and the translator rendered it literally. The translators use the procedure of producing the same image in the target language. However, the translator 2 uses the procedure of word for word translation by translating each word separately and following the source text quite closely whereas the translator 1 tends to use the communicative translation, focusing on the target text and trying to leave the readership in peace.

(3) The third metaphorical expression appears in the third line of the second stanza.

ST: မိုးညစ်လို့ မြစ်မမြင်၊ ဗေဒါခင် ဖြစ်နဲ့။

TT 1: Miss Hyacinth's lot is poor visibility
on the river in murky rain.

TT 2: Unseeing the creek, Miss *Beda*

For the outburst of rains has it covered,

The metaphorical expression in this line is ‘ဗေဒါခင် ဖြစ်နဲ့’. It is translated as ‘Miss Hyacinth's lot’ by Translator 1 whereas it is deleted in translation by Translator 2. Hyacinth is personified as a human being who is having hard times in life.

In this metaphorical expression, the image is Hyacinth and the object is a human. The sense is that they are brave. This is an extended metaphor and Translator 1 rendered it literally. The translator uses the procedure of producing the same image in the target language.

(4) The fourth and fifth metaphorical expression appears in the last lines of the first stanza.

ST: စိုးမရွံ့ တွန့်မတုန်။

မိုးနှင့်လေရေရှုပ်ထွေး၊ ရွေးမျှမဖြူ။

TT 1: No trembling and no nervousness.

Though rain is confounded with wind
there's not the slightest fear.

TT 2: Never fearing, never recoiling, never trembling,

The rain, wind and water, not a bit do they bother

The metaphorical expressions in these lines are ‘စိုးမရွံ့ တွန့်မတုန်’ and ‘ရွေးမျှမဖြူ’ which are translated by the translator 1 as ‘no trembling and no nervousness’ and ‘(there’s) not the slightest fear’ respectively and by the translator 2 as ‘never fearing and never recoiling’ and ‘never trembling/ not a bit do they bother’ respectively. It means that despite the fierce landscapes and raucous soundscapes, Hyacinth remains unaffected and she is personified as a fearless human being. In this metaphorical expression, the image is Hyacinth and the object is a daring human being. The sense is that they are confident. The former ‘စိုးမရွံ့ တွန့်မတုန်’ is an extended metaphor. Both translators rendered it almost literally and used the procedure of producing the same image in the target language for this. To be specific, the translator 1 tends to maintain both the form and content of the original text, in the meanwhile clearly conveying the message of the source text. On the other hand, in the translation of the translator 2, though the translator tries to retain the content and form of the ST, there will probably be some confusion for the readership as he overtranslates the expressions in the TT. The latter ‘ရွေးမျှမဖြူ’ is also an extended metaphor which means ‘with no ounce of fear’. This is a cliché metaphor and for this, the translator 1 uses the procedure of reducing to sense, trying to communicate the target reader whereas the translator 2 seems to make the message unclear by undertranslating the given metaphorical expression.

(5) The fifth metaphorical expression appears in the last line of the first stanza of the poem.

ST: ခေါက်ပေါင်းမရေနိုင်လို့
ဗေဒါခိုင် သည်မြစ်ထဲ၊ ရဲခွဲသည်ပါ။

TT 1: (If she goes upstream, downstream she comes.)

So many times up and down this river,
Hyacinth flower is brave.

TT 2: (Has always been rising up, always downcreek ebbing,)

The trips hither, countless in number,
Has always braved this creek, the bunch of *Beda*

The metaphorical expression here is ‘ဗေဒါခိုင် သည်မြစ်ထဲ၊ ရဲခွဲသည်ပါ’ which is translated as ‘So many times up and down this river, Hyacinth flower is brave’ by the translator 1 and ‘Has always braved this creek, the bunch of *Beda*’. Hyacinth has gone through such dangers and threats many times as she has gone upstream and downstream in this tidal creek for a long.

In this metaphorical expression, the image is Hyacinth and the object is a brave human being who remains calm and able in difficult situations as he has experienced the ups and downs in life many times. The sense is that they are experienced and therefore brave. This is an extended metaphor and the translators use the procedure of reproducing the same image in the target language.

Discussion

In the poem studied, there are altogether six metaphorical expressions detected in terms of metaphor types categorized by Newmark (1988) and it is found that four of them are original metaphors which are created or quoted by the original poet. And they include universal, cultural and subjective or personal metaphorical expressions. Again, there are one stock metaphor and one cliché. Three out of six metaphorical expressions are extended metaphors and the rest are single-word metaphors. All metaphor sizes are retained in the TT 1 but in TT 2, all become extended metaphors.

Table 1 Metaphorical expressions in the ST

No	Source Text	Metaphor Size	Metaphor Type	Image	Object	Sense
1	စိုးရှို့မှာပဲ	Single-word	Original	Hyacinth who has to go through the storms and the huge waves in the tidal creek	A human who has to come across the threatening obstacles in his or her way of life	Both will be threatened and frightened
2	မိုးစစ်ဘုရင်	Single-word	Stock	the warlord	the stormy rain	Both are roaring and threatening
3	မိုးညစ်လို့ မြစ်မမြင်၊ ဗေဒါခင် ဖြစ်နဲ့	Extended	Original	Hyacinth's poor way of life	A human in bad circumstances	The pitifulness of human existence
4	စိုးမရွံ့ တွန့်မတုန်	Extended	Original	Hyacinth who is not afraid of the heavy rain and the roaring thunders at all	A human who is not afraid of the threats and dangers in life	Both are quite brave.
5	ရွေးမျှမဖြူ	Single-word	Cliché	Hyacinth who has no ounce of fear	a human who cannot be stopped for anything	They are quite brave.
6	ရဲခဲသည်ပဲ	Single-word	Original	Hyacinth who has no ounce of fear is brave	A human who cannot be stopped for anything is brave	Being brave

Table 2 Metaphorical expressions in the TT 1

No	Target Text	Metaphor Size	Metaphor Type	Metaphor translation procedures
1	should be afraid	Single-word	Original	Reproducing the same image in the TL
2	the warlord rain.	Single-word	Stock	Reproducing the same image in the TL
3	Miss Hyacinth's lot is poor visibility	Extended	Original	Reproducing the same image in the TL
4	No trembling and no nervousness	Extended	Original	Reproducing the same image in the TL
5	there's not the slightest fear	Single- word	Stock	Conversion of metaphor to sense
6	Hyacinth is brave	Single- word	Original	Reproducing the same image in the TL

Table 2 Metaphorical expressions in the TT 2

No	Target Text	Metaphor Size	Metaphor Type	Metaphor translation procedures
1	going to fear for sure	Extended	Original	Reproducing the same image in the TL
2	the rain warrior king	Extended	Stock	Reproducing the same image in the TL
3	Unseeing the creek, Miss Beda —	Nil	Nil	Deletion
4	Never fearing, never recoiling	Extended	Original	Producing the same metaphor with sense
5	never trembling/ not a bit do they bother	Extended	Original	Conversion of metaphor to sense
6	(Hyacinth) Has always braved this creek	Extended	Original	Reproducing the same image in the TL

In TT 1, all the metaphor types except in the case of ‘ရွေးမျှမဖြူ’ (there’s not an ounce of fear) are found to be retained. In TT 2, there are changes in the types of metaphors. In the case of ‘ရွေးမျှမဖြူ’ (there’s not an ounce of fear) turns to original and in the third metaphorical expression ‘မိုးညှစ်လို့ မြစ်မမြင်၊ ဗေဒါင် ဖြစ်နဲ့’, the expression ‘ဗေဒါင် ဖြစ်နဲ့’ (the poor lot of Hyacinth) is not translated.

The metaphor translation procedures used by Translator 1 are ‘reproducing the same image’ and ‘reducing to sense in the TT’. The metaphor translation procedure mainly involved here is reproducing the same image in the TL. Translator 2 uses the procedures of ‘reproducing the same image’, ‘reducing to sense in the TT’, ‘deletion’ and ‘producing the same metaphor combined with sense’.

Table 3 Proportion of metaphor translation procedures involved

Procedures	Translator 1		Translator 2	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Reproducing the same image in the TL	5	83.33%	3	50%
Replacing the same image in the source language with a standard TL image	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Translation of metaphor by simile, retaining the same image	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Translation of metaphor by simile plus sense	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Conversion of metaphor to sense	1	16.67%	1	16.67%
Deletion	Nil	Nil	1	16.67%
Producing the same metaphor with sense	Nil	Nil	1	16.67%
Total	6	100%	6	100%

It is found that in TT 1, the most preferred procedure constitutes 83.33% while the less preferred procedure constitutes the other 16.66% whereas in TT 2, the most preferred procedure constitutes 50% while the third least preferred procedure constitutes another 50% These statistics will reflect the discussion of findings below.

Out of the six metaphorical expressions in the poem, there is one cliché metaphor ‘ရွေးမျှမငြို’ (there’s not the slightest fear) which can be directly translated as “with no ounce of fear”. Both translators reduce it to sense but in different ways. It is cultural and difficult to be transferred to the ST and their metaphorical meanings may not be clearly fixed. But on the other hand, it can be said to be universal and the version of ‘ounce of fear’ is likely to have a stronger emotional impact than a functional equivalent. Secondly, there is one stock metaphorical expressions which is ‘မိုးစစ်ဘုရင်’ (the warlord rain). Both translators use the procedure of reproducing the same image in the TL but again in the different ways. According to Newmark (1988), “the first and most satisfying procedure for translating a stock metaphor is to reproduce the same image in the TL, provided it has comparable frequency and currency in the appropriate TL register”. In the case of the metaphorical expression ‘ဗေဒါခင် ဖြစ်နဲ့’ (the poor lot of Hyacinth), Translator 1 reproduces the same image in the TL while the deletion procedure is used in TT 2. But this expression is important part of the poem’s message which stresses the fact that the protagonist is facing great challenges and so there is definitely effect loss in the translation.

In rendering the original metaphorical expression ‘စိုးရွံ့မှာပဲ’, both translators use the procedure of reproducing the same image in the TL, but in TT 2, it is translated as “going to fear for sure” which will lead to deviation from its meaning in the ST. In dealing with the expression ‘စိုးမရွံ့ တွန့်မတုန်’, Translator 1 translates it as ‘no trembling and no nervousness’ whereas it is translated as ‘never fearing, never recoiling’ which again leads to deviation in meaning. When translating the last metaphorical expression ‘ရဲခွဲသည်ဝါ’, Translator 1 translates it neat while Translator 2 makes some addition to the translation.

To sum up, the procedures used by Translator 1 tend to be more congruent with the requirements of the theory than those used by Translator 2. The former translates all original metaphorical expressions using the procedure of retaining the same image in the TT but the latter unnecessarily deletes one original metaphor in the translation.

Conclusion

Generally, this study focuses on the translation of metaphor which plays a crucial role in literary translation, especially in poetic translation. Specifically, this paper studies the different approaches used by two translators in rendering the metaphorical expressions in the poem ‘Being Brave’ (*Ye Khet The Pa*) in which the metaphorical expressions are significantly involved in conveying the message of the original poem. Almost all the sizes of metaphorical expressions remain the same in TT 1 but there are some changes in TT 2. Most of the metaphors involved are found to be original ones and in translating them, the translators use the procedure of reproducing the same image in the TL though there are some problems in the TT 2.

It is found that most of the metaphors in ST are original ones and the procedure of ‘reproducing the same image in the TL’ is most common in the translations though the percentages are quite different. Newmark (1988) described that original should be translated neat and literally whether they are universal, cultural or obscurely subjective as they are created or quoted by the SL writer. It can be implied that deviation from this will have an impact on the translation.

This research is carried out with the sincere belief to offer some useful suggestions for poetic translation tasks in general, as well as for metaphorical translations in particular, to discover the difficulties and problems in poetic translations and to contribute to the pedagogic field of poetic translation, especially the translation of metaphors.

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FINDING ON HISTORICAL RECORDS FROM THE PHOTOS OF YADANA (B.O.C WORKERS JOURNAL) 1956-1962*

Htar Thet Thet Oo¹

Abstract

This paper attempt to examine the conditions of oilfield workers and the effort of BOC Company from 1956 to 1962 based on the Journal of BOC oilfield workers at that time. The purpose of this paper is to know the conditions of oil wells, the types of exploration areas, the production of oil and gas, the nature of oilfields workers worked in BOC control. In order to do this research, an examination is focused on primary sources especially on Yadana Oilfield Worker's Journal from 1956-1962, and personal interviews with local workers in *Yenangyaung* and *Chauk*. Depending on the finding of sources, I am going to expose especially in the conditions of oilfield workers, the joint venture of BOC and Myanmar Government.

Keywords: explorations, workers activities

Introduction

After the British annexation, a group of British capitalists established the Burmah Oil Company (BOC) in 1886. It gradually flourished and came to play a leading role in oil extracting, refining and exporting industry of Myanmar throughout colonial period. Though it suffered serious losses during the Japanese occupation period, its owners were able to rehabilitate the company with the help of reentering British government in postwar era. After independence, BOC became a Joint Venture Enterprise that run by British capitalists and Myanmar Government. In this period, some evidences show that BOC tried to implement flexible policies towards its employees under changing circumstances. Such evidences could be found in Yadana Journals that published by the company.

Yadana² is the house journal of the BOC in Burma. It is published monthly, in Burma and English and distributed free to employees. The first publishing is 1950 by expressing in the journal of April 1960. But I can find that the publishing in 1956 Yadana Journal. In this Journal, editor is U San Win in the start publication in 1950 and together with acting editor U Aung Gyi in February 1957. Later, U Aung Gyi worked out as an editor the ending the publication in 1962.

Yadana printed in Burma by the Rangoon Gazette Ltd, 379, Bo Aung Kyaw Street, Rangoon. Printers Registration No. 0246 for the publishers the Burmah Oil Company (Burma Trading) Limited, 604, Merchant Street, Rangoon Burma. Publishers' registration No.R.231 already applied for under section 4(1) of printers and publishers Registration Act 1959. According to the publication Law in 1959 Act 4 (1), it was published and pledged under 8 rules in according to the constitution of Burma.³ The size of this journal is 12 inches wide and 18 inches in length.

Materials and Methods

The data require for this paper is mainly collected from the Yadana Oilfield Workers Journal from 1956-1962 and interviews with local oilfield workers. This paper is essentially based on comparing the data mention method and the method of exposing the local document of Yadana

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² See Photo - I "Photos of Yadana Journals"

³ See Photo- II "Publication Law"

* Best Paper Award Winning Paper in History (2020)

Oilfield Workers Journal as the primary sources are mainly used. I believed that my findings and research work will be of significant value for oil industry after independence Myanmar studies.

Findings

The study of this paper shows that the social status of oilfield workers especially the development of the oilfield workers and the finding of oil and gas in new oilfield areas are distinguishable in character. Regarding with this materials, it is also found that we can be assess using of modern technique in new oilfields, the establishment of new oil refinery, the system of Government and BOC Company after independence, the publication of oilfield workers journals for BOC staffs, the type of writing in journals. It is also learnt about the important of historical records in oil industry.

Discussion

Developments and Explorations

In the news of Oil-Gas shows reports 1962 April May, there have been some indications of the oil and Gas in the first test well be drilling in the new area on the western flank of the *Yenangyaung* field known as block 3N. It reached a depth of 4,605 feet on April and will be drilled to about 4900 feet. This was mentioned in the report on exploration and fields activities by Mr. S.E Churchfield, Acting Exploration Manager, to the Board of the BOC (1954) Ltd at its meeting on April 27 1962. Concerning with Oil Research, The Burmah Oil Company (1954) Ltd, in which the Government of Burma is the major shareholder, has publicly announced that in the next 3 year it will annually spend K 250 to K 300 lakhs in an intensified search for new oil sources in Burma.¹

Exploration Activities

In Owndwe well no.7, as production tests given no indication of the presence of oil or gas, the well has been abandoned. The Seismic Work Party has now returned from the *Yondaung* area to *Tharrawaddy*.

The news of Dedaye Well No.1, the equipment from Kyaiklat has now been moved to *Dedaye*, some 20 miles to the east, and the well was spudded in on 3rd March. The whole operation of de-rigging at *Kyaiklat*, moving and rigging up at *Dedaye* took four weeks.²

Dedaye Test Well

This picture giving a general view of the Company's test well near *Kyauksayit* Village close to *Dedaye* Township in the Irrawaddy Delta, will give the layman an idea of the complex operations that go into the drilling of the test well. The location being in the open paddy fields, the whole test area has to be raised 3 feet to prevent inundation. A roadway has to be opened from the river bank to enable the 30 ton Scammel Oilfield truck to convey heavy equipment to the drilling site. Nissen huts constructed in advance hold the hundred and one items of oilfield equipment that are needed during the drilling.

Lengths of drilling pipe totaling more than 2 miles are stacked precisely round the rig, with the ones to be used immediately stacked upright against the rig. In the background are the mud tanks, without whose scientifically mixed contents no drilling can take place. The mobile crane comes in very handy when unloading drilling pipes and heavy created equipment from the holds

¹ Yadana, April, May, 1962, Vol. XII, No.1 "Explorations Efforts News 1957 to 1961"

² Yadana, March 1959, Vol. VIII, No.12

of barges at the landing point. In spite of difficulties which face every organization drilling in unproved areas, the well is now working steadily and 30 April has reached a depth of 7143 feet.¹

Yedwet Test, the first job for powerful new outfit

There are three photos, the first picture taken during last month's special demonstration in the U.K. of the new drilling outfit for Burma, shows Mr. G.F Wilson, Mr. W. Wade, Mr. T.J.F. Armstrong, and Mr.R.J. Wilson of the BOC., London, with (extreme left) Mr. L.S. Dawson, Managing Director of OWECO, and his company chief engineer, Mr. Ian Scott. Also in the photograph is Mr. E. Drummond, BOC resident inspecting engineer at OWECO's works.

Another one is the pipe walk of the new outfit is fabricated in box sections on skids for speedy installation and dismantling. Note storage capacity for small gear in compartment under walkway. The third is the mud system for the new deep drilling outfit, showing storage and mixing tanks at the rear of the derrick floor.²

Spudding- In Yedwet Deep Test

Yedwet Spudding in – Mr. H.C.G. Brown, Manager, Chauk is seen at the control of the Company –owned National 80 B deep drilling outfit soon after he had spudded – in the deep test at Yedwet at his side is Mr. H. Ah Hain , driller-in charge at Yedwet, and in the background , Mr. G.W.O'Leary, a shift driller.³

Seismic Prospecting

Picture of three were taken in the field when the recorder and his shooting gang were at their jobs in the paddy fields south of *Taikkyi* along the railway line. The fourth picture was taken at the *Thoneze* camp of the Seismograph Survey Ltd.'s (S.S.L) party. On the opposite page is depicted a cross section produced after preparation by the two machines in the camp. The S.S.L party, after completing operations in the *Tharrawaddy* area have moved to *Kyundaw* on the Irrawaddy.⁴

Shooter and gang-the shooter (with wristlet watch) and some of his gang are seen grouped behind the detonating box. These men see to it that all geophones are linked up with the recording machines.

The camera catches the result as the dynamite at the bottom of the shot hole is exploded sending a shock wave in all directions through the earth. Note the bamboo posts at which geophone are buried to catch the reflecting echoes. An average of 18 shot holes are exploded daily, and each is from 80 to 100 feet deep.

The recorder-when the shot hole is exploded the recorder is enclosed in his darkened portable tent with the flaps all down, attending to the seismic instruments that record the time of the arrival of the reflected shock at each sensitive geophone. In a few minutes he comes out and the camera catches him studying the record obtained from the instruments.

Variable area reproducer- this is one of the two machines which make up the office instrument that "play back" the records obtains from the seismic equipment and portrays them as a section.

¹ Yadana, May 1959, Vol. IX, No.2

² Yadana, September 1959, Vol. IX, No.6

³ Yadana, February & March 1961, Vol. X, No.11 & 12

⁴ Yadana, May 1959, Vol. IX, No.2

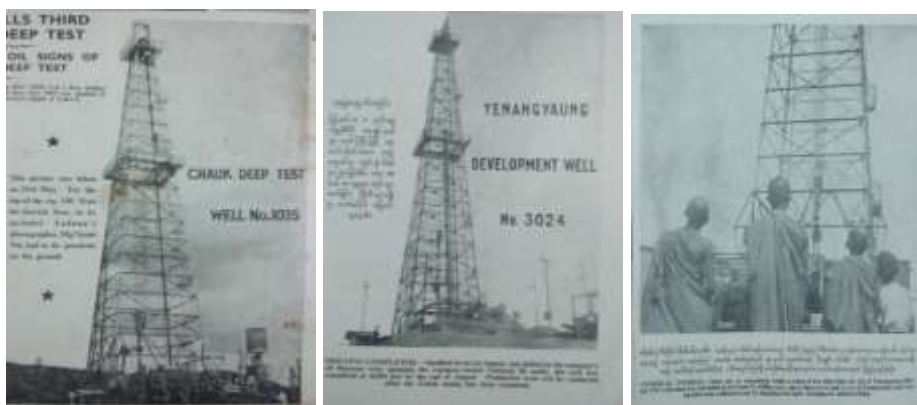
Pegu Division Gravimetric Survey

A party from the Geoprosco Ltd., London, on behalf of the BOC (1954) Ltd., will be conducting by the gravimetric method to direct underground rock structures below the alluvium in Pegu division. The member of the party led by Mr. M.T ague, and the equipment that they will use, have arrived and preliminary discussions held with Mr. S.E. Churchfield, acting Chief Geologist of (1954) Ltd.

Field work will commerce as soon as necessary security arrangements are made by the Army. The main camp will be based at *Syriam*, and the survey will cover some 2,000 square miles over areas for which an Exploring License has been sanctioned by Government.

If the indications revealed by this preliminary survey are encouraging, more detailed work by the Seismic method will follow in order to define the contours of underground structures and thus enable the most favorable location for a well to be selected.¹

Surveys of New Test wells



Source: Htar Thet Thet Oo Collections

Marine Survey for *Syriam-Dunneedaw* Submarine Pipeline

Arrangements are being made by the BOC (BT) Ltd, who are responsible for the storage, marketing and distribution of petroleum products, with Messrs. Foremost Land & Marine Ltd., U.K. specialist in the submarine pipe-laying work, to carry out a marine survey for the pose of constructing a submarine pipeline across the *Pegu* River to carry refined petroleum products from *Syriam* Refinery to *Dunneedaw* Installation.²

Visiting of Mining Minister to refinery and oilfield

The Hon'ble U Chit Thaung, MSc, Minister for Mines, together with U Sein Myint, secretary of Mines and U Maung Sein, P.A. to the Minister, visited *Syriam* on 10th December 1958. They were welcome Mr.C. Maxwell-Lefroy, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the BOC (1954) Ltd, accompanied the party.³

The Hon'ble U Chit Thaung, M.Sc., Minister for Mines, together with U Sein Myint, secretary of Mines and Mr. R.C. Leach, Adviser to the Ministry, were guests of the BOC (1954) Ltd on the 29th and 30 the December when they visited *Chauk*.⁴

¹ Yadana, April 1959 Vol. IX, No.1

² Yadana, June 1959 Vol. IX, No.3

³Yadana, January 1959 Vol. VIII, No.10, "Visits to *Syriam* Refinery"

⁴Yadana, February 1959 Vol. VIII, No.11) Visits Chauk Oil Field

Burma Goes to Britain

The picture shows two *Chinthes* (lion) proudly guarding the house of Mr. W.E. Eadie, Chairman of the Burmah Oil Company Ltd at Tunbridge Wes, Kent, England. The *Chinthes* were presented to Mr. Eadie by Mr. C. Marxwell-Lefroy and were made by U Nyo, an old Company employee, at *Chauk*. Heraldic artists at *Dunneedaw* added the finishing touches.

U Nyo certainly made a thorough job of them. When boxed for shipment to England each *Chinthes* was found to weigh about 600lbs. One of the *Chinthes* suffered minor damage on setting foot in England. An inquisitive Customs Officers, finding no mention of *Chinthes* in the British Customs Tariff, attempted to lift him (or her) out of his (or her) box by the tail to see what he (or she) looked like. The other 599 lbs. odd objected to this indignity and the customs officer was left with the tail in his hands. Reunion was hurriedly established and both *Chinthes* have now, as you can see, settled down happily in their new environment.¹

BOC Marketing Facilities

The BOC (1954) Ltd. and the BOC (BT) Ltd donated K. 15,000 to the control Relief Committee, for the relief and welfare of victims of the recent unprecedented flood in the lower Burma. The donation was made by *Tharay Sithu* U Ba Htay, Chairman and Mr. J.D. Dewhurst, General Manager to the Hon'ble U Raschit, Minister of Mines, who is Vice-President of the Committee on 21th September.²

The BOC (BT) Ltd announces that as from 1st May 1960, the price of Motor Spirit will be reduced by 5 Pyas per gallon throughout Burma. This is the second time that the price of this major petroleum product has been reduced this year, the first being on 1st January 1960.³

The Burmese version of Burma Oil was screened before appreciative audiences on 12th and 13th March 1959 at the officers' Mess and at the northern Shan States Club at *Lashio*. Mr. J.B Jacobs, Company's Branch Superintendent at *Lashio*, arranged for the film to be obtained from Mandalay. The Burmese version was screened at the Boy Scouts camp.⁴

Marketing & Trading Photos



Source: Htar Thet Thet Oo Collections

¹Yadana, March 1959 Vol. VIII, No.12 (See Photo –III)

²Yadana, September 1961 Vol. XI, No.6 , BOC Donates K.15, 000 for flood Victims

³Yadana, April 1960 Vol. X, No.2, May Day Present

⁴Yadana, April 1959 Vol. IX, No.1“Burma Oil (Burmah Yenan) Picture in Myanmar Language” See Photos

The News of Burma Oil Picture



Source: Htar Thet Thet Oo Collections

BOC Participation in Magwe Inter: College Science Exhibition

The BOC (1954) Ltd, on invitation, took part in exhibition sponsored by the Science Association of Magwe Intermediate College from 2nd to 4th December. U Hla Saung, Deputy Commissioner, Magwe, formally opened the exhibition, and U Ba Si, Principle of the College, in a speech said that the object of holding the exhibition was to draw the attention of the general public to the importance of Science and also to enhance the interest of the younger generation in science.¹

Mr. J.F. Strain, a Director of the Burmah Oil Company Ltd., led a four man negotiating team of experts who arrived in Karachi on 18 February to discuss and finalize with the Government of Pakistan the final aspects and other teams and conditions for the setting up of the proposed oil refinery in Pakistan. Other members of the team were representatives of the other consortium companies_ Shell, Stanvac and Caltex.²

In the first picture Company's oil barge No. 82 together with the launch "Mon" is coming alongside to bunker the Royal Yacht "Britannia: as she lies in the Rangoon river, on 17 the February, awaiting the arrival of HRH Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, to convey him to Singapore. A water tender is already alongside the Royal Yacht.

In the second picture the bunkering crew are hoisting the 4" fuel pipeline on to the decks of the Britannia- note the tarpaulin placed to prevent damage to the paint. The Britannia took 145 tons of fuel.

The Third picture shows BOC aviation crews refilling the BOAC Comet 4 that carried the Duke of Edinburgh from Karachi to *Mingalardon* on 18th February.

Station Superintendent of BOC Aviation depot at *Mingalardon* is seen at far left, in the fourth picture, standing by with members of BOAC's engineering staff to ensure that the refueling is carried out without a hitch. The aircraft took more than 5,000 gallons of fuel.³

Technological Training

Steady advance has been made in the training of Burma Nationals. There were also 106 apprentices received instruction at the *Chauk*. Institute of Technology, and high percentage of success was obtained by apprentices who sat for the General Certificate of Education examination

¹ Yadana , January 1961, Vol. X, No.10

² Yadana, March 1959 Vol. VIII, No.11 "BOC Director leads experts in Negotiations"

³ Yadana, March 1959 Vol. VIII, No.12 "BOC Serves Royalty"

of the University of London, held in Rangoon. In 1959, 26 Burma Nationals received instruction in the U.K. at Company's expense while three were trained in India. Relations with labour remained reasonably satisfactory on the whole.

To advance in technique, Mr. G.E.T. Croft, Engineer-in charge (Plant and Transport) of the BOC (1954) Ltd, *Chauk* left on 2nd November by air for the U.K. for an intensive for month training course in order to enable him to gain a wider experience particularly on the connection with modern practices used in manufacturing engines and machines and the latest methods and organizations in the servicing and maintenance of engines, vehicles and equipment.¹

London office comes news that Dr. Tin Hlaing of the BOC medical staff in Burma , has obtained his Diploma in ophthalmology (D. O. Lon.) from the examining board in the U.K. this award is given jointly by the Royal College of Surgeons in England to doctors who pass the two part examination arranged by the institute of Ophthalmology in London.²

Technological Training



Source: Htar Thet Thet Oo Collections

Sport Day at Syriam

In the first picture U Tun Myat , the Starter is just about to start the 100 yards sprint, the first event on the programme." Slower than a snail" is the motto of these two competitors in the slow circle Race, but to ensure that they keep moving and kept to their allotted tracks the judges watch them closely in the second picture. Saw Reginald Hlaing (Rangoon) who won all the jump events is seen in the third picture easily clearing the bar in the high jumps.

The final of the pillow fight which provided the spectators with a lot of fun and excitement, is seen in progress in the fourth picture. Kyaw Nyein ('54 Sym) on the right won the fight. In the center of the fifth picture is the winner of the candle Race Mr. M. Kenny (D'daw), with Miss Snow Tun Maung on her right and Miss E. Aaron of the Rangon Office who came in second and third respectively. All present at the Sports meet greatly enjoyed the witty remarks of U Nyan, the announcer, seen in the six picture, who kept judges, officials and competitors on their toes. In the last picture Mrs. K. Maxwell Lefroy, mother of Chairman (1954) , presents the Individual Championship Cup to Mg Hla Yi ('54 Sum), while Mr. C.P. Gill, organizer and Referee, look on.³

¹ Yadana, October & November 1961, Vol. XI, No.7&8

² Yadana, March 1959 Vol. VIII, No.12

³ Yadana , February 1959, Vol. VIII, No.11

Mrs.H.J. M. Lindsay, in the fifth picture, present to prize to Maung Nyunt Maung of Engineering for winning the high jump. Maung Nyunt Maung was the individual Champion for the day. In the six picture young daughters of employees enjoy themselves in the “Musical Chairs’ for midget schoolgirls Members of Production Department are seen in the seventh picture, having with all their might in the Tug-O’ War against Medical department. In the last picture in the finalist Maung Htwe (right) of production and Pauk Kyaw of Medical go to it with gusto I n the pillow Fight. Pauk Kyaw was eventually knocked into the tank of water below.

Pictures of Oilfield Sports Syriam and Chauk



Source: Htar Thet Thet Oo Collections

Retired News

Everybody in the oil Industry in Burma will receive with sadness the news that Mr. C. Maxwell- Lefroy, General Manager of the BOC (BT) Ltd 1954-59 and Chairman of the Board of Directors, the BOC (1954) Ltd 1954-59 retired in June after 30 years’ service with the Company in the East, mainly in Burma.¹

Mr. M. Fenelon, Electrical Engineer, Chauk, retired from the service of the Company on 3.12 1960. He join began the BOC in 1925 as an apprentice electrical engineer at Yenanchaung and in 1930 was promoted to junior engineer. The total services are 35 years.²

¹ Yadana , February 1960, Vol. IX, No.2

² Yadana ,January 1961, Vol. X, No.10



Source: Htar Thet Thet Oo Collections

Conclusion

As reading this Journals, may have known that the different types of governmental officials, the number of the working activities, the important of oil expansion and effort of exploration areas, effects of publication of the journals for workers might have been great. However, due to the news-sections carried by these ancient newspapers, people of today can know the literary, social and political situations of those days. It is found that the news were written in social developing for workers but hardly was not found in especially. But since they could convey the intended meaning of the news, people of today could know the social life of that time by reading them. Although the journals were formerly published once a month, they were later published for one time in two month.

Therefore, it can be said that publication of Journal readers on the nation-wide scale was still small at that time. This was due probably to the ignorance of the Myanmar's of those days, the small circulation for workers due to difficult access and the small number of literate people. Limited use of paper must be considered as another reason. Moreover, depending on imported paper for printing newspaper did not permit a large number of newspapers to be published in Myanmar at that time. So, this Yadana Journal is very important for a country so the respective government understand that it should have to control.

In short, it can be assumed that the photos of Yadana Journals express the changing policy of BOC in its operational system and became lenient towards its employees. Under such circumstances, BOC employees got more socio-economic betterments in their workplace and dwelling conditions. Furthermore, these conditions turn over a new leaf on BOC Company and the Oilfield workers in ambivalent.

Acknowledgement

I am very beholden to my mentor Sayagyis and Sayamagyis for their effective supervision and encouragement. Thanks are due to Dr.Thida Myint (Professor Head,) University of Magway for giving permission to do research. I also thanks my parents and honorable persons for their moral and kind support. In addition, I would like to express an appreciation and very respect to Dr. Kyaw Swe Oo, (Professor, Kengtung University) for sharing knowledge and his experience.

Photo - I



Photo - II

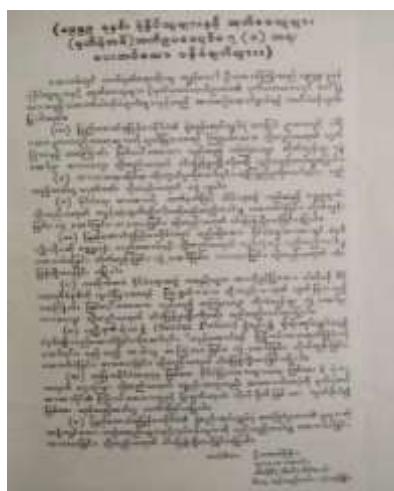


Photo -III



Source: Htar Thet Thet Oo Collections

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BULLOCK CART MAKING INDUSTRY IN SALIN TOWNSHIP (1886-2014)

Myint Myint Moe¹

Abstract

Bullock carts have been used the time of the Enlightened Buddha. It is still being used. These are many things that are related with bullock cart-social, economic and cultural. There is nothing to believe that bullock cart cultural will disappear from Modern Myanmar. Myanmar traditional bullock cart making in Salin is popular, and in wide use. Since the time of Enlightened Buddha, the bullock carts have been used. Yat-wheel are appeared in the 2500 years age. Although the Hlae Pon taung had been used, there was no Tan-ku. But there is Hlae-Wun-Yoe and it was long. These bullock carts were in the age of Su-La-Pon and Ma-ha-pon merchants. These are Wuntin Bullock carts. These bullock carts are used in the successive eras. The carts tracks are found in Pyu Age and Hanlin Age. King Narathihapatae fled and refuge to the place named Hlae kya. In 1625, Dhamayanthi Pyo composed about Bullock Carts. In 1696, Thanwara Pyo composed about bullock carts in Inwa Age. In 1756, King Alaungmintaya had used bullock carts to fight against the battles. In 1853, the groups of bullock carts are found during the Yadanapon Period. In 1942, the number of bullock cart was 785473. One bullock cart can be used to plough the five acres. About 200 viss can be weighted on one bullock carts. There are two kinds of Hlae. They are Hlae Yin and Hlae-Kyan. The bullock cart can be used to go about twenty miles a day. The cart track need to have the width of 6 feet. The bullock cart did not have the iron metal expect Nan Yinn Khway, Nan Phar Khway and Hlae Phanaunt. It contains about 25 parts and there are seven kinds of Hlae. The bullock carts are still used and then it plays in the social and economical affairs.

Introduction

Three village, Shan Su, Pan Bae Su and Ayardaw in Salin Township have been making traditional bullock carts for over (100) years. Nearly (100) bullock carts a made every year. Myanmar bullock carts are related with Myanmar and Myanmar community. Bullock carts play important role of political, economic, social and transport sectors as well as Myanmar culture. During Konbaung period in the year 1752, bullock carts were used in battles, in King Min Done era, bullock carts could be found in "Kyawn Wun in tin and Nwar Wun Tin Asu, La Maing Taw Asu" Bullock carts are seven kind of carts, and a bullock cart consist of (25) parts. Iron is used for wheels, and remaining parts are made of wood. Woods are needs to be dry. Then, scales or measurements are exact and fit. A bullock cart compartment includes 26 mortises below and above. Small wheels and large wheels are different in size, but the same in character. Containing of iron sleeves and iron sleeve on hub, spokes and wooden rims is the same. In order to master bullock cart making, it is necessary to take year of learning under skilled teacher. When there are different kinds of bullock carts, there are various sorts of applications. At present industrialization it take place, but traditional bullock cart making is believed to be in existence in Myanmar for so many years. Ancient bullock cart is simple to be used. It used plain wheel cards. It did not have Tagu, Modern bullock cart is made up of Tagu, Nanyin khwe, Nan phyar khwe, Hlae Panauk and Saung Pan.

The bullock cart is essential in farm works, transportation and Ahlu-Mingalar pwes. In this use, a lot of money is not needed to pay. The bullock cart plays in Myanmar society deeply. It is studied and showed in this passage. A farmer who has five acres of farmyards has a bullock cart. In Salin Township which has over 20000 acres of farmyards, many bullock carts are needed. The bullock cart is essential in the activities such as growing and carrying of paddy as well as producing

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the rice. Nowadays, although there are many industrialized countries in the world, people who live in country areas are still using the bullock carts. We have studied and discovered the above reasons.

Research Aims

The aim of this research paper is to share how to make a Myanmar traditional bullock cart making in Salin Township, to disseminate knowledge on bullock cart making in Myanmar style, methods and Myanmar handicraft, to analyze the difference between ancient bullock cart and modern bullock cart.

Materials and used methods

To be able to explain well the above facts, the primary and secondary sources on the Bullock Cart Making Industry had been studied as closely as possible. The supporting facts as gleaned from records, documents and notes had also been incorporated in this study. The validity of some observation in this study and their historical values has been checked. This paper is used by the descriptive inferences methods.

Bullock carts mentioned in Literature

Bullock carts has been around over 2500 years. Bullock carts in earliest days were plain wheel cards. There were likely iron wheels in solid, plain wheels. In the period of Buddha, the carts which were being used by merchant Brothers Sula Ponna and Maha Ponna¹ chant Included solid and plain wheels at least one board and at most three. There also included at lead fives railing posts and a arched roof.

It is found that solid, plain wheel bullock carts repainted by the artist Daw Tin Mi (Yangon) which imitated the wall painting of (500) bullock carts² drawn by the artist U Tun Sein of the Konbaung Era this painting is measured by $7 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$, and it is still hung on the hall of U Pan Oo ordination hall north of the Pagoda Kyaungdawra. In this painting it in clearly drawn that bullock cart wheels are fixed with iron rim/ ring.³

"Wanaikzagama" east part of Pwintbyu Township is defined as a dwelling place where merchant of bullock cart or boats reside.⁴ It seems today the surrounding places where Lae Gaing and Kyaungtawra are situated. In "the pagoda Kyaungdawra" history, the Buddha and his disciples. Samghas paid visit for alms to Maha Ponna's bullock cart convoy near the "Zaytawarna" monastery. It is explained at wide extend in the sutta named "Ponaw wada".⁵

Among the "Zatakas", there were events of the clever chief merchant of a convoy of the bullock carts and the foolish chief merchant in the zataka⁶ "Ahpannaka". In "Nandhiwithala" zataka, the mighty bullock cart "Nandhiwithala" was able to draw series of one hundred bullock carts.⁷ In the story about a number of ninety thousand Henthas and a powerful spider, the size of the spider is the same size of a wheel. In the Treatise. The Questions and Answer by "Milainda and Shin Nargathena", there is an example of bullock cart camping about eight person are able to see the future. In this "Kyum", the size of lotus on which Younger Brother "Ahnandar" was sitting was that of a bullock cart wheel. The aggregate body is compared to "paddy cart". Application of words on bullock cart wheel is widely found in various kinds of "kyums".⁸

¹ Myanmar Language Society: Dictionary of Myanmar; P-64, Universities Press, Yangon, 1970.

² Ashin Dhamasara; The History of the Pagoda Kyaungdawra; P-10, Department of Religious Affairs; Yangon, 1991.

³ Sartamshin Photograph presented U Pan Oo Taik, 1990.

⁴ Ashin Dhamasara; The History of the Pagoda Kyaungdawra; P-10, Department of Religious Affairs; Yangon.

⁵ U Phoe Kyar (Amyothar Pyinnyar Won); Zataka Stories; P-9 (Henceforth Phoe Kyar 1993).

⁶ U Phoe Kyar P-10-1993.

⁷ U Phoe Kyar P-11-1993.

⁸ U Aung Tun Milaindapyinnyar; 324-327, Moe Kyaw Sarpay, Yangon, 2003.

Bullock Cart making in Salin Township

There are seven kinds of Myanmar bullock carts. They are as follows:

- (1) Bullock carts with short compartment
- (2) Bullock carts like pigsty
- (3) Bullock carts for carrying water
- (4) Bullock carts with roofed cover
- (5) Bullock carts for showy
- (6) Bon Hlow Hlae

Short-compartment bullock cart has no compartment. It is also without driver seat. Thus, it is called "Hlae Ngone Toe". Pigsty bullock cart has fence instead of compartment, and not driver seat. Water carrying bullock carts are fixed with tanks instead of compartment. It is used to carry water. Roofed carts are the ones with roof. Mayarkam Hlaes are the ones found in places – Yae, Myeik, Dawae and Thaninthari. Compartments with railings, but not a driver seat. It has a cradle, but the back is upward and so it is difficult to cling. Showy bullock carts are for pleasure riding. It is called "Hle Yin Kyawt". "Chauksahtaung Hlae" is also as "Showy bullock cart". "Bone Hlow Hlae" is reserved not for common people, for members of sanghas. To store or keep donation, there is a trap-door under compartment is small. (It can be found Oo Yin Zin monastery north of Sagu).¹

According to ears as well as region, names or terms of bullock carts are different. The earliest bullock carts are big in length. Thus, it is difficult at turning. But, they can carry more load. Bullock carts in Salin Township are rough and for farming. In making bullock carts wheels, two kinds (1) Wheel for big bullock carts and (2) Showy bullock carts are found. Iron ring, iron sleeves, outer iron sleeves and iron bushing are made of iron. The remaining are made of wood, bamboo and string and rope.² Two kind of wheels.

- (1) Large bullock cart wheel, circumference 12' 6" height 4 feet
- (2) Showy bullock cart wheel, circumference 11' 6" height 3' 6"
- (3) Hub of a bullock cart wheel length 2' (large)
- (4) Hub of a bullock cart length 1' 6" (small)
- (5) Hub circumference (near hub) 10"
- (6) Hub circumference 7"
- (7) Iron sleeve circumference 14"
- (8) Outer iron sleeve circumference 8"
- (9) Supporting rod (14) (big) length 2' 8"
- (10) Supporting rod (14) (small) length 2'
- (11) Tagu (also pronounced Dagu) 7 rods 1'
- (12) Iron bushing circumference 3"
- (13) Hlaenar Saunt length 5"
- (14) Iron ring (heel) circumference (big) 12'
- (15) Iron ring (heel) circumference (small) 11'³

Iron used in wheels are sticky iron in blacksmiths in Salin. This iron is flexible. Some wheels are made of England iron ring. It is durable, but non-flexible. There is a wheel ring of England iron dated back to Japanese period in Saya Kyi's blacksmith in Lae gaing. Only if padaung

¹ Dr Maung Phyu; "Saroadar Thar", 2005, P-10, Seikku Cho Cho press 2005.

² Ko Tin Pyone (Salin, Bullock Cart Maker) explained about "Daukphyo" Ayardaw, Salin, (29.5.2015)

³ Ko Tin Pyone (Salin, Bullock Cart Maker) explained about "Daukphyo" Ayardaw, Salin, (29.5.2015)

is good will bullock cart be good. Padaungs made in Salin are strong. One axle hole and outer¹ supporting rod meet at Padaung.

The bullock carts in upper Min Hla have (28) supporting rods, and it is very difficult to make 23. In making holes of padaungs, veteran backsmiths or teachers himself do them half-inch drills or one inch drills are used. They are standing ones. After that 2 feet or 3 feet deep chisels are applied. It takes a master and his disciples, 20 days or one month to finish a padaung. Only them are there few mistakes. The wood must be "padauk" and is dry and also without fault and defect. "Fixing dauksam and Tanku" is duty of carpenters. Both carpenters co-ordinate. They must be skilled.

For "Nanyinkhwe, Nan phyar Khwe, Khwemagyi and Saikmyatlone, Sticky iron is used. Iron can be bought in lower Yenanchaung, Chauk, Minbu, Magway and Mandalay. At present, ready made "Saikmyatlone" can be bought. A "Dauk pho" must have a bellows, charcoal, anvil, various of hammer, chisel, saws, "Soet", wood-cutter saw, standing drill, deep chisel, axe, hatchet dry "Ngwar Chee", teak, iron wood, Pyin, Ingyin, Thar and 6 or 9 foot long Dhahat.

Myanmar's Bullock Carts in Successive Eras

In Myanmar, carts track are found in digging up ancient Han Lin Myo. It is a cart track which passes through the east gate of ancient Han Lin (Han Lin Gyi) Myo.² In the year 1285, Pagan era, King Narathihapatae (Tayoke Pyay Min) fled to the place named "Hlae Kya" west of Pyar Sayargyi Dr Than Htun called it "Hlae Saik Kam Ngae".³ the "Hlahtaungphara stone inscription" is also a well known stone inscription.⁴

In "Dhammaranthipyo" composed by Shin Kuwarathapa in 1625, "It is composed as "Ywar Lone Hnant Aung, Hlayphaung Hlae Nwar" likewise, in 1696 of Inwa era, Shin Maharrahta Thara wrote as "Hlaeakat tin, Kyawe Nwar Thaw" in Thamwara pyo.⁵ It is clearly understood that "Hlae" and "Bullock-carts and cows" are used in trading farming.

In a battle between Myanmar and Mon in King Alaungphara period of Konebaung era in 1756, battles were found with "burning of hay stack carts." Bullock carts were found to use in battles. In that era, at a battle with Siam, there were writings, "Hlae Ka dole myasityinsaypyee" "Hlaekadokemyahnit Tat" and Hlaekadoleemyalutunrawet". It is, indeed, battles with carts.⁶

In 1852, the capital Mandalay was reached from Shan State with bullock carts for trading. The places where bullock carts were camped is called "Shan Wing", "Shan Waing" is needed, "Shan Hlae Waing", Selling and buying are made there. The bullock cartrack is earthen road, and so powders of dust are rising. Up to this time, that places is called "Shan Waing"⁷. At the time of King Mindone era in the year 1853-1878 "Kywe Wun Tin" and "Nwar Wan Tin" included in "Lamaing Asee" were asked to do something with bullock carts while ordered.⁸ They did farming and other tasks. Piles of large bullock cart wheels made by bullock cart tasks. Piles of large bullock cart wheels made by bullock cart makers were found in big tents east of street 76 Mandalay in the year 1780. A person named Oconnor recorded it, and thus development of bullock cart making has begun to understand. In the year 1937-1938 of colonial period, there were a total number of 759226

¹ Mya than Tint; Madalay in History in Mandalay, Today Mandalay Sarpay, Mandalay, 1997.

² U Myint Aung, Han Lin Myo Haung; P-125, Pho Wa Sarpay, Botahtaung, Yangon, 2005.

³ Dr Than Htun, Social Affairs in Bagan period; p-125, Pho Wa Sarpay, Botahtaung, Yangon, 2005 (Henceforth Than Htun 2005).

⁴ Dr Than Htun p-126- 2005.

⁵ Dr Toe Hla, Myanmar History told by Literature; P-126, Na Wayat Sarpay, Yangon, 2005.

⁶ Myanmar Language Society; Anthology of Myanmar, P-396-397, Pyay Road, Yangon, 1997.

⁷ U Pan Sein (72) Explanation; 20.7.2013, Konezaung, 2013.

⁸ Salin Records, P-40.

bullock carts. It rose to 785473 in 1940-41. It was increase of 36257 carts. It shows the wide application of bullock carts. After the independence, there was, also, rise in the number of bullock carts.¹ It is related with expansion of farming.

A farmer who possesses (5) acre farm land needs a bullock cart with oxen or cow. Only a farmer who won (3) acre land also needs a bullock cart. A person who has (10) acres and more of land has to hire bullock carts, and cows, and so there has emerged "bullock cart hiring" system. Plain wheel bullock carts were found up to the later period of Konebaung era. They had running boards lower wooden cradles were used, Myanmar women rode plain wheel carts.

Bullock Carts and Myanmar Society

Cows and bullock carts are the main in Myanmar agriculture. Bullock carts are essential for carrying hay and straw, harvesting groundnuts, beans and peas, corns and sesame and rice and paddy and so on. A bullock cart can carry to baskets of paddy, 15 baskets of sesame, 15 baskets of groundnut, seven baskets of rice, 20 viss of oil and 200 viss of jiggery.²

Bullock carts are classified as wood carrying carts, bamboo carrying carts, water barrel carts, pigsty cart, Bonhlow carts on application. A bullock cart can carry (8) persons, and drive 20 miles without stopping. Bullock carts are able to pass through creeks, and sand of earth. It is never afraid of driving through marshes. There are a number of 19240 bullock carts in Salin.³ The bullock cart tracks in Minbu district are as follows.

Minbu – Kani Road	15 mile long
Kani – Kanswe	4 mile long
Sunn – Salin	8 mile long
Minbu – Sagu	10 mile long
Salin – Pwintbyu	16 mile long
Salin – Laegaing	22 mile long
Salin – Setoketara	42 mile long
Salin – Sinphyukyun	7 mile long

Bullock cart tracks in Minbu district are motor roads. Inter connection roads between villages are bullock carts. There had been no railway lines up to 2008. In can be said that these are many more roads in Minbu district.⁴ Bullock carts were crucial for trading and transportation during colonial period and under Japanese occupation. Goods from Shan State were transported to Mandalay on Shan Bullock carts, and in return good were bought and carried in carts.⁵ Cows and bullock carts are popular in the social field. There are toys of cows and bullock carts. They are found in seasonal festival. In religious ceremonies and wedding ceremonies, bullock carts are widely used. Our (80) bullock carts were used in Minister King Wun's funeral ceremony.

Amyotha Pyin Nyar Wun U Pho Kyar went to Kywe Chan village during colonial era to inspect schools. Saya Minthu Wun, Well-versed in literature, composed ancient alphabet in poem

¹ Dr Myint Myint Moe, Economy History of Minbu District (1886-1942), Mandalay University, Treatise, 2013, P-24 (Henceforth Myint Myint Moe 2013).

² U Pan Sein (72) Explanation; 20.7.2013, Konezaung, 2013.

³ Salin Records, P-41.

⁴ Dr Myint Myint Moe , P-25, 2013.

⁵ Mya Than Tint. Mandalay in the History and History in Mandalay, P-70, Mandalay; 1997 (Henceforth Mya Than Tint 1997).

as "Ra-Rahta Hlae Myin Nwar Swee". In Myanmar Text of Primary lower level, there is a sentence "Cart wheels are shuck in marsh land." Many have known the poem titled "Hlae Yin kabyar".¹

Dr. Mg Phyu (Mr. Gwan Hlaing) composed a poem named "Ma Shaw Phe" which includes line "Where did you go, Ma Shwe Phe? To the pagoda festival by bullock cart!". An anonymous writer wrote a poem titled "Warso Festival", in which these words include "The Waso festival mother says to which we will go by bullock cart". In the stories and articles of Thikpan Mg Wa, the camping of bullock cart at "The Kuthainnarrone pagoda festival in Salin was romantically portrayed under the topic "Ahnyar pagoda festival"² He recorded travelling by bullock cart to "the Shwe Set Taw pagoda festival" from "Setawyar". Up to this time, people have been using bullock cart for going to monasteries and pagodas.

In "No one can win this contest" film by "Sayagi U Thu Kha", University students went by bullock carts to participate in "Three Rs" campaign.³ The music teacher U Chit Ngwe from Mandalay Teacher Training composed a "3 Rs" sound as follows. "Passing through field and stubble farm. We will march to road of this people, not smooth tarred road, but in this public heart. "36" Emphasis input on bullock cart in this songs "Native place" by "Than Tun Lay" and "Marionette show by "Khin Nyunt Yee".

In a Lampoon by "Kyapin Sayardaw U Shwe Thee, the body is compared to a hub of a bullock cart wheel. Like "Mae Thudaw's driving a bullock cart drawn by a pair of a cow and a buffalo on paddy dykes with rough terrain. The bullock cart is old, and looseness of filigree.

"Kya Pin Sayardaw" was born in Salin, and knew well about the bullock carts made in Salin. Thus, he compared the uncertainties of the body to "the bullock cart in looseness, unfulfilling life to" a yoke drawn by a cow and buffalo; "infirm life" to "old bullock cart"; and hard and trouble living to "rough terrain". Those also practice meditation inattentively and uninterestingly to "Mae Tu Daw".

In Myanmar proverbs, and sayings: the following are well known.

"Hlae Wun roe than, ta nyannyan, Pagan pharabaung";

"Shwe Ta Hlae, Phwe Ta Soke";

"Hlae Kyoe and Nwar Thoe";

"Hlaenay Hlaeaung, Myinzaung ma Kyan";

"Atak Hlaeseekonepyat"

Hlae or bullock cart to are deeply related with Myanmar social affairs. I would like to say that bullock carts and Myanmar community are interviewed.

Conclusion

Bullock cart making in Salin Township consists of blacksmith, wood carving and carpentry. There are events and stories about bullock carts in literacy writings and Buddha zatakas bullock carts have been used since the time Pyu era and Pagan era. There have emerged master at bullock cart making, and bullock cart making industries has also been in existence. A bullock cart includes over (25) parts, and is made of iron, wood and bamboo. There also include teak, iron wood, Than, Dhahat, and so on. Iron brushing, iron sleeve (outer), and iron sleeve (base), iron type the used

¹ Dr Mg Phyu "Sarpadaethar"

² Ludu U Hla Thaikpan Mg Wa, about whom his writings saw. "Kyee Pwar Yae Taik, Latsekam Ward, Mandalay, 1967.

³ Sayargyi U Thu Kha "No one can win this contest (or) Grate Good Will", MRTV Series.

with iron. Driver seat, and compartment are used with carpentry and carving because they include art could be used for over fifty years; but "an axle" is to be replaced. Load bullock cart in fixed with iron rings. Bullock carts are used year-around, and durable and strong. They are used in "Ahlu" and "Mingalarpwe" and there is in delicacy. Bullock carts are simple, and early used. Bullock cart track is to be six feet wide. It is believed that bullock carts can be used in various ways. And so it can last for long; parallel with age. Especially, bullock cart is an essential tool in the Myanmar agricultural sector. It is used widely in the social tasks. It is found that bullock cart can bring fruitful results in the agricultural, economical and social fields.



Ancient Bullock Cart



Bullock Cart (colonial period)



Modern Bullock Cart



Padauk wood making Bullock cart



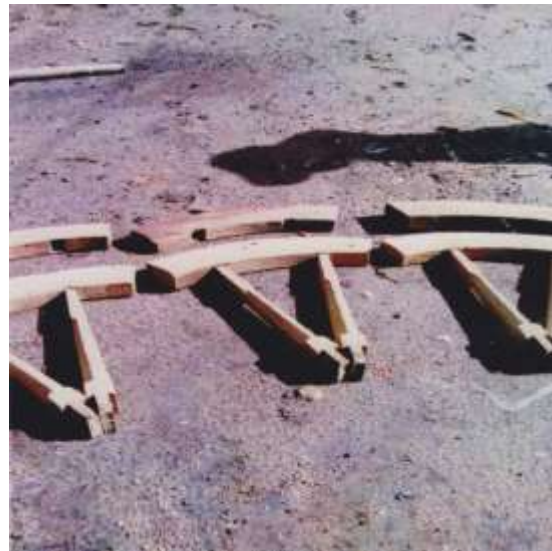
Bullock Cart Padaung



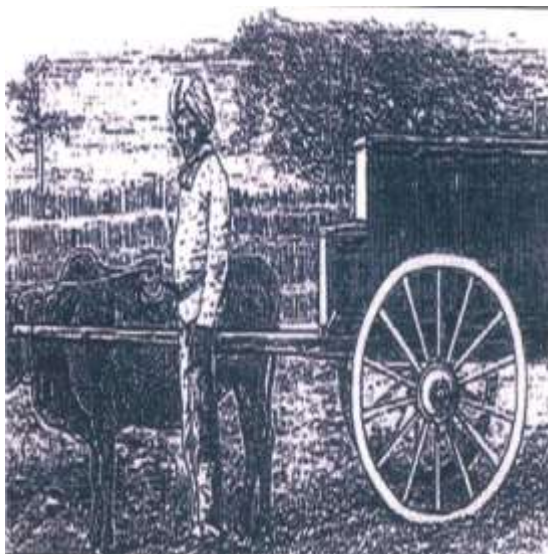
Bullock Cart Weel



Master of Dauk Pho making Bullock Cart



Tagu of Bullock Cart



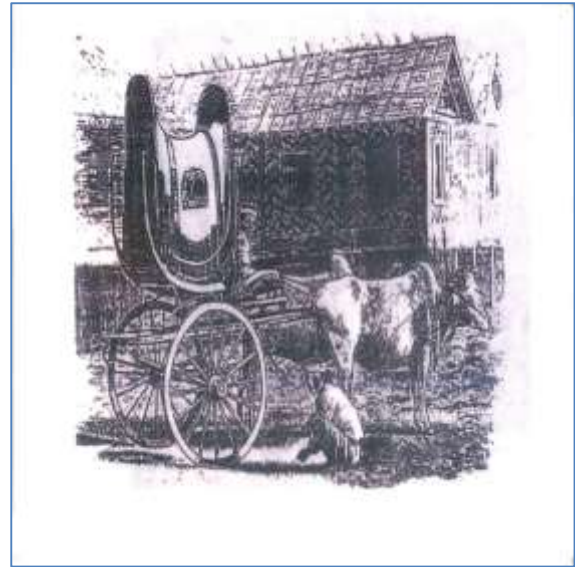
Bon Hlow Hlae



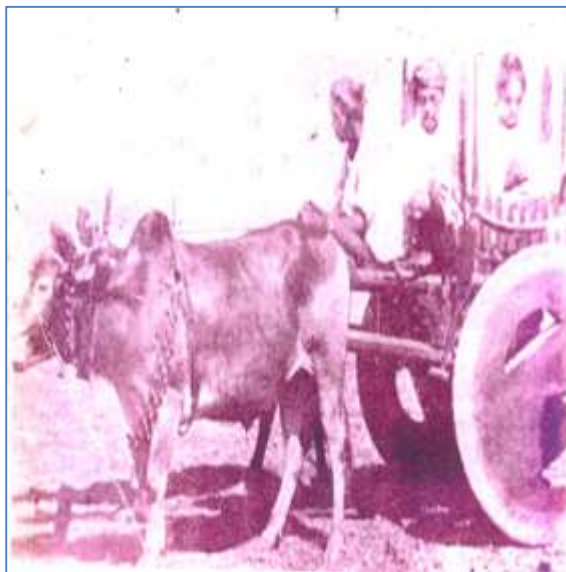
Bullock Carts for showy



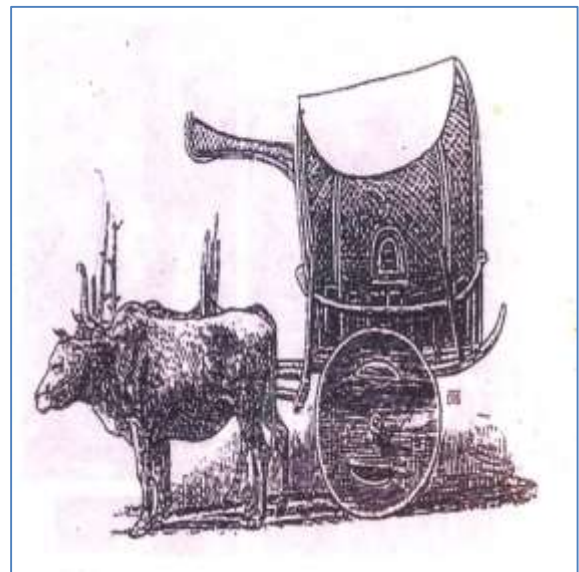
Bon Hlow Hlae



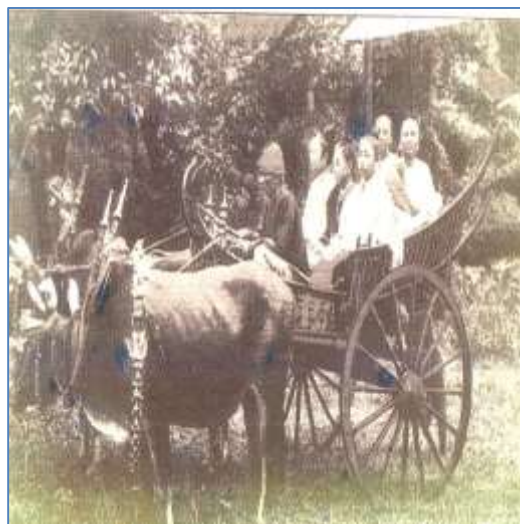
Bullock Carts with roofed lover



Ancient Hlae



Bullock Carts with roofed cover



Chauk Sahtaung Hlae

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- U Tin Pyone, Salin , 55 Years
- U Mya Thaung, Pwint Byu, 57 Years

A STUDY OF THE TITLES AND TITLE-RELATED FACTS DURING KONBAUNG PERIOD

Wai Wai Hein¹

Abstract

From Bagan Period till Konbaung Period, the Kings awarded titles to his royal relatives, ministers and officers, as well as to those who had come to serve as a subject, the young maidens presented from a foreign chieftain, and the envoys. The paper highlights that titles were awarded to those dutiful officers, while those who angered the king were revoked from assuming the titles. Primary sources and secondary sources were referred to and the analytical method is employed.

Keywords: King, Title, Konbaung

Aim

- to know the titles traditionally bestowed on the king, queen and officers of Konbaung Period
- to know title-related facts during Konbaung Period

Introduction

The paper "A study of the Titles and Title-related Facts during Konbaung Period" presents the titles of kings and queens of Konbaung Period, choosing the title, significance of the title, the occasion when the title is bestowed, the event of promoting or giving punishment and dismissing the title. Since the title, insignia and conveyance are related though an account of the three kinds should be discussed only the titles of Konbaung Period are focused in this research paper of mini-scale reach.

Methodology and Method

The royal orders, the primary sources, as well as the secondary sources, are used in preparing this research paper. Analytical method is employed.

Research Questions

The research questions are,

1. For what performance was a particular title awarded?
2. For what crime or punishment was a particular title dismissed?

Literature Review

As far as research has been done, no M.A thesis, M.Res papers or PhD dissertations have yet dealt with this topic of titles during Konbaung Period.

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Findings and Discussion

The kings, queens and royal circle, outstanding servicemen of Konbaung Period were bestowed titles while even royal elephants and horses engaged in warfares were also awarded titles. This paper presents an account of only the titles bestowed to the kings of Konbaung Dynasty, royal relatives, ministers and officers, and servicemen. First, the following is the titles that the successive kings of Konbaung Period had assumed:

Sr No	Ruling King	Title Assumed (Day/Month/Year)
1	Alaungpaya (1752-1760)	Alaungpaya (17 Feb 1752)
2	Dipèyin (1760-1763)	Siripavara Maha Dhamma Raja (9 Feb 1761)
3	Myedu (1763-1776)	Siripavara Sudhamma Maha Raja Janeindadipati (3 Jan 1768)
4	Sint-Ku (1776-1782)	Maha Dhamma Rajadiraja (23 Dec 1776)
5	Phaungkasa Maung Maung (1782)	Nil
6	Badon (1782-1819)	(a) Siripavara Tiloka Pannita Maha Dhamma Raja (23 May, 1783) (b) Siripavara Vijaya Nandayasa Tribavana Ditradiapati Pannita Maha Dhamma Rajadiraja (2 June 1784)
7	Sagaing (1819-1837)	(a) Siripavara Suddhamma Maha Rajadiraza (3 Nov, 1819) (b) Siri Tribavana Ditravavara Pannita Maha Dhamma Rajadiraja (15 March, 1824) (c) Siri Tripavara Ditradiapati Pavara Pannita Maha Dhamma Rajadiraja (30 June, 1825)
8	Thayawaddy (1837-1846)	Siri Tripavara Ditra Lokadipati Vizaya Maha Dhamma Rajadiraja (2 July, 1840)
9	Bagan (1846-1852)	Siri Sudhama Tiloka Pavara Maha Rajadiraja (27 Feb, 1847)
10	Mindon (1853-1878)	(a) Siri Sudhamma Pavara Maha Rajadiraja (16 June, 1854) (b) Siripavara Vijaya Nandajasa Pannita Maha Dhamma Rajadiraja (14 May, 1857) (c) Siripavara Vijaya Nandaja Pannita Tribavana Ditradiapati Maha Dhamma Rajadiraja (May 1874)
11	Thibaw (1878-1885)	(a) Siripavara Ditra Lokadipati Pannita Maha Dhamma Rajadiraja (23 May, 1880) (b) Siripavara Vijaya Nandaya Satilokadipati Pannita Maha Dhamma Rajadiraja (19 May, 1881) ¹

Eleven kings rules the country during Konbaung Dynasty. During King Alaungmintaya's reign, the king assumed the title, Alaungpaya, which referred to the Boddhisatta.² Since Phaungkasa Maung Maung, one of the kings of Konbaung Dynasty, ruled the country only for

¹(a) U Maung Maug Tin, *Konbaungset Mahayazawintawgyi*(The Great Chronicles of Konbaung Dynasty), Vol.1, Yar Pye Press, 2004, pp.52, 255, 355, 371, 395, 401 (Henceforth: Maung Maung Tin, 2004, Vol.1)

(b) U Maung Maung Tin, *Konbaungset Mahayazawintawgyi* (The Great Chronicles of Konbaung Dynasty), Vol.2, Yar Pye Press, 2004, pp.168, 258, 274, 405 (Henceforth: Maung Maung Tin, 2004, Vol.2)

(c) U Maung Maung Tin, *Konbaungset Mahayazawintawgyi* (The Great Chronicles of Konbaung Dynasty), Vol.3, Yar Pye Press, 2004, pp.168, 258, 274, 405 (Henceforth: Maung Maung Tin, 2004, Vol.3)

² Ledi Pannita (Saya U Maung Gyi), *Myanmar Yazawin Thankheit Kyan*, Vol.5. Yangon, Pyinnya Alin Press, 1990, p.27 (Henceforth: Ledi Pannita, 1990)

seven days, he received no title. King Badon and Thibaw Min change the title two times while Sagaing Min and Mindon Min changed their titles three times. The other kings received their title only once. Among the titles of Konbaung Dynasty, the longest title was that of King Badon, who received it for the second time on 2 June, 1784; and the title Mindon Min received for the third time on 1st June 1874: the former was Siripavara Vijaya Nandajasa Tribavana Ditradiapati Pannita Maha Dhamma Rajadiraja; the latter being Siripavara Vijaya Nandayasa Pannita Tribavana Ditra Dipati Maha Dhamma Rajadiraja. The total number of words couched in the title is 33. Its meaning goes as follows:

Siri	Glory (or) splendor
Pavara	most excellent, most noble
Vijaya	victory, conquering
Anandayasa	ng an infinitely great retinue and fame
Pannita	a wise man, a learned man
Tribavana Ditradiapati	Lord of the Lord, Descendant of the Sun, of the ancestry of Adissavamsa and Cendavamsa well known in the Three Types of the World
Maha Dhammaraja	Noble King fulfilling the Aparihaniya Law, abiding by the Old Traditions of Dhammathat, Razathat and customs through successive dynasties
Adiraza	Great King, greater than all other kings by promoting the welfare of the people and the Buddhist Sasana over the Sabbudipa Island, Island of the Islands. ¹

The title means that Badon and Mindon were qualified kings like other kings of Konbaung Dynasty, maintaining the law and order of the country by conquering all enemies and developing the economy of the country. It is assumed that in selecting a title it was considered who deserved what title.

The account of selecting the title shall be given. On 20 April, 1874, with the purpose of selecting a title for King Mindon, there gathered a full assembly: the Ven Dwe Cho *Sayadaw*, the Ven Sibani *Sayadaw*, the Ven Mekkhaya *Sayadaw*, the Ven Thit Seint *Sayadaw*, the Ven Hla Htwe *Sayadaw*, the Ven Bharmo *Sayadaw*, the Ven Vicitarama *Sayadaw*, the Ven Bagan *Sayadaw* U Nyanna of Mandala Yarma Taik, Prince Mekkhaya Su Siri Maha Mahe Dhamma Raza, Minister Khan Pat *Myosa* Thadoe Mingyi Siri Maha Uzana, Sage Kanni Interior Minister Maha Min Khaung Theinkhaya, Interior Officer Lewun Yaw *Myosa* -Mingyi Min Htin Kyaw, Interior Officer Shwe Taik *Wun Mingyi* Min Hla Sithu, Bharmo Interior Officer Min Gyi Maha Min Khaung Swa, Kinsin *Wundauk Mingyi* Min Hla Maha Kyaw Htin, Ashin Nanmataw Payawin Maikhai *Myosa* Maha Thiri Zeya Thu, *Anauk Wun Mingyi* Taraphyar, Kyi Wun Min Kyaw Si Thu, *Tayathugyi* Myo Thar Wun Mahamin Kyaw Zeya, *Tayathugyi* Maha Min Kyaw Sithu, *Thantaw Sint Min* Hla Si Thu Kyaw, Min Hla Thiri Kyaw Khaung, *Wut-mye Wun* Nemyo Thirinara, Sage Taungtwingyi Town Officer Maha Min Htin Si Thu, Brahmin Sage Naryitawhmu Siri Kaveinda Vamsa Brahma, Siri Deva Raza Brama, Siri Kanda Vamsa Brama, Maha Siri Su Brama Dhamma Raza Guru and Siri Bidrapati Raza Purawhita.² In selecting a prestigious title, besides the revered monks, ministers, interior officers and other important officers, the Brahmin sages and astrologers were consulted. As in the case of choosing a title for King Mindon, the same process may have been followed in selecting titles for the other kings of Konbaung Dynasty.

¹Maung Maung Tin, 2004, Vol.3, 269-270

²Maung Maung Tin, 2004, Vol.3, 264

After the title had been selected, a badge was made, as in the evidence belonging to the reign of King Thibaw. On 14 March 1881, the titles of King Thibaw and the Senior Queen were carved on the bejeweled, gold plate. On 19th May 1881, at the roof-tiered hall of the Golden Palace, under the supervision of the astrologer who identified the auspicious hour, minister, interior officer and officers, the titles were written by the *Taseit Wun* (Incharge of Badges) Nemyo Theiddi Pyinnyar Kyaw Khaung, attributed for his six talents of Likhaka.¹ The badge couched by the Taseit Wun was carved by the interior incharge of blacksmith in correct spelling.² This shows how much care had been taken for the title of the king.

After the badge had been made, an auspicious day was chosen for celebrating the opening of the throne. The rituals of the throne can be observed in the records made during the reign of King Bagan, King Mindon and King Thibaw. The title of King Bagan was placed on the *Shit-daunt Kwam Khwak*³ (စိတသောဏ်ကျမကျွန်း) with emerald and ruby. The Interior officer Pauk Myaing *Myosa* Mingyi Min Hla Kyaw Htin read out the title, and Younger Royal Brother Mindon (Siri Sumaha Dhamma Raza) submitted the title to the new king.⁴ Similarly, on 1st June 1874, the gold plate bestudded with two lines of nine jewels and nine rubies, bearing the title of King Mindon was placed on *Shit-daunt Kwam Khwak* with rubies and then the Interior Officer Yaw *Myosa* Mingyi Minhla Maha Sithu read out the title three times. Thereafter, Royal Son Mekkhaya *Myosa* Mintha Thu Siri Maha Dhamma Raja bowed, reverently took it in his arms and submitted it to the king.⁵ Similarly, on 19 May 1881, King Thibaw ceremoniously received the ruby-studded gold plate bearing his title. First, the title was placed on the bejeweled betel bowl, and Tagaung *Myosa* Prince Thu Siri Maha Dhamma Raja reverently took it in his arms while the Interior Officer Pin *Myosa* Mingyi Min Khaung Maha Min Kyaw Thurein read out the title three times, and handed it to the king.⁶ To make a review of the title bestowing of the kings of Konbaung Period, there were some differences in carving the title of the king: type of jewels to be studded on the gold plate, number of jewels; the type of betel bowl on which the title gold place was placed; types of jewels bestudded on the betel bowl and number of jewels; royal son or royal younger brother to submit the title gold plate.

An account of the titles bestowed on the queens is given below, Queen was of two types: *Nanya Mibaya* ('Queens who Possess Palaces) and *Asaungya Mibaya* (Queens who Possess Royal Apartments). Only the title, of Royal Queen of the Southern Palace (Chief Queen), Royal Queen of the Northern Palace, Royal Queen of the Central Palace and Royal Queen of the Western Palace Queen are presented. Before then, the titles of queen, princess (king's royal daughter) and *Apyotaw* (lady-in-waiting) are presented, according to high and low titles: (1) Devi (2) Waddy (3) Ruzar (4) Pabar (5) Kaytha (6) Sanda (7) Marlar and (8) Mottar.⁷

¹(1) Good memory to pick up at once (2) Quick writing (3) Good hand-writing (4) Quick wisdom (5) Quick wits (6) Good composition skills

U Thein Hlaing. *Khithaung Myanma Thamaing Thutethana Abidan*(Ancient Myanmar Historical Dictionary), Yangon Universities Press. 2002, p.162 (Henceforth: Thein Hlaing, 2002)

²Maung Maung Tin, 2004, Vol.3, 365

³ This is octagonal in shape and varied from plain gold to those studded with glass, amber and rubies. Selected Writings of Dr Yi Yi, Part (2), The Republic of the Union of Myanmar Ministry of Culture, Department of Historical Research and National Library, 2014, p.157

⁴Maung Maung Tin, 2004, Vol.3, 56

⁵Maung Maung Tin, 2004, Vol.3, 367

⁶ Maung Maung Tin, 2004, Vol.3, 275

⁷Thein Hlaing, 2002, 125

Titles bestowed on the Royal Palace Queens of Konbaung Period¹

Sr No.	King	Royal Queen of the Southern Palace	Royal Queen of the Northern Palace	Royal Queen of the Central Palace	Royal Queen of the Western Palace
1	Alaungmintaya	Maha Mingala Ratanadipati Sanda Devi	-	-	-
2	Dipeyin	Maha Mingala Ratana Devi	Mingala Devi	-	-
3	Myedu	Siri Atula Maha Devi Siri Atula Maha Ratana Padomma Devi	(1) Siri Mingala Sanda (2) Siri Sunanda Maha Mingala Sanda Devi	(1)Siri Sanda Ratana Devi (2) Siri Maha Sanda Devi	-
4	King Sintgu	a Ratana Sanda Devi	Siri Maha Mingala Devi	Siri Maha Nanda Devi	-
5	Phaung Kasa Maung Maung	-	-	-	-
6	King Badon	Siripavara Maha Mingala Ratana Devi Siripavara Maha Razeinda Mingala Ratana Devi	(1) Siri Maha Sanda Devi (2) Siri Maha Sanda Bi Ratana Devi	(1)Siri Maha Nanda Devi (2)Siri Maha Nanda Bi Ratana Devi	-
7	King Sagaing	Siripavara Maha Razeinda Ratana Devi Siripavara Tiloka Maha Razeinda Devi	Siri Kalyar Sanda Devi	Siri Pava Manla Devi	-
8	Thayawaddy	Siripavara Tiloka Maha Ratana Padonma Devi	Siri Maha Nanda Biratana Devi	Siri Maha Sanda Bi Ratana Devi	Siri Maha Thu Ratana Sanda Devi
9	Bagan	Siri Tiloka Maha Ratana Devi	Siri Maha Ratana Devi	Siri Tiloka Atula Ratana Devi	Siri Thu Ratana Mingala Devi
10	Mindon	Siripavara Maha Razeinda Ratana Devi Siripavara Maha Razeinda dipati Ratana Devi Siripavara Atula Tiloka Maha Razeindadipati Ratana Devi	(1)Siri Maha Ratana Mingala Devi	Siripavara Maha Ratana Devi Siripavara Tiloka Maha Razeinda dipati Padonmar Ratana Devi	(1)Siri Maha Thu Sanda Devi
11	King Thibaw	Siripavara Maha Razeindabi Suddhama Ratana Sanda Devi Siripavara Tiloka Maha Razeindadipati Paduma Ratana Devi	-	-	-

¹ (a) Maung Maung Tin, 2004, Vol.1, 214,255,264,267,309,355,371,395

(b)Maung Maung Tin, 2004, Vol.2, 168,169,258,259,274,405,406

(c) Maung Maung Tin, 2004, Vol.3, 56,57,142,178,306,355,366

Among the titles bestowed on the Senior Queens of Konbaung Period, the titles bestowed on 1 June, 1874 and 19 May 1881 have 24 letters, being the longest title. This paper does not present the titles of *Asaungya Mibaya* (Queens who Possess Royal Apartments) and king's concubines, and retinue in detail, which can be observed in the three volumes of *Konbaung-set* Treatise and 6 volumes of *Thu-Thawdita Maha Yazawingyi*.

According to the royal customs and traditions, the king usually bestowed titles to the queens, princes, royal sons and daughters, royal grandchildren and servicemen either in the throne-opening ceremony or the ear-poring and hair-knotting ceremonies. Moreover, the titles were awarded:

- (1) if a subject had performed the assigned duties outstandingly and successfully
- (2) if another chieftain or lord subjected himself for his service to the king
- (3) if the duty for going into war was assigned
- (4) if the conquest was made
- (5) if a young daughter from another chieftain or lord was presented
- (6) if a subject had served the duty honestly
- (7) to an envoy coming from China every ten years
- (8) to the skilled horseman

However, not every subject fitting into these criteria may not have been awarded the titles; but according to the king's will. The titles were awarded in the following occasions: at the right moment, or at the opportune time or during the coronation ceremony (Buddha Biseka) and the Throne. Launching ceremony, or during the obeisance – receiving ceremony in the post-lent season, or the ceremony of hair-knotting and ear-poring ceremony.

During King Alaungmintaya's reign, the Mon army marched close to the environs of Moke-Soe Pho Village. Madaya - Mon Nga Thai Sat was ordered to go and set fire to the straw cart of the Mons. Accordingly, Nga Thai Sat set it afire, and King Alaungpaya clearly saw the movements of the enemies, and could defeat the intruders. So, Madaya-Mon Nga Thai Sat was awarded the title, Thamein Baran.¹ Moreover, 68 skilled horsemen were organized for organizing the country and crushing the destructive elements in the time of the nation-building. Of 68, 54 horsemen dutifully served the service, and were awarded titles.² The comrade who fought bravely in battles during King Alaungmintaya's reign won victory, and accordingly, were awarded new titles, so they renounced the new titles.³

King Alaungmintayagyi awarded the title Banyar Dala to the Mon General Daw Zwe Razet, who took refuge under him. The Mon general was famous as the hero of Bago. But whenever he encountered the Myanmar army, he always faced the defeat, and feeling that the future encounter would mean another defeat, presented himself and took refuge under Alaungmintaya. Similarly, Razadarit took refuge with war-elephant 60, horse 500, 5000 men, and artillery. Therefore, Alaungmintaya bestowed on him the title, Min Hla Yaza.⁴

In the case of awarding titles before going to war, on 27 February, 1837, during Sagaing Min, the Royal Treasurer Shwe Taw Pyan Chi was awarded the title Maha Min Hla Min Khaung;

¹ Nyo Mya, 2003, 62

² Naga Bo Hteik Tin Htwe, *Ratana Theinkha Konbaung Maha Yazawin A-kyin* (Abridged Chronicle of Ratana Theinkha Konbaung), Yangon, Yah Pye Bookhouse, 2013, p. 47 (Henceforth: Hteik Tin Htway, 2013)

³ Nyo Mya, 2003, 67

⁴ Maung Maung Tin, 2004, Vol.1, 92

Paukkan Bo Nga Shwe Oo, the title of Maha Min Hla Min Khaung Kyaw. They were armed with many weapons, and were positioned in such a way as blocked and defended the Kinwun Army marching from Ratanapura Inwa City.¹

In the case of awarding titles over the conquest of the enemies, during Alaungmintaya's reign, because of the victory over Inwa, the royal family members, *Bohmu* and *Tat-hmus* were bestowed upon with due titles according to their performance.² The King was much impressed with the weapons and captives won at *Kywa-sin Taik* by Sipottara Bo and Intai Bo; Sipottara Bo Nga Yauk Gyi was awarded the title, Min Htin Min Khaung; Indai Bo Nga Shwe Maung, the title Min Htin Tazaung.³ Again, on 25 April, 1757, a Mon army of 500 horsemen and over 3000 gunmen headed by Thamein Lut made an attack on the Teinkya Tanat Army marching from Myanmar. Since the Myanmar army fiercely fought back, many Mons were killed. Many retreated into the city. On the battle, there took place the confrontation between Thamein Lut, the leader of the Mons, and Nga Chit Pu, the Myanmar royal gunman, and Thamein-Lut jabbed at Nga Chit Pu, who fell and pretended to be dead. When Thamein Lut made an approach, Nga Chit Pu fired his gun and killed the Mon leader. Then he cut the enemy's head, and submitted it to Alaungmintaya. He was awarded the Theinkha Pyan Chi.⁴

During Badon's reign, on 4th October, 1782, a group of 200 rebels led by Nga Shun (Nga Phone), of Mai-Khaing Town, Shan State, invaded the royal palace. Nga Lwan Pye of the Natshin Cavalry Group, who could capture the enemy, was awarded the title Ye Htut Kyaw Htin. Again, he was awarded Nemyo Nanda Thu. The courtier Ratana Mahe of North Gilded Hall, who first gave the information to the rebels' invasion into the royal palace, was promoted to the title Ratana Devi.⁵

During King Thayawaddy's reign, in 1840, attack were made on the rebels, who had invaded Madaya Town, and the rebels, led by Prince Shwe Htah, fled, and as Koe-Htaung Officer and *Myo-sayay* of Thibaw discovered, were them making a hideout in the forests at the edge of Thibaw. So led by Koe-Htaung Officer of Thibaw, 500 local servicemen made a chase, and captured the rebels. On 1st waxing of *Kason*, 1840, the rebels were handed over to the king, and title was awarded to Koe-Htaung Officer of Thibaw Nga Poe (No name of the title was discovered). The 43 servicemen involved in capturing the rebels were awarded titles.⁶

During King Thayawaddy's reign, on 12th waning of *Pyatho*, 1840, Sandanikara Kut Gawrane, a merchant of France, presented plenty of gifts to the king requesting permission for trading in Myanmar. King Thayawaddy granted permission for trading, and awarded him the title, Siri Bawgaraja Dhammarat.⁷ During King Sagaing's reign, the Kasai Officer Nga Phyu, who was a royal subject of Manipur in the service of the king, was awarded Zayavattana Kyaw Htin.⁸

Concerning the awarding of titles to the young maidens presented as a gift, during King Sinphyushin's reign, on 26 August, 1769, a daughter presented from Linzin was awarded the title

¹ Maung Maung Tin, 2004, Vol.2, 343

² Maung Maung Tin, 2004, Vol.1, 89

³ Maung Maung Tin, 2004, Vol.2, 346

⁴ Maung Maung Tin, 2004, Vol.1, 206

⁵ (a) U Teikha Dhamma Linkara & Dr Than Tun, *Myanma Yetswe Thamaing*(Chronological History of Myanmar (Konbaung Dynasty),2012,p.85 (Henceforth: U Teikha Dhamma Linkara & Than Tun, 2012)

(b) *Thuthawdita Maha Yarzawingyi*(The Great Chronicles of *Thuthawdita*) , Vol.V&VI,,Yangon, Yar Pyae Book House, 2015, p.23 (Henceforth: *Thuthawdita*,2015)

⁶ *Thuthawdita*, 2015, 287

⁷ *Thuthawdita*, 2015, 290

⁸ Maung Maung Tin, 2004, Vol.1, 206

Pabarwadi.¹ On 20th October, 1790, during Badon's reign, the three daughters presented from U-ti Min, a chieftain of China, were awarded the titles: Takunyin was awarded the title Siri Maha Sandra Devi; Ekunyin, the title Siri Maha Pyinsala Devi; Sakunyin, the title, Siri Maha Gandar Sandra Devi.²

On 11th June, 1823, the Chinese envoy from U-ti Min was received by King Sagaing. The Myanmar King accepted the gifts from the Chinese envoy, and gave away gifts in return. Each member of the envoy was awarded respective title: Yantalao –the title Raja Kyaw Htin, Ran Sin Ye- the title Raja Kyaw Swa, Sao Lao Zhou- the title Raja Theinkha, Ton Lao Zhou- the title Raja Thura and La Sin Ye-the title Raja Kyaw Thu. Again, Sone Tu Hwe Ta Ye of Mai-Si was awarded the title Maha Raza Thura; Moe Huta Lao Ye, the title Nawrahta Kyaw Thu; Bohmu Ahta Lao Ye of Moe-Myin; the title Nawrahta Kyaw Swa, etc.³

On 1yth March, 1843, the Chinese envoy from U-ti Min was received by Thayawaddy Min. Each member of the envoy was awarded respective title: the senior Ambassador Rita Lao Ye was awarded the title, Raja Zeya Kyaw; Ran Sin Ye, the title Raja Theinkha Kyaw; Wunt Sin Ye, the title Raja Thura Kyaw; the ambassador of middle rank, Ton Lao Zhou, the title Raja Pyanchi Kyaw; Tin Lao Zhou, the title Raja Thiha Kyaw, and Lao Ye, the title Raja Nanda Kyaw. Again, Sone Tu Hwe Ta Ye of Mai-Sè was awarded the title Maha Raza Thura; Bohmu Hatar Ye of Moe-yee, the title Thiha Nawrahta and Myowun U-tar Lao Ye; the title Thiri Nawrahta etc.⁴

During King Mindon's reign, his nephew Hteik Tin Toke was awarded the title Minye Siri Raza Kyaw for having horseman skills. Before he was awarded the title, Hteik Tin Toke was appointed Prince in Charge of Cavalry ("Myinmu Minthah) in 1860. Three years later, he was awarded that title.⁵

During King Mindon's reign, in the month of Thadingyut, 1854, the French General Dao Gawrani was awarded the title Siri Zeya Nawrahta.⁶ The French general made his personal visit to pay obeisance to the king with gifts as an act of post-Lent obeisance-paying.

Promoting the awards

The existing titles were promoted on the following conditions:

- (1) Conquering the enemy
- (2) Serving honestly and dedicatedly

During Alaungmintaya's reign, on 13 June, 1756, Maha Thenapati was assigned a mission to occupy Syrian (Thanlyin), but he was shot on the battlefield. He was sent to Yangon for treatment, but soon died. The late Maha Thenapati was awarded the title Agga Maha Thenapati⁷ by Alaungmintaya, as well as the insignia of the white umbrella in the burial service.⁸ Thus, the

¹ Maung Maung Tin, 2004, Vol.1, 358

² (a) Maung Maung Tin, 2004, Vol.1, 64

(b) *Thuthawdita*, 2015, 63

³ Maung Maung Tin, 2004, Vol.2, 251

⁴ Maung Maung Tin, 2004, Vol.3, 41

⁵ Nyo Mya, *Konbaung Sharpontaw* (In search of Myanmar History in Konbaung Period), Yangon, Yar Pye Bookhouse, 2003, p. 342 (Henceforth: Nyo Mya, 2003)

⁶ Maung Maung Tin, 2004, Vol.3, 199

⁷ A title bestowed on a noble official
Thein Hlaing, 2002, 227

⁸ (a) *Myanmarminmyar Ayayawpon Chauk-saung-twe* (The Achievements of Myanmar Kings in Six Volumes), Yangon, Yar Pyae Book House, 2005, p.581

(b) U Teikha Dhamma Linkara & Than Tun, 2012, 29

general who died in harness was awarded a title of higher rank. Therefore, due awards were given away depending on one's performance.

During King Alaungmintaya's reign, Thanat *Wun* (Gunmen Incharge Officer) Min Hla Min Khaung Kyaw was sent on duty all over the Shan State; and was awarded the title Maha Thenapati.¹ He was successful in moving all the *Sawbwas* (Lords) and *Myosa* all over the Shan State the loyal subjects to the king, and made a report on the successful mission. The king was much impressed with his performance that the title was awarded. So it is noted that awarding a title was made on accomplishing the duty strikingly successfully.²

We shall study how the title Min Khaung Nawrahta was awarded in promotion during King Alaungmintaya's reign. The hero's childhood name was Bo Nga Ton of Moke-Soe-Chon. His first title was Siri Shwe Taung; then another title was awarded Min Hla Shwe Taung, then another title Min Hla Min Khaung and then Min Khaung Nawrahta.³ The title Min Khaung Nawrahta was ranked at the top titles attributed with physical process.

There also existed cases in which promoting a new title was made for serving honestly and in dedication. On 30 April, 1837, Shwe Lan Bo Maha Min Khaung Kyaw Swa was awarded Mingyi Maha Min Khaung Kyaw Swa for his dedicated loyalty.⁴

Dismissing the title

The title may be dismissed on the following conditions:

- (1) Those unable to present themselves on the New Year. New Harvest feast on certain circumstances
- (2) Those accused of theft
- (3) Those not eligible for presenting to the king
- (4) Those who had failed to serve the duties and caused losses of benefits.⁵

Instances shall be cited. In the first condition, in which a title holder was absent at the feast, those appointed as subjects in the king's service in far-flung areas failed to join the least, and were revoked from their titles.⁶

In the case of those guilty of theft, during Badon's reign, on 19 October, 1810, Nga Kan was found guilty for keeping for his illegal possession of teak in 119 (ton or number of log, submitted from the Chieftain of Moe-Meik, and 10 logs purchased from Tagaung Town.⁷ The former title of Nga Kan has not yet been discovered. According to the royal order, he was revoked from his present title.

In the case of dismissing titles from those not eligible for presenting in the presence of the king, during Badon's reign, on 14 June, 1806, Kyaukpadaung *Myosa* Min Hla Kyaw Thu, Sone *Myosa* Minyo Nawrahta Kyaw Htin, *Lamaing Wun* Maha Thiri Uzana, officers who had no

¹ (a) Maung Maung Tin, 2014, Vol.1, 139

(b) Nyo Mya, 2003, 74

² Maung Maung Tin, 2014, Vol.1, 158-159

³ Nyo Mya, 2003, 80

⁴ Maung Maung Tin, 2014, Vol.2, 369

⁵ *The Royal Orders of Burma*, A.D. 1598-1885, Part.VII (1811-1819), edited, compiled, translated and annotated by Dr. Than Tun, The Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1988

⁶ *The Royal Orders of Burma*, A.D. 1598-1885, Part.VI (1807-1810), edited, compiled, translated and annotated by Dr. Than Tun, The Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1987 (Henceforth: ROB, V, 1986)

⁷ ROB, V, 1987, 780

foresightedness in dealing with the state affairs, were dismissed from respective titles.¹ Instances shall be cited, in which titles were revoked for failing to serve the duties.

During King Bagan's reign, in August 1851, Thonese *Myosa* Minister Thadoe Mingyi Min Hla Min Khaung Raja was appointed as the leader, and was sent with over 20000 armed forces to crush the foreigner rebels. Though the rebels came by waterway and inland routes, yet Thadoe Mingyi Min Hla Maha Min Khaung Raza's forces did not fight, but made camps of Akauk Mountain, Pan Taung Township and then retreated to Thayawaddy Region. On heaving this, the King dismissed the title of Thone-se *Myosa* Wungyi.²

There were reasons for promoting the title, and dismissing the titles, but sometimes, on reason's are discovered. Generally, the titles were dismissed for the reason of "angering the king".

Conclusion

The study of the titles of Kings and queens of Konabung Period shows the following: the literal meaning of the titles, the selection done by the reversed *Sayadawgyis* and officers detailed account of the rituals, high and low levels in awarding titles to the members of the royal relatives and servicemen, awarding titles for good performances, or promoting the titles, and dismissing the titles over the failure of the mission. Titles were also awarded to the foreign queens presented, as well as local queens, primes and officers. The Chinese envoy that made a visit every ten year after the defeat in Sino-Myanmar War and signing the peace treaty were also awarded titles; those generals and officers remaining in China were also awarded titles respectively.

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¹ *The Royal Orders of Burma, A.D. 1598-1885, Part.V (1788-1806)*, edited, compiled, translated and annotated by Dr. Than Tun, The Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1986

² Thuthawdita, 2015, 333,334

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DON PAULO OR FR. P. ABBONA IN MYANMAR HISTORY

Aung MyoTun*

Abstract

The general aim of this paper is referred to the Franco-Myanmar relation and the Italian-Myanmar relation including the Italian-Myanmar treaty. The main purpose is to describe the activities of Fr. P. Abbona in Myanmar politics in late Konbaung period. In writing this paper, the datas, evidences extracted from the Myanmar chronicles, Peripatetic history, written by Dr. Than Tun, the papers, published by the Roman Catholic Church and other historical papers and books were used. Moreover, the advices of Fr. Joe Du and Fr. Peter Sein Hlaing Oo were taken into consideration in this paper. Three outcomes of this paper are Christian missionary priests who became important in Late Konbaung politics due to the then current situation, Fr. P. Abbona's activities and advices led to the progress of Myanmar politics and diplomacy and King Mindon himself realized that the building of the country entirely depended on the foreign relations. Fr. Paul Abbona served not only an advisor but also diplomat for Myanmar kings. This research paper is a paper evaluating Don Paulo called Fr. P. Abbona who took an active role in Myanmar politics in Late Konbaung period.

Keywords; advice, Fr. P. Abbona, Myanmar, relation, paper,

Introduction

Fr. P. Abbona was one of the Oblate missionary priests who reached Myanmar on 20 August 1840. He severed King Tharawaddy and King Mindon as an advisor and a diplomat. His activities led to the progress of foreign relations between Myanmar royal governments and France and Italy. Myanmar kings were necessary to establish the foreign relations with the help of not only foreigners but also the missionary priests. Fr. P. Abbona discussed with British to stop the Second Anglo-Myanmar War. King Mindon began to give him in charge of the diplomatic affairs. Later, he actively engaged in implementing the Italian-Myanmar Treaty. As a result, French and Italian engineers took part in building the Myanmar forts and the industrialization of the country. Fr. P. Abbona's advices paid the way for the building of the peace between the Myanmar royal government and the British. On the other hand, most of the Myanmar monarchs adopted the religious toleration upon the alien religions such Christianity, Muslim, Hinduism and other religions. Fr. P. Abbona's primary aim was to minister the Catholics in Myanmar and to train and teach them to be catechists. However, Myanmar current situation pushed him into Myanmar politics. His advices and activities resulted in building of the country and in keeping peace with the British. Thus, Fr. P. Abbona came to play an important role in political, economic and social affairs during the reign of King Mindon.

Don Paulo Or Fr. P. Abbona in Myanmar History

Fr. Paul Abbona who was known to Myanmar history as Don Paulo was born at Monchiero, Italy in 1819. He reached Moulmein in 1840. He persistently studied the Myanmar language and culture for one year. The Oblate missions of Turin, Italy were begun to be sent to Myanmar from 1840 onwards.¹Fr. P. Abbona was an Italian Oblate missionary priest. Fr. P. Abbona was one of the Roman Catholic missionaries who engaged in Myanmar politics. He served King Tharawaddy and King Mindon as an advisor and a diplomat. His activities were clearly seen in Myanmar

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¹ Kaung, U, "1824-1853 Roman Catholic and American Baptist Mission," Burma Research Society, Fiftieth Anniversary Publications No.2, Journal of Burma Research Society, JBRS, Rangoon, 1960 (Hereafter cited as Kaung, "1824-1853 Roman Catholic and American Baptist Mission," Burma Research Society) p.136

politics besides the missionary works. Therefore, this research paper was divided into three parts such as political, diplomatic and socio-economic atmospheres.

1. Political Atmosphere

In 1829 Fr. F. Cao was appointed the Vicar Apostolic of Ava and Pegu.¹ In 1830 he reached Ava and stayed for eight years in Myanmar. In 1840 he gave Fr. P. Abbona to take a charge of Amarapura *Sasana* while King Tharawaddy made warlike preparations against British. He knew well that the strength of royal military did not compete against the British military which was one of the largest armies on the world. He believed that the political problems which King Tharawaddy faced could be settled by establishing diplomatic relations with the European Powers and the Papacy so that the king would receive their support. Therefore, during their presence in Myanmar, Fr. F. Cao and Fr. P. Abbona advised King Tharawaddy firstly to establish the diplomatic relation with Pope Gregory XVI.²

In 1839, Fr. Boccacio and Fr. Bartelli gave the Pope's letter to King Tharawaddy through Fr. P. Abbona. The Pope thanks King Tharawaddy for his benevolence towards the Burmese (Myanmar) Catholics. King Tharawaddy also received the token presents sent by Pope Gregory XVI.³ During the reign of King Tharawaddy the Catholic missionary priests named Fr. G. Enrici, Msgr. G. Ceretti including Fr. Abbona was allowed to build churches and schools.⁴ The diplomatic relation with Pope enabled Ava Kingdom to be familiar with the European powers especially France and Italy so that Ava king could challenge the British who was seizing Tenssarim (Taninthayi) and Arakan (Rakhine).

It can be said that Myanmar political situation persuaded Fr. P. Abbona to engage in the secular affairs. Why was Fr. P. Abbona appointed as a diplomat in spite of being an Italian Oblate priest? This answer was more suitable to Ava king, Tharawaddy's concept and current situation prevailing in Myanmar. The main factor was that King Tharawaddy confidently entrusted him in diplomatic affairs as Fr. P. Abbona was considered as a veteran priest who well versed in both secular and religious affairs. In the meanwhile, King Tharawaddy wanted to build his kingdom an industrialized state with help of the missionary priests like Fr. Cao, Fr. P. Abbona and Fr. Tarolli. It is seen that Fr. P. Abbona had to take an active part in building of the industrialization of Ava kingdom.

Though King Tharawaddy was a pro-military leader the war did not occur with the British during his reign. There are two reasons on why the war did not break out. The first reason was that his royal government led by King Tharawaddy understood the real situation in which not only the military strength but also the diplomatic relations was necessary. Fr. P. Abbona advised the king that he firstly built the country in all aspects such as military, diplomatic economic, social spheres so that he could fight against the British. The second was concerned with the world political condition in which the British were very busy with the Afghan wars, Persian wars. As a result, Fr. P. Abbona's advices halted not only the war but also led to the peace and the development of Ava country. Therefore, Ava king was acknowledged in world politics due to relation with Pope.

¹ Monica, Daw, "Myanmar Catholic Association in Myanmar Historical Sources," 500 Jubilee (1511-2011), Myanmar Dioceses' Association, 2014 (Hereafter cited as Monica, "Myanmar Catholic and American Baptist Mission") p.29

² Ba, Vivian, "Some Papal Correspondence With the Kings of Burma," Journal of Burmese Research Society, L.i, Yangon, June, 1967 (Hereafter cited as Ba, "Some Papal Correspondence") p.11

³ Ba, Some Papal Correspondence, p.11

⁴ Ba, Vivian, "The Beginnings of Western Education in Burma, The Catholic Effort," Journal of Burma Society, JBRS, XLVII, ii, 1964 (Hereafter cited as Ba, "The Beginnings of Western Education") p.312

Pope Gregory XVI (1831-1846) sent the Oblate missions of Turin, Italy to Myanmar from 1840 onwards.¹ Oblate means the religious devotion in English. Fr. P. Abbona was an Italian Oblate missionary priest. During the Konbaung period, the Oblate missionary priests took an active part in the role of the foreign relations and of the building of the country. Sometimes the political changes and the wars, occurring within the country or with the British encountered them to be in trouble. The Second Anglo-Myanmar War which broke out during the reign of King Pagan in 1852 caused Fr. P. Abbona and his colleagues to whom were accused as British spies by the Myanmar royal government. And so they were arrested in the war-time. However, they were released from the prison when King Mindon ascended the throne in 1853. It is seen that throughout his reign, King Mindon appointed Fr. P. Abbona as his advisor and a diplomat at the same time like his father, King Tharawaddy. This war had had an impact on the Catholic villages in Upper Myanmar. Fr. P. Abbona remarks as follows;

"In Upper Burma (Myanmar), the Christian villages were deserted due to the successive revolutions and wars. Nabek, Caunjo (Chaungyoe), Cianu (Chaung U) and Ciandoroa (Chanthaywa), once so prosperous, had only skeleton populations."²

It is seen that the Second Anglo-Myanmar War affected the *Bayingy* villages in Upper Myanmar. The Christian people moved to another places as they were afraid of disorder, occurred due to the war. This disorder caused the dacoities, thieving and robbery. Therefore, the political impact resulted in the *Bayingyi (Feringi)* society and the missionary priests who were ministering their Catholics.

In 1853, King Mindon gave a duty to Fr. P. Abbona and Fr. D. Tarolli to draw up a peace treaty.³ Royal Consultant Council was consisted of Antonio Camaretta, J.S Manook, Fr. P. Abbona and Fr. Domingo Tarolli. On 19 January, 1853 King Mindon sent Fr. Domingo Tarolli (Don Da Mainku) and Fr. P. Abbona (Don Paulo) as interpreters including Myanmar ministers named Thihathu, Hla Thiri Min Htin the British for cessation of Second Anglo-Myanmar War to discuss with the British at Meede (Myayday).⁴

In 1857, he played a vital role in implementing the visit of Myanmar embassy to France, England, Italy and other European countries. His contributions resulted in concluding the treaty of friendship and trade with Italy and France. Therefore, it is seen that he became more important in Myanmar politics.

In short, there are two questions on why did he support Myanmar monarchs. Did he dislike the British imperialism? Did he support the Myanmar monarch due to the world political paradigm? It is assumed that the world political landscape probably led him to take part in Myanmar politics. In the 19th and the early 20th century, Italy at first joined an alliance led by Germany in Europe. The turning point in the Anglo-Italian diplomacy affected the Christian missionaries, ministering in Myanmar. Therefore, the historical evidences show that his activities in political, diplomatic, economic and social atmospheres were more concerned with the world political paradigm.

¹ Kaung, U, "1824-1853 Roman Catholic and American Baptist Mission," Burma Research Society, Fiftieth Anniversary Publications No.2, Journal of Burma Research Society, JBRS, Rangoon, 1960 (Hereafter cited as Kaung, "Roman Catholic and American Baptist Mission) p.136

² Ba, Some Papal Correspondence, p.13

³ Peter Sein Hlaing Oo, Fr., "Oblates of the Virgin Mary in Burma (Myanmar) From 1842 to 1856, National Church History of Myanmar," Yangon, Alpha & Omega Color Printing, 2014 (Hereafter cited as Sein Hlaing Oo, "Oblates of the Virgin Mary in Burma) p.288

⁴ Than Tun, Dr., "Ne-hle Yazawin (Peripatetic history)," Seikku Cho Cho Sarpay, Yangon, 2016 (Hereafter cited as Than Tun, "Ne-hle Yazawin) p.334

2. Diplomatic Atmosphere

Why did King Tharawaddy and King Mindon appoint Fr. P. Abbona as a diplomat and an advisor? This answer deals with his qualifications. Fr. P. Abbona possessed with the following qualifications such as;

1. He well-speaks in English and Myanmar,
2. He is very clever with regard to the diplomatic affairs,
3. He does appreciate the Myanmar culture,
4. He is well-erudite in the western thought and astronomy,
5. He possesses the progressive idea.

He was highly esteemed by King Tharawaddy and his son, King Mindon due to his qualifications. Especially, he was one of the most trusted persons during the reign of King Mindon. Why did King Mindon ask for his advice for diplomatic affairs? King Mindon considered Fr. P. Abbona who was well known in the world politics in spite of being a priest. Especially the missionary priests from Europe came to Myanmar were well versed in the religious and secular affairs. They were appointed as the royal advisors through ages by the Myanmar monarchs. Like their predecessors, King Tharawaddy and King Mindon thought that the country would develop if Don Paulo and Don Damingo (Fr. Donmingo Tarolly) were appointed as advisors.

Fr. P. Abbona wished to see the modernized country and so he gave advice to King Mindon that the king sent the royal pages to Europe and established the diplomatic relations with European Powers. There were two great opportunities to drive out the British in Lower Myanmar during his reign. The First chance was the sepoy mutiny broke out in 1857 and the next was the Anglo India-Chinese boundary dispute of 1871. In truth, these chances gave King Mindon to recover the lost territories in Lower Myanmar due to the lack of the British battalions except for the garrison troops there.

King Mindon wanted to seize these immediate opportunities to unite his country. However, Fr. P. Abbona viewed these chances contrary to King Mindon's vision that the Myanmar King inevitably faced the subsequent issues if he occupied the Lower Myanmar. And so he advised King Mindon not to seize the Lower Myanmar. It is found that his advices not only based on the peace and development of the country but also led to the progress of the Anglo-Myanmar relation. Sir Arthur Phyre, Commissioner of Pegu sent a letter of thanks to Fr. P. Abbona for his advice.

Reverend Sir,

I have been directed by the Supreme Government of India to convey to you the thanks of the Government for your good offices during the events which disturbed India in 1857. It affords me, Reverend Sir, much pleasure in being the medium for this communication, remembering as I do from past events that you have all along exerted yourself to promote peace and cordiality between the British and Burmese Government.

Dated: Rangoon, 11 August 1858¹

Fr. P. Abbona's advices giving to King Mindon clearly showed that even the British who accused him pro-Mindon finally accepted his activities. This result turned the British to adopt the soft attitude towards the Myanmar government. At that time, King Mindon depended on the British who were seizing the Lower Myanmar in which the sea outlet existed for his foreign relation.

¹ Sein Hlaing Oo, *Oblates of the Virgin Mary in Burma* p.295

He edited and mended the royal letters to French Governor General. He and Min Hla Min Htin Yazar, tea-server translated the letters sent by the French Emperor, into Myanmar.¹ Fr. P. Abbona and Fr. D. Trolli translated royal credential letters sending to Captain Aurthur Phyre, first commissioner of Pegu. These letters were as follows;

“Prince Mindon warned King Pagan, his half-brother not to wage war against the British many times. But King Pagan, ministers and royal relatives did not emphasize his words. The people of both countries suffered the troubles. And so the people failed to support brother, his ministers and relatives. I wish, I continued to maintain the relation with the British if I seized the throne. The affairs of the country were very soft and deep and wide for the ruler. My brother did not send the high ranking officers to make peace with the British. Now, I sent high ranking officers and foreign advisors like Fr. P. Abbona for peace.”²

Captain Phyre’s letter to King Mindon was as follows;

“We are very pleased to know King Mindon to maintain peace hand in hand with us. However, we want to sign the peace treaty with the Myanmar plenipotentiaries. May we urge King Mindon to send the high ranking officials to conclude the peace?”³

Therefore, King Mindon easily sent the Myanmar embassies to European countries due to Fr. P. Abbona’s gratitude. As a result, King Mindon’s foreign relation and building of industrialized country was acknowledged by the British government. It can be said that Myanmar politics led to upstream after Fr. P. Abbona had been appointed as a diplomat. His advices led King Mindon’s image to be reflected in the world’s politics. The industrialization project implemented by Prince Kanaung, an heir apparent was contributed by establishing the political and economic relations with France, Germany and Italy. Thus, King Mindon not only sent the royal pages to Italy, France and England but also concluded the treaties of peace and treaty with these countries. The Myanmar youth who were studying abroad were made correspondence through Bishop Bigandet and Fr. P. Abbona.

***Franco-Myanmar Relation**

After the Second Anglo-Myanmar War, King Mindon relied on France and Italy more than ever before. These foreign relations brought Fr. P. Abbona into the secular affairs. In this way, Bishop Bigandet, Fr. P. Abbona and French general d’Orgoni became the reliable persons for King Mindon.⁴ As the British power gained more and more ground in and around Burma, King Mindon was advised by Fr. P. Abbona to seek the help of other sovereign states of Europe to regain his lost territories.⁵ Fr. P. Abbona advised King Mindon to get military support of foreign powers against the encroachments of the British. His advice was considered unsuccessful even if the military support would be received from any other European Powers. At that time, the British military strength was the most strongest of the world. However, his advices and thought made King Mindon’s mindset to be in progress.

In April, 1857 Napoleon III, the French emperor sent a letter to King Mindon. Fr. P. Abbona and Thirigunna Kyaw Thu who was in charge of Kular (Indian) translated this letter into

¹ Tun Yi, “Konbaung Khit Pyaypa Yeyar Paedetha Sarsu (Papers on External Affairs in Konbaung period),” Mibagon Sarpay, Yangon, 2015 (Hereafter cited as Tun Yi, “Konbaung Khit Pyaypa Yeyar), p.324

² Tin Maung Yin, U, “Khit Myanmar Tehan (The Making of Burma), Yarpay Book House, Yangon, 2018 (Hereafter cited as Tin Maung Yin, “Khit Myanmar Tehan) p.143

³ Tin Maung Yin, Khit Myanmar Tehan, p.143

⁴ Khin Mya Kyu, Dr., “History of Franco-Myanmar Relation During the Konbaung Period), Journalist Books Publishing, Yangon, 2019 (Hereafter cited as History of Franco Myanmar Relation) pp.88-90

⁵ Ba, Vivian, “King Mindon and the World Fair of 1867 held in Paris,” Journal of Burmese Research Society, JBRS XLVIII, ii, Yangon, 1965 (Hereafter cited as King Mindon and World Fair held in Paris) p.17

Myanmar. In this letter, French emperor wanted to establish diplomatic relation with Myanmar.¹ During the reign of Napoleon III, the friendliest relations had been established between Myanmar and France. At the same time, King Mindon was afraid that he did not want to harm the Anglo-Myanmar if he relied on the French government for the building of his country. At that time, the colonial rivalry between the British and the French reached at the highest point with regard to India and Egypt.

In 1857, Fr. P. Abbona left for France with the first Burmese Embassy.² This was a symbol for the progress of Myanmar politics. On the other hand, the development of the Myanmar foreign relation caused a signal of great concern to the British. The British realized that the French continued to seize the Upper Myanmar after they had occupied the Indo China peninsular which was adjacent to Myanmar boundary. However, King Mindon tried to maintain relation with these two countries. He gave the presents to French general d'Organi in Mandalay.³

***Italian–Myanmar relation**

In 1854, a following year which after King Mindon ascended the throne, Sardinian Foreign Office (Italy Foreign Office) sent the credential to Sig Casella, Council General in Calcutta. Its copy was also sent to Fr. P. Abbona. The aim of Italian government was to establish a diplomatic relation with Myanmar royal government. In addition, the Italian government instructed Sig Casella to make regular contact with Fr. P. Abbona ministering in Mandalay.

Italian government knew the political conditions, occurring in Myanmar from which Fr. P. Abbona messaged. In the meantime, King Mindon was aspiring to the foreign needs. King Mindon believed that Italy was more suitable for him for the building of the country because she did not compete against the British for colonial rivalry in Asia. Therefore, Fr. P. Abbona became the most trusted person of King Mindon. In 1868 Fr. P. Abbona Burmese state scholars went to Italy.⁴

In 1871, Italian-Myanmar diplomatic relation was formally established during the reign of King Victor Emmanuel. As a result, the countries step in signing the treaty of friendship and trade. Italy managed to send the Italian engineers for building of forts in Upper Myanmar. Christoforo Negri, a geographer gave an advice to Fr. P. Abbona that Irrawaddy river (Ayeyarwaddy river) was important for Myanmar commerce as Banmaw on the river was command to Unan province in China.⁵

With the consent of Count Cavour, C. Negri sent a treaty to Fr. P. Abbona in June 1854 through Giuseppe Casella, Counsel General of the Sardinian King in Calcutta. Fr. P. Abbona examined the articles, included in this treaty in the best form possible which would be acceptable by King Mindon. Then, he sent a copy of treaty he examined and mended to the Cardinal of the Propaganda. In September 1856, he had a chance to personally meet Count Cavour through C. Negri. In October 1856 he was given in charge of translating the project of treaty into Italian language which C. Cavour by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Italy.

Italian Embassy led by C.A Racchia, was sent to Mandalay in order to conclude the treaty. This embassy consisted of C.A Racchia, G. Coscia, Lieutenant Royal Italy Navy, acting Secretary to the Royal Italian Embassy, A. Bianchersi, Lieutenant Royal Italy Navy, attache' to the Royal

¹ Tun Yi, Konbaung Khit Pyaypa Yeyar, p.325

² Ba, Some correspondence with Pope, p.13

³ Maung Maung Tin, U, "Konbaungset Mahayazawin, (the Great Chronicle of Konbaungset" Vol. III, Yangon, Yar Pyay Press, 2014 (Hereafter cited as Maung Maung Tin, "Konbaungset Mahayazawin) p.121

⁴ Ba, Some Papal Correspondence, p.13

⁵ Ba, Vivian, "Diplomatic Documents Relating to the Burmese-Italian Treaty in 1871," Journal of Burma Research Society (JBRS), LIII, ii. December, 1970 (Hereafter cited as Ba, Diplomatic Documents Relating to the Burmese-Italian Treaty in 1871) p.39

Italian Embassy, E. Cercone, Sub-Lieutenant Royal Italian Royal Italian Navy, attache' to the Royal Italian Embassy, L. Serra, Sub-Lieutenant Royal Italian Royal Italian Navy, attached to the Royal Italian Embassy and their assistant officers.¹

The articles, concluded in the Italian Myanmar treaty showed that Italian government was interested in the Myanmar navigation and trade. Italian government agreed that the machineries, engineers, experts and workers were sent to Upper Myanmar. According to the agreement, the plenipotentiaries were appointed between the two countries.² Therefore, C.A Racchia, an Italian plenipotentiary to Myanmar and Mingyi Maha Sithu, a Myanmar plenipotentiary to Italy were respectively appointed.

Italian-Myanmar treaty was signed in Mandalay by Alberto Racchia on behalf of King Emanuel and Mingyi Maha Sithu on behalf of King Mindon. It is found that there was often interconnection between the two countries through Fr. P. Abbona. It is seen that the treaty consisting of nineteen articles based on the political, economic, religious and social affairs. This treaty showed that King Mindon gave permission to the Christians to pay worship freely and to build missionary schools such as colleges in hospitals. It also dealt with the bilateral trade. According to this treaty, Italian intelligentsias and navigators were sent to Mandalay for building of the industries and the development of navigation and the laws and the regulations prescribing for export and import were strictly abided by the countries.

As a result, the machines were imported from the European Powers for the industrialization project, implemented by Prince Kanaung. In addition, the royal pages were sent to France, Italy and England for further studies. Establishment of diplomatic relations with France and Italy resulted in not only conclusion of treaties of friendship and trade but also the military support. The French and the Italian military officers trained the Myanmar soldiers besides the support of arms and ammunitions. In addition, with the help of the French and the Italian engineers like Commotto and Molinari, Thapyetan fort, Gwe Chaung fort, Inwa fort and Min Hla fort along the Ayerawaddy River were built.³ In short, the diplomatic relations, implemented during the reign of King Mindon considerably paid the way for the development of the country. In addition, the Anglo-Myanmar relation had not been harmed during his reign. On the other hand, the dynastic problems like Myingun rebellion halted the Myanmar political progress.

3. Socio-economic Atmosphere

The friendly relations, established among the European Powers such as France and Italy resulted in the Scio-economic atmosphere. This atmosphere supported both the industrialization of country and royal military army.

In 1869, Myanmar exported such items as cotton, cutch, orpiment, buffalo and ox hides, hair of buffalo, palm sugar, lead, and other minerals; petrol, lac, yellow orpiment, precious stones, jade, teak, tea, tobacco, sesame, vegetable oil, wheat, etc. Such items to Myanmar which Italy imported were principally clothes in all kinds of material, cotton materials and yarn, etc.⁴ It is assumed that King Mindon received the political outcome if viewing political aspect though Italy, an industrialized country got more commercial profits. The British kept watching Italian-Myanmar relation as they did not want Italy to give the military support such as arms and ammunitions to the Myanmar king. Italian-Myanmar diplomatic relation was more beneficial for both countries than

¹ Ba, Diplomatic Documents Relating to the Burmese-Italian Treaty in 1871, p.18

² Ba, "Diplomatic Documents Relating to the Burmese-Italian Treaty in 1871, p.40

³ Phone Kyaw, Natmauk, "History of Anglo-Myanmar Wars," Yangon, Bagan Book House, 1966 (Hereafter cited as Phone Kyaw, "History of Anglo-Myanmar Wars" pp.285-288

⁴ Ba, Vivian, "The Burmese Embassy to Italy in 1872" Journal of Burma Research Society (JBRS), LIII, ii, December, 1970, Yangon (Hereafter cited as Ba, "The Burmese Embassy to Italy in 1872,") p.67

did Franco-Myanmar relation which was established over past fifteen years. Therefore, bilateral relations on diplomatic and commercial affairs could firmly be established.

It is found that King Mindon relied on Fr. P. Abbona in establishing the Italian Myanmar diplomatic relation. The main cause of King Mindon's foreign relation was to support the industrialization project under the leader of Prince Kanaung and to reoccupy the lost territories. He understood that the machinery items were imported from European Powers for the industrialization. And so foreign crown servicemen and the missionary priests became Important in the foreign relation. It is found that Fr. P. Abbona took an active part in the Italian-Myanmar relation.

Myanmar youth were sent to Piedmont, Italy according to the agreement between the two countries. Italy government sent the weavers from Genoa to Mandalay at the request of King Mindon. Grape vine from Piedmont was cultivated in the royal garden. He hoped that King Mindon would allow him to explore the Upper Irrawaddy. He was interested in opening of a way for commerce between Burma and West China.¹ Transportation through the Irrawaddy River would shorten greatly the trade route of the Indo-Europeans with West China. In this way, he became acquainted with Kingdom of Ava during the reign of King Mindon.

Negri realized that there was a drastic loss for the Myanmar king due to the British occupation of the Lower Myanmar. The lack of sea outlet made the disturbances for the foreign relations of the Myanmar royal government. Italian government did not want the British to influence over the Myanmar royal government.² Therefore, the Italian government planned to give the military support to King Mindon. It is found that Fr. P. Abbona served as a messenger besides an advisor for King Mindon.

Fr. P. Abbona did appreciate the Myanmar culture. In addition, His life style was intertwined with Myanmar customs. He endeared to King Mindon by chewing the betel with him. He translated the books into Myanmar, Latin, Italian language vice versa. He rejected the westerners' low impression upon the Myanmar. He also criticized the writings of Fr. Sangermano and Galo, the Oblate priests that assessed the Myanmar culture by European vision.³ Therefore, it is clearly seen that Fr. P. Abbona was an Oblate priest who did appreciate the Myanmar culture.

He told the missionary priests not to hold the Christmas New Year Festivals while the Second Anglo-Myanmar War was occurring. He seriously criticized the priests who held these festivals. He regarded the celebration of these festivals as an enjoyable commemoration recognizing the British success. However, he was imprisoned by King Pagan on the ground that he was suspected as the British spy. However, he was released from imprison when King Mindon ascended the throne in 1853. King Mindon released Fr. P. Abbona knowing that he and Fr. D. Tarroli aided him in negotiation with the British. The reforms during his reign paid the way for Fr. P. Abbona to take part in Myanmar politics.

Fr. P. Abbona was given in charge of sending the royal pages to Italy for further studies. On the other hand, King Mindon supported him monthly for the propagation of his *Sasana*. Negri, geographer advised him that Po Zaw, a Myanmar youth, staying in Italy taught the art of healing wounds. Italy government sent the world map to Skradevi, the chief queen as present. Fr. P. Abbona advised King Mindon that the Italian and the German naturalists wanted to explore the Upper Irrawaddy River. However, King Mindon did not accept their Exploration of Upper

¹ Ba, "The Burmese Embassy to Italy in 1872 p.68

² Ba, "Diplomatic Documents Relating to the Burmese-Italian Treaty in 1871" p.16

³ Sein Hlaing Oo, Oblates of the Virgin Mary in Burma, p.293

Irrawaddy River Project as to harm the Anglo-Myanmar relation. Not to contrary to the British, King Mindon permitted the exploration of Upper Irrawaddy by royal ships.

King Mindon also gave lands to Fr. P. Abbona to build the churches, schools in acknowledging his gratitude. So, Fr. P. Abbona had the right to do missionary works freely. He also gave a gold cup to him as gift. Pope Pious and Italian government thanked King Mindon who sympathized on the Catholics settling in Upper Myanmar in spite of being a devout Buddhist. Fr. P. Abbona offered his Holiness from King Mindon the following gifts; a heavy chalice of gold, a cross decorated with precious stones, a chain of gold and a ring with a magnificent sapphire.

The friendship between Pope and King Mindon posed a good sign for *Bayingies* and the country. This good relationship resulted in improving the relations with Italy, France and Germany. In 1857, Fr. P. Abbona left for France with the first Burmese Embassy.¹ In 1868 Fr. P. Abbona Burmese state scholars went to Italy.² During his reign, King Mindon gave permission to the Roman Catholic and Baptist missions to build the school, based on the western education.³ In this way the schools in the Church campus taught the lay-boys and girls including the royal pages arts and science and the English literature.

Fr. P. Abbona was appointed the Pro-vicar apostolic in the Royal City of Mandalay.⁴ He was the first Oblate who brought a female religious congregation to Myanmar. The Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, the Brothers of the Christian Schools (De La Salle) and the Jesuits came to Myanmar to help him. He gave different duties to these missions. The Sisters took charge of schools in Moulmein and Amarapura. An orphanage in Amarapura, a hospital in Rangoon (Yangon) was under the charge of the Brothers and a college in Amarapura was to be directed by the Jesuits.⁵

In 1848 the Sardinian (Italy) Government passed the Rattazzi Law (religious edicts) for destruction of some religious missions. According to this law, the Oblate mission was disfavored by the government. More than half a dozen Oblate missionaries remained in Myanmar and worked together with Foreign Missions of Paris (MEP).

Six Fathers and Coadjutor Brothers of Oblates who remained in Myanmar⁶

No.	Name	Places	Remarks
1	Fr. P. Abbona	Amarapura	Superior of the Oblates
2	Fr. F. Andreino	Chaung U, Nabek	----
3	Fr. V. Garbutti	Bassein	----
4	Fr. C. Pacchiotti	Prome (Pyay)	----
5	Fr. C. Paurzza	Rangoon (Yangon)	----
6	Fr. C. Pregno	Monhla	----
7	Br. G. Alasia	Rangoon (Yangon)	----
8	Br. P. Gardetti	Nabek	----
9	Br. G. Romanoin	Nabek	----
10	Br. D. Tesio	Nabek	----

¹ Ba, Some Papal Correspondence, p.13

² Ba, Some Papal Correspondence, p.13

³ Catholic Directory of India 1925, 75th Annual Issue of the Madras Catholic Directory and Annual General Register, the Catholic Supply Society, Madras (Hereafter cited as "Catholic Directory of India") pp.327-329

⁴ Ba, Some Papal Correspondence, p.16

⁵ Sein Hlaing Oo, Oblates of the Virgin Mary in Burma, p.265

⁶ Sein Hlaing Oo, "Oblates of the Virgin Mary in Burma" p.275

Catholic population in Myanmar according to annual statistics of 1856 reads as follows;

No		Place	
1	200 Catholics	Amarapura	Church, school, orphanage
2	600 Catholics	Ciandoroa (Chantharywa)	Church, dispensary
3	150 Catholics	Ciaunù (Chaung U)	Church, school
4	300 Catholics	Ciauujo (Chaungyoe)	Church, school
5	2000 Catholics	Moulmein	Church, school and press
6	150 Catholics	Nabek	Church, college
7	300 Catholics	Monhla	Church, college, school,
8	-----	Rangoon	Church

On 29 November 1856 he was conferred the title “Cavaliere” (Knight) of the Order of Sts. Maurice and Lazarus, signed by the Italian King. Due to Fr. P. Abbona’s efforts the Italian-Myanmar Treaty was concluded during the period of King Mindon. For his efforts he was again granted the title of “Commendatore (commentator)” of the Italian Crown in 1868.¹ The Roman Catholic missionaries and the Baptist missionaries reached Myanmar for the spread of their faith. On the other hand, the missionary priests tried to substitute the traditional monastic education which took root in Myanmar from the time of Bagan dynasty with the western education they brought. Some of Fathers were appointed as advisors of Myanmar monarchs. During the reign of King Mindon, Fr. P. Abbona played an important role in Myanmar politics as a King’s advisor. As a result, Roman Catholic and Baptist priests like Fr. P. Abbona, Bishop Bigandet and Dr. Mark served the Myanmar monarchs as advisors or diplomats.

Results

The Roman Catholic missionaries and the Baptist missionaries reached Myanmar for the spread of their faith. On the other hand, the missionary priests tried to substitute the traditional monastic education which took root in Myanmar from the time of Bagan dynasty to the late Konbaung period with the western education they brought. Some of Fathers were appointed as advisors of Myanmar monarchs for the building of the country. During the reign of King Mindon, Fr. P. Abbona played an important role in Myanmar politics as a King’s advisor. As a result, Roman Catholic and Baptist priests like Fr. P. Abbona, Bishop Bigandet and Dr. Mark served the Myanmar monarchs as advisors or diplomats.

Discussion

Theravada Buddhism profoundly took root in Myanmar from the time of Bagan period to present. Although Theravada Buddhism firmly established in the 12nd century A.D, alien regions such as Hinduism, Muslim and Christianity reached Myanmar according the historical sources and Myanmar chronicles. The Catholic priests who ministered the Portuguese adventurers and mercenaries served Myanmar kings in the 15th century. After the seizing of Syriam (Thanlyin) in 1613, King Anaukphet Lun took the Portuguese war captives to Ava though Philip de Brito and his principal leaders were executed. In this way, the Roman Catholics were spread far and wide in Myanmar. The native people in Myanmar call them *Bayingyi* which derives from the Persian word, “Feringi” meaning foreigner.

¹ Ba, Diplomatic Documents Relating to the Burmese-Italian Treaty in 1871, p.28

After the establishment of the *Bayingi* villages in Upper Myanmar, the Roman Catholic Missionaries such as Jesuit Society Mission, Barnabite Mission, Foreign Missions of Paris and Oblate Mission, etc. reached Myanmar to look after their decedents. Among those missionaries, some of Fathers and Bishops became advisors of the Myanmar monarchs. During the late Konbaung period, King Mindon relied on Fr. P. Abbona in the role of foreign relations and the building of the country. As Fr. P. Abbona appreciated the Myanmar culture he was loved by the king and subjects. After the second Anglo-Myanmar War, he served King Mindon as diplomat when the peace talks were carried out between the British and the Myanmar. Fr. P. Abbona played a vital role in concluding the Myanmar-Italian Treaty in 1871 and engaged in the building of the industrialization, carried out during the reign of King Mindon. He led the Myanmar scholars to Europe according to King Mindon's order. Thus Fr. P. Abbona was seen as a diplomat to Myanmar kingdom.

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Figure showing Oblate Missionary and Don Paulo called Fr. P. Abbona

Photo from Internet source



King Mindon

Photo From internet source



Photo by researcher

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MYANMAR SOCIETY AND TEA CULTURE

Kyaw Swe Nyunt¹

Abstract

This paper analyzes the relationship of Myanmar society and tea culture, which is thoroughly pervasive throughout Myanmar society, regardless of social fabric: royal or common, rich or poor, or ruler and the ruled. The study is made from the historical point of view. Tea culture is age old tradition in Myanmar. No one can say for sure the introduction of tea to Myanmar society. But in accordance with historical evidences, we have found that kings usually had raised and eulogized their war hero by granting them the tea pot to be a kind of their insignia or royally granted paraphernalia. The paper describes the use of tea as a symbol of peace, the inclusion of it as an essential prerequisite in the entertainment of social, religious and many other ceremonies and occasions, the use of it as a kind of invitation to ceremonies and occasions, the royal status of it and the spread of it throughout Myanmar society. For the compilation of this paper, desk top research is done. The goal of this paper is to encourage sustainability of tea culture in Myanmar society and to be able to render support the expansion and sustainability of tea market, domestic and abroad.

Keywords: Myanmar society, tea, judicial, ceremonies, tea pot,

Materials and Method

The hypothesis on this paper was conducted by the paranormal method. Related data were collected through some published data. Making use of material available in the library of the History Department, University of Mandalay and an attempt is made to study the factors of Myanmar tea culture for the knowledge of the Myanmar citizens.

Research Questions

What is tea plant called? What is tea culture? How is tea described in Myanmar literature? What is the tea culture and tradition of Myanmar society? How can tea culture affect Myanmar Society? Do you consider tea to be part of your national culture?

Introduction

The history of tea is aged old and no one can tell when the use and consumption of it began. The legend had it that it existed since time immemorial, say well over 1000 years ago. But by tradition, it said that tea has been grown in Southern Shan State. Once, it went on that, King Aluangsihu got the seed of it from the stomach of a bird and the king gave it away to the hill tribe peoples, who accepted it with one hand. After the fashion of receiving the seed of it with one hand, it became known Let-ta-phet (one hand), from which it changes into Let-phet, then Laphet. Linguistically, Palaung peoples call it “myan” and “neint” by Shan. Both words denote the neck of a bird.² So, it can be assumed that the story is reasonable as these words indicate the seed got from the neck of the bird.

According to the “Tea Homily” composed by Sale U Ponnya- Ywasi (Yazi) village fief-holder and Bearer of Royal Tea- we are told that during the reign of King Duttabaung of Sriksetra, seven devas had taken the god’s seed Yatthawaddy each a handful and grown it in the Sina-raththa province where Danu and Palaung peoples live.³ Pioneers in tea cultivation are those of Palaung and Mon peoples who live in the border area of the country. Chinese in Ming period (1368-1662)

¹ Dr, Professor, Department of History, University of Mandalay

² Thin Khar, **Tea Culture**, 2nd ed., Yangon, Seikkuchoch Press, 2017, p. 1 (Henceforth: Thin Khar, 2017)

³ U Pon Nya, **Myittarsa** (Tea Homily), Yangon, Hanthawaddy Press, 1965 November, p. 6 (Henceforth: Pon Nya, 1965)

called the tea growers of Burma (Myanmar) and their land as Tea Hill (CH'A-SHAN). But when Ceylonese monks from Sri Lanka came to Burma (Myanmar) in 1800, they said that it was called Vata-vadhuna.¹ Tea with its bitter taste is South East Asia origin. For this reason, Chinese write with the word (AH'A). It is the FUKUIN pronunciation of the sound (TE). But the Tibeto-Burman people of Lolo, Lisu and Mien use the Gostrai-Asia word "hand" (leaf) and added to it with their own word "sheet" (packable), making the plant known as La-phet plant.²

In Myanmar culture, tea occupies a very important place where both kinds of dried tea and pickled tea are widely used, especially the latter is imperative in many occasions of traditional festivities and ceremonies. The most striking thing of the use of tea in Myanmar society is that in the days of Myanmar kings, a law suit at the law court could be settled by eating pickled tea by both plaintiff and defendant when the parties in the case pleased with the ruling of a judge. Almost in all social ceremonies regardless of joy or sorrow and even in religious ceremonies and Nat (spirit) propitiation, tea is essential without which one could assume the occasion is something missing.

The first mention of tea in Myanmar society could be found in Wawhara Linahta Dipani, which described that "Once King Alaungsithu of Bagan could not sleep well, due to taking of tea leaf which was offered to him by Palaung people. In order to have a sound sleep, the king had to sleep by hugging the tea plant, his arm putting on the stem of the plant. In this way, nila viza leaf i.e. the tea leaf became known as La-phet."³ But no Bagan inscription mentioned the word "La-phet".

Once an anonymous poet of ancient times in his/her Dwe-gyo (two-line stanza) composed like that:

"Pickled tea from southern hill is prepared,
To which oil from Le-zin is poured,
Added to it are sesame from Medi and salt from Bago,
But would be tasty only by chewing well"⁴

The stanza clearly shed light on the fact that the best prepared pickled tea in those days was made of tea leaf from Southern Shan, oil got from the region of Lezin, sesame grown in the locality of Medi and salt from Bago. It is noteworthy that tea is variously called as deva's leaf, the seed of it as deva's seed and Nila-viza or clean-cut tree.

Tea is a Myanmar traditional snack, consumed since monarchical days and it included in the royal snacks and foods. In almost all royal occasions, pickled tea was served. It took a high place in the law court of Myanmar society and invariably includes in every offerings in social and religious give away and donations. Tea in fact indicates that it symbolizes the reflection of love/affection. At the earliest outset, Ava (Innwa) period royal edicts described that tea could be given as fees for court lawyers, it could be used as a token of settlement of court case and dictated that one must not give more than the prescribed court fee which was set at the value of pickled tea.

Tea is inclusive not only in royal occasion but also in such ceremonies of cradle placing, naming the child, novitiation, ear boring, wedding and traditional nat propitiation. Tea was also found as a kind of insignia to hero of the old day. In the royal paraphernalia, tea pot consisted as

¹ U Chain, 1963, 203

² Dr. Tha Tun, "Northern Mon-Ahnan", *Kalyar Magazin*, 1994 May, p. 25

³ U Chain, *Wawharralinahtadipani (Disquisition of Vocabulary)*, Yangon, Hantha-waddy Press, 1963, p. 203 (Henceforth: U Chain, 1963)

⁴ San Tun (Man Takkatho), *Sarpayban* (Literary Bank), Yangon, Aronoo Sarpay, 1967, p. 289

one among the thirteen royal utilities. Relating to it, King Tabinshwehti in 1540 AD expedited to Mottama and conquered it. Nada Kyaw Htin (Nanda Kyaw Thu)¹ who fought along with Kyaw Htin Nawrahta in elephant duel was conferred the title of Min Kyaw Htin with insignia of betel cup, tea pot, court fees, golden goblet, golden myuta(long necked pot), golden spittoon, in addition to five young elephants, fifty horses and 100 slaves.² Also in 1545 AD, it had been found that when the king gave rank and title to such princes of Nanda Yawda, Zeya Nanda and Shan Mon Dot Byinnya, tea pot was also included in their insignia.³

As successive kings had extolled the virtue of tea, the prestige of tea made it included in various occasions of festivities and ceremonies from the time primordial to until now. In AD 1546, Rakhine king had sent four monks as peace mediators to Taungoo Tabinshwehti, who in his turn returned the monks by offering tea sticks (cylinder like storage with tea in it) and molasses.⁴ In royal appurtenances, betel and tea were managed by those who were appointed by the privy and offered to monasteries and pagodas.⁵ When tea was to carry, it was put in the white fringed towel and wrapped in it.⁶

The importance of tea in royal occasion could be better shown by the event occurred in 1733 AD that when Crown Prince, Fief-holder of Sintgu, the would be king of Deceased in Hanthawaddy, entered the golden palace, in his royal entourage were included such insignia of bearer of betel cup, bearer of drinking water, bearer of tea pot, bearer of pipe, bearer of tobacco casket, bearer of royal sandal and bearer of fan.⁷ This shows important place of tea in the royal insignia and royal occasion. Furthermore, whenever Burmese kings held the New Year water festival, packs of tea were included in their water fetching ceremony.⁸

In some instances, the tea pot in the form of delicate floral and craft design indicated the rank and status of the holder/owner which should be clearly seen by the following: in the ceremony of conferring the title of crown prince to Prince Kanaung, King Mindon granted to the crown prince “the tea pot made of twelve edges with glass mosaics, rounded with three lines of studded rubies⁹ while other elder princes of his own sons such as Prince Pyinzi, Prince Nyaung Ok, Prince Chundaung, Prince Hlaingdet, Prince Htilin and Prince Saw were given that “tea pot made of eight edges with glass mosaics, rounded with two lines of studded rubies.”¹⁰

All these facts lead to the conclusion that Myanmar kings regarded and consumed the tea as a noble and sublime snack/food as tea pot and tea cup were included in the royal paraphernalia and tea constituted essential ingredient/item whenever kings raised their crown servicemen with ranks and titles. Major difference is that the tea pot granted to royalties was studded with gems and the tea pot to commoners was simply made without gems.

In Myanmar society, eating pickled tea by both parties in divorce case could be settled the case peacefully. Also debt cases between slave and master, husband and wife were settled by eating

¹ (a) U Kular, **Mahayazawingyi** (Great Chronicle), Vol.II, Yangon, Yarpay Press, 2006, p. 253

(b) **Hmannanyazawindawgyi** (Glass Palace Chronicle), Vol.II, Yangon, Information and News Press, 1992, p. 213

² U Tun Nyo (Mahasithu), **Mahayazawinthat (Taungoo Dynasty)**, (New Great Chronicle – Taungoo Dynasty), Vol. II, Yangon, Khaingyeemon Press, 1998, p. 35 (Henceforth: Tun Nyo, 1998)

³ Tu Nyo, 1998, 53

⁴ Tun Nyo, 1998, 57

⁵ Poe Lat (Ed.), Thiriuzanar, **Lawkabyuharkyan Inyonsartam**, Yangon, Government Printing and Stationary, 1956, p. 146 (Henceforth: Poe Lat, 1956)

⁶ Poe Lat, 1956, 238

⁷ Poe Lat, 1956, 52

⁸ Poe Lat, 1956, 69

⁹ U Maung Maung Tin, **Konbaungset Mahayazawindawgyi**, (Great Chronicle of Konbaung Dynasty), Vol. III, Yangon, Yarpay Press, 2004, p. 131 (Henceforth: Maung Maung Tin, 2004)

¹⁰ Maung Maung Tin, 2004, 132

pickled tea at the law court. This fact is attested by the Rulings of Yesagyo Arbitration, where arbitrator Yandameik Kyawhtin handed down rulings in forty-seven cases. All cases were found settled by eating pickled tea. Cases at Yesagyo Arbitration were slandering, assault, land dispute, adultery, inheritance, stone throwing and banged the plank et cetra. In all rulings, it was said that when the case was settled successfully, both parties of contestants the winner and the loser alike ate the pickled with all concerned present. Sometime there could be someone who disliked and disagreed to the ruling. In such case, that disagreed party did not eat the pickled tea. That kind of ruling could be found in the case occurred in Mindan village, Alekyun, Talokmyo jurisdiction where the case of Nga Hmo pulled of hair of Mi Pu, daughter of Nga Yan Way occurred. In that case it was said that as plaintiff Nga Yan Way displeased the accused Nga Hmo, Nga Yan Way did not eat the pickled tea.¹

The royal order touching to the aspect of judiciary was found in the case between the Prince Ahmyint and Min Ye Aung Htin, where the king made the case settled by observing the giving away of pickled tea to the party concerned in his presence. It was occurred on 15th October 1638.² The royal order issued on 3rd March 1782 dictated that court clerk shall not take fees for court records, but to take only a pack of tea from the contestants for such cases of vituperation, assault, theft and matrimonial affairs which were unlikely to develop full blown court cases, while lawyers have to take only visiting fees of one (kyat) and a pack of tea for their service.³

Based on these facts, it can be deduced that tea reflects and symbolizes amicability, conciliation and justness (justice), not to mention to its traditional value of “recognition and contractual agreement” between parties. At the law court and arbitration, after judge or arbitrator had handed down their ruling, both plaintiff and defendant were to eat pickled tea together to show that they have accepted the ruling and the case had settled once and for all. It was called eating tea together hand in hand, meaning all party concerned present.

In relation to the Order, some royal order mentioned the name pickled tea in their description of offertory to the Order. The royal order passed on 22nd April 1638 described the word tea along with betel and tobacco which were to offer to the monks of Pitaka assistant editors, editors and readers at the preparation of lunch for them.⁴ The royal edict proclaimed on 8th June 1683 dictated town officer, captain of one thousand group and town clerk to send tea storage when such holy peoples passed away as to the Local Monk Leader/Assistant Local Monk Leader six tea storages, four for Aka-puggala, two for Brahman and two for lay devotee. Tea storage was valued about five “mu”.⁵

Sale U Ponnya in his tea homily described the importance of tea like the following:

{awe a'OyaP0 xEwlop&ujzi v*urP du&ejzpyh? Ek m; aygilof? ayjci f
avmitwrf? viber, m;? ukecefr&u;? &u&x&a&m& w&m;rt&ob? rlybrjyw?
raoOyirnf qf&onuf bEw rli&suf touxufq? aymufyle; uifjyw?
NirOy&pwvN/ EwN? xib&om *Pft x&Ejynp&onwpt&uf yf ftw&u&umi
vuzuftrnf&onm? o'g eb&n&f

¹ Kyaw Htin, Yandameik, **Yesagyo Khondaw Hpyathton** (Yesagyo Arbitration), Yangon, Hanthawadi Press, 1964, p. 52

² Dr. Than Tun, **Royal Order of Burma (AD 1598-1885)**, Part I, AD 1598-1648, Kyoto, The Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1983, p.404 (Henceforth: Than Tun, 1983)

³ Dr. Than Tun, **Royal Order of Burma (AD 1598-1885)**, Part IV, AD 1782-1787, Kyoto, The Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1986, p.230 (Henceforth: Than Tun, 1986)

⁴ Than Tun, 1983, 369

⁵ Than Tun, 1983, 376

⁶ Tin Htwe, **U Pon Nya ei sarpankonemyar** (U Pon Nya's Portrait), Vol, II, Yangon, Kyayhmon Nespaper Press, 1991, p. 3

In Myanmar society one aged old tradition is that every house usually entertains visitors with betel, tobacco, pickled tea and green tea. This great tradition is widely well known as “green tea culture”. The benefit of green tea can be known by the description in some lampoon as “If green tea is taken, there surely will be grace and glory and the liquid is perfect as such to its cost”. The scene of green tea party was well reflected in the old pop song of “Green Tea Party” by the singer Maung Pwa Gyi.¹

There are many Myanmar sayings relating to tea. One among those sayings is that “a stalk of tea and a stalk of betel”, meaning in order to get the best taste, one should take only a stalk of tea by placing it between thumb and index finger and then chews it for some time.² In chewing betel quid also, one should use one betel leaf only, its stalk being cut off at the base of the leaf. The other saying implies that, of all leaves tea has the best taste, which can be found in the following saying: “Of all meat its pork, of fruit the mango and of leaves the tea”, these have the best taste.³ In consuming tea, there is no tradition to take it lonely or alone, instead consume by a party of two, three, or four and even more. It makes members happy and tasty in consumption of tea, their hands joining together at the tea container. In Myanmar society, it does not regard tea in the container, regardless of small or full, as leftover or remnant, instead assume it as common community use.

To get good quality tea, Danu and Palaung peoples have to pick up tea leaves from the plant, well before the onset of rain, i.e. before the Burmese New Year Water Festival. As tea plantations are located mostly on top of hills and their slanting slopes, tea pickers have to climb to the top of the hill. After this fashion, there came to emerge the saying: “If want good quality tea to eat, Palaung shouldn’t be lazy to climb the hill”. Tea making process has many steps in its preparation such as tea leaves picking, kneading, steaming and drying. This process has been well described in the song “That Tea Picker” composed by U Ba Than, leader of Khit San Duriya (Modern Musical Instrument), Namsan, Southern hill, Kyaukse.⁴ The song well mentions the history of tea culture among the Myanmar society. It describes that since the days of Burmese kings, tea has been grown widely in Southern hills of Namsan. A well-known ancient poet of Wungyi Padethayaza had composed of five Tra-gyin (a kind of Myanmar classical song with the same opening and closing note) on the tea trade between the plain and Palaung hills. These tra-gyins can be seen in the Myanmar Anthology, volume-2.⁵

Every social dealing, relation and occasion in addition to ear boring, naming, novitiation and wedding ceremonies, tea could not be left unincluded in these ceremonies. Tea giving or sending invariably occur in these occasions. It resembles today’s sending of invitations. One who receives this kind of auspicious tea shall come to the event without fail. It’s a kind of contractual agreement between parties. If one cannot come to the event, he shouldn’t accept the sent tea. Concerning with the auspicious tea, an ancient stanza is as follow:

]]tlyeU a&Dga&v amitar ar omUnp? awmitr, Mvm/ / r, Mlygel
z, Mlyg? onVES bnivuzulu pwysuMlygwav; ...}}⁶

Tea culture in Myanmar society is not much as that; it is also used as medicine and diet for the people. The following piece of Law-kyan or La-kyan (treatise on medical treatment, in the form of questions to which answers are given in interrogative form) gives information on the medical use of tea:

¹ Thakyawuntha, Primed Myanmar Cultural Tradition (100), p.241-247

² Myanmar Soyesagar (Myanmar Adage), Yangon, Universities Press, 1996, p. 219 (Henceforth: Soyesagar, 1996)

³ Soyesagar, 1996, 282

⁴ Thin Khar, 2017, 16

⁵ Myanmar Anthology, Vol.II

⁶ Thin Khar, 2017, 32

]]a&phurlylvuabomf rcuivm;? vuZuhajcmuWpIusy? razmuixW wpIusy? 'kwin
 wprwlu tnuBuWl odyBrs qBacguful uWl zeh& aq;aomf raysmuivm;}}
]]atmlemOrfusaomf rcuivm;/ ody&mob? vuZuhajcmu? *sitajcmu? qm;av;ygtrpB
 4it;tm;vW xuDuIusyBpIul Zmwlylvob&ES h wluabomf raysmuivm;}}
]]tmayg"gwilylvuf uWl lvuEte, jcit? armyetjcit? Orfusicujcit? tdyraymjcit?
 chWlfcgjcitrsm;jzplwuN/ ulxWum; ig;chruW o&u? r&rt? ozeferm;ES h &&m
 csuBay;? vuZuhqBzrfay;? ocfh;? z&luW oMum;ES Bay;}}¹

In the Diet treatise, it is described that tea has properties of extreme cold, bitter and easy to gas. If one suffers from poor urination (oliguria), constipation, retention of gases in the stomach and suffers pain in passing urine (strangury), one should take equal amount of green tea water (not boiled) and paste of Thanakha with salt or roasted salt. It will cure the above-mentioned sufferings, it is said. Therefore, tea and Myanmar society are like that of a coin, head and floral design can never be separable.

Since the days of Myanmar kings, tea was included in the goods of royal monopoly, which could be known from the Commercial Agreement between Burma (Myanmar) and France, which stated that:

“Of the commercial goods, except the tea, all other goods shall not be royal monopoly goods directly or indirectly and must be able to trade freely, but tea must be royal monopoly goods”²

In U Ponnya's homily, he described that tea was not the royal monopoly goods. It is unquestionable that tea trade flourished in Myanmar society. In Thibaw's reign, it was learnt that dried tea from Northern Shan was imported to brokerages in Mandalay about 5000 vises annually, 5000 vises to Madaya cow brokerage and 150,000 vises to North road cow brokerage. Likewise, tea from Southern Shan was exported to Mandalay amounting to 50000 vises of dried tea and 18000 cow pack-animals of pickled tea.³ In Mandalay, arrangement was made for Shan tea traders to have accommodation in (1) Shanpweyat-Shan brokerage quarter (near Mahamuni pagoda), (2) Municipal circle (near Ayeikmahtwet pagoda), (3) Thibaw Sawbwa circle (side by side municipal circle) and (4) private traders' circle.

I would like to present the current tea trade situation. Myanmar has a long history and tradition of tea. According to Food and Agriculture Organization. 2018. FAOSTAT Statistics Database, Myanmar is currently the eighth largest producer of tea in the world with an estimated 104,743 metric tonnes produced in 2017, with production steadily increasing year on year. In Myanmar – EU Trade Helpdesk. 2018. Myanmar Product Profile: Organic Green Tea expressed that more developed tea industries do exist, with production factories located in the tea growing regions of Northern and Southern Shan States while additional processing and packaging facilities are clustered in Mandalay, the country's tea trading hub. Around 80 Myanmar companies are exporting green tea – mostly to Japan, Malaysia and Singapore – while a handful are exporting fermented tea to buyers in the UK and Ireland.

¹ U Ba Thin, **Lettwekuhtonsaykyan hnit Shutawmusaykyan**, (Dictionary of Pragmatic cure medicine treatise and Inhalant), Vol. I&II, Yangon, Thudhammawati Press, 1952

² Thin Khar, 2017, 28

³ Ma Kyan, Thamaing **Sharpontawkhayee hnit achar sartammyar** (Trip in search of History and other compilations), Yangon, Myanmar Yadanar Sarpay, 2002, p. 88

Tea prices in Burma are different not only based on their characteristics of form, color, flavor and aroma but also their location of cultivation. Relating to tea categories, there are over fifty tea categories of Mountain Paths (Taung Lan) and over thirty tea categories of Mountain Ridges (Tuang yoe), of which there are seven kinds of Inner Hill (Atwin taung), four kinds of Middle Hill (Ale taung), eight kinds of Intermediate Hill (Taung latt) and eighteen kinds of Outer Hill (Apyin taung). Of these, the most preferred and the best choice is what the people called “Shwe-phi-oo” (Shwe-pyi-oo), which is got before the onset of rain.¹

Everyone easily knows that tea is a product of Shan province. But the tea industry from the upper reaches of Chindwin is little known in the country. As tea can be grown in the loose red earth soil, tea plantations with settlement villages are established on either side of the upper reaches of Chindwin River. Famous villages with tea industry in this part of the country are Kaungkan, Tingyin, Kawra, Maungkan, Tarson, Ohn-aik, Manaing, Htamanthi and Malin. Tea from these villages is not traded in the country, but mostly exported to Manipur and Assam of India.

Tea culture refers to the way tea is made, served and consumed, the way people interact with tea, and the aesthetics involved in drinking that cup of tea. Myanmar has its own inimitable tea culture, with roadside teashops, standalone stalls or outlets housed in concrete structures, with similar offerings, casual ambience, serving as comfort zones for the young and old alike. The culture of drinking tea fits in perfectly with the local way of life, and tea shops fulfil a social need, a place to bond and belong, sip and share, exchange news and views, rest, relax and refresh, and continue to serve as a comfort zone.

Findings

Tea and Myanmar society is like that of a coin, head and floral design can never be separable. Tea reflects and symbolizes amicability, conciliation and justness (justice), not to mention to its traditional value of “recognition and contractual agreement” between parties. By looking the tea and medicine potion, tea is as powerful as a panacea.

Conclusion

In précis, tea is an essential food/snack in Myanmar till today. It once constituted one of royal regalia during the days of Myanmar kings. Most of court cases in monarchical days were settled by eating tea together. It still occupies a very important place in many social and religious occasions and festivities such as pagoda festivals, *nat* propitiation ceremony, novitiation ceremony and occasions of joy and sorrow. Its usefulness in socio-religion and medical treatment make the society addicted to it and thriving tea trade attracts many people into its orbit. Tea culture today can be seen swiftly spreading locally in Myanmar society and gradually penetrating into the world community internationally. Tea is changing and vitalizing itself from the social culture to world economic culture.

¹ Dagon Nat Shin, Thuta Kyayhmon (Knowledge Mirror), 2nd ed., Yangon, Seikkuchoch Press, 2019, p. 21 (Henceforth: Nat Shin, 2019)

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- Hmannanyazawindawgyi** (Glass Palace Chronicle), Vol.II, Yangon, Information and News Press, 1992

HISTORY OF THE MONASTERIES IN TAUNGTHAMAN VILLAGE TRACT

Khin Mar Lwin¹

Abstract

It is found that Taungthaman Village tract was flourished in Buddhism before the period of Amarapura. King Badon shifted his royal capital from Yadanapura Inwa to Amarapura for the sake of Buddhism as a priority. Taungthaman area is also included in the Buddhism flourished area of the royal capital, Amarapura. Large and magnificent Pagodas and monasteries are found in Taungthaman. In Taungthaman village, there were many learner monks who were patronized by the king and that Buddhism also flourished. It can be found that there also were many monasteries and vipasana cloisters of those monks teaching dhamma and literature. At the end of Myanmar monarchial rule, Buddhism faded in Taungthama area. However, Buddhism could thrive again in Taungthaman after getting the independence.

Keyword: Buddhism

Introduction

It can be found in literature that people in various countries of the world believed in various religious faiths. These religious faiths including Hinduism, Buddhism, Confuciousm, Christianity and Islam spread all over the world.² The traditional belief of Buddhism was started by Pyu people in Myanmar history. Pyus were the people possessing high standard Civilization whose kings had sent their envoys to China through Nankyaung during the period of 801-802 AD because of the detailed recordings about these envoys and playing the musical instruments of Pyu musicians in the Chinese contemporary accounts. Besides, these accounts had described about the city-walls of Pyu capital which was made with the glazed-bricks, the moats made with bricks, the living of several thousand households in the City-walls, the location of over one hundred Buddhist Monasteries, the decoration with the bright colours, gold and silver at these monasteries, the benevolence and un-willingness to kill the creatures, the living of everbody including male and female at the monasteries under the supervision of the monks from the age of 7 to 20 by cutting their hairs, the behaviour as the laypeople if they did not realize the truths dealing with the Buddhist sermons until twenty years old. The buildings of several monasteries and the donation of slaves, cattles and lands to them, the striking and engraving of the Buddha Images with the materials like as coper, metal, timber, stucco, stone, etc and the donation of bowls and robes to the monks went from the four cardinal points.³ According to the above documents, it was found that Myanmar had established the greatest monasteries for the Buddhist monks as well as they had worshipped and accepted the admonition of these monks since the Pyu Period.

Materials

In preparing the present research, primary sources such as stone inscriptions, urn-inscription, parabaiks and interviews and secondary sources have been cited as evidence.

¹ Dr, Lecturer, Department of History, Yadanabon University

² Toe Hla, *Shae houng Myanmar nainggan Thamine*, (the ancient history of Myanmar country), Naing htet Aung press, Yangon, 2014, p.38

³ Than Tun, Dr, *Khit-haung Myanmar Yazawin*, (the ancient history of Myanmar), Maha Dagon press, 1969, p.62

Aims

The present paper aims to know about flourishing Pariyatti and Paripatti Sāsana at Taungthaman Village tract. Since the period of Myanmar Kings, the education of Taungthaman village tract was taken the full responsibilities by the monasteries. The titles for the well-versed monks awarded by the Kings were emerged of Taungthaman village tract. Taungthaman village tract is possessing the historic heritages.

Findings and Discussion

In Konbaung Period, King Badon, the first founder of Amarapura, shifted his royal capital from Yadanapura Inwa to Amarapura in 1783. The reason for shifting the royal capital was claimed as (1) for the benefits of Buddhism, (2) for the king, (3) for his generations and (4) for the benefits of the people.¹ The activities of king Badon for the prosperity and flourishing of Buddhism as well as for its propagation had effects upon the flourishing of Buddhism in Taungthaman area. Taungthaman village tract is located in Amarapura township of Mandalay Division in Upper Myanmar, at the eastern end of the world-famous *U Bein* Bridge. Nowadays, it is the village tract where Yadanabon University is located. At the present time, it is the village tract consisted of Taungthaman village, Htantaw village and Oebo village. According to the tradition of Myanmar, the people of Taungthaman village constructed and donated the monasteries to get the protection and guidance of the Sangha and for the perpetuation and propagation of Buddhist *sāsana*. There were many monasteries in Taungthaman village tract are as follows;

Table 1 Monasteries in Taungthaman village tract

No.	Name of Monasteries	Date of founding	The founder of monasteries	Sect
1.	Ywa-Oo (or) Megawaddy	Bagan period	?	Shwe Kyin
2.	Min-kyau	Amarapura period	?	Shwe Kyin
3.	Nyaung-pin	Amarapura period	U Ray-wata	Shwe Kyin
4.	Shwe-bon-tha	During the reign of king Bagan	U Thujata	Sudhammar
5.	Shwe-la-bon	1853	?	Sudhammar
6.	Tawya-Min-Kyaung	1882	U Nanda	Sudhammar
7.	Shwe-hlan-bo	Amarapura period	?	Shwe Kyin
8.	Thone-sau	Amarapura period	?	Sudhammar
9.	Maung-htaung taw-ya	Amarapura period	?	Sudhammar
10.	Moe-Kaung	1930	U Nanda Wuntha	Sudhammar
11.	Oe-bo	1930	U Dhamma	Sudhammar
12.	Chan-thar-gyi ale kyaung	1948	?	Shwe Kyin

¹ May Nyunt, "Amarapura Myo-ti Nan-ti Thamaing" (History of Construction of the city and royal palace of Amarapura), M.A Thesis, Mandalay University, 1993, p-10

No.	Name of Monasteries	Date of founding	The founder of monasteries	Sect
13.	Kyauk-taw-gyi	1981	U Agga Wuntha	Shwe Kyin
14.	Thila-vithaw-dani	1989	U Vi-thutdha	Sudhammar
15.	Shin Araham Thein Kyaung	1997	U Jaoti-thara	Shwe Kyin
16.	Thit-sar-war-di	1998	U Narathiha	Sudhammar
17.	Shwe-moth-htaw	1999	U Ariya	Sudhammar
18.	Wai-jayan-tar	2001	U Kaw-than-la	Sudhammar
19.	Aye-mya-thaya	2002	U Sanda-thiri	Sudhammar
20.	Shwe-ta-nga	2017	U Dhammika	Sudhammar

Source: Findings of the researcher

Meigawaddy, *Teik-ok* monastery is located in the South of Kyauktawgyi pagoda. The monastery was well known as Meigawaddy *teik-ok kyaung* with reference to Meigawaddy *Sayadaw* during the reign of king Bagan and its administrative function on all monasteries in Taungthaman *teik-ne* (circle). At that time, Buddhism was flourished with Phaung Taw Oo Buddha image donated by King Alaung Sithu in Bagan period to the abbot at the monastery of Taungthaman village. In 1852, kyaukse *wun* Maha Minhla Min Khaung Kyaw Htin donated Meigarama *Kyaung-teik*, Meigawaddy monastery and Dhattaw *ceti* (pagoda), ordaining hall and pitaka hall in the compound of Meigawaddy *taik-ok kyaung*.¹

It is known that the monastery decorated with three or four tired roofs, Meigawaddy *teik-ok kyaung*, could bring about the fame and dignity of the people of Taungthaman village tract up to the present of the royal capital. During Amarapura period, Maung Hmong, son of U Moe and Daw Phwa Thwe from Simee Htun village of Taungthaman village Tract was lost from home at the age of fifteen, strangely and he could not be found even though his parents and relatives looked for him in various towns and villages. They had given up their attempts as they did not get any information about him. Many years later, he came back to the village as a *Sangha* (Buddhist monk) in an admirable manner. The *Sangha* did not reply the questions of his parents and relatives where he spent his life.² In 1853, when the bone relics and *pareikkharas* of the first Shwekyin *Sayadaw* were enshrined into a *ceti* and the matter was inscribed on a stone inscription, the people could know that he was the disciple of the first Shwekyin *Sayadaw*.³

The parents and relatives gladly placed the monk under custody of the *taik-ok Sayadaw* (chief monk) of Taungthaman village. When the *Sayadaw* asked for the title and the age of *Sangha* lent (*wās*) the monk replied that he was nine lent years in novice-hood and five lent year in monk-hood and his title was Janeinda. The resident *Sayadaw*, then sent to Pak-pa Sarthinteik (Monastic school) *Sayadaw* to learn Buddhist literatures. When the teaching *Sayadaws* examined the education of the monk, they found that Janeinda had learnt not only *tipitakas* but the monk had also learnt four vedas on astrology. As a result, they sent the monk back to the village resident *Sayadaw*. As the resident *Sayadaw* could not satisfy it, the monk was again sent to Vākara *Sayadaw*. After Vākara *Sayadaw* and *hte-ra* (elder *Sayadaws*) examined the education of the monk

¹ Stone inscription of sacred relic, stupa and record of *san-da-daw-pyae* (wish fulfilling) pagoda, Meigawaddy *Taik-ok Kyanung*, simee htun village, line 1 to 3 (Henceforth: *san-da-daw-pyae*)

² Hlaing, U, *phaung taw Oo phayar Thamine* (pagoda History of phaung taw oo), new Burma tipitaka press, Amarapura, 1983, p-4 (Henceforth: Hlaing, 1983)

³ Stone inscription of Bontha-htut-tin, Bontha-htut-tin Pagoda, Htantaw village, obverse, line - 23 (Henceforth: Bontha-htut-tin)

to their approval, the monk was sent back to the village *Sayadaw*. At that time, Amarapura suffered for three years of drought and the royal capital residents and the farmers met with the difficulties. Therefore, king Bagan invited 1000 monks from various parts of the country and requested to recite Nga-yant-min Sutta according to the advice of the wisemen, Nga-yant-min Sutta was recited for seven days with other Suttas. During recitation, the Sanghas from away area had to sleep in the royal palace whereas the Sanghas from the neighbouring areas had to go back to their monasteries for sleeping.¹

Therefore Taungthaman *taik-ok Sayadaw* had to go to the palace every day. On the sixth day of recitation of *parit-taw*, Ashin Janeinda served the *Sayadaw* with the filial duties and asked the *Sayadaw* whether *Sayadaw* thought the rain could fall after seven days recitation of *parit-taw*. Then, *Taik-ok Sayadaw* replied that he thought so. Therefore, Shin Janeinda told *Sayadaw* that there was no sign of raining even though the elder *Sayadaws* recited the *parit-taw* from seven days to seven months and if the disciple monk had the chance to recite the *parit-taw* alone, there could be rain. On the next day *taik-ok Sayadaws* went to the palace and recited *parit-taw*. When the rain still did not fall, *Sayadaw* consulted with other elder *Sayadaws* that his disciple Shin Janeinda claimed that the rain could fall if he would recite the *parit-taw* alone. Therefore, *Sayadaws* requested *taik-ok Sayadaw* to bring Shin Janeinda to the palace. On the next day, *taik-ok Sayadaw* brought Shin Janeinda to the palace and recited the *parittaw*. However, the rain did not fall and *taik-ok Sayadaw* and other *Sayadaws* consulted the matter. They said to the king that they assigned duty to that young *Sangha* to satisfy the desires of the king and the people. King Bagan immediately approached to Shin Janeinda and Shin Janeinda asked to the king to bring 500 young monks. He continued to say that he would recite the *parit-taw*, accompanying 250 *Sanghas* on right and left sides of him.²

On the next day Shin Janeinda individually recited the *parit-taw* as arranged in advance and the rain clouds appeared in four directions after one hour of recitation. The rains fell heavily for seven nights without raining in daytimes. The king was greatly pleased with the conditions and he awarded *Sayadaw* with titles and appointed as the royal *Sayadaw*. *Taik-ok Sayadaw* transferred the position of the resident monk to Ashin Janeinda before his death. From that time onward, *Taik-ok* monastery was started to be named as Meigawaddy *taik-ok kyaung* with reference to the term "Meiga is rain" and "Waddy is falling" as raining *Sayadaw's* monastery³. In 6 April 1852, Kyaukse *wun Minhla Min khaung kyaw Htin* built Meiga Rama *Kyaung-taik*, Meigawaddy monastery donated to Meigawaddy *Sayadaw* and Sacred relics stupa donated for the people to pay obeisance in dedication to the Nirvana.⁴

When king Mindon shifted his royal capital from Amarapura to Mandalay, the king brought Meigawaddy *Sayadaw* for his reliability in the religious and secular affairs of the country due to *Sayadaw's* ability in well versed literature. The king worshiped the *Sayadaw* by donation of Meigawaddy Taungthaman *Taik* at Mandalay, which is still with standing in Buddhism.⁵ When the relatives and devotees who accompanied *Sayadaw* shifting towards Mandalay city were allocated with land, the people from Simeetun and Oebo villages these villagers were allocated in the areas which is still named as Simeetun ward and Oebo ward.⁶ As *Sayadaw* could brilliantly

¹ Hlaing, 1983, p-5

² Hlaing, 1983, p-6

³ Hlaing, 1983, p-7

⁴ San-da-daw-pyae, line -1 - 5

⁵ Ashin kay lar tha; *Mandalay Sāsana Wan* (Religious of Mandalay) Volume. No. 14, 2016, p-100

⁶ Hlaing, 1983, p-7

conducted for the interest of the religion and the country, *Sayadaw* was awarded by various titles by the successive kings, including

- (1) Janeinda-bhi Thiri-dhaja Maha-dhamma Raja-Guru titled by king Bagan¹,
- (2) Janeinda-bhi-nyāna-saddhamma-daja Maha-dhamma Raja-Guru titled by king Mindon on 26 June 1854² and
- (3) Janeinda-bhi-daja-dipati-thiri-pavara Maha dhamma Raja-dhi Raja-Guru titled by king Thibaw in september 1884³.

Therefore, the Buddha *sasana* of Meigawady *taik-ok* monastery in Taungthaman still a live distinctively up to the present time.

Table 2 Successive abbots of Meigawaddy monastery

No.	Name of Abbots	Date	tenures
1.	U Janeinda (Meigawaddy Sayadaw)	From the reign of Bagan Min to 1853	?
2.	U Gandhamasara	1853 - ?	?
3.	U Jayanta-dhamma-kaitti	?	about 5 years
4.	U Nanda Wuntha	?	about 12 years
5.	U Nyanna	? - 1991	?
6.	U Aggawuntha	1991-2012	21 years
7.	U Sitra-Nyanna	2012 to present time	8 years

Source: Phaung Taw Oo *Phayar Thamine*, Pg 8-11

Min-kyauing monastery is located on the south of Thone-sau *kyauing*. It is traditionally assumed, it came into existence when the elder *Sayadaw* devoted by the king and his royal family members used to live there after they had participated in various religious affairs of the royal family. It was found that in 1853, Min *kyauing Sayadaw* U Jayan-ta Dhammaketti. *Sayadaw* was succeeded by U Nyan-na when U Jayan-ta had to shift to Meigawaddy *taik-ok kyauing*.⁴

Nyaung-pin monastery is located on the eastern side of U Bein bridge. There are nine ancient pagodas which is estimated as about 300 years old. In 1853, it is found the words, Nyaung pin *kyauing Sayadaw* Shin Ray-wata, the disciple of Meigawaddy *Sayadaw*.⁵ Therefore, the monastery was existed in Konbaung period and when it was lack of resident monk, the pagodas were kept by Meigawaddy *taik-ok kyauing*. In 2007, Ashin Nyan-nein-da from Meigawaddy *taik-ok kyauing* built the monastery, it came into existence.⁶

Shwe-bon-tha monastery is located on the east of Htantaw village and on the north of Yadanbon University. The monastery had closed to Taungthaman *Than-te* compound during the period of Amarapura. The monastery was a sub-monastery of Ashin Thujāta, a disciple of

¹ Bontha-htut-tin, obverse, line - 28

² Bontha-htut-tin, obverse, line - 29

³ Maung Maung Tin, U, *Konbaungzet Maha Yazawindawgyi* (Great chronicle of The Kongbaung Dynasty), volume III, Yangon, Universities, Historical Research Department, 2004, p-432 (Henceforth: Maung Maung Tin, 2004)

⁴ Haling, 1983, p- 8-9

⁵ Bon-tha-htut tin, reverse, line - 14

⁶ Personal interview with U Nyan-nein-da (abbot), 50 age, Thila-vithaw-dani-thein *kyauing* monastery, Htantaw village

Meigawaddy *Sayadaw*.¹ As Ashin Thujāta was very skilful at teaching dhamma and literature, king Thibaw donated a multi-tired roofed monastery to *Sayadaw*. Meigawaddy *Sayadaw* brought U Thujāta to Mandalay and asked to teach Dhammas and literature in Taungthaman *taik* at Mandalay. In 1901, U Thujāta was donated the garden lands by Magwe *Wundauk*. When the monastery was built, it was given the title of Shwe-bon-tha-*taik* with reference to the original monastery in Taungthaman village. The monastery is magnificently existed nowadays in the west Pyigy-pyawbwe ward. The title of Thusāra-bhi-kavi-dhaja Thiri-thadhama-vamsa-maha-dhamma Raja Guru seemingly awarded by the exiled king Thibaw at Yadanagiyi among twelve *Sayadaws* who attended the ear boring ceremony of the princesses of the king. The title can still be seen in Shwe-bon-tha monastery at Mandalay up to the present day. In 1899, *Sayadaw* was awarded with "Abhivamsa" title by Mandalay *Pariyatti-sāsanā-hita* association as *Mulā - dhamma - sarkhya* (the original teaching) *Sayadaws*.² After U Thujāta, Shwe-bon-tha monastery in Htantaw village was succeeded by *Sayadaw* U Jagara from Moungh-taung-tawya monastery in Oebo village.³ Shwe-bon-tha monastery has been in existence for about 170 years.

Table 3 Successive Abbots of Shwe-bon-tha monastery

No	Name of Abbots	Date	Tenures
1	U Thu-ja-ta-daja	1852 - ?	?
2	U Jagara	?	?
3	U Zin Chaw	?	?
4	U Zin Tun Maung	1946 -?	?
5	U Zin Ngwe Baw	?	?
6	U Zin Nwee	?	?
7	U Nanda Wuntha	? - 1977	over 30 years
8	U Jagara	1978 to present time	42 years

Source: Findings of the Researcher and the personal interview with U Jagara (abbot of Shwe-bon-tha monastery).

Shwe-la-bon monastery was located on the east of Htantaw village. During Meigawaddy pagoda festival, , a *Sunsa Kyaung* (food building) was built under Meigawaddy *Sayadaw* to offer food to *Sanghas* and it became a monastery⁴. In 1899, Shwe-la-bon *kyaung Sayadaw* was U Thila.⁵ So, it was existed distinctly from monarchial period to present time.

Dhammapala Min *Kyaung* monastery is located on the south of Maung-htaung taw-ya *kyaung* and it was once named Taw-ya min-*kyaung*. In 1882, Taw-ya min-*kyaung* was donated by monk U Nanda, Htilin *Sayadaw* U Thu Jata, nephew *Letwe win min, daing sayay-gyi-min* min Nay Myo Thiha kyaw Khaung and his son *Myin saryay gyokgyi min* (chief of house clerk) Minhtin-sithu-yazar, brother Akkapet *Myin sayaygyi min* U Pho Lin and brother shan *Myin sayaygyi* U Ohn accompanied with, pagoda, ordaining hall, *zayat* (public rest-house), brick-well and pool with the intention for perpetuation of Buddha religious for the whole 5000 years.⁶ After king Thibaw was brought to India, the monastery lost the resident monks for over hundred years due to

¹ Bontha-htut-tin pagoda, obverse, line - 59

² "Mahathuta Thawma, 100 year anniversary *Mawgun*" Mahathutathawma Shwe bon tha pariyatti sarthintaik, Mandalay, 2002, p 30-33

³ Donation of Shwe-laung monastery, 1888, *parabaik* MS, Ashin Thilar sara, Maha Thuta thaw ma Shwebonhar monastery, Mandalay

⁴ Personal interview with U Wunna thara (abbot), 56 age, Shwe-la-bon monastery, Htantaw village

⁵ Donation list of Maunghtaung *Sayadaw*, 1899, *parabaik* MS, Ashin Thila Sara, Shwe-bon-tha monastery, Mandalay

⁶ Stone inscription of Tawya minkyaung, Dhamma Pala tawya min *kyaung*, Oebo village

the prevalence of thieves and robbers. However, the Buddhist images, three stupas, ordaining hall, brick-well and old pool remained clearly. On 17th July 1997, the present resident monk, U Vija dhara arrived and the religious lands were donated by U Pho Lu and his wife, Daw Tin Shwe, and U Kyaw Than and his wife, Daw Than Myint, from Oebo village. Then, U Sein Thaung and Daw Than Kyi, from Monywa carried out the reparation works and built the buildings. Moreover, good wishers also contributed repairing and building and about thirty novices were taught for about twelve years. When *Sayadaw* became older, his learning novices shifted to the monastery of Maung-htaung *Sayadaw* of his disciple.¹

Shwe-hlan-bo village existed since the monarchical period and Shwe-hlan-bo pagoda and monastery, thus, existed since that time.² In 1885, it is found as *Sayadaw* of Shwe-hlan-bo monastery, U Nadara.³

Thone-sau *kyaung* is located on the south of Chan-tha-gyi monastery. It seemed that the name was given with reference to the existence of three ancient pagodas. It is found in 1888 that the name of the resident *Sayadaw* was U Ka-wein-da. As many parabaik letters inscribed with the name of U Ka-wein-da⁴ are found and that it can be considered that *Sayadaw* is a well-educated monk in dhamma and literature who had a great influence upon the local people. Then, the monastery was lacked the resident monk. In 1950, the monastery was resided by monks and religious works are carried out up to the present time.⁵

Maung-htaung taw-ya monastery is located on the southeast of Oebo village. It is questionable whether the monastery was Taw-ya *kyaung* of the first Maung-htaung *Sayadaw*. In 1899, Maung-htaung *Sayadaw* U Jagara donated the Taw-ya *kyaung* to Shwe-bon-tha *Sayadaw* U Thusara at Mandalay⁶ while *Sayadaw* U Jagara had to migrate to Shwe-bon-tha taik at Taungthaman village. Then, a monk resided with a four-wheel cart decorated with teak roof, teak walls and windows. Then, resident monk disrupted and ordaining pillars and brick-well remained. In 2003, U Sein Thaung and Daw Than Kyi's family from Monywa donated Lawka-thara-phu *ceti* and Sein Thaung *kyaung* under the leadership of Dhamapala Min Kyaung *Sayadaw*, U Vija dhara. U Dhamma-thar-ra, the disciple of U Vija-dhara built a *sun sar* (food) *Kyaung* and taught three novices since 2003. At present, Buddhist religion has been propagated with about forty novices in this monastery.⁷

Moe-kaung monastery is located on the southeast of kyauktawgyi pagoda. There is an ancient pagoda titled Moe-kaung pagoda in the monastery compound which is traditional famous as fulfilling the desire for rain in case of drought, by offering watering and food. Moe-kaung monastery came into the existence by depending upon Moe-kaung pagoda around 1930. It was said that, the monastery was resided by U Nanda Wuntha, the disciple of Meigawaddy *Sayadaw*. As *Sayadaw* was very famous in teaching education literature, the monastery was attended to learn by the students from various part of the country to learn. Then, under the residency of *Sayadaws* U Panni, it was also attended by about sixty pupils in each year due to the famous teaching. As the monastery received the largest number of student in Taungthaman area, it received the provision

¹ Personal interview with U Vija dhara (abbot), 79 age, Dhama pala min-*kyaung*, Oebo village

² Personal interview with U Wuni-thara (abbot), 50 age, Shwe-hlan-bo monastery, Taungthaman village

³ The transfer list of *Gyo phyu kon kyaung, parabaik* MS, Ashin Thilar sara, Maha thuta thawma Shwe-bon-tha *kyaung* taik, Mandalay

⁴ The transfer list of Shwelaung *kyaung, parabaik* MS, Ashin Thilar sara, Maha thuta thawma Shwe-bon-tha *kyaung* taik, Mandalay

⁵ Personal interview with U Ottama (abbot), 55 age, Thon-sau monastery, Taungthaman village

⁶ Donation monastery of U Jagara, 1899, *parabaik* MS, Ashin Thilar sara, Maha thuta thawma Shwe-bon-tha taik, Mandalay

⁷ Personal interview with U Dhamapala (abbot), 37 age, Maung-htaung tawya monastery, Oebo village

of book and stationaries donated by prime minister U Nu government is Public Education Council. The monastery taught *thin-pongyi* (Myanmar primary literature), *Mingala-sutta* prescribed courses in state schools and mathematics.¹ As a result, it can be noted that Moe-kaung monastery participated in the education affair of Taungthaman area specifically.

Oebo village monastery was donated by U Khan and Daw Myin, U Myat Gyi and Daw Su from Mandalay in about 1930. The first resident *Sayadaw* was U Dhamma.² In 1947, the monastery was resided by U Mu-nein-da, a well-known preaching dhama and good at teaching and there were over 100 students each year under *Sayadaw's* teaching. In 1987, U Mu-nein-da passed away³ and the monastery was succeeded by his disciple U Pyinnyā-thā-mi up to the present time.⁴

Chan-tha-gyi ale monastery is located on the southeast of Taungthaman village. There are Chan-tha-gyi and Chan-thaya pagodas in its compound. Chan-tha-gyi is a stupa while Chan-thaya is a temple. Chan-tha-ya pagoda lying on the south was built in 1921 and the Buddha image is found in its cave with the stone inscription of date 1919 by the donar.⁵ It is traditionally assumed that Chan-tha-gyi pagoda on the north was older. It can be assumed that the monastery was named Chan-tha-gyi-ale *kyaung* with reference to Chan-tha-gyi Pagodas. The Monastery is no evidence from the monarchical period, it was found the evidence in 1948 up to the present time.⁶

Kyauktawgyi monastery is located on the South of Kyauk-tawgyi pagoda. In 1975, under the instruction of Maha Gandayon *Sayadaw* Ashin Janaka Bhivansa, U Thar Htay (Sawmill entrepreneur) and wife Daw Than from Mandalay made renovation on the *Ganda Kuti Taik* of Kyauktawgyi pagoda. The renovation works were carried out under the auspicious of U Thar Htay and U Agga Wantha (abbot of *Swan Sar Kyaung* from Maha Gandayon *Taik*) and it was completed successfully in 1980. Maha Gandāyon *Sayadaw* assigned U Agga Wuntha to reside at *Ka-ma-htan kyaung* (monastery for meditation) within the pagoda precinct to look after the pagoda. In 1981, Daw Myint Myint, the daughter of U Thar Htay and Daw Than donated *Sayadaw* with the existing two storey monastery for looking after the pagoda.⁷ When *Sayadaw* U Agga Wuntha passed away in 1917 the disciple U Pa-Nyein-da continued to carry out the propagation works of Buddhism.⁸

Thila-vithaw-dani-thein *kyaung* is located in the Thila-vithaw-dani ordaining hall compound on the north of Yadanabon University. The ordaining hall was traditionally known that it was donated by Queen Su-phaya-lat and given the title by Meigawaddy *Sayadaw* and Sipani *Sayadaw*. In 1989, the monastery was built under the leadership of *Sayadaw* U Jagaya at Shwe-bon-tha monastery.⁹ The monastery was first resided by *Sayadaw* is U Vi-thutdha. When U Vi-thutdha passed away in 1914 and the monastery was succeeded by his disciple is U Khaymar-Wuntha up to the present time.¹⁰

Shin Araham-thein-*kyaung* is located and closed to Meigawaddy *taik-ok* monastery. It was the place of old ordination place of Shin Ahran and it was repaired in 1997 by Kyauk-taw-gyi

¹ Personal interview with U Khwe, 76 age, Htantaw village

² Personal interview with U Kyaw Than, 88 age, Oebo village

³ Urn-inscription of U Mu-nein-da, inside Thi-la-vi-thaw deni thein *kyaung* Htantaw village

⁴ Personal interview with U Htay Aung, 84 age, Oebo village

⁵ Stone inscription of Chan-tha-ya pagoda, Chan-tha-gyi ale *kyaung*, Taungthaman village

⁶ Personal interview with U Tait-sa (abbot), 87 age, Chanthagyi monastery, Taungthaman village

⁷ The brief history of Maha-thet-kya-ran-thi Kyauktawgyi Pagoda, Taungthaman village, Amarapura Township, Conqueror Computer, Amapura

⁸ Personal interview with U Pa-Nyein-da (abbot), 50 age, Kyauktawgyi monastery, Htantaw village

⁹ Personal interview with U Nyan-nein-da (abbot), 50 age, Thila-vithaw-dani-thein *kyaung* monastery, Htantaw village

¹⁰ Personal interview with U Khaymar-wuntha, 45 age, Thila-vi-thaw-deni thein *kyaung*, Htan Taw village.

sayadaw U Agga-wun-tha. Thus Shin Arahan-thein *Kyaung* could come into the existence due to the construction and donation by Cherry Wai Family.¹

Thit-sar war-di tawya monastery is located on the south of Dhammapala Min *kyaung*. It is known as Tein Pyar (blue cloud) monastery during the king of Myanmar. In 1998, Taw-ya Min-*kyaung Sayadaw* U Vija dhara saw the dream in the daytime that two monks and people were erecting the pagoda umbrella with a floral cart to the pagoda which was reaching into the clouds in the sky. When U Vija dhara enquired, it was answered that two monks were erecting umbrella to Thitsar-war-di pagoda. In the next days, *Sayadaw* went to the *Rat taw mu* (standing Buddha image) to count beads with the inclination over the dream. When the matter was asked to a devotee, he replied that Thitsar-war-di pagoda was located on the north of this place. In his return to his monastery, and in somewhere *Sayadaw* cleared the bushes with his novices and found an old stupa with ordaining pillars. In the next day, *Sayadaw* donated lime-robe to the stupa. Then with the leadership of Dhammapala Min *kyaung Sayadaw* and donors U Sein Thaung and his wife Daw Than kyi's family from Monywa repair the pagoda and the ordaining hall and constructed a new monastery.² The works could be donated by pouring water on 30 November 2001. At present, Thitsar-war-di taw-ya monastery is resided by *Sayadaw* U Nara-thiha for serving Buddhism.³

Shwe-moth-htaw monastery came into existence with dependence upon Shwe-moth-htaw pagoda. In 1993, the damaged Shwe-moth-htaw pagoda was repaired by Mya-taung-nyo *Sayadaw*. *Sayadaw* assigned the duties to monk, U Vimala, to maintain the pagoda by donating a monastery. In 1999, U Myint Maung and Daw Khin Nyunt from Mandalay purchased the land plot closed the pagoda and donated Myitta Nyunt monastery in 2003. As a result, Shwe-moth-htaw monastery came into the existence. The monastery was first resided by *Sayadaw* U Ariya.⁴

Wai-jayan-ta monastery is located closed to Shinbin Shwegu pagoda. In 1989, *Sayadaw* U Kaw-than-la resided in Shinbin Shwegu pagoda compound and performed Buddhism propagation works. On 9th October 2001, U Win Naing and Daw Mar Bauk family donated the land closed Shinbin Shwegu pagoda. Daw Hka-phan donated the original two-storey building which became Wai-jayan-ta monastery. In 9 July 2003, U Kaw-than-la was awarded with the title of Saddhamma-jaotikadaja by the Chairman of the *Sangha Nayaka* in Mandalay Division.⁵

Aye-mya-thaya monastery is located on the southern edge of Taungthaman village. As there are two damaged ancient pagodas and brick-well, they were repaired by *Sayadaw* U Sandā-thiri in 2002. Devotees donated Aye-mya-thaya monastery and it was resided by U Sandā-thiri performing religious works.⁶

Shwe-ta-nga monastery is located in the compound of Shwe-tan-ga pagoda, on the north of Oebo village. Pagoda maintaining works were carried out by *Sayadaw* U Dham-mi-ka since 2017.⁷ At the time, the monastery came into existence.

¹ Personal interview with U Jaoti-thara (abbot), 38 age, Shin Arahan-thein-*kyaung*, Htantaw village

² Personal interview with U Vija dhama (abbot), 79 age, Tawya min *kyaung*, Oebo village

³ Personal interview with U Dhamapala (abbot), 37 age, Maung htaung tawya *kyaung*, Oebo village

⁴ Personal interview with U Ariya (abbot), 56 age, Shwe-moth-taw monastery, Taungthaman village

⁵ Personal interview with U Kawthanla (abbot), 87 age, Wayzayanta monastery, Simee Htun village

⁶ Personal interview with U Sanda-thiri (abbot), 35 age, Ayemya-tha-ya monastery, Taungthaman village

⁷ Personal interview with U Dhammi-ka (abbot), 35 age, Shwe-ta-nga monastery, Oebo village

Conclusion

Amarapura was founded by king Badon with the intention for the perpetuation and propagation of Buddhist religion which is nowadays flourishing. Besides, there emerged very famous, well-versed monks capable of serving the interests of the country and Buddhist religions. It is found that religious acts and activities of Taungthaman village tract played an important role in flourishing of Buddhism in the royal capital. Taungthaman village has been pleasantly and magnificently seen with pagodas and monasteries established by the kings, queens, royal family, servants and wealthy people. The religious role of Taungthaman was made more significant when king Bagan moved the Kyauktawgyi Buddha image from Inwa to Taungthaman village, making religion brighter. The abilities of Meigawaddy *Sayadaw* from the monastery of Taungthaman village also stand at the top of the present day religion. *Sayadaw* was skillful in the art of teaching dhamma and literature with methodology and rules. For the reasons, Buddhist religion was flourished in Taungthaman area, even the successive Myanmar kings had to praise and support the religious affairs of the village. It is also found that the students from various parts of the country came to Taungthaman for their education in the Ywa Oo *Kyaung* or Meigawaddy *teik-ok kyaung* (monastery on the top of Taungthaman village). Therefore, it can be concluded that Taungthaman village has been flourished in Buddhism and it has a higher education standard due to these religious buildings, *Sanghas* and students from various parts of the country. At present, Buddhism is flourishing in Taungthaman village tract like the shining sun. Flourishment of Buddhist *sāsanā* is meant to the peaceful condition and prosperity of the people and the country.

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Personal Interviews

- Personal interview with U Arira (abbot), 56 age, Shwe-moth-htaw monastery, Taungthaman village, (12.1.2020)
- Personal interview with U Dhammi ka, (abbot), 35 age, shwe-ta-nga monastery, oebo village, (12.1.2020)
- Personal interview with U Dhamapala (abbot), 37 age, Maung-htaung tawya monastery, oebo village, (18.12.2019)
- Personal interview with U Hlaing, 90 age, simee tun village, (12.1.2020)
- Personal interview with U Htay Aung, 84 age, Oebo village, (12.1.2020)
- Personal interview with U Nyan-nein-da (abbot), 50 age, Thila-vithaw-dani-thein *kyaung* monastery, Htantaw village, (25.11.2020)
- Personal interview with U Jagara (abbot), 63 age, Abbot of Shwe-bon-tha, monastery, Htan taw village, (25.12.2020)
- Personal interview with U Jaoti-thara (abbot), 38 age, Shin Arahan-thein-*kyaung*, Simeetun village, (30.1.2020)
- Personal interview with U Kaw-than-la (abbot), 87 age, Wai-jayan-ta monastery, simeetun village, (30.1.2020)
- Personal interview with U Khaymar-wuntha, 45 age, Thila-vi-thaw-deni thein *kyaung*, Htan Taw village. (25.12.2020)
- Personal interview with U Khwe, 76 age, Htan Taw village, (11.1.2020)
- Personal interview with U Kyaw Than, 88 age, Oebo village, (25.1.2020)
- Personal interview with U Mya Htay, 80 age, Taungthaman village, (25.1.2020)
- Personal interview with U Ottama (abbot), 55 age, Thon-zu monastery, Taungthaman village, (12.1.2020)
- Personal interview with U Pa-Nyein-da (abbot), 50 age, Kyauktawgyi monastery, Htantaw village, (25.1.2020)
- Personal interview with U Sandā-thiri (abbot), 35 age, Ayemya-tha-ya monastery, Taungthaman village, (12.1.2020)
- Personal interview with U Tait-sa, 87 age, (abbot), Chan-tha-gyi ale monastery, Taungthaman village, (11.1.2020)
- Personal interview with U Vija dhara (abbot), 79 age, Dhama pala taw-ya min-*kyaung*, oebo village, (30.1.2020)
- Personal interview with U Wunna thara (abbot), 56 age, Shwe-la-bon monastery, Htantaw village, (25.1.2020)
- Personal interview with U Wuni-thara (abbot), 50 age, Shwe-hlan-bo monastry, Taungthaman village, (11.1.2020)

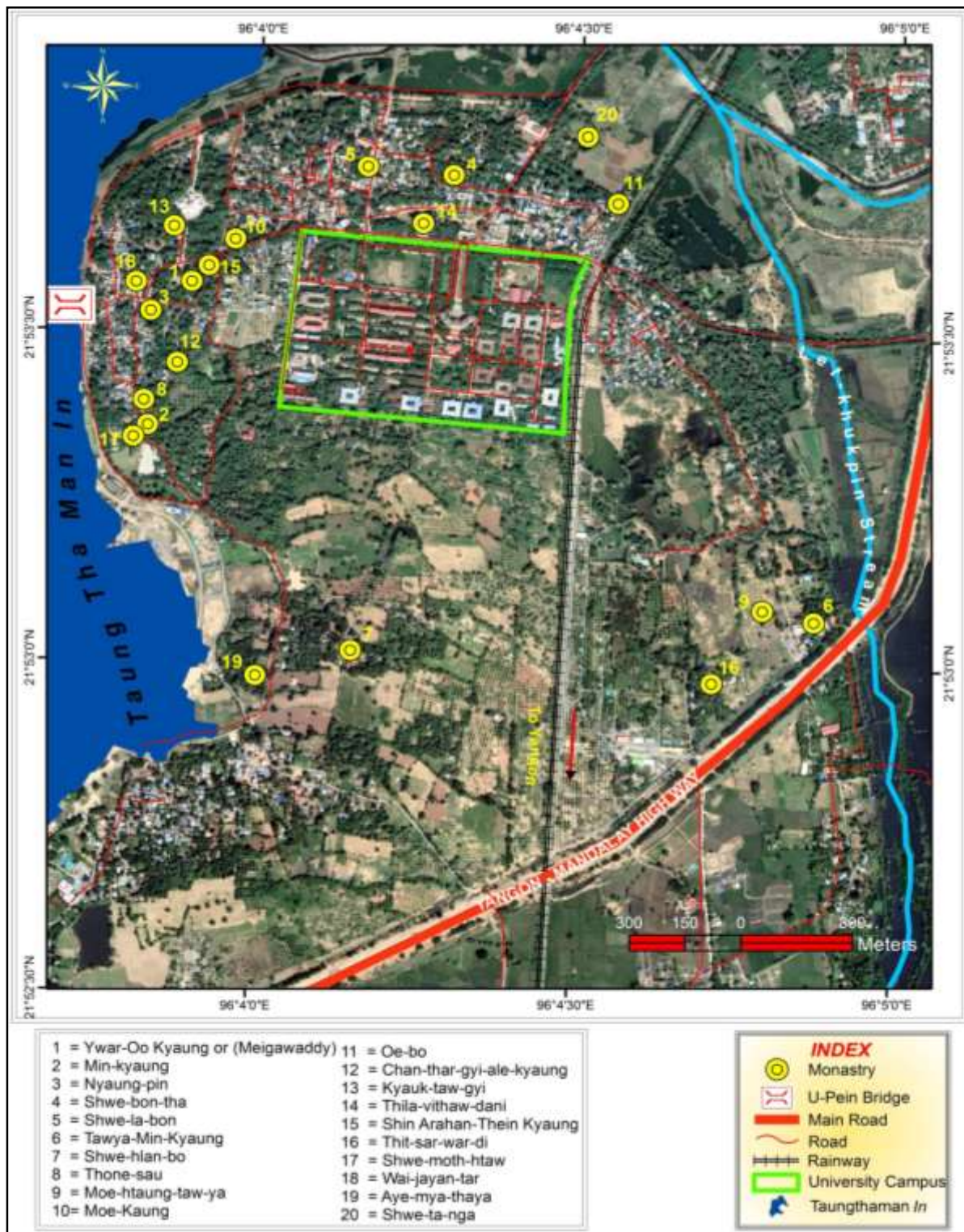


Figure 1 Monasteries of Taungthaman Village Tract

A STUDY ON THE TRADITIONAL BAMAR TURBAN

Myint Myint Than*

Abstract

Traditional cultural expression is used for any form of artistic and literary expression and they are transmitted from one generation to the next such kind of handmade textiles, paintings, stories, legends, ceremonies, music, songs and dance. The traditional cultures are shared experiences which are handed down from generation to generation and those are preserved at the level of a nation or community and transcend borders. Because of her geographical situation, Myanmar culture had been influenced by its neighbors India and China. Myanmar culture has been mostly influenced by the Buddhism. It is said that wearing headdress came from Indian culture in which practiced in ancient time to Myanmar. This research paper will give somewhat contribute knowledge of the making traditional turban to the progeny of Myanmar.

Keywords: *Headbands, Paper Turban, Headrest, Base Cotton Cloth, Collegian Tying, Ba Maw Tying*

Introduction

Tradition means a behaviour or folk custom passed down within a society with symbolic meaning or special significance with origins in the past. Traditional cultural expression is used for any form of artistic and literary expression in which traditional culture and knowledge are embodied. Traditional cultural and knowledge are transmitted from one generation to the next such kind of handmade textiles, paintings, stories, legends, ceremonies, music, songs and dance. It is also known that traditional cultures share experiences which are handed down from generation to generation and those are preserved at the level of a nation or community and transcend borders.

Because of her geographical situation, Myanmar culture has been influenced by its neighbours India and China. After trading contacts with India, Myanmar accepted the Indian culture. Like that it is said that wearing headdress came from Indian culture and was practiced in ancient time in Myanmar. It is found that the typical garment of Myanmar is the Indian lungi or sarong which are worn by both male and female. It is also known that clothing in India has being changed in the different ethnicity, geography, climate and cultural traditions of the people of each region of India.

The Indian turban is worn in many regions of the country with various styles and designs. It is said that wearing headdress is aimed to signify a common ideology or interest and symbol of faith representing values such kind of honor, valor and spiritually among others. After trading contacts with India, Myanmar adopted the Indian culture, literature, art, architecture, and clothing.

The turban, Baunghtok (in Myanmar) is the headdress of men and it is national costume for hair extensions and accessories. The wearing turban was practiced in Bagan period. From Bagan period to present day, headgear is the symbol of Myanmar cultural heritage for men. It can be found that Yawdaunk village; Shwetaung township of Pyay district produces frame made of cane for the headgear and exports them to Yangon and Mandalay.

Shwetaung township is situated the west of Bago region and 170 miles from Yangon. It is also known that Shwetaung is the largest township of Pyay district and it includes Kyeethe, Nyaungsayay, and Tayokehmaw administrative unit of forty-five village groups and 295 villages. The Yawdaunk village lies three miles from Shwetaung, and composes of 400 houses. It is based on the agricultural based economy and U Mya Aung who was the headdress artisan made his works

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Aims and Objectives

Beginning of Burma Turban

It is said that Myanmar men had worn the turban since then in Bagan Period; queen Dragon was one of King Pyusawhti queens and the ministers who were the guards of queen wore the turban and the courtiers took the sample of their turban and thus the wearing turban began in Bagan period. In the reign of King Kyansittha, king and ministers wore the golden headdress that looks like rhinoceros' horn. The rhinoceros' horn turban can be seen on the wall paintings of Pahtothamyar temple. Bagan mural painting indicates that, king and high rank officers wore the crown and common people wore the turbans. Their turban wearing can be studied in these painting. It can be assumed that dresses of Bagan period would have been the same as the Pyu period. In Bagan period, Myanmar culture had been influenced mostly by the Indian culture.²

During the reign of King Narathihapate, Oak Hla Nge who was a son of scholar Yazathingyan said to the king that he served his service till to decay his hair, after taking off his turban. Then he showed the king how the hair thus fallen was full of lice. He told the king about the victory at Missagiri and that his hair was in such a state because he had served his minister without attending to his own personal needs. The king was very pleased and asked the maids to clean Ok Hla Nge's hair. The king also gave ample rewards to Ok Hla Nge. Thus the word "Oo Swe San Mye" came from this story.³

It is said that wearing turban would be popular in Inwa period. The reason is that common and poor people wore the turban even though they dressed poor cloth. It can be studied in the poems of that time; ယုတ်တူပုလိယံ ငှက်ငါ့ငါ့ဂိတု ချီတိကု၊ (၂၄၁၁)။ In the folk song of paddy farmer, it was composed that style of her man. ယုတ်တူပုလိယံ ချီတိကု၊ (၂၄၁၁)။ According to Hluttaw records, king's counselors of Innwa period might wear the

¹ Mg Pasogyar, Ancient Myanmar Cloths, Sarpaybeikman Press, 1983, P- 10(Henceforth, Mg Pasogyar, Ancient Myanmar Cloths)

² Shwekaingthar, Dresses of Myanmar, P-12-13

³ Myanmar Encyclopedia, Volume II, Yangon, Sarpaybeikman Press, 1990, P-315

white turban and hold the fan when they attended to the Hluttaw. It is also known that the white turban referred to purity of mind and fan referred to peace.¹

In the wearing turban, king, princes and counselors wore the distinctive fillet; they did not cover their top-knot of hair. And the common people covered their top-knot with turban. During the time of Mingyiswasawke, he occupied Rakhine and appointed Saw Mongyi as the administrative head. Saw Mongyi offered his turban to Mingyiswasawke. As the advice of Minister Min Yaza, he did not wear Ex-King Saw Mongyi turban and then he made and wore same kind of turban decorated with precious gems.²

The inscription dated in 793 Myanmar Era (AD- 589) described that each of village head had been given the cloth turban by the king. Maniyadanapon and Myanmar chronicles depicted that Myanmar and Rakhine kings wore the headgears and the turbans had been adorned with gold, ruby, diamond, nine gems and emerald. It is said that turban of king, princes and brothers was the single show off in the back of head and adorned with silver stars. The proud of turban meant honesty and truthfulness. It is also known that the turban of Ministers was the double show off. Myanmar kings paid attention to the turban and thus they set up separate hall to store the distinctive fillet, crown and the crested headdress. But there was no separate service group for it.³

It can be found that king's turban was adorned with precious stones and the poets composed such kind of what an excellent of king's headdress. "aAmitawm eO&w rswcwpqif nlewobwn)) jpebw f rrwg rsuics, hAmitawm)). It is said that ministers wore white turban and they uncovered their top-knot hair with white cloth thus it was called rolled head band. In the late Konbaung period, Myanmar turban had been made with export cloth. In the reign of King Mindon, town officer of Saw Myo composed the scenes of royal ploughing ceremony. "yblwlv, lueoitrn jriteEsh naequl ptoVajy:avh jrivluluem acgitay:rtw&mauseh xtvl, Oacdav:)). ausw&m acgitaygi t, (the hundred birds of turban) was the silk turban cloth painted with a hundred birds and it was famous in the late Konbaung period.

In a song of awaiting lover, Ma Myakalay who was one of the queens composed that her lover would have been worn turban "He, wearing silk headband will come in the evening "aerbre qiaAmitawm alyoreEshmcseweay)). It can be assumed that princes and men would have been bought silk stole in which imported from Arab traders via Pathein. At that time, Pathein was the important port of trade between Myanmar and foreign countries. The cloth came from Pathein had been called Pathein cloth, Patheinhte in Myanmar. The princes and commoners loved them and wore proudly.⁴

In the colonial period, cropped hair was popular among Bamar men, the cutting cropped hair was difficult firstly for the young men and later it was popular in Myanmar. During the colonial period, the cropped hair was very popular and men's wearing top-knot was disappeared gradually in Myanmar.⁵ It is said that top-knot worn by Bamar men had been replaced the wearing turban and it is called way of tying. The use of turban has declined dramatically during the British Period. It is only worn in official ceremonies, and social functions such as weddings.

In 1922, university students attended their class in wearing turban and it is known as style of tying; silk head cloth worn by collegians. The collegians style of tying was ready made and thus

¹ Shwekaingthar, *Dresses of Myanmar*, P-12-13

² Aung Thein (Sinphyukyuan), *Traditional Myanmar Customs*, Yangon, Sarpaybeikman Press, 1990, P-330(Henceforth Aung Thein(Sinphyukyuan), *Traditional Myanmar Customs*)

³ Mg Pasogyar, *Ancient Myanmar Cloths*, P-18-19

⁴ Shwekaingthar, *Ancient Myanmar Dresses*, P-58

⁵ Shwekaingthar, *Ancient Myanmar Dress*, P-10-11

it was easy to buy in the markets. Among the style of tying, *Dr. Ba Maw who was the first Myanmar Premier invented his own style of tying; he did not line with the front eye and switched to the right.*¹



Ba Maw invented the own style of tying

In 1936, meeting of Thakhins was held in Phyarpon and U Mya Din told his easy way to wearing turban with paper headband. U Mya Din was the first Myanmar turban practitioner and one of the members of Dobamar Asiayone. In 1937, the comedians Danpauk and Hnuahtgyi from Layberty Ma Mya Yin Anyeint advertised the paper cloth turban and thus many orders had been received within few days. However, there was difficult to get the head size, and pattern in making turban. Moreover, paper turbans were no neat and short duration. Therefore the manufacture of paper turban was faded in this time.²

Process of Making Burma Turban

After getting public suggestion, cane framed turban or kettle bell started in 1939-40 onwards. The reason is that paper framed turban felt hot and stuffy because there was no air out. In Myanmar, the role of cane is as important as bamboo in building houses, boats, carts, rafts, stick for driving draught animals, baskets, and packing. It can be found that the canes are tall, and have perennial grasses wit flexible, woody stalks and more specifically from the palm.³



Cane plant in Myanmar

¹ See figure I

² Ministry of Trade, History of Myanmar Turban, Yangon, Shwesin Press, 1987, P- 6-7 (Henceforth History of Myanmar Turban)

³ See figure II

It grows in plain and wet land throughout Myanmar. Cane is used for a variety of artistic and practical purposes such kind of weaving baskets, chairs, for beds of different sizes for children and adult, cupboards, tables of different shapes and sizes and walking sticks.¹

Myanmar, there are two kinds of rattan and they are the useful cane and unusable cane. The useful canes are egg cane (Kyet-U Kyein), Ye Kyein, red cane, white cane, Kyeinhmwwe and YamahtaKyein.² The useful canes are used in weaving baskets, tables and chairs and lamp shade. In Myanmar, Kyet-U Kyein is soft, beautiful color, and having spaces of the node. The cane from Khantee, Sagaing Region is called KhanteeKyein and it is used in producing cane frame or cane headrest for Bamar turban. It is said that Kyet-U Kyein grows in Kachin and Shan States. It is produced in these states.³



The map of Kyet-U Kyein product in Myanmar

In Yaw Daunt village, the canes from Khantee have being used for cane frame. Firstly, they have bought canes, choosing canes, chopping canes, doing filigree work and making cane frame.⁴ It is also known that three classes of cane headrest and they are the special class, first class and second class. The special class headrest costs 1200 kyats, 800 kyats for the first class and 600 kyats for the second class. The wages for weaving cane frame are 400 kyats for thick pattern and 300 kyats for medium and 200 kyats for thin frame. A person can do the three to ten cane frames per day. It is also known that cane frames for Bamar turban have being produced in Yaw Daunt village, Shwetaung township of Bago Region.

It can be learnt that there are three steps in manufacturing cane kettle bells for Burma turban. The first stage is that base cane frame would have been stuck with the coarse paper made from MaingKaing. When MaingKaing paper dried, the second MaingKaing paper had been stuck

¹ Myanmar Encyclopedia, Vol I, p-193

² Ibid P-193

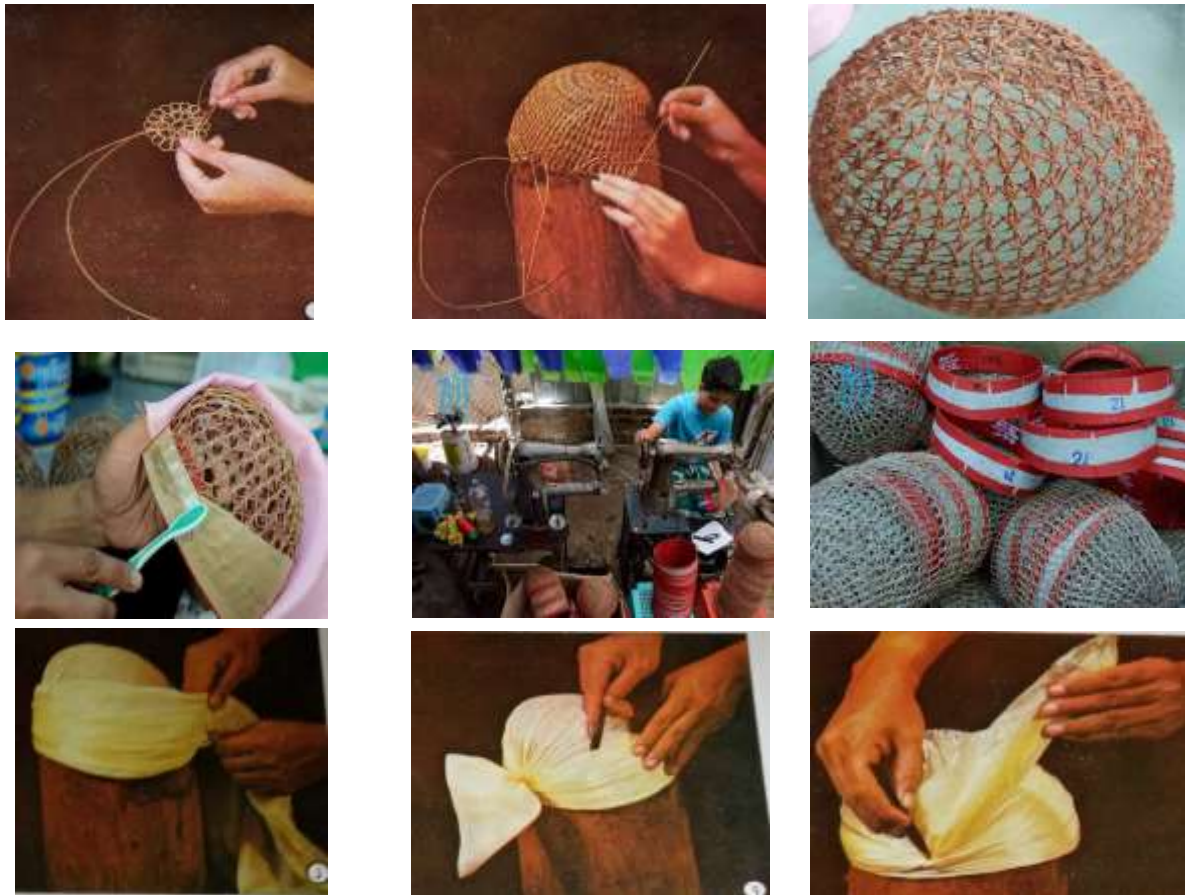
³ See figure I, Myanmar Encyclopedia, Vol I, p-193

⁴ See figure III

The Process of Cane Frame, Yaw Daunt Village, Personal Interview

on it. After frequently sticking MaingKaing paper, it would have been dried in the sun or dried in open fireplace in the raining season. Then the base cane headrest has been taken off from MaingKaing paper and it would have been stuck with the white cloth.¹

The second step is that cane frame and MaingKaing paper frame would have been fixed by sewing. To firm the cane frame, the glue would be applied on it. It is said that doubled frame does not need to apply glue and single frame does need to apply the glue. The third step is that folding of headgear as the sizes, and colors. Generally, they would have been folded as the head size from 21 ½ inches to 23½ inches for adult and 18 inches for the children. Sometimes the cane frames have been made as the special order of 24½ inches or 25½ inches for big head.²



Process of making turban

In the folding of headband, there are triangle system, and rabbit's ear method. It is said that triangle system folding is mostly used in today. Besides that, there are turban tying and collegians style tying. The colors of Burma turbans are pink, light green, light orange, buff color and the colors in which ordered by the customers. In former days, wearing Burma turban did not follow to put down to the right or left side and they wore as they like.

Nowadays, they keep it mainly to the right side and Rakhine people hold it to left side. It is said that the cloth in which 27" in length and 44" width would have been cut for three turbans and thus a roll of cotton cloth in which 50 yards in length, and 44 yards width would have been cut for 125 turbans of various sizes. In the cutting of cloth, the spine of cloth is important for stretching.³

¹ Ministry of Trade, History of Myanmar Turban, P-15-16

² (a) See figure IV, Ministry of Trade, History of Myanmar Turban, appendix

(b) Personal Interview with U Tun Lin, Myanmar Turban Business

³ History of Myanmar Turban, P-17

The long or short of headgear would have been made as the customers' order. In ancient time, there were some different among the sizes of headgears and they were the banyan leaf for king, ministers for neem leaf, soldiers for mango leaf, 3 inches for wealthy person and 1.5 inches for rich man. At the present day, shape of neem leaf has been mostly ordered. It is also known that the headgear is important to match with the dresses of man. Bamar turbans have been produced to be more modernized patterns as the customer's desire.¹

In 1936-1937, U Mya Din started making the paper headband but they were no longer development because of short term duration and untidy one. After 1948, U Mya Din produced cane headrest turbans with names of Men's Grace Turban, Success and Auspiciousness turban and, Bamar Glory Turban (armilusuba&acqitaygit? atnir*Vmacqitaygit? Armilusuba&acqitaygit in Myanmar) and each day, he sold the forty turbans.

In 1978, he manufactured Bamar turbans with the names of Maung Tin Maung, Bamar Glory, MaungSoe Moe and Kyaington. U Tin Maung works for Bamar turbans in Bogoke Market in Yangon and the names of his orders are Maung Tin Maung Bamar Glory Turban, Bamar Glory Turban, Kyaington Store Turban, Aung Win Win Turban, Maung Soe Moe Turban and Aung Company Turban (Mandalay).² At the present day, Aung Turban Company and Mya Silk House (Mandalay) carry out the turban business.

In 2008, private turban business came out in Yangon and Mandalay. Tun Lin Bamar Turban Business in Hlaing Township, Yangon Region works out Bamar turbans business to the whole of Myanmar. In Tun Lin Bamar Turban, there are two kinds of turbans and they are Burma turban and folding turban.



Burma turban and folding turban.

It is said that the folded turban had been made for the lawyers in 2008-2009. The folded turbans are easy to bring and cheap one thus it grows in the market. It is also known that silk folded turban in package costs 10000 kyats, made of foreign silk costs 12000 kyats and local cloth costs for 6500 kyats. There are the total numbers of 5000 Burma turbans distribute yearly in Myanmar. The benefits of wearing turban are give hair cleaning, good smelling, protecting the sunlight, air and mist, and having protection strength.³

¹ Maung Zaniya, Myanmar Artistic Dictionary, Yangon, Aung Press, 1969, P- 148 (Henceforth Maung Zaniya, Myanmar Artistic Dictionary)

² History of Myanmar Turban, P-17-18

³ Personal Interview with Tun Lin Myanmar Turban Business (10-5-2020)

Conclusion

The wearing turban had been practiced since the ancient time of Myanmar king and the turban has been worn as male ornament. In Myanmar, there are totally 135 national races and among them Shan, Kachin, Kayin, Kayah and Chins and Rakhine wear the headdress as their traditional ways and styles. There are some different styles of the winding, tying, and holding headband. In the former days, the head was wrapped with the cloth and when the times change, Bamar men have being worn the readymade turbans. At the present time, the turbans have been worn as national pride in the ceremonies that held at home and abroad. The turbans are worn by the president, parliament representatives, judges, lawyers, members of pagodas' trusteeship, and artists. Besides, Burma turban is the bridegroom adornment in wedding reception.

Burma turban is the one of the national dress of man and thus men those who served or lived in abroad wear Bamar turban. It is one of Myanmar prides in wearing turban from Pyu period to present day. In 2008, private turban business came out in Yangon and Mandalay. At the present day, Aung Turban Company and Mya Silk House (Mandalay) and Tun Lin Bamar turban business carry out the turban business. The making turban is a small industry and not great profit one. However, it need to encourage and preserve as the cultural legacy of Myanmar. It can be assumed that the preservation process is responsible to all of Myanmar.

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LATERITE ARTIFACTS OF THE MONS IN LOWER MYANMAR

Nan Hlaing¹

Abstract

Lateritic culture ranges from Cambodia, Thailand to Lower Myanmar in Southeast Asia. Periodization of laterite artifacts is dated back from the second century A.D. The earliest laterite site is P'ong Tük in Thailand, and belongs to the 2nd century A.D. At the Botahtaung pagoda in Yangon, a conical casket of laterite of this relic chamber belongs to the seventh century A.D. In Lobburi, the centre of the Old Mons, the temples of laterite, were built in the tenth century A.D. In Cambodia, religious monuments of laterite firstly appeared in the late quarter of the 9th century A.D. The Mons of Lower Myanmar also created the art of laterite in masonry in which the most famous site is the Kyaik Htee Zaung pagoda, the largest number of laterite remains. Other areas of laterite culture widespread in the delta and coastal strip. The total sites of them have over seventy places and most of them are in Mon State. Almost all the remains belong to the Buddhist Mon. At present, sculptures of laterite are sold for secular decoration. Buddhist sacredness of laterite are survived at the Kyaik Htee Zaung. Accordingly, laterite culture is prominent among the Mon-Khmer peoples.

Keywords: laterite, *stupas*, Buddha images, kilns, Walls, Angkor Wat, Lopburi, P'ong Tük, Kyaik Htee Zaung, Bilin, Kaik Katha, Bago, Than Lyin, Myaung Mya, Yangon, the Old Mon, Middle Mon and Modern Mon periods.

Introduction

As for historians, an important theme is that the more artifacts can be obtained, the more an ancient history is reliable. It intends to maintain the cultural remains and to know about culture of Mon-Khmer. This paper involves survey done in about seventy sites in Lower Myanmar. Decay and vandalism influences on such these artifacts and remains that this work also participates in the maintenance of cultural heritages. In Lower Myanmar, tropical monsoon is not kind on remains and old artifacts so that the buildings and artifacts of laterite also cannot largely remain.² Rather than causes of decay, vandalism chiefly attacks on remains of laterite.

Some of them are vandalized either through theft, inhabitations in historical sites, or repair which was mostly made as their meritorious deeds done by Buddhists. Again, re-enshrining ruined statues of laterite were usually made at ruined stupas when they repair. Some Buddha images of laterite were plastered with stucco. Since 1956 Col. Ba Shin in his anthology mentions that some of native people sold the bricks of laterite which were brought from old town wall of Thaton when he and his teacher Luce had visited there in April 1958.³ Therefore, historians should pay attention on ruins of laterite artifacts in Lower Myanmar.

Etymologically, laterite is *gawam*, a loanword of Mon, The Shwedagon Mon Inscription of 1485 mentions the word *tmo' lwān kalo'* meaning block of laterite.⁴ Rather, there were names of town and Buddhist ordination halls namely Duñ Lwān (town of laterite) in Sittaung (native town of Magadu, founder of Muttama),⁵ Kyun Won (village of laterite) in the Kyaikparan circle on the

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² Dr. Kyaw Lat, (2005), *History and Theory of Art and Architecture*, (in Myanmar), Yangon: the Spectrum Press, p.229.

³ Bo Hmu Ba Shin, (1967), *Thamaing Sardanmyar*, (Ba Shin's Collection which are imprinted in Magazines), Yangon: Bagan Books, p.38.

⁴ *Shay Haung Mon Kyauksar Baungchoke*, (in Mon and Myanmar), U Chit Thein, edit and trans., Yangon: Archaeological Dept., 1965, pp.80,160. Hereafter cited as Chit Thein, *Shay Mon Choke*, 1965. See also Blagden:1920: *Epi. Bir.*, Vol. III, Part II, pp.162.

⁵ Binnyar Dala, "Rājādhirij Ayedawbun", *Myanmar Minnmyah Ayedawbun*, (in Myanmar), Yangon: Ya Pyae Publishing, p.116.

right bank of the Attaran,¹ Mah Lwān *sīmā* in Than Lyin, Pāñjarām Lwān *sīmā* in Sittaung.² In English, *Laterite Culture* is a nomenclature given by Col. Ba Shin, a Myanmar historian of 20th century.³

In regarding with laterite mentioned by three nursery songs of the Mon tradition, ancestors of them flet into Suvannā, splendid land, where was a laterite cape.⁴ Modern Mon speakers write the word *wān* and pronounce it *wán*. It throws into a light that laterite culture is a prominence in the Mon. As Laterite soil forms a high clay content and water-holding capacity, the soil provides indiginous for cultivation and water supply. Laterite is dug in about 15 or 20 feet in depth of ground.

In Southest Asia, the use of laterite was prominent in a large range of Mon-Khmer peoples settled in the river valleys, i.e. the Ayeyarwady delta, the Sittaung valley, the Tanintharyi peninsular, the Lower Than Lwin valley, the Menam, the Mekhong and Thach That district, Hanoi in Vietnam. Accordingly, laterite had been used for bricks in monumental construction and sculptural material. Even at present, some of the Mons who live in Bilin and Kyaikto have been earning income by producing laterite wears, i.e. blocks, the decoratives and sculpturals. Using laterite significantly rose a tangible culture among the Mon-Khmer peoples.

1.0 Laterite Cultural Sites of Myanmar

The art of laterite in masonry developed along historical periods of the Mon civilization in Lower Myanmar. Hence, two scholars, G. H. Luce, and Emmanuel Guillon, gave their views that laterite was not used except in coastal Myanmar⁵ and in contrast to the practice in Lower Myanmar, laterite was not used at Pagán.⁶ The following areas of laterite remains are totally suveyed,

1. Aung Ponthiha Shwepyi Aye pagoda, Htone Gyi, Bago Region,
2. Basic Education High School, Mu Thin village, Binlin, Mon State,
3. Bochay Tahtaung pagodas, Kyaik Kathar, an old city, Kyaikto, Mon State,
4. Botahtaung pagoda, Botahtaung township, Yangon city, Yangon Region,
5. Catubhumika Hngak Twin monastery, W.N of the Shwesaryan pagoda, Thaton, Mon State,
6. Dat Kyaik Cave, on the Wabodaw-Kamamaung road, Kayin State,
7. Dadagale, near ex-Mental Hospital, north of Yangon,
8. Daw Khin Lay Phyu's rubber cultivation, Kawkadut village, Bilin, Mon State,
9. Daw Pa Kyi's yard, Mu Thin village, Bilin, Mon State,
10. Daw Than Win's yard, Mu Thin village, Bilin, Mon State,
11. Dayae village, Chaungzon township, Mon State,
12. Hmawza, HMZ 54 site, Sriksetra old city, Pyay, Bago Region,
13. Hpa-auk Tawya monastery, 9 miles from the south of Mawlamyine, Mon State,

¹ *Gazetteer of British Burma*, Vol. II, Delhi: Cultural Publishing House, 1880/1983, p.294.

² *Kalyāṇī Mon Kyauksar*, (Kalyāṇī Inscriptions in Mon), in *Mon and Myanmar*, U Lu Pe Win, ed., Yangon: Archaeological Department, 1958, pp.96 ff.

³ *Achaypya Myanmar Naingganyey Thamaing*, (A Basic Political History of Myanmar), 1970, Vol. I, Part I, p.215

⁴ U Mya, 1961, *Shin haung Myanmar akharar sardan*, (Old Myanmar Scripts), in Myanmar, Yangon: Govt. Printing, p. 17.

⁵ Gordon H. Luce, (1969), *Old Burma-Early Pagán*, Vol. I, New York: the Institute of Fine Art, p.232.

⁶ Emmanuel Guillon, (1989), *The Mons: A Civilization of Southeast Asia*, trans. James V. Di Crocco, Bangkok: the Siam Society, p.117.

- 14 Hsindak-Myindak, a wall of laterite in relief, Bilin, Mon State
- 15 Htandapin Tawya monastery, one mile from the west of Hlaing Bwe, Kayin State,
- 16 Kaw Hmu, south of Yangon,
- 17 Kamarwak, 10 miles from Mawlamyine, Mon State,
- 18 Kanbe village, south of Twante, Yangon Region,
- 19 Kanthonzint, before an ex-resident of Sir San C Po, University of Patheingyi, Patheingyi Region,
- 20 Kataik Gyi village between Thaton and Bilin, Mon State,
- 21 Kaw Khmae village, 5 miles from Mawlamyine, Mon State,
- 22 Kaw Paran village, 22 miles from the south of Mawlamyine, Mon State,
- 23 Kyaik Htee Zung pagoda, 7 miles from Southwest of Bilin, Mon State,
- 24 Kyaik Ba Buddha, near Kyaik Khauk pagoda, south of Than Lyin, Yangon Region,
- 25 Kyaik Bodhi Buddha Image, at the back side of the Myanmar Economic Bank, near Than Lyin Clock, Than Lyin township, south of Yangon Region,
- 26 Kyaik Dhamma Theik pagoda, south of Bago, near Intagaw, Bago Region,
- 27 Kyaik Kalo pagoda, north of Mingaladon, Yangon Region,
- 28 Kyaik Kalè pagoda, north of Mingaladon, Yangon Region,
- 29 Kyaik Kalun Bun pagoda, beside the Mupalin bridge on the Sittaung river, Mon State,
- 30 Kyaik Waing pagoda, east of Thamaing, (now Yan Aung), Yangon Region,
- 31 Kyaik Khauk pagoda, south of Than Lyin, Yangon Region,
- 32 Kyaik Kasan pagoda, north of Kyaik Kasan quater, north of Yangon city,
- 33 Kyaik Makaw pagoda, Kawa, Bago Region,
- 34 Kyaik Moganein pagoda, Kawa, Bago Region,
- 35 Kyik Mukwak pagoda, Kawa, Bago Region,
- 36 Kyaik Pawlaw pagoda, 4 furlongs from the south of Kyaikto, Mon State,
- 37 Kyaik Phyaung Pyae Pagoda, west of Khattiya village, Twante, Yangon,
- 38 Kyon Tu pagoda, Waw, 30 km. from N. W. of Bago, Bago Region,
- 39 La Gun Byin, an old walled-town, Min Lwin Gon village, Hle Koo Township, Yangon Region,
- 40 Lokatharaphu Yanpyay Manpyay pagoda, Kanyin Pin village, near Kyaik Khauk pagoda, Than Lyin, Yangon,
- 41 Mo Khaing Gyi pagoda, Kawa, Bago Region,
- 42 Maungdi pagoda, Shanywar village, Kanbe, 6 miles from Twante, Yangon,
- 43 Mokhainggyi, Kawa, Bago Region,
- 44 Muhsoema channel, Kyaik Kathar old city, Kyaikto, Mon State,
- 45 Muhsoema pagoda, Thuyethumai village, Bago Region,
- 46 Myat Saw Nyinaung pagoda, Padagyi village, Kyauktan, S. of Than Lyin, Yangon,
- 47 Myo Haung village, 7 miles from Southwest of Myaung Mya, Ayeyarwady Region,
- 48 Mt. NagaKak, Tanintharyi Township, Tanintharyi Region,
- 49 Mya Tha Beik pagoda built at the top of Mt. Kelatha, Bilin, Mon State,
- 50 National Museum, Religion and Culture Ministry, Nay Pyi Daw,
- 51 Nandawyar Gon, southeast Shwesaryan Pagoda, Twante, Yangon Region,
- 52 Nandawkon pagoda, Ywa Lay village, Mu Thin villages, Bilin, Mon State,

- 53 Pada Gyi pagoda, Kyauktan, S. of Yangon,
- 54 Pawdawmu pagoda, Thayakon village, Mu Thin villages, Bilin, Mon State,
- 55 Paungdaw Oo pagoda, Zokthok village, Binlin, Mon State,
- 56 Payagyi Monastery, near the Kyaikpawlaw pagoda, Kyaikto, Mon State,
- 57 Payar Ngukto and its vicinity, 15 miles from E. of Kyar Inseik Gyi, Kayin State,
- 58 Phaungdaw Oo pagoda, Thaton, Mon State,
- 59 Rāmañña Buddhavihāra monastery, 7 miles from the south of Mawlamyine, Mon State,
- 60 Sihsee Kon village, Kawkadut, Bilin, Mon State,
- 61 Seven miles stone, Wey Lann village, Chaungzon township, Mon State,
- 62 Shan Payar pagoda, Winka village, Bilin, Mon State,
- 63 Shanzu village, near Banbweygon Dam on the Than Lyin-Kyauktan road, Yangon,
- 64 Shwegugyi pagoda on the Yangon-Bago road, Bago city, Bago Region,
- 65 Shwekyun Oo pagoda, Zoke Thoke village, Bilin, Mon State,
- 66 Shwesaryan pagoda, in the center of Thaton town, Mon State,
- 67 Shwesaryan pagoda, Mu Thin village, Bilin, Mon State,
- 68 Tadagale, half a mile north of ex. Mental Hospital, and half a mile east of Tadagale railway station, Yangon city,
- 69 Thakka Htupa pagoda, Waing Pak village, Bilin, Mon State,
- 70 Taung Thon Lun monastery, one mile from west of Hlaing Bwe, Kayin State,
- 71 Thadukan pagoda, Hmawbi, north of Yangon city,
- 72 Thanatpin, north of Bago, Bago Region,
- 73 Than Pyu Zayat, Mon State,
- 74 Tanintharyi Region Museum, Dawei, Tanintharyi Region,
- 75 Thiriyatana Shwe Gu Cave, Nat Kun village, near 4000 tons-produced cement factory, Myaingkalay, Kayin State,
- 76 Thein Kon pagoda, Mu Thin village, Bilin, Mon State,
- 77 U Ba Shin pagoda, Kyaik Tan, south of Yangon,
- 78 U Hoke Kyi's yard, Mu Thin village, Bilin, Mon State,
- 79 U Paw Aye and his spouse Daw Than Aye's yard, Ywa Lay village, Mu Thin villages, Bilin, Mon State,
- 80 U Aung Soe and U San's yard, Mu Thin village, Bilin, Mon State,
- 81 U Tun Aung's yard, Mu Thin village, Binlin, Mon State,
- 82 Wagaru Myohaung, 10 miles from northeast of Kyaikkhami, Mon State,
- 83 Winka village, archaeological sites between Bilin and Kyaikto, Mon State,
- 84 Yan Shin Man Kin pagoda, beside the Than Lyin graveyard, S. of Than Lyin, Yangon,
- 85 Yathae Myo, Hanthazaingganain, Kyauktain kan village, near Bago,
- 86 Yathae Pyan Cave, beside the Kawgun Cave, 2 miles from Hpa-kap village, near Hpa-an, Kayin State,
- 87 Ye, an old city, 100 miles from Mawlamyine, Mon State, and
- 88 Ye Aye San, Htone Gyi village, Bago,
- 89 *Yoni*, in Hindu temple, Aung Chan Thar, near the Kyai Khau

Some remains of laterites which are unimportant are not taken discussion in this paper.

1.1 Kyaik Htee Zaung Pagoda and Laterite Remains in Mon State

Among the areas flourishing laterite culture of Myanmar, the most prominent site is the Kyaik Htee Zaung pagoda (ex-name Kyaik Kyaik Zokthok),¹ which is 7 miles from Southwest of Bilin. Like the Angkor temple in Cambodia, big blocks of laterite are used as a basement of the pagoda but its upper part (135 ft. high) was taken place with a new one repaired by Kyaik Htee Zaung Sayardaw. Its foundation plan forms an octagonal shape that is the same with that of the Sule pagoda at the centre of Yangon. The stupa was built with the big blocks of laterite not attaching with stucco. Besides, the precinct of the stupa, there is a house in which laterite artifacts are museumized. The artifacts—fragmented Earth-touching Buddha in different sizes, reliefs of the seated Buddha depicted on the slab of laterite, Bud-shaped of stupa of laterite, tray with a stand of laterite (3.5 ft. height and 3.08ft wide), The stupa of laterite (3.33 ft.height) in which the four Buddhas in *bhūmipaśra*, each facing with each cardinal point, residing in each niche, A Bodhisattva with high *jaṭāmakuṭa*, right knee raised, left flat,² and Blocks of laterite—have been displayed in the house. Reginald Le May believes that it may be earlier than the eleventh century A.D.³

At Zokthok village, a wall of laterite (460 ft.long and 6ft. height⁴ from east to west), provides archaeological attraction of Mon State. Myanmar call *Hsindat-Myindat*, wall of laterite depicting—image of elephant and lions—in relief are decorated on the wall of laterite.⁵ The Old Mons built the wall against the *Rakhasi*, the ogres mentioned in the Kyalyāṇi Inscription of AD 1479, and who sea-gypsies, and cannibals coming from the Bay of Bengal.⁶ The well and presavior which these walls are built of big blocks of laterite can be found near the *Hsindat-Myindat*. At this village, some pagodas of laterite—the Thakka Htupa, the Shwe Kyun Oo and the Pawdawmu—remains but were ruined thorough repaired. In two miles from the east of Zokthok, a village, which remains fifty-eight pagodas of laterite there, is called Mu Thin composing of four villages, i.e. Thar Yar Kon, Mu Thin, Waing Pak and Ywa Lay⁷. At there, the Thein Kon stupa is built of entirely laterite remaining with an octagonal basement (22 ft. in height and 72 ft. in width) (see fig.40). Again, a good-ruinous stupa of laterite (45× 4517ft.)—a square basement and above on it, two rounded-terraces (*medī/ālinda*) and a small dome (*anda*) missing parasol—has been discovered at Basic Education Height School of Mu Thin village. It has been revealed by Archaeological Department at the beginning of 2017. Typologically, it is believed that the stupa was built in the 7th-10th centuries A.D.

Kawparan is a village located 22 miles from the south of Mawlamyine situated on the Gulf of Martaban. Finding a number of stone tools in Kawparan, the coastal area was a settlement of early men since prehistoric period. At Bhā Kwun monastery in Kawparan, there is a private museum in which is displayed stone tools, artifacts of laterite, earthen pots, some bricks with inscriptions, a skull of chrocodine, some equipments of Japanese soldiers etc. Also, artifacts of laterite—a dual kneeling Vasundarī in high relief, pillars of laterite, three statues of earth-touching Buddha—are being cared by the abbot. A ruined pagoda is situated in this village and is now under the care of Archaeological Department. Another two ruined pagodas of laterite—one formed a

¹ U Shwe Naw, (1899), *Mon Yazawun hnit Payar Thamaing Baungchoke*, (Mon Chronicle and History of the Pagodas dedicated by the Mons), in Myanmar, Yangon: Hanthawady Press, p.43f. Hereafter cited as Shwe Naw:1899.

² Shwe Naw: 1899:44-191.

³ Reginald Le May, ((1954), *the Culture of South-East Asia*, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., p. 49.

⁴ 450 ft. in length and 12ft. in height is measurement of *Hsin Dak Myin Dak*, wall of laterite mentioned in the *Note on Archaeological Tour Through Ramannadesa* done by Mr. Taw Sein Ko.

⁵ *MHAPC*, p.740.

⁶ U Myint Aung, “Ancient Heritage of Mon State”, *Mon Pyi Ney Nae* (Annual Day of Mon State), 1976, p.38f.

⁷ Interview with U Aung Ko Aye, Head of Village Administration, Mu Thin villages group, Bilin on 14 November 2017.

square basement (50ft. × 25 ft.) and another one that is a stupa missing its upper part and was vandalised at its bell-shaped part—are remained. Another one is a kiln of laterite remaining in the village where was found some fragments of pots. Beside the village, Kamarwak, “Jrā” mentioned in the Kyāñī Inscripton of 1479, is located in Mudon township, 14 miles from the south of Mawlamyine. There, a few number of seated Buddha of laterite remain on the ruined brick platform, basement of stupa is located at the back side of Administrative Office of Thein Kon quarter. All the images are missing heads. As the brick covers an area of 29×15×3cm belonging to the end of Middle Mon period, Buddha statues of laterite can be dated as early as 18th century A.D. Four pagodas of laterite—the Jrā (Zaya) pagoda, the Yogo pagoda near Hpa-auk, the Kandawgyi and Kandawle pagodas in Mudon—are mentioned in *The Amended List of Ancient Monuments in Burma*¹. However, modern repair have put on plaster at these monuments. About 20 miles from Kyaikkhami is Wagaru, the site of old city. Its walls were of laterite and that images of the same material existed in the vicinity.²

The two statues of laterite—Enthroned Buddha—are found at the Bochay Tahtaung pagoda, Malaew village in Kyaik Kathar old city at the mouth of the Sittaung river, 8 miles from north west of Kyaikto, Mon State. The two statues of laterite are about three feet in height. Both of them are missing head. Left hand of the statue is a posture of discussion. Another one is a *garuda* throne of laterite which possibly belongs to Cambodian style of the 15th century. However, Kyaik Katha is an only area where enthroned Buddha statues of laterite can be found in Myanmar. A statue of laterite is a kneeling posture and praying hand attitude that is called *nārmaskāra mudrā*. It is about 3 feet in height and missing head found at the pagoda. The same posture of laterite is also found at U Ba Shin pagoda, near Kyauktan, southernmost part of Yangon. They are unfortunately neglected and are being shrubed over them near the stupa although a brick building is situated beside the artifacts.

Between northwest Bilin, and southeast Kyaikto, archeaeological sites are located at Winka and Ayetthama villages. It is claimed by Donald M. Stadtnier that the three areas—Winka, Kyaikkatha and Zokthok—are the three important first millennium site in Lower Myanmar.³ In Winka, Buddhist monuments of laterite—the Mya Kyun Thar pagoda, the octagon of laterite-based Kumarazedi, the Shanpayar, *cāmarī* (mythical creature), releif of laterite found before U Maung Tin’s house, peacock in pride of laterite in relief found at the middle of village street—are searched by San Win.⁴ In 2013-2014, Archaeological Department undertook excavations in Winka. Most of the excavations belong to Buddhist monuments and residential buildings. Among the excavation sites, WK 8 and 11 sites belong to the foundaton of stupa which is formed octagonal base with three terraces. On the terraces, there may be a bell shape. It is built of bricks, granite and laterite. These bricks of laterite are 16.5 in length, 7.5 width and 5.5 in. in height. Recently, a vandalistic digging revealed ubiquitous figers-marked bricks of Myanmar and someblocks of laterite (1×0.5 ft.) founded at six feet in depth belong to the early first mellenium A.D.

Thaton was an ancient centre of the Old Mons in Lower Myanmar. Recently, plethora of terracotta votive tablets found at Hnak Twin monastery beside the Shwesaryan pagoda can get rid of this inductive refusal. As the thousands of votive tablets are enclosed with short pillars of laterite, dating of remains of laterite also belongs to the early Christian era. Another remains of laterite exist at the Thagayar Payar and the Paungdaw Oo pagodas in Thaton. The Thagya Payar is a square-

¹ *Amended List of Ancient Monuments in Burma*, Yangon: Government Printing, 1921/1960 Reprinted, pp.12f.

² Taw Sein Ko, (1913), *Burmese Sketches*, Yangon: British Burma Press, p. 107. Hereafter cited as *Burmese Sketches*.

³ Donald M. Stadnal, (2011), “Demistifying Mists: The Case for the Mon”, *The Mon Over Two Millenia*, Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press, p.34, (25-57).

⁴ U San Win, (2013), *Research on Suvāṇṇabhūmi*, (in Myanmar), Mawlamyine: Badradevi Books, in Myanmar, pp. 218ff.

based stupa is built of laterite but the original laterite of the stupa is now concealed in plaster and white wash.¹ When Dr. Min Nwe Soe and I visited the upper terrace of the pagoda on 24 December 2016, we found a new fragment of laterite on the terrace which was broken from the stupa. It therefore confirms that the stupa is built of laterite. As a statue of laterite was found on the precinct of Shwesaryan pagoda, it is possible that the stupa is also a monument of laterite. The Kyaik Kalonbun pagoda is a massive laterite base on the hill above the town of Sittaung within the old town. This pagoda of laterite has been plastered and renewed.²

In Chaungzon (Balukyun) which is comprised of thirty-two satellites of Mottama³, there are eight ruined Buddhist pagodas of laterite remained at 7 KM mile-stone of Wey Lann village, west of Chaungzon. They are now covered by bamboo and wild plants in the rubber plantation. Of them, a ruined pagoda remains its basement which is square (62× 62 ft.) in shape. Some artifacts of laterite—bud shape, blocks, a earth-touching Buddha missing head which belongs to 15th century A.D—remain at this pagoda.

2.0 Laterite Culture in Yangon and its Vicinity

On the east bank of River Yangon, the Kyaik De-ap pagoda, a well-known name as Botahtaung, (132ft. and 7 in. height) was bombed in 1945, during the outbreak of the Second World War. Then, the relic chamber of pagoda was discovered before it was rebuilt. Some sacred enshrinements—a cone of laterite for relic enshrinement of the Buddha, a statue of fat monk, a terracotta votive tablet with “*Ye Dhammā*” Pāli creed of Piṭaka cannon engraved on its reverse of it which paleographically belongs to the seventh century A.D—were revealed. Being the votive tablet dated the seventh century, it is believed that a cone of laterite, which is found at the same place, also belongs to the same dating. The laterite culture of the Mons in Lower Myanmar, we can guess, appeared in the seventh century A.D.

During the reign of Queen Shin Sawpu (r.1452-1472), she and her successor Dhammazedi (r.1472-1492) reformed the coarse precinct of the Great Shwe Dagon pagoda (see fig.29). Then, they used blocks of laterite to renovate the ground of precinct. Now, some blocks of laterite are found at middle terrace of the precinct.⁴ Another Mon title-given pagodas of Yangon—the Kyaik Kalo, the Kyaik Kalè, the Kyaik Kasan and the Thardukan(Kyaik Sādhū) which were rebuilt by Rājādhirāj in 1383 and the Kyaik Waing—are situated in the north of Yangon. All the stupas were built of laterite. In the construction of Kyaik Kalè, some parts—its basement, terraces, and bell shape—was masoned of laterite. Also, precinct of the Kyaik Kalo was built of laterite⁵ Therefore, the pagodas of laterite on the north of Yangon belong to the Middle Mon period.

A lateritic culture site was in Yangon but it has disappeared through repaire made by later Buddhists: it is Tadagale which lies on the laterite ridge west of Mingaladon near the Tadagale railway station. In 1938-39, it was excavated by Archaeological Department. Their excavations revealed some artifacts, i.e. laterite statues of the Buddha (3 feet high and 2½ feet broad), many numbers of laterite blocks (20× 10 × 6 in.), a bronze statue of standing Dīpaṇ -karā Buddha which is six inches tall that belongs to the Gupta school of art and dates back to circa 5th century A.D., votive tablets with inscription in Pāli dating back to the 12th century A.D and etc.⁶ The Kyaik

¹ V.C O'Connor, (1996), *Mandalay and Other Cities of the Past in Burma*, Bangkok: White Lotus Press, p.337.

(b) Donald M. Stadtner, (2011), “Demystifying Mist: The Case for the Mon”, *The Mon Over Two Millenia*, p. 38, (25-57).

² *Gazetteer of British Burma*, Vol. II, Yangon: Government printing, 1880/ 1983, p. 282.

³ Mottama Yazawun Paungchoke, (Chronicle of Mottama), (in Myanmar), n.d, n.p, p.28f.

⁴ C.O Blagden, ((1934), *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol.IV, Part I, ed. U Mya, Yangon: Government Printing, p.33, 42.

⁵ J.S. Furnivall and W.S. Morrison, (1914), *Burma Gazetteer: Insein District*, Vol. A, Yangon: Government Printing, p.38.

⁶ *Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma, (1938-39)*, p.6f.

Waing (Kyā Tmo Wan in Mon) is situated in Thamaing, southeast Insein, western Yangon. It was built of laterite but original monument disappeared because of many repairs in previous periods. Traditionally, the ruined pagoda was rebuilt by Rajadhirij, a king of Hamsavatī Kingdom. Unfortunately, it is hard to accept because of no historical source which provides the king's dedication.¹

Furthermore, laterite culture is yielded in the precinct of Buddhist pagodas on the south of Yangon. The culture-flourished land is Than Lyin embracing Kyauktan, due south of Than Lyin. Like Bago and Patheingyi, the town is a popular seaport in Lower Myanmar. The toponym Sreñ² was Than Lyin in the Kalyāṇī Inscription of 1476 in Mon. *Sreñ* is also mentioned in the Suppatita Stupa Inscription of AD 1479 erected by King Rāmādhīpati, (Dhammazedi 1472-1492). Being a large number of remains of laterite found in Than Lyin, the town is the second most prominent laterite artifacts-remained sites. The most prominent remain of laterite is the Kyaik Khauk pagoda, south of Than Lyin, being the stupa entirely built of laterite. It has an octagonal basement and 133 ft. height and 900 ft. in width. Being the Cyclone Nargis (2 May 2008) decayed in Yangon, some part of the Kyaik Khauk pagoda—banister of southern stair, and some part of brickwork of laterite—revealed. Then, we saw that not only the stupa but also its precinct and walls are built of laterite. A native man said that the Bago-centered earthquake of 1960 had destroyed the pagoda to fall its umbranll and bud-shaped part at its top. Then, native people of Than Lyin saw that the Kyaik Khauk pagoda is encased. It is accepted that King Aśoka renovated stone-ruined thirty-three pagodas in Suvannabhūmi country which is mentioned in the Payar Gyi Inscription of Bago in the Middle Mon period.³

Twante, twelve miles west of Yangon, was Dala mentioned in the Kyāk Jra Ṇaṃ Inscription of A.D 1362 erected by King Bannyar Oo (Hsin Byu Shin in Myanmar meaning Lord of White Elephant) and the Kalyāṇī Inscription of 1476 A.D.⁴ In southeast Twante, there is an old walled-city called Kyabin (*Krabāṇ damyōṇ* in mid. Mon and “Black Khābin’ and Pali *Kabbaṅganagara*), 7 miles east of Twante. At San-ywar village, half a mile of it, there is a prominent Buddhist stupa of laterite: it is called the Maung Di stupa built of laterite blocks (1.5 ft. in length) and its basement (6 feet in height) and upper two octagonal terraces are built of laterite. There was no corner-stupas.⁵ Only the lower part of stupa can be claimed to be original. On the precinct of the pagoda, many number of terracotta votive tablets bearing the seal of Aniruddha (1044-77) remain.⁶ It provides the dating of Maung Di pagoda and Aniruddha's power ranged at Twante (Dala) and built the stupa with architectural assistance of the Mons. Some laterite artifacts—the Buddha images, fragments of stupa, and statue of tiger—were discovered in Kabin village.⁷ In 2008, Archaeological Department carried out exploration in Twente area and discovered 56 sites of laterite-built remains, i.e. ruined stupas, wells, stairs.⁸

Another remains of laterite—walled-town, and pagodas—exists at La Gun Byin which was a satellite of Hanthawaddy laying on 150 meters from the north of Min Lwin Gone village, Hle Gu township, Yangon. At there, the brick walled-town (3 miles in diameter) basing with three layers

¹ Sayar Thein and U Oun Kyaing, *Kyaik Waing Ceti Thamaing*, (History of the Kyaik Waing Pagoda), Yangon: 1982, p.112.

² Bladen, (1928), *Epi. Bir.*, Vol. III, Part II, ed. C. Duroiselle, p. 162. See also the Kalyāṇī, tran. U Lu Pe Win, 1958, p.39, 96.

³ U Chit Thein: 1965., *Shey Mon Choke*, p. 90.

⁴ Blagden, (1927), *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. III, Part II, p.272.

⁵ *Report of the Director, Archaeological Survey, Burma*, (1958), Yangon: Government Printing, p.13.

⁶ U Mya, (1961), *Votive Tablets of Burma*, (in Myanmar), Vol. I, Yangon: Archaeological Department, fig. 12 (a) and (b).

⁷ *ASB 1957-58*, p.67.

⁸ U San Win, (2016), *Excavation at Pawdawmu Sein Kyaung Monastery, Kaw Hmu Township, Yangon Region*, (in Myanmar), Archaeology, National Museum, and National Library Department, p.11. Unpublished.

of laterite blocks (14× 6.5× 7.5 in.). Within the old town, the Nan Oo, a brick-built pagoda on octagonal basement of laterite, and the Kyaik Thalun pagoda also was built of laterite.¹ Now, these have been plastered by repairs.

Ya Thae Myo (the town built by hermit) was built of laterite during the reign of Dhammazedi.² It is also called Hanthazainggaing, including the thirty-two satellites of Hanthawaddy province.³

3.0 Laterite Culture at Old Myaung Mya Village

Myaung Mya is geographically situated in Southwest Ayeyarwady delta. It also lies on 32 miles from the south of Patheingyi. It was a town which took part in the thirty-two towns of Patheingyi Province, Rāmaññadesa in the Middle Mon period. Then, Myaung Mya is composed of two parts: New Myaung Mya called Kyaik Amon and Old Myaung Mya called Kyaik Zalai Htaung⁴ possibly derived from Kyāḥ Kalay (*Kalai*), a name of *sīmā* mentioned in the no. L Face, the Kalyāṇī Inscription of 1467.⁵ It was Mañ Mala in Medieval Mon. The *Cambūdīpa Uchoṇ*., a geo-political work, also mentions that Myaung Mya was surrounded by the brick-walled town which is 800 *tā* (1.59 miles) in length.

The town-wall is also surrounded with water mote which is 7.5 ft. in depth. The town is bordered with the Zalai Htaung Tamun stream in the east, the Bay of Bengal in the south, Panmawaddy in the west, Tamuway Swim in the north.⁶ King of the Pantheys established Myaung Mya. In A.D 983, King Rājādhiraj of Htharwady, suppressed the Pantheys (Chinese Muslims) in Patheingyi and reigned for six months at Myaung Mya. The king built palace, town wall and moat. However, his account is such mere short note without references that it is hard to accept.⁷

In Old Myaung Mya, an in-ground kiln of laterite remain at the back of monastery near the precinct of Shwezigon pagoda on the bank of Myohaung stream. Another four in-ground kilns of laterite were investigated at bamboo-grown yards near the Sittan Oo pagoda, Myo-haung village. The kilns have each elongated hole into the natural laterite. A firebox was made at the lower end and a chimney at the lower end and a chimney at the upper level. The kilns were used to fire domestic grinding platforms (pieces of which can be seen fused to the firewall) and perhaps other wares. Don Hein gives his guess that this site is reputed to be up to 1000 years old and is thought to have been an important city in earlier times. With the kilns of laterite, some artifacts—a ceramics-distorted pot (44cm. in height), two votive tablets (3×5 cm.), a ceramic vessel (26 cm. height), bricks (16×34cm.), a pillar of laterite (16 cm. in height and 40cm. in width) which may be a *sīmā*-bordered pillar—are discovered at this village.

4.0 Laterite Culture in Bago

In the south of Bago city, the Shwegu Gyi pagoda, a replica of the four Holy places of Buddh-Gaya in Central India remaining debris stupa, was built by King Dhammaceti in 1479. It was possibly built by the Khmer (*Krom* in Medieval Mon and *Kamboja* in Pāli) architects, war-prisoners who were captured and were settling in Lakkhiyapūra near Twente mentioning in the

¹ U Aye Ko and others, (1990), *La Gun Byin Myo Haung*, (in Myanmar), Lecture Notes at staff training at Archaeological Department, Yangon, on 9 March 1990, type-writing manuscript, pp.4f.

² Malcolm B.S. Lloyd, (1868), *Gazetteer of the District of Rangoon: Pegu Province*, Yangon: the Central Goal Press, p. 110.

³ *British Burma Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Yangon: Government Printing Press, 1880, p. 854.

⁴ "Myaung Mya," *MHAPC*, p. 463.

⁵ Blagden: 1912: 273.

⁶ J.S Furnivall and U Pe Maung Tin, ed., *Cambūdīpa Uchoṇ*., (in Myanmar), Yangon: Burma Research Society, 1960, p. 50.

⁷ M. S. Collis "the History of Old Myaung Mya", *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, Vol.V, Pt. ii p.78, (77-78).

Kalyāṇī Inscriptions in Mon and Pāli.¹ Moreover, Kawkamay (the Khmers' village) has two villages which are located in Kyaikto and Hpa-Auk, south of Mawlamyint.² In this constructional use of temple, materials—blocks of laterite for brickwork and sandstone for cross beams—is closely the same with the Angkor Wat in Siam Reap, north of Cambodia.

Similarly, further Khmer architecture style remains at the Mokkhainggyi pagoda, a ruined stupa which is built of sand stone and laterite, is situated about five miles from the east of Bago river, about seventeen miles from the north east of Indakaw, southeast of Bago Region when it can be reached by road. In the British period, only navigation in the rains can be transported there.³ At this pagoda, stairway at terraces of stupa which is made of sand stone is highly sloped and its treads are very narrow. It was also ramparted with wall of laterite (200 feet in length). A middle Mon inscription was erected at this pagoda. Another pagoda which is built of entirely laterite is the Kyaik Makaw pagoda⁴ which is located at Palè (Phalay) 18 miles from the northeast of Kawa. Now, a new pagoda encased it. However, some remains—groove of laterite, blocks of laterite, two fragmented stone inscriptions in Middle Mon⁵, and a fingers-marked brick—are displayed at the office of pagoda trustees.⁶ According to the brick, this pagoda is dated from 1500 BP and it had been also repaired during the reign of Mon dynasty centered at Hanthawaddy. This inscription mentions that the Mons believe the pagoda which was built by King Aśoka.

Another pagoda of laterite is situated in Myin Mangu village, Kawa, South of Bago: it is called the Kyaik Dhamma Theik pagoda which is now repaired. At precinct of this pagoda, some ruined pagodas of laterite remain covering a rest house. At this pagoda, a Mon inscription remains. Traditional history of pagodas—the Kyaik Khauk in Than Lwin, the Kyaik Makaw, the Moggainggyi, the Moganein etc.—in Bago, Mottama, and Yangon assert that the original founder were hermit who enshrined there one of the Buddha's hairs. It gets a difference with inscriptional history in Medieval Mon which mention that these pagodas enshrining relics of the Buddha built by King Aśoka had ruined so that the king performed his meritorious deeds by repairing these pagodas.

To prove the fact, the Khmers were sent to Bago. Perhaps, they were brought from Ayutthaya. The *Bago Yazawan* (the Chronicle of Bago, in Myanmar) indicates that a good and friendly Hanthawady-Ayutthaya relations was being developed during the both of Dhammaceti and Boromo Trailokanat (r.1448-1488) reign.⁷ Another evidence which shows Angkor influence on Bago is that a Cambodian head of Crowned Buddha was found at the Kyaik Pun Buddha Images dedicated by Dhammaceti beside the Shwegu Gyi temple.⁸ Then, a great danger to Angkor was the Thais who founded new capital Sukhotai and as a result, Angkor Thom, the last kingdom of Angkor, was captured in 1431 and they absorbed much of the Khmer culture. This Cambodian influence was further fortified when Thai raiders carried off and enslaved ten thousands of the best Cambodian scholars, artists, and craftsmen in the post Thai-Cambodian war.⁹ Therefore, it is a pretty

¹ Blagden, (1928), *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. III, Pt. II, p. 198.

² *British Burma Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Yangon: Government Press, p. 249.

³ Page, *Pegu*, 1921, p. 123.

⁴ *Ancient Monuments in Burma*, Pegu Division, 1921, p. 4.

⁵ Chit Thein, *Old Mon*, 1965, pp. 99, 203. Although this inscription does not mention its date and whose reign, A.J Page and J.A Stewart in their *Burma Gazetteer: Pegu District* mentions that this inscription is erected during the reign of Razadhitrit. (Ibdi, p. 17.)

⁶ Nai Win Bo, U Maung Maung Lwin and I visited there on January 1, 2018.

⁷ The *Bago Yazawin*, (in Myanmar), Yangon: National Library, palm-leaf manuscript no. NL1454, ki/recto, l.9 and ki/verso.

See also Tun Aung Chain: (2010) *A Chronicle of the Mon*, the *Royal Chronicle of Ayutthaya*, p. 85,86, 2005:45-47.

⁸ G. H. Luce, (1972), *Phases of Pre-Pagan*, Vol. II, plate no. 87,C.

⁹ P. L. Briggs, (1951), *The Ancient Khmer Empire*, Philadelphia, p.257. See also Steinberg: 1959:260.

certain that the influence of Cambodian art and architecture came to Hanthawady during the reign of Dhammaceti. It also reached at Bago via from Ayutthaya.

The Kyon Tu pagodas, Twins Pagoda of laterite¹ is located in Waw eighteen miles from northeast of Bago. On the precinct of pagodas, some artifacts—terracotta plaques, statues and bricks of laterite, a reclining Buddha made of laterite covered with stucco—are found *in situ* on the south and west retaining wall of the two pagodas.² These plaques belong to the 5th century or possibly pre-Dravidian type which belongs to City of Yakkhas in pre-5th century A.D.³ With the terracotta plaques found in the twin pagodas, the two lion statues (3½ ft. in height) of laterite and big bricks of laterite on the precinct damagelessly remain on the precinct of Kyontu.

On the west of Kyauktain Kan village, Bago, there was a old town which is called Yathae Myo (one of thirty-two satellites of Hanthawaddy) built of laterite.⁴ Unfortunately, it was ruined through repairs. At this village, King Dhammazeti built seven pagodas and Maharamavihar monastery.⁵ On the east bank of Sittaung river, about 40 miles northeast of Bago, there were two ruined pagodas of laterite in Thuyethamai-Kunzeik village: Musoema Payah (the pagoda built by a widow) and Kyaik Deh Thoke (Nan Oo pagoda), which is located about two miles from southeast Musoema Payah. On the Kyaik Deh Thoke pagoda, each Buddha image made of laterite covered with stucco is shrined at each vestibule of the pagoda. An important finding is a stone inscription bearing *Paṭiccasamuppāda* in Pāli in South Indian scripts of 7th-8th centuries. Guillon believes that the inscription is of a Mon type.⁶

Conclusion

Geographical location is a fundamental cause of emergence of laterite culture. Ethnically, the Mons firstly settled on this laterite soil. When British occupied Lower Myanmar bricks of laterite were used in urbanization. Even in the present time, laterite culture is being survived in Kyaikto and Bilin, Mon State. The culture can be periodized into three stages: the Ancient Laterite Culture, the Mediaeval Laterite and the Modern Laterite Culture. The ancient laterite culture developed in Dvārāvātī, Lopburi and others in Thailand, the Kyaik Htee Zaung pagoda and its vicinity in Mon State as well as Botahtaung and Tadagale in Yangon. The mediaeval laterite culture continuously developed in different areas of Lower Myanmar.

In Lower Myanmar, some artifacts of relic chamber of the Kyaik De-ap Pagoda (Botahtaung)—a miniature stupa of laterite, a fat monk of stone, a sacred relic casket, a votive tablet bearing with “*Ye Dhammā*” Pāli creed on its reverse dating back 7th century A.D., and other votive tablets—which revealed through the bomb-dropped ruin of the Second World War throw into light that laterite culture appeared in the seventh century A.D in Lower Myanmar. The Kyaik Htee Zaung and *Hsindak-Myindak* area belong to the early first millennium A.D. which are provided by finding fingers-marked bricks. The Maung Di pagoda, a Buddhist monument of laterite in Twante, is a prominent evidence that belongs to the Aniruddha period (11th century). Therefore, laterite culture is the significant emblem of the Old Mons who founded early kingdoms in Lower Myanmar and Central Thailand.

¹ J.A Stewart, (1917), “History of Pegu”, *Burma Gazetteer: Pegu District*, Vol. A, Yangon: Gov. Printing, p.17.

² *ASB* (1937-38), Yangon: Govt. Printing, 1938, pp.10f. See also Aung Thaw: 1972:110f.

³ G.H Luce, (1953), “Mons of the Pagan Dynasty”, *Journal of Burma Research Society*, Vol. XXXVI, (1-19), p.6ff.

⁴ Malcolm B. S. Lloyd, (1868), *Gazetteer of the District of Rangoon: Pegu Province*, Yangon: the Central Gaol Press, p.110.

⁵ Chit Thein, *Shay Mon Choke*, 1965, p. 64 f.

⁶ Maung Maung Thaik Kyaw, *His Paper Collections*, (in Myanmar), pp.75ff. Guillon: 1999:148.

Depreciations of laterite culture include two causes: fragments of lateritic artifacts which were either thrown away or re-enshrined, and weakness of cooperative activities within governmental departments to maintain cultural remains and artifacts. Accordingly, this heritage will be hard to survive in future. It mainly causes due to vandalism which is unintentionally committed by Buddhist repairers who believe to proliferate their merits if a ruined Buddhist monument can be repaired. Furthermore, treasure seekers mindlessly had committed vandalism against religious monuments since the early 1900s. In that case, treasure seekers broke in Buddhist monuments but they did not take some clay and laterite artifacts because these are not light in weight and not high of price for sale in antique shop.

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Illustrations



Elephant in relief of laterite, Zoke Thoke, Bilin



Groove of laterite, Ma Kaw Pagoda, Bago



Enthroned Buddha image of laterite,
Kyaikkathar, Mon State



Relic casket of laterite, Hlaing Bwe,
Kayin State



Parts of stupa, laterite, Hnak Twin
Monastery, Thaton, Mon State



Relic casket of laterite, Botahtaung, Yangon



COMINGS AND GOINGS OF FRENCH ADVENTURERS EXCEPT MISSIONARIES AND DIPLOMATS IN MYANMAR (1752-1885)

Nilar Soe¹

Abstract

Generally the assessment of this paper is made to know more about the comings and goings of French adventurers except missionaries in Myanmar during the Konbaung period (1752-1885). The special study of this paper is made to know more about the comings and goings of French artillerymen and gunners, merchants, adventurers, mechanists and engineers who had served and done in Myanmar during the Konbaung period (1752-1885). The comings and goings of French adventurers, merchants, technicians and mercenaries had to play an important role in France-Myanmar relations in Konbaung period. Myanmar tried to establish her relations with France to defend the country against colonialism. However, France had established her relations with Myanmar with the intention to enjoy both economic and political benefits out of it. From 1752, when Alaungmintaya ascended the throne, to 1885, when Theebaw was deposed and taken away to exile, a great number of westerners including French adventurers, merchants, mercenaries and technicians arrived in Myanmar especially in Upper Myanmar. In the studying of this paper the available sources or reference books are received from the Universities Library, Yangon University Central Library, National Library and National Archive. As a results of this paper is to know about the history of the arrival of French except missionaries in Myanmar during the Konbaung period for the coming generations in future who are interesting in Franco-Myanmar relations during the Konbaung Period (1752-1885).

Keywords: Artillerymen and gunners, merchants, royal servicemen, and mechanists and engineers.

Introduction

The westerners arrived in Myanmar before the Konbaung period for trading purposes. During the 1600s, several efforts were made by the Portuguese, Dutch, the English East India Companies, and the French Compagne Royale des Indes Orientals to establish trading-factories at Thanlyin and elsewhere in the Delta. However, the Myanmar Kings usually monopolized the export trade in precious stones and metals, benzoin, lac, teak, Martaban jars and other goods.

After about 1680, both French and English Companies a Myanmar harbour in order to build and to repair ships. In the early 1700s both companies established repair dockyards at Thanlyin. However, the English East India Company found that teak ships could be made more cheaply and with better workmanship at Indian ports. Both the French and English dockyards were closed down by 1743 during the 1740-1758 Mon revolt. Binnya Dala conquered a great part of the country.

In the meantime, the French and English Companies in India had been fighting since 1740 for control over much of India. The naval advantages of Thanlyin again became obvious. Both Companies sent cannons and muskets to both sides (Myanmar and Mon) in order to curry favour with the eventual winner.²In October 1752, Mons abandoned all offensives from Innwa. In December 1753, Alaungmintaya besieged Innwa. Mons silently abandoned Innwa at night on 23 December 1753. In January 1754, the whole of Upper Myanmar was cleared of Mons and came under Alaungmintaya's control. In March 1754, the Binnya Dala sent his whole army against Alaungmintaya. Mons again captured Innwa on 24 April 1754 and destroyed the surrounding places. Alaungmintaya defeated the Mons who withdrew only because the rainy season had begun.³

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² Naw Naw Aye, *Westerners in Myanmar in the Late Konbaung Period (1819-1885)*, Ph. D. Dissertation, Department of History, University of Yangon, January 2009, p. 56 (Hereafter cited as: *Naw Naw Aye, Westerners in Myanmar*)

³ Dr. Than Tun, *A Modern History of Myanmar, 1752-1948*, First Edition, Yangon, Myonywe Sarpay Press, August 2010, pp. 4-5 (Hereafter cited as: *Than Tun, A Modern History of Burma*)

1. Annexations of Innwa and Dagon

Meanwhile, Maha Damaraza Dipati, Ex-King of Innwa, was put to death together with his family on 13 October 1755. As the news of this reached Alaungmintaya, he hastily prepared for the delta campaign. Before he marched Pyay rebelled but the Mons who fled from Innwa besieged the city and fortunately Alaungmintaya arrived before they surrendered. So on 4 February 1755, the Mons left Pyay. Soon after Alaungmintaya captured Lun-say in the Hinthada district and renamed it Myanaung. On 15 May, Dagon was taken and it was renamed Yangon. At that time in the port of Dagon, there were three small English ships belonging to the East India Company and two others belonging to two private Englishmen were also taken. Alaungmintaya took all the guns and cannons from these ships.¹

2. French Artillerymen and Gunners

French people at Thanlyin sided with the Mons and the English remained strictly neutral. After restoring law and order in northern Myanmar, Alaungmintaya returned to the delta and attacked Thanlyin. The Mons got the help of French artillery and therefore Alaungmintaya suffered heavy losses. The French Company from Pondicherry sent three ships to help Captain Burno and his men at Thanlyin. But they came too late. At last Thanlyin was taken on 26 July 1756. The town was completely destroyed and Alaungmintaya built Yangon to take place of Thanlyin as the major seaport of Myanmar.²

Captain Bourno and his followers were taken prisoners. Alaungmintaya forced Bourno to write a letter to the captain of three ships and therefore he was able to capture easily the ships, except one which escaped. From this capture Alaungmintaya got thirty five twenty pounder cannons, five field guns, 1300 muskets and a large store of powder and shots. Bourno and his fellow officers were executed.³

But Alaungmintaya spared the lives of over two hundred French sailors. These French sailors served under Alaungmintaya as gunners. For instance one Chevalier Milard was made Captain of the Guard and served Alaungmintaya in his campaigns against Bago, Ayutthaya and Manipur. He was given the title of Thiriyazathu Kyaw Htin and made Myosa of Tabe in Sagaing District.⁴ Under the reign of Sinphyushin he also served as the Captain of guard and was given to establish an arsenal in which the modern weapons were produced. It led to the achievements of successful campaigns in Fourth Sino-Myanmar Wars broke out between 1765 and 1769 and Thailand campaign (1764-1767).⁵ He died in 1788. His tomb is still at Sagaing.⁶ Under the reign of King Alaungmintayagyi, a Frenchman Lavigne fired with artillery on English warship, namely, Shaftesbury in the battle of Heingyi Island.⁷

During the reign of King Badon, one of the rebellions was appeared led by pretender Nga Myat Pon on 4 October 1782. A pretender Nga Myat Pon arrested a Frenchman Carpel, the Captain of Artillery, and other his followers and ordered them to artillery fired to Palace. After the fall of

¹ Dr. Than Tun, *A Modern History of Myanmar, 1752-1948*, First Edition, Yangon, Myonywe Sarpay Press, August 2010, pp. 4-5 (Hereafter cited as: Than Tun, *A Modern History of Burma*), pp. 5-6

² Than Tun, *A Modern History of Myanmar*, p. 6

³ Ibid, p. 48

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Dr. Khin Mya Kyu, *History of Franco-Myanmar Relation during the Konbaung Period*, Yangon, Everest Press, 1999, p. 51 (Hereafter cited as: Khin Mya Kyu, *Franco-Myanmar Relation*).

⁶ Than Tun, *A Modern History of Myanmar*, p. 48

⁷ Khin Mya Kyu, *Franco-Myanmar Relation*, p. 51

this rebels Carpel and other seven servicemen were executed due to the help for Nga Myat Pon.¹ In 1802, a Frenchman, namely, Desbrulais gave up his French citizenship and married a Myanmar woman and served as the Crown Prince's Guard.² The Frenchmen did not serve as the royal servicemen during the reigns of King Bagyidaw, Thayarwady, and Bagan.

In theory, the King had the right to the service of his subjects and thus all able-bodied males of the country must serve him as soldiers in times of emergency. In other word Myanmar could be regarded more or less as a nation of soldiers. Moreover, since the time of Alaungmintaya the Portuguese and French men were employed as artillerymen and the gunners of the war boats. According to the report by Symes, there were 500 war boats in operations order. Each boat has 50 to 60 men, so that the war-boat personnel was 2,500 Or 3,000 strong. There people were stationed at villages along the Ayeyawady River and were put under the control of Pe Nins. These artillerymen and the gunners of the war boats were mostly the descendants of the Portuguese and French royal service men.³

3. Royal Servicemen

During the reign of King Mindon, the Frenchmen, English, and Italian were appointed as the military trainers and engineers.⁴ In order to achieve industrialization country, King Mindon made to build up over fifty factories and industries in Royal Capital and surrounding areas in which the experts of Myanmar nationals as well as foreigners were employed there. A Frenchman, namely, Fernand de Avera was appointed as in charge of Royal Industries.⁵ In 1864, Chanet, the excellence machinist, was served in the arsenal to cast the copper canon.⁶ Phyare, Chief Commissioner of Lower Myanmar recognized that the Rifles made in Royal Arsenal would be the best one.⁷

When a Myanmar mission led by Kinwun Mingyi U Kaung departed for England in 1872, a Frenchman Louis Morin, ex-commandant of French Navy, sailed the Royal streamer Setkya Yinpyan to England. Later, he advised to fight against the British forts stationed at Bago and Yangon and demanded to get more salary but it was rejected by King Mindon. In 1875, a French Captain Lucein Vossion served in Myanmar Royal Army.⁸

A Frenchman, namely, M. Bentabole was appointed as in charge of royal war-boats and he also made the military training on them.⁹ A Frenchman Henry de Paccio was also appointed as the military training master to train to Myanmar soldiers who would be studied modern military strategy.¹⁰ It can be suggested that King Mindon appointed the foreigners especially Frenchmen as the companies of Royal Army to be modernize army. However, it was not effective running because of the ignored by the Myanmar Royal Government.¹¹

¹ Maung Maung Tin, *The Great Chronicle of Konbaung Dynasty, Vol. I*, Yangon, Yarpai Book House, 2004, pp. 388-390 (Hereafter cited as: Maung Maung Tin, *Great Chronicle of Konbaung Dynasty, Vol.I*)

² Khin Mya Kyu, *Franco-Myanmar Relation*, p. 60

³ Than Tun, *A Modern History of Myanmar*, pp. 112-114

⁴ Oliver B. Pollack, *Empires in Collision*, London, Green Wood Press, 1979, p. 120 (Hereafter cited as: Pollack, *Empires in Collision*)

⁵ Maung Maung Tin, *Dictionary of Golden Palace*, Third Edition, Yangon, Yarpai Book House, 2005, pp. 182-183 (Hereafter cited as: Maung Maung Tin, *Dictionary of Golden Palace*)

⁶ Khin Mya Kyu, *Franco-Myanmar Relation*, p. 103

⁷ Dorothy Woodman, *The Making of Burma*, London, The Cresset Press, 1962, 175 (Hereafter cited as: Woodman, 1962)

⁸ Khin Mya Kyu, *Franco-Myanmar Relation*, pp. 115, 119-120, 157

⁹ Maung Maung Tin, *Great Chronicle of Konbaung Dynasty*, p. 320

¹⁰ Khin Mya Kyu, *Franco-Myanmar Relation*, p. 209

¹¹ U Min Naing, "The Italian Royal Servicemen during the late 19th Century", *University Research Journal, Vol. II, Part-I*, Yangon, Universities Press, 1980, p. 203 (Hereafter cited as: Min Naing, "The Italian Royal Servicemen")

As the constructions of A Special Chamber of Maha Sekya Thiha Pagoda and Throne built by Myanmar architect, namely Naymyo Pyinnya Theindi, the Lord of Maung Daung, two Frenchmen named Bonvillain and Blin assisted to him to construct them. Another Frenchman named V. Revel served as the flower designer in royal Palace.¹

The Frenchmen served as the Royal servicemen with their best craftsmanship tactics. A Frenchman named Captain M. de Trevelec trained Myanmar soldiers with adornment European military uniforms to more play the military training. He also made to attempt to reform Myanmar Calvary like European Calvary but it was not achievement.²

Under the reign of King Theebaw, the foreigner servicemen also continued to serve as the royal servicemen. A Frenchman engineer Bonvillian made to construct the bridges and attempted to produce the modern weapons for Myanmar Army. Then, he also served as interpreter.³ He also constructed a watch tower of a palace. He and his assistant named Alphonse Blin constructed an iron refinery plant in Sagaing.

French commercial and political power was virtually ousted from India under the 1763 Treaty ending the Seven Years War. The English East India Company had little to fear from French “meddling” in Myanmar, and allowed diplomatic relations with Myanmar to lapse for over thirty years until the 1790’s when it responded to the renewed threat that the French would use Yalong as a naval base.⁴

4. Merchants

Of the economic activities of foreigners in Myanmar during the Konbaung period, those by the French were also significant as the British in that they caused great impacts on the economy and politics of Myanmar. Commercial relations between Myanmar and France also played an important role in Franco-Myanmar relations during the Konbaung period.⁵

A French party consisting of a leader, Comte de Pron de la Maison Forte, and two companions, M. Roche and M. Chivelle, arrived at the capital on 22 July 1839. There were rumours that the French government had sent this mission to contract an alliance with Myanmar, but actually, the three Frenchmen were private individuals, and had come to do business in exportation of rice, and at the same time sell fire-arms to the King.⁶

They soon came into favor with King Thayarwady, and it was commonly talked that they would manufacture mines and lay them at the mouth of the Ayeyarwady River, so as to prevent British warships from entering the River. M. Chivelle offered to make thirty gunboats for the King, and began constructing three or four of them. The adventurers also desired to establish a communication between the King and the Government of Chandernagore with the object, probably, of importing arms, ammunition, and French military trainers into the country.⁷

5. French Adventures

These French adventurers remained in great esteem at the capital till November 1839, when they fell into disfavor, the King’s mind having been poisoned against them by Staig. They were

¹ Min Naing, “*The Italian Royal Servicemen*”, p. 204

² (a) Khin Mya Kyu, *Franco-Myanmar Relation*, p. 142

(b) Min Naing, “*The Italian Royal Servicemen*”, pp. 206, 213

³ Khin Mya Kyu, *Franco-Myanmar Relation*, pp. 142, 159, 278

⁴ D. G. E. Hall, *Europe and Burma*, London, Oxford University Press, 1945, pp. 100-105 (Hereafter cited as: Hall, *Europe and Burma*)

⁵ Naw Naw Aye, *Westerners in Myanmar*, p. 66

⁶ Khin Mya Kyu, *Franco-Myanmar Relation*, p. 71

⁷ Khin Mya Kyu, *Franco-Myanmar Relation*, p. 72

summarily ordered to leave the capital, and they arrived in Yangon on 10 December 1839.¹ Staig was a British merchant who residing in Yangon at that time. He had fled from his creditors in Calcutta and established himself as a trader in Yangon. He had also announced his British nationality and put himself under the protection of the Myanmar Government. He was a hot tempered man and was called “*Kula Zo*” (Bad Westerner) by Myanmar.²

Yangon was the major Myanmar seaport and contact point with the outside world. The European vessels including Chinese vessels stopped regularly there to obtain teakwood, catechu, stick-lac, beeswax, elephant's teeth, raw cotton, orpiment, gold, silver, rubies and horses. The Europeans at Yangon were not outcasts of Europe, but they were without the restraints of European society, and they frequently compromised their sense of equity for the sake of greater profits. They were accorded little respect by the Myanmar administration. The merchants trafficked in piece goods, local products, and teak, which fostered a thriving shipbuilding industry. The most lucrative trade was the illicit export of bullion.³ Throughout the 1840s the European community in Yangon worked to bring Yangon into the orbit of the British Empire.⁴

During the reign of King Thayarwady there were adventurers like French who reached to Myanmar in 1840. Frenchman named Comte de Pron de la Maison was welcomed by King Thayarwady. He was placed to reside at Pathein.⁵ Another Frenchman was a Henry Sicre, who arrived at the Court by a recommendation letter from Hell. Sicre was a rich man who held the title of Colon de Bourbon. Despite his aim to make business in Myanmar, he was permitted to proceed to Amarapura, the capital, having no opportunity to carry out business; he was cordially welcomed by the Myanmar. Moreover, the King fixed an official seal on Hell's recommendation, increasing the value of the original letter. Sicre was also granted a Myanmar official uniform and a horse with ornamental golden embroidered saddle as a means of transport. He offered the Myanmar King to let a French arsenal in Yangon and to conclude an agreement on political and economic affairs. Before his departure from Myanmar the King presented him with precious jewels as a parting gift.⁶

King Bagan was deposed on February 1853 and King Mindon ascended the throne. During the reign of King Mindon relations with the British and other European countries revived. One of the outstanding characters of foreign relation during the reign of King Mindon was the struggle between the British and French to attain King's favour. At that time, one of the main characters was D' Organi, a French adventurer who had settled in India and was summoned by an American to settle in Myanmar.⁷

D' Organi arrived at Yangon in May 1852 and decided to serve in the Royal Army in Second Anglo-Myanmar War. In the war, Myanmar was defeated again. When King Mindon became a King in 1852 he continued to serve in Royal Government. He suggested Myanmar officials to French spies to watch the strength of the British Army and Navy.⁸

King Mindon was so pleased with his efforts that he was conferred the title of Naymyo Thiri Zeya. D' Organi returned to France in early 1854 and he reported the situation of Myanmar to Napoleon III. Napoleon III was so pleased with his report and appointed him as the “Speaker of

¹ W.S. Desai, *History of the British Residency in Burma, 1826-40*, Yangon, University Press, 1939, p. 443 (Hereafter cited as: Desai, *British Residency in Burma*)

² Naw Naw Aye, *Westerners in Myanmar*, p. 64

³ Naw Naw Aye, pp. 67-68

⁴ Pollak, *Empires in Collision*, p. 52

⁵ Khin Mya Kyu, *Franco-Myanmar Relation*, p. 52.

⁶ Ibid, pp. 71-72

⁷ Khin Mya Kyu, *Franco-Myanmar Relation*, p. 50

⁸ Ibid, p. 60

French Government for Myanmar.”¹ While his staying in France D’ Organi made contact with the Naval officers and the colonial officers and offered the exchange of 20,000 rifles, and machineries of French and 1000,000 ton of teak logs from Myanmar.²

A large high grade iron deposit was discovered by the French, who claimed, it was capable of making steel as good as that in England. Mr. Balyse, who had been D’ Organi’s secretary, also discovered gold and offered to work the mines for the King at 20 percent of the profits if the King would pay the expenses, alternatively, for 50 percent of gold, Balyse would finance the project. The plan was deserved still born.³

Another French adventurer Fernand d’ Avera who arrived Mandalay and made an agreement with King Mindon to issue bank notes for Myanmar government in 1862. In return for this agreement D’ Avera was granted royal permission to extract timber on Lao-Myanmar frontier for three years. Yet, when Phayre arrived to Mandalay in November 1862, he knew about the D’ Avera and made a protest against him. Therefore, the agreement between King Mindon had not vanished.⁴

6. State Scholarship Scheme

In later years of Konbaung dynasty Myanmar had been invaded by the British who annexed some parts of her territory. After annexation of Bago Province by the British by Second Anglo-Myanmar War both sides ceased to carry on fighting without any peace agreement or treaty which should have brought to end the war. At any moment either idea may initiate the war. In the effort to preserve her sovereignty and territorial integrity Myanmar entered into friendly relations with France, a rival power of Britain, Myanmar on one hand tried to strengthen herself by equipping the army which arms and tried to industrialize the country. On the other hand Kanaung Prince, a Crown Prince of Myanmar led industrialization of the country during the reign of King Mindon. To acquire the technical know-how he tried to send Myanmar youth abroad to get training. Thereby Myanmar youth got a chance to go to France for further study.⁵

French missionary under the leadership of Bignadet extended their helpful hands to send State Scholar particularly to France under the industrialization of the country plan of Prince Kanaung. Those who had studied in France could manage to establish more than fifty factories when they got back to Myanmar. They also started to reform their army to be a modernized army. Yet some of the foreigners had been employed to run the factories and modernization of the army due to inadequacy of Myanmar experts. Mindon Min and Prince Kanaung aimed to foster native experts who could be achieved by sending state scholars with the help of French missionary under the leadership of Bignadet to certain extent within a decade.⁶

7. French Mechanists and Engineers

Foreign mechanists and engineers had to be called in for the construction of mills and factories at the Royal capital. There were contracts signed with foreign companies. Some

¹ Khin Mya Kyu, p. 61

² D. G. E. Hall, *Burma, London, Hutchinson’s University Library, 1950*, p. 158 (Hereafter cited as: Hall, *Burma*)

³ Pollack, *Empires in Collision*, p. 125

⁴ Daw Kyan, “Factories at Yandanapon”, *Literature and Social Science Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1, 1968, p. 147 (Hereafter cited as: Kyan, “Factories in Yandanapon”)

⁵ Dr. Myo Thant Tin, “Practice for Compass by U Shwe Bin”, *The Veteran Magazine*, No. 53, 1983, p. 94 (Hereafter cited as: Myo Thant Tin, “Practice for Compass by U Shwe Bin”)

⁶ Mawnikar, “The Education Activities of Roman Catholic Missionaries in Myanmar, From the middle of 16th century to 1885”, M.A. Thesis, Department of History, Yangon University, 1992, p. 878 (Hereafter cited as: Mawnikar, The Education Activities of Roman Catholic Missionaries)

foreigners came up to join the royal service on their own accord. Those recruited included English, French, Italian, Armenian, and Indian nationals.¹

The construction of mills and factories were supervised by Prince Kanaung, MyattaungWungyi, and Banmaw Atwin Wun. To modernize the defence system of the country the royal government had attempted to purchase such modern weapons as Enfield Rifles, Schneider Rifles and Canons and ammunition manufacturing equipment and machinery between 1867 and 1871. However, the attempts met with the British Government's ban on sale of modern weapons to Myanmar. These hindrances had pushed the royal government to build arsenals of its own. Therefore, four arsenals were built at the royal capital Yandanapon, two in the palace grounds, one in northern suburb of Shwetachaung, and one on the western part on the bank of Thingaza creek. In 1864, copper canons were cast at the arsenal, under the Frenchman Clarnet.²

Myanmar was a country 57 percent covered with forests in which grew, valuable hardwoods such as Teak (Kyun), Pyinkadoe, Padauk, Ingyin, Pyinma, In and Kanyin, etc. Among them, teak in particular was so valuable that it had earned the name "Royal Tree" and recognized as royal timber during the reign of King Alaungintaya in 1752.³ Between 1826-1854, timber merchants from Lower Myanmar procured licence for timber extraction by paying duties to the Myanmar government. In January 1843, Mode Rantenny, a Frenchman from Bourbon made an offer for Franco-Myanmar trade through Mr. Sarkies in Myanmar.⁴

With the help of Europeans, in particular the French and the Italians, textile and silk factories were set up in the Royal Capital in competition with the British. Mindon's textile factory was able to produce a vast amount of clothing. As the production of textile increased, the import of textile from Lower Myanmar decreased markedly. The Royal capital and surrounding places like Amarapura thrived in Mindon's textile and silk industries.⁵

Conclusion

Franco-Myanmar relations in Konbaung dynasty especially in later Konbaung Dynasty were mainly based on the arrival of French citizens including merchants, adventurers, and missionaries. The main intention of these Frenchmen was to exploit economic benefit out of relation with Myanmar, while Myanmar's interest was to acquire arms and ammunitions, and modern technology for the maintenance of her territorial integrity and sovereignty.

The Myanmar Kings especially in later Konbaung Period, they had expected by establishing friendly relationship with France, a rival power of the British, who would restrain her expansionist policy against Myanmar. Hence, priority had been given by Myanmar to France to be friendly nation and to be partner of trade. In addition, special privileges were given to French missionaries in Myanmar to enable to be alliance of France.

Myanmar on their part tried to establish her relations with France to defend the country against colonialism. However, France had established her relations with Myanmar with the intention to enjoy both economic and political benefits out of it. Thus the relations between the two countries can be considered to be mainly based on an economic and political as well.

¹ Kyan, "Factories in Yandanpon", pp. 145-146

² Kyan, "Factories in Yadanapon," pp. 148-149.

³ "A Brief History of Myanmar Economy", Department of Economic, Yangon University, Yangon, no. date, 47-48 (Hereafter cited as: Myanmar Economy)

⁴ Khin Mya Kyu, "Franco-Myanmar Relation", p. 72

⁵ Daw Myint Myint Than, "The Conditions of Administration and Economic under the Reign of King Mindon", *The Literature and Social Journal, Union of Burma*, Vol. II, No. 3, September 1969, p. 83.

The comings and goings of French adventurers including artillerymen, gunners, merchants, royal servicemen, mechanists and engineers except missionaries and diplomats in Myanmar during the Konbaung Period showed that Myanmar would become a strong nation in one day. The English East India Company had little to fear from French “meddling” in Myanmar. That invited an English interference.

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ACHIEVEMENTS OF MONASTERIES IN KYAING TONG FOR PROPAGATION OF SASANA

Nwe Nwe Aung¹

Abstract

The monasteries of Kyaing Tong are said to be the earliest ones not only in whole Shan States but also in Myanmar. The monasteries such as *Wat Padaeng*, *Wat Hokhong* and *Wat Comdong* were established by *Yun* Buddhist monks of northern Thailand since about 600 years ago. From that time onward ruling Princes, *Sanghas* and people made effort for the development of *Sasana*. This paper is an attempt to deal with the emergence of the historic monasteries and achievement of *Theras* of these monasteries through ages. A discussion is made on the arrival of *Theravada* Buddha faith into the Eastern Shan State. This paper discusses on aspects of Buddhism in Kyaing Tong by exploring and interpreting important sources.

Keywords: Monasteries Achievements, Kyaing Tong *Sasana*, *Yun* Set Buddhism

Introduction

The local history of Kyaing Tong, like those of Myanmar, begins with the legendary Buddha's prophesy and it is at least 600 years earlier than the date attributed by the historians. The Chronicle of Kyaing Tong begins with the visit of Buddha *Gotama* with his forty-nine disciples after the attainment of Enlightenment for twelve *vassa*. *Jengtung State Chronicle* mentions that Kyaing Tong was then known as *Dammilap*, also as *Ongpu* and also as *Candavajira*. The Lord made a prophesy saying that a king will bring the *Sasana* and this region will always be abundance of food and *Khema* king became the victorious ruler of the state. The names of some areas of present day Kyaing Tong such as *Comsak*, *Comdom*, *ComSiri* derived from the legendary visit of Buddha. Actually the story of Buddha's visit and leaving prophecy were very popular among the ancient Chroniclers of Myanmar, some Shan States, Sri Lanka, Mon, Rakhine and Thai. The early Chronicle of neighbouring Lan Na State also mentions that Buddha visited *Ma SaiDoi Tung-Chaing San* region of Lan Na and also *Lampung* region². It is suggested that the local Chroniclers brought folklore or legends from outside world and adapted locally.

Materials and Methods

Critical approach is used to analyze the archival materials and field-work evidence and to yield explicit information on Buddhism of Kyaing Tong area.

Result

Knowing Kyaing Tong and Trans-Than Lwin area was the center of Buddhist religion which was distributed by learned monks of northern Thailand.

Aim and Objective

Objective of this paper is to trace the origins of Buddhism in Trans-Than Lwin area.

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² Penth,Hans ,*A Brief History of Lan Na*, Chaing Mai, Silkworm Books, 2004,pp9-11

Research Question

Since when did the *Therevada* Buddhism arrive on Trans-Than Lwin area?

How to approach the Buddhist Center in Kyaing Tong during the reign of Lan Na Kingdom.

Finding and Discussion

The Arrival of Buddhism

When traced the prevalence of Buddhism into Trans-Than Lwin area was not earlier than eleventh century A.D. During that time the monks from *Sukhotai* went to Sri Lanka and Ramanya region to study the Buddhist scriptures. They became the first missionaries who propagated Buddhism to *Khemarahta* Kyaing Tong.¹

Indeed, since the establishment of Kaing Tong, the astrologers foretold that there would be unbroken line of royal family; there would be elephants, horses and buffaloes in abundance; there would be glory for the state and radiance of *Sasana*.² There are other statements which argued the advent of Buddhism to Kyaing Tong in the reign of *Nanthum*. One of these statements describe that the Buddhism had already established before the conquest of Kyaing Tong by *PharaMangrai*. Since Chiang Mai stood as the subordinate state of *Dvarawadi* Mons, the founder of Chiang Mai and his successors had intimate relations with Ramanya region some Buddhist missions brought Buddhism to Chiang Mai and from thence to Kyaing Tong.³ The date of the advent of Buddhism was referred to the eleventh century. The learned *theras* of Kyaing Tong told that the *Yunaka* or *Yun* sect Buddhism had arrived to Kyaing Tong since the time immemorial. The earliest monasteries were Kyaing Yin and *WatPha* monasteries.⁴ Even today, *Khun(Gon)* monks from Kyaing Tong unanimously accepted that *Khun* Buddhism had arrived from Chiang Mai.⁵

All rulers of Kyaing Tong from the first *Sawbwa PharaNamthum* to *Sao Sai Long*, excluding first two *Lva* rulers, were Buddhists and they encouraged the Buddhist religion in many ways. However the customary belief on animism and spiritual worship did not perished. Even King *Mangrai* followed these practices. After the coronation at the palace, the king was suggested that *Tai Yun* from Chiang Mai belonged to the *Rahunama* and it was not accord with the horoscope of the city. The king therefore asked the monks who suggested that the group of *Khuns* have come and settle in the southern direction and they are compatible with the state's *namor nama* or name. Then the king summoned the people to give up *Yun* dress and to cut their hair in the manner of the great *Khun*.⁶ Thus the occult science and animistic worship had prevailed in the city since the times of its establishment.

The Establishment of Padaeng Monastery

In the time of *Sawbwa Sao Phayu* (1360-70), the wall of the city was rebuilt and the new palace was also built. He donated jewel studded Buddha image, ivory image, and stone image with a set of *pitaka* scriptures. During that time, *MahaHamsavadiDasaPyinnyo*, *Dhamma Lanka*,

¹ Sao Simon Mangrai, *The Padaeng Chronicle and the Jengtung State Chronicle Translated*, Ann Arbor, Center for the South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 1981, 210-12 (Henceforth : Mangrai , 1981)

² Mangrai, 1981, 229

³ AshinDhamma Sami, "Kyaing Tong Buddha SasanaNaukkhanThamaing", (Background History of Buddhism in Kyaing Tong), *PadaengKyaungdaikMulaSasanaThamaingAkyin*, (A Brief History of Padaeng Monastery and Sasana), Kyaing Tong, Padaeng Monastery, 2003, p.52 (Henceforth Dhamma Sami 2003)

⁴ Interview with Ven. U Sanvara, Abbot Sayadaw of Com Dong Monastery, Age 51, Vassa 27, 8, January 2018

⁵ Interview with Ven. BaddandaJotika, Age 80, Vassa 60, Abbot Sayadaw of Ho Khong Monastery, 6 January 2018

⁶ Mangrai, 1981, 230

DhammaTrilok and their twelve resided in Kyaing Tong to propagate *Sasana*. *Sao Phayu* went to the *WatKyaing Le`* where said *theras* resided and donated the city of Kyaing Tong as *Sangha Dana* by pouring libation water into the palms of *theras*. He then made a solemn vow that whoever rule Kyaing Tong, 10,000 ticals of silver (27 pounds) and 1,000 ticals of gold (2.7 pounds) shall donate to the monks annually to fulfill the requisites of the monks. He also pleaded the monks to rule the city if his son ascend the throne and to give sermons for the wellbeing of the people. When *Sao Phayu* passed away, *Sao Cedbantu* (1370-77) ascended the throne. He followed suit of his father and donated 27 pounds of silver and 2.7 pounds of gold to the monks. In addition, he built monasteries; *WatBrakaeu* for Ven. *Dhamma Lanka* for Ven. *DhammaTrilok*, *WatBrakang* for Ven. *Thabyinnyo*, and *WatComdong* for Ven. *MahaHamsa*. The Buddhist scriptures were also donated to the monasteries for ordination, teaching and learning and giving sermon. Every scriptures related to the *Puppharam* Sect¹ were donated to *MahaTon*(Hanthawaddy), the patron of *Puppharam* Sect.² Of the monasteries donated by *Sao Cedbantu*, *Honkhon* and *ComDong* monasteries still exist today at Kyaing Tong. *Hokhong* monastery became the center of Buddhist propagation in Trans-Than Lwin region.

Here, it is needed to make a brief discussion on *Puppharam* Sect. There emerged two renowned Buddhist sects in Kyaing Tong since the early days of the arrival of Buddhism. These sects were Garden Sect and Forest Sect. The former was comprised of *Sondok* (garden of flowers), *Puppharam* (monastery of flowers), and *Yang Gong* (name of a garden sect monastery) monasteries. The latter was comprised of *Padaeng* Monastery (Red Forest Monastery) and *MahaVam* or *MahaVanna* (Black forest Monastery). The Garden Sect originated in Chiang Mai. The ruler named *Kuna Sondokgham* built *Sondokgham* Monastery for *SumanaThera*, the leader of Garden Sect. Similarly, the *Padaeng Sasana* of forest sect stemmed from Chiang Mai and spread to Kyaung Tong and its subordinate states of Mong Yong, Mong Ken MongHlyan and Sipsongbanna.³

As stated above, the rulers and the people of Kyaing Tong followed the Buddhist religion and made efforts for the propagation of *Sasana*. However they still embraced the spiritual worship. Whenever they faced with drought, crop failure or natural calamity, however, they propitiated guardian spirits and arranged some occult science. For example in the reign of *Sao Yi Kham* (1410-16), The propitiation ritual to *Lahu* Frog Spirit was held by *Nam Khon* River to stop the prevalence of drought.⁴ This tradition lasted for centuries. In addition, the propitiation ritual to the goddess of female dragon, the guardian spirit of Kyaing Tong, was held whenever the city faced with danger such as foreign invasion.⁵ However the people occasionally believed that the evil spirits disturbed the city and palace. In such occasion the monks from Kyaing *Yon* monastery, *Kyaing Le`* Monastery and *Yang Gong* Monastery recited the *parita* to drive away evil spirits.⁶ Indeed the spiritual worship of Kyaing Tong *Sawbwas* and people, like that of the kings of Myanmar and *Sawbwas* of other Shan States, was the common tradition to fulfill the secular desire.

Other Buddhist Sects

As discussed earlier on the influence of Chiang Mai on the political and cultural development of Kyaing Tong, the religious and cultural relations between these two states did not ceased. During *Saw-bwa SaoSamsiri's* reign (1441-56), the monks from Chiang Mai visited to

¹ *Puppharam* Sect, meaning the sect of blossoming flowers, was the earliest Buddhist sect in Kyaing Tong.

² Mangrai, 1981, 236

³ Mangrai, 1981, 31

⁴ Than Tun, "Kyaing Tong-Myanmar Set-san-ye"(Kyaing Tong-Myanmar Relations), *Ne-hle` Yazawin*(Peripatetic History), Three Volumes, Yangon, Pyi Zone Publishing, 2004, p 41 (Henceforth: Than Tun , 2004)

⁵ Interview with U Sai Lon Gyi, member of MahaMyatmuni Pagoda Trustee Board, Age 72, 27 November 2015

⁶ Mangrai, 1981, 239

Kyaing Tong as the Buddhist Mission. During that time three Buddhist sects existed in Kyaing Tong. The first sect was *Nagravasi* or *Gamavasi*- the monks resided in the city. This sect emerged in the northern Thailand before the conquest of *Haripujara* by Tai. In 1370, this sect was established in Lan Na and lasted for centuries. The second sect was *AranyaVasi*- forest dwellers who accepted the doctrines of *Mahavihara* Sect of *Anuruddhapura* (Sri Lanka). This sect (vinaya) established in Madama of Lower Myanmar in fourteenth century A.D. The royal family of *Sukhodaya* (Sukhotai) encouraged this sect. In 1370, *Ven Mahathera Sumana Sayadaw* brought the doctrine of *Gamavasi* to Lan Na.¹ The royalties of Lan Na worshipped the teaching of *Gamavasi* or Old Ceylon Sect and distributed *GamavasiSasana* to Kyaing Tong.

The forest dwellers of Ceylon *Vinaya* were ordained in Ceylon and established the New Ceylon Sect in 1430 after their return from Ceylon. Owing to their strict adherence to the disciplines, expertise in Pali literature and ability to arrange religious rituals, the monks of New Ceylon Sect were able to organize many followers. In 1448, *Soma VittaSayadaw* from New Ceylon Sect came to *Khemarahta* Kyaing Tong and made efforts for the propagation of *Sasana*. This is the beginning of *PadaengSasana* in Kyaing Tong. After the establishment of *Padaeng* Monastery, a stone inscription was erected, on which the record of the establishment of the monastery was inscribed in *Tai Yun* language. The inscription mentions the name of Kyaing Tong as *Khemarahta*. The main contents of the inscription are the: 1, establishment of a *Stupa* on the model of *JaramandaraStupa* in 1451, 2, three sacred relics of Buddha were enshrined in the *Stupa*, and 3, donation to the *Padaeng* Monastery. *Maha Devi Sridigha*, queen of *Sawbwa Sao Samsiri*, donated every necessities to *Soma VittaSayadaw*.

After the establishment of *Padaeng* Monastery and *Stupa*, Sayadaw went back to Chiang Mai where he continued the works of propagation of *Sasana*. Then he returns to Kyaing Tong under the allowance of the abbot of Chiang Mai.² Soon after its establishment, *Padaeng* Monastery became the large monastery where 200 monks and novices resided. Successive *Sawbwas*, monks and the people made efforts for the perpetuation of *Padaeng* Monastery. About 350 households offered daily food to the monastery. As the Monastery used the scripture written in *Yun* or *Khun* language, the *Padaeng* Monastery was also known as *Yun* Monastery.³ During that time, the efforts of other monasteries such as *Hokhong*, *Comdong* and *Wat Inn*⁴ strengthened the propagation of Buddhist religion. Kyaing Tong became the center of *Sasana* in Trans-Than Lwin Region.

The prosperity of Buddhist religion had continued to prevail in Kyaing Tong even though it was put under the rule of Myanmar Kings. Kyaing Tong extended its relations with Myanmar for religious affairs. Successive Myanmar kings dispatched Buddhist missionaries to Kyaing Tong and donated *pitaka* scriptures. The outstanding example was the offering of a set of *pitaka* scriptures to *Kaeuyodfanarinda* by King *Bayinnaung* when *Sawbwa* visited to the court of Hanthawaddy. In 1580, *Sao Mongkha* (1560-98), the successor of *Kaeuyodfanarinda*, was also offered gifts and a set of *pitaka* scriptures by King *Bayinnaung* for his faithful stance in the wars with *Ayuthia*, Chiang Mai and China by contributing horses, men and elephants. During *Konbaung* period, King *Badon* (1782-1819) dispatched five *SasanabyuSayadaws*-Buddhist Missionaries headed by *Ven. Sri SaddhamavajarajaguruMahathera*. A cave temple was built in Kyaing Tong. *Sawbwa Sao MahaKhanum* (1813-58) sent a delegation to *Amarapura* to copy *pitaka* scriptures. King *Badon* contributed cash to repair ruined *Stupas*.⁵ As regard to the efforts of King *Badon* to propagate

¹ A.B Griswold and PrasertnaNagara, "An Inscription from Keng Tung(1451 A.D), *Journal of Siamese Society*, Volume 66, Pt 1, January 1978, p 66(Henceforth Griswold and Prasert 1978)

² Griswold and Prasert, 1978,69-72

³ Dhamma Sami, 2013,61

⁴ Wat Inn Monastery was established in 1429. Interview with Ven. BaddataGambhiya, Abbot Sayadaw of Wat Inn, Age 67, Vassa 47, 24 december 2017

⁵ ThanTun,2004, 31

Sasana in Kyaing Tong, an argument arose that the king forced to spread *Suddhama Sasana* of *Inwa* and *Amarapura* and to give pressure *Yun* Buddhist monks convert *Suddhama Sasana*.¹ However the efforts of learned *Theras* from *Hokhon* and *Padaeng* Monasteries, successive *Sawbwas* and the people brought about the perpetuation of *Yun* Buddhism in Kyaing Tong.

During colonial period, the Buddhist religion of Kyaing Tong continued to prosper in the region. Owing to the attempts of the monks, the population of Buddhists increased to 133,400 souls while those who followed pre-Buddhist religion or animistic belief totaled only 39,660.² The remarkable achievement for the prosperity of *Sasana* was done by *Sao KhunKiaoIntaleng* (1896-1935) who held *Asadissadana*-or peerless donation in 1929. In addition, in 1921, he casted *Mahamyatmuni* Image with one viss and seventy ticals of gold, seventeen viss of silver, bronze and copper at Mandalay. *Thibaw Sawbwa Sir Saw Che* contributed the half of the cost. After the completion of casting, the Buddha image was brought from Mandalay via *Thibaw* from thence to *Takaw* by carts. The *Mahamyatmuni* Image can be seen at the center of city.³ Nowadays, there are 2381 monks who preparing for monsoon retreat and 60 nuns residing at Kyaing Tong. There are 306 *Suddhama* monasteries and Six *Shwegyin* Monasteries.⁴ The remaining monasteries are supposed to be *Yun* Monasteries.

Conclusion

The aspect of Kyaing Tong Buddhism is significant to some extent. The monasteries and celebrated *Thera* of these monasteries established a close relation with *Theras* of northern Thailand such as *Lan Na* and *Lanphung*. The learned monks from these states also visited Kyaing Tong to propagate *Sasana*. Some monks founded the monasteries. The famous monasteries of Kyaing Tong such as *Wat Padaeng* and *Wat Hokhang* were established by these monks. Some monasteries were established with same name in northern Thailand. For example, *Wat Padaeng*, literally means Red Forest Monastery, was also established in Chaing Mai. Over time, the monasteries of Kyaing Tong became the centers of activities of *Sasana* in whole Trans-Tham Lwin area. The learning of Buddhist scriptures in *Khun* Language, *Pariyatti* and *Padipatti* *Sasana* were handed down from *Theras* to *Theras*. Local people and pious *Sawbwas* of Kyaing Tong encouraged the monks and provided every necessity to the monasteries. Although Myanmar Kings made attempt to propagate the way of *Sasana* practiced in Myanmar proper, the *Theras* of Kyaing Tong embraced their way of propagation of faith. Even after the end of *Sawbwa's* rule, the monasteries of Kyaing Tong continued to exist as the centers of *Theravada* Buddhism in Eastern Shan State.

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¹ Dhamma Sami, 2013, 64

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³ *Mahamyatmuni Phaya Hnint Vihara Kyaungdaw*, (The Mahamyatmuni Image and Monastery, Kyaing Tong), Kyaing Tong, Mahamyatmuni Pagoda Trustee Board, 2012, pp 4-7

⁴ *The List of the Monks who went Monsoon Retreat*, Courtesy of Wat Inn Sayadaw

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Photo One: Ho Khong Monastery (Three Stories)



Source: Photo taken by Dr Nwe Nwe Aung

Photo Two: Ho Khong Monastery (Two Stories)



Source: Photo taken by Dr Nwe Nwe Aung

Photo Three: Ordination Hall Ho Khong Monastery



Source: Photo taken by Dr Nwe Nwe Aung

Photo Four: Drum (Padaeng Monastery)



Source: Photo taken by Dr Nwe Nwe Aung

Photo Five : Padaeng Monastery



Photo Six : Archway (Padaeng Monastery)



Source: Photo taken by Dr Nwe Nwe Aung

Photo Seven : Con Dong Pagoda



Photo Eight : Con Dong Pagoda



Source: Photo taken by Dr Nwe Nwe Aung

Photo Nine : Waisansaria Jakata Festival

Source: Photo taken by Dr Nwe Nwe Aung

Photo Ten : Waisansaria Jakata Festival

Source: Photo taken by Dr Nwe Nwe Aung

Photo Eleventh : Archway (Ho Khong Monastery)



Source: Photo taken by Dr Nwe Nwe Aung



Source: Photo taken by Dr Nwe Nwe Aung



Source: Photo taken by Dr Nwe Nwe Aung

THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADITIONAL MEDICINE IN THE EARLY KONBAUNG PERIOD

Shwe Thazin *

Abstract

During Prehistoric era, Humans lived and wandered as they pleased and ate whatever food available. Diseases either caused by environment or occur when humans consume foods available in nature recklessly unbalancing the diet. Humans, the highest intelligent creatures in the world, started to find means to alleviate diseases. With intelligent, insight, and experiences, humans learnt that foods medicinal properties when consumed under correct season and weather. They have recognized that daily diet such as tree, vine, meat, and fish can be consumed to relieve from sufferings. They analyzed which nutrients, fruits, flora and roots when eaten can bring cure for the suffering diseases. It is assumed that by knowing the effective usages of correct trees and vines them as means to alleviate diseases is how traditional medical came to be. By collecting those treating experiences, medical books were compiled. Experiences were shared to the family, off-springs, and followers. This craft of saving and curing humans' lives was Aryubayda Medicine. Aryubayda Medicine is the craft or skill relating to life meant for humans to live longer without diseases. Aryubayda Medicine treaties then spread to different places, forming different medicines with various names by polishing from medical scholars in different countries, and varying in curing according to races in different countries. The researcher firstly presents the gradual development of Myanmar traditional medicine, and later discusses the importance of traditional medicine in the society during reigns of Kings in the early Konbaung period.

Keyword: ayubayda, traditional medicine, medicine treaties,

Introduction

The cradle of ancient Myanmar medicine was mostly proliferated from Indian medicine. Before Bagan period, medicines was brought and emerged in Myanmar along with India's literatures and cultures. The arrived medical treaties written with Pali and Sanskrit were interpreted by Myanmar scholars in terms of Myanmar way and style. By researching the medical treaties and learning more about medicine, people began to understand the usefulness of vines, grass, and trees, learnt to differentiate symptoms, and the way to heal with appropriate medicine. From this, the medicine treaties became widespread, people in Bagan period learned and practiced medicine treaties and acquired a substantial level in medical treatment. Evidences relating to medicine can be found in Sagaing, Pinya, and Ava period. According to medicine treaties and astrology treaties found at Tat Nwel monastery's stone inscription, the medical development in Ava period can be known. That inscription shows that medicine treaties composed in the forms of Myanmar poems, verse, and prose as there were many literate scholar monks and laymen scholars during Ava period. During Nyaungyan period as well as Taungoo period, Myanmar had trade communications with Western Countries. At the times, many Europeans served as professional soldiers under Mon and Myanmar kings. Thus, it was obvious that European medicines and treatments arrived at that time, especially from Portuguese soldiers who served under Myanmar, Rakhine, and Mon kings. Significant amount of Portuguese medicine and therapies arrived and spread in Myanmar.

In the early Konbaung period, many medicine treaties from foreign neighboring countries such as India, Sri Lanka, and European were arrived and spread. Under the order of the king, traditional medicine practitioners and compilers translated medicine treaties to Myanmar language from foreign medicine treaties written. They reiterated the translations into prose, poem and verses which could easily comprehend. Medicine treaties compilers included not only monks, laymen, civil servicemen but also scholars from rural areas who are pursuing medicine. This paper discusses

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about the improvement and development of Myanmar traditional medicine in the early Konbaung period. The importance of Myanmar traditional medicine in the early Konbaung period to Myanmar people are also discussed and presented.

The Development of Traditional Medicine in the Early Konbaung Period

During the reign of Alaung Min Tayar who established Konbaung Period, time was passing by vigorous actions in military affairs, recruiting men for warfare, going to war in many places. The sectors such as economy, religion, education could not be performed many efforts. Alaung Min Tayar's bringing of physicians to the war can be seen as following.

In Alaung Min Tayar's first expedition to Hantharwaddy at A.D (1116) 1754, in barges among navy patterns, it can be found having Physician Minister Dae Wa Kyaw Thu, Ba Nyar Dae Wa, Architect Si Ta Lan kar, Blacksmith Eaindra Ba Nyar, Brass Smith Nga Thar Tun, physician, man of mantra and Barge for minister¹. It is known that the post "Physician Minister" was appointed at the reign of Alaung Min Tayar. It is recorded that Physician Minister was the physician who was responsible for selecting physicians, appointing, and arranging physicians for the king and queens. In waging war at the reign of Alaung Min Tayar, the physicians have to go along with. It may be on the fact that curing to the king and patients in the war fields.² It is revealed that the physicians for the royals excelled at massaging were there at the reign of Alaung Min Tayar. In Myanmar kings' administration paper, the personal service of Alaung Min Tayar is described as –

"The massagers massaged in turn. It looked like taking about an hour."³

It is possible that Alaung Min Tayar employed physicians excelled at massaging and veins. Thus, at the reign of Alaung Min Tayar, there were many service men in medical affair and decorated physicians. However, it is deduced that famous physicians were not proliferating.

At the reign of King Naung Taw Gyi (De Pae Yin), Son of King Alaung Min Tayar, apart from normal herbal skill, Astrology was arisen before the rise of Astrology medicine. Myanmar astrology was descended from India. Past Karma is believed in Ayubayda books. It is believed that some diseases were happened due to past karma. Later, Astrology medicine books were compiled by merging astrology and medicine.⁴ Before Astrology medicine, astrology was proficient in Myanmar since Pyu and Tha Yae Khit Ta Yar Periods. However, there was only fortune telling before Bagan Period. In Later Innwa Period (Nyaung Yan Period), Astrology medicine started to practice. However, in Konbaung Period, Astrology medicine was widespread in range.⁵ In the reign of King Naung Taw Gyi (1760-1763), one monk physician scholar rose to prominent. That scholar is Taung Dwin Sayadaw Khin Gyi Pyaw who compiled many religious treaties and books and was heavily relied in the matter of medicine not only the reign of King Naung Taw Gyi but also throughout Konbaung Period. Khin Gyi Pyaw is the monk skilled at from astrology preventing misfortune to skills such as omens, portent, prophecy, ominous saying etc. Even though there was no evidence of his medical treatment to monks and laymen, he was excelled at Medical and Matter

¹ U Maung Maung Tin, Great Chronicle of Konboaung, First Volume, Lae Ti Man Tai Press, Yangon, 1967, Pg-120. (Henceforth: K.B.Z, First Volume)

² History of Myanmar Traditional Medicine, Yangon, Ministry of Health, Traditional Medicine, 1978, History of Traditional Medicine, Pg -70. (Henceforth: History of Traditional Medicine)

³ U Tin, Myanmar kings' Administration paper, Fourth Volume, Yangon, Department of Culture, 1967, Pg-81. (Henceforth: U Tin, Myanmar kings' Administration paper)

⁴ U Mar Ga, (Wa Na Kyaw Htin U Thar Tin), Article in medicine, Yangon, Sarpae Beiki Man Press, 1983, Pg-26. (Henceforth: Mar Ga, Article in Medicine)

⁵ Ma Kyin Mya, Konbaung Period's Importance of Traditional Medicine in Social Affair, Master's Dissertation, 1983, Yagon University, Pg -45-47. (Henceforth: Ma Kyin Mya, 1983) .

treaties as well as the skill of telling fortune upon looking appearance. Although Astrology was widespread long before Konbaung Period, medicinal treatments concerning Astrology became prominent during the early Konbaung Period.

Many scholars believe that astrology medicine was created by Taung Dwin Sayadaw Khin Gyi Phaw at early Konbaung Period. It is learnt in Myanmar Medicine that physicians skilled at Aryubayda Dae Tha Nar Na Ya medicine, Astrology, Gan Dar Yi craft were there at the reign of King Naung Daw Gyi. Taung Dwin Sayadaw Khin Gyi Phaw compiled treaties as following: Dwar Da Thain treaties

1. Dwar Da Tha Si Nar Astrology treaties
2. Ar Di Ka Pa Dwar Da Yar Thi Nat Khat Pa treaties
3. San Na Woat Ti Medical treaties
4. Ah Thi Ti Dat treaties
5. Detailed book of Physical Appearance (9 Volumes)
6. Ka Way Thar Ya treaties (3 Volumes)

Among the treaties Sayardaw wrote, Dwar Da Thain book and Ar Di Ka Pa Dwar Da Yar Thi Nat Khat treaties have been prominent in today Astrology Medicine since Konbaung period.¹ At the reign of King Mae Du (Hsin Phyu Shin), some medical treaties were written. Some of the well-known are:

- Dar Tu Wi Bar Ga Di Pa Ni treaties (1763)
- Dar Nwa Nayi Ni Ya Medical treaties (1763)
- Dar La Ka Yin Ga Medical treaties (1771)
- Physicians' Therapy treaties (1771)
- Bay Tha Za Dar Tu Di Pa Ni treaties (1773)

Dar Tu Wi Bar Ga Di Pa Ni treaties was compiled by Thet Pan Sayadaw. In 1798 at the reign of King Myae Du (Hsin Phyu Shin), Dar TuWi Bar Ga Di Pa Ni treaties by Thet Pan Sayadaw was paraphrased in the form of prose diving nine sections with the intention of easily reading for descendants by Mingun Taw Ya Ashin Mu Ni Nar Bi Gaw Tha Tha Ma Thay.² Generally, medical treaties in that era are Astrology medical treaties and witchcraft medical treaties. Although the medical treaties originated from India, Myanmar physicians adapted the treaties accordingly to suit the local lifestyle. It was during King Naung Daw Gyi's reign that Astrology was implemented into medical treaties, developing Astrology medicine. Dar Tu Wi Bar Ga Di Pa Ni treaties and Physicians' Therapy book were especially famous medical codices. There are three codices relating to Dar TuWi Bar Ga Di Pa Ni treaties. They are Physicians' Therapy treaties (Di Kar Yu Medical book) by Kway Saung Sayargyi U MyatTun, Dar Tu Wi Bar Ga Di Pa Ni book by Ashin Mu Ni Nar Bi Yaw Tha, and Na Ya Ma Lar Medical treaties by U Kaung. Therapies and medicines in Physicians' Therapy book by Kway Saung Sayargyi U MyatTun were practical, and they are good therapies and ways of medicine inherited by generations of physician and recorded by Myanmar Language.³ King Myae Du ordered to submit precedent physicians' therapies and so the physician

¹ History of Traditional Medicine, Pg-71.

² Hla Tha Mein, Collections of Biographies of Classic Grandees, Yangon, Hanthawaddy Press, 1963, Pg-45, (Henceforth: Hla Tha Mein, Grandees)

³ U MyaTun, 200 years Myanmar Medicine, Yangon, Thu Dhammar Press, 1971, Pg- 45-46. (Henceforth: Mya Tun, Myanmar Medicine)

U Myat Tun, a native of Kway Saung Village¹ lived at Tha So Village² wrote it.³ After arising Physicians' Therapy treatises, many traditional medical treatises written by prose and verse were written in Myanmar. In medical treatises written by verse, Na Ya, five (5) volume medical treatises⁴ was famous. Physicians' Therapy book was earlier than Na Ya, five (5) volume medical treatises. Physicians' Therapy book was also called as Kway Saung Supplication.⁵ Ways of medicine described in that book employed homemade medical things in making medicine. So, it can be said Myanmar traditional medicine in that age was developed. Though therapies and ways of curing were known, it would be useless if medicines were not. Because of the virtue of medical books compiled about homemade medicines, it can be said that Myanmar Traditional Medicine was significantly improved in Social affair at Konbaung period. During King Myay Du's reign Thamar Sin Ku Htone Kyans written by Kyway Taung Saya Gyi U Myat Htun. The codices written in prose style became comprehensible for the common people facilitate the widespread of Traditional medicine. U Myat Htun was a physician who became famous later on. He authored a book on treatises under royal decree.

At the time of King Badon, many actions for nation development were undertaken, especially in the areas of literature and educational development. To improve medicine, Ayubayda Medical treatises were collected from homeland and foreign and translated. Among scholars translating medical treatises to Myanmar, the most frequent and responsible person was Missionary Maung Htaung Sayadaw Ven. Nyar Na Bi Won Tha Dhamma Thay Nar Patti.⁶ In 1808, a treatises-bringing group of emissary led by Shwe Taung Thiri Sithu came back. They brought 18 medical codices. They are- Khar Mar Ya Da Na medical treatises, Ta Na Thar Ya medical treatises, Ayubayda medical treatises, Za Na Da Ya Si Ta Ma Ni medical treatises, Tha Ma Ya Byar Ti Pa Day Tha medical treatises, Ga Yi Ta Si Nar Ma Ni medical treatises, ZawTi Thar Ya medical treatises, and Di Gi Tat Ta medical treatises.⁷ In 1809, to a group led by Wa Thi Hta Brahmin was send to Mizzima region. They brought fortune telling books and medical treatises, including three medical codices. They were- Dar Tu Bayda Pyu Than Tha medical treatises, Dar Tu Mi Ya Ti Ni Ver Na Ya medical treatises, and Bay Thiza Ni Ya Zu medical treatises.⁸ Two medical treatises were submitted by Siri Lanka at 1st October, 1809, namely Wa Ya Sa Yar Ga medical treatises and Tha Ya Tha Kay Pa medical treatises.⁹ Mahar Dhamma Thingyan wrote about 700 names of herbal trees in 1812.¹⁰ In 1812, Bat Ti Ya medical treatises were dispatched. In 1814, in the tribute of Viranathi King to King Badon, Thu Gu ta medical treatises, Wa Da Zi Wa Du medical treatises and Ya Thar Ya Na Tha Mu Sa medical treatises, and Tha Ya Man Sa Yi medical treatises were contained.¹¹ There were over 20 medical books between 1786 and 1814. It is revealed that they were from India and Sri Lanka. They were translated to Myanmar under King Badon's order for the use of public. Medical knowledge expanded under King Badon with the collection and translation of Medical books.

¹ Kway Saung Village was situated in south of Innwa and 23 miles away from it. Ma Kyin Mya, 1983, Pg-51.

² Tha So Village was in Na Htoe Gyi, township, Myaingyan township. Ma Kyin Mya, 1983, Pg-51.

³ U Myat Tun, Physicians' Therapies book, Yangon, Mingalar Press, 1971, (Edited by Sayar U Soe Tint), Pg-11. (Henceforth: Myat Tun, Physicians)

⁴ Na Ya Thu Ki book (about 44 years), Na Ya All Tha Hta book (about 65 years), Na Ya Marlar book (about 66 years), Na Ya Yar Thi book (about 70 years), Na Ya Tan Saung book, these five volumes of Na Ya medical book were very late than Physicians' Therapies book. Myat Tun, Myanmar Medicine, Pg-46.

⁵ Myat Tun, Myanmar Medicine, Pg-11.

⁶ Moun Htaung Thar Tha Nar Paing Sayadaw, Collections of Amyaetawphae, Mandalay, Padethar Pitaka Press, 1962, Pg-181. (Henceforth: Moun Htaung, Myaephae)

⁷ U Maung Maung Tin, Great Chronicle of Konbaung, Second Volume, Yar Pyae Press, Fourth Time, Yangon, 2004, Pg-127. (Henceforth: Ka Ba Sa, Second Volume)

⁸ K.B.Z, Second Volume, Pg-132.

⁹ K.B.Z, Second Volume, Pg-139.

¹⁰ Moun Htaung, Myaephae Pg-3.

¹¹ K.B.Z, Second Volume, Pg-145.

Since the medical books were written in prose and stanzas for the purpose of comprehension they were invaluable for the public. During the early Konbong period, Myanmar people including the King had to rely upon traditional medicine for health. The medical codices were about symptoms of diseases, cure and the use of natural products such as roots and barks as medicinal ingredients. The treatises were about diseases happening at the time and the ways to cure them.

Not only the translated Indian medical codices, but European medical treatises were also present since around 16th Century. It is possible that European professional soldiers brought European medicine to Myanmar. Christian Missionaries knew showing the power of astrology and medicine was effective and easier for propagation of Christianity. Father Ignazie de Britto wrote a dissertation on English Medical prescription on Injury curing in Myanmar in A.D 1787 at the time of King Badon¹. In this way, it can be seen that European medical treatises was received and learnt. However, the success rate was very low. By looking these facts, it is significant that European medicine was employed a little and people relied on herbal medicine. King Badon ordered to collect herbal plants, fruits, and chemicals. It was seen that significant physicians around the country were summoned to the capital city. There was an order laid out to the governor of Hantharwaddy, the guardian of shipment, to collect chemicals from foreign countries to make medicine at 15, October, 1806. Physicians from Rakhine state were summoned to Amarapura with the order issued at 19, September, 1807. The first batch of Indian Physicians reached at Amarapura at 23rd February, 1806. The next batch arrived at 18th May, 1810.² The collecting herbal plants and chemicals and summoning and appreciation to the physicians were plans and actions reinforcing the improvement current of Myanmar Medicine. Sending some Myanmar physicians to India may be because of Myanmar medicine proliferation.

By looking at abovementioned orders and actions, Myanmar pursued Oriental and Western medicine, proliferating Myanmar Traditional Medicine by changing what they learn from those medicines to Myanmar ones. Alternatively, trying can be seen in translating foreign medical book to Myanmar and traditional medicine was also encouraged all time.

Myanmar Traditional Medicine is the skill acquired by practical learning. If medical skill were learnt, teaching was attached to living besides teachers by serving them. Myanmar traditional medicine in Konbaung period was of important to Myanmar people. Throughout the early days of Konbaung period, medical treatises from foreign countries like India, Sri Lanka had been arrived and flourished in Myanmar. Many professional translators able to translate those treatises in line with Myanmar customs were appeared. The scholars compiling traditional medicine treatises in the reign of King Badon are royal servants, scholar monks, laymen. Not only them but also many scholars pursuing medicine from the rural areas are arisen.

It is found that the king himself believed and relied on Myanmar traditional medicine. It is investigated that physicians earned the public's belief, respect and rely as much as monks in Myanmar society in Konbaung period. However, Myanmar kings did not count on the public's health affairs out of the capital. People had to rely on physicians or practitioners of medicine. The list of victims, who were died because the physicians could not cure, cannot be found in the early days of Konbaung period. It is revealed that in the reign of King Badon, the diseases of kings, and royal clan men which cannot be cured by the royal physicians were received treatments from those physicians curing the people out of the palace.

In 1818, King Badon fell illness, 10 famous physicians in the capital city were asked to recover the illness. They are-

¹ Dr. Than Tun, Medicine, Pg-319.

² Ma Kyin Mya, 1983, Pg -66.

1. Sayar Nga Kan
2. Sayar Nga Kyaung (Lin Ka Taw)
3. Sayar Nga Chit Pwint (Pan Cha TaikBya Ma Dat Village)
4. Sayar Nga Chaw (Salin town)
5. Sayar Nga Saint (ThaSoe)
6. Sayar Nga Htwe (Shwe Kyat Yat)
7. Sayar Nga Yeit
8. Sayar Nga Shwe Pu (Sagaing town)
9. Sayar Nga Thaw (Corner of Sagaing town)
10. Sayar Ottama ¹

In learning medicine, Lin Ka Taw Sayar Nga Kyaung pursued the methods of physicians since he was 18 years old. Sayar Nga Shwe Pu followed his mentor and pursued by holding Pyit basket.² It can be seen that the kings themselves encouraged Myanmar traditional medicine. The king acknowledged not only medicine of the royal physicians but also physicians in the capital. By looking these facts, it is significant that Myanmar traditional medicine was on the stage of proliferation and firm. It is obvious that only traditional medicine was believed though physicians and medicines from foreign countries were there. Moreover, Myanmar traditional medicine was becoming stronger as medicine and chemistry treaties from India such as Ayubayda literature were gotten to Myanmar massively. This was due to the reason that King Badon ordered to translate the arrival treaties as well as medical treaties compiled on the reign of previous kings from Sanskrit to Myanmar. Through it, paraphrasing writing style was coming out and developed resulting in the birth of prose writing in order to ease in people's learning. At the reign of King Badon, medical treaties written by paraphrasing style can be found. For the treaties written by long verse, Na Ya Marlar treaties (1837), Na Ya Yar Thi treaties (1841), Na Ya Tan Saung treaties (Time was not mentioned), Na Ya Thu Ki treaties (1815), Na Ya All Tha Hta treaties (1836) altogether five can be seen. These treaties were not about new medicine methods. They represented the past and known medicine with verse. Later, those five medical treaties were combined and renowned as Five Volumes of Na Ya medical treaties. In those five volumes, Na Ya Thu Ki treaties was the earliest and royal clerk U Kaung served in Lord of Ava Min Ye Zeya Kyaw wrote at the reign of King Badon in 1815 while the following volumes were written during Late Konbang period. In Na Ya Thu Ki treaties, the treaties of Ayubayda medicine were presented and described. Myanmar conventional chemical medicine relating to Universe Astrology medicine and five great matters (PyinSa Boat) and practical therapies were presented. It is revealed that it was described in a way for both physicians practicing medicine and the people to understand. The way of matter leading, foods to avoid seasonally and foods to eat seasonally were written in those books. The contents of the books were about medicine used in royal series in Amarapura period, future telling, the role of number, Inn I, Ka Lae, Latt Phwe, Mantra, ways of erasing misfortune, and different views. Furthermore, medicines and therapies from Ayubayda treaties were fully described.

To sum up, if traditional medicine in early Konbaung period was overlooked, it was more successful under the reign of King Badon. During the reign of King Alaung Min Tayar, there were traditional physicians, physicians, and Minister Physicians. However, Alaung Min Tayar consumed the time in the work for unity of the country and establishment of the country. So, the

¹ Ma Kyin Mya, 1983, Pg -68.

² Ma Kyin Mya, 1983, Pg -68.

physicians had to go along with the king in the war. The king himself could not encourage effectively. Thus, there was no creation in compiling medical books and therapies. This was the same for King Naung Daw Gyi for his short reign. King Hsin Phyu Sin (King Myae Du) was an enthusiastic in warfare like his father, but he performed the improvement of medicine. At his reign, Dar Tu Wi Bar Ga Di Pa Ni medical book by Thet Pan Sayadaw was rewritten in the way of diving nine sectors and paraphrasing by Ashin Mu Ni Nar Bi Yae Ma Htae. It is found that some medical books were written by order. At the reign of King Badon in 1812, the 700 names of herbal trees were compiled by Mahar Dhamma Thingyan by order. Under the Royal decree, the physicians and Sayadaws translate the medical books. It is revealed that translating was conducted in the style of Myanmar paraphrasing for easy understanding of laymen and physicians. Myanmar traditional medicine was reinforcing by arriving medical books like Ayubayda literature in great amounts from India in late 18 Century. This was on the cause of that King Badon ordered to translate the arrival books as well as medical treaties compiled on the reign of previous kings from Sanskrit to Myanmar. Through it, it was found that paraphrasing writing style was coming out and developed resulting in the birth of prose writing in order to ease in people's learning. Moreover, physicians were sent to foreign counties to pursue medicine. For the development of medicine, they were sent to India, Sri Lanka, and European countries. Western and eastern medicines were transformed into the form of Myanmar traditional medicine. Moreover both royal physicians and physicians at capital were relied upon when King Badon was ill. It is revealed that the king himself fostered Myanmar traditional medicine. He acknowledged the medicine of both royal physicians and physicians at capital. By looking these facts, it is vivid that Myanmar traditional medicine was in the stage of proliferation and firm. It is obvious that though physicians and medicines from foreign countries were there, only traditional medicine was believed. In the early Konbaung period, traditional medicine was important part of society. People relied heavily on the traditional medicine for their health.

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TRENDS OF FERTILITY AND MORTALITY IN LOWER MYANMAR (1852-1941); MEASURING THE DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

Thaung Win Naing¹

Abstract

The vital registration system started in India in 1864 was first introduced to some parts of Lower Myanmar and extended to other parts of the country in the late nineteenth century. By 1897, vital registration had been introduced into eight major towns in Upper Myanmar, but there were still pockets in Lower Myanmar. In Myanmar, as in most nations of the region, the registration of births and deaths has remained incomplete even in areas covered by the registration system. Censuses have shed light on the extent of under-registration. Despite these defects, the vital statistics of Myanmar under certain conditions can provide valuable information about fertility and mortality trends.

Keywords; Demography, Census, vital statistics, fertility, mortality

Introduction

This paper deals mainly with the calculation of birth and death rates for Lower Myanmar during the colonial period. It will look at the setting up of the Sanitary Commission and the introduction of the registration of vital events, followed by an assessment of the accuracy of, and problems in registration. The simplest source of the statistics of birth and death in a community are the registers of vital events. Births and deaths are conventionally measured as the ratios of the numbers of these vital events in a calendar year to the average population in that period. Changes in these vital rates affect not only the gross numbers but also the structure of the population. Some demographic information about the births and deaths of people is very useful as a guide to study the progress of the people. Therefore, an attempt will be made to get a rough estimate of the birth and death rates for Lower Myanmar during the years 1872 and 1941.

Research Question

To analyze the importance of vital statistics in the population changes in Lower Myanmar.

Literature Reviews

Regarding the birth rates and death rates in Lower Myanmar, some historians have attempted a detailed examination of Myanmar population records. *Disease and Demography in Colonial Burma* written by Judith. L. Richell emphasizes the demographic change in Myanmar between 1891 and 1941. Although this entails an examination of birth rates and death rates for the whole country, it is not focused for Lower Myanmar. R. M. Sundrum, whose paper. *Population Statistics of Burma* contains important historical references for the birth rates and death rates. M. Ismael Khin Maung, *The Population of Burma; An Analysis of the 1973 Census*. However, these papers did not cover the entire colonial period.

Data and Method

Based on the Sanitary Reports, this paper will be presented. An analytical method and interpretation method will be used.

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Aim and Objective

The purpose of this paper is to examine the birth rates and death rates in Lower Myanmar during the colonial period.

Structure of the Paper

The vital registration system, started in India in 1864 was first introduced to some parts of Lower Myanmar and then extended to other parts of the country in the late nineteenth century.¹ The system was gradually extended to all districts in Lower Myanmar in 1872. By 1897, although vital registration had been introduced into eight major towns in Upper Myanmar, there were still pockets in Lower Myanmar, such as parts of the districts of Sittway, Patheingyi, Taungtha and Thabeikkyin where registration was not enforced. No attempt had been made to introduce the system to the hill areas, such as Northern Rakhine.² By 1907, it covered over eighty percent of the population. It had been in force in the principal towns of British-Burma since 1864-65, but there had been no census and estimates of population were made based on capitation tax collection.³ The percentage of the population under registration improved greatly between 1872 and 1935. In 1872, the census population was reported to be 2,747,148 but the number under registration was only 2,663,110 (95 percent). In 1931, the population figures were 7,964,855 by census and 7,688,962 (97 percent) registered.

In Myanmar, as in most nations of the region, the registration of births and deaths has remained incomplete even in areas covered by the registration system. Censuses have shed light on the extent of under-registration. It was estimated in 1911, for example, that as many as 20 percent of the births in the city of Mandalay were unregistered.⁴ Moreover, the types of information on births and deaths are grossly inadequate for any in-depth analysis of fertility and mortality.⁵ In rural areas, it is probable that the registration of births and deaths is equally neglected. A study of vital statistics during the decennium 1911-1921 points to more deaths having escaped registration than births but it is probable that during the influenza pandemic there was wholesale neglect of death registration. It was stated in the Report on the Public Health Administration of Burma for the year 1922 that more than two-thirds of the deaths occurring in villages are recorded. In towns on the other hand, deaths are more accurately registered than births owing to the by-laws regulating cremation and crematorium grounds.⁶ In spite of these defects, the vital statistics of Myanmar under certain conditions can provide valuable information about fertility and mortality trends.

¹ R.M. Sundrum, "Population Statistics of Burma", *Economic Research Project, Statistical Paper, No.3, December, 1957*, University of Rangoon, p. 7 (Hereafter cited as, Sundrum, *Population Statistics of Burma*)

² *Report on the Sanitary Administration of Burma for the Year 1898*, Rangoon, Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1899, p. 1

These reports were issued yearly by the Government Press of Rangoon. From 1870 to 1889, their title was *Report on the Sanitary Administration of British-Burma (RSABB)*. From 1890 to 1920 their title was as *Report on the Sanitary Administration of Burma (RSAB)*. From 1921 to 1936 these Reports were titled *Report on the Public Health Administration of Burma (RPHAB)*. Finally in 1937, the title was changed to *Report on the State of Public Health in Burma (RSPHB)*

³ *Report on the Public Health Administration of Burma for the Year 1922*, Rangoon, Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1923, p. 2 (Hereafter cited as *RPHAB, 1922*)

⁴ *Census of India, 1911, Volume IX, Burma, Part I, Report*, Rangoon Office of the Superintendent Government Printing, Burma, 1912, p. 43 (Hereafter cited as *Census of India, 1911, Burma, Report*)

⁵ M. Ismael Khin Maung, *The Population of Burma; An Analysis of the 1973 Census*, Papers of the East-West Population Institute, Number 97, April, 1986

⁶ *RPHAB, 1922*, p. 8

Some demographic information about the births and deaths of people is very useful as a guide to study the progress of the people. Therefore, an attempt will be made to get a rough estimate of the birth and death rates for Lower Myanmar during the years 1872-1941. The death rates in Lower Myanmar rose slowly during the years 1872 and 1919. The death rate was highest during the years 1906 and 1910. The rate of reported deaths in Lower Myanmar declined steadily after 1918, the year of great epidemic. In 1919, it stood at 30 per-thousand inhabitants, but after that time it was never above 30. The average rate during the 1901-1910 was 25.11 per-thousand, as contrasted to 25.03 during the next decade and 19.42 during the 1921-1930.¹ The high mortality during the years is chiefly to be ascribed to cholera, small-pox, fevers and plague. The death rate rose 12.48 percent in 1872 to 17.44 percent in 1877. The excess of death rate over previous five years has been caused by a slight improvement in registration but principally by the greater prevalence of cholera, fevers and bowel-complaints.²

The greatest number of deaths took place among infants, next among children, one and five years of age. The smallest number of deaths occurred among persons between 10 and 20 years of age. At all age periods, the male exceeded the female deaths.³ Defective registration and incomplete collection of counterfoils are believed to be the chief causes of low death rates, reported in many districts. The following table gives births, infant deaths and infant mortality rate for selected years.

Table 1 Infant Mortality for selected years⁴ (1872-1931)

Year	Reported Births	Infant-Deaths			Rates
		Male	Female	Total	
1877	61,878	3415	2737	6152	99
1880	72,121	5651	4245	9896	137
1885	93,222	7643	5491	13134	141
1890	84,769	6213	4734	10947	129
1895	131,147	12631	9358	21989	168
1900	166,388	18977	13984	32961	198
1905	191,226	21652	15943	37595	197
1910	197,240	24935	18306	43241	219
1915	204,822	23587	18480	42067	205
1921	181,607	16957	14069	31026	171
1926	174,666	17911	15479	33390	191
1931	184,306	17348	14460	31808	173

¹ (a) RSAB, 1895, 1899, 1900-1901 to 1915-1916

(b) *Report on the Administration of Burma for the Year 1916-17 to 1920-21*, Rangoon, Supdt. Government Printing and Stationery, Burma, (Hereafter cited as *Reports on the Administration of Burma, 1916-17 to 1920-21*)

(c) RPHAB, 1920-1921 to 1935-1936

² *Report on the Sanitary Administration of British-Burma for the Year 1877*, Rangoon, Government Press, 1878, p. 26

³ *Report on the Sanitary Administration of Burma for the Year 1904*, Resolution, Rangoon, Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1905, p. 10 (Hereafter cited as *RSAB, 1904*)

⁴ (a) RSAB, 1895, 1899, 1900-1901 to 1915-1916

(b) *Reports on the Administration of Burma, 1916-17 to 1920-1921*

(c) RPHAB, 1920-1921 to 1935-36

The above table shows that the infant mortality rate has varied considerably during the selected years. The reported births increased continuously, and infant mortality rate declined after 1921. But the officially reported infant mortality rates as exhibited in the above table also reveal a high point in 1910 and a gradual decline thereafter. A comparison of these figures with those for general mortality reveals one surprising fact that the percentage decline in infant mortality has not been as great as that in general mortality. The fall in the infant mortality rate has of course contributed a major share to the reduction in general mortality, because there are so many more infants and infant deaths in the population as compared to any others age, but the percentage decline has not been as great as for the rest of the population. But infant mortality has nevertheless been reduced substantially since 1910, according to the official returns. The fluctuations in infant mortality contributed the growth of population to a certain extent.

The officially reported births and the calculated rates for Lower Myanmar since 1872 can be made. The fertility in Lower Myanmar had risen steadily and the range of variation is not so great. The lowest annual rate of fertility was 18.67 and the highest 34.72. It can be made three conclusions. First, fertility in Lower Myanmar is high. The rate slowly rose and since 1919 dropped below thirty and has generally remained above 24 per thousand except 1924. Second, the range of variation is not so great. The lowest annual rate was 18.67 and the highest 34.72. Third and most important, there is a slight suggestion of long-run downward trend since 1918. It is possible that there has been a real drop since 1918.¹ The lowest rates were attributed to defective registration, prevalence of venereal disease and disparity in sex population. The high rates in some cases are believed to be due to the adoption of model registration by laws and the more efficient administration.

Regarding the birth rates, the number of female births registered is always less than that of male by about 5 percent. It can also be noted that the number of female deaths registered is less than the number of male deaths, but this is at least partly due to the fact that there were a larger number of males among the immigrant population in Lower Myanmar.² For example, there were registered in Lower Myanmar during the ten years 1891-1900, the births of 707,223 males and of 658,052 females. Of the deaths registered during the same decade 589,558 were those of males and 470,551 those of females. During the decade 1891-1900, the preponderance of male births is in accordance with the practically universal rule that in the aggregate more boys than girls are born into the world.³ The recorded birth rate has been steadily decreased from the year 1918. The main reason for the decline of birth rate is most probably incomplete registration. The low birth rates of a number of towns particularly of those in Lower Myanmar are due to a disparity of the sexes resulting from a floating population of adventitious male labour.⁴ It can be observed that there has been a slow but steady improvement in the registration of vital statistics in towns until 1937 when there has been a slight falling off. There is no doubt that registration has been very badly neglected in certain towns. The registered birth and mortality rates from 1875 to 1935 are also shown in the following graph.

¹ (a) *RSAB, 1895, 1899, 1900-1901 to 1915-1916*

(b) *Reports on the Administration of Burma, 1916-17 to 1920-1921*

(c) *RPHAB, 1920-1921 to 1935-1936*

² Sundrum, *Population Statistics of Burma*, pp. 16-17

³ *Census of India, 1901, Volume XII, Burma, Report, Part I, Report*, Rangoon, Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, Burma, 1902, p. 53

⁴ *Report on the Public Health Administration of Burma for the Year 1927*, Rangoon, Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1928, pp. 6-7

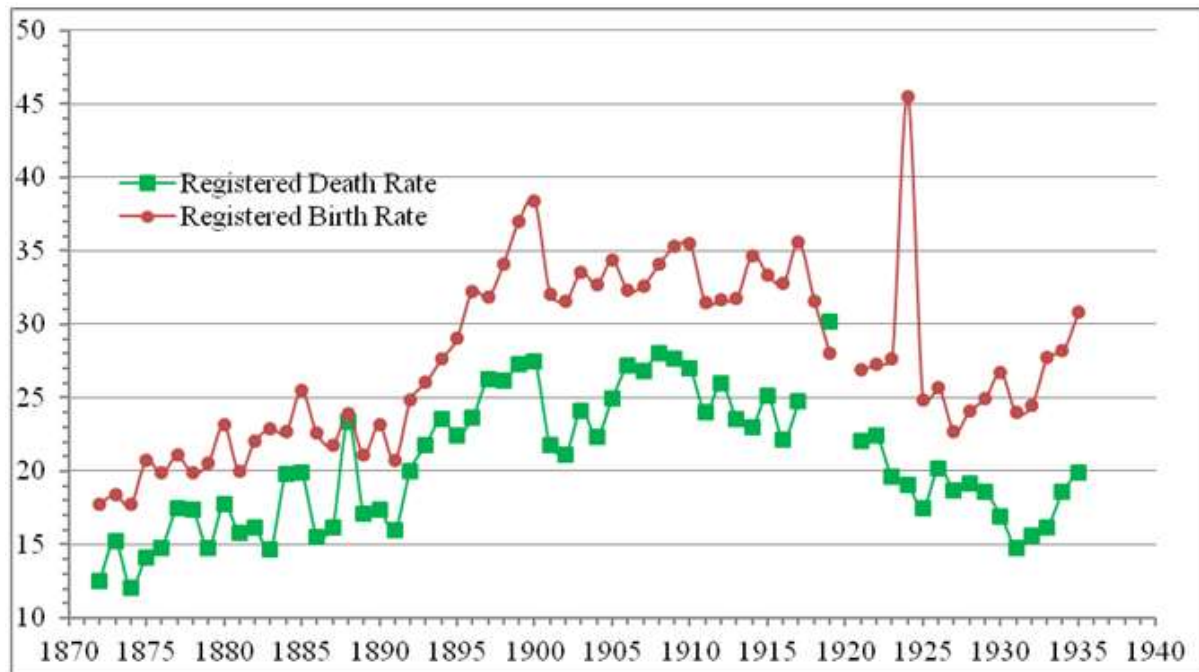


Figure 1 Lower Myanmar registered birth rate and registered death rate (Per 1,000 Populations)

From 1875, the birth and death rates rose slowly from a very low base until 1900. It can be assumed that the underlying upward trend almost certainly reflected the gradual improvement in the registration system rather than increased mortality and fertility. From 1911, the registered mortality rate was approximately 22 to 27 per thousand, until the flu pandemic of 1918 caused the number of deaths to soar. But in the 1920s, the registered death rate slumped to below 20 per 1000, rose briefly at the end of the decade and then dropped sharply again in 1931. In 1935, the death rate rose to the levels registered in 1885 and 1892.

The sanitary commissioners frankly disbelieved many of the returns and the commissioners also made their own calculation of the probable vital rates from the census returns. In 1885, D. Sinclair, the sanitary commissioner, estimated the rural birth rates as 40 per 1,000 and the death rate at somewhere over thirty.¹ In 1901, C.C. Little said that the sanitary commission was looking for the birth rate of 42 per, 1,000.² In 1905, the birth rate was estimated at 45 per, 1,000.³ By comparing the commissioners' estimate and the official registration, the differences between the commissioners' calculations and the recorded rates can be seen clearly. This comparison reveals differences of 20 to 40 percent between the commissioners' estimates and official registration. It was abundantly clear to most of the sanitary commissioners that the registration was inadequate. They checked the average rates for Myanmar against their calculations on census data. They compared the convict death rate to the registered mortality, and they recognized the failure to register the birth of some female. The problem that the commissioners faced was that, with no special agency appointed for the task of the registration, the system lacked overall supervision and fundamental control.⁴

¹ *Report on the Sanitary Administration of British-Burma for the Year 1885*, Rangoon, Superintendent, Government Press, 1886, p. 4

² *Report on the Sanitary Administration of Burma for the Year 1901*, Rangoon, Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1902, p. 3

³ *Report on the Sanitary Administration of Burma for the Year 1905*, Rangoon, Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1906, p. 2

⁴ *Report on the Sanitary Administration of Burma for the Year 1906*, Rangoon, Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1907, p.2 (Hereafter cited as RSAB, 1907)

These problems of inefficiency and inaccuracy were recorded year after year in the annual reports. In 1879, it was stated that no attempts had been made to ensure that the headmen had a sufficient supply of book.¹ In 1892, a District Commissioner was reported as saying that it is necessary to say plainly that these rural vital statistics are not, and in no reasonable time likely to be, worth anything.² Therefore the problem ran throughout the system. The government had failed to convince the Myanmar people of the desirability or necessity of registering vital events, despite using a system of fines, punishments and warnings. Many and varied efforts were made to create and enforce a supervisory agency for the registration, but within different results. In 1882, the annual report stated that the police surgeons, the head constable, the township officer, the inspector and assistant superintendent of police, the sub-divisional officer and the deputy commissioner are all required by standing orders to examine the village registers.³ Twenty-five years later, it was admitted in the annual report that verification was probably very perfunctory, as the district officers and civil surgeons did not have the time to do it, nor presumably the will to enforce their subordinates to do it for them.⁴

Up to this point, births and deaths have been treated separately. But they must be considered together that they are not independent of each other and that the difference between them (the natural increase) is capable of refined measurement of population. The most obvious method of obtaining reliable figures for the natural increase of population by the excess of births over deaths is an examination of the actual records of births and deaths for the whole province. But there exists no complete record of births and death for the whole of Lower Myanmar. The extension of registration does not extend to the whole of Lower Myanmar and on the date of 1911 census, the Thanlwin and the Northern Rakhine districts were still without any records of births and deaths. Any examination of the vital statistics must therefore be partial and can refer to only a portion of Lower Myanmar.⁵

The growth of population in Lower Myanmar has been governed not only by fluctuations in the birth rates but by wide variations in the death rates. With the information on the number of births and deaths, the Department of Public Health, formerly sanitary commissioner, calculated the crude birth and death rates. In order to calculate the birth and death rates of population, the population was most commonly taken as the population of the registration area at the last census.⁶ The crude rate of natural increase, obtained by subtracting the death rate from the birth rate, has fluctuated sharply in Lower Myanmar because of fluctuations in the death rate. It is also clear from the five years average rates as follows.

¹ *Report on the Sanitary Administration of British-Burma for the Year 1879*, Rangoon, Government Press, 1880, p. 1

² *Report on the Sanitary Administration of Burma for the Year 1892*, Rangoon, Government Press, 1893, p. 1

³ *RSABB*, 1882, p. 2

⁴ *RSAB*, 1907, p. 3

⁵ *Census of India, 1911, Burma Report*, p. 42.

⁶ Sundrum, *Population Statistics of Burma*, pp. 7-8

Table 2 Birth Rates and Death Rates (1872-1941)¹

Year	BR (5-year Avg)	DR (5-year Avg)	Natural Increase
1872-1876	18.91	13.71	5.2
1877-1881	20.94	16.60	4.34
1882-1886	23.15	17.04	6.11
1887-1891	25.15	18.00	7.15
1892-1896	27.96	22.27	5.69
1897-1901	36.07	25.79	10.28
1902-1906	32.90	23.95	8.95
1907-1911	33.78	26.72	7.06
1912-1916	32.85	23.97	8.88
1917-1921	30.54	25.67	4.87
1922-1926	30.20	19.75	10.45
1927-1931	24.50	17.62	6.88
1932-1935	27.81	17.58	10.23

The above table shows that the birth and death rates in Lower Myanmar rose slowly during the years 1872 and 1935. The birth and death rates are highest during the years of 1897-1901 and 1907-1911. But, as the excess of birth rates over death rates, the population of Lower Myanmar increased steadily during the years 1872 and 1935. The natural increase in Lower Myanmar has not been exceptionally high because her birth rate has been almost matched by her death rates. It has been generally found that the birth reporting is less complete than death reporting. In a note of the Director of Public Health cited in the Census Report of 1931, it is said, birth registration is, of course, much more likely to be inaccurate than death registration, for while village or village tract known of a death, a birth is regarded as a matter of much less consequence and can more easily escape being known by the headman.² In the towns, a death certificate is usually necessary for cremation or internment of the remains.³

All these known deficiencies make the use of the registered birth and death figures to produce crude rates difficult to justify. The fluctuations shown in the graph represent administrative change and crisis. On some occasions, the magnitude of the mortality crisis overcame the inadequacy of the registration. This is shown on the graph by, for example, the rise in mortality in 1888, when a cholera epidemic occurred. The death from the flu pandemic in 1918, took the recorded mortality to nearly 239,000 in that year and the arrival of plague and its epidemic nature between 1907 and 1911 is also clearly visible on the graph. However, other apparent drops in the mortality and the birth rate are due to change or crises in the administration. It was decided in 1923, that the headmen themselves should be responsible for taking or sending the figures to the civil surgeons instead of the statistics being collected by the monthly police patrols. This change was imposed on the sanitary commission, and the probable result was predicted in the annual reports with some accuracy. By 1925, the recorded mortality rate had dropped to 17.45 and the birth rate

¹ (a) RSAB, 1895, 1899, 1900-1901 to 1915-1916

(b) RAB, 1916-1917 to 1920-1921

(c) RPHAB, 1920-1921 to 1935-1936

² *Census of India, 1931, Vol. XI, Burma, Part I, Report*, Rangoon, Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationery, Burma, 1933, p. 17

³ Sundrum, *Population Statistics of Burma*, pp. 8-9

to 24.82, the lowest rates since 1891. G.Jolly, the officiating sanitary commissioner described that the whole system of collection of vital statistics has been seriously disorganized.¹

Further evidence of the difference between the official rates and the actual rates of vital events appeared in the last decade of the study period. This evidence confirms that approximately one-quarter to one third of the vital events were not recorded. In 1929, with the aid of a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, a Health Unit was set up in Hlegu Township.² A great deal of emphasis was placed on the collection of vital statistics within the Hlegu Unit area. During the ten-year period 1930 to 1939, the average recorded death rate at Hlegu was 21 per thousand and the birth rate was 35 per thousand. Compared to the estimates of the sanitary commissioners, these figures are still low, and it is notable that in the three years 1937, 1938 and 1939, the birth rate rose to nearly 37 per thousand. It can be suggested that this probably indicates improved registration rather than a rising birth rate because the health officials were still detecting a high rate of omissions by 1939.³ In addition to detected omissions, it is probable that a number of stillbirths and the births and deaths of early neonates were still escaping registration. The registration data from the Hlegu health centers confirmed the former estimates of the sanitary commissioners that between 25 and 33 percent of vital events were not registered. Indeed, the Hlegu figures implied that nearly 50 percent of the vital events in that township had formerly not been registered and this was in an area where at least partial registration had started 70 years previously.

Conclusion

The discussion of the history and the quality of the registration in Myanmar leads to the conclusion that between one quarter and one third of the vital events were not recorded. It is difficult to make the most basic demographic deductions as the levels of inaccuracy varied from district to district and town to town. The other possible source of data is the census material. The census statistics of Myanmar provide more exact data than the registration figures. It can be used as the more accurate source of crude birth rates and crude death rates. When used in combination with the census data and the registration figures, they can provide useful insights into the salient features of Myanmar historical demography.

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¹ *Report on the Public Health Administration of Burma for the Year 1923*, Rangoon, Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1924, p. 3

² *Report on the Public Health Administration of Burma for the Year 1930*, Rangoon, Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1931 p. 50

³ *Report on the State of Public Health Administration of Burma, During 1939, Vol. I, Report*, Rangoon, Supdt, Government Printing and Stationery, Burma, 1940, p. 3

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THE SACRED BODHI TREE THAT FOUND IN THE MYANMAR HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS OF MONARCHICAL TIME

Thida Myint¹

Abstract

The Lord Buddha attained enlightenment under the shade of the Banyan tree (*Ficus religiosa*) which have been born simultaneously with him. Based on this fact, Myanmar kings held very high esteem to the sacred Bodhi tree and worshipped it as *Paribhoga Ceti*. With the aim of propagating and sustaining Buddhism, therefore, Myanmar kings used to plant respectfully the sacred Bodhi tree within the premises of pagodas and monasteries as a utensil of Lord Buddha. To honour Buddhism within their kingdom, moreover, Myanmar kings built a number of religious buildings and donated them to *Sāsana* throughout dynasties. Furthermore, they planted the sacred Bodhi tree and built religious buildings at Buddha Gaya of India, the sacred land for Buddhists. In fact, Myanmar kings renovated Mahabodhi Ceti and preserved the sacred Bodhi tree of Buddha Gaya as possible as they could throughout history. From Bagan to Konbaung period, they sent Buddhist missionaries to Buddha Gaya to make donations, to renovate religious buildings and to conserve the sacred Bodhi tree. Since Bagan period, king and people of Myanmar used to pour water and fragrances at the foot of the sacred Bodhi tree in order to make sure it does not die of drought during the hot summer as well as to honour it as the symbol of the enlightenment of Lord Buddha. Thus, pouring water at the foot of sacred Bodhi trees on the full moon day of *Kason* became a religious tradition of Myanmar since monarchical time. In fact, planting the sacred Bodhi trees was supportive not only for the propagation of Buddhism but also for the promotion of cordial relations with neighbouring countries. This paper is an attempt to reveal the importance of sacred Bodhi tree in Myanmar history with special references to stone inscriptions, parabaiks, the treatises on *Buddhavamsa*, Royal Orders and other relevant historical documents.

Keywords: Bodhi tree, the Buddha, Buddhism

Introduction

In *Bhadrakalpa* - period of time which is distinguished by enlightenment of five successive Buddhas, each Buddha attained or would attain enlightenment under different sacred trees. *Kakusandha* Buddha (the first Buddha of the *Bhadrakalpa*) attained enlightenment under Koukou (kind of rain tree) tree. *Koṇāgamana* Buddha (the second Buddha of the *Bhadrakalpa*) attained enlightenment under Yeithahpan (kind of fig usually found near watercourses) tree. *Kassapa* Buddha (the third Buddha of the *Bhadrakalpa*) attained enlightenment under sacred Banyan tree. *Gautama* Buddha attained enlightenment under sacred Bodhi (*Ficus religiosa*) tree.² Hence the sacred Bodhi tree and Throne on which the Lord Buddha attained enlightenment became the first symbols³ of Lord Buddha and they are worshipped reverently by the Buddhists.

In fact, the sacred Bodhi tree is a distinctive one because the Lord Buddha attained enlightenment at the foot of that tree as well as it was one of seven persons born or things appeared at the same moment when prince *Siddhattha* was born.⁴ The original sacred Bodhi tree and Throne were situated at Buddha Gaya of India. According to old records, Emperor Asoka built a ceti at Buddha Gaya by enshrining the original sacred Bodhi tree and Throne since around 2000 years

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² Tripitaka Sayadaw U Vicittasarabivamsa, *နှိုင်းငံ့တော်ဗုဒ္ဓသာသနာ မဟာဗုဒ္ဓဝင်* (ပထမတွဲ) (ဒုတိယပိုင်း) *State Buddha Sasana Great Life of Lord Buddha*, Vol. I, (Part 2), Yangon, Department of Religious Affairs, 1977, p. 579

³ Figure of Bodhi tree, figure of Stupa, figure of the Wheel of Dharma.

⁴ Princess Yaśodharā, Prince Ānanda, Chandra Amat (high official of Royal Court), Kaludāri Amat, Kandaka Horse, Four Big Gold Pots and Sacred Bo-tree.

ago. His successors who believed in Buddhism renovated the ceti.¹ This ceti; Mahabodhi, became a significant monument of Buddha Gaya. In fact, the sacred Bodhi tree that could be seen in the west of Mahabodhi Ceti nowadays is not the original one. According to the historical records, a Hindu king; *Sasanka*, cut down the original Bodhi tree and destroyed it. But a new Bodhi tree sprouted from a root of original tree. When the new tree also fell down to the ground in 1870, Sir Alexander Canning who took charge of the renovation works of Mahabodhi Ceti under the instructions of British Government at that time, cut a branch of fallen Bodhi tree and planted it at the original place of sacred tree.² Nowadays pilgrims can worship that re-planted sacred Bodhi tree at Buddha Gaya. Some records say that Emperor Asoka cut the southern branch of original sacred Bodhi tree by making a vow to propagate Buddhism. Then he sent his daughter *Singhamitta Theri* (female member of the Buddhist Order) to Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) to plant it there. Thus, the tree that grew out of the southern branch of original sacred Bodhi tree thrived as *Singhamitta* Bodhi tree at Anuradhapura city of Ceylon. Then the Ceylonese planted the seeds of that Bodhi tree all over Ceylon to worship as the symbol of Lord Buddha. Myanmar kings also brought respectfully some small Bodhi trees from Ceylon and planted them within their kingdom.

Planting and worshipping the sacred Bodhi tree by Myanmar Kings that found in Historical Literatures

Buddhist Myanmar kings revered Lord Buddha and supported Buddhism with the aim of flourishing and propagating it. They also planted sacred Bodhi trees and venerated as *Paribhoga Ceti* with the purpose of *thriving* and sustaining Buddhism. Moreover, Myanmar kings used to plant sacred Bodhi trees as evidence of the proliferation of Buddhism.³ By studying the historical evidence of Bagan period, however, it can be seen that Bagan kings did not plant and worship the sacred Bodhi trees though they provided and propagated Buddhism. In “*Ancient Myanmar Chronicle*” written by Dr. Than Tun, it can only be seen that an anonymous queen of Bagan planted small Bodhi trees which grown out of the seeds of sacred tree of Buddha Gaya⁴ around the monastery that she donated.⁵ *Sasana Linkara Treatise*” written by Mahadhammathingyan and “*Glass Palace Chronicle*” describe that King Uzana (1322 – 1342) of Pinya tried to thrive and sustain Buddhism by planting sacred Bodhi tree in ME 702 (1340).⁶

During Taungoo period, Rāmadhipati or King Dhammazedi (1472 – 1492) sent twenty-two monks to Ceylon on 21 January 1476. Those monks arrived back at Bago on 12 October 1476 and consecrated the ground for Kalyāni ordination hall on 23 November 1476. Then the king planted the sacred Bodhi tree there by enshrining Kalyāni Ceti.⁷ In fact, the king promoted religious

¹ မြန်မာ့စွယ်စုံကျမ်း၊ အတွဲ (၈)၊ Myanmar Encyclopedia, Vol. 8, Yangon, Sarpay Beikman Press, 1963, pp. 73-74

² Ibid, p. 151

³ (a) စမ္ဘူဒီပဉ္စဆောင်းကျမ်း၊ Zambudhipa Oksaung Treatise, Furnivall and Pe Maung Tin (edited), Yangon, Burma Research Society, 1960, p. 42

(b) Dr Than Tun, အဓိဋ္ဌိတော်ထံကသမိုင်း၊ History in Royal Order, Yangon, Seikku Cho Cho, 2011, p. 32 (Hereafter cited as Than Tun, History in Royal Order)

⁴ Dr Than Tun, ခေတ်ဟောင်းမြန်မာရာဇဝင်၊ Ancient Myanmar Chronicle, Yangon, Maha Dagon Publishing House, 1969 (2nd Reprint), p. 214 (Hereafter cited as Than Tun, Ancient Myanmar Chronicle)

⁵ Ibid, p. 253

⁶ (a) Mahadhammathingyan, သာသနာလင်္ကာရစာတမ်း၊ Sasana Linkara Treatise, Yangon, Hanthawady Press, 1956, p. 126

(b) မှန်နန်းမဟာရာဇဝင်တော်ကြီး (သုံးတွဲပေါင်း)၊ Glass Palace Chronicle (Consolidation of three volumes), Yangon, Sarthugyi Publishing House, 2008, p. 229

⁷ Dr Than Tun, မြန်မာ့သမိုင်းလစ်ကွက်များ (မြန်မာ-အင်္ဂလိပ်)၊ Missing Points in Myanmar History (Myanmar-English bilingual version) Yangon, Monywa Sarpay, 2003, pp. 66-70

relations not only with Ceylon but also with India. He sent a Buddhist missionary to Buddha Gaya to copy the blueprint of Buddha Gaya Monastery and to plant the seed of sacred Bodhi tree there.¹

During Nyaungyan period, Sanay Min (1698 – 1714) built a pagoda on the cemetery ground of his father; Minye Kyawhtin. He also planted sacred Bodhi trees around the pagoda. Hence the pagoda came to be known as Mahabodhi Pagoda.² In 1705, he put five Bodhi trees that brought from Ceylon in golden pots and planted them in the premises of the pagoda while the musicians beating royal drums at the auspicious time.³ Thus Sanay Min supported Buddha *Sāsana* by planting Bodhi tree.

During the time of Badon Min (1782 – 1819), two monks from Ceylon arrived at Myanmar capital on 12 March 1806. They brought five sacred Bodhi trees together with them. The king planted one of them in the west of Mingun Pahtodawgyi and four others within the walls of Shwechetho Pagoda of Yadanāthainga.⁴ The Royal Order issued on 18 March 1806 expresses that the monks from Ceylon brought seven Bodhi trees to Myanmar capital city. The king ordered those supervisors had to be assigned to welcome the sacred trees with mass celebrations.⁵ People had to carry Bodhi trees from wharf to the palace by putting them on the palanquins each.⁶ After welcoming ceremony, the trees were put in golden pots respectively. Two of them were planted in the premises of Mahamuni Pagoda. Other two were planted in the premises of Shwechetho Pagoda of Yadanāthainga and the last three were planted near Mingun Pahtodawgyi. As Badon Min had cordial relations with Ceylon, king of the latter sent five more Bodhi trees to Myanmar. Those trees arrived at Myanmar capital on 27 March 1806. Of these trees, one was planted at Shwechetho Pagoda, another was at Aungmyaylawka Pagoda of Sagaing and another was at Mahamuni Pagoda of Mandalay. The rest two were planted at Mingun. Every Bodhi tree was planted at the auspicious time predicted by royal Brahmins. In order to be alive those Bodhi trees well, the ground had to be dug up to fifteen feet depth and put fertilized soil in the pits before planting. Around Bodhi trees, moreover, walls were built to prevent the destruction of animals and fire.⁷ In transporting Bodhi trees to plant to respective places, they were put on carriages at prescribed auspicious days and pulled them with ropes by courtiers who wore *nipā*⁸ and *baung*.⁹ In transporting Bodhi trees to Mingun, they were put on *Hlawkā*¹⁰ at the wharf and send them to the other side of the river.¹¹ The king also issued Royal Order for the gardeners who looked after the sacred Bodhi trees to pour eight buckets of water a day at the foot of each tree in order to alive and flourish them well.¹² On 1 October 1809, the king received gifts that presented by the governors of *Gālipura* and *Kolambūra* towns of Ceylon. The gifts were conch shell, ivory, fragrance, fabric, treatises on medicine, two

¹ Dr Than Tun, *မြန်မာ့သမိုင်းပုံရိပ် Myanmar History Told in Pictures*, Yangon, Monywa Sarpay, 2004, p. 175

² Twinthin Taikwun Mahasithu U Tun Nyo, *မဟာရာဇဝင်သစ် (ညောင်ရမ်းဆက်)၊ တတိယတွဲ၊ New Great Chronicle (Nyaungyan Dynasty)*, Vol. III, Yangon, Yapyae Book House, 1997, p. 125

³ Dr Than Tun, *The Royal Orders of Burma A.D.1598-1885*, Vol. III, A.D.1751-1781, Kyoto, The Center For South East Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1985. p. 115

⁴ U Maung Maung Tin, *ကုန်းဘောင်ဆက် မဟာရာဇဝင်ကြီး (ဒုတိယတွဲ)၊ Great Chronicle of Konbaung Dynasty*, Vol. II, Yangon, Yapyae Publishing House, 4th Reprint, 2004, p. 110 (Hereafter cited as Maung Maung Tin, *Konbaung Dynasty*, II)

⁵ Dr Than Tun, *The Royal Orders of Burma A.D.1598-1885*, Vol. V, A.D.1788-1806, Kyoto, The Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1986. p.832 (Hereafter cited as Than Tun, *ROB*, V)

⁶ Than Tun, *ROB*, V, p. 834

⁷ Ibid, p. 841

⁸ Cloth that dyed red colour.

⁹ Kind of fillet or turban worn by royal princes.

¹⁰ Ancient royal boat with high and ornamented prow and stern. Myanmar Language Commission, *Myanmar Dictionary*, Yangon, Printing and Press Department, 1991, p. 349

¹¹ Than Tun, *ROB*, V, p-849

¹² Ibid, p. 852

bronze Buddha images, nine relics, a branch of sacred Bodhi tree that has nine feet length and four small Bodhi trees. The king worshipped reverently the Buddha images and relics, and planted Bodhi trees within the walls of Shinphyu¹ Pagoda.² According to above mentioned evidences, it can be said that Myanmar's relations with Ceylon flourished as a cordial one during the reign of Badon Min mainly based on the fact that both countries laid stress on the propagation of Buddhism. During this period, monks from Ceylon came to Myanmar for many times by carrying sacred Bodhi trees and treatises.

In fact, Badon Min promoted cordial relations not only with Ceylon but also with India mainly based on the sacred Bodhi tree. The king heard many times about the sacred Bodhi tree of Buddha Gaya via the words addressed formally by Brahmins, hermits and traders of India. Consequently, he wanted to know more extensively about the sacred tree. On 12 October 1808, therefore, he sent Wātheikhta Brahmin, Shwedaung Thāgathu; governor of Rammāwady, Zeyakyawthu, Zeyakyawhtin and Zeyakyawswa to Mizzimadesa or India in order to inquire about the sacred Bodhi tree and to bring *tripitaka* and treatises on worldly affairs to Myanmar.³ The delegation went to Buddha Gaya and drew the illustrations of the foundation platform of sacred Bodhi tree, Nerañjarā and Anawmā Rivers and Muchalindā Lake there. On this occasion, Mahapalagiriguthanzi, the one who took charge of the management of Maha Bodhi area, gifted Myanmar delegation two small sacred Bodhi trees, earth from the original place of sacred tree, three stone images of Lord Buddha, small models of Sandamuni stupa and written verses to worship those sacred things. After receiving the gifts, Myanmar delegation returned home and arrived back at Sagaing on 18 May 1810. The king put Buddha images at the virtuous place of the palace under pyatthat (multi-staged roof with an odd numbers of tiers) and allowed the people to pay homage to the images. Two sacred Bodhi trees were carried to Mingun on golden carriages by spreading white umbrellas over them. Then the sacred trees were planted in the north of Pahtodawgyi by putting them together with Buddha Gaya earth in multi-plied pots that made up of iron layer, bronze layer, silver layer, alloy of gold and copper layer and gold layer which were decorated with rubies and other precious stones. On this occasion, the trees were planted by Badon Min himself. Then two layers wall was also built to protect the sacred Bodhi trees. The walls had eight decorated archways, two brick turrets and 128 figures of guardian spirits around the wall. The king also erected a stone inscription that recorded his deeds within the wall.⁴ By seeing this event, it is obvious that Badon Min revered the sacred Bodhi trees as religious ones and planted them in the premises of pagoda with great respect. In sending religious mission to India, moreover, Badon Min might have hidden intention to inquire about the political situation of India.

During Konbaung period, Sagaing Min or Bagyidaw (1819 – 1837) had strong desire to worship the sacred Bodhi tree of Buddha Gaya and to donate several kinds of offertories to it since his Crown Prince-hood. When he gained throne, therefore, Sagaing Min prepared benefactions for sacred Bodhi tree; bouquet-shaped offertory decorated with gold, silver and rubies, pop-corn, umbrella, pennant, bent bamboo stick tied to a flagstaff, paper streamer designed like a flower, long-necked pot for religious use, and a stone pillar that inscribed his donations. He poured water symbolically for his offertories on 3 December 1821. In order to donate them to the sacred Bodhi tree of Buddha Gaya, the king sent a mission which was composed of Court Brahmin *Mahārajinda Aggamāha Dhammarajaguru*, minister for royal audience hall Mahaminhla Thagathu and other

¹ The Pagoda that built by Sagaing Min in the north of Mingun Pahtodawgyi.

² Maung Maung Tin, *Konbaung Dynasty*, Vol. II, p. 132

³ Maung Maung Tin, *Konbaung Dynasty*, Vol. II, p. 128

⁴ (a) Maung Maung Tin, *Konbaung Dynasty*, Vol. II, pp. 131 – 136

(b) သုသာန်တမဟာရာဇဝင်ကြီး၊ *Thuthawdhita Great Chronicle*, Vol. III of the compilation of six volumes, Yangon, Seikku Cho Cho, 2015, pp. 1038 – 1043

court officials together with five hundred soldiers to India.¹ This event reveals that Sagaing Min revered the Sacred Bodhi tree that represents enlightenment of Lord Buddha.

During the reign of Sagaing Min, the First Anglo-Myanmar War broke out in 1824 and ended with the signing of the Treaty of Yandabo in 1826. A clause of Yandabo Treaty prescribed to exchange diplomatic missions which are composed of fifty members each led by an official between two countries. According to this clause, Myanmar court sent a mission led by Wundauktaw (officer who assisted the Hluttaw ministers) Mingyimahasithu to England. The mission was composed of royal clerk Minhla Nandakyawhtin, Athounsaye (official entrusted with the management of construction works and royal occasion) Narashwedaung Nawrahta and fifty members. En route, the mission went into Buddha Gaya to pay homage the sacred Bodhi tree while passing through India. Members of the mission had already read about the sacred Bodhi tree in the religious writings. Those writings say that the sacred tree has the height of 100 taungs² (measure for length of eighteen inches). When they measured the actual height of sacred tree on ground, however, they found that it only has 80 taungs³ from bottom to top. Concerning this differentiation, they recorded their opinion that the branches of the tree spread to the sides and consequently current height deviated from the height that recorded in religious writings.⁴ They also saw the gold and silver padeithabins (tree-shaped stand where various articles of offering are hung) that donated by Myanmar kings and stone inscriptions that recorded these donations. Brahmins and preeminent persons who looking after the sacred Bodhi tree of Buddha Gaya offered a Sakyamuni Buddha image and three small Bodhi trees to the mission for Myanmar king. On 19 September 1833, Sagaing Min himself welcomed these offertories by deploying his army and navy of royal entourage.⁵ But the king did not plant the small Bodhi trees immediately. With the aim of thriving and sustaining the trees for the long run, at first, he chose auspicious places to plant the trees in consultation with venerable monks led by the head monk of Sangha order, royal princes and ministers. Then the king himself planted sacred Bodhi trees in the southwest of his palace by celebrating grand festivities on 4 November 1834. The king also built two layers of wall with decorated archways around the sacred trees.⁶ Myanmar people generally assumed that the monks and king had the obligation to promote and protect Buddhism. In religious affairs, the head monk of Sangha order was the most influential one. When Myanmar king and people wanted to build pagodas and monasteries, therefore, they had to address formally their tentative ideas and plans to the former. By planting and worshipping the sacred Bodhi trees reverently, Sagaing Min tried his best to flourish Buddhism.

Shin *Dhammakhandha* and Shin *Waṇṇayatana* from Ceylon came to Mandalay Yadanabon Capital during the reign of King Mindon in 1859. They brought the eyetooth and relics of Lord Buddha, Sacred Bodhi tree, *Dakkhiṇasākhā* (image of Buddha curved from the southern branch of sacred Bodhi tree), and the pictures of pagoda, monastery and ordination hall that offered by the venerable monks of Ceylon to Myanmar king.⁷ The king himself carried the eyetooth and

¹ Maung Maung Tin, *Konbaung Dynasty*, Vol. II, p. 224

² 50 yards

³ 40 yards

⁴ Ma Kyan, “ဘင်္ဂလားသွား မြန်မာသံတော်အဖွဲ့ (အေဒီ ၁၈၃၀)” “Myanmar Diplomatic Mission that went to Bengal (AD 1830), *The Collection of already printed papers that commemorated Silver Jubilee*, Yangon, Department of Historical Research, 1982, pp. 188-189

⁵ Maung Maung Tin, *Konbaung Dynasty*, Vol. II, pp. 327-328

⁶ Maung Maung Tin, *Konbaung Dynasty*, Vol. II, p. 330

⁷(a) သီဟိုဠ်ကျွန်းက စွယ်တော်ဓါတ်တော်ရုပ်ပွားတော်ပင့်ခဲ့သည့် အဆောင်မြို့ပုသိမ်တော်တို့ပေးချက် ကျီးသံမေတ္တာစာ၊ Kyee-thē homily written in a sympathetic vein for the ones who brought the tooth relics of Lord Buddha and Buddha images from Ceylon, Universities' Central Library, Parabaik – 194511

relics of Lord Buddha from the wharf to the palace on 14 June 1859. The other images and sacred Bodhi tree had to be carried by princes and Atwinwuns. These sacred things were put at Shwenandawoo Pagoda and made a devotional offering by the king.¹ Then King Mindon planted the sacred Bodhi tree that donated by Ceylon monks within the wall of Mahamuni pagoda on 3 December 1860. He also built a small wall with three decorated archways around the tree to protect it. The occasion was supervised by the head of Sangha order and joined by the princes, ministers and courtiers.² Eyetooth and relics of Lord Buddha were enshrined in the second repository hall of Mahalawka Marazein Ceti on 15 March 1862.³ Another sacred Bodhi tree that presented by *Majjimadesa* was also planted by the king himself in the northeast of Kyauktawgyi pagoda with royal festivities on 25 April 1865.⁴ Moreover King Mindon planted sacred Bodhi trees in the northeast corner of Kyauktawgyi pagoda compound on 9 May 1865 and the southwest corner of the same pagoda compound on 11 July 1865.⁵ With the aim of supporting Buddhism, King Mindon not only planted sacred Bodhi trees within his kingdom but also sent religious missions to Buddha Gaya in order to renovate the religious buildings, conserve the sacred Bodhi tree and to make donation there.

King Mindon sent an embassy led by U Cheint⁶ to Bengal on 2 December 1874.⁷ U Cheint recorded the itinerary of Myanmar embassy to Bengal as well as its tour to Buddha Gaya to make donations to sacred Bodhi tree in details. According to this record, King Mindon gave the embassy twenty-seven boxes of offertories for the sacred Bodhi tree.⁸ Leader of the embassy U Cheint and members; royal clerk Naymyo Minhtinsithu, Ahmayei (amanuensis of the royal court) Naymyo Minhtinkyawkhaung, Nawrahta Thirisithu and royal servants brought the offertories of the king to Buddha Gaya. King's offertories were 511 diamonds, 311 emeralds, 3966 rubies and 623 pearls. In addition to these precious things, the embassy had to carry the offertories of princes, princesses and royal relatives; golden umbrella, pennant, bent bamboo stick tied to a flagstaff, paper streamer designed like a flower, and bouquet-shaped offertories decorated with gold and silver. The embassy brought these offertories on Sekkya Yinmon Steamer to India and donated them to the sacred Bodhi tree of Buddha Gaya on behalf of royal family.⁹

At Buddha Gaya, members of embassy kept eight precepts for three days as well as offered food, 1,000 flowers, 1,000 candles and 1,000 open oil lamps to the sacred Bodhi tree. They also

(b) U Maung Maung Tin, *ကုန်းဘောင်ဆက် မဟာရာဇဝင်ကြီး (တတိယတွဲ)* *Great Chronicle of Konbaung Dynasty*, Vol. II, Yangon, Yarpay Publishing House, 4th Reprint, 2004, pp. 195-197 (Hereafter cited as Maung Maung Tin, *Konbaung Dynasty*, Vol. III)

(c) Kandymyo Sitke Minhtinyaza, *မန္တလေးရတနာပုံ မဟာရာဇဝင်တော်ကြီး* *Great Chronicle of Mandalay Yadanabon*, Mandalay, Tetnaylin Press, 1969, p. 178 (Hereafter cited as Minhtinyaza, *Great Chronicle of Yadanabon*)

¹ J.G. Scott, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and Shan State*, Part. I, Vol. I, Rangoon, Superintendent Government Printing and Stationery, 1900, p. 45

² (a) Maung Maung Tin, *Konbaung Dynasty*, Vol. III, p. 204

(b) Minhtinyaza, *Great Chronicle of Yadanabon*, pp. 109 – 110

³ Maung Maung Tin, *Konbaung Dynasty*, Vol. III, p. 197

⁴ (a) Minhtinyaza, *Great Chronicle of Yadanabon*, pp. 127, 324

(b) Maung Maung Tin, *Konbaung Dynasty*, Vol. III, p. 224

⁵ Dr Than Tun, *နယ်လှည့်ရာဇဝင် (သုံးတွဲပေါင်း)* *Going on the Tour Chronicle* (Consolidation of three volumes), Yangon, Pyae Zon Publishing House, 2004, p. 216 (Hereafter cited as Than Tun, *Going on the Tour Chronicle*)

⁶ Governor of Myaung Hla, Wundauk Mingyi (officer who assisted the Hluttaw minister) Thirimaha Zeyathu

⁷ U Cheint, *ဘင်္ဂလားသွား သံအဖွဲ့မှတ်တမ်း* *Record of the Embassy that went to Bengal*, Mandalay, Kyeepwayay Press, 2009, pp. 10-11 (Hereafter cited as Cheint, *Embassy to Bengal*)

⁸ Cheint, *Embassy to Bengal*, p. 8

⁹ Sitagu Sayadaw Ashin Nyanissara, *မင်းတုန်းမင်းတရားကြီး၏ မဟာဗောဓိရွှေညောင်တော် ကျောက်စာ သံပိုင်းမော်ကွန်း* *Mahabodhi Shwe Nyaung Daw Inscription of King Mindon*, Pali-Myanmar bilingual version, Sitagu International Buddhist Missionary Association, 2015

poured water at the foot of sacred tree with golden cup in numbers equal to the age of King Mindon at every morning and night. They prayed for the long lives of king, queens, princes, princesses, royal relatives and courtiers as well as for flourishing of Sasana within the kingdom.¹ On behalf of King Mindon, moreover, members of Myanmar embassy asked Mahandhaki Zawgyi (preeminent person) who took charge of the management of Mahabodhi area, to allow them to build a monastery near sacred Bodhi tree. This monastery will be used to live by monks and lay persons who look after the sacred Bodhi tree. They also asked him to allow them to renovate the deteriorated walls that encircled the sacred tree.² Mahandhaki Zawgyi replied to the embassy that “Hindu kings of India were not interested in the renovation of Mahabodhi area. Pilgrims from China and Siam did not ask any plot of land at Buddha Gaya. Even Badon Min and Sagaing Min did not ask any plot of land though they sent deputations to Buddha Gaya to make donations. King Mindon was the only one who asked a plot of land at Buddha Gaya.”³ Finally Myanmar embassy got a plot of land that had the area of 12 Katta⁴ to build a monastery near sacred Bodhi tree.⁵ According to old sayings, the religious land that donated by Indian kings to sacred Bodhi tree had the length of six taings⁶ from north to south and the width of two taings from east to west.⁷ Now the Myanmar embassy got permission from Zawgyi to build a monastery at Buddha Gaya and to renovate the walls surrounded the sacred tree. The embassy left permanently the ex-monks Nga Bo Cho and Nga Bo Han at Buddha Gaya in order to conserve the sacred tree. They were allowed to use five muu (muu is one tenth of a Myanmar kyat of Konbaung period) to offer food at sacred tree in the early morning, two muu and one pē (pē is one twentieth of old Myanmar kyat) to offer flowers and another two muu and one pē to offer open oil lamps at night daily. Hence they can use total one kyat per day for offertories for sacred Bodhi tree. Myanmar embassy gave away 1,000 visses of bronze in charity to the beggars too. Moreover it also copied the inscription that recorded the donations of Sagaing Min at Buddha Gaya. But members of the embassy could not copy the rest inscriptions that recorded the donations of previous kings including Asoka because almost all of them had already been broken. Finally, the embassy brought a broken branch of sacred Bodhi tree, the earth from the place of Aparazita Throne and the small models of Mahabodhi Ceti and returned home. It arrived back at home on 30 January 1875.⁸

During the reign of King Mindon, the Crown Prince of United Kingdom; Prince of Wales visited India on 7 November 1875.⁹ The king sent a goodwill delegation led by Kinwunmingyi Thadoemahasithu to Calcutta (now Kolkata) to pay a courtesy call on the Crown Prince. King Mindon also assigned the delegation with the task “to go to the sacred Bodhi tree and Mahabodhi Ceti of Buddha Gaya, to make a list of the renovation works for deteriorated walls of those sacred things and to fix the plot of land for constructing a brick public rest house for pilgrims.”¹⁰ After the courtesy call, therefore, Kingwunmyingyi went to Buddha Gaya and carried out the assigned tasks. Moreover, he could fix the place for constructing public rest house there in consultation with *Mahantagījoaugyī*. Thus, the goodwill delegation led by Kinwunmingyi performed both tasks for politics and religion during its visit to India.

Myanmar kings worshipped the sacred Bodhi trees of Buddha Gaya and Ceylon as well as planted the sacred Bodhi trees that brought from those places within their kingdom as the symbol

¹ Cheint, *Embassy to Bengal*, p. 65

² Ibid, p. 68

³ Cheint, *Embassy to Bengal*, p. 73

⁴ Unit of measure for the area of plot of land

⁵ Cheint, *Embassy to Bengal*, p. 114

⁶ Unit of measure for distance approximately two miles

⁷ Cheint, *Embassy to Bengal*, p. 66

⁸ Cheint, *Embassy to Bengal*, p. 69

⁹ Maung Maung Tin, *Konbaung Dynasty*, Vol. III, p. 282

¹⁰ Maung Maung Tin, *Konbaung Dynasty*, Vol. III, pp. 282-283

of Lord Buddha. They also worshipped the leaves that dropped from the sacred Bodhi tree of Buddha Gaya. In fact, the sacred Bodhi tree is a utensil of Lord Buddha and hence anyone must not cut its branches. However, some branches of sacred tree sometimes detach from its trunk for several reasons. On this occasion, Buddhists can use them to curve the Buddha images called *Dakhiṇasākhā*.¹ In order to curve Buddha images from southern branch of sacred Bodhi tree from Gaya, firstly the dry branch has to be pounded to make wood powder. Then the wood powder is kneaded with oleoresin. Finally, the chunk of wood powder could be curved by sculptors to make *Dakhiṇasākhā* images. These images that made in Ceylon use to be worshipped in Myanmar too.²

Myanmar kings from Bagan to Konbaung period planted the sacred Bodhi tree as they wanted to imagine that the Lord Buddha is alive forever. Moreover, the pictures of Lord Buddha and sacred Bodhi tree used to be illustrated reverently on the walls of pagodas with fine arts. To thrive and flourish such sacred tree that symbolizes Lord Buddha and *Sāsanā*, Buddhist Myanmar people use to pour water at the foot of sacred tree in the hottest time of summer. Thus, the water pouring festival at the foot of sacred Bodhi tree became a religious tradition of Myanmar.

Myanmar Kings and Water Pouring Festival

Kason is the noblest month for Buddhists as the most auspicious events concerning Lord Buddha happened in this month. Like a Myanmar old saying “*Tagū: yeikon, Kason yeikhan*” (water runs out in the month of *Tagū*., water dries up in the month of *Kason*), *Kason* is the hottest month of the year and consequently water in lakes, ponds, creeks and wells dries up in this month. In this context, the Myanmar Buddhists use to pour water at the foot of sacred Bodhi tree to make sure it does not die of drought during the hottest time of the year. Thus, the practice of pouring water at the foot of sacred Bodhi tree became a religious tradition of Myanmar. In fact, Buddhists believed that worshipping the sacred Bodhi tree where Lord Buddha attained enlightenment underneath is equal to the worshipping Lord Buddha himself. Based on this belief, Myanmar Buddhists used to pour water and fragrances at the foot of sacred Bodhi tree on the full moon day of *Kason*, the Buddha Day.

By studying some inscriptions, it can be said that the tradition of pouring water at the foot of sacred Bodhi tree was initiated since Bagan period. Inscription of Thingyi Nyaung Auk³ which was inscribed in 1201 and inscription of Thikhin Yazathu and Ami Bwa Saw⁴ which was inscribed in 1290 show that pouring water at the foot of sacred Bodhi tree was conducted since Bagan period. King and people of Myanmar celebrated the pouring water festival at the foot of sacred tree to make sure it does not die of drought during the hottest month of summer i.e. *Kason*. They offered flowers and open oil lamps to the sacred tree and poured water at its foot.⁵

King Thalun issued a royal order on 31 March 1638 to make arrangements for *Kason* pouring water festival. It instructs that -

“On fifteenth waxing day of *Kason* of ME 1000 (1638), play royal musical instruments at the time of appearing the Withakha (astron) star on the sky. Deploy troops of royal entourage 250 men each at east, west, left, and right side of the palace (total 1000 troops) to pour water. Bring 1000 long-necked pots for religious use

¹ *Myanmar Encyclopedia*, Vol. 8, pp. 73-74

² Than Tun, *History in Royal Order*, p. 188

³ Nyeing Maung, U, ရှေးဟောင်းမြန်မာကျောက်စာများ၊ ပထမတွဲ၊ *Old Myanmar Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Yangon, Archaeological Department, 1967, p. 72

⁴ Nyeing Maung, U, ရှေးဟောင်းမြန်မာကျောက်စာများ၊ တတိယတွဲ၊ *Old Myanmar Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Yangon, Archaeological Department, 1982, p. 157

⁵ Than Tun, *History in Royal Order*, p. 56

together with 1000 pennants. Pour water at the foot of sacred Bodhi trees and Buddha images while beating royal drums by musicians. Carry bottles of rose water, glass bottles, and golden and silver long-necked pots to the festival. Minsters have to manage this occasion.”¹

King Thalun carried out good deeds in ME 1000. The Kason water pouring festival was held under the patronage of king and ministers.² People of Inwa went to Htee Hlaing Shin pagoda to pour water at the foot of sacred Bodhi tree there.³

During Konbaung period, Sagaing Min carried out the water pouring festival at the foot of sacred Bodhi trees that planted at the pagodas on 26 April 1820.⁴ King Mindon also held water pouring festival at the foot of sacred Bodhi trees on the full moon day of Kason. King Thibaw (1878 – 1885) carried reverently the sacred Bodhi tree that brought from Buddha Gaya during the reign of King Mindon, to Kyaungdawgyar pagoda and held water pouring festival at the foot of it annually. By seeing these occasions, it can be said that Myanmar kings poured water at the foot of sacred Bodhi tree on the full moon day of Kason since Bagan period.

During monarchical time, however, Myanmar kings did not use to pour water at the foot of every Bodhi tree. They only used to pour water only at the foot of sacred Bodhi tree that descended from the original sacred Bodhi tree of Buddha Gaya. On this occasion, they aimed at worshipping the original sacred Bodhi tree underneath the Lord Buddha attained enlightenment, thriving the sacred Bodhi tree during the hottest time of the year and wishing the rain to fall at the earliest occasion.⁵ If the rain fell at the earliest opportunity, it would make the climate temperate. Such early rain would be very supportive of the cultivation of the country. Hence it can be said that Kason water pouring festival is not only a religious occasion but also the socio-economic one. During monarchical time, Myanmar kings also cleaned the Buddha images that worshipped in the palace on this occasion. They also celebrated royal festival magnificently on this occasion.⁶ In order to hold Kason water pouring festival, preparations had to be made since fourteenth waxing day of Kason. Courtiers had to draw water with 250 long-necked pots for each side of royal courtyard. Then pennants and tendons of sprig of Eugenia had to be inserted in the pots. Royal entertainments had to be hold in the northern courtyard of palace for the whole night. At the very early morning of Kason full moon day, ten long-necked pots of water had to be poured for each Buddha image and each sacred Bodhi tree by Wundauks and royal clerks. Commoners were also allowed to do donations for the festival.⁷ Hence it can be said that Kason water pouring festival concerns with all people, and it is held throughout Myanmar history since Bagan period up to today without fail.

¹ Dr. ThanTun, *The Royal Orders of Burma A.D.1598-1885*, Vol. I, A.D.1598-1648, Kyoto, The Center For South East Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1983, p. 354

² Minister Thiri Uzana (Inyon Ywasar), *လောကဗျူဟာကျမ်း (အင်္ဂုစာတမ်း)၊ Treatise on Legion of the World (Inyon Treatise)*, Yangon, Central Press, 1968, 3rd Reprint, pp. 355-399 (Hereafter cited as Thiri Uzana, *Treatise on Legion of the World*)

³ U Kala, *မဟာရာဇဝင်ကြီး (တတိယအုပ်)၊ Great Chronicle (Vol. III)*, Yangon, Yarpay Publishing House, 2006, 3rd Reprint, p. 278

⁴ Maung Maung Tin, *Konbaung Dynasty*, Vol. II, p. 196

⁵ Thiri Uzana, *Treatise on Legion of the World*, p. 299

⁶ Than Tun, *Going on the Tour Chronicle*, p. 287

⁷ Dr Toe Hla, *မြန်မာ့ကျင့်ဝတ်သိက္ခာနှင့် လူမှုတန်ဖိုး၊ Myanmar rules of conduct, practice of moral uprightness and social value*, Yangon, Linyadanar Publishing House, 2005, pp. 122-123 (Hereafter cited as Toe Hla, *Myanmar social value*)

Conclusion

According to the historical documents, kings and people made donations and renovations for the sacred Bodhi tree with the belief that the Lord Buddha attained enlightenment under that tree and venerated as *Paribhoga Ceti*. Myanmar kings worshipped reverently the sacred Bodhi tree of Buddha Gaya and Ceylon to make good merits. They also planted the sacred Bodhi trees that descended from the former in the premises of pagodas and monasteries within their kingdom. They built walls to protect the sacred trees too. Myanmar kings and people also poured water and fragrances at the foot of sacred Bodhi trees to be green and lush on the full moon day of Kason. This tradition thrived in Myanmar since Bagan period and continues to flourish until the present time.

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THE IMPACT OF JOHN LOCKE'S POLITICAL THOUGHT ON THE REVOLUTIONS IN THE WEST

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Abstract

This paper goal is to examine and present the influence of Locke's political and social views on the emergence of French and American political thoughts and institutions, and how his ideas still illuminate future political and social developments. The research methods to be used are the descriptive and evaluative methods. The answer to the question is to be found in Locke's thought based on a humanism which emphasizes natural rights to life, liberty, and property. Besides, he introduced what come to be known as constitutional government as the most desirable form for well-organized and harmonious society. The principle of comparison will be used as a research principle. This paper will contribute towards consistent ways and means of enhancing the smooth functioning of a developed and stable society.

Keywords: Social Contract Theory, Natural Rights, Sovereignty of the Community, Constitutional Government

Introduction

Human beings have agreed to live together as a group and there was interrelation among them which is called society. Without individual members there can be no actually existing society. Moreover human society is continually undergoing change. Due to changing social conditions, human's views and thought also change and then new views, new thoughts, new ideas, and new ideals arise. These changing social conditions are never at a standstill. If old thoughts and old views no longer work well and there is a need to build new forms of social structure there arise new social thoughts. So, these new social thought arise when the institutions, traditions and customs of the past no longer work well, and have to be replaced by new adjustments, new values which result in new customs and institutions of the society.

But in every community there will be those who see the need for change and come up with novel ideas on the one hand and on the other there will be those who wish to preserve the status quo and resist change. It is at such times when a society has reached the cross-roads, that and it can no longer adequately provide the necessities of life equally and fairly that outstanding thinkers with new ideas that give hope to the majority make an impact on the future historical course of a given society. That John Locke was such a figure will be discussed and clarified in this research paper.

John Locke (1632-1704) was one of the most influential political philosophers of the modern period and some of his views apply today as much as they did in his time. Besides initiating the vigorous tradition known as British empiricism, Locke's influence reached far beyond the limits of the traditional ideas of philosophy. He introduced new social, political, and ethical ideas and theories that were to impact not only future political theories but also important historical events in his books *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* and *Two Treatises on Government*.

In human society, all beings desire equality, rights, freedom, peace and safety in life though they may be unable to form these thought clearly or realize how to achieve them. These thought and ideas are clarified by Locke's Social Contract Theory. According to him, this social contract theory is seen as being not between government and the governed but between free men and is the corollary of the law of nature. He used terms such as the Law of Nature under which all human beings are equal and have Natural Rights such as the rights to life, liberty and property.

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Locke's Social Contract Theory involves the necessity of majority rule and each individual surrenders part of his freedom to the community for his security. Thus, the minority must be bound by the will of the majority and if it is necessary, force can also be used which is based on. According to this Social Contract, an individual comes under the Rule of Law the rule of the majority. These views had great influence on future generations.

How John Locke's thought influenced the beliefs of Western philosophers is presented by David Stewart and H. Gene Blocker in their book *The Fundamentals of Philosophy* as follows:

John Locke (1632-1704) is an extremely important social philosopher, whose views directly and greatly influenced the Declaration of Independence of the United States, the Bill of Rights, and the Constitution. Much of Jefferson's language in the Declaration of Independence was taken directly from Locke, especially the important sentence concerning life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness: (although Jefferson deliberately substituted "happiness" for Locke's term "property"). As Jefferson wrote later, it was not his intention in drafting the Declaration of Independence to invent new views, but to make clear the general position of philosophers such as Locke, Hume, and Rousseau to the general populace.¹

Some ideas of Locke's theory permeated the theories of Montesquieu (1689-1755), Voltaire (1694-1778) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). Their thoughts were related with Locke's theory in some way or another. The ideas can be found in their thoughts that support or reject or else modify Locke's ideas. The common factor is that they all criticized and challenged the existing social, political situations and laws because all of the rights and opportunities were seized and enjoyed by the monarch and upper levels of society while most of the ordinary people were under their control suffering and deprived of their rights while carrying an unfair share of the burdens of society.

Furthermore, the political thought of the French philosophers encouraged the French people toward the goal of revolution. It is true political thought alone cannot bring about revolution. But, the social, political, and economic circumstances had worsened in that period of the state. The widespread corruption set off the revolution. The political theory that declared equality, liberty and, fraternity lit the fuse that aroused the fury of French people who had been tormented for years and this exploded as the French Revolution. New ideas and new ways of thinking are apt to lie dormant when the time is not yet ripe. But once time, space and circumstances come together ideas and theories explode into action. For the long-suffering French, the ideas of Locke transmitted in one form or another through Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau were turned into action.

In the same way in America, the colonists who had been exploited by the British Government revolted when stimulated by the new ideas. The British Parliament when faced with financial crises imposed different kinds of taxes such as the Navigation Act, the Stamp Act, and import taxes, etc. Thus, there arose many conflicts between the British government and the American colonies. At last the violent conflicts brought about revolution. In fact, there was no specific political theory which forced that revolution. The political ideas appeared in the form of pamphlets, addresses from platforms and stages, newspaper discussions, and resolutions. But, the subject matters in their presentations and addresses were the famous political views and mottoes of Locke, Voltaire, Rousseau and other famous political ideas of that period in the West. In Gettell's *History of Political Thought*, it says:

¹David Stewart & H. Gene Blocker. (1987). *The Fundamentals of Philosophy*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company. p. 472.

The political ideas of the colonists were drawn mainly from the historical precedents of the seventeenth century in England, and from the theory developed by the revolutionary party at that time. The doctrines of natural right, social contract, popular sovereignty, and the right of revolution, as worked out by Milton, Sydney, Harrington, and Locke, were frequently quoted.¹

The revolutions in America and in France, gave rise to numerous important governmental documents. In America, the Declaration of Independence, the Resolutions of the Colonial Assemblies and the Continental Congresses, the State Constitutions, the Articles of Confederation, and the Federal Constitution emerged to play important roles in the development of social and political rights and privileges.

In France, a Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizen was drawn up in 1789. The first written constitution of France was issued in 1791. As a result, the absolute power vested in the sovereign people resulted, in practice.²

Gettell's *History of Political Thought*, states how Locke's view of inalienable natural rights came to be realized as follows:

In so far as these contained a statement of individual liberties, they followed the English tradition that came down through Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, the Bill of Rights, the Habeas Corpus Act, and the like, with added emphasis derived from the theory of Locke concerning inalienable natural rights. The Declaration of Independence was accepted as the classic statement of civil liberty and the right of revolution.³

By studying the above documents, it is easily seen that Locke's political theories impacted on the social, political and ethical conceptions of western societies and states, and his thought created dramatic changes in their historical development. The influence of Locke's political thought on later thinkers and related historical events can be seen by analyzing the political theories that led to the French Revolution and the theory of Constitutional Democracy and government in America.

John Locke's Influence on Other Thinkers

John Locke's political theory is essentially moderate and practical. It aimed to establish governmental channels by which popular consent could make itself effective and individual liberty could be safeguarded. How Locke's ideas had a wide impact is given in Gettell's *History of Political Thought* as follows:

..... French Huguenots and the Dutch adopted many of his doctrines. Montesquieu made Locke's separation of powers the main idea in his work. Locke's theories were developed by Rousseau into an even more daring form of social contract and were pushed to their logical limits in the French Revolution. In America the authors of the Declaration of Independence and of the American Constitution drew largely upon Locke's ideas. Locke reflected more faithfully than any thinker before him the forces that were making for enlightenment. He represented the modern spirit of independence, of criticism, of individualism, and of democracy, that had sought utterance in

¹ Raymond G. Gettell. (1924). *History of Political Thought*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd. p. 295.

² Ibid., p. 305.

³ Ibid., p. 299.

the religious Reformation and in the political revolution of the seventeenth century, and that reached its climax in the intellectual, political, and economic revolutions of the eighteenth century. No philosopher was more important in impressing his thought on the minds and institutions of men.¹

This clearly shows the influence of Locke not only on French and American philosophers but also on other European thoughts and historical events.

From the origin of Locke's humanitarian conception of human rights under the law of nature led to phenomenal changes in the social and political spheres in some way or another either for or against. There were new versions and revisions but they had all arisen from Locke's political views. A closer study of Locke and Voltaire, Locke and Montesquieu, Locke and Rousseau and Locke and Jefferson will clarify this point.

John Locke and Rousseau Voltaire (1694-1778)

Voltaire (1694-1778) was a French writer and philosopher, whose most notable work, was his novella entitled *Candide* (1759) in which he states; it is up to us to cultivate our own garden, meaning that government can no longer be trusted to do so. He had spent three years in England, was intimate with Viscount Bolingbroke (1678-1751), and had studied the writings of Bacon, Newton, and Locke. He was very much influenced by Newton's efforts to explain the behaviour of physical objects in terms of general mathematical rules and by Locke's theory of learning that stressed the role of environment and experience. Voltaire introduced French readers to the benefits of religious toleration, a comparatively free press, the rule of law and constitutional government in his *Letters Concerning the English Nation* (1733).²

Voltaire did not contribute any significantly new ideas of his own but he propagated these new ideas through plays, novels, biographies, historical works, pamphlets, open letters and critical reviews. His writings reached a wide reading public in Western Europe. He was very eager to popularize English ideas in France. Voltaire attacked superstition and domination by the Church.

Although Voltaire praised Locke's ideas, he did not accept Locke's doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty as appropriate for France nor did he affirm Locke's social contract theory of the origins of the state. But he accepted Locke's theory of natural rights for human beings. He extended Locke's theory of freedom and argued for freedom of the press, freedom of elections, and freedom of parliaments, and demanded political rights for the middle class who was growing successful in industry and trade. He preferred a benevolent and enlightened monarchy but since kings could not be trusted to govern well, he considered the republican form of government, the best.

Voltaire, like Locke, taught that all human beings have equal natural rights of liberty, property and the rights of protection of the laws. He had no intention to prepare human beings for a revolution but he expected reforms to be carried out by the rulers themselves.³ But in this actual events did not meet his expectations for the French Revolution which took place was brutal and terrifying, sweeping along the innocent with the guilty.

John Locke and Baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755)

In the eighteenth century, Baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755) was a great reader of literature and of history, and was in thorough sympathy with the intellectual movement of his times. Montesquieu aimed to explain the nature and the workings of political institutions in

¹ Raymond G. Gettell. (1924). *History of Political Thought*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd. p. 227.

²W. M. Spellman. (2008). *A Short History of Western Political Thought*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 88.

³Raymond G. Gettell. (1924). *History of Political Thought*. p. 251.

general. He had travelled and studied the institutions of other countries. He spent two years in England and praised the English constitutional system for enhancing individual freedoms without sacrificing order and prosperity. There he came into contact with the leading politicians including Locke and was much impressed by the English conception of liberty and the English system of government. Montesquieu analyzed all political institutions from a relative point of view and he argued that culture, climate, customs and beliefs must be taken into account the form of civil society that “best agrees with the humor and disposition of the people in whose favour it is established.”¹

Montesquieu adopted Locke’s thought but he elaborated it. He endeavored to discover the principles underlying all forms of government. He classified three main types of governments as despotism, monarchies, and republics.

Locke’s ideas made a lasting impression on Montesquieu who wanted to safeguard people’s liberty and freedom. The chief interest of Montesquieu was to set forth a form of government that would best safeguard political liberty. He believed that liberty was possible only if government had limited power and that there must be separation of the executive, legislative, and judicial powers of government. Each power must be exercised by a separate organ and a system of checks and balances in order to guard against tyranny. The separation of executive and legislative power was especially important for Montesquieu. But it was an idea that he got from Locke and expanded it.

The political movements at the close of the eighteenth century were based upon a development of Locke’s theory of natural rights, social contract, and revolution, which found expression in the writings of Rousseau.²

John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) was a Genevan philosopher and writer who greatly influenced the French Revolution. Rousseau introduced revolutionary ideas into the mainstream of western political thought. His view of the state was quite different from the absolutism of Hobbes or the moderate constitutionalism of Locke. Rousseau’s thought was more dogmatic than Hobbes and more popular and powerful than Locke and his work exerted a tremendous influence at that time.

Rousseau was familiar with history and the writings of earlier political philosophers and many of his ideas were drawn from Samuel Pufendorf (1632-1694) who attempted to reconcile the absolute theory of sovereignty of Hobbes and the limited ethical sovereignty of Grotius, Locke and Montesquieu. Rousseau also accepted the Social Contract Theory. Like Locke, Rousseau accepted that only the social contract that creates political society need be decided by unanimous consent and all subsequent decisions require only a majority.³

Rousseau viewed people in their natural state as essentially good and the state of nature as a period of idyllic happiness unlike Hobbes. According to Rousseau, the will of each individual was combined into general will. The general will emerged in the common interest of all members of the community. Rousseau believed that sovereignty was always vested in the whole people and that law must be the direct expression of their general will. Like Locke, Rousseau agreed that sovereignty is vested in the people and a government’s power must be limited.

Rousseau desired to extend equal rights to the peasants and labourers, as well as to the middle class. He attacked the beliefs of the intellectual that progress would result from

¹ W. M. Spellman. (2008). *A Short History of Western Political Thought*. p. 90.

² Raymond G. Gettell. (1924). *History of Political Thought*. pp. 251-252.

³ Brian R. Nelson. (2009). *Western Political Thought*. New Delhi: Saurabh Printers Pvt. Ltd. p. 241.

enlightenment. He did not approve of an artificial civilization based upon human achievement in the arts and sciences. His ideals aimed at direct democracy and equality, and a radical reconstruction of the social and political order, which led logically to the Revolution.

Rousseau's thought was based upon the conception of a pre-political state of nature, in which human beings were equal, self-sufficient, and contented. He regarded human beings in the state of nature as a "Noble Savage". According to him, human conduct was not based on reason but on emotions of self-interest and pity. He was of the view that evils arose in the society with the progress of civilization. The division of labour that followed the development of the arts and the rise of private property he held created distinctions between rich and poor that broke down the happy natural condition of mankind and necessitated the establishment of civil society. Rousseau was more inclined than Hobbes or Locke to picture the state of nature as an actual historical condition.

Locke had held that the rational powers of natural man had enabled him to create social and political organization. But reason for Rousseau, was the outgrowth of the artificial life of people in organized society. The "Noble Savage" was Rousseau's ideal. The state was an evil, made necessary by the rise of inequalities among people.¹

Both Hobbes and Locke influenced Rousseau's ideas about social contract theory but his theory was a combination of the method of Hobbes and the conclusions of Locke. Rousseau had held that a human society is a collective being with a will of its own that is different from the sum of the wills of its individual members and that citizens should be entirely subordinate to this general will. Yet each person in the state had an inalienable share of sovereignty of the whole for he or she, gained back under the protection of the state the rights that had given up. Rousseau's political philosophy also had enormous influence, on future thinkers.

The mainspring of Rousseau idea of democracy was the forcible imposition of the general will whereas the mainspring of Locke's model is the protection and preservation of individual freedom. So there was a difference between the two. Rousseau's theory of the general will rejected the more realistic and conservative ideals of Locke such as the preservation of private property; he also did not accept the need for constraining institutions such as the checks and balances advocated by Montesquieu.

According to Rousseau, the will of each individual was merged into a general will. The general will corresponded to the common interest of all members of the community, as contrasted with particular interests. It was normally arrived at by asking each member to vote for what they believed to be the common good and accepting the view of the majority. Thus while the authority established was absolute, following Hobbes, individuals still possessed equal rights, following Locke. Rousseau believed that there could be no conflict between authority vested in the people as a whole and their liberty as individuals. This may be theoretically possible but hard to put into practice.

The idea and spirit of Rousseau led to governmental changes in that period. His doctrines of popular sovereignty had been popular. Many of his principles were applied in the political experiments of the French Revolution and were expressed in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizen in 1789. His doctrine held that the individual must surrender all his natural rights to the general will to establish a popular sovereignty. On the basis of his doctrine such as liberty, equality, and popular sovereignty the French people had been able to draw the idea of a bill of individual rights from the American model. Both the doctrine of Rousseau and the practices of seventeenth century England had an impact on France that led to the Revolution in 1789. Thus

¹Raymond G. Gettell. (1924). *History of Political Thought*. p. 257.

from the time of the French Revolution, revolution became an inevitable force of social and political change.¹

John Locke and Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826)

Today no politician would dare to argue for inequality whatever their convictions maybe. All would agree that equality, liberty and fraternity are the essential elements of a just society. But in the time of Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) it was a novel and inspiring ideal that had its origins in the political theorizing of John Locke and others. Hence Thomas Jefferson had written to George Washington in 1784 that the constitutional basis of the United States of America was “the natural equality of man”²

The idea that there are certain natural and inalienable rights including “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,”³ that belong to all men and to all men equally was enshrined in the US Declaration of Independence. The three principle rights named by Locke – life, liberty and property – were echoed in Thomas Jefferson’s draft of the US Declaration of Independence though he substituted “the pursuit of happiness” in place of Locke’s “property”.⁴

Thomas Jefferson also accepted Locke’s view regarding the freedom of an individual in the free exercise of faith. Jefferson made little original contribution to political theory. His ideas were drawn largely from Locke, liberalized somewhat by the influence of Thomas Paine (1737-1809). His chief work was to give the ideas of these men a form suitable to American conditions. Jefferson believed in human equality, natural rights and the establishment of government by social contract to protect individual liberty, and the right of revolution in case of misgovernment.

The Impact of John Locke’s Political Thought on the American Revolution

Between 1776 and 1783 the colonial revolt against British rule took place in North America. For fifty years before the American Revolution there had been constant political controversy between the American colonists and the representatives of the British government in the colonies. These disputes were local and personal, dealing with the extension of the franchise, the importation of prisoners, the issue of paper money, and taxation.

George III (1760-1820) had ambitions to reestablish the power of the monarch. Hence the reestablishment of royal power became closely bound up with the maintenance of authority over the colonies. But, the conflict began with an attempt to enforce the Navigation Acts. Besides, there had been issues concerning court orders about suspected goods. They were viewed by the colonists as an unwarranted extension of the powers of the British parliament.

The real conflict arose over the efforts of England to tax the colonists a portion of the expenditure required for the maintenance of troops in Canada. The passing of the Stamp Act (1765) led to the claim in the colonies that taxation without representation was tyranny. The colonists held that their assemblies alone could charge internal taxes. Thus, there had been bitter differences of opinion over the nature of the British Empire. While the Stamp Act was replaced by taxes on colonial imports, these also were opposed, and were met by colonial agreements to boycott English goods. The sending of troops to America to enforce British policy led to violence, to more repressive legislation and to war. That war led to the independence and unification of the colonies. State governments were set up and a Continental Congress was assembled. Every political idea that appeared in England was promptly transported to the colonies and put to work. The social

¹Raymond G. Gettell. (1924). *History of Political Thought*. p. 260.

²Ben Dupre’. (2010). *50 Political Ideas*. New York: Oxford University Press. p. 12.

³Ibid., p. 12.

⁴Ibid., p. 17.

contract doctrine would occupy a large place in colonial thought. Moreover it was natural that colonial conditions and experiences should give their opinion in favour of Locke's ideas over Hobbes's ideas. The colonists did not vest in a certain person or body of person but in the fundamental law of the body politic about sovereignty.¹

Political Theories of the American Revolution

The political theories of the American Revolution are not to be found in any systematic treatise. It appeared in the form of pamphlets, addresses from platforms and stages, newspaper discussions, resolutions, and constitutions. Its upholders were not disinterested political philosophers, but promoters of a revolutionary program. In the early part of the struggle the argument of the colonists was mainly constitutional, dealing with the legal relation of the colonies to the home government. Their arguments based upon the more general theory of natural rights and social contracts were prominent. Others claimed that the social contract itself had been broken and the state of nature restored. The American people were therefore justified in establishing a new body politic.

In American constitutional arguments, the colonists claimed that they had their own assemblies and they could hold the same position in the colonies that parliament did in Great Britain. The constitutional arguments that appeared were based upon the abstract doctrine of natural rights. They included the usual belief in an original state of nature in which men are free and equal, the establishment of political society by voluntary agreement for the purpose of promoting general welfare, the possession of rights with which the government must not interfere, the ultimate sovereignty of the people and the right of revolution in case of misgovernment. Since men are born free and equal, no authority could claim their allegiance except by voluntary agreement. Hence government rested upon the consent of the governed. American theory was inclined to view a sovereign people over a large area as a collection of groups rather than a collection of individuals. Governmental powers were the agents of the people and were accountable to them for their conduct. If they abused their power upon the natural rights of the people, they should be removed. Revolution was a duty as well as a right for those who loved freedom. The best statement of the natural rights theory of the colonists was made in the Declaration of Independence.²

American Documents and Constitutions

The period of the revolution in America and in France gave rise to numerous important governmental documents in which the current political philosophy was embedded. Views on natural rights and republicanism emphasizes the community instead of one person, and constitutionalism that is the idea that there are definable limits on the rightful power of a government over its citizens became part of the American Constitution.

John Locke said that the absolute rights of people was the basis of all fair and just governments. The authority from the government comes from the consent of the governed people to use their authority to secure and guarantee their natural rights to life, liberty and estate. Life without government is unstable because without government there is no authority to say what the law of nature demands. Since not everyone will follow the laws of nature, everyone is insecure about their rights as a person. So there is a need for government- to protect a person's life and liberty.

¹Raymond G. Gettell. (1924). *History of Political Thought*. pp. 292-293.

²Ibid., pp. 294-295.

The constitution was planned to provide for a limited government so political power would not be abused. Great care and thought were given in writing the Constitution so that it would not be a threat to freedom. The best idea they had was to separate the power into three separate branches Legislative, Executive and Judicial. Each branch has power over the other two branches in some way. This system is called checks and balances and is used as a barrier to avoid abuses of power. The constitution was written partly because of what happened during colonial and revolutionary experiences. The American people wanted liberty, self-government, equality, individualism, diversity and unity. Natural rights, republicanism and constitutionalism are all the products of liberty, self-government, equality, individualism, diversity and unity. And the seeds of these concepts are to be found in John Locke's political views.

In America, the Declaration of Independence, the Resolutions of the Colonial Assemblies and the Continental Congresses, the State Constitutions, the Articles of Confederation, and the Federal Constitution were most important, in so far as these contained a statement of individual liberties which had come down in English tradition that came down through Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, the Bill of Rights, the Habeas Corpus Act, and the like, with added emphasis derived from the theory of Locke concerning inalienable natural rights.¹

Locke has had a great influence upon the constitutional structure of all Western liberal democracies. The Declaration of Independence not only speaks the language of natural rights, but implicitly conveys the idea that George III had violated the terms of the social contract. Furthermore, Locke's economic and social theories have by now become an American ideology. His emphasis upon the importance of private property, the Protestant work ethic and individual rights have been profoundly influential in this country. The impact of Locke's structural analysis upon American constitutional theory has been enormous.²

The Impact of John Locke's Political Thought on the French Revolution

The French and American Revolutions were different in many ways but arguably in the same tradition, stemming from the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the measured arguments of Locke and Montesquieu and the skepticism and anti-clericalism of Voltaire and Diderot.³

In the eighteenth century, France was feudalistic in its social organization and autocratic in government. In that period class distinction was very different. There had been extreme social relations between the upper and lower classes. In France, the total population was twenty-five millions and a quarter million were nobles and clergy men. They owned half of the lands which were taken from the peasants as taxes and feudal payments. At that time, a small middle class, the bourgeoisie, was becoming prosperous. But, like most people they possessed no social and political privileges. The government was a centralized and despotic system. The middle and lower classes were at the mercy of the king and his officials. There was no representative parliament to serve as a check upon the royal power, and the judiciary was controlled by the higher nobility.

Unnecessary wars and wasteful life at the court had exhausted the treasury and created a heavy debt. Loans had been made under unfavourable conditions, and taxes were heavy and there was no fair distribution among the people. The collection of taxes was raised. The chief interest of the officials was the exploitation of the people. Land values were low and the farmers had suffered bad weather. There had been dissatisfaction between the people and the king, Louis XIV. It was at that time, that the political philosophies of freedom of the press, freedom of elections, and freedom of parliaments incited the angry French people to revolution. The middle class, the bourgeoisie

¹Raymond G. Gettell. (1924). *History of Political Thought*. pp. 299.

²Brian R. Nelson. (2009). *Western Political Thought*. p. 212.

³Kieron O'Hara. (2010). *The Enlightenment*. England: Oneworld Publications. p. 113.

demanded political rights and they led the people toward revolution with the slogan, “Equality, Liberty and Fraternity”.¹ That revolution was the consequence of the English Puritan Revolution which had broken out as the result of a power struggle between king and parliament.

French political philosophers saw in the American Revolution a practical application of current doctrine. They declared the formation of a national assembly representing the general will of the French people. In 1790, the National Assembly of France declared that the French nation would give up wars and would never use force against the liberty of any people. In 1793, a project for a Declaration of the Law of Nations appeared and it contained advanced ideas of international justice and represented the idealistic spirit of the early French Revolution.²

Political Theories of the French Revolution

In France, the philosophy of the revolution appeared mainly in the form of political pamphlets. The calling of the Estates-General and the reform of feudal abuses and of legal procedure were chiefly discussed. Book-sellers' shops were crowded, reading rooms were opened, and political clubs, after the English fashion, were set up. The overflow of pamphlets in Paris was so great that the price of printing was doubled, several thousand appearing in the last months of 1788 alone.

The main features of the system of government which they desired to establish were generally agreed upon. The king should remain, but his legislative powers should be shared by the nation as represented in a general assembly. The executive power of the king was to be exercised through ministers. Local assemblies were to be established in the provinces, with large administrative powers.

The political thought of the reformers was well represented by Abbe Sieyes (1748-1836). He attacked the special privileges of the nobility and the clergy. He held that the third estate, which composed the greater part of the population and did all the useful work of the nation, should be given its fair share of political power. Following the political philosophy of Rousseau, Sieyes believed that the state was composed of individuals who voluntarily combined their separate wills to form a general will. But unlike Rousseau, he held that in a large state the general will might be expressed by representatives who were active for the people as a whole.

The theory of a written constitution was worked out by the Marquis de Condorcet (1743-1794). He was familiar with American practice and believed thoroughly in the expression of national will, through a constitutional convention, in the form of a written document. He held that through the application of rational philosophy a perfect system of government and a perfect guarantee of natural liberty could be achieved. He believed that a declaration of rights should be included in the constitution.³

French Documents and Constitutions

The French Revolution also produced a remarkable series of documents and constitutions. Before the meetings of the Estates-General, Lafayette, Sieyes, Condorcet, and Mirabeau drafted and published a model of the Declaration of Rights. Like the American, many French leaders believed that a statement of their political philosophy should form a part of their fundamental law.

However, a Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizen was drawn up in 1789 and made a part of the constitutions that appeared in the following years. The French declaration followed closely the American Bill of Rights. It also tended to emphasize equality more than

¹ W. M. Spellman. (2008). *A Short History of Western Political Thought*. p. 98.

² Raymond G. Gettell. (1924). *History of Political Thought*. p. 294.

³ Raymond G. Gettell. (1924). *History of Political Thought*. pp. 302-304.

liberty. As a result, the absolute power vested in the sovereign people was put to practice. The first written constitution for France was issued in 1791. It followed Rousseau in locating sovereignty in the people and Montesquieu in setting up a system of checks and balances and Sieyes in delegating the exercise of sovereign power to representatives and in providing for a complex method of constitutional amendment.¹

Conclusion

The theorist of the Revolution of 1688, England was none other than John Locke. His chief political work was a philosophic defense of the parliamentary party. Locke's statements of humanity such as "all men are equal and possess equal natural right under the Law of Nature; all human beings have the right to life; liberty, and property; and people are the original owners of sovereignty", etc. are the basic principles of today's Humanitarianism and they may be called the dawn of today's updated government systems.

Locke used the word, "people's sovereignty or sovereignty of parliament" but Rousseau called it "General Will". Montesquieu created a system of separation of power, and check and balance in order to safeguard the people's liberty. That synthesis of political ideas or a political gene was carried out through the revolutions of England, America, and France. After those revolutions, constitutional governmental systems were established in different forms such as pure constitutional government system (today's presidential government system), combined monarchy and constitutional government system (constitutional monarchy), etc. not only in America, France, England and other European countries but also in the countries of the East. The traditional system of absolute monarchy was eliminated to be replaced by dictatorships.

Since the nineteenth century Europe was occupied with revolutions and wars. Their general aim was to create national states with modern established constitutional governments following the success the American Revolution. In the twentieth century, as a beginning the popular uprising for constitutional government appeared in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, etc. Thus, nationality and constitutional democracy became popular in European countries. A liberal party in each state designed a written document as in the American system. In their documents, there were guarantees of individual rights and some provision for mass representative assembly. There were many versions and there was also controversy over the position of the monarch for his role in a modern constitution, especially with regard to distribution of power.

However, the parliamentary governmental system begun in England supported by Locke's theory had spread throughout the East and West. Today, it may be said that there is no government without a constitution. Chester C. Maxey, in his, *Political Philosophies* commented on how Locke's thought had influenced world politics as follows:

John Locke, Not alone in political thought, but in economics, education, theology, and metaphysical philosophy did the luminous (brilliant) intellect of this seventeenth-century doctor of medicine pencil out lines of thought that multitudes were destined to follow.²

Quite as influential as the doctrine of natural rights, though possibly less unique, was Locke's concept of constitutional government based on the consent of the governed and implemented by majority rule.³

¹ Raymond G. Gettell. (1924). *History of Political Thought*, pp. 304-306.

² Chester C. Maxey. (1961). *Political Philosophies*. New York: The Macmillan Company. p. 246.

³ Ibid., p. 262.

Political thinkers and practical statesmen both were profoundly impressed. Following the trail broken by Locke, Montesquieu evolved the famous tripartite theory of governmental functions; and following both Locke and Montesquieu, the designers of American governmental structures – local, state, and national – gave us the threefold system of organization which has had more to do with the peculiar and esoteric developments of American government and politics than any other factor save possibly our federal plan. And whatever the future order of society may be, we are assured that there will be more liberty and security for the individual than could have been the case had not the western mind for two long centuries been deeply impregnated with the political philosophy of John Locke.¹

Locke's political influence was great but he also influenced religious and social affairs. On the basis of his outlook, Adam Smith, David Ricardo and Karl Marx extended their own views respectively. By observing those subjects, it may be acknowledged Locke was a well-rounded wise man of the world.

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¹ Chester C. Maxey. (1961). *Political Philosophies*. New York: The Macmillan Company. p. 263.

THE INFLUENCE OF PARENTAL PRESSURE AND PERCEIVED CONTROL ON CAREER EXPLORATION OF YOUNG ADULTS IN YANGON*

Nilar Kyu¹ & Naw Wendy Ivan²

Abstract

The objective of this study is to examine the influence of parental pressure and perceived control on career exploration of young adults in Yangon, Myanmar. This study involved 20 students, who are within 19 to 24 years old, from University of Yangon. In-depth interviews were performed using a ground theory approach and a qualitative technique to analyze the participant narratives. The results show that participants experienced more parental pressure during their university years compared with years of childhood or high school. Compared to childhood and high school, they also engaged in more career exploration in university. With regard to perceived control, the participants held a moderate to high level of perceived control over their career environments. According to the findings, most participants felt that parental pressure had no influence over their perceived control on career exploration, and few participants experienced positive and negative influence of the parental pressure on perceived control in relation to career environment. In later years, when other factors contributed to the career exploration, parental pressure did not seem to affect career exploration. The findings have implications for vocational psychology and career counseling with young adults.

Keywords: Parental pressure, perceived control, career exploration, young adults, Myanmar

Introduction

In career exploration, parents should encourage their children to pursue the career that the children could enjoy and satisfy. But in reality, the children seem to be pressured by their parents to fulfill the demands of the parents. If the children are being controlled by their parents and chose a career to fulfill the demands of parents, instead of choosing the career that they would like to pursue, the children might not be able to fully enjoy their career in the future (Mapalala, 2018). This might effect on satisfaction and motivation at the workplace which is not good for both organization and employees.

The occupational choice is a vital one, since it is a choice of a way of life (Grady, 1983). If the parental pressure and control influence the occupation and career choices negatively, this could greatly affect the life of a person (Larson, 1995). The negative influence of the parental pressure can lead to depression and anxiety (Chorpita, Brown, & Barlow, 1998). Therefore, finding out if the parental pressure and control actually influence the career exploration, is very important for society. Career exploration has been recognized in the literature as “purposeful activities, directed toward enhancing knowledge of the self and the external environment, that individuals engage in to foster progress in career development” (Blustein, 1992). Career exploration is a dynamic process that occurs in all ages and stages of life, but is most prominent at late adolescence and early adulthood (Super, 1990).

Parental pressure experiences are defined as the felt experience of pressure from one’s parent(s) to follow certain career opinions, plans, and/or actions (Cory, 2015). Stambler (1998) found that parents have often been influential in that decision when young people make career decisions. Parents are also the most often reported catalyst for the initiation of decision making (Biggart et al., 2004). The positive side of parental control has been identified in the literature and

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in academic settings as “autonomy support”, which minimizes the use of pressures and demands, acknowledges the feelings of others, and is characterized by parental encouragement for self-initiation and choice (Deci *et al.*, 1994). There are also a few studies that discussed parental pressure, indicating that it could have a negative effect on the growth of career autonomy in offspring (Dietrich & Kracke, 2009; Splete & Freeman George, 1985).

Perceived control was often referred to as control orientation, or locus of control. A high level of perceived control, or an internal locus of control, refers to “perceptions of mastery over one’s environment” and a sense of “personal control over one’s own fate” (Taylor, 2010). Individuals with higher perceived control were found to be more driven toward achievement and relationships, and are often guided by their own sense of accomplishment (Nowicki & Duke, 1983). Low perceived control, or an external locus of control, is a perception that external events are outside one’s personal control (Levenson, 1981). Individuals with low perceived control demonstrated less goal-directed behavior and have sought out communication mainly as an escape (Rubin & Rubin, 1992; Steinfatt, 1987). Some studies have examined the impact of general perceived control on career development. A research found that a higher level of perceived control was a determinant of individuals’ motivation to be mindful of their career orientation, helping them to gain entry into the workforce (Findley & Cooper, 1983). Moreover, lower level of perceived control was associated with reduced information-seeking behaviors (Steinfatt, 1987).

Career development was found to be most influential and stressful between the ages of 18 and 22 when young adults experienced a variety of pressures to make career-related decisions (Splete & Freeman-George 1985). Pressure in making a decision can be especially stressful, as career indecision is a common phenomenon in early career development (Feldman, 2003). Despite the abundance of research related to career development in young populations, there seems to be only a few that explored the subjective experiences of parental pressure and perceived control on career exploration in Myanmar. This study aimed to examine the career exploration experiences of young adults in Yangon, with a particular emphasis on the role of parental pressure and perceptions of control. This research focused on undergraduate and postgraduate students from University of Yangon, to include the participants who had already partaken in some level of career exploration due to their proximity to graduation and increased pressure to make a career choice.

Research Questions

(1) Central Research Question

What are young adults’ experiences of parental pressure and control in relation to their career development?

(2) Secondary Research Question

How does one’s experience of parental pressure influence one’s career exploration as a young adult?

How does one’s experience of parental pressure influence one’s level of perceived control in relation to his or her career development?

Method

Participants

In this study, 20 (12 females and 8 males) undergraduate and postgraduate students from University of Yangon, who are within 19 to 24 years old, were used as participants.

Measures

Using a grounded theory approach and a qualitative technique, we performed in-depth interviews to examine participant narratives. Each interview began with some questions related to the participant's demographic information. Then, the participants were asked the semi-structured interview questions to investigate the following three areas: (1) career exploration experiences, (2) parental pressure experiences and (3) perceptions of control.

Procedure

The purposive sampling method was used and participants were selected who are already partaken in some level of career exploration. At the beginning of each interview, the researcher explained the nature of the study and that the participants' information will be kept as confidential. Participants were reminded that the interview will be audio-recorded, and a verbal consent related to the audio-recording was requested. After the consent had been received, the researcher began the interview session.

Analyze the data

After participant records were transcribed, the researcher read each participant's narrative. After this stage, the researcher analyzed the narrative line-by-line, and highlighted and coded possible themes. Throughout this process, the researcher made notes of her interpretations of what stood out as important. Every narrative was analyzed and coded several times to ensure important details about the career exploration views of the respondents were included in the overall theme selection process. Important details and key themes regarding participants' perceptions of parental pressure and control were also top priority. After the data was studied, reduced and saturated, key themes and categories were uncovered.

Results

Parental Pressure Experiences and Career Exploration

Childhood

Parental pressure experiences. Participants were asked about their experiences of parental pressure. Questions related to parental pressure aimed at addressing parental opinions about career and felt experiences of career-related pressure. A mild degree of parental pressure was defined as pressure that had little to no influence in the participant's development, and was often characterized by statements that reflected that there was little to no felt pressure. During childhood, 85% of participants (17 out of 20) experienced a mild degree of pressure from their parents. For example, when the researcher asked whether she felt career pressure as a child, P4 stated,

"Not really. But they always told me to work hard in everything I do. Because if I'm not good at it, nobody will want to work with me but people will want to work with you if I'm good." When the researcher asked to clarify whether this influence felt like pressure, P4 replied,

"Well, as a child, I kind of felt as being pressured a little bit but that didn't stop from doing whatever I want." Similarly, P14 emphasized that her parents would often tell her to work hard as a child. When the researcher asked about her parents' opinions concerning her career future as a child, P14 stated,

"My parents would always tell me to study hard so that I can do whatever when I grew up." When the researcher asked whether she felt pressure from her parents during this time, P14 replied,

"No, I don't think so. Because other than telling me to study hard, they let me to whatever I wanted to do." A moderate degree of parental pressure was defined as pressure that had a

moderate influence on the participant's development and was characterized by statements that reflected that pressure was felt but was not extreme in nature. During childhood, 5% of participants (1 out of 20) experienced a moderate degree of pressure (P13) from his parents. When the researcher asked him to describe his experience, he stated,

"Since I was child, my parents always pressured me to do my best and focus only on one thing at a time. But I think they did that because they want me to concentrate and to be able to do better at that." A severe degree of parental pressure was defined as pressure that had a severe influence on the participant's development and was characterized by statements that described a level of pressure that was extreme in nature. During childhood, 10% of participants (2 out of 20) experienced a severe degree of pressure from their parents. For example, when the researcher asked whether she felt career pressure as a child, P20 stated,

"My parents were always very over protective to me and never let me go outside alone. They never let me choose what I want to learn or attend and let me attend classes or schools only that is near our home. I think they don't let want me get out of their protection but I felt extremely pressured because of that."

Exploration experiences. Participants were asked about their career exploration experiences. These questions targeted time spent searching for information related to one's career future.

During Childhood, 65% of participants (13 out of 20) reported engaging in a low amount of career exploration. A low amount of career exploration was defined by participants' beliefs that they engaged in a low amount of exploration. For example, when the researcher asked P9 to elaborate about how she search for information related to her career in childhood, she stated,

"Since I was a child, I always liked teaching to kids who are younger than me and I thought that I might want to become a teacher. But I changed my thought about it when I got a little bit older because only people with bad grades work as a teacher in my hometown and I'm good at mine. So, I did not spend much time to search for information related to it." Similarly, when the researcher asked P14 to elaborate about how she search for information related to her career in childhood, she responded,

"As a child, I always admired teachers about how graceful they are but I did not ask to the elders about how to become one because I wasn't determined about it." During Childhood, 35% of participants (7 out of 20) reported engaging in a high amount of career exploration. A high amount of career exploration was defined by participants' beliefs that they engaged in a high amount of exploration. For example, when the researcher asked P7 to elaborate about how she search for information related to her career in childhood, she stated,

"Since I was child, I learned a lot about plants and observed which plant is best for which season because I love planting. It calms me down and I even thought about becoming a gardener." Similarly, when the researcher asked P7 to elaborate about how she search for information related to her career in childhood, she responded,

"I was always interested in creating arts and learned to paint since I was a kid. I also competed in competitions to get more information about art and get experience."

High School

Parental pressure experiences. Participants were asked about their experiences of parental pressure. Questions related to parental pressure aimed at addressing parental opinions about career and felt experiences of career-related pressure. During their high school years, 100% of participants

(20 out of 20) experienced a moderate degree of pressure from their parents. For example, when the researcher asked whether she felt career pressure in high school, P8 stated,

“When I was in high school, my parents always pushed me to study very hard so that I can get high marks in matriculation exam and get into professional universities such as University of Medicine.” Similarly, P9 emphasized that her parents would often tell her to work very hard in high school. When the researcher asked about her parents’ opinions concerning her career future in high school, P9 replied,

“May be because I did pretty well during high school, my parents often pressured me to study harder so that I can be an engineer or a doctor because those choices are the typical ones for Burmese parents. I don’t want to be a doctor but I tried hard to get high marks in the exam of the matriculation.”

Exploration experiences. Participants were asked about their career exploration experiences. These questions targeted time spent searching for information related to one’s career future. During their high school years, 60% of participants (12 out of 20) reported engaging in a low amount of career exploration. For example, when the researcher asked P10 to elaborate about how she search for information related to her career in high school, she stated,

“When I reached to high school, all I thought that was that I have to study my hardest to get high marks so that I can make my parents proud and that alone becomes my goal.” Similarly, when the researcher asked P17 to elaborate about how he search for information related to his career in high school, he responded,

“My only goal was to pass the matriculation exam at that time so, I didn’t really spend much time in searching about my career.” During their high school years, 40% of participants (8 out of 20) reported engaging in a high amount of career exploration. For example, when the researcher asked P5 to elaborate about how she search for information related to her career in high school, she stated,

“Since my dream is to become a politician, I searched for the universities and courses that I can attend after high school, made plans and studied really hard for that plan.” Similarly, when the researcher asked P12 to elaborate about how he search for information related to his career in high school, he responded,

“I checked a lot of details about the business world while I was in high school and even planned which university I’ll attend after high school.”

University

Parental pressure experiences. Participants were asked about their experiences of parental pressure. Questions related to parental pressure aimed at addressing parental opinions about career and felt experiences of career-related pressure. At university, 65% of participants (13 out of 20) experienced a mild degree of pressure from their parents. For example, when the researcher asked whether he felt career pressure in university, P15 stated,

“Although they said they’ll let me to whatever I want, they often said that it’s better for me to inherit their business because it’s easier to work on something that is already reached to some level rather than starting up a new thing.” Similarly, P16 emphasized that his parents would often tell him to work hard in university. When the researcher asked about her parents’ opinions concerning her career future in university, P16 replied,

“My parents want me to study hard and get many degrees from the university so that I can become a civil servant. Since I don’t want to, it’s a bit irritating that they keep telling me about what they want me to be but I think they won’t get mad at me even if I make other choices.” At

university, 15% of participants (3 out of 20) experienced a moderate degree of pressure from their parents. For example, when the researcher asked whether she felt career pressure in university, P9 stated,

“Once, I wanted to learn how to cook because I love doing it and I even thought about opening my own restaurant. I genuinely love cooking and I thought of it as a career in a serious way. But when I told my mother about it, she won’t let me do it and told me to start working because she can’t support for both me and my brother since he also starts attending university. I was kind of mad because she pressured me to start working just because my younger brother starts attending the university.” At university, 20% of participants (4 out of 20) experienced a severe degree of pressure from their parents. For example, when the researcher asked whether she felt career pressure in university, P1 stated,

“Even though I want to become a graphic artist, my mother keeps on telling me to help her and start working at her business. She even wants me to start working at her office after I graduate although I literally have no interest in construction. Whenever I tell about what I want to do or whenever I try to choose the options other than what she wants, she always express signs that she doesn’t like it and it is very annoying. She never let me do what I want to do and always pressuring me to work in her business knowing that I’m not interested in it. She keeps bothering me a lot whenever I try to do something and it is very irritating.”

Exploration experiences. Participants were asked about their career exploration experiences. These questions targeted time spent searching for information related to one’s career future. At university, 10% of participants (2 out of 20) reported engaging in a low amount of career exploration. For example, when the researcher asked P3 to elaborate about how she search for information related to her career in university, she stated,

“Since I haven’t decided what to do, I don’t spend much time in searching information about a career. Just read the news or journals from the Facebook occasionally. That’s all.” At university, 90% of participants (18 out of 20) reported engaging in a high amount of career exploration. For example, when the researcher asked P8 to elaborate about how she search for information related to her career in university, she stated,

“From the time I decided to become a corporate lawyer, I search a lot about it through websites and social media sites. I also ask my friends’ parents, who are corporate lawyers, about what I need to learn if I want to become a corporate lawyer and their experiences. Although the course that I’m attending right now is not very much related to commercial law, corporate lawyer is related with commercial law, I asked for the curriculum from my friends who are taking commercial law courses and study about it.” Similarly, when the researcher asked P19 to elaborate about how she search for information related to her career in university, she responded,

“From the day I started attending the university, I studied harder than anyone in class because my only is to become a tutor. I studied basic English courses and computer courses before coming to University of Yangon for master courses because I’ve never learned when I was attending University of Magway, and those skills are very important to get into University of Yangon. Last year, I also took 2 courses opened by Yangon University of Economics because I was interested in business at that moment. When I realized I’m not right to do business, I refocus on my studies and study harder to become a tutor.”

Perceptions of Control

Career

For the perception of control, 20% of participants (4 out of 20) believed they had a moderate amount of control over their career. A moderate amount of control over career was defined as

believing in having a moderate amount of control over career actions and career choices, and having a decent amount of career choice. For example, when the researcher asked P3 about how much control she felt she had over her career actions, stated,

“Around 30%, I think, because the hope of my parents and the criticism of our social environment are still worrying me.” When the researcher asked specifically about what career actions she felt she had control over and what career actions she did not, P3 stated,

“I think I can decide about what I want to do, but I had to listen to my parents and follow their guideline while I’m working on it.” Lastly, when P3 was asked whether she felt she had too much control or choice over her career actions, she stated,

“Not too much. Because if my parents tell me to do what I don't want, I will have to do it, even though they tell me to do whatever I want.” For the perception of control, 80% of participants (16 out of 20) indicated having a high amount of control over their career. A high amount control over career was defined as having a high amount of control over career actions and career choices, and beliefs about having a high amount of career choice. For example, when the researcher asked P5 about how much control she felt she had over her career actions, stated,

“I think 100%, because I have already decided what I want to do since I was a kid and my family is fully supporting me.” When the researcher asked specifically about what career actions she felt she had control over, she stated,

“To learn things, to walk on path I choose, my concentration to do the plans I made and me trying best to get what I want. I think those are the actions that I can control.” Lastly, when P5 was asked whether she felt she had too much control or choice over her career actions, she stated,

“Yes, of course. Because I solely working my best for my ambition and my family accept whatever I choose to do.” Similarly, when the researcher asked about the level of control P7 felt she had over career actions and which actions she had control over, she responded,

“Since I never do things that I don’t want to do, may be 70%. Although my mother wants me to become a teacher, I will keep doing what I love to do while working as a tutor because I don’t want to make her upset at the moment’. If chances are good, I would only write and paint which I really love to do.”

Parental Pressure and Control

Participants were asked whether they felt that the pressure they had received from their parents influenced their perceptions of control over their career environment. Out of 20 participants, 5 (25%) believed that their parental pressure had influenced their perceptions of control over their career environment at some level. For experiences of parental pressure, 10% of participants felt that the pressure had affected them in a negative way, by limiting their perceptions of control over their career future. For example, P7 stated,

“I feel like living in a frame made by my mother because I worked really hard my whole life to go abroad and study more about the things that I love to do. But I had to let of that dream just because she wants me to prioritize her choices.” However, 15% of participants felt that the pressure had affected them in a positive way, by increasing their perceptions of control over their career future. For example, P2 stated,

“Since I haven’t decided anything about my career, I even feel thankful to them for making choices for me. It’s easier to choose from them rather than thinking of my own.” Whether positive or negative, only 25% of participants believed that their parents' pressure influenced their perception of control regarding their career actions.

Discussion

Parental Pressure Experiences

All participants in the present study experienced some degree of career-related parental pressure at one time or another. It was found that career-related parental pressure was more severe in university in comparison to earlier years (i.e., high school and childhood). Although there is no research that has directly examined career-related parental pressure over time, research in the field of parenting suggests that parenting often changes with the changing age of the offspring (Feldman, Wentzel, & Gehring, 1989). It's also likely that as young adults approach their careers, parents can feel a growing sense of urgency about the career development of their child and therefore increase their level of career pressure. In fact, 40% of participants indicated that the proximity to career had a direct impact on the heightened level of career-related parental pressure in university.

Closeness to Parents, Financial support, Desire to comply, Responsibility. In addition to finding that young adults felt increased parental pressure with age, the present study found that closeness to parents was common. This result is consistent with studies showing that parents closest to their children are much more likely to coddle their children and take an intense interest in the lives of their children (Pricer, 2008). Therefore, although this study did not investigate this directly, it is possible that the closeness of the young adult-parent relationship heightens the experiences of pressure. This process could be two-fold, such that a parent who is closer to their child might be more likely to pressure their child and a child who is close to their parent may be more likely to feel the expectations and pressure of the parent.

In addition to feeling of closeness, this study found that young adults received some level of financial support from their parents. In particular, 80% of participants reported that their parents paid for everything (i.e., rent, food, school, phone bills). This result is supported by research that shows that many young people rely for academic and career resources on their parents (Labas & Ljubicic, 2012). That is more valid now than in previous generations; due to the deteriorating condition of the economy and a decrease in emotional and financial security in young adults. This research also revealed that at one point or another, the participants felt a desire to comply their parents' career wishes. This finding is supported by research which indicates that children, adolescents and young adults frequently seek parental approval (Pickhardt, 2011). Since parental approval-seeking is common in Myanmar, it is likely that this phenomenon would increase the susceptibility of a young adult to the career opinions of his or her parents.

According to the findings, it also shows that 20% of participants felt increased pressure because of the responsibility they felt for their family. They had to choose what they have to do rather than what they want to do because they think that they need to put their family first. This finding is supported by research that showed that young adults felt the strongest sense of family responsibility during young adulthood, partially explaining their tendency to live with their families and contributing financially. (Fuligni & Pedersen, 2002). The traditional culture of obedience to what parents say may also play a role, because studies have shown that cultural values have an effect on the factors that affect young people's career choices (Mau, 2000; Caldera et al., 2003; Wambu et al., 2017; Hui and Lent, 2018; Tao et al., 2018).

Due to the findings from the present study, it is likely that closeness, financial support, desire to comply and responsibility are all inter-related processes that have a relationship with parental pressure experiences. In particular, receiving financial support and wanting to comply to the wishes of the parents are highly related, since a young adult who is supported financially by his/her parents is more likely to feel guilty if he/she decides to take a different route than his/her parents wish. 10% of participants stated that they want to comply with their parents' wishes to avoid feeling guilty for not complying with parental wishes.

Anxiety from pressure. The present study found that parental pressure lead to feelings of anxiety in young adults. Research on the impact of career-related parental involvement has mixed results. Although some research has found that parental involvement is a positive experience for young adults (Sickinger, 2012), other research has found it to affect young adults negatively (Splete & Freeman George, 1985; Dietrich & Kracke, 2009). Although the present study did not focus on whether the impact of parental pressure had negative or positive outcomes, the results indicate that 25% of participants felt anxiety as a result of parental pressure in their university years. This creates awareness that parental pressure can adversely affect offspring's emotional wellbeing. But, 5% of participants noted that their experience of parental pressure was positive. Therefore, these findings explain that each young adult can have their own unique experience of parental pressure, which can range from positive to negative.

Career Exploration

The current study found that young adults appeared to engage in a lower amount of career exploration in childhood and high school, if compared to career exploration in university. Most participants indicated directly that they were not engaging in thought about a future career in high school. It may be due to the fact that career indecision is common in the early stages of career development (Feldman, 2003), causing exploring a specific career path impossible. Furthermore, participants often noted that their exploration efforts in high school were focused mainly on matriculation exam.

A factor that influence the career exploration in university, which was stated by P6, is peer pressure and a supported research on the influence of peer pressure on students choice of career indicated that many peers act as role models in their group and influences the decision made for other members of the group (Badura, 1986). Most students rely on the information given to them by their peers in making decision and the peer group perception about life will ultimately affect their choice of career (Steinberg, 2008).

The results indicate that the social network often plays a part in the exploration of careers during university years. 35% of participants explicitly stated that social networking influenced them in exploring about their career. Anderson and Jiang (2018) supports this finding, as social networking broadens a person's reach and connecting with people who are expert and quite professional can tend to be highly helpful in terms of skill advancement.

The role of parental pressure in career exploration. Interestingly, young adults engaged in more career exploration when parental pressure was most extreme (i.e., university years). This result contradicts other research that indicates parental pressure may have a negative impact on career exploration (Kracke & Noack, 2005). Since the present study finds that many participants' willingness to obey has diminished with age, it is possible that increasing independence from parental wishes facilitated increased career exploration, especially in cases of exploring a particular career path contrasts with the career wishes of their parents.

Methods of exploration. The findings of this study indicate that young adults have utilized a variety of approaches to explore career paths. Out of all methods of exploration, searching online was the most common. Young adults have used a number of other channels including conversation with parents, peers, teachers, relatives and the social environment. These methods have been documented in other research investigating the career exploration of young adults (Sharf, 2010). A fewer number of participants used other sources for information including volunteer experience, work experience, job extern opportunities, extra-curricular activities, and networking with alumni and professionals in the field. The investigation that young adults differed in their methods of career exploration complements the finding that individual difference is a strong component in explaining why people often differ in their methods of exploration (Blustein, 1995).

Dream career. This study found that the majority of young adults thought it was necessary to find a job they enjoy. Many participants noted that being interested in their job and enjoying their job were the most important factors in career selection. These findings fit with other research that highlights one's occupation as a central component of one's life (Porfeli & Lee, 2012). Other participants noted helping others, learning new things, pay, control, authority, stability, and a flexible schedule to be important in their idea of a perfect career. Although research has suggested that enjoyment and interest play a large role in career desirability (Creed & Blume, 2013), there is no support for the other factors in considerations of dream careers. Therefore, this finding sheds new light on the factors important to young adults' desirable career situations.

Some participants indicated specific dream careers (i.e., chef, artists) that differed from the career that they had chosen to pursue. This finding is supported by other research which shows that career compromise is a common phenomenon among young adults (Creed & Blume, 2013). Career compromise occurs when one chooses a less desirable career option due to the particular circumstance or to obtain other valuable career characteristics (i.e., career opportunity, stability). Since this study did not investigate the relationship between parental pressure and career compromise, it is unclear how parental pressure influenced decisions to compromise.

Experiencing stress. The current study found that 10% of participants noticed that the career decision making process induced feelings of stress. This finding is supported by other research that demonstrates that stress is often a concern for young adults during career exploration (Splete & Freeman-George, 1985). The most common factor involved in the experience of stress expressed by participants included pressure from others to make a decision and career indecision. Pressure from others has been cited as a large component of stress (Rowh, 2003) as has career indecision (Feldman, 2003).

Perceptions of Control

Career. In terms of career environment, young adults were found to also have moderate to high levels of perceived control. It was reflected in the experiences of the participants that they had moderate to high control over their career decisions and career choices and a moderate to high amount of career exploration. Vocational identity theory encompasses the following four statuses of vocational identity: diffusion, moratorium, achievement, and foreclosure (Vondracek, Schulenberg, Skorikov, Gillespie, & Wahlheim, 1995). Out of 20 participants, 2 participants are fit in diffusion category because of a lack of concern for the future, while also not having made a commitment. While 11 participants can be considering as moratorium who are activity exploring in an attempt to establish an identity, but have yet to have made any commitment, 8 participants are matched with achievement which is knowing what one wants and taking action toward it. Foreclosure refers to a situation in which someone has made a career decision without having participated in prior career exploration. None of the participants are in foreclosure and one possible reason is that they couldn't accept what others have chosen for him or her.

Opinions about parental pressure on control. Results of this study suggest that according to participants' statements of indicating moderate to high levels of perceived control over career explorations and choices, 75% of them believed that their experiences of parental pressure had no influence on their perceptions of control over their career environment. Only 25% of participants believed that their parental pressure had influenced their perception of control over career environment. With regard to parental pressure having little effect on one's career-related perceived control, a reason for this is that young adults' perceptions of control over their career environment could be influenced by other factors that do not involve interactions with parents (e.g., work opportunities, education opportunities) (Selander, Marnetoft, Asell, & Selander, 2008).

According to Yang (2011), there are only three major groups of occupations in the mindsets of Asian parents, and doctor, lawyer and engineer are considered to be a society's top careers because they are the 'smartest' and are well earning. This stereotype of professions could have originated from the poor background history of many Asians, if compared to the Westerns and most of the families in Asia want their children to become a member of that society. For some Asians, they still don't know any profession other than doctor, lawyer and engineer. May be because of the lack of career awareness in parents, they cannot guide properly to their children and let the children have a control on their own career decision.

With regard to parental pressure having a positive influence on career-related perceived control, it is possible that young adults' perceptions of control over career are heightened in the face of parental pressure. There has been no research to date on the positive effects of parental pressure on career-related perceived control. However, one possible reason for this finding could be that parents who have higher career expectations for their children might also have more financial resources to offer to that child to be successful in his or her career. This increase in financial support may allow a young adult to feel that they have more control over their career, considering they most likely have more education and work options from which to choose (Caplan & Schooler, 2007). Another possibility is that parents with high career aspirations for their children that also instill a sense of confidence in their potential to succeed in their career.

The findings of this study do not match the literature, indicating that parental pressure may have a negative impact on perceived control (Perez & Cumsille, 2012; Perlmutter, Scharff, Karsh, & Monty, 1980). One explanation is that young adults get mistaken about the effect of their parental pressure on their perceived control levels. This would mean that the assumptions related to the findings in the section above (i.e., parental pressure does not influence or positively influences perceived control) would stand. Another explanation is that if they are not mistaken, and the impact of pressure on control is manifesting in ways this research may not be identified. This would mean that parental pressure does harm perceived control, but that was undetected in the present study. Thus, further research is needed.

Relationship between perceptions of control and career exploration. Since this study did not examine levels of perceived control over time, it is difficult to determine the interaction between career exploration and career-related perceptions of control. However, since career exploration improved with maturity, and levels of perceived control were examined at that heightened state of maturity, it is possible that increases in career exploration contributed to moderate to high feelings of control and vice versa. In other words, the findings may suggest that career exploration and perceived control are intricately linked. This is an idea that is supported by a number of researches. For example, Super, Savickas, and Super (1996) found high perceptions of control to be related to more exploratory behaviors in career development. Furthermore, career maturity was found to correlate with high perceived control among male university students (Perrino, 1985). Lastly, Luzzo, James, and Luna (1996) found college students to engage in increased career exploration after watching a video on connecting internal control to external events. Therefore, it is possible that developments in career exploration facilitated increased levels of perceived control in the present study.

Conclusion

As discussed above, findings relating to three main areas are significant for this study: parental pressure experiences, career exploration experiences, and perceptions of control. With regard to parental pressure, this study found that young adults experienced more parental pressure as they aged. Furthermore, young adults described feeling close to one or both parents, received financial support, had a desire to comply with the wishes of the parent(s), and described feeling

anxious as a result of the pressure. In terms of perceived control, young adults demonstrated having moderate to high levels of perceived control with regard to their career environments. These results have significant theoretical implications for career studies.

Within the career exploration arena, it is found that young adults today are engaged more in academic exploration than in career exploration in the early stages of career development, and are placing more effort on career exploration in later stages. Furthermore, they are often considering academic pursuits as a stepping stone to future career goals in university. Therefore, theoretical models of career exploration should also aim to combine academic exploration with career exploration. Integration of this sort would increase the validity of various measures aimed at examining career exploration and related career development activities during these critical years.

The findings of parental pressure and career exploration also stated that the parents' lacking in career awareness can also affect the young adult's career development. Although the young adults explored careers throughout their lives, they explored too many fields without a proper career decision because the parents lack the knowledge of the career and could not give guidelines the young adults. Therefore, theories of career should also aim to point out the importance of the parents' career awareness and career knowledge.

In perception of control and career exploration, it is found that the young adults think that they have a control on their career because they can choose what they want to. With that thought in mind, the young adults engaged in moderate to high level of career exploration within their control but without decisiveness. This finding is questionable because most of the findings stated that the career exploration starts when the young adults have already decided in what they will be doing. Therefore, theoretical models of the perception of control and career exploration should also aim to consider the career decisiveness.

In this study, the parental pressure has almost no influence on the perception of control over career environment but the reason is unknown. Although there are literatures about the negative influence of parental pressure on perceived control, there is no clear theory to explain the result of the current study. Therefore, the theories about the perceived control should also contemplate about this result. Even though the parental pressure, perception of control and the amount career exploration are high in University, the career maturity of the young adults is low. So, the career exploration should also aim to reflect about career maturity.

Furthermore, this study has some implications for professional practice in the fields of vocational psychology, counselling for youth, career guidance for young adults, and family therapy. Young adults would benefit significantly from seeking career counselling, given the prevalence of stress and indecision during these early years of career development (Splete & Freeman-George 1985). According to the findings, career counselling is needed to consult about the career choices to improve the career maturity and decisiveness, and to educate about healthy coping strategies to deal with the anxiety emerged from parental pressure. Family therapy is also needed to help the family members improve communication, to understand and handle the family situations.

In addition to career counselors, there are school-based services that aid students in making academic decisions. In particular, academic advisors or teachers are often provided to students. These advisors often work with students to make choices about courses and majors of study. The results of this study have implications for academic advisors working with young adults. First, since the results indicate that career-related parental pressure is common for young adults, academic advisors should be aware of this when working with young adults. For instance, advisors might probe students about the reasons behind their academic decisions while emphasizing the

importance of balancing one's own needs with the needs of one's parent(s). Furthermore, advisors should be aware that academic and career choice processes are often stressful for young adults, and provide coping strategies and therapeutic resources when appropriate.

There are various limitations to the present study. The first limitation is concern with the samples' scope that all of the participants are students from University of Yangon. Since this university is arts and science faculty with many varieties of subject matters available to study, their options for career is broader than the subjective experiences of young adults from vocational universities. Therefore, it is better to spread the scope of the sample to get more information about the experiences. The second limitation is concern with the samples' size because total participants are only 20, more information can be attained if the sample size is larger. The third limitation is that subjective answers of the participants. Since the participants answered with their subjective point of view, some of their perceptions of parental pressure experiences might be biased. Therefore, quantitative research is also needed to avoid the biases of the subjective answers.

The final limitation is the biases of the researcher. Since the interviewing, transcribing, coding, analyzing, and reporting the data rely on the researcher's own understanding and interpretation, they are likely influenced by the researcher's personal assumptions and biases. In an attempt to reduce these biases, during the interview process, the researcher asked participants for clarification and included quotes from participants in the reporting process to provide evidence for key themes. The quantitative research design or mixed method research design might well reduce this limitation.

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ACHIEVEMENTS OF INDONESIAN CSOs IN THE DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION: LESSONS FOR MYANMAR*

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Abstract

Throughout the long process of democratic transition in Indonesia, CSOs played the leading role in various areas, such as improving the public awareness on political rights, civil liberties and serving as a watchdog on government's activities. Mainly, CSOs serving as the main players in creating a vibrant civil society, upgrade themselves first to be active in terms of strategies, for instance; how to deal with the state institutions and to develop effective means for change. Thus, this paper focuses on how to create active and strong CSOs in Myanmar based on the experience of Indonesia. Moreover, it also takes into consideration of external and internal factors for strengthening Myanmar CSOs in transition.

Keywords: CSO, democratic transition, strategies, change.

Introduction

After the 2004 presidential elections, Indonesia was mostly recognized as the third largest democratic country in the world and successfully reached the stage of democratic consolidation. President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the winner of the 2004 election, had strongly vindicated that democracy can be entrenched in 'the world's most populous Muslim nation'. Despite facing problems of ethnic groups, religious groups and terrorist attacks during the transitional period, all these issues were effectively handled by the Yudhoyono's government. It was noted that President Yudhoyono had well manipulated his country's political stability and economic growth simultaneously. Although the military seats in parliament had been totally dissolved since 2004, some retired officials continued to play in state affairs by joining the political parties.

Before the stage of democratic consolidation in Indonesia, there had been some developments in internal stability – a decrease in separatist, religious and ethnic violence – and crucial reforms – constitutional amendments, military reform, decentralization and the direct elections for a president and the local government heads. Marcus Mietzner (2010) expressed the possible factors for the successful transition of Indonesia, such as a lessening of religious and ethnic differences, an economic recovery, the modernization of the electoral system, and the gradual marginalization of military in politics.

According to the existing literature, there are parameters to analyze the situation of pre- and post-consolidated democracy. In order to develop a consolidated democracy, Linz and Stepan (1996) suggested the following five conditions to create in advance: (1) 'the development of free and active civil society'; (2) 'a relatively autonomous political society'; (3) safeguarding the individual freedoms and associational life by all state institutions including the government; (4) being harmony with new democratic government by state bureaucracy and (5) 'an institutionalized economic society'. As mentioned by Linz and Stepan (1996), Mietzner (2010) has summarized three characteristics of consolidated democracy as follow:

"Behaviorally, there are no key political groups that attempt to overthrow democratic rule or secede from the nation-state; attitudinally, a strong majority of public opinion believes that any political change should occur within the framework of the existing democracy; and constitutionally, all political conflict will be resolved

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"within the specific laws, procedures and institutions" of the new democratic system."

In addition, Diamond (1994) highlights the important role of a vibrant civil society in democratic consolidation because it takes the role of overseeing the government's activities, preventing the rise of authoritarian system, and leading the transition. Such kind of civil society is vital at all stages of the democratization process. If civil society is not strong enough, where there is a lack of unity, full of socio-economic difficulties, rampant corruption, a lack of effective legal system, and democratic culture, the democratic consolidation is in danger of deteriorating. Especially, ethnic issues and regional differences based on the socio-economic inequalities are the critical challenges for the consolidation of democracy.

To be strong enough for civil society, the pro-democracy CSOs have to play a key role in improving the public awareness on political rights, civil liberties and serving as a watchdog on government's activities. For example, throughout the long democratic transition in Indonesia, CSOs had made long-lasting emphasize on encouraging citizen participation, civic education, advocacy for public goods, and looked into every government's policy and implementation. For those CSOs playing in young democracy, especially for Myanmar CSOs, need to explore good lessons from the experience of Indonesian CSOs. Primarily, CSOs serving as the main players in creating a vibrant civil society, should upgrade themselves first to be active in terms of strategies, for instance; how to deal with the state institutions and to develop effective means for change. Thus, this paper focuses on how to create active and strong CSOs in Myanmar based on the experience of Indonesia.

In fact, Indonesian CSOs were more active and had been effectively participated in and contributed to crucial reforms at all stages of democratization. Actually, the approaches and strategies applied by the Indonesian CSOs might be good lessons and information for Myanmar CSOs. Besides, it should take into consideration about the impact of domestic reforms in the Indonesia's transition, too. Thus, backing the experience of Indonesia, this paper analyzes how to prepare for Myanmar CSOs to be strong and active, and the other prevailing factors to achieve that goal.

For this purpose, it elaborates external and internal factors that affect the role of CSOs to be robust, and also applies to the Myanmar CSOs. While the external factors deal with (1) the inclusion of reform-minded officials in transition, (2) decentralization, and (3) international assistances, the internal factors include (1) flexible strategies or effective engagement with stakeholders – Advocacy, (2) in house democracy and (3) self-governing with code of ethics within the CSO. Before proceeding, this section below first presents the role of CSOs in the consolidation period in Indonesia.

The Role of CSOs during Consolidation Period in Indonesia

While effectively monitoring the internal stability and the economic recovery, there developed a favorable condition for political rights and civil liberties in 2006. Especially, the Freedom House score for political rights reached the level of 'free' with introducing the new electoral system such as the direct presidential election, and elections for local heads and mayors.

Despite having some progresses in the earlier period of his presidency, President Yudhoyono confronted the challenge about limitation of political rights by the former retired officers in the parliament as well as a setback in civil liberties later. For example, the conservative politicians in the parliament urged to dissolve the direct election of local government heads which was introduced in 2004, because this election system had more favor to ordinary people to hold the positions of provincial governors and district heads or mayors. Besides, the adoption of 2013 Civil

Society Law was assumed as the government's attempt to control CSOs by restoring some restricted principles of New Order regime.

Consequently, Freedom House stated the decline of Indonesia's political rights and civil liberties' rate from 'free' to 'partly free' in 2014. Instead of handling the corruption issues effectively, the government also attempted to control the authority of anti-corruption commission (KPK - Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi) because the commission had revealed numerous corruption cases committed by the high-ranking government officials, politicians and parliamentarians. Thus, all these circumstances can be assumed as the major challenges to weaken an active civil society, and the relationship between the government and CSOs was getting more and more tense. In fact, the civil liberties and the space of CSOs can be limited at any time by state institutions even at the stage of consolidation.

In fact, CSOs had stayed away from the electoral campaigns in 2004 and 2009 as Yudhoyono had never claimed any support from CSOs. But later, CSOs had actively involved in the campaign for Joko Widodo (also called Jokowi) to become a president. As part of changes in strategies and orientation, CSOs supported a certain candidate than the political parties, assuming that such candidate could manage the forthcoming reform agenda and was ideally suited for the whole Indonesian society.

With the support of CSOs, media and individual activists, the Indonesian people had well known about Jokowi's democratic ideas, personality and leadership style. When his party (PDI-P - Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan) favored to nominate the party leader Megawati as a presidential candidate for 2014 election, several CSOs pressured the PDI-P to nominate Jokowi for this position. In fact, their vigorous and persistence support for Jokowi was the crucial factor of his victory in the 2014 election. By motivating the whole civil society, CSOs and the other pressure groups became active supporters in the electoral campaign for a new president. Thus, the role of Indonesian CSOs was still brightening even under the rule of democratic governments which were directly representing the people.

On the other hand, in order to maintain the secular state, President Joko Widodo had made restriction upon the religious based organizations through revising and adopting the previous organizational law. In July 2017, the government adopted the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 2/2017 (Perppu 2/2017). After approving this law, the government dissolved the Hizbut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) which advocated for emerging 'a caliphate' by introducing Islamic law in a country. While many CSOs assumed that the Perppu 2/2017 would challenge the freedom of association, the other CSOs viewed the government's regulation as an attempt to deter the 'radical ideological movements'. Thus, while implementing to consolidate democracy in a country, it can be seen that the government has tried to prevent the exploitation of civil liberties by the organizations.

External and Internal Factors for Strengthening the Role of CSOs

As mentioned earlier, there are external and internal factors that have great impact on CSOs to be strong and active.



Source: The author's attribution

Firstly, one of the external factors is related to the inclusion or participation of reform-minded officials from various state institutions in the transition. Why are those people vital for strengthening the civil society and its organizations? The reason is that CSOs to be active and to expand their spaces totally depend upon the collaboration of those reform-minded officials from executive, legislative, judiciary and military organs. If this criterion is regarded as a benchmark, Indonesia's CSOs has enjoyed the support of pro-reformed officials throughout the transition.

For example, the reform-minded military officials – the initiators of military reform – had taken into consideration about the academic recommendations for their future plans presented by the CSOs networks including pressure groups and research institutions. This successful advocacy was also headed by some reformist politician figures and Minister of Defence then. Effendi Choirie (PKB Party - Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa) and Djoko Susilo (PAN Party - Partai Amanat Nasional) worked together with the CSO network to draft some security bills. Moreover, Minister of Defence Mahfud MD had positively replied to any CSOs demands, and he tried to negotiate with some hardline military generals who were unwilling to accept some CSOs' suggestions. Due to the collaboration of pro-reformed military men, politicians and CSOs network, Indonesia with strong backing of military supremacy in the past had been transformed into a consolidated democratic country after 2004.

Likewise, the Constitutional Court led by pro-reformed judges took the bold step of improving civil liberties in Indonesia by removing some articles from criminal code. According to the controversial articles – which were firstly introduced by Dutch colony – those who either criticized the president or created misperception towards the government's implementations can be prosecuted in court for insulting the government. During the Megawati and Yudhoyono's administrations, the activists had been trialed for criticizing the government's leaders. At last in 2006, the Constitutional Court decided that those articles hindered the constitutionally granted freedom of expression and also the Indonesian democratization. Again in 2007, the Court removed an article relating to the punishment to those who created hates toward the government. In fact, the reform-minded judges had broken down the outdated system which had blind obedience to the powerful men, neglecting the fundamental rights of citizens. It would be a good example for a newly democratic country to continue the transition with the endeavors of reform-minded person.

Another example was cooperation between the network of CSOs and executive organs, like Ministry of Home Affairs, for drafting a government regulation on regional planning in Indonesia. Initially, CSOs faced a hard challenge for building trust with the government officials because the latter had been viewed them as the troublemakers. At last, their teamwork had overcome the challenges with their expertise as well as collaborated with reformed-minded officials from executive bodies.

Similarly, when the reform-minded mayor and new councilors were elected after 2004 in Madiun city, the local CSOs took this advantage to cooperate with them in policy dialogues and city affairs. In the past, they had no chance to participate in policy dialogues because of a hardline attitude of local government and legislative council. As a result, they were invited to participate in several dialogues concerning a long-term development plan for the city. Sometimes, CSOs pointed out the weaknesses and the requirements of development plan rather than approving a document presented by the government officials. Mostly, their recommendations were appreciated by their counterparts. Thus, the positive attitudes of pro-reformed person and the strategies of CSOs in making the officials to accept their proposal of reforms were vital, especially in the transitional period for strengthening and maintaining the space of CSOs. If it stands as a valuable example for Myanmar's transition, the reform-minded persons in authority from civil and military institutions should initiate something new by themselves or invite those of CSOs to participate in state building.

The second external factor is the 'decentralization' which promote local autonomy and cross-sectorial collaboration. It transforms 'traditional administrative relationships' and encourages to develop a new form of collaboration at the local level. Thus, decentralization reshapes the relationships between national and local entities and between those entities and civil society.

Since the liberalization period under Presidents Habibie and Wahid, decentralization measures had been implemented as a wide range in policy formulation and decision-making power sharing with local governments, media sector, electoral system and self-determination in Aceh and Papua. Direct elections of mayors and governors were introduced in 2005. In addition, several laws, by-laws and regulations that encouraged citizen engagement in public affairs were enacted by the national and local governments. Simultaneously, decentralization has granted new opportunities for CSOs and ordinary people to involve in local affairs. As a consequence of those new laws, the local government agencies needed to hold public hearings on important policies and 'multi-stakeholder consultation forums' on local development plans.

Under this situation, CSOs had more opportunities to involve in public forums and to cooperate with the local legislative council and government. At the same time they could expand their operational space. Indeed, decentralization and changing attitudes of local officials towards CSOs encouraged developing effective collaborations with them. Otherwise, it was unable to expand the space of CSOs under a strong centralized regime because they were either controlled with restricted laws or excluded from policy formulation. The worst of it is that if the elected authorities assume themselves as the direct representatives of people, the space of CSOs will be in danger to disappear.

As the third external factor, international assistances are vital for CSOs to be fully operative. Especially, during the time of political transition the international donors have expected to strengthen civil society by means of capacity building for selected CSOs and funding. CSOs need those financial assistances to operate their programs, at least to hire staffs and open the offices. The Indonesian CSOs were highly dependent upon the financial supports from the external donors. If they involved in an investigation on corruption issue, they needed lot of money to collect information, find evidence of malfunction and conduct legal analyses. Besides, if they did not have

adequate subsidy, they could not afford to introduce new regulations and policies. Therefore, international assistance is one of the important factors to strengthen the CSOs.

In the past there was no strings attached in aid, but later, the members of Indonesian CSOs said that the donors have provided funds based on their performance. In addition, they are more willing to cooperate with those CSOs with legal entity status and the central government approval than the informal CSOs. After achieving well-funded by the international donors, some CSOs became strong; especially they actively involved in the movements of human rights, anti-corruption, women empowerment and the environment.

In Myanmar, the World Bank, the Asia Development Bank, and the other international donors had provided millions of dollars to support reform programs through various means. For instance, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) provided fund for the period 2018–2022 with the amount of SEK (Swedish Krona) 1250 million for promoting human rights, democracy, the rule of law, gender equality, and peaceful inclusive societies. Likewise, Switzerland contributed CHF (Swiss Franc) 180million for the five year period (2019-2023), of which fifty-two percent (CHF 95.35 million) were spent for strengthening the capacity of civil society and developing decentralized institutions. Then, through the channels of multi-donor trust fund, their contributions were distributed to the local and national NGOs. For example, with the funding from the international donors, the Joint Peace Fund organization has provided all round financial, technical and advisory support to Myanmar's peace process since 2016.

Concurrently, it is noteworthy that CSOs operating with the international assistances need to be transparent in their expenditure because lack of transparency in funding frequently creates suspicions between the authority and CSOs. Sometimes, the CSOs were viewed as the agents for implementing the donor's interest than the state's merits. Thinzar Shunlae Yi, an organizer from Action Committee for Democracy Development has stated in the program of VOA Burmese news that there existed those CSOs which gave priority for their financial interests.

According to the societal organizational law in Indonesia, CSO with the official status are requested to present the amount of expenditure to the respective government's bodies when applying new extension. Therefore, in order to build mutual trust with the government and other stakeholders, CSO will have to prepare a financial report stating sources of funds, and it can be easily accessed by the public.

Now, it turns to look at the internal factors of CSOs that are essential for their strength and long-term survival. As for strategies, the Indonesian CSOs had much relied upon the peaceful advocacy for policy change. Some perform the formal channel of working together with the government, while other advocate through the outside channel, like presenting their own proposals or policy paper to the parliament's meetings. Moreover, Indonesian CSOs used to invite the government's responsible persons to their workshops and seminars. Its initial approach intends to build trust with the government officials and mainly targets to pro-reform officials. Thus, since 2005 instead of approaching with street demonstrations for policy change, the Indonesian CSOs had chosen the effective ways of cooperation with the reform-minded officials from executive, legislative, judiciary and military institutions.

Beside this, the pro-democracy CSOs are required to flourish the democratic principles and practices within their own organizations, such as the collective decision making and the selection of leader based on the majority choice. Thus, the final decision or organizational policy came out through consultation with the members of organization and adopted in line with the majority consensus. In addition, the leader of the organization was selected by the CSO members based on the majority votes. However, it can be seen normally in Indonesia and Myanmar that the founder of the organization took the leadership role for a long time. Indeed, Myanmar's CSOs still required

taking the leading role in creating a robust civil society commensurate with democratic norms and values.

Finally, CSOs could self-govern through Code of Ethics. Many Indonesian professional organizations have their own code of ethics. These regulations or norms formulated by the CSO became the guidelines for good governance in the organization. Furthermore, the code of ethics or code of conducts was also adopted among several NGOs in Indonesia, and they had a binding force upon the NGO signatories. The code of ethics can deter many problems relating to the integrity, accountability, transparency, independence, anti-violence, gender equality and financial management effectively. Thus, the above mentioned external and internal factors based on the experience of Indonesia are valuable lessons for Myanmar's transition and CSOs.

Lessons for Myanmar CSOs

In fact, Myanmar CSOs had high expectation upon the civilian government for expanding their operational space than before by collaborating with the elected persons in the activities of policy dialogues. Unfortunately, their expectation did not come true under restraining again by the civilian government. Under this situation, what are the main barriers for CSOs to expand their space?

One of the reasons is having a strong centralization in decision-making and policy formulation. Chief of this problem is waiting for a permission to initiate a tremendous change even there has been a good idea to perform it. When personal interviewing with a member of CSO, who involved in the program of educational reform, he said that his organization prepared a proposal relating to educational reform and presented to the Rectors' Committee. The committee members warmly welcomed their suggestions, but they were unable to enforce them on their own initiatives without receiving any instruction from above. Therefore, a strong centralization can reduce citizen participation and the involvement of CSOs in policy dialogue. Moreover, it also deters the innovation of new idea for public goods and makes less confidence to initiate on their own.

Regarding the government's control upon the relationship between the legislators and CSOs members after 2016, U Aung Myo Min, executive director of Equality Myanmar, has answered to the RFA (Radio Free Asia) that the government might be worried about the influence of CSOs upon the inexperienced legislators through policy advocacy and personal contacts. In reality, CSOs would try neither influence nor control upon the government. They intended to present the reality on the ground to the government and to be more effective in governance. Thus, he requested the government to look at them as the partners without being afraid of them.

On the other hand, there has been lack of strategy to build trust with those officials from different departments. Indeed, building trust with the bureaucrats was not an easy task for CSO members. This is because those personnel were well trained by the successive non-democratic governments. Not all, but most of them were reluctant to change the existing situation including their ideology, perception and behavior which had been long-entrenched and practiced for years. As an example, the improper actions committed by some of those bureaucrats and the bribe scandals committed by the high ranking officials were appeared in state-owned media and social media. Thus, leaving aside the trust-building, CSOs are in a situation to find out a proper way of dealing with those bureaucrats at national and local levels.

Concerning advocacy for policy change, the strategies applied by CSOs including research institutes, still focus on education than persuasion in Myanmar. Especially, the education strategy was useful for improving the public awareness on civic education in the rural and urban areas. Several CSOs sponsored by international non-governmental organizations and private donors, educated the public by holding workshops, seminars and training programs in different matters, such as human rights, gender equality, women empowerment, electoral system and so on.

However, they are still weak to collaborate with the government's policy makers. Instead of waiting the government's invitation, they should start to pave the way for cooperation with the government officials, usually applied by the Indonesian CSOs. Here, they need to consider how to break the deadlock if their formal approach does not work. According to the interviewee from a research foundation, the correspondent persons of the research team occasionally invited the government's responsible person to their dialogues with the aim of informing their research findings. Thus, their reports had been distributed to those responsible persons in advance. The problem was that those invited people were absent in the occasion (and did not read the reports either, they assumed). Thus, their original idea of contributing research findings for public good was not fully materialized.

But, it does not mean that all channels are shutting down to contact with the government officials, especially legislators. It has a chance to cooperate with them by CSOs based on their previous partnership. According to the interviewee, a former student of 88 generation and now a member of NGO serving as Hlutaw monitoring and doing research on the legislating process, his organization have a personal contact with some of the NLD representatives in parliament and by taking advantage of this friendship they could present and discuss about their policy paper with them. But, such kind of opportunities cannot be enjoyed by all CSOs equally even under the democratically elected government.

These different opportunities are somehow related to the different approaches of CSOs as well as of the public movements. For example, some CSOs members who are the victims of 1988 political uprisings have already given forgiveness to those who committed. They have never claimed the responsible persons to apologize for their losses at all. In fact, they oriented towards collaboration with any institution in the hope of future benefit rather than the confrontation.

On the other side, when the governments – both semi- and civilian government – neglected the public voices, it led to the street demonstrations arranged by groups or individual, and the petitions which were occasionally celebrated as a strategy of persuasion to attain the government's attention. Among them, after 2016 the young organizers of public movements urged the former government members to confess publicly about their faults. It highlighted the different approaches among CSOs, some of which were on a way to trust building but some followed undesirable and risky tactic.

Conclusion

While the external factors created a favorable condition for CSOs to expand their operational space in various sectors, the internal factors relate to self-improvement of CSOs in terms of strategies, in-house democracy, and code of ethics. As the valuable knowledges for Myanmar CSOs, the Indonesian CSOs could fully grab the opportunities arising from the political reforms and decentralization, which had given them a significant space in policy dialogue and formulation at national and local level by collaborating with the pro-reformed policy makers and legislators. At the same time, those CSOs emphasized on citizen participation, civic education, advocacy for public goods, and watchdog on every government's policy and implementation. Based on the circumstances of Indonesia, the lessons for Myanmar were to ease centralization in decision making by taking account the advices of civil society and its organizations, to have a space for CSOs in policy dialogues and to have fully collaboration in various sectors with national and local authorities. If Myanmar CSOs intend to change the current transition to be a consolidated democracy in the near future, they need to take into account those external and internal factors. Moreover, it is necessary to improve public awareness on the development of CSOs and its crucial role in Myanmar's democratic transition.

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ANALYSIS ON COOPERATION BETWEEN ASIAN INFRASTRUCTURE INVESTMENT BANK (AIIB) AND ASEAN COUNTRIES

Phyu Phyu Kyaw¹

Abstract

The key agenda of Chinese foreign economic policy since 2013 has been Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The initiative is also a central component of Chinese regional economic and foreign policy. Its goal is to boost economic connectivity from China to Central and South Asia, the Middle East and Europe (the Silk Road Economic Belt) and along a maritime route, from Southeast Asia to the Middle East, Africa and Europe (the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road). To support the goal, Chinese President Xi Jinping announced the initiative of a China-led multilateral development bank, which was known as Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) in 2013. It is a response to serve financial gap for sustainable infrastructure in Asia and to promote its geopolitical interests overseas as an emerging power. The AIIB cooperates with existing Multilateral Development Banks (MDBs) and takes full advantage of their strengths in promoting economic development in Asia region. It supports China's banking policy to finance overseas investment projects. Most of AIIB's signed contract projects are strategic in nature, complementing the BRI. ASEAN and China have been cooperating closely as a top dialogue partner. The total share of ASEAN countries in AIIB is 7.6 percentage of the total amount. In the meantime, AIIB provided some infrastructure projects with the amount of one billion in ASEAN countries. The objectives of the research are to analyse the evolution of the AIIB and to evaluate its cooperation with ASEAN countries. The findings highlighted that its cooperation is well suited to recipient's needs and supporting development and infrastructure in developing countries in ASEAN, especially, regional connectivity although there are some challenges.

Keywords: BRI, AIIB, MDBs, ASEAN, Aids, infrastructure, development

Introduction

China's significant economic rise led its role for regional power and motivated to set out strategies to become the global power ambition. Chinese President Xi Jinping has pursued an ambitious foreign policy agenda to deepen economic, security, and political ties with neighbouring countries. Over the past decade, President Xi stated building a "community of common destiny," first in the Asia-Pacific region and then throughout the globe. The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) was established as a regional financing mechanism for Chinese President Xi Jinping's BRI. It aimed to be a specialized 21st Century Multilateral Development Banks (MDB). It is the first global International Financial Institution (IFI) established on the direct initiative of a non-Western country. AIIB emphasized investment in BRI-related areas. Most of its signed contract projects are strategic in nature, complementing the BRI. Inside China, it supports Beijing's banking policy to finance overseas investment projects. It offers China a similar opportunity to replicate a leadership role in Asia as an economic power. Among Asian countries, ASEAN member countries have significant economic ties with China, which has a major trading partner, donor and investor. Indeed, ASEAN and China have been cooperating closely as a top dialogue partner. ASEAN countries' total contribution to AIIB fund is significant. In the meantime, AIIB provided some infrastructure projects with the amount of one billion in these countries. Based on the background, objectives of the research are to analyse the evolution of the AIIB and to evaluate its cooperation with ASEAN countries. The research intends to answer why the AIIB is developed as a multilateral development bank and how the AIIB and ASEAN countries have cooperated.

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The Evolution of AIIB as a Multilateral Development Bank

In October 2013, Chinese President Xi Jinping proposed the establishment of AIIB at the Annual Leader's Meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) Forum in Bali, Indonesia in order to promote inter-connectivity and economic integration in the region. Its mission intended to (i) foster sustainable economic development, create wealth and improve infrastructure and other productive sectors, and (ii) promote regional cooperation and partnership in addressing development challenges by working in close collaboration with other multilateral and bilateral development institutions such as the World Bank (WB) and the Asia Development Bank (ADB). AIIB also aimed to invest in BRI-related areas that align with sustainable infrastructure priorities and to support Chinese companies specifically among the major financiers- Chinese Policy Banks, Chinese Commercial Banks, Silk Road Fund, and New Development Bank (NDB) for developing BRI. Its initial total capital was USD 100 billion by investing infrastructure and other productive sectors in Asia and its projects would better connect people, services and markets to promote sustainable development, growth and prosperity. The bank not only aims to mobilize private capital but also partner with other MDBs for co-financing projects.

In October 2014, twenty-two Asian countries signed Memorandum of Understandings (MOUs) among on establishing AIIB. Fifty-seven prospective founding members also signed the Articles of Agreement (AOA) in June 2015. The AIIB was formally established on December 25, 2015 and began operations in January 2016. Subsequently, 20 percentage of the initial capital was paid by 2019 and the full amount would be completed by 2024. It is equivalent to about 61percentage of the ADB's initial total capital, 43 percentage of World Bank's, 30percentage of the European Investment Bank's (EIB) and more than twice of the European Banks for Reconstruction and Development's (EBRD). AIIB has grown to 102 member countries worldwide up to 2019 which was accounted for 76 full members and 26 prospective members. Its capital became USD12.04 billion with 63 projects for 2019. The net committed investment was 8.37 billion and disbursement was 2.9 billion. Besides, its management organization became multinational characters with staff from 50 countries.

According to the AOA, the Bank would “provide financing to any member or any agency, or an entity or enterprise operating in the territory of a member, as well as to international and regional agencies or entities concerned with economic development of the Asia region”. Furthermore, AIIB is institutionally structured along the lines to other MDBs. The first annual meeting was held in Beijing in 2016. The President of the Bank is Jin Lique, who was elected for a five- year term in accordance with the AOA. He was a former Chinese Minister of Finance, Chinese Sovereign Wealth Fund Chairman and ADB Vice-President. The main currency of the Bank is the US Dollar but member states can contribute their share of funds in Dollars or other convertible currencies. In contrast to other MDBs, the Bank does not grant concessional loan with zero to very low interest rates, which is designed for the long run and low-income countries in particular. It grants not only finance direct loans, but seeks to provide a possibility to invest in equity funds of private institutions, enterprises or publicly financed institutions. As a member of the international family of development banks, AIIB has concluded a co-financing framework agreement with the WB and signed MOUs with ADB, EBRD, EIB and other MDBs to set the stages for jointly financing projects. In this way, the AIIB has a process of ‘institutional learning’ from partner institutions and develops its own set of funding policies and guidelines. The process paved the way for China's domestic financial institutions to be adaptable with international standards.

Practically, AIIB is still a very young development bank, compared with other multilateral institutions. It still has less capital base, less technical experience and human resource capacity compared with the WB and ADB. The Bank has over 500 staffs whereas the ADB has 3,092

employees and the WB has more than 10,000, may restrict the depth of its independent sector expertise. The AIIB applies universal procurement policies and does not tie its loans or projects financed to AIIB's membership. The interest rate of AIIB is ranging from 0.75percentage to 1.40percentage for lending spread plus 0.5percentage for front-end fee and commitment fee depending on conditions of the agreement with the country concerned. The rate is not low compared to other MDBs. The bank's average maturity period including the grace period five years is up to 20 years long term. Some MDBs usually provide more than 30 years for the big investments with grace period. AIIB is trying to be different from nature of Chinese banks in terms of rules and regulations and willing to be a genuine multilateral bank but some critics pointed out that it is necessary to change some conditions including decision-making and bilateral discussion with recipient countries. The nature of investment share in AIIB is also important point for the decision-making.

According to Table (1), China holds nearly 30percentage of the Bank's share and over 26percentage of the voting share. India and Russia are the second- and third-largest shareholders respectively. China's voting share at the AIIB is much larger than not only any other member but also the combined share of the top five shareholders- India, Russia, Germany, South Korea and Australia. Under the AOA, certain key decisions require a super majority of two-thirds of votes of all governors, representing no less than 75 percentage of total share. As for the decision-making, China holds over 26percentage of votes and has the ability to exercise a veto over certain decisions. Some countries and scholars have pointed out China's dominance of share and decision-making.

Table-1 Top 10 Shareholders in the AIIB

No	Member	Capital Subscription (USD billion)	Voting Share
1	China	29.78	26.06%
2	India	8.37	7.51%
3	Russia	6.54	5.93%
4	Germany	4.48	4.15%
5	South Korea	3.74	3.50%
6	Australia	3.69	3.46%
7	France	3.38	3.19%
8	Indonesia	3.36	3.17%
9	Brazil	3.18	3.02%
10	United Kingdom	3.05	2.91%

Source: AIIB (2015), China Daily (2015)

Based on the AOA, seventy-five percentage of the total capital of AIIB is to be delivered by regional countries (Asian and the Middle East Countries) whereas, the remaining twenty-five percentage delivered non-regional countries. AIIB's project process is guided by its strategic goals and thematic priorities -sustainable infrastructure, cross-border connectivity and private capital mobilization. All projects from the proposed countries are screened in accordance with the selection process and additional assessment and research. As a result, some projects with good assessment and design with social, technical, environmental, governance, economic and financial factors can only get the final approval from the Executive Committee. Projects could be sovereign-backed and private sector projects involving both debt and equity transactions. AIIB has been assigned the highest credit ratings by the Standard & Poor's Global Ratings, Fitch Ratings and

Moody's Investors Service, reflective of the sovereign personality and strong finances of most of its members, the backing of its callable capital and the Bank's prudent financial policies and management together with the development.

In 2017, the AIIB Project Preparation Special Fund was established with the primary purpose of supporting eligible AIIB members, especially low-income members. As of end-April 2020, total committed contributions to the PPSF amounted to USD 128 million with contributions from China (USD 50 million), the United Kingdom (USD 50 million), Korea (USD 18 million) and Hong Kong, China (USD 10 million). AIIB's third annual meeting was held in Mumbai, India on June 25-26, 2018. It focused on creating business development opportunities, mobilizing finance for Infrastructure Innovation and Collaboration in recognition of the private sector's vital role in bridging the infrastructure gap. The 2019 AIIB Annual Meeting was held in Luxembourg July 12-13, 2019. The theme of the Meeting was "Cooperation and Connectivity" in recognition of the economic and social benefits to be realized through better connectivity within and between countries and regions, including Europe and Asia. At the end of 2019, AIIB has implemented 63 projects and 33 projects were stand-alone projects and 30 projects were co-financed projects. These focused areas included nineteen projects in energy, fifteen in finance, thirteen in transport, eight in water, four in urban development, two in ICT and two in others.

The 2020 Annual Meeting was virtually organized on 28-29 July 2020. Stakeholders and representatives discussed how to build a more inclusive organization. Besides, it stressed crucial partnership in connecting markets, enhancing green economics, linking digital divide and mitigating challenges. The COVID-19 Pandemic brought about delay in projects while its private contribution declined. But, demand for projects and planned projects remained positive in 2020. The AIIB was criticized for not providing substantial support as the WB and the ADB did. Then, it has provided assistance under the COVID 19 Crisis Recovery Facility with USD 5.9 billion to support twelve countries in July 2020. It supported sixteen projects to tackle challenges in the Pandemic.

The Role of ASEAN Members in AIIB

China plays a major role in development of transport, energy, telecommunication and other infrastructure in ASEAN countries. China is the top investor in Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar while its investments in Vietnam, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia have been considerably significant and in the rising trend. Indeed, China and ASEAN countries have long-term diplomatic relations and major economic partners. Besides, China is a principal dialogue partner and largest trading partner of ASEAN as a regional organization. ASEAN is its third largest-trading partner. Two-way investment has been growing with ASEAN, which would be China's fourth-largest investment destination and third-largest source of foreign direct investment.

At the same time, ASEAN is situated in the integral part of BRI. The increased access to infrastructure financing in ASEAN countries is likely to have significant impact on BRI plans. ASEAN market is the major and closet market for Chinese consumer goods. China infrastructure investment in ASEAN countries has enhanced bilateral connectivity. Building an integrated transport network is a vital supporting infrastructure to an ASEAN-China free trade area. In 2016, the countries adopted a Strategic Plan for ASEAN-China Transport Cooperation and decided to explore ways to synergize common priorities between the Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity 2025 and the BRI. The countries agreed to promote cross-border projects like the Singapore-Kunming Rail Link, navigation in Lancang-Mekong River, the Port Cities Cooperation Network and Logistics Information Cooperation. Chinese multinational enterprises are actively participating in ASEAN's infrastructure landscape.

ASEAN countries lie within the route of China's BRI that seek to promote interconnectivity and cooperation among the BRI countries. The BRI Vision stresses the importance of Southwest China as a gateway that connects to both the land and oceanic Silk Road routes. The document includes specific reference to linking Yunnan province to its neighbours, Myanmar, Laos and Vietnam, as part of a "pivot of China's opening-up to South and Southeast Asia. Especially for CLMV, Chinese companies are the largest investors in hydropower plants, dams, roads, bridges, seaports and railway networks. AIIB planned projects are seemed to be focused on Central Asia for cross-border connectivity projects and on other parts of Asia such as Southeast Asia, South Asia, Middle East and beyond for maritime projects. Under the circumstances, China welcomed participation of ASEAN countries in AIIB. By joining the AIIB, they may show greater tendency to investments that are directed at domestic projects instead of those that are essentially cross-country or regional. China, as the ASEAN's top economic partner, publicly supports ASEAN Centrality in the evolving regional architecture and ASEAN countries have the opportunity to keep China's interest in the region for sustainable development. To ensure this, ASEAN countries could work together for cross-border infrastructure projects funding by advocating for AIIB funds for regional projects instead of domestic ones, such as the proposed Singapore-Kunming Rail Link, the Trans-ASEAN Gas Pipeline or the Trans-ASEAN Electricity Grid.

Table-2 Share of Capital receivables of ASEAN Countries **Total Share = 950,011**

No	Country	Paid-in Capital 2016	Paid-in Capital 2017	Paid -in Capital 2018	Paid-in Capital 2019	Total Share %
1	Brunei Darussalam	6,129	4,114	2,071	-	524 (0.06%)
2	Cambodia	9,359	8,249	7,122	5979	623 (0.07%)
3	Indonesia	394,036	264,210	132,871	-	33,607 (3.5%)
4	Lao PDR	6,424	5,664	4,891	4107	430 (0.05%)
5	Malaysia	5979	12,913	4,306	-	1,095 (0.1%)
6	Myanmar	38,995	34,429	29,777	25040	2,645 (0.3%)
7	Philippines	192,537	76,681	38,611	-	9,791 (1.03%)
8	Singapore	29,186	19,591	9,863	-	2,500 (0.26%)
9	Thailand	167,149	112,058	56,403	-	14,275 (1.5%)
10	Vietnam	104,460	78,743	52,771	26516	6,633 (0.7%)
Total						7,212,300(7.6%)

Source: 2016, 2017, 2018 & 2019 AIIB Annual Report and Financials

By joining AIIB, ASEAN countries contributed capital to the Bank annually. The Table (2) showed the amount of paid-in capital receivables from the ASEAN countries. According to the AOA, payments for paid-in capital of members are due in five instalments, with the exception of members designated as less developed countries, who may pay in ten instalments. Paid-in capital receivables represent amounts due from members in respect of paid-in capital. The total share of ASEAN countries is 7.6percentage of the total 950011 shares of AIIB. It is the second largest contributor to the Bank's total capital. Indonesia holds the largest amount with 3.5percentage of the total share in ASEAN and the eighth largest investor in AIIB members. Laos has the lowest share with 0.05 percentage amount.

Table (2) showed that capital contribution was increased in 2019 by CLMV countries. Vietnam contributed most with USD 26516 and Myanmar paid USD 25040. Myanmar's total contribution in capital was USD 128,241 up to 2019 and has 0.3 percentage share. The share in capital contribution is directly related to decision-making and voting share according to the principles of decision-making in AIIB. India holds bilaterally second highest share with 7.5percentage and the total share of ASEAN countries are higher than India and Russia. Consequently, the voting share of ASEAN countries is second largest and very important for decision-making and process in AIIB. It can be positive for all ASEAN countries if they collectively have one voice. Likewise, capital contribution of ASEAN is more than USD 8.5 billion and necessary for AIIB.

AIIB's Investment in ASEAN Countries

President Xi Jinping stated the establishment of AIIB during his visit to Indonesia in October 2013. In his speech to the Indonesian Parliament, Xi said that AIIB would offer priority to the infrastructural needs of ASEAN members and seek to revive the ancient Maritime Silk Road (MSR) between China and Southeast Asia. The ASEAN-China Strategic Partnership Vision 2030 was announced during the summit meetings in November 2018. The Vision upgrades the 2013 ASEAN-China Cooperation Framework, which includes enhancing strategic trust and promoting economic cooperation and seven cooperation fields, such as ASEAN-China Free Trade Area (ACFTA), inter- connectivity, security exchanges and others. Economic cooperation is a key thrust area of ASEAN-China Strategic Partnership among the number of cooperation agendas. Since January 2016, AIIB has started to provide infrastructure loans to ASEAN members with USD 236.5 million. After the announcement of Vision 2030 in 2018, the amount of AIIB support was USD 1493.39 million. The mount in 2018 was five times higher than that of 2016. But, it disbursed only USD 169 million for ASEAN members in 2019. Laos received top in the list under the Special Fund, followed by Indonesia, Philippines, Myanmar, Cambodia and Singapore under regular funds.

Table-3 List of Approved Project in ASEAN Countries with AIIB Financing

Year	Country	Sector	Project Name	AIIB Loan (USD Million)
2016	Indonesia	Urban	National Slum Upgrading Project	216.5
	Myanmar	Energy	Myingyan 225 MW Gas Turbine Power Plant	20
2017	Indonesia	Multi-Sector	Dam Operational Improvement & Safety Project	125
		Multi-Sector	Regional Infrastructure Development Project	100
	Philippines	Water	Metro Manila Flood Management Project	207.6
2018	Indonesia	Water	Strategic Irrigation Modernization & Urgent Rehabilitation Project	250
		Multi-Sector	Mandalika Urban and Tourism Infrastructure	248.39
	Lao PDR	Transport	National Road 13 Improvement & Maintenance Project	995
2019	Cambodia	ICT	Fiber Optic Communication Network Project	75
	Lao PDR	Transport	National Road 13 Improvement & Maintenance Project	40
	Singapore	Financial Institution	Infrastructure Private Capital Mobilization Platform	54

Source: <https://www.aiib.org>.

Table (3) showed the list of approved projects in ASEAN countries with AIIB financing. Indonesia was the largest recipient of AIIB loans. It is also an active supporter and eighth largest contributor of the Bank. Bilaterally, China takes the third spot in Indonesia's foreign investment list. AIIB has significant influence on Indonesia's infrastructure development. From 2016 to 2019, it received eleven projects for six countries of ASEAN. Five projects for Indonesia covered on urban, multi-sector and water. The total amount of assistance was USD 939.89 million and the amount was 40.3 percentage of the total provision to ASEAN countries. With more projects and innovative solutions, the Indonesian government would be able to continue to accelerate infrastructure development and social and economic growth in the country.

Myanmar received a project on energy sector in the first batch projects in 2016. It proposed few projects, which could not meet some assessments and criteria from the project identification at the second step. Myingyan project passed the straight screening and it was suitable for the regional strategic plans. The AIIB provided USD 20 million of debt financing for the development, construction and operation of a green-field 225 MW Combined Cycle Gas Turbine (CCGT) Power Plant in Mandalay region. The Power Plant was the largest and first Gas-Fired Independent Power Producer (IPP) in Myanmar and aimed to increase much needed reliable and clean energy to the country's demand of 4,700 MW. It was a part of China-Myanmar Economic Corridor, which is an important part of BRI. This project was co-financed by the AIIB, International Finance Corporation (IFC), and the Asian Development Bank (ADB). AIIB applied IFC's environmental and social standards and policies for granting the project.

In July 28 2020, the Union Minister for Planning, Finance and Industry U Soe Win as the Governor for Myanmar in AIIB, served as the rotating Vice-Chair at the 5th Annual Meeting of AIIB held through videoconferencing due to COVID-19 pandemic. The meeting was attended by President of the People's Republic of China Mr Xi Jinping, AIIB President Mr Jin Lique, Governors and senior officials from the 102 member countries. At the meeting, the governors approved the proposal of China and chose again the President Jin Lique for the second five-year term of AIIB. Moreover, the Bank set up AIIB COVID-19 Crisis Recovery Facility to support loans to member countries and has announced to provide between USD 5 billion and USD 10 billion loans in 16 April 2020 under the International Development Association (IDA) of World Bank by establishing a USD 30 million Special Fund Window (SFW). All member countries including Myanmar could request financial resources to tackle various challenges of the Pandemic.

Geographically, the Philippines has highly vulnerable to natural disasters with exceptionally high exposure to cyclones and floods. The country is struck by 20 cyclones every year causing wider-spread flooding including Metro Manila where more than 15 percentage of the country's population is located. The Metro Manila Flood Management project is to improve flood management in selected areas of Metro Manila, focusing on about 56 potentially critical drainage areas with an approximate land area of 11,100 ha or 17 percentage of the total area of Metro Manila.

In addition, Lao PDR project targeted to improve road conditions, road safety and climate resilience of critical sections of the National Road 13 through innovative contracting model (Output- and Performance- Based Road Contract- OPBRC). The road design was designed to meet ASEAN standards. The purpose was to conduct preparatory activities to enhance implementation readiness and quality of proposed investment. The project preparation grant supported consultancy services for resettlement action plan, preparation and implementation. The total assistance was USD 995 million in 2018 and added USD 40 million in 2019. Laos aims to transform from a land-locked country into a "land-linked" country. Particularly, the ASEAN nations are required to spend approximately USD 60 billion a year to address the regional infrastructure needs.

Moreover, AIIB provided a loan to USD 75 million for Fiber Optic Communication Network Co., Ltd ("CFOCN"), the largest independent and carrier-neutral provider of national

fiber network in Cambodia. By building out the fiber optic cable backbone and the metro network across the country, the project is expected to support increased access to telecom services in both rural and urban areas. On the one hand, it would provide greater capacity for the operators in the telecommunication sector, and improve both outdoor and indoor coverage for service providers. Under the International Telecommunication Union's ICT Development Index, Cambodia ranks 128th out of the 176 countries and ranks as the tenth least developed country in the Asia Pacific Region. At present Cambodia has a higher rate of mobile subscriptions than other countries.

In 2020, AIIB provided sovereign-back USD 60 million loans to Cambodia to support the government's recovery plans from COVID-19 impacts. The assistance intended to improve lives of women, children in rural areas. Moreover, its impacts on economy led decline of GDP growth and affected on manufacturing, tourism and construction sectors which accounted for 43percentage of national income. These sectors also employed most of jobs for women and informal workers from rural areas. The project was under Special Fund Window (SFW) as apart of AIIB's COVID 19 Crisis Recovery Facility. Similarly, Vietnam also has received USD 100 million loans for its Prosperity Joint Stock Commercial Bank in 2020. It is the first project in Vietnam and intended to help private sector particularly small and medium sized enterprises to tackle challenges in COVID-19 Pandemic. Vietnam's GDP became decreased by 3.8percentage in mid-2020.

Furthermore, AIIB invested in a new platform business to purchase infrastructure loan from financial institutions in Singapore. This would support private capital mobilization and builds infrastructure as an asset class. Thus, the Bank has disbursed up to USD 54 million of equity capital to the platform, with the remaining USD 126 million funded by other investors and partners. Total debt financing of up to USD 1.8 billion could be raised to support the platform. AIIB's aspirations and objectives for this project are to help develop infrastructure capital markets as an asset class through the creation of investable debt securities in the Asian infrastructure sector and to support the recycling of infrastructure lending of banks' balance sheets.

Accordingly, the AIIB, along with other MDBs, could carry out the infrastructure gap by providing the needed funds. Moreover, China-ASEAN Investment Cooperation Fund was established in 2013 and targets investments in infrastructure, energy and natural resources in ASEAN region. Some projects of the rest ASEAN countries have been invested under this fund. China's policy banks, China's commercial banks, China-ASEAN Infrastructure Investment Fund and the Silk Road Fund also emphasis investments in major infrastructure projects and connectivity with the objective of promoting "common development and prosperity" of China and other countries and regions involved in BRI. In fact, ASEAN countries have 7.6 percentage of the total share in the AIIB. Indonesia is the largest shareholder in ASEAN while it received the largest number of projects in water, multi sector and urban development. Laos got only a transport project to smooth roads across Laos from the border with China. Myanmar received the smallest amount of money but the project could well support the electricity needs in Myanmar. It is expected to increase assistances and investments as the BRI expanded more initiatives in ASEAN.

Challenges

As a multilateral lending institution, AIIB might undeniable face the challenges of its operations both in recipient countries and in AIIB itself. Recipients have some concerns. Firstly, they may worry for China's dominance over the AIIB and its decisions. They thought that China would use the AIIB to advance its own strategic interests overseas. Secondly, it is doubtful for standard for projects. AIIB may not observe high standards of governance, and may ignore environmental and social impacts. The third one is its future and critics. AIIB's governance structure and uncertainties regarding its future trajectory have not eliminated the concerns and suspicions among some countries. Media, some countries and economists have questions for

potential corruption, bad consequences on environment and its overlapping functions with ADB and WB, especially the allocation of loans from development fund and their focus for infrastructure projects. The major argument against the AIIB especially, from the US and Japan comes from the AIIB's governance structure, its transparency, the issue of voting power (especially, China's veto power on decision making) and its observation of existing international norms. Fourthly, some observers argue that the AIIB could weaken the ASEAN unity since countries needed to negotiate with the AIIB bilaterally rather than via the ASEAN as a whole. The fifth concern was related to national debt of the recipient countries as it raises concerns over debt repayment and other strategic risks. It is linked with Chinese interests in investing in mega-projects like Forest City in Malaysia, Sihanoukville port city in Cambodia, Sino-Laos railway project, and the Kyaukphyu SEZ in Myanmar. As the debt burden becomes serious, these countries may have to deploy state properties, like a deep-sea port or oil and gas field, as equity to pay the Chinese. This debt-trap possibility often impels ASEAN countries to take a cautionary approach towards Chinese mega-investments including AIIB projects. In addition, the analysis showed that AIIB did not cover poverty reduction and humanitarian assistance that is crucial for LDC and many developing countries in Asia. Furthermore, the Bank only gives loans with highest interest rates which are much higher in comparison with other MDBs. The term of loan is also 20 years that is shorter for development bank's standard and it could bring about difficulties of the recipient for repaying the debt in 20 years. Thus, AIIB is not following the standards of all infrastructure development for LDC countries.

Conclusion

AIIB is the first global IFI established on the direct initiative of a non-Western country. By following international financial standard for the cooperation with the WB and other MDBs, AIIB strictly became a pioneer bank for Chinese domestic and international banks. However, some pointed out the AIIB as a tool of Chinese foreign policy, and a vehicle for the implementation of the BRI and since the AIIB has mostly financed BRI complementary projects. China was criticized that the AIIB is used to export its domestic excess production capacity, to promote RMB internationalization, to facilitate China's Belt and Road Strategy, and to increase China's international influence. Its establishment reflects not only China's rising economic and financial muscle but also China's attempts to increase its representation in existing international institutions. The analysis highlighted nature of project selection of the AIIB. The steps for achieving project included detail assessment and project proposal with technical, social, environmental, economic, and financial factors. Moreover, the project is essential to provide strategic regional plans. AIIB projects were started in 2016 with the first batch. Myanmar's power plant project in Myingyan was co-financed by the ADB. It was the supporting project as part of BRI. It was the only project chosen for the regional plans and other projects failed to match the required criteria. Especially, the analysis found that AIIB's interest rate is higher than other MDBs and short grace period, its rules and regulations for infrastructural projects are so strict and its projects selection procedures must be aligning projects with the bank's thematic priorities. Many Chinese leaders and policymakers viewed the contemporary configuration of international institutions as a monopoly of western developed countries. The absence of US and Japan in the AIIB has not discouraged many regional and non-regional countries to joint this young multilateral institution. Its supporters emphasized that the AIIB would add more capacity to provide much-needed capital resources to finance the huge infrastructure investment gap in Asia. Although AIIB has the same function with IMF, WB and ADB as a lending institution, it still has differences in membership, shareholding, financing, business and political goals. The AIIB's late plan for COVID-19 assistance was criticized since the World Bank, and ADB initiated financial support much earlier than the AIIB. The critics pointed out its limited role in helping struggles during the Pandemic. Nevertheless, the AIIB is the

first Chinese-initiated multilateral financial institution as a new model, and a management and governance structure that follows more international standard and system to make more efficient and smoother by introducing non-resident board. Its financial contribution is well suited to Asia's needs and supporting development and infrastructure in developing countries in ASEAN, especially, in projects that enhance regional connectivity. It is important for the recipient countries to take cautious steps and feasibility analysis for their national interests while they wisely utilize the supports of the AIIB.

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CHINA'S MULTILAYERED RELATIONS APPROACH TOWARDS MYANMAR SINCE 2011

Thi Thi Lwin *

Abstract

Before 2010 general elections, China gained more influence in Myanmar - China bilateral relations. After 2010 general elections, China changed its approach in accordance with the improvement of Myanmar's political situation. The relations between the two countries reached a turning point especially when National League for Democracy (NLD) Party won some seats in Hluttaw in 2012 by-election. Since that time, China reanalyzed their relations and changed its strategy towards Myanmar. In attempting to accommodate Myanmar's political situation, China practiced multilayered approaches. Since 2011, China recognized Myanmar peoples' anti- Chinese sentiment and tried to change this sentiment by emphasizing the opinion of Myanmar people through the strategy of multilayered relations. To improve its image and relations with the local communities, China conducted massive public relations activities inside Myanmar. China believed that the friendly relations with Myanmar will support Chinese interests because Myanmar is also a key component of China's "Belt and Road" initiative (BRI). China aimed to forge closer ties with Myanmar through construction projects and bilateral cooperation in energy and finance. It is assured that China is seeking to control Myanmar and taking advantage of Myanmar's circumstances during development and then it has adjusted its posture and policy toward Myanmar. The research is conducted through a qualitative analysis by means of archival research relying on both primary and secondary sources. This paper intends to highlight China's strategy towards Myanmar since 2011 in the changing situation of Myanmar and examine why China practiced multilayered approach towards Myanmar.

Keywords: multilayered approach, guanxi, anti- Chinese sentiment, China's interests

Introduction

Myanmar and China have a long tradition of bilateral relations, the intensity of which has been changing according to political circumstances. Myanmar's strategic status serves as a paragon of friendship and cooperation in the foreign relations of both countries. Political reforms in Myanmar since general elections in November 2010 have generated unexpected impacts on the once robust bilateral relations, as well as complicated Beijing's policy towards Myanmar. In Myanmar's post-2011 political landscape, China no longer occupies a central position in the minds of policymakers in Myanmar. After a close-knit relationship that lasted from September 1988 to March 2011, political liberalization in Myanmar has imposed new restrictions on Chinese foreign policy and undermined China-Myanmar relations. The decision by President U Thein Sein to suspend the construction of the Myitsone Dam in response to popular local grievances has clearly highlighted to Beijing that it can no longer ignore the non-state actors of host countries in which Chinese strategic and economic interests are at stake.

After 2010 general election, China noticed public opinion of Myanmar people in accordance with the improvement of Myanmar's political situation. Especially when National League for Democracy (NLD) Party won some seats in Hluttaw in 2012 by-election, the relations between the two countries began to change as a turning point. Since that time, China reanalyzed their relations and changed its strategy towards Myanmar and it has been using multilayered relations approach towards Myanmar. China realized Myanmar peoples' emphasis on human rights especially the freedom of speech in the changing situation of authoritarian rule to multi-party democracy. With the NLD, the Chinese government has established a relatively open channel of

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communication and even hosted a delegation in May 2013 which was the first ever visit to China by Myanmar's main opposition group.

In the China's multilayered relations towards Myanmar, China invited important persons in multilayered - societies in Myanmar politics by using apparent scenarios of excursions, capacity-building, exchange of experiences and etc.,. China invited party leaders, party members and youths from Myanmar under the title of party to party relations. Moreover, China also invited NGOs, civil society organizations, activists, community leaders, monks and journalists from Myanmar in order to understand about China through capacity - building trainings, workshops and excursions. After 2010, China realized Myanmar peoples' anti- Chinese sentiment and tried to change this sentiment by emphasizing the importance of public opinion of Myanmar through the strategy of multilayered relations.

Myanmar's China policy shift, in terms of direction, is by no means to seek to be independent of China, but rather for there to be a mutual interdependence between the two countries. Since 2011, although there have been the issues of China's mega-projects investment and the management of border security between the two countries, both countries have an interest in maintaining security and stability along the border. They also carefully cultivate and nurture their bilateral relations to achieve comprehensive strategic cooperative partnership.

Research Questions

The research on “China’s Multilayered Relations Approach towards Myanmar since 2011” tries to examine how China approached towards Myanmar since 2011 for the sake of its interests. It is aimed at explaining:

- (1) How did China approach towards Myanmar since 2011?
- (2) Why did China practice multilayered relations approach towards Myanmar since 2011?

Arguments

This research paper argues that China has changed its approach towards Myanmar through multilayered strategy since 2011. To accommodate with Myanmar's political circumstances, China has adjusted its policy toward Myanmar. It finds out that China practiced multilayered relations strategy towards Myanmar because this strategy will support China's interests. Based on the concept of *guanxi*, China also tried to lessen the anti-Chinese sentiment of Myanmar people by building mutual trust and benefits and to change their image upon China. By using multilayered strategies, China achieved positive outcomes in Myanmar - China relations. Because of this strategy, Myanmar government under Daw Aung San Suu Kyi changed its policy towards China and practiced pragmatic approach towards China in the Myitsone Dam project and Labataung Copper Mine project. Myanmar government carefully refrained from the attitudes that increase the discontents of Beijing government and always tries to maintain the good relations with China. Since 2018, Myanmar's engagement with China has been noticed in Rakhine case and their relations have been improved significantly since then.

The Term “Guanxi”

‘Guanxi’ means building connections and maintaining relationships between people. It also means the fundamental dynamic impersonalized social networks of power and is a crucial system of beliefs in Chinese culture. In particular, there is a focus on mutual commitments, reciprocity, and trust. Basically, *guanxi* is a personal connection between two people in which one is able to prevail upon another to perform a favor or service, or be prevailed upon. It also describes the benefits gained from social connections and usually extends from extended family, school friends,

workmates and members of common clubs or organizations. It is customary for Chinese people to cultivate an intricate web of *guanxi* relationships. During the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s and 1970s, *guanxi* became an important way to build and maintain trust within communities because families were often encouraged to report on each other to enforce communism. Based on *guanxi*, China practiced multilayered relations approach towards Myanmar in order to promote its interests. By using *guanxi*, China attracted Myanmar government and people to accept China as a good neighbor and turned the anti- Chinese sentiment of Myanmar people into positive thinking.

China- Myanmar Relations since 2011

Geographically China and Myanmar linked with common mountains and rivers, sharing border. Myanmar is China's southern gate and China is Myanmar's home front. The two countries are vital to each other's security and strategic defense. Since 1960s, they promote friendly relations, maintain peace, stability and development of the border region and safeguard the lasting stability of the two countries on the basis of mutual interests and coordination. When Myanmar was under 20 years of sanctions from the West under SLORC/SPDC, China firmed non-interference in the internal affairs. China stood with Myanmar in bold defense of Myanmar's interests on the international stage. After U Thein Sein government came to power, the good neighbor tradition of mutual help and support has been continued and strengthened. Despite Myanmar's increasing outreach to the outside world, Chinese engagement with the military and political elites in the country is still strong.

However, the democratic transition in Myanmar exposed a series of worrisome uncertainties for China. After refusing for two decades, China finally acknowledged the legitimacy of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and NLD at the end of 2011 and started to cultivate a familiar relationship with Myanmar. The Chinese Ambassador met with Daw Aung San Suu Kyi from December 2011 to June 2012 for several times. Since then, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi has openly expressed the importance of China for Myanmar and showed the willingness of working with both Beijing and Washington in and outside Myanmar. Moreover, official visit of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi to China in June 2015 resulted in a greater understanding between the two countries, and helping shield Myanmar from international exclusion.

However, China has a negative image problem in Myanmar because of its heavy-handed practices with Myanmar. Most of Myanmar people described that China's contribution for the military government hindered any democratic governance and progress towards democracy. Because of China's strong support for the SLORC/SPDC government at various internal forums, military regime in Myanmar was lasted so long. They also assumed that Chinese companies that owned by State neglected the environmental and social impacts of their business practices in Myanmar. Moreover, contracts are signed in favor of China and the Myanmar government received very little benefits. Chinese firms have exploited natural resources of Myanmar without any proper consultation with the local people, or their consents and local people received little redress for their properties. These behaviors led to stronger anti- China sentiment among Myanmar people. China worries about Myanmar Peoples' anti- China sentiment and negative attitude towards China. So, in order to change this situation, China approached through multilayered means towards Myanmar since 2011.

Since 2011, Myanmar's foreign policy goal towards China has been the Myanmar's intention to open up and unite with the West and reduce Myanmar's dependence on China. However, the Bengali crisis has driven Myanmar back toward China. Whatever it is, China has shielded her regime and the military in the UN. Even the situation of increasing diplomatic pressures and economic sanctions from the West for the humanitarian problem in Rakhine State, Myanmar's engagement with China has been developed significantly in 2018. This kind of

scenario has never been achieved since Myanmar's democratic transition began in 2010 and reached dramatic milestone relations. Myanmar realized that Myanmar's China policy stirring is by no means to search for independent from China, but rather for an advanced interdependence between the two countries. As a sign of improving cooperation, the two countries initiated a number of projects. One of the important projects of China-Myanmar cooperation is the China-Myanmar Economic Corridor (CMEC) that will connect Yunnan province in China to the economic hubs of Mandalay, Yangon New City and the Kyauk Phyu Special Economic Zone in Myanmar." In 2019, Myanmar and China signed MOUs in the 2nd Belt and Road Forum in Beijing and expressing strong cooperation and advancing the CMEC. China-Myanmar engagement became closer and deeper under the BRI Projects.

China's Multilayered Relations Approach towards Myanmar

In the China's multilayered relations towards Myanmar, China invited important persons in multilayered - societies in Myanmar politics by using apparent scenarios of excursions, capacity-building, exchange of experiences and etc.. After taking political power of NLD government, International Department of Chinese Communist Party invited party leaders, party members and youths from Myanmar under the title of party to party relations. Moreover, China- Myanmar friendship team and the Network of Non-Governmental Organizations from China also invited NGOs, civil society organizations, activists, community leaders and monks from Myanmar. China also invited Myanmar journalists in order to understand about China through capacity - building trainings, workshops and excursions. After 2010, China realized Myanmar peoples' anti- Chinese sentiment and tried to change this sentiment by emphasizing the importance of mass media that support friendly relations between Myanmar and China. China is seeking to control Myanmar and taking advantage of Myanmar's circumstances and then it has adjusted its posture and policy toward Myanmar.

People to people relations: Because China realized growing anti- China sentiment among Myanmar people, it engaged in public diplomacy. Through its embassy in Yangon, China interacted with local people, including NGOs and media. In May 2012, Beijing started a mass campaign of "Deep Fraternal Friendship" in Yangon to consolidate the friendship and boost traditional ties. On 20 March 2013, the embassy maintained a website and facebook page. Moreover, Ambassador Yang Houlan met with representatives of NGOs, political parties and activist groups. On 6 April 2013, the Chinese embassy in Yangon donated \$1,000 USD for Myanmar health sector development. Beijing intended to improve its image on the ground level and relations with the local community based on public relations, public diplomacy and corporate social responsibility programs (CSR). Regarding public relations, China's target is media. Beijing has made massive efforts for its public outreach inside Myanmar because the media played to influence the public opinion on Myitsone dam. Chinese Central TV program began to broadcast in Myanmar and China invited Myanmar media delegations to visit China after the suspension of Myitsone dam. To promote a appropriative manner for China and insist favorable passion among Myanmar media workers, China formulated these public programs.

Chinese companies have also taken notice to CSR and to participate in public relations exercises. To handle local resentment and to maneuver the problems concerning the oil and gas pipeline, the Chinese National People's Congress (CNPC) established a Pipeline Friendship Association in Myanmar. Chinese companies also paid more compensation for the deprivation of possession of the local people. They conducted social welfare activities, carried out philanthropic works and built schools and dispensaries for villages. After the Myitsone Dam suspension, Beijing has made more (CSR) programs as an integral component of Chinese State-owned Enterprises (SOEs') operation inside Myanmar. The CNPC has promised six million USD to build schools, clinics and hospitals along the pipeline construction areas. Despite the higher costs, Chinese

companies avoided all religious places in the pipeline erection and accommodating technical configuration of the project according to the requests of local peoples.

For engaging with Myanmar, China practiced various ways and means: cultural exchange programs, art exhibitions, scholarship programs for Myanmar students and civil servants, charitable and social welfare initiatives and media campaigns. Since 2017, public participation and media attention have been reached in high in the celebration of Chinese New Year. In 2018, Chinese Cultural Centre was opened in Yangon which was the first public place for enhancing cultural exchanges with Myanmar. Regarding TV programs, MRTV and Guangxi People's Broadcasting Station (GPBS) cooperated to promulgate a Chinese cartoon series with Myanmar since August 2018. China desired Myanmar people to understand its opinion and good will towards Myanmar by using Media and articulates the news that favored for China.

Party to Party Relations: During the SLORC/SPDC rule, the Chinese Government abstained from meeting and building contacts with political parties and opposition politicians. Since the by-elections of 2012, China has engaged political parties, civil society organizations and so on. On 22 May 2012, Vice- President Xi Jinping has showed to develop stronger ties with Myanmar's Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP). In April 2013, China has cautiously conducted party - to- party relations with other non-ruling parties in Myanmar including a delegation of 12 senior members from All Mom Regional Democracy Party (AMRDP), the National Unity Party (NUP), the National Democratic Force (NDF), the Shan Nationality Democracy Party(SNDP), and Rakhine Nationality Democracy Party (RNDP). The two governments fostered the flourishing of Myanmar - China relations and exchanges between them.

Since the party's entry into parliamentary politics in 2012 in Myanmar, China has been related with the NLD in alert. The party-to-party relations have been cultivated between them. They have pledged to boost bilateral cooperation and party-to-party exchanges. The NLD values its relations with the CPC and appreciates the achievements and rich experiences of the CPC in party and state governance. The visit of State Counselor in June 2015 was the most crucial landmark in the party-to- party relations between them. Both governments are pragmatic and intend to strengthen mutual understanding. Beijing regarded Daw Aung San Suu Kyi as an important person in realizing its strategic partnership with Myanmar, particularly in the changing nature of its domestic political situations. In 2018, during Mr. Song Tao's visit, China opened discussions at the party-to-party level. Mr. Song also met the Vice-President (2) of NLD Dr. Zaw Myint Maung and other Central Executive Committee (CEC) members. Myanmar President U Win Myint and State Counselor respectively met with Mr. Song Tao and they pledged to strengthen party to party relations. Myanmar government emphasized to enhance high-level exchanges, strengthening practical cooperation between the two countries and recognized China's role in Myanmar peace process. China also cherishes China-Myanmar "paukphaw" friendship and is willing to strengthen the alignment of each other's development strategies, deepen party-to-party exchanges between the two countries and further promote bilateral ties.

Relations with parliament and government institutions: China also extended relations to parliament and government institutions of Myanmar. Chinese delegation met with the Hluttaw Speakers in Myanmar and there is the increasing of bilateral visits by parliament Speakers. In June 2018, Amyothar Hluttaw Speaker Mahn Win Khaing Than visited China and in September 2018, the Standing Committee of NPC Vice Chairperson Li Zhanshu visited Myanmar vice versa and met Hluttaw Speakers. The two counties emphasized the development direction of bilateral comprehensive strategic cooperation. China also supported Myanmar to explore a development path suited to its national conditions.

At the State as well as Region level, U Phyo Min Thein, Chief Minister of Yangon Region, frequently and actively engaged with Chinese delegation visits. Beijing is a key leader and

supporter for the New Yangon City Development Project. In 2018, Chinese delegations more visited to Nay Pyi Taw than the Myanmar representatives visiting China. Several Communist Party of China (CPC) delegations and diplomatic teams visited Nay Pyi Taw and BRI projects were signed in 2018. It cannot be denied that China's visits in the first half of 2018 had dominance on official accords between them. China participated with eagerness in peace intervention and provided international diplomatic protection for Myanmar. China-Myanmar relations have been keeping a good momentum of development, with frequent high-level exchanges of visits and continuous deepening of mutual political trust. The two countries tried to enhance exchanges of governance experiences, deepen cultural and educational exchanges, consolidate the political foundation and public support for China-Myanmar friendship, and pushed the China-Myanmar comprehensive strategic cooperative partnership to a new level. Although the changing situations in Myanmar impacted on China's interests, China tried to reach the favorable situation and good relations with Myanmar by changing its strategy.

Regarding China's policy towards Myanmar, China practiced the policy of summit diplomacy toward Myanmar before 2011. Between 2009 and 2010, top officials of China and Myanmar were visited vice versa. Since 2011, China adopted the policy of economic cooperation and investment in Myanmar. For China, economic cooperation contributed to access Myanmar's resources and to maintain good relations with Myanmar. Since that time, China's investment in Myanmar has been enhanced to a larger extent. Moreover, to fulfill its strategic interests of border security and energy security, China put into action the engagement policy through which China engaged multi-faceted cooperation with Myanmar since 2011.

China's Interests in Myanmar

China acknowledged that Myanmar is a strategically important country that offers access to the Indian Ocean and possesses rich mineral resources. In a geopolitical perspective, Myanmar is a geopolitical pivot in Southeast Asia. Keeping Myanmar within its strategic orbit is one of the major interests for China. Myanmar is also a strategic buffer or security barrier for China. For China's security, political stability in Myanmar is necessary and important. Any armed conflict on the Myanmar- China border regions is unfavorable condition to China's border security, so it is in Beijing's interest to prevent the escalation of conflicts.

Myanmar is also a major component of China's BRI which aims to increase regional connectivity and forge closer ties through construction projects and bilateral cooperation in energy and finance. China wants a successful peace process of Myanmar that would boost trade with Myanmar and make safer for Chinese investments. However, China's behavior in Myanmar peace process is intricate due to Chinese special interest groups' direct financial support for ethnic armed groups in Myanmar. China's unfavorable policies on the Myanmar peace process are clearly seen in its stronger ties with the United Wa State Army and its support weapons to UWSA. Furthermore, Beijing is taking steps to shift Myanmar's foreign economic and political orientation towards China when the United States, Japan and India are stronger ties with Myanmar's new democratically elected government. Because China tries to improve relations with NLD government, its cooperation in Myanmar's peace process could be forthcoming. Myanmar government may be opened to expand China's economic presence in the country in the future, but Beijing also wants to retain the support of ethnic groups, which have been a major source of China's influence in Myanmar.

In Myanmar, China is not only the largest trading partner but also has made a huge investment in the resource- extracted projects. In 2016, China invested \$2.8 billion in Myanmar. The majority of the Chinese investment is in manufacturing, communications, transport, tourism, agriculture, electricity generation, real estate and industrial sectors. It is cleared that China's

interest is to invest in Myanmar. China's renewed interests in Myanmar are the increase in development aid and trade volumes; the increase of FDI both inward and outward; China's need for oil, gas and other energy sources. China is seeking to control Myanmar and taking advantage of Myanmar's circumstances during development. In the future, China and Myanmar may no longer be as close as before, but at least their new partnership will be more sustainable.

Finding and Conclusion

China has practiced "land bridge" strategy that connects China to the Bay of Bengal and supports policy goals in Beijing to improve Chinese economy. Since 2011, China focused multiple approaches towards Myanmar rather than single policy. With the "government-to-government" relations, China attempted to gather new objectives in foreign policy. As the diversity of Chinese approaches, the Chinese government departments, Chinese embassy, Chinese companies and government organized NGOs promoted initiatives to strengthen China's relationship with the Myanmar government, people and other stakeholder organizations in Myanmar. This highlights a major transition from the rhetoric and narratives of the past in China foreign policies towards Myanmar.

Increasing Western pressures pushed Myanmar to closer relations towards China who is becoming important in Myanmar foreign policy under NLD government. Although Myanmar government postponed Myitsone Dam project, it supported disputed Labbataung Copper Mine project as a practical action towards China. Myanmar government always maintains the good relations with China and cautiously abstained from the behaviors that grow the discontents of Beijing government. Moreover, Myanmar accepted "One China Policy", and supported Chinese stand in the cases of Taiwan and Tibet and Chinese BRI. So, it is cleared that Myanmar government is cautiously solving the cases that are pertained to Chinese interests. Myanmar and China exchanged views on matters related to recent development in Rakhine State and Myanmar called for China's continued constructive support in Myanmar's endeavors.

In the China's multilayered relations towards Myanmar, China invited important persons in multilayered - societies in Myanmar politics to acknowledge and favor China's policy and approach towards Myanmar. China developed and maintained its strategic interests in Myanmar. China interested in Myanmar's resources and investment in resource-based projects in Myanmar. China's multilayered relations approach is not only to support China's interests in Myanmar but also to support and formulate China's policy in domestic and international scenario. By inviting the party members, civil society organizations and social media and studying Chinese culture, social standards and economic development, China desires to change Myanmar peoples' negative image towards China. Although Myanmar concerns about China's hunger for raw material and energy, its violation of human rights and increasingly about the deteriorating environment, Myanmar government under NLD always tries to develop good relations with China. For China, to achieve the goals of BRI, it tried to enhance "China-Myanmar connectivity" through the relations between governments, ruling parties and people to-people on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. With these strategies, China tried to promote prosperity and stability in the border region together.

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ASEAN'S STAND IN RAKHINE CASE: INVOLVEMENT OR NOT

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Abstract

The international organizations have blamed the Myanmar government concerning the 2015 and 2017 problems in the Rakhine case. Some delegations of ASEAN Parliamentarian for Human Rights (APHR) that are from Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand told that more substantial regional action and a stronger voice from ASEAN itself are needed. However, ASEAN has not put any blames on the Myanmar government. ASEAN has cooperated with the Myanmar government in providing humanitarian assistance. The purpose of this research is to highlight the ASEAN's attitude on Myanmar, to explore why ASEAN keeps silent and to express the strength of the regional organization, ASEAN. To complement this purpose, the research question has come whether ASEAN has involved or limited involved or not. By using the qualitative and archival research methods, this research has come up with solutions to why ASEAN has limited involvement in the Rakhine case is upholding the noninterference principle and ASEAN way. Preferring organizational unity, ASEAN has only involved in coordination with the Myanmar government in providing humanitarian assistance and not interfere to tackle the root causes of the Rakhine case by recognizing as a domestic complex issue.

Keywords: Rakhine, ASEAN, noninterference, consensus, recognition, repatriation

Introduction

Occurred in late May 2012 and became the immediate cause, the rape and murder of a Rakhine woman by three Muslims incident triggered the Rakhine case. In 2015, thousands of Bengalis have fled to Bangladesh, Thailand, northern Malaysia and Indonesia. The tension of this Rakhine case has increased on 25 August 2017. According to UNHCR and the UN Refugee Agency, as the Tatmadaw (the Myanmar military force) attacked the militants from the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) in northern Rakhine State, over 600,000 Bengalis have fled across the border into Bangladesh. Although ASEAN's remarkable role in Cyclone Nargis has been credited, problems in the Rakhine State has hindered its role. While the Rakhine case is very complicated, ASEAN has been difficult to play in exploring the root causes of Rakhine case.

Even the international organizations have blamed the Myanmar government; ASEAN has not put any blames on her. The purpose of this research is to highlight the ASEAN's attitude on Myanmar, to explore why ASEAN keeps silent and to express the strength of the regional organization, ASEAN. To complement this purpose, the research question has come whether ASEAN has involved or limited involved or not. The research is to explore why ASEAN involve limitation in Rakhine case if it involves. The finding of the research is why ASEAN has limited involvement in Rakhine case is ASEAN recognizes Rakhine case as domestic affairs, ethnic case and national problems. ASEAN's non-interference principle has limited ASEAN's involvement in it. Although some members especially Malaysia and Indonesia expressed their dissatisfaction on Myanmar case outside the bloc, they upholding the slogan "one ASEAN, one response" desire to raise ASEAN's unity and centrality role. Emphasizing all members consensus, ASEAN members conceal their dissatisfaction in the regional organization. ASEAN involves in coordination to contribute humanitarian assistance with the Myanmar government and to facilitate the repatriation process for the displaced persons. Therefore, this research explains ASEAN involvement in the Rakhine case but it has limited.

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In doing this research, qualitative research method has been applied to examine why ASEAN has limited involvement in the Rakhine case. And by using archival research method, this research explores the role of the non-interference principle and ASEAN's collective decision-making process. Furthermore, these qualitative and archival research methods are best suited to find out ASEAN's preferring organizational unity. As the aspect of constructivism, members of ASEAN construct Myanmar in recognizing the endeavours of the Myanmar government on the repatriation process and in providing humanitarian assistance to the displaced persons. ASEAN protecting more deteriorating situation keeps and constructs Myanmar in its pattern. ASEAN stands only limited involvement in the Rakhine case as its principles deter its involvement.

This research will cover the Rakhine cases occurring after 2012. This research is organized into three parts. Part I explores how ASEAN has been holding its non-interference principle by recognizing the Rakhine case as merely complex domestic affairs. Part II focuses on ASEAN's centrality role as raising unity. It attempts to elucidate how the members of ASEAN have been enhancing in collective decision making and concealing the negative side of some members inside the regional organization in the Rakhine case. Part III examines to what extent ASEAN recognizes on Myanmar's endeavours by issuing the Chairmanship statements of the ASEAN Summits and ASEAN has worked together with the Myanmar government to ease the repatriation of the displaced persons in Rakhine state through the ASEAN Coordinating Centre for Humanitarian Assistance on Disaster Management (AHA Centre). The conclusion assesses ASEAN's preference for unity and ASEAN's humanitarian cooperation. It concludes that ASEAN has involved in the Rakhine case in providing humanitarian assistance but limited in tackling it.

Theoretical Context

The 3Is that are Idea, Identity, and Interaction are focal factors and considerations in the aspects of Constructivism. Constructivists contend that states have identities constructed socially by interacting with others. Alexander Wendt states the two basic principles of Constructivism: "(1) that the structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces and (2) that the identities and interests of purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas rather than by nature." Peter J. Katzenstein contends that constructivism emphasizes history occurred "the process of change" that construct state identity and interactions between states. During the Cold War, ASEAN has been organized to protect the influence of big superpowers by implementing collective security and to keep the non-interference principle on domestic affairs among members. They believe among members that they never fight with each other and peaceful settlement of disputes. As this effect of ideas and beliefs, states develop a sense of identity in the organization. States that keep identity are expected to comply with the norms. Implementing the collective identity, the ASEAN members do prefer to enlighten their regional identity. ASEAN has been formulating a motto "One ASEAN, One Identity, One Community". The ASEAN members make interactions between ASEAN and the members of it by solving any problem peacefully and diplomatically through collective decision making.

In the perspective of constructivists, there has two norms diffusion that is norm localization and norm subsidiarity. In considering the norm subsidiarity, the ASEAN members have built the non-interference principle and signed the agreements that are the local solution to local issues, non-use of force, and peaceful settlement of disputes. Upholding these ideas and beliefs, the ASEAN members have been adhering strongly to the non-interference principle to avoid the disunity of the organization. By implementing "One ASEAN, One Response", "identity" emerges among members. Any decision does not come out without the agreements of all ASEAN members. The members have been deeply prioritizing and creating the ASEAN's centrality role. Providing collective identity as a priority through a regional organization, ASEAN constructs understanding

and builds trust among members. ASEAN understands the Rakhine case that is the complex domestic issue in taking a very long time to solve. ASEAN also trusts Myanmar's endeavours on the repatriation process and describes ASEAN's recognition through the ASEAN chairmanship statements. Myanmar has complied with the decision of ASEAN and ASEAN also "interacts" by cooperating to provide humanitarian assistance under the leadership role of the Myanmar government. At the 27th ASEAN summit meeting, ASEAN expressed its desire that it can work together to address the Rakhine issue positively. By involving very limited in Rakhine case to resist the international pressure, ASEAN did not give any blame to Myanmar. This formation can be illustrated in figure.

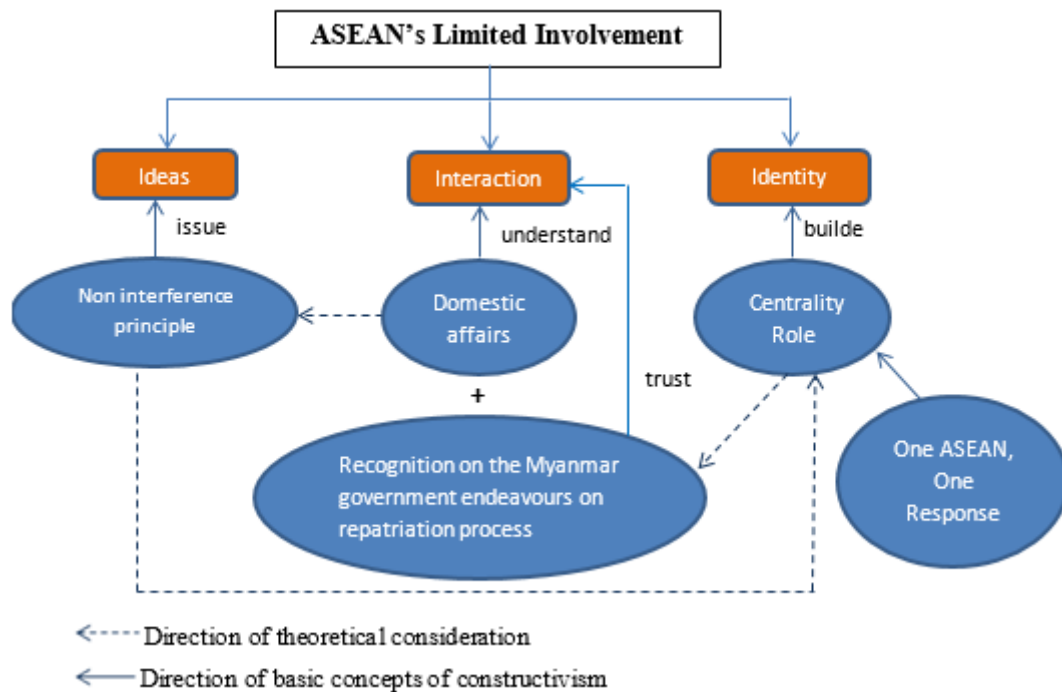


Figure Considerations of ASEAN's Limited Involvement in Constructivist View

I. ASEAN's noninterference principle

Founded during the Cold War, ASEAN was born together with the term indirectly used of "non-interference" to prevent foreign interference in the members' domestic affairs and to preserve their national identities by issuing in the Considering Paragraph on the first page of *the 1967 Bangkok declaration*. This non-interference provides the guarantee to the member states' maintaining independence, respecting the sovereignty, and not interfering with domestic affairs to keep domestic and regional stability. In the origin of ASEAN, the target of the member states is to prevent the intervention of the competition of the two great powers East and West in the South East Asia region. And the members committed to solve in peace any problems and to give collective security in the region. The term "non-interference" is also one of the six fundamental principles of *the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC)* stated on February 27, 1976, in article 2(c). This principle aims to respect sovereignty, to construct good relations, and to maintain the privacy of the domestic affairs among member countries. This principle reduces the member countries' worries getting from the intervening of foreign countries in their domestic affairs.

In *the ASEAN Vision 2020* adopted in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia on 15 December 1997, ASEAN members have emphasized peace with one another and at peace with the world. Stubbs stated "*the Kuala Lumpur Declaration of 1997* was reinforced in the 1976 TAC that the principle

of non-interference in members' internal affairs was explicitly referred to as one of the association's fundamental principles." In the sector of ASEAN Security Community in article A(4) of *Bali Concord II*, it mentions that the ASEAN Security Community uphold ASEAN's principles of non-interference, consensus-based decision making, national and regional resilience, respect for national sovereignty and peaceful settlement of differences and disputes. The non-interference principle and consensus-based on collective decision making is a very important factor in the Rakhine case.

ASEAN has continuously been trying to promote non-interference by respecting territorial sovereignty. *The ASEAN Charter* promulgated in 2008 focuses on the principle of non-interference and respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty. This principle is highlighted by incorporating through consultation (*Mushawarah*) and consensus (*Mufakat*). Under Article 2(e) of *the ASEAN Charter*, ASEAN and its member states have committed to act the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of ASEAN member states. This article pointed out the limited involvement of ASEAN. Moreover, Article 20 (1) of *the ASEAN Charter* mentions that decision making in ASEAN is based on consultation and consensus as a basic principle. If one member denies in decision making, the involvement of ASEAN in the Rohingya case will be impossible. Under this article, ASEAN has no right to interfere in the Myanmar Rakhine case.

On the other hand, Article 1(7) of *the ASEAN Charter* states that the purpose of ASEAN is to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms. Myanmar was accused of human rights violations at the International Court of Justice (ICJ). Therefore, ASEAN has been facing difficulty deciding on the Rakhine case. They have already considered the human rights concerns but they need to consider avoiding interference to each other domestic affairs. Marty Natalegawa being a diplomat, former ambassador and foreign minister of Indonesia mentions the transformation of ASEAN from state-centric to a people-centric entity, focusing more on the adjustments to the needs of its people by comparing *the 1967 Bangkok Declaration* and *the 2008 ASEAN Charter*. He explains widely people-centered ASEAN on human rights. But the principles of non-interference and human rights are contradicted. Whenever these two principles meet, the non-interference principle prevailed the principle of human rights. Applying the principle of protecting human rights, ASEAN members organized the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) in 2009. But this Commission has not got full of mandate to protect human rights because ASEAN has been upholding the principle of non-interference and the ASEAN Way that is consultation and consensus in all ASEAN institutions. This fact provides the ASEAN limited involvement in the Rakhine case.

Kasit Piromya who is a former Thai Prime Minister and member of ASEAN Parliamentarians for human rights comments that despite respecting and protecting human rights and fundamental freedoms in *the ASEAN Charter*, members hide behind its policy of noninterference regarding with Myanmar case by naming as domestic affairs. Kasit also shows that ASEAN has trusted Myanmar's highly narrative. ASEAN members of Parliament (MPs) also criticized ASEAN's non-interference principle that is reluctant to get a decisive response and provokes the ASEAN leaders to be devious manner. They also told that ASEAN leaders should give more pressure to the Myanmar government and Tatmadaw to stop the attacks, to end racial discrimination, and to the safe return of Bengalis to their homes in Rakhine region.

Malaysian Member of Parliament (MP) Charles Santiago, Chairperson of ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR) also said that the non-interference policy is only a tool for Myanmar government to give covers her persecution to Bengalis and her commitment atrocities. He also said that it was the ripe time for ASEAN members to cancel the obsolete non-interference principle and give pressure to Myanmar to end her atrocity. MPs called on Senior General Min Aung Hlaing, who is the current Commander-in-Chief of the Myanmar Armed Forces

(Tatmataw), to restraint his command and avoid civilian casualties after the August 2017 problem in Rakhine and State Counsellor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi to attempt not to increase tensions and to implement policies to get long-term peace and prosperity for Rakhine region.

APHR urged the Indonesian and the Philippines governments to lead the charge to Myanmar in the Human Rights Council to investigate on the Rakhine case. Eva Kusuma Sundari who is a member of the Indonesian parliament stated at Bangkok Post Newspaper on 6 September 2017 that this Rakhine situation is not simply a domestic affair and has the potential to directly impact other ASEAN members. The region faced that experience in 2015 when the thousands of Bengalis fled with boats in the Andaman Sea. During the 2012 violence, the Secretary-general of ASEAN Surin Pitsuwan warned that the issue could have led to radicalization and further destabilizes the region. Therefore, Eva told that the words of Pitsuwan are priceless. If the Rakhine case is resolved and innocent civilians are protected, ASEAN needs to speak louder, with one voice and take action.

Although Myanmar was accused of committing genocide and violating human rights, ASEAN has been holding its adherence to a non-interference principle. As long as ASEAN has recognized the Myanmar-Rakhine case as domestic affairs, ASEAN will give the shell to Myanmar in the international arena concerning the human rights violations case. Human rights observers have claimed that ASEAN members have done very little to save Bengalis and asserted that ASEAN members practice diplomacy among them in the Rakhine case concerns and uphold the non-interference principle. However, some ASEAN governments gave strong support to Myanmar by recognizing the case as domestic affairs. For example, Thai Prime Minister Prayut Chan-o-cha vowed not to intervene by describing this case as Myanmar's domestic affairs. According to U Kyaw Tin who is the Minister of International Cooperation in a press conference on 18 November 2018 mentioned in the New Light of Myanmar newspaper, ASEAN has not intervened in Myanmar's domestic case but ASEAN is ready to provide humanitarian assistance. ASEAN works together in providing humanitarian aid in cooperating with the Myanmar government. Facing with accuse, ASEAN has good reasons that are their trust in the activities of the Myanmar government to Bengalis and the recognition of the Rakhine case as merely complex domestic affairs.

II. ASEAN's Centrality Role

ASEAN was accused that it prefers diplomacy than human rights concerns on the Myanmar Rakhine case. One of the human rights groups, the Human Rights Watch (HRW) accused ASEAN that it focuses heavily on repatriation by providing humanitarian assistance not recognized the Myanmar government's atrocities against humanity. Some ASEAN governments, like Malaysia, did not want to participate in ASEAN implementation on the Rakhine case and put blame but they did not show its tension in the field of regional organization and kept silent on the regional arena. They emphasize in priority of the ASEAN's agreements and all consensus. This highlights that ASEAN members enhance the implementation of ASEAN's centrality role and members have not accepted the disunity of ASEAN. Its strong attention is integrity of member countries keeping in cooperation and consensus. Improving identity, ASEAN upholds a motto "One ASEAN, One Response" and needs all members' consensus on decision making in any case.

Organized by the request of the State Counsellor in September 2016, the Advisory Commission on Rakhine State led by Mr. Kofi Annan, former Secretary-General of the United Nations, consisting of (6) national members and (3) international members has submitted the report to the State Counsellor on 23 August 2017. This report has (88) recommendations in the areas of conflict prevention, humanitarian assistance, reconciliation, institution-building, and development at the national level, bilaterally with the Government of Bangladesh, as well as in the ASEAN

region. It mentions the important role of ASEAN for Myanmar. ASEAN leaders also discussed the Rakhine issue at the ASEAN summit in Manila on 13 November 2017 to consider the recommendations of Kofi Annan's Advisory Commission. The fact states in the Chairman's Statement of the 31st ASEAN Manila Summit that ASEAN urged Myanmar to implement the recommendations of the final report of the Advisory Commission on Rakhine state. ASEAN is a focus group to support Myanmar's endeavors for the Rakhine region to ensure freedom of movement and to provide a clear path to citizenship. As a chair of the ASEAN Summit, Thailand's strong words are very important to get ASEAN supports for Myanmar. ASEAN strongly stated that "ASEAN is in a unique position to work with the government of Myanmar" to address the Rakhine case. Myanmar also needs to show the progress of equal rights to the people returning to Rakhine.

ASEAN can act as the pipeline between international and Myanmar government by engaging in Myanmar. It has strong evidence that ASEAN's engagement on May 2, 2008, Cyclone Nargis is the productive way that Myanmar accepts the external aid after refusing it as ASEAN act as a broker. But in the Rakhine case, as the One ASEAN, One Response, ASEAN members no longer treat humanitarian crises as national emergencies but as collective region-wide challenges. ASEAN entered to Myanmar-Rakhine case as regional disaster prevention and relief mechanisms that are the AHA Centre. It is difficult to distinguish between man-made and natural disasters. While the operation of the AHA Centre includes the repatriation process, ASEAN expands the activities of AHA Center to assist the man-made crises. Recognizing the Rakhine case as internal politics, ASEAN focuses on humanitarian response through the AHA center. The involvement of ASEAN's peacebuilding and conflict resolution still limited. But on the Myanmar side, to reduce the international pressure, Myanmar gets the evidence in humanitarian assistance in collaboration with ASEAN.

Although the agreement of Myanmar and Bangladesh to implement repatriation announced, Bengalis have not desired to go back voluntarily. They feeling unsafe think that they will face the same persecution and violence and the Myanmar government will not be ready to accept them. Watching the Rakhine region situation, they would not return if the region has no change. As ASEAN chair, Thailand was recognized to solve this issue by the Asia Pacific Refugee Rights Network (APRRN). At the 34th ASEAN Summit held in Bangkok, Thailand strongly mentioned making activities continue with the recommendations contained in the Preliminary Needs Assessment (PNA) stated by the ASEAN Emergency Response and Assessment Team (ERAT). Based on the mandate given by ASEAN, the PNA focus on capacity-building, dissemination of information and support to the provision of basic services in Rakhine State, and recognized the need for adequate resources for these activities. The PNA has been conducted in working together with the Secretary-General of ASEAN (ASG), the AHA Centre, and Myanmar officials of the Department of Disaster Management. The PNA issued in May 2019 has described Myanmar's endeavors and arrangements for the returnees; and expressed perceptions on access to basic needs that are about the need to nutrition, the cost of transportation for health, the hygiene practices, the need of seeds for re-start agriculture activities, and the priority programs of job creation, vocational training, women empowerment and creation of small-medium enterprises. The ASEAN expresses its attempt of an enhanced role by dispatching the assessment team. Keeping identity "We all are ASEAN", ASEAN has been trying to solve Myanmar's difficulties and to reduce the distrust of the Bengalis on the Myanmar government.

The international communities accuse the Rakhine case of human rights violations. Indonesia and Malaysia alleged that the Myanmar government has violated human rights. Although members of ASEAN have voiced as the human rights violations outside the organization, they keep the ASEAN's centrality role as a collectivity carefully by avoiding in use of the words human rights violations. In August 2018 at the summit of regional parliamentarians in Bangkok, the Indonesian

delegation attempted to put the Rakhine case to the agenda as a number. But this intention was obstructed; it became merely an expression of their disagreements. It highlights the centrality role of ASEAN that collective decision making is more important than the desire of the individual member state.

According to the 33rd ASEAN Summit on 13 November 2018, the Secretary-General expressed his attitude on Myanmar's Rakhine case that is to highlight the ASEAN's collective efforts by following the decision of ASEAN leaders. By dispatching the needs assessment team to ease the activities of the repatriation process and addressing the needs in Rakhine, ASEAN has been taking forward to enhance its role through the AHA Centre. Although they blamed to the Myanmar government, the members of ASEAN do care the ASEAN's centrality role. Despite other ASEAN members view the negative side to the Rakhine case and even voice outside ASEAN, they conceal their view inside the regional organization, ASEAN. Preferring to ASEAN's centrality, they follow the decisions of all ASEAN members. They don't decide disunity and refrain from the factors of disunity. They emphasize the unity and collective decision making to centrality role.

III. ASEAN's recognition of Myanmar's endeavours and cooperation on the repatriation process

ASEAN recognizes all of the Myanmar government's repatriation activities by neglecting any blame of the international communities. ASEAN assumes the Rakhine case as a domestic affair that is regarded as a complex and sensitive issue in the long history. Therefore, ASEAN is ready to support by providing humanitarian aid rather than tackling the problem and exploring the root causes of the case. Although the international communities have accused that ASEAN's aid gives a little benefit to the Rakhine case, ASEAN has more emphasized regional cohesion and refrained from the disunity of the organization.

In October 2016, as the Bengalis fought the government border guards in Rakhine state, the Tatmadaw attacked them. Malaysia's Prime Minister, Najib Razak, accused the military operations as genocide and proposed to send the ASEAN fact-finding mission to Rakhine state. While Malaysia requested, Daw Aung San Su Kyi held an informal ASEAN foreign ministerial meeting at Yangon on December 19, 2016. While Myanmar expressed her willingness and her efforts to control and address its case, Malaysia retracted its proposal. At this meeting, ASEAN has decided to cooperate with the Myanmar government in providing humanitarian assistance via the AHA Centre. Governed by the ASEAN Committee on Disaster Management (ACDM), the AHA Centre has the mandate to cooperate in working towards repatriation and resettlement of the Bengalis.

However, on 4 September 2017, Indonesian Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi visited Naypyitaw and met with Senior General Min Aung Hlaing and State Counsellor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi to discuss the situation. On the same day, Indonesian President Joko Widodo issued a statement calling for the international community to work together to address the Rakhine crisis. Eva Kusuma Sundari, a representative from the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) who also serves as a Board Member of ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights (APHR) said "Committing humanitarian aid is important, but our leaders must recognize Rohingya's suffering will only cease when the Tatmadaw halt their attacks. Indonesia needs to fulfill its role as a regional leader by moving for the issue to be placed on the ASEAN agenda as a fundamental matter of regional peace and security."

Indeed, this Rakhine case is a long-term problem to find the root causes of the problem and address issues like citizenship and inter-communal tensions. The Bengalis have no chance to get citizenship under *the Myanmar 1982 Citizenship Law*. They need to show the clarity of their birth

registration. If they complete the needed forms, Myanmar is ready to accept them. Although Myanmar has already called to them who fled to Bangladesh, they didn't enter as the reason is that they have afraid of getting safe in living, moving, and earning. Some international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) reported that Myanmar has not prepared and has not tried to get ready for the fled Bengalis.

The ASEAN leaders admitted that the Rakhine State issue is complex and sensitive and voiced their support for Myanmar's efforts. They said they would actively provide constructive cooperation in creating a good environment for returnees from Bangladesh and in promoting stability, development, and harmony between the communities in Rakhine State. ASEAN also provides relief services through the AHA Center under the supervision of the Myanmar government and in cooperation with domestic organizations. ASEAN recognized that the Myanmar government established the Union Enterprise for Humanitarian Assistance, Resettlement and Development in Rakhine State (UEHRD) on 17 October 2017 by Order No.86/2017 of the office of the President. This establishment is facilitating to work in cooperating with international organizations. At the 31st ASEAN summit at Manila on 13 November 2017, ASEAN recognized Myanmar's efforts in cooperation with the Red Cross Movement and urged Myanmar to implement the recommendations of the final report of the Advisory Commission on Rakhine State.

ASEAN recognizes the Myanmar government's efforts on the repatriation process. At the invitation of Union Minister U Kyaw Tint Swe, Bangladesh Foreign Minister Mr. Abdul Hassan Mahmood Ali visited Nay Pyi Taw on 22-23 November 2017. On 23 November 2017, they signed the Arrangement on the Return of Displaced Persons from Rakhine State. It specifically focused on the repatriation of the displaced persons who have crossed over to Bangladesh after the ARSA terrorists' attacks on 9 October 2016 and 25 August 2017. It consists of general guiding principles, information, evidence, and criteria for eligibility for returns and other policy aspects of arrangement for return. The Physical Arrangement containing detailed procedures for repatriation was signed in Nay Pyi Taw on 16 January 2018. Both sides have started the repatriation process by 23 January 2018. The Myanmar Government has already put in place adequate logistic and physical preparations to receive the verified returnees. The Government opened two reception centers at Taung Pyo Latwe (land route) and Nga Khyu Ya (river route) and transit center at Hla Phoe Khaung since 23 January 2018. Myanmar also shared the Bangladesh side with information relating to resettlement plan, provisions of livelihood assistance, access to basic services, and safety arrangements for verified returnees. In paragraph 9 of the Physical Arrangement states that Myanmar will receive, to ensure a smooth and safe return, 300 returnees (150 per reception center) per day and five days per week. The number will be increased based on the progress of the return and shall be review within three months.

In the Chairman's Statement of the 33rd ASEAN Summit in Singapore on 13 November 2018, ASEAN stands ready to support Myanmar in its repatriation process. And ASEAN also expressed its continued support for Myanmar in its efforts to bring peace, stability, the rule of law, to promote harmony and reconciliation among the various communities, and to ensure sustainable and equitable development in Rakhine state.

Arnel who is the AHA Centre Deputy Executive Director expressed by focusing on the preliminary needs assessment conducted from 4 to 13 May 2019 by an ASEAN Emergency Response and Assessment Team (ASEAN-ERAT) participating in the persons of the ASEAN Member States, the ASEAN Secretariat, and the AHA Centre. The report expresses the three collaborative areas that are enhancing the capacity of reception and transit centers, strengthening information dissemination and supporting to the provision of basic services. Dato Lim Jock Hoi, the Secretary-General of ASEAN, deeply emphasized that these three collaborative areas are a priority to safe and secure the voluntary return of displaced persons to Rakhine state. He stimulated

ASEAN partners to contribute to getting peace and keeping sustainable development in Rakhine state.

In the statement of 34th ASEAN Summit held in Bangkok on 23 June 2019, ASEAN leaders recognized the efforts of Myanmar to save and secure the returning of the displaced persons. It did not mention the term “Rohingya”. Showing the reasons of insecurity and lack of citizenship, the Bengalis did not agree the returning to Myanmar. According to the decision of the ASEAN Leaders of the 35th ASEAN Summit held in Bangkok on 3 November 2019, the ASEAN Secretariat has been working together with the Myanmar government in the Rakhine region's repatriation activities recognized as the priority plan. The report written by ASEAN's disaster management unit recognizes the efforts of Myanmar for the returning persons. Myanmar is ready to accept them and blame to Bangladesh government not for forcing them to return.

Most refugees are not willing to move back to Myanmar without guarantees for their rights and safety, whereas ASEAN has recognized the Myanmar government's endeavours in the repatriation process. ASEAN has worked together with the Myanmar government in facilitating the repatriation of displaced persons in Rakhine state. Although the claims of Indonesia and Malaysia are against Myanmar, they pointed out this Rakhine case as domestic affairs. Therefore, their opinions have never been stated in the official ASEAN agenda. ASEAN will never involve because member states share an understanding that domestic issues should be solved on their own, since they enjoy their state strength, whether they are democratic regimes or not.

Research Findings

Holding the non-interference principle, ASEAN did not play a role in helping Myanmar to tackle the root causes of the crisis by neglecting the international organizations' blames on the Rakhine case of Myanmar. ASEAN did not intervene on it by recognizing as Myanmar's domestic affairs and long complex and sensitive issue. Promoting collective decision making and enhancing the centrality role, ASEAN members refrain from the disunity of ASEAN. Although some ASEAN members eg. Indonesia and Malaysia told their negative view on the Myanmar government concerning with the Rakhine case, they kept silent and concealed their view in the regional arena. Keeping the slogan "One ASEAN, One Response", ASEAN did not mention the term "Rohingya" in any communiqué and statements issued by ASEAN. By issuing the statements of ASEAN summits, ASEAN recognized on Myanmar's endeavours and cooperated with the Myanmar government on the repatriation process. By holding the non-interference principle and keeping the unity, ASEAN has involved in the Rakhine case in humanitarian assistance but limited.

Discussion

Since the Bengalis were displacing in August 2017, the international organizations have accused Myanmar of committing genocide and bringing pressure to the Bengalis. Moreover, ASEAN was blamed that it has not been playing a role in helping Myanmar to tackle the root causes of the Rakhine case and taking steps toward restoring citizenship rights and lifting discriminatory movement restrictions. In reality, ASEAN did not attempt to explore the root causes of the Rakhine case and ASEAN does express no words in the ASEAN Summits about Myanmar citizenship rights. Because of the ASEAN's non-interference principle and the ASEAN's centrality role that is the policy (one ASEAN, one response) of no decision making without all members consensus on any case, ASEAN has limited involvement in Rakhine case.

ASEAN holds the diplomatic protocols by avoiding discussions of member states' internal affairs and refraining from the intervening of internal affairs. Although the different view of ASEAN members on Myanmar in Rakhine case, for example, the attitudes of Malaysia has the

negative view, the producing statements of the ASEAN summits are that ASEAN is recognized as an important role in providing aid, supporting the development and helping with the repatriation process. Moreover, by not using the term "Rohingya" in the ASEAN-ERAT's PNA report, ASEAN shows her standing on Myanmar. ASEAN also recognizes the Myanmar government's endeavours on the repatriation process, the establishment of UEHRD to facilitate in cooperating with international organizations, and the Rakhine Advisory Commission led by the ex-UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan. By involving in the Rakhine case, ASEAN has been merely working together with the Myanmar government in providing humanitarian assistance through the AHA center. To strengthen the unity of ASEAN, it has been connecting with Myanmar by refraining from the interfering of the Rakhine case as internal affairs. Cooperating with the Myanmar government in humanitarian assistance, ASEAN involves in the Rakhine case, but considering the principle of non-interference, ASEAN has limited involvement in tackling the root causes of the Rakhine case.

Conclusion

Although ASEAN is a constructive and solution-oriented player, it has not tackled the root causes of this problem because the Myanmar's Rakhine case is related to ethnicity, religion, and national identity. While Myanmar's Rakhine case is recognized as domestic affairs and political problems by ASEAN, the AHA center that was formed in 2018 and is cooperating with the Myanmar government has been working only in providing humanitarian support. ASEAN's non-interference and ASEAN way give limitations to solve this Rakhine case. The agreement of all members of ASEAN on the chairmanship statements and without using the word "Rohingya" in the statement expresses the standing of ASEAN on Myanmar. It shows that ASEAN is the buffer for Myanmar facing the blame of international organizations of the Bengalis on the destruction and displacement.

ASEAN's preference of state to state relations and ASEAN's humanitarian cooperation with the Myanmar government on the Rakhine case conceal ASEAN's unresolved the root causes of problems that is the blame of international organizations. Although Malaysia and Indonesia against the Myanmar government activities, the final decision has been produced by the agreements of all ASEAN members. Considering the assumptions of Constructivists' 3Is that are idea, interaction and identity, all ASEAN members have emphasized to issue idea of non-interference principle, to understand interaction recognizing Myanmar's endeavours and to build identity raising ASEAN's centrality role. Therefore ASEAN has been taking part at a limited involvement in the Rakhine case.

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ASSESSING MYANMAR'S GEOPOLITICAL CONSIDERATION: CLASSICAL CONTEXT TO CRITICAL DISCOURSE

Oak Soe San*

Abstract

The aim of the study is to draw up a holistic picture of Myanmar's geopolitical consideration, and discuss the features of geopolitics in terms of both classical and critical approaches. It examines the transformation of classical geopolitics to critical geopolitical discourse and it also attempts to apply these approaches of geopolitics to Myanmar's geopolitical consideration. Classical geopolitics emphasis on the physical space, power, technology by reflecting the conventional aspects of national economic, political, and military strategy and on the other hand, critical geopolitics focus on other important factors like quality of the environment knowledge, geoeconomic factors by challenging traditional aspects of geopolitical thinking. In assessing Myanmar geopolitical consideration, this study will highlight how Myanmar's situation deals with classical context and critical discourse by focusing China-Myanmar interactions. Based on this background, the main research question of this study is "how does current Myanmar's geopolitics go along traditional (classical) of geopolitics, or along to critical approach while trend of the geopolitics is transformed from classical to critical geopolitics". In terms of classical geopolitical approach, it try to highlight the concept of Lines of Communication (LOC) in Myanmar's strategic concerns by giving example of some significant projects under China's BRI. As for the critical geopolitical discourse, Myanmar-China relations in the context of domestic debate on Myitsone dam project is assessed in line with China's involvement and concerns in the dam project.

Keywords: Geopolitics, Classical Geopolitics, Critical Discourse, Popular Geopolitics, LOC

Introduction

Geopolitics can be defined as describing geographical settings and their relationship to political power and setting out spatial frameworks, which embrace the political power units such as hemispheres, oceans, land and maritime boundaries, natural resources, and culture. Geopolitics is now a multifaceted topic essential for understanding the multifaceted ways of geography and human behaviors that are also shaping the current international political and security matters.

Generally, the trend of geopolitics can be divided into two camps: classical geopolitics and critical geopolitics. Classical geopolitics incorporates traditional methodological emphases by practitioners such as Halford Mackinder and Alfred Thayer Mahan etc. It stresses conventional aspects of national economic, political, and military strategy. Geopolitics field area is dynamic and it is not static. It reflects international realities and the global constellation of power arising from the interaction of geography on one hand and technology and economic development on the other. It was more developed during the 1980s. The work of scholars such as Simon Dalby and Geróid Ó Tuathail (Gerard Toal) reflects the critical geopolitical discourse and their perspectives challenged traditional geopolitical interpretations. In this context, their literatures reflect the transformation of classical geopolitics to critical geopolitical discourse.

Generally, classical geopolitics emphasis on the physical space, power, technology by reflecting the conventional aspects of national economic, political, and military strategy and critical geopolitics focus on other important factors like quality of the environment knowledge, geoeconomic factors etc... by challenging traditional aspects of geopolitical thinkings. Reviewing the relevance literatures for this research, it can be found out the lack of the comprehensive literatures the covers the two approaches: classical and critical geopolitics. In this context, this study draws up to represent a holistic picture of Myanmar's geopolitical consideration by

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combining two approaches. In assessing Myanmar geopolitical consideration, this study will highlight how Myanmar's situation deals with classical context and critical discourse by focusing China-Myanmar interactions. In this context, the main research question is "how does the current Myanmar's geopolitics go along traditional (classical) of geopolitics, or along to critical approach while trend of the geopolitics is transformed from classical to critical geopolitics?" In terms of research methodology, the explanatory research method is used for the research, as it is a comprehensive summarization of specific events and situation. In order to explain the phenomenon of geopolitical trend and approach, the secondary data sources are used. The research paper consists of five portions including introduction and conclusion parts. Firstly, it examines the overview on trend and approaches of geopolitics by focusing the changing nature of classical to critical geopolitics. Secondly, it assesses Myanmar's geographic situation by explain strategic significant of Myanmar's position among powerful states. Finally, it analyses Myanmar's geopolitical approaches in line with the transformation of classical geopolitical context to critical discourse. In terms of classical geopolitical context, the research try to highlight important of the LOC in Myanmar's strategic concerns by giving example of some significant projects under China's BRI. The critical geopolitical dynamics of Myanmar-China relations in the context of Myitsone dam project can be assessed the domestic debate in Myanmar over China's activities in line with the project.

Overview on Trend and Approaches of Geopolitics

Geopolitics is one of the important grand theories that can be used in several disciplines, such as (Political) Geography, Strategic studies and IR. It also concern with 'Geography', 'Politics' and 'Technology' by emphasizing on the interrelationships between them. Classical geopolitics, is traditionally interpreted to deal with 'physical space', including natural resources, 'power' and a 'state'. In addition, 'technology' plays a relevant role here, as the technology models of geopolitics emphasizing the importance of advanced (arms) technology (e.g., airplane, missile and submarine).

At the end of the nineteenth century, geopolitical theories were generated as classical context. At that time, the geopolitical thoughts were related with the increasing competition between the most powerful states based on the interstate conflict especially among the powerful Western countries. In addition, geopolitical assumptions and theories were label as the classical geopolitics because it was a period of increasing competition within the most powerful states. Therefore, the geopolitical assumptions were generated among the powerful Western countries by focusing the realm of interstate conflicts. In the classical geopolitical context, there are two kinds of school of thoughts such as German and British/American school of thought. In studying classical geopolitical approach, it is necessary to explore the assumptions and theories of classical geopolitical thinkers. Table (1) represents the main influential geo-politicians' assumptions by categorizing German and British/ American geopolitics.

Table 1 Key Classical Geopolitical Thinkers of Classical Geopolitics

No.	Key Thinkers	Major Assumptions	Branches (School of Thoughts)
1	Alfred Thayer Mahan (1840–1914)	Sea Power	British and American Geopolitics
2	Sir Halford Mackinder (1861–1947)	Heart Land (Eurasia Pivot)	
3	Nicholas J. Spykman (1893–1943)	Rimland	
4	Alexander P. de Seversky (1894–1974)	Air Power	
5	Rudolf Kjellen (1864–1922)	Start the term “Geopolitics”	German Geopolitics
6	Friedrich Ratzel (1844–1904)	Lebensraum (Living space)	
7	Karl Haushofer (1869–1946)	Pan Regions	

Sources: Compiled by Author

German Geopolitics and its traditional interpretations were copied from natural sciences, as a state was seen as a living organism that grows, contracts, and eventually dies, or at least as an aggregate-organism. German geopolitics was defined by the work of two key individuals: Friedrich Ratzel (1844–1904) and Rudolf Kjellen (1864–1922). Ratzel was instrumental in establishing geography as an academic discipline. His “Politische Geographie” (1897) and “Laws of the Spatial Growth of States” laid the foundations for geopolitik. Ratzel stated that a state’s expansion through war as a natural and progressive tendency and a state’s territory and its greatest success of expansion depend on the effective use of geography.

Kjellen invented the term “geopolitics” and also developed Ratzel’s idea by refining an organic view of the state also known as Lebensraum, or living space. He defined geopolitics as the study of the state as geographical organism or spatial phenomenon with particular emphasis on a state’s location in relations to other states. According to him, the territorial size are crucial for state in their relationship with other powers. He also emphasize the state’s physical character, size and location as the key to its international political power position. In practice, the ideas of Ratzel and Kjellen were aimed at increasing the size of the German state Eastwards to create a large state that the advanced German culture warranted, in their minds, at the expense of the Slavs who were presumed culturally inferior.

As Adolf Hitler and the Nazi party began to rise to power in the 1920s, General Karl Haushofer (1869–1946) began to disseminate geopolitical ideas to the German public. His definition of pan-regions are concerned with large multi-latitude regions that were dominated by a particular core power. In this scenario, Germany dominated Eurasia while Britain controlled Africa. Haushofer’s vision allowed for both territorial growth and colonial acquisition by Germany, without initiating conflict with Britain.

In term of classical geopolitical approach, the British and American school of thought also influence in international relations. Sir Halford Mackinder (1861–1947) is the most well-known and influential geopoliticians. The classical geopolitics approach was started with Mackinder’s Heartland theory. His major work was concerned with the relative decline in Great Britain’s power as it faced the challenge of Germany. In 1904, he examined the geography and history of land power by defining the core of Eurasia as the Pivot Area and it was renamed as the Heartland 1919. According to his theory, the history of the world pivoted around the sequence of invasions out of the Eurasia region into the surrounding areas that were more oriented to the sea. Nicholas J. Spykman (1893–1943), a professor of International Relations at Yale University identified the

“Rimland,” following Mackinder’s “inner crescent,” as the key geopolitical arena.

Alfred Thayer Mahan (1840–1914) also prominent in academic and policy circles. He wrote the two books “Influence of Sea Power upon History (1890)” and “The Interest of America in Sea power (1897)”. Mahan made a historical distinction between land and sea powers. He advocated an alliance with Britain to counterbalance Eurasian land powers. Mahan’s goal was to increase US global influence and projection of power, while avoiding conflict with the dominant British navy.

Assumption of Alexander P. de Seversky (1894–1974) is notable for its emphasis upon the polar regions as a new zone of conflict. He emphasized the using maps with a polar projection to show the geographical proximity of the US and Soviet Union, and the importance of air power. He argued that using polar projection to enhance global U.S. air control extending over an offensive radius of 6,000 miles and a defensive radius of 3,000 miles controlled from what he regarded as an impregnable superfortress. He also stressed that whoever gained control of airspace overlapping Europe, the Middle East, North Africa, and North America could achieve global dominance and that the United States needed to make its heartland an invincible base so it could project offensive power to all corners of the world.

These aforementioned geopolitical thoughts are related with the classical geopolitical account. Based on these major theories geopolitics, the spatialization of international politics by major powers and hegemonic states, which understands geopolitics to be concerned “the geography of international politics”, especially the relationship between the physical environment and the conduct of foreign policy. This sounds like power politics, or what is understood as ‘Realpolitik’, a traditional understanding of international politics and practice of diplomacy based on the assessment of power, territory, and material interests.

Classical geopolitics assumptions were challenged by new and critical approaches that re-conceptualized the traditional definitions and interpretations in the 1990s. Under globalization, there was a shift in mindset and culture as well as change in security premises due to the changes of international system, and the consequent environmental awakening, and the implications on policy shaping and policy-making. Critical geopolitics used the tools of discourse analysis to re-engage the previous work of classical geopoliticians and expose their biases and political agendas. In this way, it allowed for a new generation of scholars to criticize the classical school and the new ‘critical’ schools of thought of geopolitics were established. The end of the Cold War has allowed the emergence of a new geopolitical order that is dominated by geo-economic questions and issues. Under the process of globalization, the economic activity and global flows of trade, investment becomes significant. In addition, the “new geopolitics” describes a world dominated no longer by territorial struggles between competing blocs but by emerging transnational problems like terrorism, nuclear proliferation and clashing civilizations and the relationship of politics to the earth is to deal with environmental.

In terms of critical geopolitical discourse, the production of geopolitical knowledge is an essentially contested political activity and also deals with power-knowledge justification. The French philosopher Michel Foucault stated that “the exercise of power perpetually creates knowledge and, conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power”. According to him, it is concerned with “how structures of power in society (the military, police, doctors and judicial systems, for instance) create structures of knowledge that justify their own power and authority over subject populations.” For example, as promoting the national security discourse is military’s justification of power in society, military experts proclaim to safeguard national security of state. Therefore, the military institutions of the state will encourage enhancing the resources from political leaders for new missions and new weapons systems. However, other experts might disagree the military experts’ justification of power because other institutions and their interests

might against the spending of large amount of expenditure for weapon system instead of using social needs. Under such context, the military's discourse of "national security" often clashes with the "social security" discourse of other intellectuals and interest groups. Defining the concept of security again and again in terms of military by controlling the dominant discourse about it, becomes an extremely important means of exercising power within a state. Therefore monopolizing the right to speak authoritatively about "security" in name of everyone is at the crux of the practice of power.

Under these circumstances, the idea of geopolitics has been implicated in many different structures of power/knowledge justification throughout the twentieth century. Since geopolitics has for so long been a militaristic practice monopolized by statist elites, conservative politicians and geopolitical experts broaden the debate and consider ~~the~~ many different voices—minority civil rights, post-colonial, indigenous, feminist, trade unionist, etc. In the *Geopolitics Reader* by Gearóid Ó Tuathail and Simon Dalby published in 1988 and focus on critical geopolitical discourse. In this context, critical geopolitics politicizes the creation of geopolitical knowledge by intellectuals, institutions and practicing statesmen. It reflects on the many different dimensions to geopolitics in justification of knowledge and power at the end of the twentieth century (see Table 2).

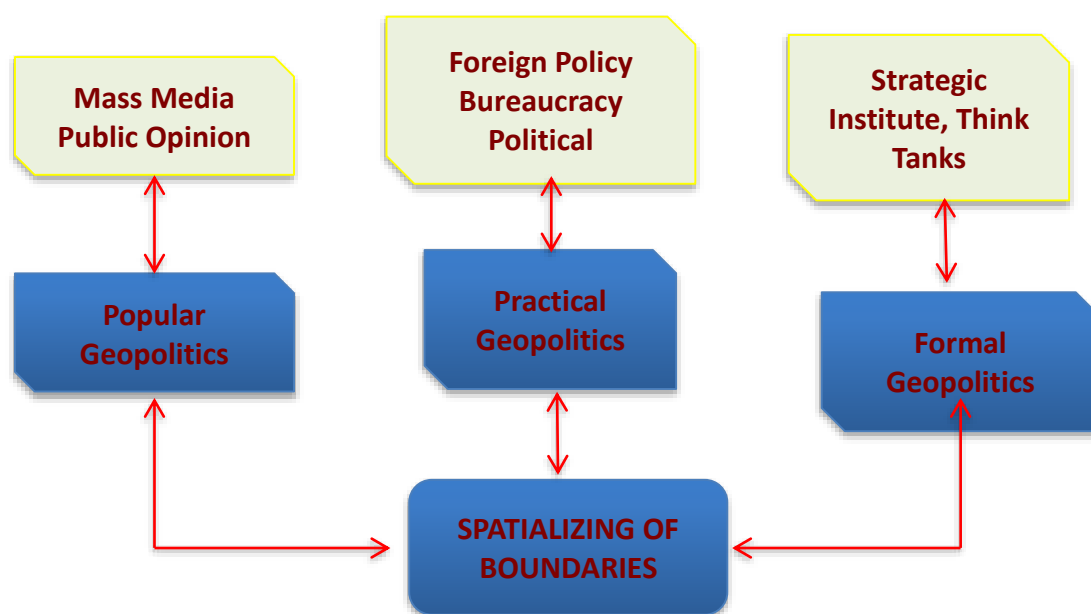
Table 2 Some Significant Knowledge /Power Justification in Critical Geopolitical Discourse

Discourse	Key Intellectuals	Dominant Lexicon
New world order geopolitics	Mikhail Gorbachev	New political thinking
	Francis Fukuyama	The end of history
	Edward Luttwak	Statist geo-economics
	George Bush	US led new world order
	Leader of G7, IMF, WTO	Transnational
Environmental Geopolitics	Strategic planners in the Pentagon and NATO	Liberalism/neoliberalism
	Samuel Huntington	Rouge states, nuclear outlaws and terrorist
		Clash of Civilization
	World Commission on Environment and Development	Sustainable Development
	Al Gore	Strategic environmental initiative
	Robert Kaplan	Coming anarchy
	Thomas Homer-Dixon	Environmental scarcity
	Michael Renner	Environmental security

Source: Gearóid Ó Tuathail and Simon Dalby & Paul Routledge, (1998) *"The Geopolitics Reader"*, New York, Routledge.

For better understanding on critical discourse, critical geopolitical writers proposed a threefold division – formal, practical, and popular (see Figure 1). The formal geopolitics is deal with the subject matter and concerned with how do academics and commentators self-consciously invoke an intellectual tradition associated with geopolitics. Practical geopolitics refers to the policy-orientated geographical templates used by political leaders in global politics. Popular geopolitics encompass the role of the media and other forms of popular culture, in which citizens use to make sense of events in their own locale, country, region, and the wider world. All these three forms are interconnected as academic writers and journalists routinely share ideas and discourses with one another and both groups have regular contacts with government officials and

organizations. They are also immersed in the media and popular culture.



Source: Klaus Dodds, (2007) *“Geopolitics: A Very Short Introduction”*, New York, Oxford University Press

Figure 1 Threefold Division of Critical Geopolitics

Myanmar’s Geographic Situation and its Strategic Significance

Myanmar’s geostrategic situation is strategically significant in the Southeast Asia region. It is the largest state in mainland Southeast Asia and comprises an area of 678,000 square kilometers is bordered by the five neighbouring countries: Bangladesh, China, India, Laos and Thailand and by the Andaman Sea and the Bay of Bengal. Its 5,876 kilometer land boundary is adjacent with five countries, including two strategic giants China and India. To the Western part of the nation, its border shares a 1,463 kilometer with India, a nuclear power that dominates the South Asian subcontinent and Bay of Bengal. To the northeast, Myanmar shares a 2,185kilometer-long border with China which is now reach of the great power status and rising power. In the Eastern part, Myanmar’s frontier runs southwest and south for 1,800 kilometers alongside Thailand, an influential player in the Southeast Asia region. At its eastern-most point, Myanmar shares a short border with Laos (235 kilometers), and at its western- most point, another with Bangladesh (193 kilometers). Myanmar’s coastline is 1,930 kilometers long, and faces the Bay of Bengal and the Andaman Sea to the south. In addition, it is crossed by a number of important east-west commercial air routes. In accordance with this profile and position, Myanmar can hardly be ignored for geostrategic important for regional countries.

The world most powerful countries throughout the history recognized the importance of Myanmar’s geostrategic position. From 1824 to 1826, British annexed the coastal districts of Arakan (Rakhine) and Tenasserim (Tanintharyi) in order to safeguard Eastern India and close the gap between Bengal and the Straits Settlements. Sixty years later, both the United Kingdom and France were also compete with each other to influence Myanmar. During the Second World War, Myanmar was a major theater of operations for both allied and Japanese strategists. Myanmar’s strategic position became not only China’s critical access to the Indian Ocean via the Bay of Bengal, but also crucial for Japan’s conquests in Southeast Asia and the allied bastion of British India.

After the World War II, the security calculation of key Western policy makers continued to focus on Myanmar strategic significant. For instance, British was eager to retain Myanmar ports and airfields and tried to persuade the Attlee government to include the question of access in its independence agreement with Myanmar. In the face of rising nationalist sentiment around the Asia-Pacific region, and the communist insurgencies in colonies like Malaya, Mingaladon airfield of Myanmar became a more important factor in British defense planning. As for the emergency cases, British's air reinforcement route to the Far East and the rapid movement of air and land forces via Myanmar (Mingaladon airfield) became the indispensable strategic concerns.

After the independence, Myanmar's geostrategic position was still wider attention because its location is closed to China, India and situated within the same regional context with Vietnam. In 1950s, a number of insurgencies including Burmese Communist Party (BCP) problem emerged in Myanmar. In this context, British government made the considerable effort via British Commonwealth countries to deter the communist expansion by reinforcing U Nu's government. At that time, British and US assumed Myanmar as the Asia Domino in terms of communist domination. As for US, if Myanmar will become under such domination, a communist military advance through Thailand would make Indochina military indefensible. As for British, if Chinese-sponsored BCP influences Myanmar, it will become the threat to security of Malay and the vital Straits of Malacca. Some analysts also pointed out that China could use the easy route for its invasion via Yunnan Province across Northern Myanmar to Assam province of India. It has been claimed that India had a tacit understanding with Myanmar over the joint defense of the Assam-northern Myanmar area in the event of a Chinese invasion.

Since the Post-Cold War era to till the present time, the geopolitical world order has shifted to relative predominance of the United States and unpredictable challenges to its power, influence and symbols across the globe. In addition, the geographical dimensions of world politics, the term 'geopolitics' gradually came to define the knowledge used by leaders and ordinary citizens to make sense of the game of power politics across the world in line with the process of globalization. As for Myanmar, it has been the object of a large amount of political and diplomatic arena stemmed from its strategic value, derived from its geographical position on the borders of India and China, and its status as the abundant natural resources including energy and oil and gas.

Myanmar's Geopolitical Approaches: Classical Context and Critical Discourse

China's BRI in Classical Geopolitical Context

In terms of classical geopolitical context, the geographic distribution Center of Resources (COR) and LOC are the significant concepts because it is concerned with geographic locations and strategic importance. According Phil Kelly (2016), the LOC provides the transport paths that are vital to states' dependent upon international trade and upon resources for import or export. He also stated that LOC are very crucial because it provides the linkage with the source of resources or COR and other strategic locations. COR are also vital because natural and economic resources are essential for a state's industrial and military capacity to control and influence for power. The nature of both COR and LOC can be found ~~out~~ in Myanmar geographic position based on the classical geopolitical context.

Myanmar's geostrategic location at the tri-junction of East Asia, Southeast Asia and South Asia is the critical significance for China. Myanmar is not only a potential supply route bypassing the Malacca Strait, but also a strategic staging point for controlling access to Malacca Strait. Access to Myanmar's ports and overland transportation routes can be seen as a vital and strategic security asset for China. In this regard, China's security interest in Myanmar is to gain promising access to the Indian Ocean. The protection of trade routes became the indispensable for China's economic

growth because nearly eighty percent of the oil imports passing through the Indian Ocean and the Strait of Malacca before it reaches the South China Sea. For China, the development of a blue-water naval capability is pivotal to protect vital Sea Lines of Communication (SLOCs) and Chinese ambitions to dominate the Malacca Straits and to ensure the safe passage of goods through the vital SLOCs for maintenance bases in and around the Indian Ocean for its naval ships became essential. China's SLOCs are subject to military blockade or interruption in the East and South China Seas. As for Chinese defence planners, Chinese forays into Myanmar is also a reflection of China's transformation from a continental to a maritime power, which is increasingly dependent upon external trade, ever-growing volumes of imports and exports through oceanic routes, and overseas markets for capital and investments.

Under President Xi Jinping administration, China implemented the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) along former Silk Road route that is ~~the major~~ Chinese major investment in regional infrastructure development including transport and communication projects. These infrastructure projects will enhance Chinese trade and commerce long former Silk Road routes. China committed to US\$ 40 billion fund for infrastructure development among the Silk Road Economic Belt nations in order to renewal the ancient Silk Road between China and Europe. China also leads the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) in order to promote the economic development of Asia and inter connectivity of infrastructure through investment and productive fields. The BRI project aims to build a network of roads, railroads and shipping lanes linking at least seventy countries from China to Europe passing through Central Asia, the Middle East and Russia for fostering trade and investment. Myanmar occupies a unique geographical position in the BRI, lying at the junction of South Asia and Southeast Asia, and between the Indian Ocean and southwestern China's landlocked Yunnan province.

In addition, China's regional policy on connectivity can be observed through the important regional cooperation mechanisms like Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS) and Lancang-Mekong Cooperation (LMC) etc. Implementing these regional mechanisms reflects the Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity framework. There are three moods of connectivity such as physical connectivity, institutional connectivity and people to people connectivity. Among them, physical connectivity is most visible plan for strategic policy of China in shaping the communication lines.

China and Myanmar signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) in September 2018 in order to establish the China-Myanmar Economic Corridor (CMEC) which is a part of BRI. Under the CMEC, the two governments signed agreements, memorandums of understanding, protocols and letters of exchange relating to railways, industrial and power projects, and trade. Several of these agreements firm up Myanmar's commitment to the CMEC's three central components: the Kyaukphyu Special Economic Zone (SEZ), which includes a deep-sea port, an industrial park and other projects; the China-Myanmar Border Economic Cooperation Zone; and an urban development plan for Yangon. The estimated 1,700-kilometer-long corridor will connect Kunming, the capital of China's Yunnan Province, to Myanmar's major economic checkpoints—first to Mandalay in central Myanmar, and then east to Yangon and west to the Kyaukphyu Special Economic Zone (SEZ). Under the MoU, two governments agree to collaborate on many sectors including basic infrastructure, construction, manufacturing, agriculture, transport, finance, human resources development, telecommunications, and research and technology.



Source: <https://www.studyiq.com>

Figure 2 China-Myanmar Economic Corridor

It is undeniable that Myanmar geostrategic position is within the Chinese policy orientation in the region. Concerning BRI orbit, Myanmar is a key site for large-scale Chinese projects, including the dams, bridges, roads and ports. This kind of infrastructure development will convey the groundwork for implementing the “one belt, one road” idea by utilizing LOCs in classical geopolitical approach.

The strategic nature of LOC is critical for state’s survival and development. As for rapid rate of economic growth, the LOC have underlined the interconnection with the other resource centers, COR. As for Myanmar, it is geopolitically considers that the East line of the CMEC, including Mandalay-Yangon regions, are the most economically developed places in Myanmar. The CMEC, by connecting the poorest western seaboard of Myanmar and the most developed region of the country, will largely drive Myanmar's economic growth. Myanmar can also learn from the China’s BRI implementation process so as to bring more tangible benefit to its people.

Myitsone Dam Project in Considering Critical Geopolitical Discourse

The critical geopolitical dynamics of Myanmar–China relations in the context of Myitsone dam project can be assessed the domestic debate in Myanmar over China’s activities with regard to the project. An analysis on critical geopolitical discourse is based on Save the Ayeyarwaddy Campaign in the public sphere. This is crucial to understand how China is framed in the public conscience in Myanmar concerning Myitsone dam project by applying popular geopolitical perspective.

The \$3.6 billion Myitsone dam project is a Sino-Myanmar joint venture: Myanmar’s Ministry of Electric Power and a domestic conglomerate, Asia World, as well as the PRC’s state-run China Power Investment Corporation. They signed a memorandum of understanding in 2006 and work on the project began subsequently in December 2009. Local people and civil societies in Myanmar opposed the dam construction. In September 2011, amid protests over the Myitsone Dam’s social and environmental costs, the then-President U Thein Sein of Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) announced the suspension of the project, by citing the “will of the people”.

The ‘Save the Ayeyarwady’ campaign was the first and most remarkable social movement throughout (USDP) administration in order to deter the implementation of the dam project. The campaign was initiated by a small group of environmentalists who had a strong media network. Later, it was joined by elites from different sectors, including civil society organizations (CSOs),

political opposition, academics, retired technocrats, and mainstream media. Different networks initiated activities to oppose the dam spontaneously. Painters and cartoonists, singers, historians and writers enlightened the public awareness in terms of Ayeyarwady River. Environmentalists backed up the movement with scientific research. The flourishing campaign via strong media network accumulated considerable pressure on U Thein Sein administration.

The 'Save the Ayeyarwady' movement correlated with the expansion of the political space in the country can be divided into three stages. In the first stage, a group of like-minded activists were brought together in the early phase of the campaign. After signing the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) of the Myitsone Dam in 2006, a small group of environmentalists opposed the project. In November 2009, Green Hearts Environmental Network was organized to document the nature as well as people's livelihoods along the Ayeyarwaddy River. This team was composed of journalists, photographers, documentary producers, and writers and the team members traveled from Mandalay to Bamaw (Kachin State) along the Ayeyarwady River by boat. In 2010, two other boat trips for the same cause and these study tours laid the groundwork for the Save the Ayeyarwaddy campaign. To alert the public to the potential adverse impacts of the mega dam project, the boat trip's participants held the first art exhibition in 2010.

In the second stage, a scientific debate over the Myitsone Dam was launched. In July 2011, Myanmar's Biodiversity and Nature Conservation Association (BANCA) wrote an environmental baseline report of the Dam project which recommended to construct two smaller dams to substitute the Myitsone Dam. Subsequently, the campaign was fortified by scientific data of environmental and social impacts of the project. One of the first technocrats U Tun Lwin, retired Director-General of the Department of Meteorology and Hydrology, other retired government officials such as U Ohn, former Director of the Forest Department and Daw Cho Cho, retired Deputy Director of the Irrigation Department stood up against the dam project. They frequently highlighted the environmental and social impacts of the dam project from a technical perspective in their public speeches and interviews.

In third stage, mobilization against the project became more obvious and opponents of the dam became more straightforward. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi also added her voice to the campaign by issuing an open letter to President U Thein Sein in the second week of August 2011. Afterwards, different sectors, including environmental groups, political activists, ethnic activists, youth groups, poets, and individual celebrities, initiated signature campaigns in different parts of the country.

While the campaigns mainly targeted people with political consciousness, there were also literary talks that appealed to the general public in various townships in Yangon. The turnout to each literary talk varied from hundreds to a thousand people. It was astonishing that numerous speakers overtly called for the suspension of the dam in August and September 2011. Moreover, speeches by famous speakers were recorded and circulated to rural areas. In the third week of September 2011, the anti-dam campaign reached its climax. Multiple public events were held simultaneously. Furthermore, a seminar attended by 500 CSO members, Kachin ethnic and religious leaders, environmentalists and journalists was organized. Participants categorically questioned the legitimacy of the project and demanded suspension of the dam. The strong media network multiplied the impact of the campaign. Among the several media, Eleven Media was the first media heavyweight who spoke out against the Myitsone Dam by criticized the government for acting like a client in the Sino-Myanmar relations. Alongside Eleven Media, 7Day News and The Voice were also vocal against the dam construction. China is framed in the public conscience and debate in Myanmar concerning Myitsone dam project construction by applying popular geopolitical perspective.

Findings and Conclusion

This analysis highlighted that Myanmar's strategic significance contemplates with the trend of geopolitics field area in the context of changing international circumstances. During the pre-war period, Myanmar's geostrategic situation was aware of the colonial powers such as British, French and Japan and the conventional aspects of power projection can be seen in terms of Myanmar geographic position. In the Cold War period, Myanmar closed geographic position with communist China became wider attention by West because they assumed Myanmar as the Asia domino in terms of communist expansion. Under the New World Order international system and in the context of globalization, the non-conventional issues become obvious while the conventional strategic issues and still significant. In this regards, both classical and critical geopolitical considerations in line with the changing domestic and international circumstances can be assessed.

To sum up, the study found out that the current stage of Myanmar's geopolitical considerations composes of some sort of hybrid that includes aspects from the both approaches: classical context and critical discourse. In classical context, the state as the principal actor shapes the geopolitical landscape. Critical geopolitical discourse recognizes several factors and actors beyond the state such people, civil societies and indigenous peoples. It can be seen that some experts in Myanmar recognize the potential benefits of CMEC projects while others figure out the risks of the project. They recognize that CMEC offers Myanmar the opportunity to modernize its decrepit infrastructure, which is essential for economic growth. It is also seen as having the potential to create jobs for Myanmar's youth and to boost its trade. Therefore, the classical context of Myanmar's consideration can fulfill the social and economic development of the country by utilizing the favorable geographical advantages. Myanmar's geopolitical considerations in critical discourse can be found out by assessing the domestic debates in implementation of Myitsone Dam project. The popular geopolitical analysis by focusing Save the Ayeyarwaddy campaign shows that the news and media focus on intrinsically episodic to raise objections to the environmental and social costs of the project. The Myitsone experience had prompted Myanmar government, both USDP and NLD, to implement the project cautiously because it needs to aware and listen public opinions and voice of civil societies. In assessing Myanmar's geopolitical consideration, the country's political system and its policy formulation are indispensable influencing factors. While Myanmar is being faced with domestics political and economic challenges, its political orientation would determine the future national development process and the corresponding geopolitical landscape in the region.

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MANGROVE CONSERVATION EFFORTS IN AYEYARWADY DELTA

Hein Myat Thu*

Abstract

Mangrove conservation is very important for the people in Myanmar. Mangrove provides environmental protection, food sufficiency and socio-economic life. Mangrove also promotes an opportunity for future generations to meet the needs of vital livelihood. These consequences highlighted the need for conservation of mangrove. In Myanmar, mangroves are mainly found in three geographical regions, the Ayeyarwady Delta, and Rakhine and Taninthayi Coasts. Among them, Ayeyarwady Delta was the largest mangrove degradation. Population growth, lead to changes in land-use and over-utilization of resources. Moreover, under the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) and State Peace and Development Council (SPDC), the government's agriculture and aquaculture expansion policies led to massive depletion of mangrove. The Forest Department (FD) has responsibility to conserve the mangrove. Thus, the FD, in collaboration with the UNDP and the FAO, started UNDP/FAO projects in 1991. The Cyclone Nargis struck Myanmar on 2 May 2008 and devastated quite a number of Ayeyarwady mangroves. Governments have encouraged the private sector to participate in mangrove plantation. In collaboration with NGOs and IGOs/INGOs, the FD conducted their tasks for community development and protection and conservation of mangrove systematically through community participation before and after 2008. The research aims to contribute the findings for the development of mangrove conservation which helps not only to safeguard natural ecosystems but also to alleviate poverty in the Ayeyarwady Delta. The objective of the research is to analyze how mangrove forests can be conserved in collaboration with Government agency, Local NGOs and IGOs/INGOs.

Keywords: Mangrove, conservation, forest department, community forestry, reserved forest

Introduction

Myanmar is one of the countries which is bestowed with vast forests and wetlands and they are the country's major natural wealth. Mangroves are evergreen forest between the land and sea, found essentially in the intertidal zone and occupying large tracts along sheltered coasts, estuaries and in Deltas where they are influenced by tides. Myanmar has faced mangrove depletion, especially in the Ayeyarwady Delta. One of the major causes of mangrove degradation in this focus area is due to growing population, which led to changes in land-use and over-utilization of resources. In the Ayeyarwady Delta, the local communities heavily utilized mangroves as a source of fuel wood and charcoal, especially for four million people in Yangon between 1970 and 1992. From 1995 to 2000, over five hundred thousand of mangroves was cleared and rice production was the government's priority for foreign income. The World Bank provided loans for the paddy I and paddy II projects and the mangroves were cut and converted into paddy cultivation. Moreover, mangroves were depleted due to Cyclone Nargis in the Ayeyarwady Delta in 2008. Therefore, it is necessary to rehabilitate the mangroves. The research aims to analyze the collaborative mangrove conservation efforts in the Ayeyarwady Delta among the Forest Department (FD), the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), the Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs) and the International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs). The FD established many mangrove plantations to meet the needs of the local communities as well as it implemented the regeneration of mangrove forest projects in cooperation with the NGOs and IGOs/INGOs.

Myanmar, one of the Southeast Asian countries, is the largest country in mainland ones. Myanmar has a total length of 2,832 kilometers of coastline and the Ayeyarwady Delta, with the area of about 35,000 kilometer square (km²), lies in the southern part of the country. The

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Ayeyarwady Delta consists of the interminable and fertile plain, which is 180 miles long and 150 miles wide. According to the FAO, mangrove forests covered 194,925 acres in the Ayeyarwady Delta in 2015. In the Ayeyarwady Delta, between the years 1980 and 2015, almost 537,597 acres, has been lost (FRA, 2015). In this area, mangrove has been distributed in Myaung Mya Township (Lae Pyauk and Kyauk Kone Reserved Forests (RFs)), in Laputta Township (Ka Ka Yan, Kyakankwinpauk, and Pyinalan RFs), in Mawkyun Township (Laputkwe, Kalayike, and Nyi Naung RFs), and in Bogalay Township (Kadonkani, Pyindaye, and Meinmahla RFs) that can be seen in Appendix (I).

Materials and Methods

Using the descriptive qualitative method, the research analyzed the role of cooperation among the FD, NGOs, and IGOs/INGOs for mangrove conservation and rehabilitation. It used both primary and secondary sources, which are government documents, reports, newspapers, official forestry journals, reliable internet documents and personal interviews. This paper consists of three parts: the first part explained the activities of FD and CF, the second part examined collaboration between FD and NGOs, and the third part focused on cooperation between FD and IGOs/INGOs.

Activities of Forest Department (FD) and Community Forestry (CF)

The FD is the main arm of the Government for forest sector policy and programme implementation. The 1992 Forest Law demonstrated a shift from the concept of revenue generation and restriction to motivation and share of management responsibilities with people's participation. It provided opportunities for the promotion of private sector involvement in forestry sector. It encouraged community participatory approach in managing the forest resources.

The public involvement is essential for mangrove forest management and conservation and this will probably help make sustainable forest management in the future. As a result, it is necessary to encourage the public participation in mangrove forests management and conservation. All people of the seasonal settlement in mangrove forest areas were the main users. They should participate in all aspects of the mangrove management. They need to protect their mangrove resources with traditional knowledge. However, mangrove resources cannot be managed without the participation of the local communities. If the absence of their participation, mangrove degradation issues could not be solved.

With the support of the 1992 Forest Law, the FD initiated the Community Forestry (CF) as well as issued the Community Forestry Instructions (CFIs) in 1995. However, challenges in implementation of the CF were illegal cutting in community forests, and encroachment into community forests for the purpose of agriculture and shrimp farming. Moreover, some local people had no interest in the CF. On the other hand, some local community searched for crabs and shrimps in the community plantation. In addition, law enforcement was weak in taking proper actions to those who violate the rule. Some forest staff did not understand on concept and process of CF. Under the procedure for the 1995 CF, the villagers did not understand how to practice because they have no experience. Lack of fund and qualified staff were also the constraints in implementation of the CF. However, the NGOs and IGOs/INGOs have played a key role to promote the CF. Moreover, in 2016, the minister of Ministry of Environment Conservation and Forestry (MOECFA) replaced the 2016 CFIs. It was changed in accordance with the requirements of the local people. As a result, local communities were interested in the sector of the CF.

In compare with the 1995 CFIs and the 2016 CFIs, the 1995 CFIs emphasized on the forest conservation. Therefore, the local communities had doubt about the 1995 CFIs. On the other hand, the 2016 CFIs highlighted the rights and interests of the local communities. Moreover, changing over from the 1995 CFIs to the 2016 CFIs enforced the 2018 Forest Law.

In 2018, the former 1992 Forest Law was replaced with the New Forest Law which promulgated by the Pyitaungsu Hluttaw. Hence, the 2018 Forest Law came into force on 20, September, 2018. The 2018 Forest Law proved the legal framework to implement forest policies. Moreover, carrying out global climatic changes and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are the significant factors in the 2018 Forest Law. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi government confirmed its commitment to protect the planet through sustainable natural resources management and environmental protection. Moreover, the government pledged to implement the tasks of economic development in parallel with the environmental conservation.

Concerning the sector of reforestation, the FD has carried out mangrove plantation programmes in terms of restoration of mangroves and coastal forests. Moreover, the FD has worked in collaboration with the local communities and encouraged people's participation in planting activities. The FD planned to rehabilitate the mangrove forests through the CF, Private, Natural Regeneration (NR) and other programmes. Mangrove reforestation programmes in the Ayeyarwady Delta was as follows.

Table 1 Mangrove Reforestation Programmes in the Ayeyarwady Delta from 1981-82 to 2018-19

Region/Delta	Township	Mangrove Forests Areas (acres)			
		CF plantations	Private plantations	N/R plantations	Others plantations
Ayeyarwady	Bogalay	250	-	280	3,994
	Laputta	1,946	490	-	770
	Pyapon	3,767	2,145	-	305
Total		5,963	2,635	280	5,069

CF- Community Forest, N/R- Natural Regeneration

Source: *Mangrove Data (Abstract)*, Naypyidaw, FD, Ministry of MONREC, February, 2019

Table (1) shows that mangrove reforestation of the CF, Private, N/R and other programmes were planted in Bogalay, Laputta and Pyapon Townships, Ayeyarwady Delta from 1981-82 to 2018-19. According to the Table (1), the total 5,963 acres of mangrove plantations were planted by the FD in order to establish the CF. To promote community participation in mangrove restoration programmes, the FD allowed establishment of 2,635 acres of private forest in Laputta and Pyapon Townships. The FD also established about 280 acres of natural regeneration plantations in Bogalay. Moreover, in collaboration with the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Forest Resource Environment Development and Conservation Association (FREDA) and Myanmar Environmental Conservation and Rehabilitation Network (MERN), the FD established about 5,069 acres of other plantations in Bogalay, Laputta and Pyapon Townships as protected areas.

Cooperation between FD and NGOs

The FD closely cooperated with Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs). Forest Resource Environment Development and Conservation Association (FREDA) is one of the NGOs in the forest sector of Myanmar. It was established in 1996. In cooperation with FD, FUGs, Action for Mangrove Reforestation (ACTMANG) and Tokio Marine (T2M), FREDA conducted the Mangrove Reforestation Project through community participation in Pyindaye Reserved Forest (RF), Ayeyarwady Delta in 1999. The aim of the project was to recover mangrove forests in Pyindaye RF where deforestation has been increased year by year in an alarming rate. As long as mangroves recover, original mangrove ecosystem could restore for the sake of communities in

Pyindaye. On the other hand, it was anticipated to absorb carbon that partly causes global warming through mangrove reforestation.

Table 2 Establishment of Community Forestry Mangrove plantation in Pyindaye RF, Pyapon Township from 1999 to 2008

Phase (I)

Unit: acres

Year	Village	HH	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	Total
Area	10	310	126	350	375	400	263.5	1514.5

Phase (II)

Unit: acres

Year	Village	HH	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	Total
Area	12	375	533	388	260	250	250	1681

HH- Household

Source: *FREDA office*, NGO, Yangon, 2015

The Table (2) mentioned that establishment of community forestry mangrove plantation in lower part of Pyindaye RF, Ama Sub-township, Pyapon Township, Ayeyarwady Delta, from 1999 to 2003. In phase I, the project completed 1,514.5 acres by 310 households of FUG member from 10 villages (OakPho Kwin Chaung, Tae Pin Seik, War Kone, Ka Nyin Kone, Khar Chin, Kyawe Tae, MaMhwe Kwin, 2-Ba Wa Thit, 3-Ba Wa Thit and Padauk Pin Seik). In phase II, project from 2004 to 2008, the area of 1,681 acres was established by 375 households of FUG from 12 villages (OakPho Kwin Chaung, War Kone, Ka Nyin Kone, Kyawe Tae, MaMhwe Kwin, 2-Ba Wa Thit, ThaMein PaLae, Padauk Pin Seik, War Pa Nar, U Pae, A Shae Phyar and 3-Ba Wa Thit). Therefore, a total of 3,195.5 acres were successfully reforested by the CF within ten years.

During the year 2007, with the financial support of Diakonie Katastrophenhilfe (DKH), Germany about 200 acres of mangrove plantations including Byushwewa (*Bruguiera sexangular*), Thamegyi (*Avicennia officinalis*) and Kanaso (Ye) (*Heritiera fomes*) were established in Kadonkani RF. Similarly additional 400 acres of mangrove plantations were established in the same RF in 2008 and 2009. The target area would serve as a model and inject stimulus to grow more and more mangrove trees by the community.

During the Mangrove Reforestation Project; Phase III (2009-2013), the area of 1,550 acres was established by 146 households of FUGs from 17 villages (OakPho Kwin Chaung, Tae Pin Seik, War Kone, Ka Nyin Kone, Kyawe Tae, 2-Ba Wa Thit, 3-Ba Wa Thit, Lay Pin Chaung, Padauk Pin Seik, Nauk Pyan Toe, ThaMein PaLae, War Pa Nar, U Pae, Kyauk Tine, Ba Aye Kan Kye, Aung Kone, and Pho Htoo Taung Ya. Moreover, in 2017, Community Forestry Certificates were issued to 1,083 FUGs from 22 villages who proposed about 10,278 acres of plantations to the FD in Pyapon Township (Ama Sub-Township) with the support of FREDA for 30 years. In 2018, in collaboration with the FD, FUGs, ACTMANG, and T2M, FREDA continuously implemented the Mangrove Reforestation Project through the community participation in Pyindaye RF, Ayeyarwady Delta. After the project, area of mangrove plantations 375 acres and mangrove seedlings 347,000 were established by 736 households of FUGs from 16 villages in the target area.

Mangrove Service Network (MSN) is a local NGO working in participation with the Government Organizations, Local and INGO communities in mangrove conservation programmes which was established in December 2001. MSN cooperation with United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) carried out the Sustainable Livelihood Development Project in the Ayeyarwady Delta under Human Development Initiative

Programme from 1994 to 2001. The project established mangrove plantations 1200 acres in 360 villages under the CF programme.

MSN implemented a small project on Ecological Mangrove Restoration by necessary technical assistant of Mangrove Action Project (MAP) in Pyinalan RF in collaboration with the FD in Laputta Township which was started in 2006. The project was provided by financial support from Global Green Grant (GGG). The cost of project was US dollar 2500.00. The project period was four-year. The Project aimed to observe the nature of mangroves regeneration in the Ayeyarwady Delta, to demonstrate Ecological Mangrove Restoration and to promote mangrove conservation activities in the region. The target area was 100 acres in the Block number (62) in Pyinalan RF, Laputta Township. Before implementation of the project, the area was old traditional shrimp pond kept back by the FD. The land was flat plain and totally dry and clear. In surrounding area dominant species were Madama (*Ceriops decandra*), Tayaw (*Excoecaria agallocha*), Thamegyi (*Avicennia officinalis*), Rhizophora spp: Kyana (*Xylocapus mluccensis*) and Kantbalar (*Sonneratia apetala*). Source of seeds and seedling were available within one mile radius of the project site. The Ecological Mangrove Restoration method was no need for a mangrove nursery or for planting of mangrove seedlings. The method used low cost techniques. Moreover, the mangrove plantation growth rate was faster man-made plantation.

In addition, MSN worked with JICA project for natural condition/ zoning and site condition survey in mangrove area from 2003 and 2007. After the Cyclone Nargis, with supporting from FAO and United Nations (UN), the MSN nursed over 210,000 mangrove seedlings of Byu-Chedauk-Apho (*Rhizophora sp*) and Thamegyi (*Avicennia officinalis*) in two villages (La Wine Kyun and Ma Kyin Myaing Kyun) in Bogalay Township. MSN distributed seedlings to those villages to grow at their village vicinity and sold to other villages. The MSN also planted mangrove plants on 36.16 acres of village land in six villages in Satsan village tract with community participation. MSN established about 9,000 seedlings alongside the road from Satsan to Da Min Taung village.

Cooperation between FD and IGO/INGOs

For mangroves rehabilitation and conservation, the FD on its part has started the establishment of mangrove plantations since 1980s. The FD in collaboration UNDP and FAO had undertaken the Feasibility Study on Mangrove Reforestation (MYA/90/003) Project from 1991 to 1993. The possibility of forming mangrove nurseries for large scale plantations was investigated and species trial plantations were established. This MYA/90/003 project was initiated at the request of the Government of Myanmar (GOM) to redress the growing fuel-wood supply-demand imbalance in the Ayeyarwady Delta and to develop the planting technology needed to rehabilitate degraded and denuded areas to conserve the mangrove environment and enhance its protective functions. The objectives of the project were to initiate mangrove studies, species trials, pilot plantations to rehabilitation critically degraded mangrove areas in selected sites within the Ayeyarwady Delta. UNDP and FAO contributed US dollar 328,250 for the project. The GOM provided kyat 2,054,990. Two experimental trial plantings of 75 acres and 100 acres were successfully established in Bogalay and Laputta townships respectively.

Moreover, four fellows were sent to Thailand and Malaysia to familiarize themselves with all aspects of mangrove management and charcoal processing. The technical and managerial capability of the Ayeyarwady staff at all levels has been considerably strengthened through on-side training as well as the fellowships provided. The MYA/90/003 project outputs would contribute to the sustained use of mangrove wood and non-wood resources by enhancing skills, basic knowledge and awareness of the problem of mangrove degradation as well as by enhancing national capabilities to plan and rehabilitate degraded forests.

With the experiences from (MYA/90/003) project, Community Development of Ayeyarwady Mangroves Project (MYA/93/026) was carried out to lay down the methodology to restore mangrove through people's participation. It was signed on 26 January 1994 by the GOM, UNDP and FAO. This Project was during the period from 1994 to 1996. The development objective of this project was to promote sustainable human development by improving the socio-economic welfare of disadvantaged communities in critical areas in the Ayeyarwady Delta through mangrove environmental regeneration and protection, improved fisheries, income generation and sufficiency in fuel-wood and wood products. UNDP and FAO contributed US dollar 2.006 million for the project. GOM provided kyat 17.87 million.

A total of 50 project villages was selected in two townships (48 regular villages and two forest villages in RF area). Villagers raised 4,800 acres of plantations and planted 6.4 million seedlings, equivalent to 6,400 acres, along river banks and roadsides, while maintaining and protecting 1,400 acres of natural regeneration area. All together a forest area equivalent to 12,600 acres was established.

The MYA/93/026 project achieved to improve rural capacity to manage income-generation activities based on mangrove-land. A total of 1150 villagers were trained in various aspects of agriculture, fisheries, forestry and home industries for income-generation, while income-generation group members received training in the operation of revolving funds. Ten township officials and 14 project villagers visited mangrove areas in Vietnam, Thailand and Malaysia to be exposed to various income-generation and mangrove conservation activities.

Forestry groups organized villagers in such activities as nursery raising, the creation of plantations and agroforestry species trials. Nursery raising and agroforestry created a wide impact as income-generation activities. Wood-saving stoves were popularized in the villages by women's groups. The project organized demonstrations and training for wood-saving stoves and supplied 2,000 stoves, thus creating a demand for improved stoves. About 3,000 fuel-wood saving stoves were distributed in Laputta and Bogalay Townships from March 1994 to October 1996. A training-cum-production centre was set up in a project village, at which 38 women were given tailoring training and supplied with sewing machines and 24 women were given weaving training and supplied with weaving looms for income generation.

In addition, the project entitled "the Environmentally Sustainable Food Security and Micro-income Opportunities in the Ayeyarwady Delta" (MYA/96/008) was started in 1996. It provided the local people how to conserve the mangrove forests and to make the region self-sufficient in food as well as provided them the micro-income opportunities. The MYA/96/008 project was implemented in Laputta, Bogalay and Mawkyun Townships from 1996 to 1999. The project focused on five main activities in environment and forest such as education and extension, community forestry, stove popularization, bank stabilization and village greening. UNDP and FAO contributed US dollar 30.6 million for the project. GOM provided kyat 16.82 million.

The project's assistance has been directed towards more than 15,000 households of 252 poor villages in the three project Townships. About 12,555 fuel wood saving stoves were distributed in Laputta, Bogalay and Mawkyun Townships. The approach was built strong emphasis on building self reliance of local communities for participatory development as well as on the range of provisions of alternative ways of making livelihood to the villagers so that they could earn continuous flows of income in the short run while they engage in longer task of the CF development including conservation and protection of mangroves.

Moreover, the project entitled "the Integrated Mangrove Rehabilitation and Management (IMRM) Project through Community Participation in the Ayeyarwady Delta" was undertaken by the JICA study team with close cooperation of the Myanmar counterpart personnel of the FD. The

IMRM project was realized in 2 villages from Laputta and Bogalay Townships from 2002 to 2005. JICA contributed US dollar 2.5 million to the project. Mangrove-plantlets about 700,000 were planted in the target areas. In addition, the JICA continuously carried out the IMRM project in Laputta, Bogalay and Pyapon Townships, Ayeyarwady Delta from April 2007 to March 2013. The Japanese side provided ¥ 750 million and Myanmar also contributed 100 million Kyats to the project. The project purpose was the community and the mangrove forests co-exist in a sustainable manner in the selected areas where project activities were implemented within the Ayeyarwady Delta. Regarding its objective, mangrove forest coverage increased from 110,000 acres in 2007 to 116,200 acres in 2013 in the selected areas where project activities were implemented. The JICA also established about 1,401 acres of mangrove plantations as Action Research Plantation (ARP) in the Ayeyarwady Delta from 2008 to 2012. During the project period from 2007 to 2012, in cooperation with the FD, JICA supported about 1,523 acres of plantations and 680 acres of natural forest to 418 households from Bogalay, Laputta and Pyarpon Townships for the CF.

The project entitled “Mangrove restoration Myanmar project” was implemented due to propose of Professor Dr. Nang Mya Han, Head of Myeik University (Marine Science) to the establishment of Mangrove Parks in Myanmar. The project was followed up by Professor Dr Khin Maung Cho, Head of Marine Science Department of Patheingyi University. The MOECF signed the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the Worldview International Foundation (WIF) due to part of a large scale national plan to be developed as this first university climate park in Myanmar. The Mangrove restoration Myanmar project was in cooperation with the WIF, Patheingyi University, Myeik University, Forestry University and MOECF. The Chief Minister of Ayeyarwady Region gave supported the project. The Letten Foundation from Norway contributed US dollar 1.3 million to the project. This project was the first mangrove park project in Myanmar. It started in July 2012. It was three years research project. This is based on needs to further develop capacities of coastal universities to deal with urgent challenges in mangrove conservation and restoration, as well as other sustainable environmental issues.

During the research period (2012-2015), it is estimated that Myanmar has potential to restore 1,235,000 acres lost mangrove forests (50 percent of its lost area since 1980), with capacity to mitigate up to 500 million tons CO₂. This is a considerable contribution to global climate efforts, in addition to effectively protecting standing forests of 247,000 acres with carbon sink of 1 billion tons (estimated tonnage by using data from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) in 2011).

During the research period, capacity building of the universities has been one of the main tasks. The project has supported the establishment of computer labs and other development needs, as well as research grants to 47 students and academic staff. In addition to practical research in testing out various methods of mobilizing local communities as well as established a mangrove university park on 1,800 acres land, with the first mangrove gene bank of its kind (Photograph-1).

Photograph (1): **Patheingyi University Mangrove Park in Ayeyarwady Region**



Source: Three years research project Mangrove restoration Myanmar July 2012-June 2015,

<https://media-openideo-rwd.oengine.com/attachments/dc012e47-203d-41cf-bd56-cf5e43e79c9c.pdf>

Globally, there are at least 68 mangrove obligate species, with 65 in Myanmar representing one of the world's richest bio resources. It is therefore of great importance to protect and take care of this bio rich resources in Myanmar. For the future conservation and protection of mangrove, it is important to establish a mangrove gene bank which can fulfill the concept of a comprehensive mangrove park. This can become an important source for future funding and can generate significant income from carbon climate markets.

The research project has provided to support for local initiatives of community development. Moreover, it included practical efforts to introduce fuel saving stoves and low cost solar lamps. It has provided solutions for community participation with increased income from creation of new livelihood initiatives. In 2015, it provided new livelihoods by training of women in the use of mangrove bark natural colours for clothes, utilization of medicinal mangrove based products, honey production in mangrove areas and orchid production in mangrove forests. In nursery establishment and restoration management, valuable capacity is inspired by mobilizing coastal communities. A test project with 43 villagers in Kan Su contributed greatly to the production of 36,000 seedlings in their own nurseries. If no effective action is taken, the vital mangrove forest could be lost. It is therefore restoring mangrove forests in Myanmar is important not only for national but also for the global society.

Regarding the mangrove restoration, the organization known as the Sustainable Surf conducted to save and restore threatened mangrove forest ecosystems. The global surfing community understands the real value of restoring coastal ecosystem. Therefore, they launched the "See Trees" project. Michael Stewart was the co-founder of the Sustainable Surf. The first place to benefit from the Sea Trees project was the Thor Heyerdahl Climate Park in Myanmar (Photograph-2).

Photograph (2): **Thor Heyerdahl Climate Park in Ayeyarwady Region**



Source: Surfers ride the wave of ocean action in Myanmar blue forest, *The Global New Light of Myanmar*, Yangon, News and Periodical Enterprise, 1, February, 2019, p.4

The reforestation projects have brought new mangrove trees (five millions in number). This also has led hundreds of job opportunities for local and at the same time thousands of families are supported with living and educational resources. In order to restore more than 4,940 acres of degraded coastal forest, in 2015 the Worldview International Fund led a project which focus on planting about 3.5 million mangroves. The Thor Heyerdahl Climate Park has also driven the use of cutting-edge technology in blue carbon projects.

The co-founder of the Sustainable Surf stated that mangroves are in facts super ecosystems. Mangrove conservation and restoration were necessary for a healthier coastal environment and a sustainable future for hundreds of millions of people throughout the world. In February 2018, UN Environment recognized the Thor Heyerdahl Climate Park as a potential world-changing, scalable model for rapid mangrove restoration throughout Southeast Asia and globally, and in November the project gained the Verified Carbon Standard (VCS) certification. The climate park project became the very first VCS certificated project in Asia. This made it the largest mangrove reforestation project to receive this certification and be able to produce carbon credits for international markets, laying the market foundations for Sustainable Surf's goal to be achieved. The project grew and fulfilled its potential to grow another five million trees. The global surfing community considered climate change to be the biggest challenge humans face. Therefore, the goal was to plant one million trees on behalf of the global surfing community in 2019.

Conclusion

In the Ayeyarwady Delta, variety of paddy are widely cultivated in the RFs in response to the growing population. Therefore, there is an urgent need to develop a clear-cut land use policy. Mangrove ecosystem is a great importance for marine creatures and environment.

Regarding Myanmar Forest Laws, the 1992 Forest Law emphasized people participation in forest management and private sectors involvement in forestry sector development. In addition, the 2018 Forest Law has a broader outlook, covering the environment, economic and social aspects such as conservation of biodiversity, establishment of commercial forest plantations for sustainable production by both the State and Private sectors, and formation of CF for the local communities. It provided strong support for forest management and reforestation. Concerning CF, the CF is a major breakthrough in the forestry sector. For CF Development, implementing organization needed

to ensure the livelihood support and poverty reduction by adaptive management for equitable sharing of benefits.

According to the aims of the Local NGOs and IGOs/INGOs projects, they protected the remaining resources, created awareness of the need to conserve mangroves and initiated numerous activities to enhance the socio-economic development of the project area in the Ayeyarwady Delta. Moreover, with the supporting of IGOs/INGOs, study tours were sent to foreign countries. This effort provided to obtain knowledge and experiences and to raise capacities building. In addition, trainings on mangrove nursery management, bank stabilization techniques, financial management, and fuel-wood saving stoves were contributed by NGOs and IGOs/INGOs, to the villagers in the target areas. This approach enhanced the living standard of villagers enabling them to earn an income in the short-term while simultaneously engaging in the long-term conservation of mangroves.

Under the successive governments, there were challenges and issues in mangroves conservation tasks. They were the government policy of promoting self-sufficiency in food production, low capacity at local level of government, lack of full understanding of mangrove processes, lack of research capacity on sustainability of mangroves, lack of alternative employment, inadequate funding for implementation of the task and lack of public awareness of environmental issues, insufficient number of the FD staff to manage mangrove, weakness in integration of local community, weakness in coordination with other relative departments, and weakness in law enforcement to control illegal encroachment.

It is suggested that to be successful in mangrove conservation, all the mangrove rehabilitation partners should consider individual species, the community ecology of the naturally occurring mangrove species at the site, paying particular attention to reproducing, distribution and successful seedling establishment, and the normal hydrology. The EMR method should be utilized in mangrove rehabilitation due to the advantages of natural vegetation through tide, low cost, higher survival rate, allowing the regeneration of multiple species, and faster growth rate. Patrolling, monitoring, and allocating of enough staff, enough funds and logistic supports were needed to conserve the mangroves. To raise awareness of the value of mangroves, environmental education and community awareness are essential. Moreover, Myanmar government needed more to invite the local community, NGOs and IGOs/INGOs to cooperate in implementing these to achieve the targets not only in the Ayeyarwady Delta but also in other regions. In addition, IGOs and INGOs have already been technologies and experiences that Myanmar can draw on. Consequently, international cooperation was very crucial for formulating long-term strategies. Myanmar government welcomed and appreciated efforts of International Organizations including UNDP, FAO, JICA, WIF, and ACTMANG for their technical and financial assistance in developing policies, strategy and master plan for the conservation of valuable mangroves in country.

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Appendix –I

Reserved Forests (RFs) in the Ayeyarwady Delta

No	District	Townships	Reserved Forest	Area (acres)
1	Myaung Mya	Myaung Mya	Lae Pyauk Kyauk Kone	26,413 1,355
Total				27,768
	Myaung Mya	Laputta	Ka Ka Yan Kyakankwinpauk Pyinalan	72,642 70,926 107,534
Total				251,102
	Myaung Mya	Mawkyun	Laputkwe Kalayike Nyi Naung	13,319 23,654 17,259
Total				54,232
2	Pyapon	Bogalay	Kadonkani Pyindaye Meinmahla	149,511 189,876 33,779
Total				373,166
Grand Total				706,268

Source: Forest Department (FD), Ayeyarwady Region

CHINA-MYANMAR ECONOMIC CORRIDOR (CMEC) AND ITS SIGNIFICANT FACTORS

Aye Ei Ei Aung Than*

Abstract

By using the descriptive method, this paper tries to find out the significant factors of the China Myanmar Economic Corridor (CMEC). These factors tell how CMEC is being undertaken between the two countries, the situations of the projects under CMEC and the public considerations and assumption upon them. The perspectives of the two countries, the major investment projects of CMEC and the public concern are mainly discussed in this research. Based upon these factors this paper claims that CMEC will bring opportunities as well as disadvantageous to local Myanmar communities if there is no strong government's role.

Keywords: China Myanmar Economic Corridor, CMEC, perspectives, major investment projects, public concerns

Introduction

China Myanmar Economic Corridor (CMEC) is one of the corridors running under China's Belt and Road Initiatives (BRI). These initiatives involve the Chinese infrastructure mega-projects which aim to connect Asia with Africa and Europe via land and maritime networks. The land route (the Silk Road Economic Belt) links China with Southeast Asia, South Asia, Central Asia, Russia and Europe and, the sea route (the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road) connects China's coastal regions with Southeast and south Asia, the South Pacific, the Middle East and Eastern Africa, all the way to Europe. There are altogether six economic corridors under BRI and, these passageways are functioning through the ambitious BRI projects. The Y-shaped China Myanmar Economic Corridor (CMEC) is 1,700-kilometer long. It starts from the Yunnan Province of China crossing through the northern part of Myanmar (Myanmar- China Border) to Mandalay in the middle part of Myanmar then extending south to Yangon New city and west to Kyauk Phyu, Rakhine State in Myanmar (Figure-1). A memorandum of understanding for CMEC was signed in September 2018 between the two countries. The visit of Chinese President Xi Jinping to Myanmar in January 2020 brought the signing of the 33 bilateral agreements, which focused on the three pillars of CMEC: Kyauk Phyu Special Economic Zone; China-Myanmar Border Economic Cooperation Zone and the project on New Yangon City. Indeed, most of the projects were started before the CMEC and re-branded under it. They are primarily related to infrastructure development in the transport (such as roads and bridges, railway, dam), mining, energy, Special Economic Zones (SEZ), industrial parks and urban development. Although Myanmar hopes to bring the advantages such as boosting its economy, increased employment, and infrastructure development from the CMEC's projects, some are skeptical about the BRI projects since they are famed with corruptions, lack of transparency, unaware of the environmental issues etc. In this context, this research aims to explore the significant factors of CMEC. It is argued that the ambitious CMEC projects are reasonably expected to produce the opportunities for local Myanmar community, but they are also believed to deliver the potential impacts that will undoubtedly affect Myanmar and its community.

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Source: Drishti Home 2020

Figure-1 (The Y-shaped China Myanmar Economic Corridor)

Materials and Methods

This research is a descriptive research try to answer the question, what are the significant factors of CMEC. Under this question this research discusses the three parts: the perspectives of Myanmar and China on CMEC, the three main pillars of CMEC and the concerns of Myanmar community upon these projects. The necessary data for this research is collected from newspapers, journals, articles, reports and internet websites.

Findings and Discussions

1. Perspectives of Myanmar and China on CMEC

(a) Myanmar's perspective on CMEC

The resignation of State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) and the inauguration of the new quasi-civilian government in 2011 threatened Chinese investments as well as its leading position in Myanmar. Previously agreed projects were stalled and in 2011 September, Myitsone Dam project was postponed. Moreover, Chinese owned copper mine in Letpadaung and pipeline project in Rakhine were protested by Myanmar community. The government cancelled the proposed Kyauk Phyu-Kunming railway project in 2014. Moreover, Beijing concern about new government attempt to resumption of harmonious relations with NLD and the western countries. The relations between the two countries was cold. However, this political landscape was changed in 2016-2017. The NLD government has established closer relations with Beijing and the CMEC was introduced. During the visit of Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi to Myanmar in 2017, he proposed building y-shaped China-Myanmar economic corridor. On 5th April 2017, Myanmar President, U Htin Kyaw paid a sixday state visit to China to discuss trade, infrastructure and political cooperation between the two countries. During the same year State Counsellor Daw Aung San Suu Kyi attended the first BRI forum and signed five agreements. Two of them were MOU on the Establishment of China-Myanmar Border Economic Cooperation Zone and MOU on Cooperation within the Framework of the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st

Century Maritime Silk Road Initiative. The year 2017 can be seen as Myanmar's official acceptance to BRI.

Through 2018, the delegations from China to Myanmar significantly increased and Myanmar engagement with China improved. The MOU on China Myanmar Economic Corridor was signed on 9th September 2018 in Beijing between the two countries and agreed 15 points on building CMEC. On 11 September, the steering committee for implementation of BRI was formed led by Myanmar's State Counsellor. Moreover, under CMEC framework, the MOU on feasibility study of Muse-Mandalay railway on 12 October 2018 and the framework agreement on Kyauk Phyu Special Economic Zone Deep Sea Port on 8th November 2018 were signed respectively between Myanmar and China. When the second BRI Forum was held in Beijing in April 2019, Myanmar signed another three MOUs and agreement: Agreement on Economic and Technical Cooperation, MOU on CMEC Cooperation Plan (2019-2030) and MOU on the Formulation of the Five-year Development Program for Economic and Trade Cooperation. The historic visit of Chinese President Xi Jinping to Myanmar in January 2020 brought the signing of the 33 bilateral agreements mainly focusing on the three pillars of CMEC: Kyauk Phyu Special Economic Zone; China-Myanmar Border Economic Cooperation Zone and the project on New Yangon City.

The policy inconsistency between USDP and NLD governments has brought public confusion and anxiety relating to Chinese investment and infrastructure projects. The major reason why NLD's increased engagement with China and embracement on CMEC is largely dependent on country's economy and development. During 2016-2017 Myanmar was facing with the international accusation of 'war crime' and 'crime against humanity' in concerning with the "Rohingya" crisis and many foreign investors became lack of confidence to invest in Myanmar. Myanmar also combated with economic stagnation and FDI declining in 2018. Consequently, Myanmar policy makers hope CMEC would boost the country investment and lift the economy. Nay Pyi Taw also expects that CMEC would fulfil its Sustainable Development Plan (2018- 2030). Consequently, Myanmar government tries to build the CMEC in line with Myanmar's needs. NLD government has tried to solve the stalled Myit Sone Dam project through diplomatic way. A 20-member commission was formed in 2016 to examine Myitsone up-stream hydropower project and review whether the project should proceed or not. The commission has produced two reports but these have not been released publicly yet. In May 2019, Myanmar government set out the terms for the signing of BRI deals with China: allowing Myanmar to seek financing from international financial institution to implement the projects, to invite international tenders to ensure international investment in the projects and to choose the proposed projects that create mutual benefit for both sides.

(b) China's perspective on CMEC

For Beijing, the success of CMEC is important for its international influence as well as economic growth in the 21st Century. Firstly, CMEC is the key to solve Beijing's Malacca Dilemma. For Beijing the demand for large quantities of natural gas and oil come from East Africa, Middle East and maritime Southeast Asia. 80 percent of China's crude oil and natural gas import pass through the Malacca Strait. Since China's energy imports largely depend on the Malacca strait, the strait's importance increases every year. Moreover, Beijing is uneasy with the external powers (US and Japan) playing a greater role in the security of the strait and called for alternative strategy to avoid the 'perceived vulnerability'. Through the CMEC Beijing expects to mitigate the Malacca Dilemma and ensure the energy security of China. It provides a strategic new trade route by reducing the distances of transportation by up to 1,800 nautical miles and avoid the congested Malacca strait which can be stopped by the US navy or other navies in time of crisis. Along with the Kyauk Phyu deep sea port in Rakhine State and the crude oil pipeline and natural gas pipeline connecting Western Myanmar and Southern

China, 22 million ton of crude oil and 12 billion cubic meter of natural gas can be delivered annually. Some argue that CMEC provides more secure outlet to the Indian Ocean in comparing to Pakistan- China Economic Corridor (CPEC). The CPEC connect China western province, Xinjiang to Pakistan's lowland and on to the sea through the highway. However, in winter the road is blocked by snow and ice and this cannot be a reliable route for China's crucial energy imports.

Secondly, Beijing also expected benefit for the land-lock Yunnan province from CMEC. Throughout the time since China opened its border for economic development, Myanmar always has been a target for Yunnan development strategy. Myanmar shares a border with China's south-west land lock province Yunnan, Beijing has major ambitions for Myanmar. Heavily dependent on tobacco production, Yunnan's economy is legged behind in compared to seaboard provinces. Throughout 1990s and early 2000s Beijing put Myanmar a central role in elaborating Yunnan's development strategy. In 2010, the Chinese government emphasized provinces in border areas as the 'bridgehead' to connect to neighboring countries. This 'bridgehead' policy was the reformulation of the China's Develop the West policy which focus to develop infrastructure (energy, hydropower plant, telecommunication and transport), investment and trade. Yunnan province was proposed as a bridgehead into Myanmar. BRI and its CMEC rooted in those strategies. Yunnan provincial government expects Yunnan as a bridgehead into Myanmar can bring the province development. Billion-dollar worth construction contracts for railways, highways and pipelines and major electric power grids could be brought through the province and it would become the vital location for the energy resources for the China's southern provinces. Moreover, hundreds of thousands of jobs could be created and the province would benefit from it.

In addition, Beijing hopes to establish the stable border through Myanmar China Border Economic Cooperation Zone focusing on trade, manufacturing and tourism. The local community in the northern area of Myanmar is relying on planting opium poppies and the opium trade is one of the main reasons for instability in the area. Yunnan remains part of the drug smuggling routes branching out of the Golden Triangle and 13 Chinese sailors were murdered by a drug traffic gang in 2011. Moreover, in 2016, the resumed armed straggle by Ta'ang, Kokang and Kachin forces caused the displacement of 100,000 civilian along the Yunnan border. China expects economic cooperation zone could reduce poverty, provide jobs for the local people, curtail the cross-border drug trade and create a stable border area which ensures the healthy international trade through CMEC to Yunnan.

However, there are a lot of challenges for Beijing in developing CMEC: the ethnic armed conflict in Kachin and Rakhine states where CMEC's projects are mainly focused; raising public awareness and dissatisfaction on China's investment projects which eventually led to the halt of the Myitsone Dam project in 2011; 'the mountainous topography requires complex engineering solutions for infrastructure projects'. However, its persistent actions on CMEC prove that it is worth for facing these obstacles. For example, when the Myitsone Dam project was stalled, China softened its position without suing Myanmar for the compensation. At the expense of cooling down the Dam project, Beijing wants to implement other projects in Myanmar. It is noted that 'no other neighboring country can provide China with a secure outlet to the Indian ocean' than Myanmar and it is the key to China's strategic intention across the Indian Ocean.

2. The Three Pillars of CMEC

The three pillars of CMEC are Myanmar-China border Economic cooperation zones, Kyauk Phyu Special Economic Zone and the new urban development of Yangon city.

(a) Cross Border Economic Cooperation Zones (CBECZ)

The first pillar of CMEC is China- Myanmar Economic cooperation zones. China mainly operated border trade and industrial cooperation through its Border Economic Cooperation Zone (BECZ) before BRI. Yunnan province had two BECZs in Ruli and Lincang (2013) to deal with Myanmar. With the BRI China aims to establish CBECZs which is to expand the existing BECZs to the neighboring countries' territory. They can be called the cross border special economic zone and are designed to establish and operate jointly by China and the neighboring countries. CBECZs would enlarge the size of economic zone and the areas of economic cooperation as well as would serve as the proving ground for the two countries' economic integration. Under CMEC framework, Kampaiti in Kachin, Muse and Chin shwe haw in Shan states along Myanmar's border with China are designated as the areas to develop Cross Border Economic Cooperation Zone (CBECZ). On 16 May 2017, the Ministry of Commerce of PRC and Myanmar signed a MOU for the joint development of border economic cooperation zone. Central Committee on the Implementation of Myanmar and China Border Economic Cooperation was formed in 2018 and the meetings on the implementation of CBECZ have been held for five times. On 12 June 2020, the two sides (Ministry of Commerce on Myanmar side and the Yunnan Provincial Department of Commerce on China side) and other business actors held the first coordination meeting of the two countries' regional working group on the establishment and implementation of the Myanmar China BECZ. The meeting was held with video conferencing.

The MOU on Accelerating Negotiation on the Framework Agreement on the China-Myanmar Ruili-Muse Cross Border Economic Cooperation Zone' was signed in January 18, 2020. Among the three border economic cooperation zones, the development of Ruili-Muse Cross Border Economic Cooperation Zone is regarded as the pioneering act for both governments. In the coordinating meeting of the two sides held in June 2020, Myanmar side discussed that the triangle area which is cornered with Namhkan town, Nam Hpat Kar town and Pang Hseng town within Muse Township, norther Shan State is designated for the implementation of the zone. It involves two core areas. The first area involves the realization of border commercial areas integration and the establishment of a cross-border cooperation center. The second area focuses on the establishment of China-Myanmar cross-border industrial park.

The MOU for developing the Kampaiti cross border economic cooperation zone was signed between the Kachin State government and Myanmar Heng Ya Investment Development Co. Ltd on 4th March 2020. Kampaiti gate is one of the border checkpoints between Myanmar and China which is located in Kachin State's special region 1 (under the control of border guard force allied with the Myanmar military). The zone will cover nearly 70 acres (28 hectares) with the estimated cost of US\$22.4 million (31.85 billion kyats). Myanmar Heng Ya Investment Development Co.Ltd is a joint venture between Myanmar's Kampaiti development Co.Ltd and China's Yunnan Tengying Trading Company. The zone is intended to develop five areas: South Asia- Southeast Asia Culture Park, two trade and logistics zones, a border inspection gate and a business shop.

The third CBECZ is designated to locate between Chin Shwe Haw (part of the Kokang Self-administered Zone), Laukkai Township, Shan state in Myanmar and Qingshuihe Port located in Mengding Town, Gengma County, LinCang City, Yunnan Province, China. With a total planned area of 200 square kilometers (km²), the zone is aimed to promote and encourage the business and trade along the border. For Myanmar, the CBECZs are expected to bring enhanced domestic and foreign investment, increased jobs and business opportunities, the growth of small and medium

enterprises, the development of manufacturing power and the improvement in bilateral trade. Myanmar also hopes to produce more government's tax revenue, and promote the tourism in the border area.

(b) Special Economic Zone (SEZ)

The development of special economic zones including CBECZ and the industrial zones are important for Myanmar. In 2014, Myanmar passed the law concerning with the special economic zone (SEZ) aiming to stimulate the economy by attracting foreign investment with the 'limited regulations', 'low productional cost' and 'good transport link'. The strategy 3.3 of Myanmar Sustainable Development Plan (2018-2030) also encourages the construction of SEZ. Currently, there are three SEZs established in Myanmar: Thilawa SEZ, Dawei SEZ and Kyauk Phyu SEZ. In 2011, the Central Body for the Myanmar Special Economic Zone was established in order to oversee the foreign investment in the country. The primary incentives of SEZ law are as follow: tax holiday for five-year, item exported overseas relief from 50 percent income tax for five years, reinvested profits from overseas exports relief from 50 percent income tax for five years, custom duties exemption on approved products for five years and the granting of 30-year land leases.

The second pillar of CMEC is the establishment of Kyauk Phyu Special Economic Zone (KPSEZ). Originally, KPSEZ is one of the planned zones included in "the Study on SEZ Development Program in the Union of Myanmar". The KPSEZ Management Committee was formed in December 2011 to carry out implementation and location of KPSEZ. In September 2014 Request for Proposals for the submission of Expression of Interest (EoI) was issued and China International Trust and Investment Corporation (CITIC Consortium) won the two out of the three projects of KPSEZ: deep sea port project and industrial park project. In 2015 the CITIC consortium was recognized as awarded bidder of the Projects by the bid Evaluation and Awarding Committee of Myanmar. It is intended to cover the total area of 4289 acres for the project in which 1446 acres for industrial park, 1235 acres for the residential park and 608 acres for deep sea port in Kyauk Phyu region. The previous government agreed the stake ratio 85:15 (85% shouldered by China and 15% by Myanmar) but the ratio became 70:30 under NLD government in which Myanmar has to shoulder 30% of the project. Myanmar hoped to give half of its stake to private companies including the local firms. The development of Deep-Sea Port is planned to go with 4 stages and previously, the first phase was planned to cost \$1.6 billion but now reduced to \$1.3 billion. The development of the entire project was originally expected to cost 7.2 billion. It is expected that a total of US\$6.5 billion in tax revenue from the port and \$7.8 billion from the industrial zone over a 50-year period. An annual \$3.2 billion earning is expected when the industrial zone is operating at full capacity.

(c) New Yangon City

The third pillar of CMEC is the new urban development of Yangon City. During the previous government, Yangon's new southwestern urban development project was raised in August 2014 by Chief Minister U Myint Swe and Mayor U Hla Myint. The project was awarded to Myanmar Saytannar Myothit Company, but shelved temporarily in the following month due to the allegation that the awarding process was lack of transparency. The proposal was revived in May 2015 by MP U Myint Lwin representing Kyinmyindaing township and it got landslide approval vote by 100 MPs. Tender was called and the three companies: Yangon South West Development, Shwe Popa International, and Business Capital City Development were awarded in the early 2016 before NLD government took the office. These business firms were chosen to develop a smaller version of the project over 12,000 acres. In April 2016, the Yangon region government under NLD asked the three companies to submit new plan for the project but it is confirmed that the contracts between the government and these firms were abolished.

On 31 March 2018, New Yangon Development Company Ltd (NYDC) was launched with the capital of US\$ 7.5 million (development funds allotted by the Union government to the regional and state administrations). Set up by the Yangon regional government, the company is 100 percent owned by the regional administration. The company is organized with five board of directors: Chairperson (U Soe Lwin-Deputy Mayor): Vice Chairman and CEO (Mr. Serge Pun@ U Theim Wai -Yoma Bank): director (Daw Hlaing Maw Oo – secretary of YCDC): director (Mr. George Yeo- retired chairman of Kerry Logistic Co Ltd/ Singapore) and director (U Than Myint-member of Advisory Board on Rakhine). Under southern Yangon Region Economic Development there are two phases to carry on: Phase 1 involve the implementation of New Yangon City and Phase 2 aims to develop major nodes such as SEZ, new deep-sea port and future airport.

ACEOM-Singapore was selected to develop the master and strategic plan partnering with the China Communication Construction Company (CCCC), the Chinese state-owned company. On 30 April 2018, a Framework Agreement between NYDC and CCCC was signed to carry out the implementation of the six infrastructure projects worth over US \$ 1.5 billions within NYDC. At the same time, NYDC utilized the Swiss Challenge (a peculiar procurement model) by selecting CCCC to develop a Pre-Project Document (PPD). The Swiss Challenge allows other bidders to come forward with rival proposal. CCCC will have to be allowed to match the lower bid if another bidder submit a lower bid. Moreover, that bidder will be awarded the contract, if CCCC withdraws. The winning bidder will have to reimburse CCCC for all expenditures related to preparing the PPD.

According to the profit sharing, the Yangon Regional Government (YGR) has chosen the land-for-equity swap model. Under this model, Myanmar side contributes the land. According to a report on NYC produced by Sandhi Governance Institute in March 2020, it is estimated that the value of the project land owned by Yangon Regional Government is US \$ 7 millions. Although the land worth 5% of the profits, the NYDC will actually receive 25% equity for the joint venture with the CCCC.

However, the criticism emerged upon the concern that the original plan requires a huge initial investment that would deter other investors and confer an advantage to CCCC. Therefore, the YRG decided to unbundle the project by splitting into a number of smaller projects for other potential firm to join the challenge. It also involves the reducing the size and cost of the industrial estate. It is estimated that the newly unbundled project would worth US \$ 800 millions. Moreover, in order to ensure the process to be carried out in a transparent manner and competitive tendering, YRG awarded the German consulting firm called Roland Berger. The firm not only provides consulting services for execution and preparation of the Swiss Challenge process for “new industrial park and essential ancillary infrastructure” but also analyzes the cost proposed by CCCC make sense.

The nine companies (including from Taiwan, India, France and Singapore) were qualified to submit the rival proposal to compete against the CCCC’s initial proposal on industrial park. The process is still going on.

3. The Critical Concerns over CMEC

Regarding the CMEC’s projects, concerns of Myanmar local community involving CSOs (Civil Society Organization) are rising. There are over 100 CSOs across Myanmar which have been watching carefully Beijing’s projects. They are 52 CSOs from Kachin State, the watchdog group on Kyauk Phyu SEZ formed with 18 Rakhine local CSOs and other 50 CSOs led by ‘Doe Myae Kun Yet’ and CSOs Alliance on Myanmar transparency, accountability and responsibility. They sent open letters to President Xi Jinping during his Myanmar visit in January 2020 calling for their concerns upon the projects and announced the statements pushing for both governments

to follow what they should do and avoid regarding with the development of the projects. All of them mainly focus on transparency, issues on land grabbing and repatriation, human rights, environmental assessments, local community involvement in the decision-making process in respective project areas and avoid the projects that might hinder the peace process or increase militarization in the conflict areas.

(a) Transparency and meaningful participation

Transparency is the major issue around the BRI's project. According to a survey published by the European Union Chamber of Commerce in China in January 2020, BRI's projects are lack of 'information on deals and non-transparent procurement systems'. Only 10 % of the companies got the publicly available information to participate in BRI's projects and the vast majority were hand-picked to participate. In New Yangon City project, the selection of CCCC as the project initiator has been criticized since there is no meaningful competitions among the business firms.

In addition, there is a great information gap between the public and the government. Public are not well informed in concerning with the details of the projects and the agreements made by the government. The national newspapers do not report the detail discussions although they express the talks between the senior officials of the two countries on BRI.

There are also complaints about the centralized decision making in the government office regarding BRI's projects where "mid-to lower level officers" are excluded in the discussion and only upper level officers are conducted. Some suggest that public (expert, researchers, CSOs and specialists) need to be informed and consulted in order to give insightful and meaningful suggestions over the cost and benefits of the projects.

(b) Land grabbing issue

Land grabbing by the Chinese investment is another issue of concern among the public. The Chinese investments such as hydrocarbon pipeline projects, hydropower projects, logging, mining, agricultural, and developing SEZ involved land grabbing. The Sino-Myanmar oil and gas pipelines are a good example. The local communities along the pipeline's construction were forced to evict which led them to displace because the construction involved extensive land requisition. This was also the case for the hydropower projects. Moreover, during 2013-2014, for the construction of Mandalay Myotha industrial park 1,000 families in 14 villages lost the land due to land confiscation and those villagers got little or no compensation. As a consequence, farmers in those areas illegally crossed the border into China and earned their living by cutting sugarcane.

According to Food Security Working Group's Land Core Group, 2012, "Land confiscation is the action of taking or seizing someone's land property through legal or other means. Land confiscation can occur as a result of the buying or leasing of land property rights by domestic and transnational companies, Government authorities, the military and individuals. Land confiscation can also occur when the Government takes land for a public or business purpose, such as development of a public infrastructure project or other development." Indeed, Myanmar has been meddling with the land grabbing issues since the era of military regime. There are various types of rural land confiscating being reporting such as state sponsored agriculture projects, establishment of agro-industrial plantations by private entities, large industrial development (SEZ), military settlements, large public infrastructure projects, urban expansion and land speculation by individual. In the 2000s, joint venture partners with government or military-linked entities were granted large-scale land concession as government encouraged foreign investment in agribusiness. The total seized and leased land acres reached 2 million acres mainly for aquaculture, mining, agribusiness and other commercial ventures by 2011 and by mid-2013 industrial agricultural concessions have been awarded over 5.2 million acres.

In 2012 Myanmar Pyidaungsu Hluttaw enacted the two laws focusing on farmers and their lands: “The Farmland Law” (2012) and “The Vacant, Fallow and Virgin Lands Management Law” (VFVLM) (2012). The former law stipulates that farmers need to acquire Land Use Certificates (LUCs) issued by their respective Farm Land Administrative Bodies (FABs)- (approved by District FABs and registered by the State Lands Record Department- SLRD). The latter law defines ‘virgin land’ as ‘new land or other woodland, in which cultivation has never been done before and ‘vacant and fallow land as ‘land which was cultivated by the tenant before, and then that land was abandoned by the tenant for any reason, not only the State designated land but also for agriculture or livestock breeding purposes’. According to this definition, the lands being utilized by community and cultivated by farmers in a traditional and customary manner could be grouped as vacant and fallow land. This law allows government entities, NGOs, public citizens and private sector investors to lease the VFV (Vacant, Fallow and Virgin) lands by submitting an application to CCVFL and the long-term leases on State Land for a period of tie up to 30 years. Both of these laws were aimed to improve tenure security for farmers across the country however, they produce negative impacts.

In 2018, the VFVLM was amended which stipulates that the people using VFV land need to register to receive permission to continue using the land before the end of March 2019 and if they fail to do so, they are punished with two-year imprisonment or a 500,000 Kyats fine or even eviction. On the contrary, if they register, they will get a 30-year use permit at the expense of their historical and traditional right to it. According to a government report, the land classified as VFV are estimated to be 45 million acres across the countries and 82% of which is located in the ethnic rural areas. For example, 55% of designated land area for Kyauk Phyu SEZ was being used for livelihoods by the local people and most of them did not have LUCs. According to the laws mentioned above this could lead the lands into VFV land and, this could lead land users not to receive compensation. The two CBECZs, developing in Shan State requires a large-scale land areas and Shan state is one of the regions where much of the VFV lands located. According to a survey done by the Namati Innovation in Legal Empowerment, most farmers are unaware of VFV law and the new amendment. It is evident that the farmers do not have sufficient knowledge on their legal rights or ‘access to judicial representation’ and this definitely gives the difficulty to the local communities in dealing with the land appropriation.

(c) Compensation

Local communities need to be participated in the processes for providing compensation for land seizures. In the past, these processes had bad reputation because of the lack of transparency and inconsistency. For example, in the oil and gas pipeline projects, there was no negotiation between the affected community and the investment company upon the compensation package and they were never given the agreement contracts in advance which means they did not have a chance to review the agreement. In some cases, farmers were forced to sign the agreement by the authority. This is the concerns of the local communities and the CSOs that would happen in the development of currently running projects.

(d) Debt trap

The debt trap diplomacy, firstly used in the report in 2005 called ‘Energy Futures in Asia’ for the US Department of Defense, is associated with a geopolitical concept called the String of Pearls strategy which explains China’s attempt to ‘develop a chain of military and commercial facilities along the maritime routes’ from mainland China to Africa’s horn (Port Sudan). There are 116 overseas ports construction involved by China in 62 countries and among them Hambantota Port in Sri Lanka has been considered as the actual instance of debt-trap diplomacy by China. Highly indebted Sri Lanka released the control of Hambantota port and allowed a 99-year lease to

a Chinese Company. Among Myanmar's foreign debt, China holds the largest share (US \$ 3.8 billion) and the BRI's projects likely to increase this amount. The media and scholars express the concerns not to happen debt trap in Kyauk Phyu deep sea port in Myanmar. Accordingly, the first phase of the project among four phases was scale down into \$1.3 billion from the originally agreement of \$1.6 billion. Under CMEC, there are up to 40 projects across the nation and their sources of financing is very important for Myanmar not to go through disproportionate high debt burden since Chinese loans have higher interest rate. Having open tendering process will reduce the unequal debt burden.

(e) Corruption

Some Chinese state-owned enterprises (SOEs) have been expressed that their practices were deviated from the guidelines promulgated by the Chinese Ministry of Commerce (MOFCOM), People's Bank of China and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which guide the SOEs the sectors prohibited to them. However, these oversight bodies cannot stop the SOEs' investments on prohibited sector and not abiding on local law. The World Bank blacklisted many major SOEs for their misconduct and tender fraud. In 2009 the World Bank debarred the initiate Company of New Yangon City Development, China State owned company - China Communications Construction Company (CCCC) for eight years for alleged fraudulent bidding on a highway contract in the Philippines. When medias were asked why CCCC had been chosen as the project initiator, NYDC did not give the clear explanation. Therefore, this project is seen as a controversial one. Moreover, the project areas are a flood prone area and it will cost a lot to develop. Although it is expected that when finishing the new city will provide 900,000 jobs, there are concern about commercial viability. These projects need to be commercially viable when finishing, otherwise it will not meet the debt commitment, environmental sustainability, social inclusion and economic sustainability. Moreover, it is very important to define a project and check the feasibility. The former involves the identification of the end-users, who can access the intended infrastructure project. The ghost cities of Angola, Africa is the best lesson to be learned. Under China-Angola bilateral agreement, Chinese-built satellite towns in Luanda and Kilamba. After finishing the project in Luanda, for several months the town was empty because the available prices for the housing were very high and people could not afford to live in the apartments. This was the same in Kilamba where local and international media labelled as ghost city before the completion of the project. Because the projects end users were the middle class and excluding the vast majority. The majority in Myanmar concerned about the New Yangon city project and some criticized that the project is mainly for a group of people not for the vast majority.

Conclusion

In summary, this analysis on the significant factors of CMEC shows the following outcomes. The projects undertaken under CMEC are important for the interests of both countries. It is evident that Myanmar government tries to get the best deal with its counterpart by changing the original deals into a better and equal term. However, some cases like land grabbing which would likely to produce the affected communities since the local communities' understanding on the domestic laws concerning with the land is very poor. Moreover, the government transparency upon the projects is very weak and need more public inclusion. Consequently, concerns are heightened among the public in concerning with the transparency, land grabbing issues, repatriation, debt burden and corruption. Therefore, all these outcomes show that a strong government role is needed in handling with the Chinese investment projects in order to extract the best benefit for the communities across the country.

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THE EFFECTS OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ON TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN MYANMAR'S DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION

Myint Zu Win*

Abstract

Public diplomacy tries to attract by drawing attention and understanding of foreign publics for its nation's values, culture, and policies through broadcasting, subsidizing cultural exports, arranging exchanges, etc. Tourism development contributes to transfer the economic mechanism, bringing the source of revenue for the state budget, attracting foreign investment and exporting products, affecting positively to the development of the related economic business. In order to develop tourism sector as a non-smoking industry, it is necessary for Myanmar to utilize the country's public diplomacy in the fourth industrial revolution age. Based on this background, this paper is an attempt to study the effects of public diplomacy on tourism development for the economic growth of Myanmar. Among the ASEAN countries, Vietnam tourism development will be examined to take the lessons learnt for Myanmar tourism development. The research question focuses on why public diplomacy plays an effective tool to develop tourism sector and how public diplomacy and tourism development link for the economic growth of Myanmar.

Keywords: Public Diplomacy, Branding, Tourism Development, Political Transition, Economic Development

Introduction

Myanmar with its long history, culture, and religious has numerous pagodas, temples, monuments, beauty spots, archaeological sites, snow-peaked mountains, deep forests with abundant flora and fauna, long rivers and natural and beautiful lakes, unspoilt beaches and archipelagos. Moreover, the 135 national races and their way of life, traditional arts and crafts make up Myanmar as one of the places of interest to tourist destinations in Southeast Asia countries.

Tourism industry is strongly recognized as the number one industry in many countries and the fastest-growing economic sector in terms of foreign exchange earnings and job creation. As for tourism development, the national branding is very important in the public diplomacy. In order to brand the state and persuade foreign people for a good image of the country, public diplomacy plays an important tool in the context of Myanmar's democratic transition.

In the global context, public diplomacy is considered as one of the most effective ways to reach international publics. In other words, public diplomacy is useful tool for acquiring positive perceptions among foreign people in another country. Moreover, public diplomacy has become an essential commodity in international affairs. In the globalization process, public diplomacy and tourism development are intertwined and related to each other in terms of politic and economic perspective. It can be said that public diplomacy effects tourism development. The paper aims to study the linkages between public diplomacy and tourism development in order to explore the effects of public diplomacy on tourism development during Myanmar's democratic transition. This paper focused on the concept of the public diplomacy; the significant of tourism as a tool for development; the public diplomacy and its effects on tourism development in Myanmar; and the lessons learnt from Vietnam in enhancing tourism sector as a tool for economy development.

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Concept of the Public Diplomacy

In the post-cold war, diplomacy not only performed by the state but also non-state actors such as the multinational corporations, international organizations and individuals. Media communication becomes an important role for the government in connection each other in terms of diplomacy, causing the emerging concept of public diplomacy (PD). The concept of PD has usually linked to the promotion of the image of a foreign country. The PD is an instrument that governments use to mobilize the resources to communicate with and attract the publics of other countries.

PD described as a process of communication to the targeted people in foreign countries. Thus, most of the governments aim to offer the understanding of their nation's ideas, goals, its institutions, culture, and model of society, attitudes, national interests, and policies that are engaged by the country. PD is a means to create positive image and positive perceptions; understanding the needs, culture, and society; justify misperceptions that exist in the international community; look for the area where the government can find the common ground; alliance to encourage tourism and inward investment.

There are various kinds of diplomacy such as economic diplomacy, shuttle diplomacy, preventive diplomacy, cultural diplomacy. Among these, the rise of public diplomacy has been an important new dimension of the domestic environment. The term public diplomacy was coined in 1965 by Edmund Gullion with the following definition:

“Public diplomacy... deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the process of intercultural communications.”

Jan Mellisen who is the Director of Research at the Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael and a Professor of Diplomacy in the Department of Political Sciences at Antwerp University noted that “public diplomacy has already become the bread and butter of many diplomats' work”. The importance of public diplomacy has been increasingly acknowledged. Moreover, Jan Mellisen explained public diplomacy as an effort to affect other peoples or organizations outside the country in positive way to changing the people's perspective to a country. Therefore, it can be assumed that PD is used to promote national interests through persuading public outside the country.

According to Joseph Nye, public diplomacy is an instrument that government uses to mobilize resources of soft power to attract the public of other countries, rather than merely their governments. While old public diplomacy relied on the concept of advocacy and propaganda, the new public diplomacy aims at branding and network. Nation branding concerns applying of branding strategies and tools to promote a nation's image. Every country has a negative and positive reputation which has an impact on a country's political, economic and social position in the world. A country's reputation plays an important role that impacts on coming foreign direct investment and tourism sector.

Moreover, the new public diplomacy has concentrated on building soft power and nation brand instead of merely prestige and international image. The concept of new public diplomacy has involved additional actors of both state and non-state actors. Thanks to technological advancements particularly mobile phones and the internet, the new public diplomacy has also benefited significantly from a modern technological environment. There is major difference

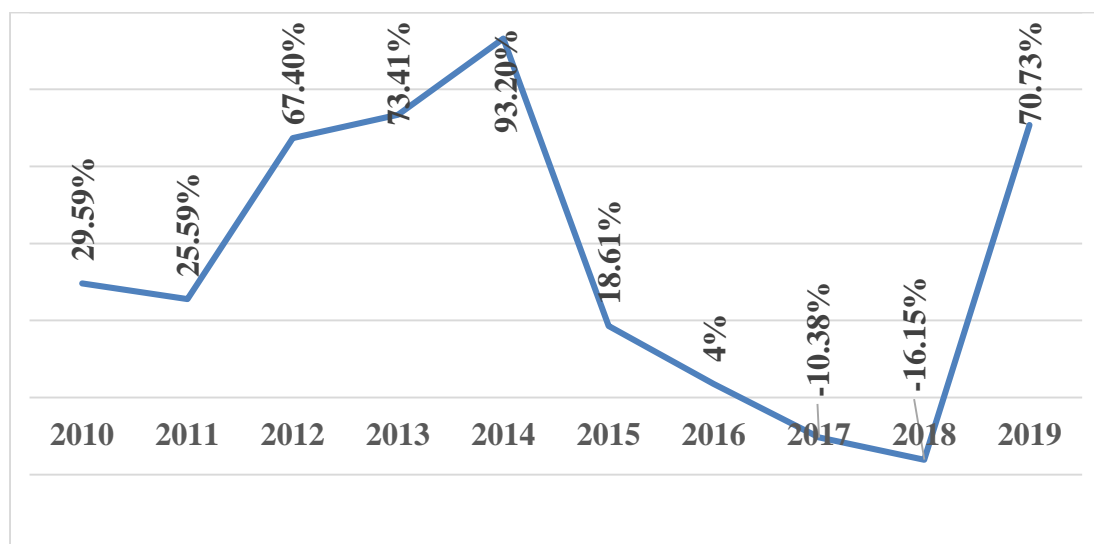
between old diplomacy and new public diplomacy. Old diplomacy deals with the relationships between the representatives of states, particularly government to government relationships. The new public diplomacy comprises both government to people relationships and people to people relationships.

Tourism as a Tool for Development

Tourism development is an important economic development activity in most countries around the world including Myanmar. It has played a major role in driving forward Myanmar's economic development after undertaking its democratic reforms in 2011. There are number of ways tourism can be defined, the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 2008) describes that tourism is a social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entails the movement of people to countries or places outside their usual environment for personal or business/professional purposes. The UNWTO recognized that it is the fastest growing economic sector, and the sector is bringing in a lot of foreign exchange earnings.

In terms of foreign exchange earnings and job creation, it is firmly established as the number one industry in many countries and the fastest-growing economic sector. In this situation, it has become one of the largest service industries in the world. The tourism industry's biggest advantage is that it can generate maximum employment opportunity. Tourism sector as a non-smoking industry has provided jobs for lots of labors, having strong relationships with other industries by creating the multiplier effect to other sectors' advancement, improving social-economic situation and raising community's standard of living. In addition, it is an invisible export industry which means that there is no tangible product to deliver. Therefore, it has been identified as a priority sector in the government's export industry in many countries including Myanmar. Myanmar's tourism revenue growth from 2010 to 2019 can be seen in Chart 1.

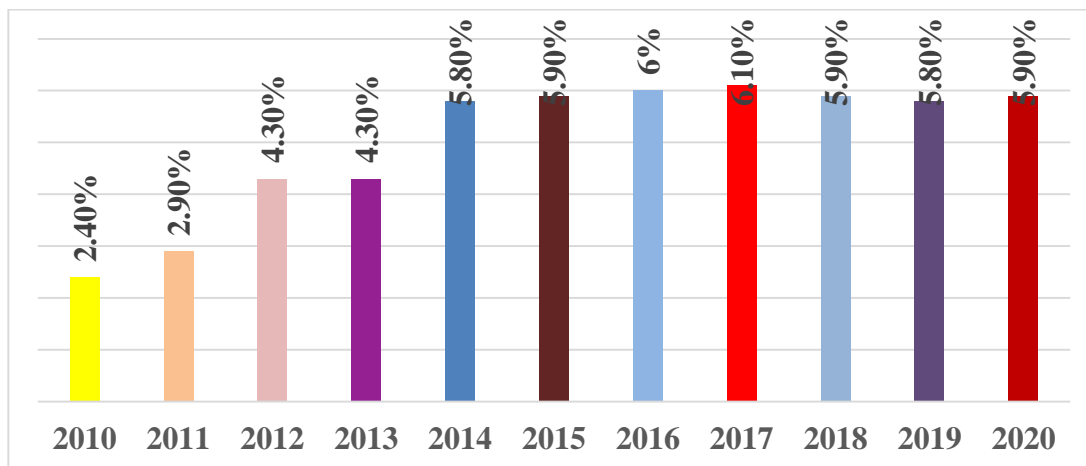
Chart1. Myanmar's Tourism Revenue Growth (2010-2019)



Source: Myanmar Ministry of Hotels and Tourism, 2020

Undoubtedly, to both the industrialized and less developed countries of the world, tourism industry has become an important and integral element of their development strategies. It is frequently considered as an economic development path. Furthermore, it contributes to transfer the economic mechanism, bringing the source of revenue for the state budget, attracting foreign investment and exporting products, affecting positively to the development of the related economic business, including to fine arts and handicraft.

The goals of tourism development are income generation, employment, increase in foreign exchange and tax earnings, reduction of rural-urban migration and balancing trade account. According to figure 1, contribution of travel and tourism to employment for Myanmar was 2.4 percent in 2010. Although Myanmar contribution of tourism industry to employment fluctuated, it tended to increase from 2010 to 2020 period. When tourism sector is developed, it will attract many visitors and help that country develop services such as aviation service, restaurants, hotels, etc. In this way, there is relationships between tourism as a tool for development and the economic growth of Myanmar.



Source: <https://knoema.com/atlas/Myanmar>, 2020

Figure1 Myanmar Tourism Industry's Contribution to Employment (2010-2020)

Public Diplomacy and Its Effects on Tourism Development in Myanmar

The relationships between public diplomacy and tourism development have the cause and effect one. In the globalization process, public diplomacy and tourism development are important ideologies and they are interrelated to each other for the potential and prosperous economy. For effective promotion of tourism, public diplomacy can help to promote nation's branding on the global context. In fact, the term of public diplomacy describes as engaging people with one's country in getting to understand our values and encouraging people to see us as an attractive destination for tourism. Under these circumstances, the public diplomacy and its effects on tourism development will be analyzed for the economic growth of Myanmar.

Every country has lovely things. Countries' lovely things can influence on the hearts of the foreign public. Myanmar, known to most travelers as the Golden land, possesses outstanding historic, natural and vibrant cultural heritage. Great natural attractions combine with wonderful temple architecture which are contributed for branding of country's image. Myanmar has a lot of natural resources which are of potential attractions to both existing and potential tourists. Joseph Nye expressed that public diplomacy tries to attract by drawing attention and understanding of foreign publics for its nation's values, culture, and policies through broadcasting, subsidizing cultural exports, arranging exchanges, etc. In this context, it can be assumed that tourism industry can be developed by utilizing public diplomacy.

Through public diplomacy, Myanmar can expect to attract foreign people for good images of Myanmar as a tourism destination because public diplomacy can be called people-to-people diplomacy or people's diplomacy in some countries. The effectiveness of public diplomacy in another country can be reflected in perceptions or views of the local people about that Myanmar.

Regarding positive perceptions of the foreign people about Myanmar, technological aspect especially websites and social media sites can largely effect the branding of the country. Additionally, technological aspect can mostly affect the development of travel and tourism because international tourists and tour companies exposure internationally through websites and social media sites. In this situation, reliable media sites play an important role in drawing the hearts and souls of the foreign people. The writers, journalists and bloggers are leading the main role for the success of public diplomacy by telling and writing good stories of Myanmar. In the public diplomacy, the individual and non-state actors play an important role in order to brand the state and attract foreign people for a good image of the country. Every citizen can be a diplomat for the success of public diplomacy. Besides, the government of Myanmar should focus on creating a globally recognized national brand for Myanmar that is synonymous with emerging democracy, enhancing Myanmar's regional role.

Public diplomacy is the conduct of international relations by governments through public communications media and through dealings with a wide range of nongovernmental entities for the purpose of influencing the politics and actions of other governments. The political aspect has an enormous impact on the tourism industry. Because, political stability can be seen as opportunities for the development of tourism industry. Myanmar's tourism industry in the past, present and future cannot be separated from domestic and international political circumstances. Although Myanmar has many traditional tourism attractions and famous historic landscapes, its domestic politics (failure of public diplomacy) caused tourism development to lag behind compared to other ASEAN countries.

Since the inauguration of a civilian government of President U Thein Sein in 2011, Myanmar initiated political, economic and social reforms to direct the country towards liberal democracy, a mixed economy, and reconciliation. After undertaking its democratic reform, Myanmar expects to be a turning point with bright potential for Myanmar tourism industry when the US and EU suspended or removed most of their investment and trade sanctions on Myanmar. This is a critical time to be practicing public diplomacy so as to brand the state. In this context, it is necessary for Myanmar to utilize public diplomacy as one of the most effective ways to develop tourism industry.

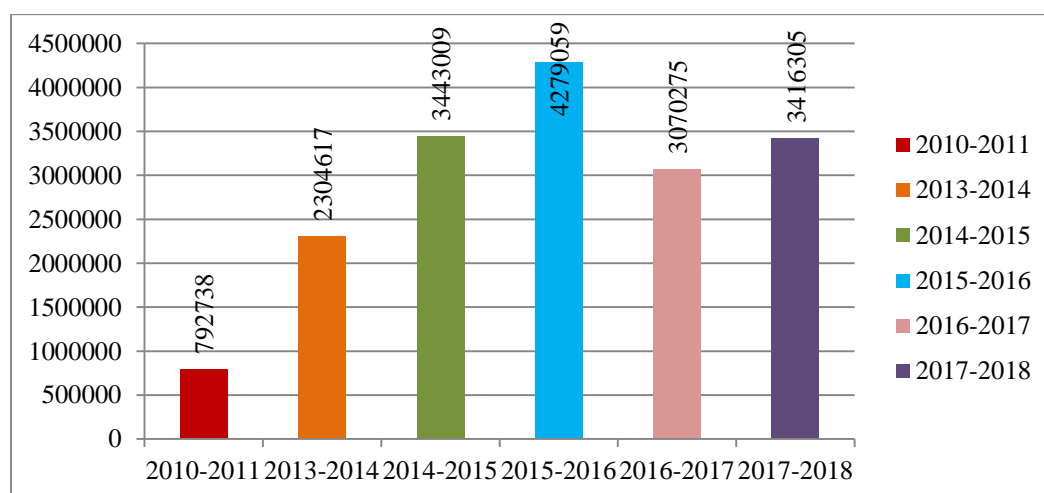
After its democratic transition in 2011, Myanmar prioritized tourism in the government's Framework for Economic and Social Reforms (FESR) 2012-2015 as "potentially one of Myanmar's most important sectors, with enormous possible to contribute to greater business opportunities and balance social and economic development if properly managed and developed". Myanmar has formulated a number of tourism sector-specific policies that set out an overarching framework for the development of the tourism sector. These included the Responsible Tourism Policy 2012, the Policy on Community Involvement in Tourism 2013 and the Myanmar Tourism Master Plan 2013-2020 (MTMP: 2013-2020).

As for tourism development in Myanmar, the Ministry of Hotels and Tourism (MOHT) has embarked on its initial reform strategies for the tourism sector which included smooth entry of foreign tourists to Myanmar, improvement towards quality service in hospitality, enhancement of standards in service providers and promotion of all year-round tourism destinations. Moreover, in terms of policies and regulations, Myanmar is building a conducive environment for responsible tourism development. In 2013, Myanmar announced a much longer list of areas that tourists could visit without, or in some cases with, prior permission. In 2014, Myanmar introduced an e-visa system through which tourists can apply electronically for visas. Myanmar has waived visa requirements for visit lasting up to 14 days for the ASEAN countries: Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, the Philippines, Vietnam, Singapore, Brunei and Thailand.

The MTMP: 2013-2020 was sought to build Myanmar into a leading tourist destination in Southeast Asia and to supply to the increasing number of tourists arriving in Myanmar. It has set a high target of 3.01 million international visitors in 2015 and 7.48 million in 2020. The MTMP: 2013-2020 was served as an important vehicle for moving the country forward. The government of Myanmar promises the world to make Myanmar “better place to live, better place to visit” by adopting the “Responsible Tourism Approach” as a core of sustainable tourism development principle. In this way, Myanmar is showing the world as safe tourist destination.

Due to its democratic reform, tourism started booming in 2012 and 2013. It has increased both domestic and international tourists as well as total tourism receipts in Myanmar. Relating to international tourism, international tourism is a relative absence of tariff barriers as compared to manufactured goods and other forms of exports. Consequently, international tourism is the world's largest export earner and an important factor in the balance of payments of most nations including Myanmar.

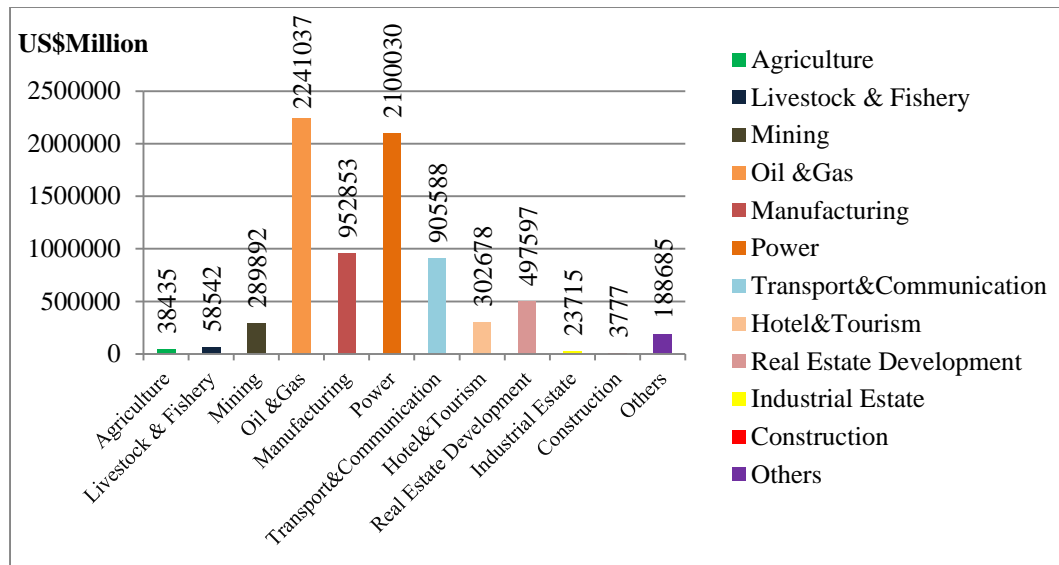
According to the official statistics of the Ministry of Hotels and Tourism (2019), the growth rate of international tourist arrivals in 2017-2018 increased 341,6305 compared with 792,738 visitors in 2010-2011 (figure 2). According to the figure 2, it can be found that the number of international tourist arrivals has continued to increase because Myanmar showed significant progress on the way to democratic reform to the foreign public (in term of the successful of public diplomacy). Therefore, international tourist arrivals cannot ignore the political context in Myanmar.



Source: Ministry of Hotel and Tourism, 2019

Figure 2 International Tourist Arrivals (2010-2018)

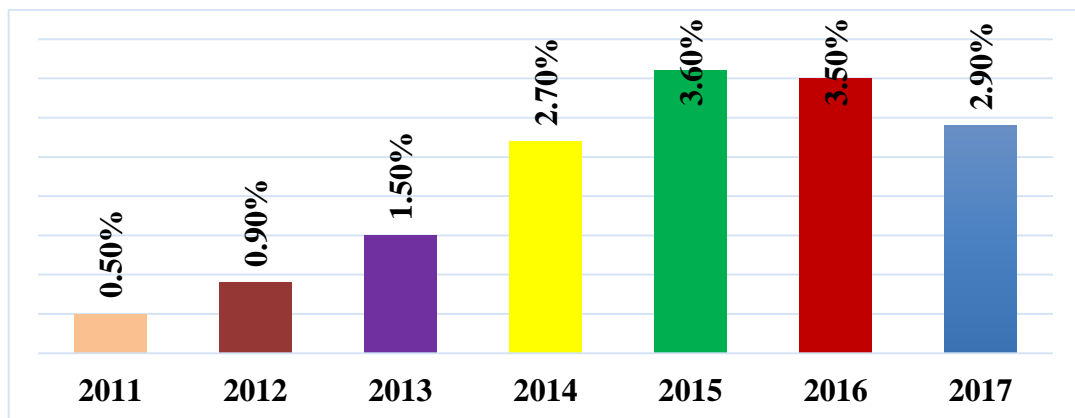
Furthermore, tourism development is basically dependent on foreign investment. Figure 3 below showed foreign investment by sector in Myanmar. According to figure 3, most foreign direct investment (FDI) was concentrated in oil and gas. Hotel and tourism was a small recipient of FDI, but had been identified as a sector promoted for investment in the 2017 FDI law. Like other sectors, tourism sector was positioned as one of the top priorities foreign investment sectors in Myanmar.



Source: Directorate of Investment and Company Administration, 2018

Figure 3 Foreign Investment by Sector (Cumulative Total as of March 31, 2018)

With regard to foreign direct investment, political aspect had caused Myanmar to lag behind in the volume of FDI flows relative to other ASEAN countries such as Cambodia and Vietnam. For instance, tourism development of Vietnam is basically dependent on foreign investment. After undertaking its democratic reform, the government of Myanmar demonstrates its strong investment climate by creating a globally recognized national brand for Myanmar that is synonymous with emerging democracy, enhancing Myanmar's regional role. As for Myanmar, it is unreasonable to ignore public diplomacy so as to persuade foreign investors. It can be understood that successful of public diplomacy can help increasing the flow of FDI.



Source: Myanmar Ministry of Hotels and Tourism, 2018

Figure 4 Myanmar Tourism Industry's Contribution to GDP (2010-2020)

Likewise, the tourism industry has contributed significantly into country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Myanmar tourism industry's contribution to GDP (2010-2020) can be seen in figure 4. According to the figure 4, the growth rate of tourism industry's contribution to GDP increased 2.9% in 2017 compared with 0.5% in 2011 because of encouraging growth in FDI in hotels and other tour related facilities.

As for tourism development in Myanmar, the government of Myanmar prioritized tourism sector as one of Myanmar's most important sectors with tremendous potential to contribute to greater economic opportunities. In SEA countries, Vietnam showed that tourism plays an important role in economic and political life by utilizing successful of public diplomacy for Vietnam's rapid economic growth. Therefore, the following part will be focused on the tourism development of Vietnam so as to take the lessons learnt for Myanmar tourism development.

Lessons from Vietnam

Recognizing the significant role of tourism sector, Vietnam has been supporting tourism as a development tool for economic growth and poverty alleviation. Myanmar also designated tourism as a national priority sector for its socio-economic development. However, Myanmar's tourism development lags behind compared to Vietnam where the tourism industry is a major employer and engine of economic growth. Therefore, Vietnam tourism development will be examined to take the lessons learnt for the contribution of Myanmar tourism development. Vietnam is a different country with Myanmar, in term of political, but their economic goals, i.e., to provide employment opportunity to her people and attract foreign investors, are similar. For that reason, Vietnam is chosen as an example.

Despite the return of peace after the Vietnam War ended in 1975, for over a decade the country experienced little economic growth because of conservative leadership policies and growing international isolation. For the sake of the country's survival, Vietnam's leaders were forced to adopt economic and political reforms or "Đổi Mới" (renovation) policy in 1986. Due to the economic and political reforms, Vietnam transformed the country from one of the world's poorest nations into a middle-income country. In addition, the economy of Vietnam has transformed from an agrarian to a service economy.

With these political and economic reforms, Vietnam applied some campaigns to gain public image globally through its PD so as to build its own image on the global scale. One of those campaign was through launching Vietnam's Tourism Year campaign in 1990. It can be said that by launching 1990 Vietnam's Tourism Year campaign, Vietnam aimed to attract safe destination to the international tourists; to draw the foreign public attention to eye for travelling and to gain more recognition from other countries in the world.

Vietnam believed that 1990 Vietnam's Tourism Year campaign became an instrument of Vietnam's PD in increasing their nation branding and promoting the country's image to the world in order to accelerate economic growth. So, Vietnam selected tourism as one of the vehicles for its national development. Vietnam laid more focus in building long term strategy for promotion tourism of Vietnam in period 2010-2030. Vietnam also made efforts in building a positive image as the national branding of Vietnam to become one of the international tourist destinations in Southeast Asia.

Vietnam expressed country's image to attract incoming tourist by showing stable political context and stable government through its public diplomacy. As for Vietnam, tourism industry helps agriculture and other industries directly and indirectly. Tourism sector has been supporting as a key industry in contributing to Vietnam's economic growth. Moreover, the globalization and open economy helped Vietnam's tourism to emerge as one of the biggest foreign exchange earners for Vietnam.

According to the website of the Vietnamese National Administration of Tourism (VNAT), over 4.2 million international tourists arrived in Vietnam in 2007 compared to 1.3 million in 1995: an increase of over 200% in twelve years. In 2019, Vietnam received 18 million international tourist arrivals. The 2019 North Korea-United States Hanoi Summit meeting was part of a public diplomacy strategy to promote the international image of Vietnam. This summit meeting was a

good example of the successful public diplomacy. At this summit meeting, Vietnam showed its cooperation and safe destination to the international tourists and drew the foreign public attention to eye for travelling.

Because of the diversity of resources both natural and cultural resources, Vietnam is gaining higher position of the tourism image in the world. According to the 2017 World Economic Forum's Tourism Competitiveness Index, Vietnam ranked 32nd globally (out of 120 countries) and 3rd within Southeast Asia in terms of the volume and attractiveness of natural and cultural resources. It is found that Vietnam has proven to be one of the fastest growing tourist destinations in Southeast Asia region.

Regarding Gross Domestic Product (GDP), the tourism industry particularly as well as the service industry in general has contributed significantly into GDP in Vietnam. According to the 2017 General Statistics Office of Vietnam, the direct contribution of tourism industry into GDP was Vietnamese Dong-VND 279,287 billion (approximately to 6.6% GDP). Therefore, tourism industry was considered as the key business for developing Vietnam's economics. According to the 2019 General Statistics Office of Vietnam, Hotels & Tourism was the 4th top contributor to the country's GDP.

After 34 years of Renovation process (Doi Moi Reform) since 1986, Vietnam has had significant changes in many sectors such as agricultural production, industry and tourism field as well. Doi Moi has been extremely successful in transforming Vietnam from a stagnant, unstable, centrally planned economy to a dynamic and quickly growing market-oriented economy. According to World Bank's 2019 July data, it described Vietnam's economy as "Vibrant economic growth, albeit moderating". It is evidently seen that tourism industry is a major engine for economy growth of Vietnam.

In studying of Vietnam, Myanmar can learn the lessons from Vietnam so as to develop tourism industry. These lessons are as follows: the need for political and economic reforms, particularly on the openness of economy to foreign investors, utilizing public diplomacy as a tool for national branding and, guaranteeing the safe destinations to the international tourists.

Conclusion

In order to enhance tourism sector, Myanmar needs the effective utilization of public diplomacy for building national branding. Public diplomacy can directly or indirectly reduce negative perceptions or views of the foreign people about Myanmar. Tourism sector can be development by applying public diplomacy through persuading public outside the country. Accordingly, public diplomacy can effect on the development of tourism sector. In this way, public diplomacy in general and tourism industry as a development tool in particular can contribute for the potential and prosperous economy of Myanmar.

Although Myanmar has many traditional tourist attractions and famous historic landscapes, its failure of public diplomacy caused tourism sector to lag behind compared to other ASEAN countries. By studying Vietnam's tourism industry, it is obvious that the successful development of Vietnam's tourism not only lies on the possession of physical attributes such as beautiful beaches, attractive landmarks and cheap prices but also bases on its effective utilization on public diplomacy for its national branding.

It is necessary for Myanmar to pay attention on the public diplomacy in the fourth industrial revolution age. In this context, reliable media sites play an important role in branding of the country and drawing positive perceptions of the foreign people about Myanmar. As for Myanmar, it is unreasonable to ignore public diplomacy in order to attract the country's brand to the world as a tourism destination. It can be said that if Myanmar utilizes public diplomacy as one of the most

effective ways to attract the international public, Myanmar can become an emerging and one of the fastest-growing tourist destinations in Southeast Asia region.

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MYANMAR-INDIA RELATIONS: ECONOMIC COOPERATION AFTER 2011

Yin Yin Kyi*

Abstract

Myanmar is gradually embracing wide-ranging in political, economic and social reforms since 2011. The political transition of Myanmar is an important and unique opportunity for India to deepen its relations with its eastern neighbour. India is a friendly neighbor who had been assisting Myanmar in various sectors such as economic, industrial, human resources development and so on. Moreover, Myanmar opens up new avenues for Indian business engagement that can bring a new impetus for regional economic cooperation and regional development. Myanmar-India business interactions have been growing steadily over the years. They focus the need to improve market access and further facilitate trade between the two countries under the relevant bilateral and regional trading arrangements. Furthermore, Myanmar-India economic cooperation covers a vast area, including trade, investment, tourism, power and energy, infrastructure development and technical cooperation. They agreed to promote shared interests of the people of the two countries and in a mutually beneficial interdependent economic environment. In this context, this research attempts to examine how Myanmar and India cooperate for the development of bilateral economic relations after 2011. It also traces the economic policy changes in Myanmar and India.

Keywords: Myanmar, India, economic policy, export and import, border trade, investment, cooperation.

Introduction

The growing exchanges in the bilateral sphere involve the area of trade, investment, culture, people-to-people contacts and security that bear testimony to the synergies between independent, active and non-aligned foreign policy of Myanmar and pragmatic Act East and Neighbourhood First policies of India. China's influence in Myanmar was first recognized by India as the relations between Myanmar and China have a great impact on the economy of India. As a result of the sanction imposed by the Western countries after a military took power, Myanmar's foreign policy relies on its two giant neighbours, China and India. And then, India is one of the major countries for the development of Myanmar's infrastructure, technology, communications and transportation sectors. On the other hand, India has multiple interests that drive its approach to Myanmar: preserving stability, economic engagement and development, expanding Southeast Asia's physical interconnectivity, gaining access to natural resources, checking the expansion of Chinese power and encouraging the continued emergence of democracy. Therefore, Myanmar-India economic cooperation is interdependently related for a long time. The improvement of Myanmar's export market and technical developments mainly depend on India. On the other hand, Indian access to oil and gas and its Northeast region stability depend on Myanmar. Based on this background, this paper is included three approaches: firstly, economic policies of the two countries and India's policy towards Myanmar; secondly, trade and investment sectors and thirdly, India's assistance for infrastructure development and technical cooperation in Myanmar.

Economic Policy of Myanmar and India

Myanmar has changed its economic course from a centrally planned economy to a market oriented system since March 1989. A series of structural reforms had been undertaken. After the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) government took office in March 2011, Myanmar has undergone a political and economic reform with incredible speed and success.

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Concerning with economic reform, the USDP government laid down the four economic policies to enhance economic development on 19 June 2012. These policies are: development of agriculture and all round development; balanced and proportionate growth among regions and states; inclusive growth for entire population and; emergence of reliable statistics and improvement of the statistical system.

Under the democratic government, Myanmar's economy has been changing significantly. It has continuously grown at approximately 6-8 percent since 2012. A National Comprehensive Development Plan has been formulated to identify policy trend for country-wide sustainable economic development. Myanmar's overall growth strategy is built on a complementary mix of policies to simultaneously enable modernization in industry, agriculture and infrastructure, a diversification of the export base and the expansion of value-added production for domestic and international markets. Moreover, Myanmar's economy is diversifying from one based largely on agriculture and natural resources into one oriented more towards manufacturing and services as well as in reintegrating into the world market by attracting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI).

In 2012, the government promulgated the Foreign Investment Law. Investment activities in certain sectors are prohibited or restricted to avoid adverse impacts on communities and their livelihoods, the environment as well as the progress in peace and national reconciliation. Under the National League for Democracy (NLD) government, the most significant one is enactment of Myanmar Investment Law on 18 October 2016.

On the other hand, India is one of the world's largest industrial economies with deliberately labour-intensive systems. It also has a large reserve of oil and gas. However, a balance of payments crisis in 1991 led to policy reform with the emphasis on liberalization, decentralization and private sector investment, increasing opportunities for small and medium scale enterprises (SMEs) to strengthen markets and create employment at the grass-roots level. On 24 July 1991, Manmohan Singh introduced the New Economic Policy (NEP) which refers to economic liberalization or relaxation in the import tariffs, deregulation of markets or opening the market for private and foreign players and reduction of taxes to expand the economic wings of the country.

India's Act East policy and its policy towards Myanmar

Myanmar is geographically significant to India as it stands at the center of the India-Southeast Asia. Myanmar shares a land border with northeastern India, stretching some 1,624km and 725 km maritime boundary in the Bay of Bengal. Indian "Look East Policy" was launched in 1994 which focused on Asian markets and an extension of India's trade relations towards Southeast Asia. It was renamed Act East Policy in 2014. India's Look East/ Act East policy is a vital subset of India foreign policy. Therefore, Myanmar has a unique place in India's Neighbourhood First and its Act East policies.

Act East policy is an essential element in the practice of Indian regional diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific. Moreover, Myanmar is a land bridge to connect South Asia and Southeast Asia for India. India regards Myanmar as a gateway to link up to the rest of Southeast Asia. India has invested in ASEAN-wide infrastructural projects that are able to boost trade in ASEAN-India Free Trade Area. India's long-term strategic goal is to create a Special Economic Zone (SEZ) surrounding the Sittwe port and in doing so, concrete India's footprint in Rakhine state and boost its presence in the Bay of Bengal. Moreover, India believes that its policy can use to strengthen trade links with Myanmar and create engagement with the regional grouping. India sees Myanmar as a neighbor first and an ASEAN member second.

The Indian government plans to improve the connectivity of the North- Eastern States and to connect India to Thailand via Myanmar. The construction of the India-Myanmar- Thailand trilateral highway had been discussed in Yangon in April 2002 and it was formally agreed in Nay

Pyi Taw in 2012. Parts of the road have been completed in Myanmar and India. This highway can eventually be extended to connect India with Vietnam through Cambodia and Laos. Therefore, India's major economic and connectivity projects with Myanmar have an ASEAN-wide scope.

Trade between Myanmar and India

India has been a major trading partner of Myanmar for ages and bilateral trade has been growing steadily since the signing of the Myanmar-India trade agreement in 1970. The two countries set up a Joint Trade Committee (JTC) on 14 July 2003. It has been effective in reviewing and setting policy objectives for bilateral trade between them. More than 90 percent of the total trade between Myanmar and India takes place through the sea route and the road route (land border) trade accounts for a negligible share that is less than one percent of Myanmar's total trade with India. The share of air route has increased from two percent in 2011-12 to eight percent in 2017-18. Most of the import and export between them are delivered by ships.

The export of Myanmar agricultural and forest-based products dominate by India. Myanmar has had a history of supplying rice to many parts of Asia and she had for long been a major supplier of rice to the growing population in India. However, rice export to India declined from 2014 to 2018 because the development foodgrain production and rice production increased in India. Moreover, one of the key export items from Myanmar to India is timber. India was the main importer of Myanmar's timber until 2013. This amount has declined dramatically because of timber export ban on 1 April 2014 by the USDP government. This was followed by a total logging ban from August 2016 to March 2017. Although taxes on the most exports were removed in 2012 and 2013, a few natural resource products such as germs, oil and gas and timber are levied for export. Besides, Myanmar has announced its intension of replacing the existing export tax with an export ban on 1 April 2014 because it is necessary to preserve Myanmar' remaining forests and conserved to develop a sustainable hardwood timber export industry.

The other main export commodities from Myanmar are bean and pulses, base metal, fish, and so on. The top four exported items from Myanmar are beans, pigeon peas, other topical wood and other wood together constitute 8.6 percent of India. The import commodities from India are pharmaceutical products, iron and steel construction materials, transport equipment, mineral fuel and oil and mechanical appliances, etc.

Myanmar is the second largest supplier of beans and pulses to India and 90 percent of Myanmar's beans and pulses exports to India. The vast majority of Myanmar's pulses go to India's market mostly via sea route. Canada is the first in the global pea export market, followed by Australia and Myanmar. Myanmar exports pulses to India, China, Japan, European countries and ASEAN countries. Myanmar has been pursuing a pulses export deal with India when the two countries engaged in a government-to-government Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) since 2016. However, severe restrictions announced by India limiting the amount of pea products from Myanmar has quickly and adversely affected the local pulses market. On 1 April 2017, 10 percent of tax levied on imports came into force in India. Indian government has raised import duty not only on the beans and pulses but also on betel nuts. And then, India authorities have raised the import duty on betel nuts to 40 percent. This led to decline of export from Myanmar to India since 2017. Table-1 stated that trade between Myanmar and India.

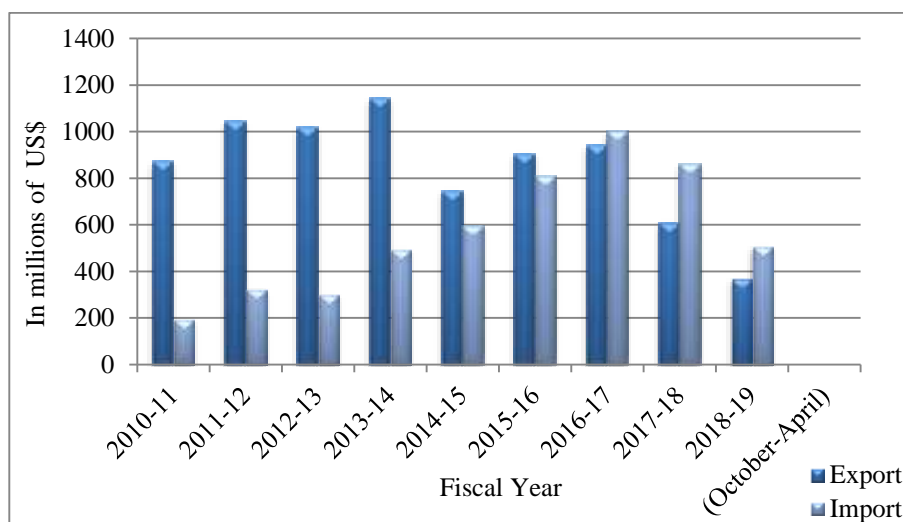
Table 1 Trade between Myanmar and India (2010-2019)

(In US\$ millions)

Fiscal Year	Export	Import	VOT*	BOT*
2010-11	871.59	195.46	1067.05	(+) 676.13
2011-12	1045.99	325.38	1371.37	(+) 720.61
2012-13	1018.62	301.70	1320.32	(+) 716.92
2013-14	1143.59	493.51	1637.10	(+) 650.08
2014-15	745.80	595.65	1341.45	(+) 150.15
2015-16	904.16	807.35	1711.51	(+) 96.81
2016-17	943.48	999.68	1943.16	(-) 56.20
2017-18	607.72	860.94	1468.66	(-) 253.22
2018-19(Oct. April)	371.22	506.50	877.72	(-) 135.28

Source: Statistical Yearbook, Central Statistical Organization, Nay Pyi Taw, 2015 and 2018

* Volume of Trade, * Balance of Trade

Chart 1 Trade between Myanmar and India (2010-2019)

Source: Statistical Yearbook, Central Statistical Organization, Nay Pyi Taw, 2015 and 2018

Trade between Myanmar and India has been rising steadily. Volume of trade grew from US\$ 1067.05 million in 2010-11 to US\$ 1637.10 million in 2013-14. The trade balance has been in favour of Myanmar until 2015-16. In 2016-17 and 2017-18, balance of trade has been in favour to India. Pharmaceutical products are the top imports from India to Myanmar, follow by oil-cake and other solid residue, electrical controls, tractors and iron and steel product. These five products are together account for 32 percent of India's imports to Myanmar. India trade accounts for 40 percent of total imports and 25 percent of total trade with Myanmar.

On the other hand, Myanmar-India **border trade** officially began on 1 December 1991 and payment can be settled in US dollars. Myanmar-India Border Trade Agreement was signed on 21 January 1994. It came into operation on 12 April 1995 through Tamu border. Under the

agreement, the border trade could be conducted through the designated border trade posts. Moreh (Manipur) in India and Tamu in Myanmar and Champhai /Zokhawthar (Mizoram) in India and Rhi (Reed) in Myanmar are official posts. Moreover, both sides agreed to set up border haats or rural markets along the Myanmar-India border. The first border haat has been proposed a Pangsau Pass, Arunachal Pradesh in India. In Myanmar-India border trade, Myanmar's export commodities are beans and pulses, ginger, salt, betel nuts, etc. India's import goods are medicines, electronic products, motorbikes, cotton yarn, non-alloy steel and other construction materials. In addition, the major commodities of Myanmar- India border trade include 85 percent of China products, 5 percent of Thailand and 10 percent of Myanmar.

Moreover, trade between Myanmar and India is partly illegal and 17 percent of India's imports were of illegal origin and 72 percent of Myanmar's exports were illegal between 2000 and 2013. The timber trade was not obviously illegal as the Myanmar- China timber trade, which transited up to 94 percent via the land border of Myanmar and China. Myanmar and India agreed to pass timber export by land border. The border region was remote for both countries and lacked adequate roads to transport bulky wood products. Trade links are weak at the Myanmar-India border. Formal trade across the Myanmar-India land border involves high transaction costs both in terms of time and money. The key factors for the high transaction costs include poor connectivity, lack of quality infrastructure at border crossing points, limited trade financing instruments.

Although India is a key export market for Myanmar, China remains the most important source of FDI and imports in Myanmar. Besides, Thailand is a major export market of Myanmar's natural gas, which is exported to Thailand since 2006.

India's Investment in Myanmar

Myanmar entered into a Reciprocal Promotion and Production Investment Agreement with India (RPPIAI) on 24 June 2008 and it came into effect on 8 February 2009. The agreement is valid for 10 years. Furthermore, Myanmar and India was signed a Bilateral Investment Promotion & Protection Agreement (BIPA) and a Double Taxation Avoidance Agreement (DATT) in 2008.

Table 2 India's Investment in Myanmar (2011-2016)

(In US\$ millions)

Fiscal Year	No. of Enterprises	Foreign Investment
2011-12	1	73.00
2012-13	2	11.50
2013-14	4	26.04
2014-15	6	208.89
2015-16	5	224.22

Source: Statistical Yearbook, Central Statistical Organization, Nay Pyi Taw, 2015 and 2018

India's investment in Myanmar indicated detail in Table-2. India's investment was gradually increased and it was the ninth investor in Myanmar, with 23 approved projects totaling US\$ 732 million in 2017. India stands at the 11th position among 49 countries, investing in Myanmar. In 2018, a total of 30 investment projects with the total amounting to \$763.6 million are permitted in 2019 and a total of 225 Indian companies have been registered and doing business in Myanmar. The main areas of the Indian investment in Myanmar is around 77 percent in manufacturing sector followed by agriculture and mining, transport, storage and communication services and financial, insurance and business services.

In **Energy sector**, India is very keen on accessing Myanmar's natural gas because of domestic energy requirements. Besides, Myanmar is an attractive target for energy diplomacy of India. There is a huge possibility for energy cooperation between Myanmar and India, both in the hydropower and the hydrocarbon sectors. India has started exporting diesel to Myanmar via a land route to enhance hydrocarbon trade with neighbouring countries. Supply of diesel to Myanmar is part of Prime Minister Narendra Modi's goal of having better hydrocarbon synergy with neighbouring countries as well as promoting Act East Policy. Moreover, he wants to expand ties with eastern neighbours to develop India's landlocked northeastern states. Northeast India-based refiner Numaligarh Refinery Ltd. (NRL) delivered a trial consignment of 30 tonnes of diesel fuel to Myanmar's Parami Energy Group in Myanmar by land. NRL is looking at future strengthening its business ties with Parami Energy Group after the trial. The refiner has already exported 1,700 tonnes of paraffin wax to Myanmar.

In 2017, Dharmendra Pradhan, the Cabinet Minister for Petroleum & Natural Gas and Steel in the government of India, visited Myanmar for opportunities in oil exporting, refining and products retailing. NRL is also exploring the possibility of laying a pipeline to export diesel to Myanmar and enter into retail sales. India supplies the power that commenced from India across the Moreh-Tamu border on 8 April 2016. This is a small but critical step towards further integrating and economies for the mutual benefit of the two countries.

In April 2018, Indian Oil Corporation Limited (IOCL) office is opened in Yangon. It is actively exploring the market. It is importing High Speed Diesel (HSD) and Aviation fuel from India to Myanmar under its term contracts with Puma and National Energy Puma Aviation Services (NEPAS). Gas Authority of India Limited (GAIL) has been exporting Polymer to various commercial entities in Myanmar such as Posco Daewoo, Sumitomo, etc. Myanmar invites India companies to participate in-competitive tender for petroleum products marketing infrastructure and setting up Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG) terminals.

Concerning with **tourism sector**, opening border between Myanmar and India would enhance tourism activities. They are discussed on cross-border night trip plan to Lake Reed in Chin State for travelers to India. It is near the Myanmar-India border and it has attracted tourists since 2017. Chin State possesses natural beauty and tourist attraction sites. Cross-border night trip plan can give the travelers traditional, social and tribal customs of Chin people. Besides, international entry-exit checkpoints are near the Myanmar-India Friendship Bridge in Tamu Township and opened on 8 August 2018. This is an implementation of landmark Land Border Crossing Agreement signed on 11 May 2018. The opening of these check-posts facilitate travel on both sides, as people holding pass-ports and a valid visa will be allowed to enter and exit through these border check posts.

Cooperation in **banking sector** is crucial for the development of trade and investment. In 2008, Myanmar and India signed an agreement to conduct payment of traded goods through United Bank of India (UBI) and state-owned banks of Myanmar such as Myanmar Foreign Trade Bank (MFTB), Myanmar Commercial Bank (MICB) and Myanmar Economic Bank (MEB). However, this procedure could not be implemented effectively because transfer of payment for traded good is conducted through Singapore. Therefore, the cost of trade increases between them. UBI has signed a number of banking agreements with both private and state banks in Myanmar to facilitate trade transactions between them. Since December 2012, India opened UBI representative office in Yangon.

The MoU between Reserve Bank of India (RBI) and Central Bank of Myanmar on currency exchange rates fixation is to be finalized. This has come in the way of direct banking settlements between them and State Bank of India and UBI present in Myanmar route transaction through Singapore. In June 2015, India Assurances Limited opened its representative office in Yangon. It

has been pursuing relations in insurance sector. State Bank of India (SBI) was granted commercial banking license by the government of Myanmar in 2016. Myanmar and India signed three MoUs for cooperation in the insurance, power and banking sectors on 20 October 2016.

Assistance for Infrastructure Development and Technical Cooperation

The Indian government extended a number of general and project-specific credit lines to Myanmar. Total value of development cooperation assistance was US\$ 1.2 billion in 2012. A concessional Line of Credit of US\$ 500 million was made available subsequently and projects executed a variety of sectors such as roads, railways, telecommunication, automotive, energy and remote sensing. Likewise, India assists the establishment of Agriculture Research Centre in Myanmar. Agriculture sector plays a vital role in cooperation between Myanmar and India. The government of India is actively involved over a dozen projects both in Myanmar's infrastructural and non-infrastructural areas. The major projects of India in Myanmar are:

- (1) The Kaladen Multi Modal Transit Transport (KMMTT) Project which connects the Sittwe Port in Myanmar with Ports in India, along with riverine transport and roadways to Mizoram.
- (2) Tata Motors has established a Heavy Truck Assembly Plant at Magway, in central Myanmar, funded by a US\$ 20 million Line of Credit from the government of India.
- (3) GAIL and ONGC Videsh Ltd. (OVL) are investing 25 percent of a total of US\$ 2.6 billion in onshore and offshore for a gas pipeline project in Myanmar. Essar Oil has US\$ 100 million worth of ongoing exploration projects in Myanmar.
- (4) Upgrading and resurfacing of the 160 km. long Tamo-Kalewa-Kalemyo road.
- (5) Construction and upgradation of the Rhi- Tiddim road in Myanmar.
- (6) An ADSL project for high speed data link in 32 Myanmar cities has been completed by Telecommunications Consultants India Ltd. (TCIL).
- (7) M/s Rail India Technical and Economic Service (M/s RITES) is involved in development of the rail transportation system with the supply of railway coaches, locos and parts.
- (8) Ministry of Electric Power-1 (MoEP-1) and NHPC signed an agreement for development of the Tamanthi and Shwezaye Hydro-Electric Power project in Chindwin River valley in September 2008. They were apparently abandoned in 2012.
- (9) The Indian based Industrial Training Centres in Pakkoku and Myingyan provide training for industrial development in Myanmar.
- (10) The Myanmar-India Centre for English Language (MICELT), an India-Myanmar Centre for Enhancement of IT Skills (IMCEITS) and a Myanmar-India Entrepreneurship Development Centre (MIEDC) are all in operational.

On the other hand, rail connectivity between Myanmar and India is completely absent. In 2012, the Indian Cabinets Committee on Infrastructure approved the construction of a broad-gauge line from Tupul to Imphal at the cost of approximately US\$ 822.9 million, to be complete in 2016. The project was facing challenges of heavy monsoons, a fragile security situation and economic blockades. This rail links would be integrated into the proposed trans-Asian railway project, which seeks to connect Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, Myanmar, Bangladesh, India and Pakistan by rail networks. On the other hand, although India agreed to extend assistance to upgrade the 120 km. Kalewa- Yargyi road segment to the standard of trilateral highway in Myanmar, India has not been able to deliver the initially scheduled completion by 2016. However, India completed the construction of a sea-port and the inland water terminal in Sittwe, Rakhine State in July 2019.

This forms part of the US\$ 484 million Kaladan multi-modal transit transport project mooted in 2008 that would link Kolkata to Sittwe. The Sittwe port will be linked to Palewa in Chin State via the Kaladen River. The Paletwa road is still under construction until 2019.

To enhance bilateral economic relations, Myanmar and India signed four economic cooperation agreements. They are:

- (1) The Bilateral Promotion Agreement (BIPA) to facilitate greater Indian investment in Myanmar and vice versa;
- (2) A credit line agreement between Exim Bank of India and the Myanmar Foreign Trade Bank for US\$ 64 million for financing three 230 kv transmission lines in Myanmar to be executed by the Power Grid Corporation of India;
- (3) A credit line agreement between the Exim Bank of India and the Myanmar Trade Bank for US\$ 20 million for financing the establishment of an aluminium conductor and reinforced (ACSR) wire manufacturing facility to be used for the expansion of the power distribution network in Myanmar and;
- (4) Agreement between the UBI and the MEB for providing banking arrangement for the implementation of the border trade that took place at Moreh.

Myanmar values the tangible developments and sustained progress in multi-sectoral cooperation and strategic partnership between ASEAN and India over the twenty-five years. India supports for ASEAN Connectivity initiative through its US\$1 billion Line of Credit to enhance sea, air, land and digital connectivity. To promote trade and people to people links, Myanmar has placed the highest emphasis on infrastructure projects related to connectivity.

Conclusion

It can be concluded that Myanmar and India ties are going on the point of a significant transformation. Their relations are profoundly important in each other's foreign policy. In geostrategic perspective, while Myanmar is India's gateway to Southeast Asia, India is Myanmar's gateway to South Asia. Therefore, they are interdependently related to each other. India's engagement with Myanmar has been approaching multidimensional ways. India has been actively participating in Myanmar's business training and other social sectors. However, the measure of Indian engagement cannot competition the Chinese engagement in Myanmar because China has operationalized a host of connectivity projects, especially in northern Myanmar, which are easing deeper economic integration of Myanmar with the bordering region of China. Though the ties between Myanmar and India are already multisectoral and cover a wide extent, three specific areas need to be fully bound. Firstly, the two countries need to have the expansion of trade and investment sectors. Bilateral trade is still quite small and not so diversified in both directions. In investments, both in manufacturing and infrastructure as also services, the scope is enormous. Secondly, there is much work to do connectivity. Thirdly, the cooperation and synergies can be built between the North Eastern states of India or North Western states of Myanmar. To develop economic relations, Myanmar and India should enhancement their security cooperation at the border area. If the border area is more secure, the greater economic activity will improve between the two countries. For example, insurgents from India's Nagaland have also disrupted the completion of the KMMTT project. Thus, the security and stability along the Myanmar-India border are crucial for the socio-economic development of the two countries. Moreover, facilitating connectivity is a key factor for the development of bilateral economic cooperation.

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COOPERATION BETWEEN MYANMAR AND CHINA IN ENERGY SECTOR: OIL AND GAS SINCE 1988

Thida*

Abstract

As the development and utilization of energy has boosted development of the world economy and human society, the resource- rich countries became important on the political stage of international arena. Myanmar is not only strategically important for its location but also rich in natural resource especially energy. It is a strategic country for the region and many countries. Likewise, it has been a crucial interest for neighbouring countries particularly China. China has been a major economic partner while it has cooperated closely in Myanmar's oil and gas sector. Moreover, as a consequence of isolation from the international community after the 1988 military coup, Myanmar needed China's investment in its economy. By cooperation with China, Myanmar also gained necessary income from trade and foreign direct investment (FDI). However, Myanmar's growth pattern, with a major concentration in energy and the extractive industries created huge pressure on its environment. The successive governments managed energy cooperation and Myanmar faced troublesome condition in local community and domestic politics. Under the NLD government, plans were underway to amend existing laws, bylaws and regulations in oil and gas sector in the country. Based on circumstances, objectives of the research are to analyze how Myanmar has used oil and gas for interests in its relations with China since 1988 and to find out how Myanmar has troublesome circumstances domestically by cooperation with China.

Keywords: Myanmar, energy, oil and gas, strategic, cooperation

Introduction

As the development and utilization of energy has boosted the development of the world economy and human society, the resource rich countries became important on the political stage of international arena. Myanmar is not only strategically important for its location but also rich in natural resource especially energy. It is a strategic country for the region and many countries. China is one of countries with a fast-growing economy that led to being the largest energy consumer and producer in the world. In China's pursuit of regional economic, political and social stability, Myanmar has been a crucial interest for raw materials and markets in the region. China has been a major economic partner while it has cooperated closely in Myanmar's oil and gas sector. Myanmar is geopolitically significant to China given its access to the Indian Ocean and its extensive natural resources. It also would be considered as a strategic role as part of the "China's Belt and Road Initiatives(BRI)". Therefore, China has developed a strong interest in securing Myanmar's abundant natural resources since the late 1980s. On the other hand, the discovery of large offshore gas deposits in the early 1990s led Myanmar to export gas partly due to low domestic usage at the time. Meanwhile, Myanmar faced with sanctions of the western countries as a result of the 1988 coup. As a result of isolation from the international community, Myanmar needed to get friendly relations and cooperation with its neighbours. Eventually China became a closer country with FDI, trade and development assistance. At the same time, China demanded Myanmar's natural resources including energy and sought to fulfil the needs of Myanmar by providing some assistances such as modern military weapons, equipments, funding and training in Myanmar. Based on circumstances, objectives of the research are to analyze how Myanmar has used oil and gas for interests in its relations with China since 1988 and to find out how Myanmar has the troublesome circumstances domestically by cooperation with China.

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Myanmar Energy Sector's Needs for Development

Myanmar is rich in natural resources including energy resources. Its sources of energy are crude oil, natural gas, hydroelectricity, biomass and coal. Possession of large resources of natural gas became a significant role in the country's energy mix. Offshore and deep water natural gas production sites are located in the Bay of Bengal in Rakhine State. In the early 1980s, production of Myanmar's oil and gas did not improve due to technical limitations and government reluctance to accept intervention by foreign operators. After the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) took power in September 1988, it changed from the centrally planned economy to the market-oriented economy. SLORC welcomed foreign direct investment while opened up the opportunity for foreign companies to explore oil and gas.

With the adoption of market oriented economy in 1989, the Government formulated twelve objectives of economic, social and political. Among them, one of the objectives was "Development of the Economic Inviting Participation" in terms of technical know-how and investments from sources inside the country and abroad. With this aim, *the Union of Myanmar Foreign Investment Law (FIL)* was promulgated on 30 November 1988 and the procedures relating to the law were endorsed on 7 December 1988. Although government adopted FIL, the result of onshore oil exploration were still low.

Therefore, in 1993, SLORC invited foreign bids for offshore exploration in eighteen Concession gas blocks, thirteen blocks in the Gulf of Martaban and five blocks off the coast of Rakhine State in Myanmar's oil and gas sector. Myanma Oil and Gas Enterprise (MOGE) has been a sole operator of oil and gas exploration and production. Myanmar is divided into production gas blocks for the purpose of managing exploration and drilling activities. There are 104 blocks demarcated in both Onshore and Off-shore for conducting petroleum operation, fifty-three blocks of Onshore and fifty-one blocks of Off-shore as indicated in the Map (1). Myanmar's proven energy reserves were comprised of 210 million barrels of oil, twenty trillion cubic feet of gas. It permitted exploration licenses to multinational oil and gas companies and more participated in oil and gas extraction fields since 9 October 1989 for petroleum exploration and production sharing basis in both onshore and offshore areas. Among these, China is the largest investor. International Oil Companies concluded Production Sharing Contract (PSC) with Myanmar.

Map (1) Offshore and Onshore Gas Blocks in Myanmar



Source: [http:// www.kyotorterviewsea.org/Van schendel eng04.htm](http://www.kyotorterviewsea.org/Van%20schendel%20eng04.htm)

The Need of Energy for the Economic Development of China

Since the 1990s, the Middle East and North America (MENA) had been supported China's domestic economic growth by expanding opportunities for exports and acquiring resources to enhance China's energy security. However, stagnant production and rising consumption of oil contributed to rising demands. Although the Chinese government had promoted energy conservation and accelerated supply of energy through the use of market mechanisms, China's growing dependence on oil from the Middle East was controversial. Therefore, China embarked on a "Go-Out" policy to procure energy asset in July 1994. In late 1995, the government launched "grasp the large and release the small" policy which aimed several hundred large State Owned Enterprises (SOEs) into the world-class business. Therefore, in pursuit of the multi-pronged strategy, China endorsed overseas equity investment and entered a range of contracts with various foreign nations. Especially it eagerly to cooperate with the resource-rich neighboring countries including Myanmar.

Map (2) Chinese String of Pearls



Source: <http://www.StrategicStudiesInstitute.army.mil/>

According to the Map (2), access to Myanmar's ports and overland transportation routes through Myanmar was vital for China. Myanmar's location at China's Southwest is strategically important for its reach to the Indian Ocean via Myanmar. It would be able to shorten the distance by 3000 km by avoiding the Straits of Malacca. Furthermore, the Sino-Myanmar oil pipeline would reduce by over 1,820 sea miles the journey to Guangzhou (City of China) from the Middle East. In terms of transportation, Myanmar is the only passage for Yunnan to reach South Asia and an important gateway to the Indian Ocean. Therefore, China enhanced multidimensional relations with Myanmar and especially pursued closer cooperation in various sectors. Subsequently, its business enterprises had been heavily involved in Myanmar's industrial infrastructure. In cooperation with Myanmar, China aimed at three main fields; infrastructure development, supporting State Own Economic Enterprises (SEEs) and energy exploration. China mainly focused on Myanmar's energy among three fields.

The Cooperation between Myanmar and China in Oil and Gas Sector

Myanmar and China have experienced a long history of their relations. After changing its foreign policy towards its neighbours and Southeast Asian countries for good relations in early 1990, China enhanced diplomatic relations with its all ten Southeastern neighbors especially Myanmar. When SLORC, which later was renamed as State Peace and Development Council

(SPDC), opened up Myanmar for foreign economic investment, China stepped into the vacuum that was created by Western sanctions and compensated for Myanmar's need for trade and economic cooperation. When China began to seek new resources and markets in Myanmar in 2000, the economic cooperation between the two countries became closer. In 2001, Chinese enterprises involved in Myanmar oil and gas explorations. These companies are CNOOC, SINOPEC, CNPC, China Huanqiu Contracting and Engineering (HQCEC), Chinnery Assets Ltd. (CAL) and China Focus Development Ltd. The main offshore gas fields are Shwe Gas Fields (A-1, A-3), A-4, M-10, AD-1, AD-6, AD-8, AD-7. Among them, Shwe natural gas field, which is located offshore of Rakhine State is the main field of Myanmar and China cooperation in oil and gas sector and consist of three independent gas discoveries, Shwe gas field, Shwe Phyu gas field, and Mya gas field. These deposits are collectively one of the world's largest with an estimated twelve trillion cubic feet (tcf) of gas.

In September 2004, the China Petroleum & Chemical Corporation (SINOPEC), the Dian-Quan-Gui Petroleum Exploration Bureau of China, and the Myanmar Oil and Gas Enterprises (MOGE) signed a Production Sharing Contract (PSC) for exploration. Both countries invested US\$ 30 million for exploration. In 2005, oil and gas exploration had increasingly expanded. In late 2005, Myanmar signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) to sell 6.5 trillion cubic feet (tcf) of natural gas to China. Duration of contracts with China was thirty years.

For strengthening cooperation on oil and gas sectors, the China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) and MOGE concluded three producing sharing contracts for blocks AD-1, AD-6, and AD-8 gas exploration on 15 January 2007. However, the contracts were seemed to based on political factors. China vetoed a draft resolution set forth at the UNSC on 12 January, 2007 when both the United Kingdom and the United States were calling on the Myanmar government to cease military attacks against the ethnic minorities and took steps to advance into a genuine democracy. Consequently, three days after the sanction cancel for Myanmar on 15 January 2007, three offshore oil and gas production sharing contracts (AD-1, AD-6, AD-8) were permitted to China. It is possible that Myanmar permitted its closer cooperation with China on oil and gas exploration and production sectors as China stood on Myanmar in the international arena. The fact led to the motivation that Myanmar has used energy sources as a political instrument in its relations with China.

In 2008, Myanmar and China signed an agreement to sell natural gas from A-1 and A-3 blocks to China via pipeline. In addition, on 26 March 2009, China and Myanmar signed an agreement for the joint construction of US\$ 1.5 billion crude oil and US\$1.04 natural gas pipelines. Again on 16 June 2009, a Memorandum of Understanding to the Myanmar-China Oil Pipeline was signed in Beijing between the Ministry of Energy and China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC). In reality, India and China had tried over Myanmar's oil and gas sector to build a pipeline to transport natural gas from Shwe Gas field. Although India negotiated pipeline plans for several years, they were finally rejected by the Myanmar military government. In the mean time, economic sanctions from western countries became serious challenges to Myanmar. Since the early 1990s, China had been the major provider of weapons, and military hardware to Myanmar. Moreover, it also supported to Myanmar whenever the country came under external pressure to undertake reforms. These circumstances pushed Myanmar to seek a close relationship with China and led significant coopertaion in construction pipeline from Shwe gas field.

Myanmar-China oil and gas pipelines run in parallel and started near Kyauk phyu, Rakhine, on the west coast of Myanmar. The crude oil pipeline began at Maday Island, whereas the gas pipeline established its strating point from the Ramree Island in Kyauk Phyu. The pipelines are about 2500 km long, and over 770 km (480 miles) laid in Myanmar's territory. According to the Map (4), the pipelines run the Rakhine, Mandalay, Lashio, and Muse on Myanmar. Then, the gas

pipeline runs Guizhou, Chongqing, and Guangxi in China. Finally, the pipelines end at Kunming, the capital city of Yunnan Province. One of the pipelines transported gas from Myanmar and the crude oil pipeline carries the crude oil that CNPC imported from Africa and the Middle East into China via Myanmar.

Map (4) Sino-Myanmar Oil and Gas Pipelines



Source: *Briefer on Chinese Investments in Myanmar*, Ministry of National Planning and Economy of Myanmar, Yangon, January 2014

The pipelines' construction on the Myanmar section began in June 2010 and started on the Chinese section about three months later. In addition, a 300,000 - ton crude oil wharf in Beijing and the 650,000 m² reservoirs at Maday Island in Rakhine for storage of water were built for the Myanmar-China pipelines. The reservoir is the main source of water for the pipeline operation. The pipeline stake-holders are MOGE and Southeast Asia Crude Oil Pipeline Company Limited (CNPCEAP). MOGE shared 49.1% while CNPCEAP possesses 50.9%.

The overland Shwe gas pipeline was completed on 12 June 2013 and started to transport gas to China on 21 October 2013. Myanmar got 20% of the gas from the pipeline. The average total revenue for natural gas export from Myanmar to China is US\$ 31.066 billion for thirty years (2013-2043). The Onshore Crude Oil Pipeline Ownerships were MOGE, CNPCEAP, and the Shwe Consortium. The share included MOGE (8%), South-East Asia Crude Oil Pipeline Ltd (CNPCEAP) (51%), Daewoo International (24%), ONGC Videsh Ltd. (8%), Korea Gas Corporation (KOGAS) (4%) and Gas Authority of India Limited (GAIL) (4%). The oil pipeline was completed in August, 2014.

With China's assistance, an oil refinery factory with the capacity of 56,000 barrels per day was constructed in Myotha, Mandalay Region. An agreement between China and Myanmar in oil and gas sector provided to import overseas oil via the Bay of Bengal and pumped it through the pipeline to supply a new a 260,000 billion barrels per day (bpd) refinery in landlocked Yunnan province. The 2389-km long oil pipeline carried 22 million tons of crude oil per year from the Middle East and Africa to China. In addition, China has transported oil from the Maday Island to southwest China through underground pipelines since 2016. Although the oil pipeline had completed in 2014, the transportation of oil was only started on 6 April, 2017 due to the waiting for the testing time and permissions of licenses.

Sino-Myanmar pipeline is the fourth most important energy transportation route for China after the Central Asia pipelines (Kazakhstan- China oil pipeline and Turkmenistan -China gas pipeline), sea transportation and the Sino-Russia pipeline. It reaches Kunming via Mandalay and

Muse. Through Kunming, it has direct linkages with major cities in China. Since Myanmar became an integral part of Beijing's "String of Pearls" strategy, China secured its energy access from the Indian Ocean. It was the fact that China has taken a big step. Moreover, China also built a gas reserve base and a wharf for oil tankers near Kyauk Phyu in Rakhine State, marking the opening of a new oil trading route. The new oil gateway fitted with China's BRI, linking with Central Asia and Europe, also provided a direct alternative route to transport Middle Eastern oil via the Malacca Straits and Singapore. According to the Vice Governor of Yunnan, China's main theater of international relations is the ocean. China's coastal line is on the east side, leading naturally to the strategic prioritization of the Pacific. For inland China, however, it is more convenient and active to use the Indian Ocean as the outlet. It can also fulfilled foreign direct investment in Myanmar's energy sector. Therefore, it can bring enormous advantages to China and long-term strategy to promote connectivity and cooperation between Myanmar and China.

Beyond the Rakhine blocks, CNPC had been explored several onshore blocks, including Tuyintaung RSF-2, Gwegyo- Ngashandaung RSF-3, Tetma IOR-3, IOR-4, Indaw-Yeman C-1, and Shwebo- Monywa C-2. Furthermore, in 2017, Myanmar and China agreed to sell 80% of the discoveries of oil and gas from the new test well, Block-F (Ngahlaingtwin area) in Salin Township, Magway Region. However, it was not commercially viable until now because of technical limitation.

Since Myanmar had changed its economy from the centrally planned economic system to the market-oriented economy in late 1998, the aim of China's long-term energy security directed towards the official investment in Myanmar and its investment became rising. China was the 13th largest foreign investor in Myanmar in 2004. In 2006-2007, China's investment in Myanmar reached US\$ 281.222 million. In 2010, China had invested the US \$ 12.3 billion in eight sectors, including oil and gas, electric power and mining. The amount of oil and gas was US\$ 1.88 billion and 40.20% of all investment. After the USDP government came to power in March 2011, the Government strived to accelerate oil and gas exploration and promoted foreign direct investment with economic reforms and loosening of international sanctions. Therefore, the total amount of China's foreign direct investment had improved apparently in 2011.

Although China possessed a well-developed strategic blueprint with South Western neighbours through Myanmar, the rapid changes in Myanmar's domestic politics brought serious challenges to both China's existing interests in Myanmar and its strategic planning for the future. Myanmar's suspension of the Myitsone dam on 7 August, 2011 and the resuming its relationship with the Western countries including the United States frustrated China's expectation. Although Myanmar- China interactions became at high level under the USDP government and energy sector had captured 86% of the total FDI inflow to Myanmar in October 2013, the total amount China's FDI had reduced in 2012-13 and 2013-14 significantly and Chinese companies were reluctant to commit after suspending the Myitsone dam by President U Thein Sein. Therefore, the suspension of the Myitsone dam was generally considered as the turning point in the cooperation by the Chinese and international media.

However, more Chinese investment flocked to the country for business opportunities with the opening of more manufacturing sectors to Foreign Investment by the Myanmar government in January 2014. Therefore, the total amount of China's FDI had improved from 2014-15 to until 2017 (April). On 30, April, 2017 the amount of China's FDI in Myanmar's oil and gas sector was US\$ 2695.579 million. The production of Shwe natural gas fields was increased from 2013 to 2019. Therefore, the project made a tremendous contribution to the Myanmar economy not only by the influx of a huge investment into the country but also by the benefits acquired through the gas sales throughout the term of the project.

Impacts of Sino-Myanmar Oil and Gas Pipelines

In cooperation between Myanmar and China, there are pros and cons for both countries. From economic point of view, it brought many development opportunities not only for China but also for Myanmar. Myanmar's oil and gas projects could attract more foreign investment, which fueled much of Myanmar's economic growth. Therefore, Myanmar stood to earn significant revenues by selling its oil and gas resources on world markets. Myanmar received US\$ 6.905 million per year for each of oil and gas pipelines. Myanmar also got land rental. In addition, transit fee is \$1 for every ton of crude oil.

Daewoo International projects would provide net profits of US\$86 million annually for thirty years while Myanmar could take in up to US\$ 17 billion over the life of the deposits. According to the contract, Myanmar was entitled to take up two million gallons per day of the transported crude oil for domestic consumption. Therefore, this project assuaged Myanmar's oil shortage as well. On the other hand, cheap fuel cost can save the user income and also reduce Myanmar's trade deficit with China. In addition, the China Development Bank and the Import-Export Bank provided US\$ 4.2 billion of interest-free loans to Myanmar for the construction of the pipelines and other major infrastructures. Therefore, Myanmar got the better energy development by exporting natural gas to China. CNPC had also donated \$12.5 million for construction of forty-four schools, twenty-four health clinics, and other projects. Moreover, the pipelines' construction brought employment opportunities for ten thousands of people, a large number of engineering and technical personnel training, promoting the development of tourism in Myanmar. Therefore, oil and gas cooperation with China is beneficial for national economy. Moreover, the pipelines' construction particularly enhanced Myanmar's reputation as an oil and gas producer which spurred greater investment in the energy sector.

On the other hand, China benefited not only as a convenient alternative to oil and gas supplies from the Middle East but also for mitigating the country's reliance on the Straits of Malacca. After extending the crude oil pipelines to Kunming, a refinery and ethylene plant was also built. Therefore, these pipelines supported 400,000 barrels of oil a day and twelve billion cubic meters of natural gas a year to China's southern Yunnan province, which had the third lowest GDP per capita of China's administrative divisions. As a major step in Beijing's quest for energy security, it helped Yunnan to diversify its traditional economic structures and supported China's southwestern development. The crude oil is used as the feedstock for a new refinery in Kunming and Myanmar natural gas is used for industries in Yunnan Province and beyond. On the other hand, the two pipelines reduced transport costs and time for China. Furthermore, it could establish trade access routes from the Bay of Bengal to Yunnan. According to the developmental strategy, the two pipelines brought new opportunities for China's underdeveloped south-western provinces. In addition, the building of refinery and ethylene plant would be attracted more investments from Chinese State Owned Enterprises (SOEs) and big international multilateral companies. Therefore, China would gain its southwest "bridgehead" strategy through connecting with Southeast Asia and South Asia.

However, there had been many challenges on both Myanmar and China. The cons for China consist of posed political and social risks, including the high cost of pipelines and increasing resentment of Myanmar local people along the pipelines towards Chinese business companies. The cons for Myanmar were troublesome conditions for local communities. As the pipelines infrastructure was so huge and had to travel the Rakhine, Magwe, Mandalay and Shan State through twenty-two townships along a 980km course across Myanmar, the project constructed over massive areas of agricultural land. As a country that relies on an agricultural economy, Myanmar has negative impacts on both environment and local communities. Farmers lost their lands in surrounding areas. Although Posco Daewoo Company spent US\$ 1,992.334 for education,

US\$ 1,242,495 for health, US\$ 2,078,504 for others, US\$ 562,162 for environmental conservation. As for example, environmental efforts included rehabilitation mangrove and waste materials according to the agreement. Regions along the pipeline routes received negative impacts including land acquisitions, environmental degradation, human rights and labour issues, and transportation difficulties related to roads damaged during construction by cooperation with China. China's policy and approaches posed political, social and economic risks among the local Myanmar communities. In Mandalay, roads and drinking ponds near the pipeline route in Natogyi and Tada Oo Townships had been damaged during construction. Moreover, the pipelines cross the entire length of the country from Rakhine State to Yunnan Province passed through heavily populated and fertile agricultural areas. Then, the long strength of pipeline affected environment including cultivated land, river, stream, forest, and mountains, which are vital to Myanmar's rich biodiversity. Furthermore, in offshore oil fields, main impacts affected negatively on fishing, and mangrove conservations. Consequently, some local people have negative impacts as they experienced implications on environment, livelihoods, culture, and social life.

According to Myanmar China Pipeline Watch Committee's (MCPWC)'s interview, local farmers experienced that the soil has not yet recovered for three years after the building of pipelines. It assumed that Myanmar has undergone a number of major natural disasters due to these circumstances. Cyclone Nargis struck the Ayarwaddy Delta in 2008 as well as Cyclone Giri struck Rakhine State in 2010. In addition, pipelines were also crossed under the riverbed of the Ayarwaddy River near Yenangchaung. According to the Myanmar China Pipeline Watch Committee's Research in February 2015, the dyke on the west bank of the river has collapsed. In 2015, severe landslides and flooding across the country occurred due to strong monsoon rain. Consequently, the pipeline reappeared due to a landslide in Nat Yay Kan Mountain in Nga Phe Region.

Although the pipeline provided required gas supply to Yunnan Province, the villagers of Rakhine in Myanmar left largely in the dark due to the insufficient of power. Myanmar faced with many risks and challenges including insufficient infrastructure, energy needs, local concerns and impacts, and ethnic tensions. In the democratic transition since 2011, civil society organizations, NGOs and local interest groups became more active and some opposed the pipelines' construction for risks of losing land, jobs, and livelihoods.

The impacts of these projects could be impediment to welfare of local people, socio-economic stability and bilateral ties. Although Chinese companies in Myanmar cooperated for their energy needs, they lacked an understanding of local community, social customs and failed to predict political trends. China's approaches posed political, and social risks including increasing resentment towards Chinese businessmen and concerns in local community, stability and worries from other neighboring countries. Eventually, China's thrust for energy has fueled some local anti-China sentiment. Under the military government, Chinese companies were consulted with the local communities after they received the government's approval to operate the offshore and onshore gas and the construction of pipelines. They usually lacked corporate social responsibilities.

In 2011, the pressure on Chinese existing economic interests on the ground is strengthened by the increasing competition from the West with the changes of political and economic reforms after suspending the Myitsone dam project. As the security of China's energy investment, such as oil and gas pipelines is its priority, China launched massive public relations campaigns inside Myanmar that aimed at improving its image and relations with the local communities in Myanmar. Therefore, bilateral relations became strained and Myanmar's long-term interests with China lie in maintaining under the new civilian government.

In transporting oil in 2017, local fishermen faced difficulties due to the transported-oil ships at the Madaya Deep-Sea Port. In addition, they were not permitted to catch fishes in oil

transportation period. The limiting time is about two times or three times in a month. In one time, the limiting time lasted at least about three days. As most of the people on the Madaya Island are earning on fishing, they had lost their income about 400000 kyats or about 600000 kyats in a day during their fishing time. Therefore, the local communities were demanding to solve and to get the chance for catching at the central water-way in May, 2017. Nevertheless, Myanmar's civilian government led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, continued to rely on China's investment because Myanmar is sandwiched between two big power, China and India, and it is indispensable one for Myanmar. However, the companies had to submit the certificate of Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), Social Impact Assessment, before gas exploration. The companies were arranged to consult with the local communities. In August 2017, Oil and Petroleum Law in Myanmar recovered the domestic effects, focusing on environmental conservation, the guarantee of energy security in Myanmar, to acquire the tax for the country, permitting Licenses. Therefore, it may prevent the life of local communities and negative impacts on domestic politics on Myanmar, the receiving country.

Conclusion

The cooperation between Myanmar and China in oil and gas sector enhanced closer economic relations between two countries. Myanmar, the tenth rank natural gas reserve in the world, exchanged natural resources for revenues and political support through resource diplomacy. Therefore, Myanmar had used energy resources as opportunities for its national interests in Myanmar-China ties. Their cooperation in oil and gas sector became more active within its isolation from international community. China also used the Myanmar-China pipelines for strengthening its relations with Myanmar. It also created beneficial economic relations and connectivity between China and Myanmar, and Southeast Asia. Therefore, it seemed to be a win-win situation in cooperation between the two countries.

However, according to the MoU between the two countries, China has received not only 80% of the total profits but also its energy strategy. The strategy of China's influence with BRI plans has included especially oil and gas pipelines from Myanmar. In reality, although Myanmar had only used the two oil and gas pipelines as opportunities in making relations with its neighbour since 1988, it had experienced some negative issues for local communities, especially farmers and fishermen. Consequently, Myanmar-China oil and gas cooperation could be assumed the win-lose form for Myanmar. Therefore, Myanmar's changing reforms in democratic transition period made hint for its reconsideration in investment in energy sector. Moreover, it outlined policies to improve relations with US and international community and to enhance its image at ASEAN while it tried to lessen over-dependence on China.

Along with political and economic reforms, pressure on Chinese economic interests on the ground is strengthened by the increasing active cooperation from the West in Myanmar. However, as the security of China's energy investment, such as oil and gas pipelines is China's priority, China launched massive public relations campaigns inside Myanmar that aimed at improving its image and relations with the local communities. Nevertheless, Chinese government has strived to maintain the strategic partnership with Myanmar. Under the NLD government, plans are underway to amend the existing laws, bylaws and regulations on oil and gas sector in the country. The energy policy in 2015 aimed to prevent negative impacts on Myanmar local community. In August 2017, Oil and Petroleum Law in Myanmar improved domestic effects, focusing on environmental conservation, the guarantee of energy security in Myanmar, to acquire the tax for country, permitting Licenses. Therefore, it is likely to prevent the life of local communities and negative impacts on Myanmar's domestic stability.

However, as the Myanmar's oil and gas projects have already been constructed and operated, the best way forward would be for Myanmar and foreign companies to restore the confiscated lands to the farmers. It is likely to prove that they are sharing the benefits of the projects with the affected communities by launching local development programs. In this regard, the priority areas that the project should focus on are, firstly, restoring the damaged farmlands through technical assistance, including provision of mechanized equipment, until the farmers regain the same agricultural yields they enjoyed before the project started. Moreover, the project should contribute to livelihood assistance to the affected farmers and launch a conservation plan for environment issues due to the pipeline construction. Nevertheless, Myanmar's long-term interests lie in maintaining an even-handed approach towards all countries, including China.

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MYANMAR'S ENDEAVOR ON CLIMATE CHANGE MITIGATION

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Abstract

As a result of its exposure to meteorological conditions, Myanmar is vulnerable to severe natural weather events and extremely affected by the impacts of climate change. The serious impacts of climate change have damaged the all-round development sectors of Myanmar and continue to delay country's future improvement if these impacts are not effectively tackled. As an effort to manage climate change problems, Myanmar establishes a number of policy and strategy on environmental development and climate change mitigation and adaptation process. Myanmar's endeavor on climate change mitigation, joining with the comprehensive global efforts, focuses on its accessible approach towards UN-facilitated climate change mitigation and adaptation politics. In theory, the actions and procedures of climate change mitigation and adaptation are manageable to be implemented in Myanmar. But in practice, Myanmar needs to overcome the obstacles in obtaining future finance and in mobilizing the proficient expertise indispensable for the effective implementation of climate change mitigation and adaptation. A lack of considerable investment in climate-smart responses could deter Myanmar to cope with the severe disadvantages of climate change. A deliberative and operational roadmap is requisite in the long journey of Myanmar climate change mitigation and adaptation actions.

Keywords: climate resilient, mitigation, adaptation, strategy, roadmap

Objective

The objective of this research is to analyze Myanmar climate change policy and strategy to tackle the climate problems in consistent with global environmental architecture. Expected results of the research can bring better understanding of Myanmar capacity in climate change mitigation and adaptation within international framework and to lend the weight of the UN, and several environmental organizations to the validity of the its capacity.

Research Methodology

In conducting this research, qualitative method is used through descriptive and analytical approaches. Some qualitative primary sources such as National Report, Workshop Proceedings, Policy Documents, Rules and Regulations are based along with many books and data from Libraries and Information Centre under the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environmental Conservation. Multiple sources such as books, journals, and bulletins from the Libraries and Information Centers and some website data are carefully collected. The author attempts to interpret the information and data as it is being collected and to analyze them thoroughly. After assessing the data of authenticity, conformability and dependability, analytical generalization has been drawn linking the data for interpreting the findings.

Research Questions

How do the adverse impacts of climate change undermine the development outcomes of Myanmar's society and economy?

How does Myanmar attempt to manage climate change problems and build climate resilience in line with the agenda of regional and international organizations?

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Introduction

Climate change is one of the global concerns that affect serious impacts on the stability and development process of social, economic and environmental fields. Climate changes include temperature rise, variation of rainfall and increased occurrences of dangerous weather events. According to the 2010 forecast of Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), average global temperature rise due to the discharge of anthropogenic greenhouse gas into the atmosphere. This trend is likely to continue and increase in the coming decades. In 2016, the Mauna Loa Observatory in Hawaii announced that global carbon dioxide levels had passed the 400 parts per million (ppm) marks, probably never to return below it in human's lifetimes. The safe level of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere is 350 ppm, as the estimate of many climate scientists. Passing 400 ppm could cause a shift to hazardous weather events.

Myanmar is highly exposed to severe natural weather events annually. The 2016 Climate Risk Index categorized Myanmar as a vulnerable country in the world to the consequences of climate change. The Department of Hydrology and Meteorology in Myanmar, in partnership with the Center for Climate System Research of Columbia University, used the state-of-the-art climate models to project Myanmar's future climate circumstances under different Green House Gas (GHG) emissions. The temperature in Myanmar will increase between 1.3 and 2.7 degree centigrade under least traditional situations, whereas rainfall is estimated to escalate by 2-12 percent in 2011-40 and by 6-27 percent in 2041-70. These trends are very likely to raise more severe in the future, and there is no doubt that Myanmar needs to prepare for more floods, droughts and heat waves.

Topographical Situation

Seasonal temperatures fluctuate critically throughout most regions in the country. In the dry season, temperatures vary within upper limit of 40 to 43 degree centigrade in the Central Zone of Myanmar. In the cool season, the temperature rises within 10 to 15 degree centigrade and in the highland areas, temperature declines from 0 degree centigrade to 1 degree centigrade. The lower limit of rainfall varies from 500 to 1,000 millimeter per annum in the Dry Zone. Precipitation is higher in the Eastern and Northern Hilly Regions; and highest in the Southern and Rakhine Coastal Regions, 2,500-5,500 millimeter annually. Myanmar's coastline region along with the Andaman Sea and Eastern Bay of Bengal is inclined to heavy storms, floods and cyclones. Delta area experiences heavy rain-induced floods, tropical storms, and cyclones and several areas of Central Dry Zone are always exposed to chronic droughts.

The majority of the total population is resided in two critical areas: the Delta area, generally vulnerable to floods and possible storm-surge consequences; and the Central Dry Zone area, familiar with serious drought and water shortage. The living way of the total rural population rests on natural forests, agriculture, and livestock industry. There is no doubt that the largest portions of the population are likely to be the victims of natural disaster and climate hazards destroying to their occupation and wellbeing at any time. According to the observation of climate trends during six decades, seasonal temperature increased about 0.08 degree centigrade; rainfall and sea levels increase though it decrease in some areas; it is likely to happen further acute weather events in Myanmar. A hydro meteorological indicator, analyzed by the Department of Meteorology and Hydrology (DMH) points out that Myanmar's climate is critically shifting.

Impacts of Climate Change on the Development Sectors

Myanmar is characterized by severe climate events, intensified in extent and level of damage during the last 60 years. It is familiar with extreme natural weathers including increased occurrences of drought, higher intensity of cyclones and heavy storms. The dangerous

consequences of climate changes affect vital social and economic sectors of Myanmar. According to the Study of Cyclonic Storms crossed Myanmar's coastal zones, 80 storms (around 6 percent) reached Myanmar's coastal regions, among the 1,304 tropical storms originated in the Bay of Bengal. In May 2008, the outbreak of Cyclone Nargis caused nearly 140,000 people dead and disturbed approximately 2.4 million people in the Ayeyarwady Delta region. In October 2010, Cyclone Giri hit Rakhine State, damaging 21,242 houses and affecting approximately 224,212 people. Precipitation has become more variable, and Myanmar suffers intense rainfall every year with erratic and record-breaking intense rainfall events. In central Myanmar, a penetrating flood in the Wundwin Township destroyed many villages in October 2010. Heavy rains caused the damage of paddy fields in Rakhine State in October 2010. Moreover, strong rain and severe floods occurred predominantly in Magway, Ayeyarwady and Bago Regions, Mon and Rakhine States during July to October in 2011. Storm surges and landslides occurred within 2015 affected nearly 120 deaths, shifted 1.6 million people. The cost of weather disasters was equal to three percent of Myanmar's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2014-2015. In 2015, Myanmar was regarded as the world's second vulnerable country to serious climate problems for the third recurrent years.

In 2019, severe monsoon rains and rising river levels have caused flooding both in upper and lower land areas of Myanmar. Kachin State Government declared that more than 6,200 people were relocated to 39 sites in Myitkyina, Bhamo and Shwegu townships in July 2019. Sagaing, Mandalay, Bago, Magway Regions and Kayin State were severely affected by serious floods with above 26,000 people affected. On 9 August 2019, the heavy rain caused a dangerous landslide killing more than 70 people in Paung Township, Mon State. According to the announcement of the National Disaster Management Committee, over 170 houses were damaged. Paddy fields were inundated and farmers required seeds, tools and other support to recover their livelihoods. In the Dry Zone which stretches most of Magway Region and from lower Sagaing Region to western and central Mandalay Region, covering 58 townships, severe droughts have increasingly occurred between 1992 and 2002. Droughts are also recurrent, predominantly in Central Myanmar. Drought years were recurring in the 1980s and 1990s; Myanmar faced the most extreme drought happening in 2010 summer by the cruel temperatures of 47.2 degree centigrade causing heat-related health problems and deaths.

It is obvious that climate change would decrease rice yield, and reduce food production and food security. Impacts on agriculture not only threaten the living conditions of farmers but also diminish the progress of Gross Domestic Products of the country. For instance, the 2005 Cyclone Nargis hit in Ayeyarwaddy Delta left the destruction of total cost in excess of 40 million US dollar. Cyclone Nargis caused US dollar 1,814 million cost of damage in the industrial sector. In 2015, the outbreak of floodings and landslides within only 2 months from July to August, led to the estimated total loss of 10.51 million US dollar. 20 percent of the country's agricultural areas were overwhelming by the heavy occasions of rains and floods, equal to the damage of 4.2 percent agricultural GDP. Caused by the impacts of climate problems, country's progress in economy (2015-2016) was decreased to 7 percent lesser than 8.5 percent of past two years' GDP. Adverse impacts of climate change affect all vital sectors of economic and social development, including human health, wellbeing and education. Climate problems may hamper national capacity of Myanmar to attain comprehensive economic and social development.

The climate changes in Myanmar within the last six decades include a temperature increase of average 0.08 degree centigrade and rainfall rise of 29-215 millimeters per decade. The most current climate change predictions confirm the rain inclinations; increasing temperature; and related events such as heat waves, droughts and floods. The consequences of such climate change events may cause the likelihoods of extreme tropical cyclones: sea level rise; and salinity incursion. Fundamental reasons of climate change events are annual deforestation, excessive timber extraction, illegal logging, and large demand for public use firewood. Moreover, extreme weather

events are raised by the land mining, copper mining and other environmental damaged industrial projects. The climate change factors undoubtedly interrupt agricultural production and water supply, cause coastal and urban flooding and bring climate-induced social and health problems and risks. The impacts of climate change also produce the poverty and shortage of foods and shelters in the affected regions of the country.

The level of GHG release was estimated about 10 percent, discharged from country's industrial sectors and construction zones in 2000. The annual domestic firewood consumption was 2.7 million tons in 2016. It is likely to grow the estimated level of 5.6 million tons in 2030 eventually causing the higher level of GHG release. Myanmar must endeavor to counter to climate change, before it weakens country's general improvement. If the climate change events are not effectively tackled, the severe impacts will hinder the country's all round development goals. Without considering the actions of climate change mitigation and adaptation into the future development agenda, it would inhibit the country's socio-economic development outcomes. In this context, climate change mitigation and adaptation is imperative for the future progress of economic and social development plans.

Myanmar Climate Change Policy and Strategy

As an effort to reduce climate change problems, Myanmar established a number of policies on environmental conservation in consistent with global environmental architecture. Since the 1990s, the government has established the environmental policies and strategies with the main objective to sustainable forest and environment. Myanmar Forest Policy of 1995 highlighted the soil protection, watershed management, and ecosystem and biodiversity conservation. The strong vision of Forest Policy is to maintain 30 percent of the total country area as Reserved Forests and 5 percent as Protected Areas. Forest Policy recognizes that sustainable management of natural forests can deeply facilitate the environmental benefits for the recent and next populace of the country.

In 1992, a proposal for international sustainable development in the 21st century, called the Agenda 21 was agreed by 178 governments at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. That Conference realized that the universal perception of Sustainable Forest Management (SFM) is an essential element of Sustainable Development. Agenda 21 adopted the obligations and actions for participant countries to conduct the numerous ways of sustainable development. In 1997, Myanmar designated Myanmar Agenda 21 to describe its commitment to the international obligations of the Agenda 21. Besides, Myanmar established National Sustainable Development Strategy (NSDS) in 2009 with the support of the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP). Myanmar identifies the three primary visions such as reliable management of natural resources, cohesive economic development, and stable social development. Furthermore, Myanmar has advanced the Environmental Conservation Law and the National Adaptation Program of Action (NAPA) in 2012 to initiate the actions of climate change mitigation and adaptation.

Myanmar Climate Change Alliance (MCCA) was organized in July 2014 with the assistance of the UN-Habitat and the UNEP. MCCA provides to raise climate awareness and promotes the national capacity to include climate awareness in its policies. In 2016, MCCA launched a Capacity Building Program and a National Awareness Campaign to promote the climate awareness for the policy makers, communities and the public. Myanmar realizes increasingly threatening impacts of climate change and tries to strengthen technology and institutional capacity by participating in the global efforts especially in reducing global warming. Myanmar coordinated the Official Functioning Team of the MCCA with the Natural Resources and Environmental Conservation Ministry to implement an action plan of policies and strategies improvement within

time limit from 2015 to 2017. The Climate Change Policy was established in March 2018 in order to effectively manage the climate change problems. The main objective of Climate Change Policy is to afford long-term direction and management for all stakeholders and development partners to improve climate change mitigation and adaptation actions. The Climate Change Policy contains guiding principles and measures for achieving Myanmar's vision to be a climate-resistant and low-carbon society.

The National Environment Policy 2018 launched guiding rules and principles to accomplish the environmental considerations. This Policy was prepared to conduct environmental conservation as the fundamental efforts for reducing natural disasters and promoting economic and social development. The main objectives of Environment Policy are to guide government institutions, local community, and other private partners on systematic management for attaining environmental protection and sustainable development. The government has taken steps to improve its green economy policy and waste management strategy. Moreover, Myanmar designated the Climate Change Strategy (2018-2030) in 2019 with the combined support of the MCCA, UNEP and UN-Habitat. Building a Road Map with strategic approaches and procedures in resolving climate change problems is the significant goal of Myanmar Climate Change Strategy.

Furthermore, mission and vision of Climate Change Strategy is to convert Myanmar into a climate-resilient and low-carbon country, and guarantee for promoting the living conditions, prosperity and security of the society. In line with this idea to become a climate-resilient country, Myanmar must motivate and extend the environmental efforts of the government, public and private sectors. Ideally, the Myanmar Climate Change Policy outlined the nine guiding standards: Sustainable Progress; Protection; Deterrence; Ecological Integrity; Mutual Responsibility; All-inclusiveness; Moral Governance; Climate Justice and Equity; Gender Parity and Females' Empowerment. The strategic vision of the Climate Change Policy aims to contribute on global efforts reducing GHG emissions, by declining its contribution to the underlying causes of climate change problems.

Myanmar Climate Change Strategy also complements the country's Green Growth Strategy and the Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD) strategy. The Climate Change Strategy includes deliberative agenda that identify priority actions to achieve substantial outcomes. Through implementation of the Climate Change Strategy, Myanmar contributes to achieving all 17 United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs) together with other UN member states. Myanmar Climate Change Strategy needs to undertake through five mechanisms: a key outline to undertake adherent investment in climate resilient and low carbon improvement; a diverse organized system and function; a financial apparatus to allocate budget for comprehensive investment; an intensive agenda of capacity improving for the key players, and a plan for raising knowledge and awareness. Myanmar is obligated to implement National Environmental Policy through a series of Master Plans and Climate Change Strategic Framework.

Regional and International Cooperation

Additional collaborations of Myanmar with international organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are consisting in the strategic approach towards climate change mitigation and adaptation plan. Myanmar participates in regional and international climate change activities through relevant departments and institutions. In June 2002, Myanmar signed ASEAN Agreement for Trans-boundary Haze Pollution (AATHP) to prohibit land and forest fires to control trans-boundary haze pollution. Moreover, in 2003 Myanmar joined the Kyoto Protocol and committed to deter hazardous anthropogenic interference and reduce GHG emissions in the atmosphere.

Myanmar has obtained financial assistance of international organizations to the field of climate change mitigation and adaptation. Myanmar Climate Change Alliance initiatives are funded by the European Union (EU), UN-Habitat and UNEP launched to coordinate climate change mechanism in Myanmar. Myanmar has received financial support of the EU and Global Climate Change Alliance (GCCA) since 2007 under the cooperative program between EU and developing countries mostly affected by climate change impacts. Major part of the GCCA finance intended to provide the preparation of the Myanmar Climate Change Strategy. In 2013, EU Member countries pledged to support entire budget for US dollar 170 million cost climate actions using Special Climate Change Fund and Adaptation Fund for the Least Developed Countries. In that year, the European Commission provided € 47 million for sponsoring nine climate projects in developing countries including Myanmar. The EU donated € 4 million through the EU- Global Climate Change Alliance to MCCA in order to facilitate the expertise, technology and institutions for the development of Myanmar Climate Change Strategy in 2013. The main objective of EU funded MCCA project highlights the subscribing climate change actions under Myanmar development agenda and policy reform.

As a significant landmark for climate preventive diplomacy, the Paris Agreement on Climate Change was ratified by 195 countries in 2015 to agree legally binding limit of global temperature level. The legally binding commitment of Paris Agreement designated the international Action Plan to control global warming under 2 degree centigrade for preventive global climate change. Myanmar became a signatory to the Paris Agreement in April 2016 and attempted to follow the global obligations of the 2015 Paris Agreement. The 22nd Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC-COP 22) was held in Morocco to discuss the realization of the Paris Agreement on December 2016. The Myanmar Climate Change Strategy and Action Plan (MCCSAP) 2016-2030 was formulated with the strategy development aid of EU-initiative GCCA in close partnership with the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environmental Conservation. National Climate Change Policy also endorses Myanmar's commitment to the Paris Agreement, and United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, including the Sustainable Development Goals and UNFCCC. Myanmar's endeavor on climate change mitigation joining with the comprehensive global efforts focuses on its accessible approach towards UN-facilitated climate change mitigation and adaptation politics.

Research Finding and Conclusion

In theory, climate change mitigation and adaptation measures are under the well preparation to be implemented in Myanmar. But, in practice, Myanmar has likely to overcome additional challenges for attaining sustainable funding and technical support, and in mobilizing the proficient institutions indispensable for effectively managing the climate change issues. Moreover, the intersection between extensive land grabbing and natural resource-oriented climate change mitigation actions results another conflicts in land investment and climate change mitigation. The twin challenges of agricultural justice and climate justice are continued to be settled at the same time. Around 10 percent of GHG release level in 2000 was discharged from the industrial sectors and construction sites in Myanmar. An increase of annual coal production, estimated from 2.7 million tons by 2016 to 5.6 million tons by 2030, leads to rising GHG emissions. This trend could fail the opportunity of climate-resilient and low-carbon development plan and also impede country's development outcomes. Besides, without effectively managing the underlying causes of climate change such as annual deforestation and degradation, excessive timber extraction, illegal logging, copper mining, land mining and other environmental damaged industrial projects, the increased impacts of climate change would undermine the national capacity to achieve social and economic developments.

Myanmar must strengthen its endeavors for managing climate change for two main purposes: to make sure that country's development objectives are attainable without being challenged by climate impacts and to improve living circumstances for the wellbeing and security of the community. The sustainable target of Climate Change Strategy is building climate-smart society and following a low-carbon development way to provide sustainable and comprehensive all round developments. To accomplish this target, Myanmar must highlight its development plans specifically on the infrastructure, social and economic sectors by means of applying two strategic tracks consistent with the worldwide determination in combating climate change. The first track is enhancing climate resilience adapted to the inconvenient climate change impacts. The second track is building low-carbon development choices and making the right balance between economic development and environmental sustainability. These two tracks comprehend the parallel climate change obligations pursuing a low-carbon development pathway to guarantee a climate resilient country. Promoting climate resilience is crucial endeavor to accomplish the country's socio-economic development objectives. Myanmar must have to strengthen its social and economic infrastructure within the framework of climate change to absolutely achieve country's sustainable development plans. Myanmar needs to improve an effective roadmap to steer Myanmar's strategic plans to reduce the risks and impacts of climate change for the next 10 years and beyond.

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DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA TO MYANMAR

San San Khine*

Abstract

This research aims to investigate the relationship between the allocations of the Republic of Korea (ROK)'s development assistance to Myanmar and the bilateral economic contacts. The ROK has a unique experience of a rapid rise from an aid recipient to a donor. It has been sharing its experiences and lessons for the sustainable development of other countries. It is one of the important donors of Myanmar since the 1990s, providing grants and loans. Its assistance increased from USD 1.09 million in 2001 to 8.82 million in 2011, and 34.38 million in 2018. On the other hand, bilateral economic cooperation has been promoting in terms of trade and investment. The primary purpose of development assistance is to promote the economic development and welfare of recipient country. The ROK has fully committed to support the global efforts to alleviate poverty, promote sustainable growth, address global challenges, and achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). In this sense, this study will analyze the approach of the ROK's assistance to Myanmar, particularly during 2011-2018, by inquiring whether the ROK's assistance is mainly based on its economic interests or Myanmar's needs. For this analysis, bilateral trade and investment relations will mainly be emphasized.

Keywords: Development assistance, grants, loans, trade, investment

Introduction

In international relations, foreign assistance, as a tool of foreign policy, has been differently viewed by various schools of thought in international relations. The realists view the flow of aid from the perspective of donor's interests, in terms of its power and national interests. It finds foreign aid as an instrument of neo-colonialism, ensuring access to strategically important places, procuring strategic and other important raw materials, getting a favourable vote in the United Nations (UN) forum, serving ideological purposes, promoting trade and investment, selling surplus commodities and imposing macro-economic policy packages like structural adjustment programmes and economic liberalization on recipient countries. In contrast, the idealists view that foreign aid promotes not only growth and development of the underdeveloped countries but also international peace and prosperity through developing cordial relations between the donor and recipient countries. It is also argued that the developed countries have a moral obligation to lend a helping hand to the developing countries. On the other hand, the liberals perceive that international aid can be carried out purely humanitarian, focusing on the mutual gain between donors and recipient countries. This research will find out the approach of the ROK's development assistance to Myanmar. This is a qualitative analysis based on the analyses of books, journals, reports, and the official websites.

Myanmar-ROK Economic Relations

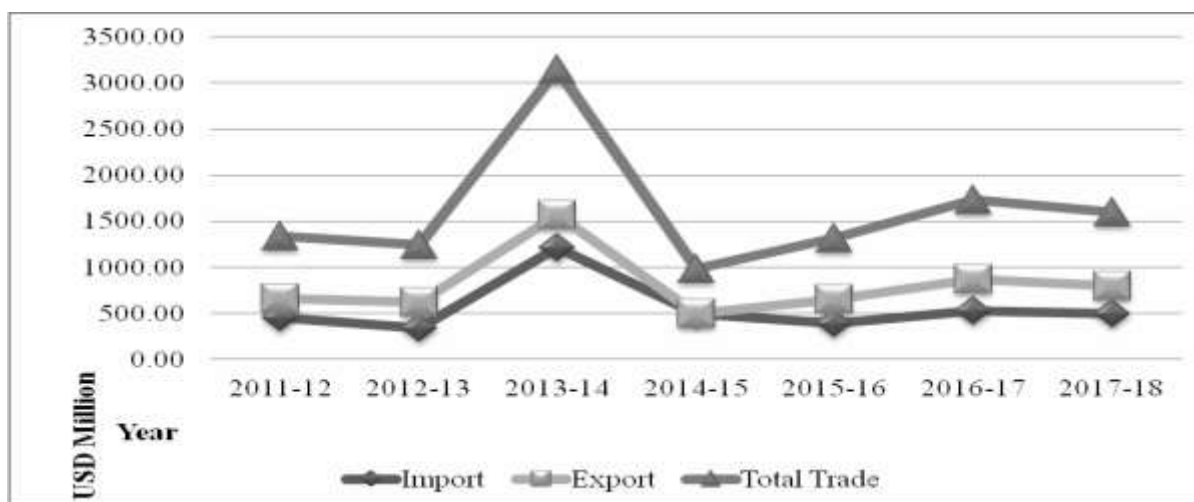
It can be said that the economies of Myanmar and the ROK have been complementary. Although Myanmar is rich in natural resources, including oil and natural gas, it lacks capital and technology to fully utilize these resources. The ROK's economy has been one of the dynamic and faster growing economies in the world. It is the 14th largest economy, the ninth largest importer and seventh largest exporter in 2013. On the other hand, it lacks energy as well as other natural resources. During the mid-2000s, Myanmar had a high rate of economic growth despite the sanctions of the international community. According to official figures, the annual GDP growth

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rate has achieved double-digit growth rates annually. In 2011, the GDP per capita was 1,197 USD, increased from 997 USD in 2010. In this vein, the ROK considered Myanmar as one of the important partner countries for development cooperation. The Ambassador of the ROK, Lee Sang-hwa stated, “..... majority of our trade going to Vietnam, so we need to find another place to invest in large volumes, in terms of trade, investment, people-to-people exchanges and upgrading political partnerships. So, here comes Myanmar with its strong geographic location, with its vast lands, rich natural resources, and people. These are very important assets. Our eyes are turning to Myanmar under our government “s new ASEAN initiatives....” This statement shows Korea’s attention to Myanmar as a new destination of its economic interests. Consequently, it can be seen that the economic cooperation, in terms of trade and investment, has been increased between Myanmar and the ROK during 2011-2018.

(i) Bilateral Trade

Myanmar-ROK formal trade agreement was signed on 30 September 1967, but actual trade resumed only in 1971-72. Since this resumption, trade has continued uninterrupted till the present time. Bilateral trade has significantly improved after 2012, reaching USD 1.57 billion by the end of 2013-14, nearly fivefold increase from 2000-01, USD 308.26 million, in which Myanmar’s export to the ROK accounted for USD 352.92 million while its import from the ROK stood at USD 1217.98 million. In terms of rank, the ROK is eighth largest exporter to Myanmar in 2010 after Thailand, Hong Kong, India, China, Singapore, Japan, and Malaysia. In 2014-15, it stood at the sixth position and seventh in 2015-16. To promote trade with the ROK, Myanmar Trade Centre was launched in Seoul in 2016. During 2001-2017, Myanmar’s export to the ROK gradually increased, from USD 21.4 million in 2001-02 to USD 370 million in 2013-14, while its import from the ROK was USD 286.86 million in 2001-02 and USD 1.22 billion in 2013-14, and then slightly decreased until 2017-18. Myanmar imports fabrics, electrical goods, medicine, printing paper and iron and steel products, etc. from the ROK, and exports agricultural products, forest products, textiles, minerals, etc. to the ROK. Figure (1) shows the bilateral trade between the ROK and Myanmar during (2011-12) - (2017-18).



Source: <http://mmsis.gov.mm>

Figure 1 Bilateral Trade between the ROK and Myanmar during (2011-12) - (2017-18)

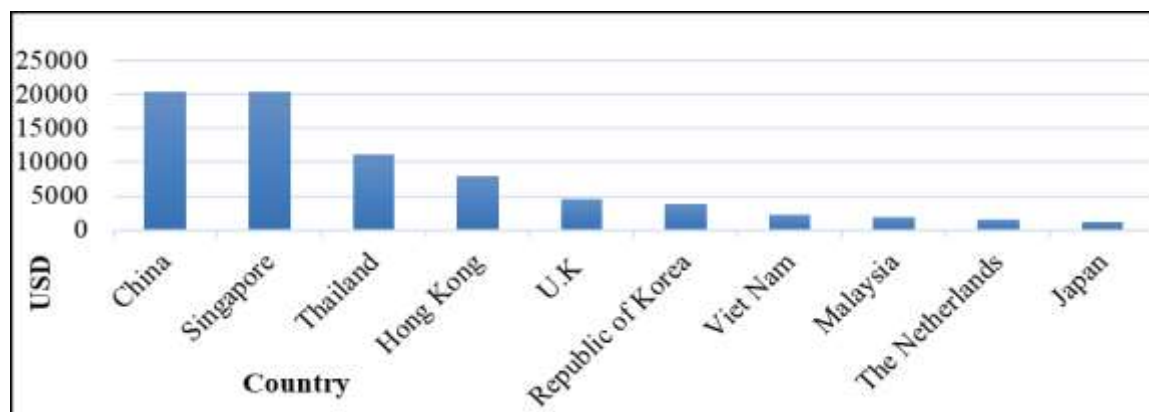
According to figure (1), it is found that the trend of bilateral trade fluctuated during 2011-2018, and it increased the most during 2012-13 and 2014-15 when the democratic reforms were initiated by the President U Thein Sein. Although the bilateral trade improved, the trade balance

between the ROK and Myanmar was very much in the ROK's favour because Korea's comparative advantage is in the production of industrial products, and Myanmar's products are based on its natural resources. Therefore, it is suggested that Myanmar needs to modernize its economic structure.

(ii) The ROK's Investment in Myanmar

According to statistics from the Myanmar Investment Commission, the ROK's investment in Myanmar (on approval basis) accumulated to USD 191 million for 63 projects as of 2006, a small amount compared to its investment in other Southeast Asian countries. It ranked in 12th place in total foreign investment in Myanmar, focusing on the manufacturing industry, taking up 58 percent of total investment. In 2009, the MoU on Mutual Cooperation in Information Technology, Oil and Gas, Labour Affairs, Agricultural, Industrial and Energy Sectors was signed, and more aid projects were planned to assist Myanmar's economic development and to foster a friendlier FDI environment.

As a result, in 2011, the ROK's investment reached the highest amount ever operating ten enterprises with USD 2.68 billion, ranking the third after China and Hong Kong. International Brands, like Coca-Cola, Starbucks, Pizza Hut, Nestle, Carlsberg, Heineken, Scania, Nissan, and Ford are operating manufacturing factories in Myanmar. Moreover, well-known Korean companies, like Cheil Jedang (CJ), POSCO and LOTTE also invested in Myanmar. As of December 2018, there were 165 Korean enterprises, out of total 1,618 in Myanmar, were approved, amounting to USD 3,892.14 million, 4.96 percent of total investment in Myanmar. Figure (2) illustrates the top ten foreign investors, including the ROK, in Myanmar as of December 2018.



Source: <https://www.dica.gov.mm/en/topic/foreign-investment-country>

Figure 2 Top Ten Foreign Investors in Myanmar (as of December 2018)

According to figure (2), it can be seen that the ROK took the sixth position after China, Singapore, Thailand, Hong Kong, and the United Kingdom (UK). Although the increasing amount of Korea's investment is not significant, it has been among the top ten largest investors in Myanmar during 2010-2018. According to the MIL, the ten prioritized areas for investment include agriculture, livestock and fishery, export promotion, import substitution, power, logistics, education, health care, affordable housing construction and establishment of industrial estate. As of 2008, a total of 1,485 foreign enterprises from 49 countries investing in 12 sectors were permitted with the total pledge amount of USD 76.18 billion. Among them, the leading sectors are oil and gas sector accounting for 29.42 %, power sector for 27.57%, manufacturing sector for 12.65% and transport and communication sector for 11.89% of the total permitted amount of foreign investment. The major sector of Korean investment is oil and gas sector, and manufacturing sector is standing at the second, investing USD 2.73 billion and USD 853.41million respectively

out of total USD 3.89 billion. Therefore, it can be concluded that investment in Myanmar, especially in oil and gas sector, can fulfill the ROK's important economic interests.

The ROK's Development Assistance to Myanmar

The ROK- Myanmar bilateral development cooperation started in 1987, and a small number of Myanmar students registered in a handful of universities and theological institutions in Korea. Since then, Myanmar became one of the aid recipients of the ROK. During 1987-2005, Korea provided USD 98.06 million as the development assistance to Myanmar.

The Official Development Assistance (ODA) of the ROK was directly related to the main affairs of the state. In 2008, Lee Myung-bak administration enacted the Framework Act on International Development Cooperation (Framework Act), and devised the Strategic Plan for International Development Cooperation to improve its ODA. Article 3 of the Framework Act identifies the five basic principles of its international development cooperation: (i) to reduce poverty in developing countries; (ii) to improve the human rights of women and children, and achieve gender equality; (iii) to realize sustainable development and humanitarianism; (iv) to promote cooperative economic relations with developing partners; and (v) to pursue peace and prosperity in the international community.

Under these principles, objectives of the international development cooperation are: (i) to alleviate poverty and improve the quality of life of people in developing countries; (ii) to support partner country's development and improve the system and conditions for such development; (iii) to reinforce friendly relations with developing countries; and (iv) to contribute toward the resolution of global problems related to international development cooperation. These visions are reflected in ODA policies and strategies of South Korea. In accordance with the Framework Act, key policies and plans of Korea's development assistance is administered by the Committee for International Development Cooperation, chaired by the Prime Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) and the Ministry of Strategy and Finance.

In fact, the ROK's pragmatic foreign policy under President Lee is a great turning point for Korea's aid policy, particularly for Myanmar. In his inauguration address in February 2008, he laid out a vision for Korea as a responsible and contributing member of the international community, and committed to global diplomacy and the global movement for peace and development, based on universal principles of democracy and market economy. The core principles embedded in his vision are Global Korea and Resource Diplomacy.

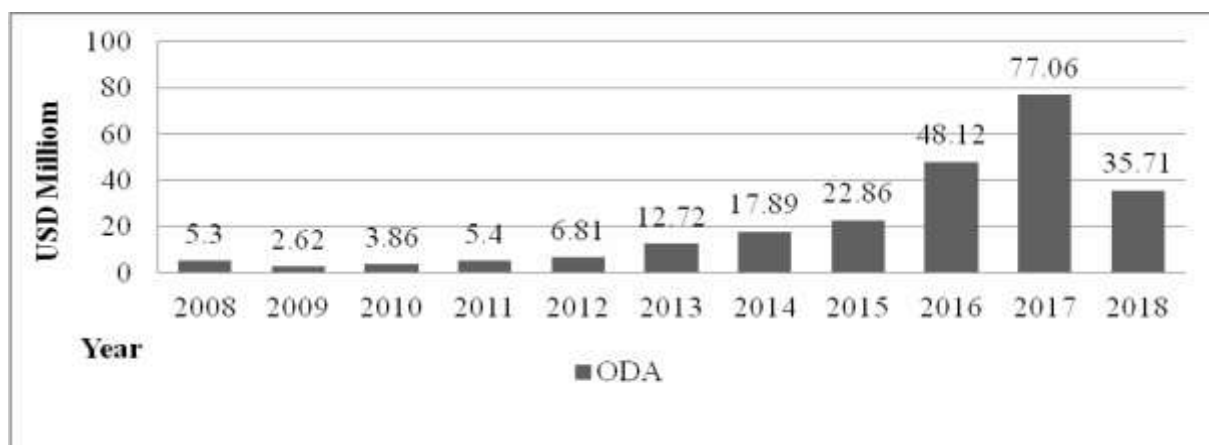
President Lee outlined a focus on securing energy resources necessary to sustain the ROK's economic growth. As the world's fourth largest importer and seventh largest consumer of crude oil, Korea is highly dependent on oil imports which take up 96.5% of the nation's energy supply. Therefore, securing a steady supply of energy resources is of foremost national concern, as it constitutes a vital part of national security. Consequently, the ROK reached out and involved itself with many countries that were not given priority in the ROK's diplomacy in the past. In this sense, resource diplomacy offered an opportunity for the ROK to develop and deepen relationships with energy producing countries, including Myanmar. Here, the realist approach can be seen in the ROK's foreign policy. Grants, mainly assistance to agricultural industries, have been revitalized since 2008. In April 2009, the first bilateral foreign ministry-level meeting between Myanmar and the ROK took place to drive closer development cooperation, following by a series of bilateral summit.

With the emergence of the democratic government since 2011, bilateral relations between the ROK and Myanmar have been reinvigorated. Particularly, year 2012 set a milestone for the bilateral relations. Bilateral consultation meetings were held biannually alternately to enhance

cooperation and promote mutual understanding. On 14 May 2012, President Lee visited Myanmar, and discussed with President U Thein Sein about cooperation in trade and investment, resources and energy, infrastructure and construction. In addition, President Lee agreed to provide grants and loans to Myanmar. In turn, President U Thein Sein visited to the ROK from 8 to 10 October 2012, and Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on Myanmar Development Institute was signed between the two countries.

In addition, on 9 October 2013, President U Thein Sein and President Park Geun-hye signed the MoU of Investment Guarantee Agreement, and Construction of Friendship Bridge. In fact, during 2012-2015, 12 high-level political exchanges and 14 economic exchanges were held between the two countries, and Korea doubled its development assistance, trade, and investment in Myanmar. In 2015, the Korean government selected Myanmar as a new priority ODA partner country. It indicates that the closer diplomatic and economic relations contributed to the ODA allocation.

Furthermore, the New Southern Policy adopted by President Moon Jae-in in 2017 further strengthen the diplomatic ties between the ROK and Myanmar as an ASEAN member. The Ambassador of the ROK mentioned —the Government of Korea has been doing its utmost to strengthen relations with ASEAN and its member countries with the New Southern Policy, and Myanmar is one of key partner of the New Southern Policy. The three P's (Peace, Prosperity and People) of the New Southern Policy are exactly corresponded with the three pillars (Peace and Security, Prosperity and Partnership, People and Planet) of the Myanmar Sustainable Development Plan. In this regard, there is much room for two countries to cooperate for their brighter future with the win-win situation. Furthermore, during the Korea-ASEAN Special Summit in 2019, President Moon announced the New Southern Policy Plus strategy, adding two areas of cooperation_ comprehensive health and medical cooperation_ to further deepen its ties with ASEAN. Therefore, it can be assessed that the ROK's pragmatic foreign policy since 2008 paved the way for its attention to Myanmar to promote as a priority partner of ODA and, consequently, aid allocation has increased. During 2008-2017, the ROK provided USD 186.39 million to Myanmar as shown in figure (3).



Source: <https://stats.oecd.org>

Figure 3 Disbursement of Korean ODA to Myanmar during (2008-2018)

According to figure (3), it can be seen the increasing trend of Korea's ODA in Myanmar since 2009. After bilateral exchanges between the two sides in 2012, the ODA increased nearly double in 2013, and continued to increase until 2017. One reason is that the Korean government increased the overall ODA amount to all recipients. Another reason is due to the innovative policy initiatives of both countries.

The Allocation of ROK's Assistance to Myanmar

Predominantly, the Government of Korea has been providing its ODA to Myanmar by the KOICA as the primary grant aid agency. The KOICA office was established in Myanmar in August 2001, providing its grants and technical assistance for the socio-economic development of Myanmar. After becoming one of 26 priority partners, the Korean Country Partnership Strategy (CPS) for Myanmar (2016-2020) was adopted. According to the CPS, the main objectives of the Korean development cooperation for Myanmar are to support the National Comprehensive Development Plan (NCDP) (2011-2030) and its economic policy, focusing on (i) capacity building for a transparent and efficient government system, (ii) development of the agricultural sector and rural areas, (iii) advancement of transport infrastructures, thereby increasing national connectivity, for the facilitation of economic growth and national integration, and (iv) increase of electric power and development of energy infrastructures to achieve sustainable economic growth. Priority areas were selected based on the request of Myanmar government during the policy consultations, and the capacities of Korea. The priority areas for cooperation are governance, rural development, transport and energy.

The KOICA's assistance to Myanmar is based on the Framework Agreement for Grant Aid signed between the two governments on 9 October 2012. The goal of KOICA's aid program is to eradicate extreme poverty by 2020. KOICA's programs consist of projects and development consulting, volunteers program (World Friends Korea), public private partnership (PPP), and fellowship program. The KOICA conducts project-type cooperation programs which combine material support, such as providing equipment and necessary components for construction projects, and human cooperation, such as inviting trainees and dispatching experts. The KOICA's aid projects specifically focus on: health, education, public administration (governance), technology, environment and energy, agriculture, forestry and fisheries, and emergency relief and others. During 1991-2017, the KOICA implemented total 936 projects with USD 2.41 billion for the all-round development of Myanmar. Two of the flagship projects are the establishment of Myanmar Development Institute (MDI) during 2014 - 2019 with USD 20 million, and the Saemaul Undong (SMU) (New Community Movement) in Myanmar during 2014-2019 in collaboration with the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation (MoAI). These projects can support Myanmar government's rural development and poverty reduction efforts.

Under the WFK programme, KOICA provides volunteers and advisers in such fields as computer education, special and early childhood education, physical education, irrigation-related technology, rural development, and electricity. Until 2017, KOICA has provided 395 volunteers (including advisers) in Myanmar. In fact, the WFK program is used as a tool of public diplomacy, an asset of Korean soft power approach.

As the PPP program, in 2017, the KOICA supported ten projects, mostly focusing on community and capacity development in Myanmar. This KOICA fellowship program consists of short-term training courses and Master's degree programs, and aims at strengthening the government officials' capacity in accordance with the program objectives. In 2016, total 180 fellows participated in the program, increased from 129 in 2015 and 67 in 2014.

During 2011-2017, Myanmar became the sixth largest recipient of Korea's grant aid, receiving USD 109.05 million, 3.5 shares of total grants. Since 2016, Myanmar has been in the second position after Vietnam. In 2018, it became in the fourth position but shares of total grants increased to four percents with USD 20.97 million. During the period, agriculture, forestry and fisheries sector was allocated the largest amount, USD 46.11 million (43%), followed by the education (23%) and technology, environment and energy sectors (13%). While the agriculture industry is capturing a significant portion of the economy, low agricultural productivity poses a big problem for Myanmar. Therefore, it is assumed that Korean grant aids on this sector really

contributes to the rural development efforts in Myanmar. In addition, the education sector was allocated the second largest amount. Over the past years, Korea's economic development was based not only on foreign aid but also on human resource development through education. Based on its own experience, its aid projects mainly focus on the capacity building and empowerment of the people that contribute to human resource development. Therefore, it is undeniable that, as the idealist approach, Korean grant aids are implemented on the basis of Myanmar's socio-economic development needs.

The Korea Exim Bank is providing concessional loan aid under the name of the Economic Development Cooperation Fund (EDCF) for the modernization of Myanmar's infrastructure. The EDCF loans to Myanmar was suspended in 2007 and resumed in 2013. Its office was established in Myanmar in 2014. The Framework Agreement (2014-2017) on Loans was signed on 24 July 2014, and the ROK has committed to provide Myanmar with USD 500 million loans. Under the FA, six projects have been implementing in cooperation with the respective ministries in Myanmar. According to the EDCF report, up to 2017, Myanmar received four percent of total EDCF loans, standing in seventh position. Up to 2018, total USD 543 million was committed for seven projects, focusing on transportation, energy, communication, and health sectors. The largest funds were allocated to the transportation sector, USD 357.8 million (58.9 % of its loans), followed by energy and communication sectors. In fact, the current weaknesses in Myanmar's infrastructure are one of the challenges for the FDI and trade. Therefore, the infrastructure projects financed by the EDCF are the important trade-related sectors that contribute to the economic development of Myanmar. Here can be seen the ROK's pursuit on mutual benefit as the liberal approach.

The Knowledge Sharing Program (KSP) was launched in 2011 to share knowledge and experiences of Korea's economic development with Myanmar. It consists of four key activities_ policy research, policy consultation, capacity building, and dissemination. The KDI is the main implementation organization of the KSP. During 2011-2018, total 14 KSP projects have been implementing in coordination with the respective ministries of Myanmar. It is noted that much of the remarkable economic recovery and growth in the ROK from the 1960s was precisely because of the prioritization of human resource development, particularly in the realm of capacity building and education. The development of an educated and skilled workforce not only leads to rapid and sustained economic growth but also contributes to political governance gains, democratic transition, and consolidation. Therefore, this knowledge-intensive development cooperation gives very positive effects in Myanmar. In the overall trend of Korean aids to Myanmar, it is found that development loans appear much higher than grants. According to the OECD, during 1994-2006, the ROK provided USD 105.4 million: USD 20.59 million as grants and USD 84.79 million as loans. According to the FERD, during 2011- 2017, Korea provided USD 109.05 million as grants through the KOICA and 543 million as loans through the EDCF. Since Korean loans accounted for five folds of grants, it is assumed that the Korean aid in Myanmar is characterized by loan-based system. It can be seen the ROK's economic interests as the realist approach. On the one hand, Korea's experiences on the loan-based economic development strategies during the development era of 1960s and 1970s are a core element of Korea's ODA policy and strategy as a donor.

Findings and Conclusion

For the ROK, Myanmar has been a substantial consumer market as well as an important trade and investment partner, particularly oil and gas sector. Myanmar has much economic potentials in ASEAN after Vietnam. Therefore, Myanmar moved up the second top aid recipient after Vietnam in 2016 and 2017. During 2011-2018, when economic relations and ODA are compared, it is found that the ROK's export to Myanmar represented 79 percent, its investment in

Myanmar represented 20 percent and its ODA to Myanmar represented only one percent. It cannot be said that the allocation of the ROK's development assistance is mainly based on bilateral economic relations, but to an extent. Similarly, it cannot be denied that the ROK is pursuing strong economic interests in Myanmar, partly due to the loan-based assistance. It is investigated that the KOICA projects are implemented under the Country Partnership Strategy to provide the Myanmar development needs, such as agricultural development projects. To sum up, although the ROK is pursuing strong economic interests in Myanmar, it is not seen as a political bargaining tool to get political influence on Myanmar. It can be concluded that its assistance attributes not only economic interests but also other interests with multifaceted approaches, including the realism, idealism and liberalism.

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THE POWER OF PĀḲI GRAMMAR

Tin Lin Phyo*

Abstract

In most languages of the world, the sequence of words that appears in sentences has to conform to a fixed pattern as a basic grammatical requirement. This happens to be the case especially in non-inflectional languages. Therefore, the leading linguists of the world, especially those in Europe and the U.S., regard the sequence of words in sentences as one of the most important principles of grammar in their theories. In a highly inflectional language like PāḲi, however, the grammar is so precise and systematic that the notion of the correct sequence of words is negligible to a great extent. In PāḲi, all lexical units that appear in sentences, except the indeclinable, have to be in appropriate grammatical agreements in terms of number, gender and case with their relevant unit or units in the sentence. This inflectional nature of the PāḲi language challenges the theoretical notion of the fixed sequence of units in sentences. This paper demonstrates that the highly inflectional nature of grammar serves as the power of language in PāḲi, not only in pieces of prose such as the ‘Suttas’, but also in the lyrics of the verses (‘*gāthās*’) as well.

Keywords: PāḲi, Language, Grammar, Sequence, Tagmemic model

Introduction

One of many grammatical features that play an important role in almost all linguistic theories is the order of words that appear in sentences. In the tagmemic model of grammar within the framework of general structural linguistics, the sequence of words in sentences is one of the four basic notions that underlie the rationale of the entire theory. These four notions can be explained as initially described by Kenneth Pike (1960) and further developed by Elson & Pickett (1962) and also by Cook (1968). The first notion is that there is such a thing as the principle of linguistic level whereby any syntactic unit is made up of a sequence of smaller syntactic units. In practical language analysis, it implies that sentences are made up of a sequence of clauses, clauses of phrases, phrases of words, and words of morphemes. This is generally recognized as the notion of levels in languages.

The second notion is that within a language, smaller syntactic units can combine together to form a larger syntactic unit. In the larger syntactic unit, there is the restriction of order, that is, the smaller unit must conform to the right order of appearance in the larger unit. In simple practical terms, it is the stipulation that subject is to come before the verb, and the verb is to appear before the object and so on. This notion is generally recognized as the notion of the order of units or constituents in a structure.

The third notion is that each smaller unit can be identified by two aspects. One aspect is that it can be identified by the way it is constructed internally (as a combination of units), and the other aspect is that it can be identified by the function or the role it plays at the higher level. For instance, a noun phrase can be firstly identified by the way the words are combined within it, and secondly by its function either as the subject or the object of the clause. This notion is recognized as the notion of internal structural and function.

The fourth notion is that within the internal structure of a unit, some members are obligatory in the sense that they are absolutely necessary for the structure and some are optional in the sense that they are not absolutely necessary for the structure. For instance, in a sentence like ‘The cat killed the mouse in the barn.’, ‘the cat’ as the subject and ‘the mouse’ as the object are absolutely necessary for the structure, whereas ‘in the barn’ as a prepositional phrase is not

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absolutely necessary and therefore can be left out, and the remainder can stand as a grammatical sentence by itself. This notion is recognized as the notion of obligation and optionality.

The main objective of this paper

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate the fact that the grammar of Pāli as a highly inflectional language is so systematic, precise and powerful that it can challenge the validity of the second of the above four notions. In other words, the objective of the present paper is to ascertain that in a highly inflectional language such as Pāli, the theoretical notion of the restriction of the sequence of members in an internal structure of a unit is almost non-applicable at the sentence and clause levels, and hence it pales into insignificance.

With this theoretical concern in mind, i.e., the necessity or otherwise of the sequence of units in a structure, it will be in order to present a brief overview of the general sequence of words in sentences in the English and Myanmar languages with which the readers in Myanmar are familiar.

The sequence of units in the sentences of the English language

In terms of a basic general principle with regard to the order of words in sentences with transitive verbs, most languages of the world can be classified under two categories, namely, the SVO languages and the SOV languages, where 'S' signifies a subject, 'V' a verb and 'O' an object. It is generally recognized that the English language is an SVO language where subjects appear before verbs and verbs appear before objects. It is not unusual, however, for a reader to encounter a sentence in English where the verb appears before the subject. But such sentences do appear from time to time or very occasionally only in written English and they do not appear in speaking. As the primary concern of linguistics is the way in which languages are spoken, linguists generally accept the English language as an SVO language.

It is possible in written English to place the verb before the subject under special circumstances which are usually the objects of discussion only in the study of stylistics in literature, and these objects of discussion are not the concerns of the principal area of linguistics proper such as syntax. In addition, even in written English, these VS sentences where the verb appears before the subject are written only when there is a unit or a structure, either a participle or a phrase or a clause preceding the verb.

For instance, the reader can find the following clauses and sentences where verb precedes the subject in William Somerset Maugham's "The Summing Up". (Heron Books, Geneva and London, 1967; p. 18.)

S1. The view was splendid over the plain, and in the distance was Paris.

S2. There was a road down to the river and by the river lay a little village.

In S1, the Verb-Subject structure 'was Paris' is possible because of the existence of the clause 'The view was splendid over the plain', and also the phrase 'and in the distance' preceding it.

In S2, the Verb-Subject structure 'was a road' is possible because of the existence of 'there' preceding 'was'.

In S2 again, the Verb-Subject structure 'lay a little village' is possible because of the existence of the phrase 'by the river' preceding it.

For a further instance the reader can view the two following sentences in the third column of page 657 of the Micropaedia, Vol.II., the New Encyclopedia Britannica, Fifteenth Edition, 1985, under the entry 'Burma'.

S3. Next in importance are other grains, groundnuts, pulses and cotton.

S4. Among non-metallic minerals were limestone, salt, barite, gypsum and jadeite.

In these two sentences (S3 and S4) the underlined VS structures are possible because of the existence of the prepositional phrases before them.

However, even in written English the occurrences of such structures are very rare. In the five columns of nearly two pages under 'Burma' in the Encyclopedia quoted above, these examples are the only two of the kind the reader can find under the same entry. This signifies that the usage of such structures is very rare even in written English. With regard to the notion of word order in sentences with transitive verbs, linguists therefore regard the English language as an SVO language. However, if we leave the object slot out in view of the existence of intransitive sentences (e.g., 'Mary smiles. 'John came'.) where there is no object, the English language has to be regarded as an SV and SOV language.

The sequence of units in the Myanmar language

In the Myanmar language, however, as the positions of subjects and objects in sentences with transitive verbs are interchangeable, the Myanmar language must be regarded as both SOV and OSV. For instance, the two types of sentences, (a) and (b) given below are acceptable as grammatical in the Myanmar language. (The Myanmar script is Romanized in line with the method used in Okell, 1969, in the following sentences in square brackets.)

(a_{1.1}) သဟမ္ပတိဗြဟ္မာ က ဗုဒ္ဓကို တောင်းပန်တယ်။

[thahampati brhamaka bou⁷dakou taunpante.

“Sahampati Brhamā requested the Buddha.”

(a_{1.2}) ဗုဒ္ဓကို သဟမ္ပတိဗြဟ္မာ က တောင်းပန်တယ်။

[bou⁷dakou thahampati brhamaka taunpante.]

“Sahampati Brhamā requested the Buddha.”

(a_{2.1}) ဝိဇ္ဇုပမင်းသား ကပိလဝတ်ပြည်ကို မီးတိုက်တယ်။

[witatupamintha ka⁷pilawu⁷pyikou mitai⁷te.]

“Prince Viṭaṭūpa burned Kappilavatthu.”

(a_{2.2}) ကပိလဝတ်ပြည်ကို ဝိဇ္ဇုပမင်းသား မီးတိုက်တယ်။

[ka⁷pilawu⁷pyikou witatupamintha mitai⁷te.]

“Prince Viṭaṭūpa burned Kappilavatthu.”

The type (a) sentences demonstrate that the linear positions of subjects and objects are interchangeable because of the existence of the subject marker ‘က’ and the object marker ‘ကို’.

(b₁) ဂျာအေး သူ့အမေ ရိုက်တယ်။ [ja-ei thu-amei yai⁷ te]

(b₂) လျှောမွေးလေး ကြောင်ကိုက်တယ်။ [hyomweilei caun kai⁷-te]

(b₃) မောင်အေး ဆရာစော ရိုက်တယ်။ [maunei hsayaso yai⁷-te]

(b₄) မအေး ခွေးကိုက်တယ်။ [ma-ei hkwei kai⁷-te]

(b₅) ဆရာစော မောင်အေး ရိုက်တယ်။ [hsayaso maunei yai⁷-te]

The type (b) sentences demonstrate that object can come before the subject without the object marker ‘ကို’, and the subject can follow it without the subject marker ‘က’, because of the context or the meaning of the subjects and the verbs.

(c_{1.1}) သာဒုတ် မိန့်ကြိုက်တယ်။ [thadou[?] minu cai[?]-te]

(c_{1.2}) မိန့် သာဒုတ်ကြိုက်တယ်။ [minu thadou[?] Cai[?]-te]

(c_{2.1}) သာဒုတ် မိန့်ရှိက်တယ်။ [thadou[?] minu yai[?]-te]

(c_{2.2}) မိန့် သာဒုတ်ရှိက်တယ်။ [minu thadou[?] yai[?]-te]

In the c₁ sentences the listener is more likely to understand the first word, a proper noun, of the sentence, to be the subject because of the meaning of the verb (ကြိုက်တယ်), though both sentences can be regarded as ambiguous in the strict sense of grammaticality. In the c₂ sentences, however, it is certainly unclear as to who the subject is and who the object is. But such an ambiguity of word order can be controlled by the case markers such as ‘က’ and ‘ကို’ as mentioned earlier.

The primary point of argument in this discussion is that the Myanmar language must be regarded both as an SOV and an OSV language, and the identification of ‘S’ and ‘O’ is made possible in this situation with the help of case markers; and the secondary point of argument is that these SOV and OSV sequences are the basic principle of the structure of active voice sentences in the Myanmar language. However, as is the case in the English language discussed at the end of Section 1.3, if we leave the object slot (O) out in recognition of the existence of intransitive sentences [(e.g., ခင်ခင် (S) လှတယ် (V) “Khin Khin is beautiful.” and မောင်မောင် (S) လာတယ် (V) “Maung Maung came.”], the Myanmar language has to be regarded as an SV language.

The sequence of words in sentences in the Pāli language

The purpose of this section is to discuss the word order of the sentences in the Pāli language in two literary modes, namely, the basic prose mode and the poetic Gāthā “ဂါထာ” mode.

The basic normal prose mode of the Pāli language

In the basic prose mode of Pāli literature, either canonical or non-canonical, the basic general principle of word order in sentences is mainly SV, that is, the subject precedes the verb in a clause or a sentence.

e.g. *Bhikkhavo'ti Buddho(S) bikkhū āmantesi(V)*.

“Oh Monks! Buddha addressed the monks.”

Bhadantet'ti bhikkhu(S) bhagavato paccassosum(V).

“Yes! Your Reverence!, monks replied to the Buddha.” [In the Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna and many other Suttas.]

Pubbe ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhuṃ (S) udapādi (V), ñāṇaṃ (S) udapādi (V), paññā(S) udapādi(V), vijjā(S) udapādi (V), āloko(V) udapādi(V). [From the Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta]

“In the realizations of the Truth which were unheard of in the past, vision appeared, knowledge appeared, wisdom appeared, intuition appeared and enlightenment appeared. This feature of clauses ending in a verb is more prominent in *Anādara* and *Bhāvalakkhaṇā* sentences

where the first clause ends in the PPA (Present Participle Active) form taking either a Genitive case marker or a Locative case marker, which are generally described as Genitive and Locative Absolute Constructions. (See Daw Khin Thein and U Kyaw Shein's Basic Pali Grammar, 1969; p.129). The following examples below clarify this statement.

e.g., *Mātāpitūsu rudantesu putto pabbaji(V)*.

“While the parents were lamenting the son renounced the world.”

Dārakassa rudantassa pitā pakkamati (V).

“While the boy is weeping the father departs.”

This grammatical feature can also be observed in sentences where the first clause ends in a gerundial form usually with the suffix ‘tvā’.

e.g., *Brhāmaṇo(S) bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi(V)*.

“The Brhmana sat down in an appropriate place after paying obeisance to the Buddha.”

Aññātara devatā (S) bhagavantaṃ upasaṅkaṃitvā gāthāya ajjhabhāsi(V).

“Having approached the Buddha, a certain deity spoke (to the Buddha) in verses.”

In these examples, as indicated by the abbreviations (‘S’) and (‘V’), the subjects precede the verbs appearing at the end of the sentences. However, this kind of simple word order is merely a nominal and formal grammatical procedure and it is not necessary to adhere to it under all circumstances as in the English language.

The prose mode of expression in Pāli literature

In the actual pieces of prose in Pāli literature, especially in the Suttas, it can be observed that this kind of strict word order is not consistently followed. Therefore, there is no such thing as a strict word order and hence the subjects and verbs, or any unit of a sentence can virtually appear in any place in a sentence in prose, usually in the Suttas and commentaries. Such is the case in Pāli literature, because the grammar of Pāli as an inflectional language is very systematic and powerful. Because of the principle of agreement in case, number and gender of verbs, nouns, adjectives (or any unit in a sentence, except the indeclinables, the ‘Nipāta’ units), the meaning of the sentence is easily understood irrespective of the positions of the units in the sentence. (The indeclinable can also appear in any place in a sentence as they are not supposed to be in grammatical agreement with anything in the sentence). This statement can be illustrated in the examples, extracts from the Pāli texts, given below.

ဣဓ ဘိက္ခဝေ ဘိက္ခု အရညဂတော ဝါ ရုက္ခမူလဂတော ဝါ သုညာဂါရဂတော ဝါ နိသီတိ ပလ္လင်္ကံ အာဘုဇိတွာ၊ ဥဇုံ ကာယံ ပဏီဓါယ၊ ပရိမုခံ သတိံ ဥပဋ္ဌပေတွာ။

[Please note that in this example sentence, ‘*nisidati*’, the main verb of the sentence, occurs in the middle of the sentence, not at the end, and that the Most Venerable Mahāchī Sayadaw puts a comma at the end of every gerundial phrase (except the last one) in order to signify that the gerundive forms mark the end of the clauses, but not the end of the sentence.]

Idha bhikkhave bikkhu(S) araññaṅgato vā rukkhamaṇḍalagato vā suññāgāragato vā nisīdati(V) pallaṅkaṃ ābhujitvā, ujum kāyaṃ paṇīdhāya, parimukhaṃ satim upaṭṭhapetvā.။

[Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sutta]. Given below is the English translation (by the author) of the Myanmar Nissaya Translation composed by the Most Venerable Aggamahāpaṇḍita Mahāchī Sayadaw (မဟာသတိပဋ္ဌာန သုတ်၊ ဗုဒ္ဓသာသနာနိဂ္ဂဟ အဖွဲ့ချုပ်၊ ၁၉၈၄, စာ၊ ၃၃-၃၆။)။

Idha = In the environment where my Teaching prevails, *Bhikkhave* = Oh monks! *Bikkhu*=the monk (who is a practitioner), *araññagato vā* = having gone to a forest grove or, *Rukkhamūlagato vā* = having gone to the foot of a tree or, *Suññāgāragato vā* = having gone to a secluded place where there is no human habitation, *Nisīdati* = sits, *Pallaṅkaṃ ābhujitvā* = having assumed the crossed-legged posture, *Ujūṃ kāyaṃ paṇīdhāya* = keeping the upper part of the body in the straight upright position, *Parimukhaṃ satim upaṭṭhapetvā* = having directed the concentration to the sense object of meditation.။

[Please note that in this Nissaya translation into English, the first letter of every Pāli word is written in upper case in order to differentiate it from the following English translation.] The long sentence ends in the gerundive form ‘*upaṭṭhapetvā*’ as marked with the Myanmar full stop sign in the citation above. Although there are many units between the subject ‘*bhikkhu*’ and the verb ‘*nisīdati*’ which appears in the middle of the sentence (not at the end as in basic normal constructions), the meaning of the sentence is easily understood, because the subject ‘*bhikkhu*’ is in agreement with the verb ‘*nisīdati*’ in person (yoga, third person singular), case (kāraṇa, nominative singular) and number (singular in present tense). In the same manner, the other units ‘*araññagato*’, ‘*rukkhamūlagato*’, ‘*suññāgāragato*’, the past participle passive forms, are also in an agreement with the subject ‘*bhikkhu*’ in number, gender and case, and hence it is easily understood that they are qualifying the subject ‘*bhikkhu*’. The remaining units ‘*pallaṅkaṃ ābhujitvā*’, ‘*ujūṃ kāyaṃ paṇīdhāya*’, ‘*Parimukhaṃ satim upaṭṭhapetvā*’ are also understood as the actions that take place before the action indicated by the main verb ‘*nisīdati*’, since they are gerundive (*pubbakāla*) forms, irrespective of their positions in the sentence. All of these units collectively function in grammatical cohesiveness delivering the definite unambiguous meaning of the sentence --

“Oh monks! in this environment (where my Teaching prevails), having gone to a forest grove or to the foot of a tree or to a secluded place where there is no human habitation, the (practitioner) monk (should) sit, having assumed the crossed-legged posture, keeping the upper part of the body in the straight upright position, having applied the concentration to the sense object (of meditation).

This kind of sentence structural mechanism can be observed in many a sentence in almost every canonical and non-canonical text of Pāli literature. Given below is a further example which demonstrates this kind of structural mechanism.

Tasmā tiha bhikkhave yaṃ kiñci rūpaṃ atītānāgatapaccuppannaṃ ajjhattaṃ vā bahiddhā vā olārikaṃ vā sukhumaṃ vā hīnaṃ vā paṇītaṃ vā yaṃ dūre santike vā, sabbam rūpaṃ “netam mama, nesohamasmi, na me so attā”ti evametam yathābhūtaṃ sammappaññāya daṭṭhabbam. [Anattalakkhana Sutta]. Given below is the English translation (by the author) of the Myanmar

Nissaya Translation composed by the Most Venerable Aggamahāpaṇḍita Laeti Sayadaw

(အနတ္တလက္ခဏာ သုတ်၊ မြတ်ဆုမွန် စာပေထုတ်ဝေရေးလုပ်ငန်း၊ ရန်ကုန်၊ ၂၀၀၁၊ စာ၊ ၁၁၁-၁၁၅)။

Tasmā tiha bhikkhave = therefore, monks, *Yaṃ kiñci rūpaṃ* = such an aggregate of physical forms, *Atītānāgatapaccuppannaṃ* = which had occurred in the past, which occurs at present and which would occur in the future, *Ajjhattaṃ vā bahiddhā vā* = whether internally within one’s own body or externally outside one’s own body, *Olārikaṃ vā sukhumaṃ vā* = whether it be rough or subtle, *Hīnaṃ vā paṇītaṃ vā* = whether it be ignoble or noble, *Yaṃ dūre santike vā* = whether it be near or far afield, (*Atthi* = there exists).

Sabbam rūpaṃ = the aggregate of all these physical entities, *Daṭṭhabbam* = should be viewed, *Evametam yathābhūtaṃ* = only in the way as it really is, *Sammappaññāya* = through the knowledge gained from the *vipassanā* meditative insight (with the understanding that), *Sabbam rūpaṃ* = the aggregate of all these physical entities, “*Netam mama* = *Na etaṃ mama* = this physical form is not my own possession, *Nesohamasmi* = *Na eso ahaṃ asmi* = not what I am, *Na me so*

attā'ti = (that) this aggregate of physical forms is not under the control of my own will.”

The first observation that should be made in this long Pāli sentence is that it ends with the word ‘*daṭṭhabbam*’ (‘should be viewed’) which is a passive form with the ‘*kita*’ suffix ‘-*tabba*’, -*kicca kita*’. Please see Daw Khin Thein and U Kyaw Shein (1969), p.129 for this construction and there is no main verb to end the clause or the sentence, as in the constructions of basic simple sentences demonstrated in the beginning of this paper, or as in the sentence cited earlier from the Mahasatipatthāna Sutta. This situation is rather awkward in Myanmar grammar and therefore the Venerable Laeti Sayadaw inserts the main verb ‘*atthi* = there exists’ in the middle of the sentence in his *Nissaya* translation. (See pp.111 – 115 of the Sayadaw’s *Nissaya* in (လယ်တီ ဝတ်ရွတ်စဉ် ဖေါင်းချုပ်.)

In this sentence the first clause ends in ‘*Santike vā*’, and the Syadaw puts a ‘*ပုဒ်ငယ်*’ which is the equivalent of a comma, after it. In this clause ending in ‘*Santike vā*’, the subject is ‘*rūpaṃ*’ and all the units qualifying it (namely, ‘*atitānāgatapaccuppannaṃ*’ ‘*oḷārikaṃ*’ ‘*sukhumam*’ ‘*hīnaṃ*’ ‘*panitaṃ*’), are in agreement with it in number, gender and case. The two remaining units, ‘*ajjhataṃ*’ and ‘*bhahiddha*’ are used as adverbs in this context. In the remaining construction (*sabbaṃ rūpaṃ “netam mama, nesohamasmi, na me so attā”ti evametam yathabhūtaṃ samappaññāya daṭṭhabbam*), ‘*sabbaṃ rūpaṃ evametam yathabhūtaṃ samappaññāya daṭṭhabbam*’ is the main clause and the construction in the double inverted commas, represented by the dotted line here, (“*netam mama, nesohasmi, na me so attā’ti*) is reported speech marked by ‘-*ti*’ in the end, and it has three sub-clauses (“*na etam mama*, this is not my own”, “*na eso aham asmi*, this is not the way I am”, “*na me so atta*, this is not under the control of my own will”) each with its own subject and predicate. Therefore, all these grammatical features working collectively provide the unambiguous cohesive grammar and meaning given below.

Therefore monks, there exists such an aggregate of physical forms, which had occurred in the past, which occurs at present and which would occur in the future, either internally within one’s own body or externally outside one’s own body, whether it be rough or subtle, whether it be ignoble or noble, whether it be near or far afield. The aggregate of all these physical entities should be viewed only in the way as it really is, through the knowledge gained from the *Vipassanā* meditative insight with the understanding that “this physical form is not my own possession, it is not what I am, it is not under the control of my own will.”

And thus, however long the sentence is, however complicated it seems in its outward appearance, however the sequence of words is arranged, the reader with a proper knowledge of the Grammar has no problem whatsoever to understand it, because of the precise, concise and powerful nature of the grammar. This true nature of the grammar of Pāli clearly signifies that the theoretical notion of fixed pattern of sequences in sentences is not entirely relevant or applicable to the Pāli language.

The lyrical mode in Pāli verses

This mode of structural mechanism generated by the power of grammar, which more or less ignores the formal practice of ‘compliance with normal word order in sentences’, is much more prevalent in Pāli ‘verses – the ‘*gāthā*’. Hence the power of grammar provides the ‘*gāthā*’ composers with convenient facility, which can be regarded as the poetic license. This situation results in the sentences, lyrics of the verses, with no verb to end the sentence in a conventional manner, or with no subject as the topic of the sentence and clauses and so on, although the lyric is grammatical and clearly understood without any ambiguity. This scenario is the prominent feature in the collections of verses like Dhammapada in Pāli literature. The examples given below clearly support this statement.

*Manopubbaṅgamā dhammā, manoṣeṭṭhā manomayā,
Manasāce paduṭṭhena, bhāsati vā karoti vā,
tato naṃ dukkhamanveti cakkamva vahato padaṃ. [Yamakavagga,
Dhammapada]*

In the first line, a sentence, the subject is ‘*Dhamma*’, but it appears after the adjective ‘*Manopubbaṅgamā*’ in the beginning, whereas the two other adjectives ‘*manoṣeṭṭhā*’ and ‘*manomayā*’ appear after it, at the end of the sentence. So the construction appears rather distorted in view of the way in which simple normal sentences are structured in prose pieces. Moreover, there is no main verb ‘*hoti*’, the equivalent of the English verb-to-be to end the sentence. Nevertheless, the reader has no difficulty in understanding the meaning of the sentence, because all the adjectives are in grammatical agreement with the subject ‘*dhamma*’.

In the second sentence of the verse, there are two clauses (“*Manasāce paduṭṭhena bhāsati vā karoti vā*” and “*tato naṃ dukkhamanveti cakkamva vahato padaṃ*”). The first clause, a dependent clause, has no subject. However, the reader can understand that the first clause in this compound sentence is ‘someone’ or ‘somebody’ or a ‘person’ as signified by ‘*bhasati*’ and ‘*karoti*’, which are verbs in third person singular form. Therefore the first clause can be easily translated as “if a person speaks or behaves with an evil intention”.

The second clause has two sub-clauses, “*tato naṃ dukkhamanveti*” and “*cakkamva vahato padaṃ*”. The first sub-clause has ‘*dukkham*’ as its subject, and ‘*anveti*’ as its verb. But the second sub-clause “*cakkamva vahato padaṃ*” has ‘*cakkam*’ as its subject, though it has no verb as such. However, the reader can understand that ‘*anveti*’ serves as the verb of the second sub-clause as well, because it is in grammatical agreement with ‘*cakkam*’ in number, a singular form, as ‘*cakkam*’ is in the previous clause.

All these grammatical functions of the verse clearly signify the grammatical complexity of sentence structures, which is also the power of the grammar of the language. This kind of complexity of structures or the power of the grammar can be observed in almost every verse in *Dhammapada* and many other texts of ‘*gathās*’ in Pāli literature.

The same mode of grammatical complexity and power can be observed in the third verse of the same chapter, the *Yamakavagga*, given below. The first line is a combination of four clauses in the Verb-Object sequence without a subject, which is an irregular sequence of units in clauses and sentences.

Akkocchi maṃ avadhi maṃ, ajini maṃ, ahasi me. He abused me, he harmed me, he defeated me, he stole my property. All the clauses begin with a verb, which is rather unusual in view of the normal sequence of words in Pāli prose. One other striking feature is that the clauses have no subject. Nevertheless, as all the verbs have the third person singular suffix, it is apparent that the subject is ‘he’. There is one more grammatical subtlety in the last clause “*ahasi me*”. The clause does not end in ‘*maṃ*’, a first-person singular pronoun in accusative case, as in the previous three clauses. It ends in ‘*me*’ a first-person singular pronoun in genitive (or dative, the former in this context) case, the reason being that the verb ‘*ahasi*’ has the meaning ‘to take something that belongs to someone else’ or ‘to rob’. Therefore, it is to be translated as ‘he stole my property’ or ‘he robbed me’, and this subtle meaning is given by the personal pronoun in the genitive case ‘*me*’. This verse is another example of an irregular sequence of units in clauses generated by the power of precise and systematic grammar of the Pāli language.

Such an irregular sequence of units generated by the precision and power of the grammar can be observed even in the verses that appear from time to time in the Suttas. Given below is an example from the *Samyutta Nikaya*.

1. *Kim dado balado hoti, kim dado hoti vaṇṇado*. Which donation is the donation of strength? Which donation is the donation of beauty?
2. *Kim dado sukhado hoti, Kim dado hoti cakkhudo*. Which donation is the donation of happiness? Which donation is the donation of vision?
2. *Ko ca sabbado hoti, Tam me akkhati pucchito*. Which donation is the donation of all of these? 'Explain it to me', you asked.
4. *Annado balado hoti, Vatthado hoti vaṇṇado*.
Donation of food is the donation of strength. Donation of clothing is the donation of beauty.
5. *Yānado sukhado hoti, Dipado hoti cakkhudo*. Donation of a vehicle is the donation of happiness. Donation of a lamp is the donation of vision.
6. *Soca sabbado hoti, So dadāti upassayam*. He who is the donor of all of these is he who donates a monastic dwelling.
7. *Amataṃ dado ca so hoti, Yo dhammānussāsati'ti*. He who is given the *Amata-Nibbana* is he who practises the dhamma. [ādittavagga, annasutta, sagāthāvagga, Saṃyutta Nikāya, Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana Edition: p.29,]

The first clauses in lines one to three, are questions. But they end with the main verb '*hoti*'. In the second clauses of lines one and two, though they are the answers to the questions, the main verb '*hoti*' comes in the penultimate position. The first two clauses in lines four and five are stative sentences and they end with the main verb '*hoti*', which is a normal sequence in prose. In the second clauses of lines four and five, however, the main verb '*hoti*' appears in the penultimate position, though they are stative sentences like their preceding counterparts.

One more note-worthy feature is that the second clause in line three ends in '*pucchito*', which is not a normal verb, but a past participle passive form. Nevertheless, the clause is grammatically correct and easily understandable, because past and present participle passive forms can function either as adjectives or main verbs at the end of clauses with or without the verb-to-be '*hoti*' (see Daw Khin Thein and U Kyaw Shein, 1969; pp.108 and 120.)

Conclusion

Linguistic theoreticians generally regard the sequence of units in clauses and sentences as one of the most important principles of grammars of almost all languages. The structural linguists such as Kenneth Pike (1960), Elson & Pickett (1962), and W.A. Cook (1968) explain it as the principle of the sequence of units. Ferdinand De Saussure (1959), who is regarded as the founding father of modern linguistics, explains this principle in terms of the two kinds of relation of units, namely, the paradigmatic relation and the syntagmatic relation. These two kinds of relation are explained with examples from the Myanmar language by Dr. Thein Tun (2019a and 2019b). Noam Chomsky (1980, 1981 and 1982) explains this principle in terms of his government and binding theory. Nevertheless, as discussed with examples from the Pāli canonical texts, it can be verified that this principle of fixed sequence of units in languages is not entirely applicable or relevant to the Pāli language because of its precise and powerful grammar. In conclusion, the author would like to reiterate how important the Pāli Grammar is for students and scholars alike, in order to understand the modern linguistic theories and to be aware of their strengths and weaknesses.

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ကျော်ရှိန်၊ ဦး၊ ခင်သိန်း၊ ဒေါ်။ (၁၉၇၀) *အခြေခံပါဠိသဒ္ဒါ*၊ ရန်ကုန်၊ တက္ကသိုလ်များ စာအုပ်ထုတ်ဝေရေး ကော်မတီ။

လယ်တီဆရာတော်၊ (၂၀၀၁) *အနတ္တလက္ခဏ သုတ်*၊ ရန်ကုန်၊ မြတ်ဆုမွန် စာပေထုတ်ဝေရေးလုပ်ငန်း။

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NANPHAYA: THE BRAHMA'S TEMPLE IN BAGAN PERIOD*

Soe Ni Tun¹

Abstract

Nanphaya was built in late eleventh century or early twelfth century CE and traditionally known as the palace-temple. It is a one story building facing east and one of the five sandstone buildings in Bagan. The outer part of the temple is made up of sandstones and backed up by bricks. The four square pillars, also made up of sandstones, support the upper structure and *sikhara*. The four central pillars is the innovative idea of Bagan's architects and they are the only example so far found in Bagan. Most temples in Bagan are made up of the central core and the passage way. The upper structure of the temple, *sikhara*, is a bit different from the early *sikhara* of the Bagan temples. The *sikhara* is composed of five rows of five panels and set with full blown lotus: the main attribute of *Brahma*. The outer walls of the temple are completely made of sandstones and decorated with dado of *hamsa* bird, the vehicle of Brahma and there are total of 102 *heufamsa* birds. The eleven perforated sandstone windows are beautifully made and they are also decorated with the full-blown lotus. The eight seated *Brahmas*, holding the full-blown louts-the main attribute of the *Brahma*, are beautifully made of sandstones with lotus scrolls on the inner surface of the four pillars. The central place of the temple, among the four square columns, is the heart of the temple and there would be the important image of the temple, that might be the standing statue of *Brahma*.

Keywords: Nanphaya, Brahma, Bagan

Introduction

Ancestral worship, animism, Buddhism and Hinduism were the major religious beliefs for the people of Myanmar in the early days and trails and traces of these ancient beliefs can still be observed in the daily life of the people of present day Myanmar. A lot of religious buildings were built during the zenith of Bagan and its periphery and most of them are concerned with Buddhism and some are for Hinduism such as Nathlaung-kyauung and Nanphaya. There are a lot of research papers and articles for Bagan temples and most of them are dedicated to Buddhism. Only a few articles and books were published for religious diversity in Bagan. The aim of this research paper is to fulfill the archaeological gap of Bagan religious history with archaeological evidence.

Consensus holds that Hinduism might have appeared since the early Bagan period. However, there is a debate among the researchers whether Nanphaya was a Hindu temple or not. Therefore, there are four main research questions in this paper. These are as follows: Is Nanphaya a Buddhist temple?

What was the role of *Brahma* in the religious history of Bagan?

Why were the figures of *hamsa* birds decorated on the outer walls of the temple?

When was the Nanphaya built?

Data and Research Methodology

To answer the above research questions, this paper provides the necessary information, and the secondary data gathered from the archives, libraries and personal interviews. After collecting the secondary data, field trips were carried out several times. Moreover, it recorded the temple digitally and analyzed the detailed information of the temple such as the stucco works, the

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sandstone works and architecture. Visual analysis and archeological Descriptive Method are applied to demonstrate the detailed pictures of the art and architecture of Nanphaya.

The archaeological setting and historical background of the Nanphaya

Nanphaya is located in Myingaba village¹, two miles south of Old Bagan, Nyaung Oo Township, and Mandalay Division. There are a lot of temples, stupas, *simas*, libraries, and monasteries in and around the village: Manuha, Myazedi, Gubyaukgyi, Gubyaukge etc. It is said that Nanphaya was built by the great grandson of King Makuta or Manuha, on the palace site of the former King Makuta. The village Myingaba and the creek play an important role in the history of Bagan and traditionally said that the fight between King Anawrahta and Sukate took place on the bank of the creek Myingaba. The creek Myingaba, which runs across the village, might be the important water resource in the rainy season when the river Ayeyarwady floods the area.

The King Manuha built a palace for himself and later changed it to a temple and it is called Nanphaya-the palace temple. Dr Naing Pan Hla, Mon scholar, opines that the palace of the King Makuta might be situated south of the Nanphaya because he found the brick pavement a few feet below the surrounding level and remains of brick walls, each about over two feet with flight of steps coming up from the lower level, during the excavation.² The current village, Myingaba might be the old site of the Mon King Makuta and his followers. The village Myingaba is well-known for its religious buildings of early Bagan period and it was a village of Mons who were brought from Thahton by King Anirudda in CE 1057³.

The Spread of Hinduism to Myanmar

Animism and ancestral worship were the prehistoric beliefs that have been handed down to the people of Myanmar today as in other parts of the world. Such prehistoric faiths were practiced since the middle Paleolithic period and the burials of our forefathers testified to the belief in after life. In late Paleolithic period, the ancestral worship and animism developed greatly and our forefathers adopted these believes widely. Myanmar went through the three prehistoric ages successively: the Stone Age, Bronze Age and Iron Age. People of present day Myanmar are still influenced by the prehistoric faiths and handed down by people of early civilization. The early old cities of Pyu adopted the ancestral worship and animism and trail and traces of these beliefs can still be seen in the old cities. The close contact with China and India brought the new faiths to Myanmar: Buddhism and Hinduism. The old cites such as, Maimao, Wadi, Vishnu, Halin, Sriksetra, Thahton, Dhanyawadi, Vesali etc received the cultural and social contact form the outside worlds. The mingling of local beliefs and imported religions made new chapter in the religious history in Pyu period. After the fall of these old cities Bagan became the administrative, social and religious center. The people from Pyu, Mon and Myanmar, resettled in the area of current Bagan Old City and Bagan became the capital of first Myanmar Empire.

¹ See Map (1)

² Dr Naing Pan Hla, *Archaeological Aspects of Pyu, Mon, Myanmar*, Yangon, Thin Sapay, 2011, page-186. Hereafter cited as Dr Naing Pan Hla, *Archaeological Aspects of Pyu, Mon, Myanmar*.

³ Personal interview to the local villager, Ko Mya Khine, 2013 CE: most current villagers are the descendants of the Mon who lived there since the Bagan period and they were brought by King Anuriddha. Most of them cannot speak the Mon language but their accent is a bit strange to other local villagers.

Bagan, the capital of the first Myanmar Empire

Bagan, the heartland of Myanmar culture, is the archaeological and historical paradise for scholars. A lot of temples were built within 16 square miles and there are total 3822 temples today and most of them are for Buddhism and a few for Hinduism. Bagan is situated on the left bank of Ayeyarwady River, in Mandalay Division, Central Myanmar. The old city was founded by Pyu, Mon and Myanmar. The history of Bagan began with the accession of king Anirudha (1044 CE-1077 CE). The classical name of Bagan is “Arimadadanapura—the city that tramples the enemy.”¹ The thriving city, Bagan lasted for three centuries and collapsed only in 1287 CE. Myanmar chronicles claim that there were 55 kings in Bagan and the first King Thumondarit ruled the first Bagan in 108 CE. According to Myanmar chronicles, the city Bagan was founded and shifted four times and the present capital was founded by King Pyinbyar in 849 CE. The archaeological evidence shows that Bagan was founded by Pyu, Mon and Myanmar after the fall of Pyu city states.

Hinduism in Bagan

During the zenith of Bagan Empire, there was close contact with other countries, and Bagan became one of the richest regions in Southeast Asia. There were over 3822 religious buildings and some stand out in their original state, some are completely restored and some are in ruins. The religious monuments of Bagan can be divided into two main types: stupas and temples. The temples of Bagan, mostly, are Buddhist temples but some are dedicated to Hindu gods and goddesses. The trail and traces of Hinduism can be observed in wall paintings of the following temples: Apeyatana temple, Ananda temple, Gubyaukgyi temple etc. Nat-hlaung-kyaung, the Vishnu temple with ten incarnation images in the outer niches, is the only temple totally devoted to Hinduism. The findings of Hindu gods and goddesses, indicate that there were some Hindu temples in olden days: with at least three temples for the Hindu Triad, Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. Images of Ganesh-the elephant-headed god, made of assorted materials, were also found in Bagan and they are displayed in the archaeological Museum of Bagan.

The Myths of Brahma

Brahma, the creator god, is one of the Hindu Pantheon and he was not known in *Vedic* period in India although his characters developed in later period and he became a very important god in the historical period. Originally Brahma possessed five heads but the fifth head above the four was chopped off by Shiva²: that is why Brahma is depicted with three heads in sculpture and four heads in paintings. The attributes of Brahma are slightly varied, region to region and time to time. The main attributes of Brahma are a lotus flower, the scepter, the bow Parivita, a string of beads, a bowl containing the holy water and the *Vedas*.³ The consort of Brahma is Saravati-the goddess of Knowledge and their vehicle is the *hamsa* bird or the *Brahmi* duck.

¹ Dr Khin Maung Nyunt, *Welcome to Myanmar*, Yangon, Gabharaye Press, 2003, p-7. (Hereafter cited as, Dr Khin Maung Nyunt, *Welcome to Myanmar*.)

² K N Seth and B K Chatuvede, *Gods and Goddesses of India*, Delhi, Diamond Pocket Books, 2003, p-24. Hereafter cited as K N Seth, *Gods and Goddesses of India*.

³ K N Seth *Gods and Goddesses of India*, Page- 23

Art and Architecture of Nanphaya-the Brahms's Temple

Nanphaya¹ is a one storey building and it is one of the five sandstone structures in Bagan.² The outer parts of the temple are made up of sandstones and backed by bricks inside. The plan of the temple is square in shape and that is one of the main characters of the Hindu temples. The vestibule, rectangular in plan, is attached to the main temple and it is rather wide with two perforated sandstone windows. The porch and its pediments are now lost although the remains of the masonry at the base points out that there was once such a porch with pediment. The main sanctum has nine sandstone windows with perforation and they are decorated with the low reliefs of the full-blown lotus petal. Each window is capped by a cinquefoil pediment carried on single pilasters.³ Between the lintel and cinquefoil is the “*kalasa* pot- *kalasa* for amrita, fertility, and prosperity,⁴ and it is also called “*kyar-thut-oh- the pot of lotus*” that was also applied here in profile along the plinth of the temple.⁵ The *kalasa* pot-profile along the plinth on the outer wall is one of the best architectural innovations in early Bagan period and they provide the elegant and grandeur of the temple. In later periods, the *kalasa*-pot plinth base⁶ became popular and they can be observed almost in every temple, no matter how small.

The *kalasa* pot decoration in the tympana of the window pediment was very rare indeed, although the *kalasa* pots decorated the terraces of the temples and they can be seen on the roof of the Pathotharmyay Temple. The sandstone windows were perforated in thirty diamond patterns and decorated with lotus petals.⁷ The lotus petals can also be observed on the lintels of the sandstone windows.⁸ Above the window pediment is the goddess Sri and her arms are drooping and outspread, holding lotus stalks⁹.

The sanctum vault is masked by two simple crenellated terraces and over the shrine a third one runs beneath the “*sikhara*-the mountain top - the home for gods and goddesses”. At the base of the *sikhara* are the big light holes and each is framed with pediment. The main *sikhara* stands on the square three-tiered base and is curved, tapering to the top and decorated with panels of full-blown lotus. The panels on the *sikhara* are set with the full-blown louts - the main attribute of Brahma and they are indeed very rare in Bagan. According to U Mya's view, there was a Zedi originally over the *sikhara*,¹⁰ although the top part of the main *sikhara* is too small to surmount the zedi or the stupa. From the architectural point of view, there can be no other part the *sikhara* because it is too narrow to crown the upper structure or support the *kalasa* pot like the summit of a Heidu temple.

The ground plan of Nanphaya is composed of two units, one which is the main sanctum and the other is the vestibule. The *sikhara* and upper structure is supported by four massive square sandstone columns and they are joined by vault on which the remains of the stucco works of the pediment with the small tall structure that looks like the small miniature stupas¹¹ although they

¹ See figure (1)

² There are five sandstone structures in Bagan: Sakku-taik in Tuyin hill (completely damaged), Kyaukgu-umin, She Zigon Stupa, Nanpaya and small temple in Pywarsaw Village.

³ See Figure (3)

⁴ Dr Than Tun, *Buddhist Art and Architecture*, p-14.

⁵ See Figure (9)

⁶ See Figure (9)

⁷ See Figure (3)

⁸ See Figure (3)

⁹ See Figure (3)

¹⁰ U Mya, “Nanpaya”, *Archaeological Survey of India, 1934-35, p-101-6*. Hereafter cited as U Mya, “Nanpaya”,

¹¹ Ibid, p-185.

were repaired in 1900s and the shape of the upper part on the pediments cannot be clearly determined.¹

Nanphaya and the Assumptions of the Archaeologists

Due to the absence of the main statue among the four sandstone columns, some archaeologists opine that the temple is concerned with Hinduism. But some archaeologists assume that the main statue might be a standing Buddha image and therefore the temple is Buddhist. The absence of the central statue makes a lot of difficulties for scholars and the views are only conjectural. The first and only archaeologist who questioned the legitimacy of the Nanphaya as a Buddhist Temple was Taw Sein Kho. Taw Sein Kho questioned whether it was indeed a Buddhist temple, for there is no image enshrined and the stone reliefs of Brahmas on the piers were to him evidence of a Hindu connection.² Nanphaya is, according to U Mya, a Buddhist Temple³ with the references of the vestige structures at the corners of the terraces and stupa-like structure on the arch of the columns.⁴ G. H. Luce takes the view that Nanphaya is a Buddhist temple.⁵ Dr Naing Pan Hla is of the opinion that Nanphaya is also a Buddhist Temple following U Mya's view.⁶ Paul Strachan also believed that the temple Nanphaya is concerned with Buddhism.⁷

Hamsa Bird, the Vehicle of the God Brahma

The creative powers of Hindu gurus make attractive myths for Hindu gods and goddesses. Most Hindu gods and goddesses have their own vehicle and most of them are real animals and some are imaginary and their myths of the vehicle of gods and goddesses are very interesting. A large volume of books for the myths of Hindu gods and goddesses and their vehicles have been published and they attract a lot of readers. The vehicle of some Hindu gods and goddesses are lion, tiger, rat, buffalo, tortoise, bird, cow or bull, *hamsa* bird, *garuda*-half-man-half-bird, etc. and they can be observed on the walls of the main sanctum of the Abeyadana Temple.

At the base of the outer walls are the plinth moldings in the *kalasa*-pot profile. Above this, under the pilasters, runs a subtle dado freeze carved in low relief from the sandstone bricks. The dado consists of a band of tondos, each tondo framing the figure of a "*hamsa* bird or *Brahmi* duck"-the vehicle of the god Brahma⁸. The *hamsa* bird is a kind of duck with a crest on the head and colourful feathers. The total number of *hamsa* birds in the tondo is 102, and there might, have once been once, carved 108 *hamsa* birds the sacred number of Hindu. The decoration of *hamsa* bird relief along the outer wall points out the importance of the vehicle of the Hindu gods and goddesses, especially the creator god Brahma. The *hamsa* bird dado⁹ is the only example so far found in the temples of the Bagan period indicating the importance of vahanas of the Hindu gods and goddesses. Therefore, the reliefs of *hamsa* bird dado on the outer walls of Nanphaya are concerned with Brahma's vehicle.

¹ See Figure (10)

² Paul Strachan, *Bagan, Art and Architecture of Old Burma*, Singapore, Kiscadale Publications, 1989, p-48, quoting the Archaeological Survey of India, 1907-8, p-34, hereafter cited as Paul Strachan, *Bagan*

³ U Mya, "Nanphaya", p-101-6.

⁴ Ibid, p-101-6

⁵ Luce, *Old Burma, Early Bagan*, p-212

⁶ Dr Naing Pan Hla, *Archaeological Aspects of Pyu, Mon and Myanmar*, p-268

⁷ Paul Strachan, *Bagan*, p-46

⁸ See Figure (5)

⁹ See Figure (6)

The reliefs of Brahma in the Temple

The square central place of Hindu temple is called *Garbha-griha* or womb house or little cell in which the main image of the god or their emblem is usually placed. There is no room like a Hindu temple in Nanphaya because the central place, among the square columns, is a hollow structure. There is a pedestal among the four columns and there once stood the standing statue of Brahma like the Brahma's temple of Prambanan, 9th century CE, in Jogjakarta of Central Java, Indonesia. If there is an image on the pedestal there might be the standing three-headed Brahma statue holding full-blown lotus like the Brahmas on the columns.

The four square pillars¹, that support the *sikhara*, is the only kind of structure so far known in Bagan because most temples in Bagan period used the central core. The low reliefs of Brahma² are beautifully sculpted on the inner sides of the four columns and there are a total of eight seated Brahmas in the temple. Here, the image of Brahma possesses three heads and two arms. The standard depiction of Brahma is in a seated position with four arms and holding the usual attributes: the Vedas, the bull-blown lotus, a string of bead and a bowl containing the holy water.

The Brahmas in Nanphaya³ are totally different from other images of Brahma in India and Southeast Asia region. The two arms hold the full-blown lotus gracefully. Brahma is seated on the lotus cushion that extends sinuous stems to encompass his body with lush buds of louts. Set within a semi-circular arch, framed by curvaceous line carvings and surmounted by a richly-carved "*kirtimukha* frieze" The stalk of louts flank the seated Brahma and he is seated in "*rajalilasana* pose-royal ease, position with the right knee raised and left leg folded loosely"⁴ on the lotus cushion. The Brahma wears loin clothes and he also wears the scarf that hangs across the body: the end of the scarf is beautifully made. The upper torso is covered with very thin clothes with no ornaments such as necklace, armlets, and wrist-lets. The crown of Brahma is very beautiful and it is very different from the crown of the kings of Bagan and it is called "*jatamukuta* - the crown of the braided hair." The serene facial expression of the Brahma is very different from the Brahmas in paintings and images, most of which have serious facial expression.⁵ Behind the head is the halo that testifies that he is the supreme god. The whole image of Brahma is lined with scrolls of floral motif.

The scroll and full blown lotus flower of Brahma is beautifully carved on both left and right sides of each Brahma. The full blown lotus is one of the main attributes of the Brahma and he usually holds the full-blown lotus in both hands. Here in Nanphaya, the Brahma has two hands that are rather different to the images of Brahma in India and Southeast Asia. Brahma with two hands might be the innovative idea of the craftsmen of Bagan and most images of Brahma, either in painting or sculpture, have only two hands. The royal ease pose-"*rajalilasana*", the full blown lotus, the serene face, the *jatamakuta* crown, the halo behind the head,"the *hamsa* bird dado-the vehicle of the Brahma, is evidence that the relief figure in the Nanphaya is the Hindu creator god Brahma.

Brahmas in Paintings and Sculpture

The images of Brahma in sculptures and paintings in other temples are very different to the Brahma in Nanphaya. The sandstone Brahma⁶, displayed in the Archaeological Museum, is one of

¹ See Figure (2)

² See Figure (4)

³ See Figure (4)

⁴ Dr Than Tun, *Buddhist Art and Architecture*, p-24.

⁵ See Figure (7)

⁶ See Figure (7)

the masterpieces of Bagan sculptors: the Brahma is seated crossed-leg while two hands are in *namaskamudra*- prayer attitude with both hands joined. The three heads of the Brahma wear the *jatamakuta* top with the lotus bud. The face of the Brahma is serious with down cast-eyes, and sealed lips.

The images of a Brahma similar to the Brahma of the Archaeological Museum can be seen in the niches of the throne of Mye-bon-tha-pha-ya-hla Temple and they are very similar in facial expression, head dress, hand gesture, leg position to the sandstone Brahma in the Archaeological Museum.

The paintings of Brahma on the walls of Bagan temples differ to the Brahma of Nanphaya and they can be seen in most temples, such as, Myinghabha Gu-byauk-gyi, Apeyadana, Theinmase ect. The painting of Brahma in Apeyadana¹ is very different from the Brahma of Nanphaya. The Hindu gods and goddesses are beautifully and neatly drawn in the tondos on the upper part of the wall of the main sanctum and there are a total of 16 tondos. All the Hindu gods and goddesses are on their vehicles with mostly *namaskaramudra* and they are paying respect to the Buddha Statue in the temple. Here, the god Brahma is on his vehicle, the *hamsa* bird.² The god has four hands and the two hands are in the *namaskaramudra*. The three-headed Brahma along with other gods and goddesses are facing the main Buddha in the cell. Therefore, the Brahma on the wall of the main sanctum in Apeyadana Temple is in a subsidiary role.

Full-blown lotus in *Sikhara* of Nanphaya

Sikhara-the mountain top is the most important part of the Hindu temple and it is always made beautifully and elaborately with images. The simulation of the mountain top, the abode of gods and goddesses on the upper part of the temple became a standard norm and they are decorated with sculptures of various sizes and shapes. Hindus believe that the Himalayan Mountain is the home of gods and goddesses and in simulation that mountain top or *sikhara* is made up and placed above the upper part of the temple. The tradition of decoration of the *sikhara* was followed in the Bagan temples although the main idea and detailed procedure of decoration are different.

The *sikhara* of the Nanphaya³ is a bit different from other temples in Bagan. It stands on a square base with light holes: the light holes of the Nanphaya are big and beautiful and neatly edged with arched gateways. The *sikhara* with square base, curved and tapering, upwards with inward panels, something like the *jatamakuta* or crown ornament, used in contemporary north-east India.⁴ The five rows of three panels are placed on the *sikhara* and are decorated with the full blown lotus - the main attribute of Brahma. The full-blown lotus in the *sikhara* of Nanphaya⁵ is the only example so far discovered in Bagan. Most temples with *sikhara* in Bagan are decorated with the Buddha images.

Discussion

Among the thousand temples, there might be at least three temples for Hindu gods and goddesses in Bagan Period; the Nanphaya for Brahman, the Nathlaung Kyaung for Vishnu and the temple for Shiva, but there might be other ruined or destroyed. The three gods or Hindu Triad played an important role in the religious history of Bagan. The Nanphaya which was built in early Bagan period is dedicated to the god Brhama-the Creator. The eight seated Brahmas with their

¹ See Figure (8)

² See Figure (8)

³ See Figure (10)

⁴ Paul Strachan, *Bagan*, p-48

⁵ See Figure (10)

serene facial expression, the full-blown lotus in the hands of Brahmas, the full-blown lotus on the windows and lintels, the full-blown louts' panels on the *sikhara*, the vehicle of Brahma *hamsa* bird on the outer wall of the temple and the absence of evidence Buddhist icons point out that the Nanphaya was built for Brahma. In early Bagan period, Hinduism gained momentum with other religious beliefs. Among the Hindu gods and goddesses, the god of creator-Brahma was one of the main gods of Bagan and he was honored with the temple that is Nanphaya.

Conclusion

The presence of Hindu Temple-the Brahma's temple, in Bagan points out that there was the cult of Brahma. In Bagan the Hindu Triad was honored with the temples and found traces of Hindu culture can still be seen there. Religious syncretism was practiced in early Bagan period and all religions thrived side by side peacefully. The religious tolerance of Bagan people was higher than the people of present day Myanmar.

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The Location of Nanphaya and Myin-ga-bha Village, Bagan, Mandalay Division (Basemap: Bing)



Figure1 Nanphaya, the Brahma's temple, south-east corner, sandstones backed by brick inside the temple, late 11th Century CE or early 12th Century CE, Bagan, Mandalay

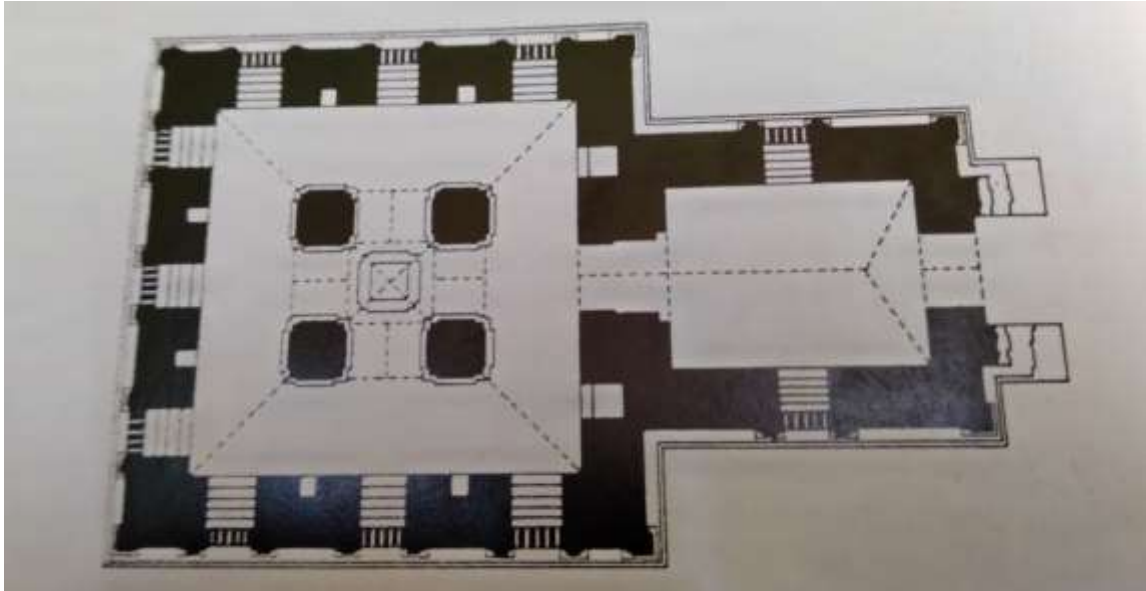


Figure 2 The ground plan of Nanphaya, the main sanctum, the four central pillars, the vestibule and perforated windows, Bagan (After U Aung Kyaing)



Figure 3 Sandstone window with lotus designs, the kalasa pot between the lintel and pediment, and goddess Sri at the apex of the pediment, Nanphaya



Figure 4 Brahma in low relief with full-blown lotus, sandstone, Nanphaya



Figure 5 Hamsa bird, H-7 inches, sandstone, the dado on the outer wall of the Nanphaya



Figure 6 Hamsa bird dado, sandstone, outer wall, Nanphaya,



Figure 7 Brahma in Namaskamudra, sandstone, Archaeological Museum, Bagan



Figure 8 Brahma on the vehicle-hamsa bird, painting, Apeyadana Temple, Bagan



Figure 9 Kalasa pot plinth, Nanphaya



Figure 10 Sikhara, set with full-blown lotus in the panels, sandstone, the eastern side, Nanphaya

BURIAL RITES AND CERAMICS: EVIDENCE OF EARLY METAL AGE SOCIETY IN SAMON VALLEY

Ei Shwe Sin Phyo¹ and Tin Htut Aung²

Abstract

The Early Metal Age is the transformational period changing from prehistoric society to historical society. In Myanmar, it is found that there are many evidences that the Early Metal Age society had settled down along the Samon River from c. 1000 BCE to c. 500 CE. The burial sites are only major evidences indicating the existence of Early Metal Age society in that area. Such common objects as pottery vessels found in the graves play an important role to understand the burial customs, social and economic conditions, and cultural distribution of the society in the region through the individual burial assemblages. This study, therefore, aims to explore the role of pottery in burial rites, representing social status of the society and their distributions in the local cultural context. In this study, the data was collected from the excavations of the selected five sites undertaken from the late of 1990s to the late of 2010s, belonging to the Early Metal Age society. The collected data was analyzed by using the quantitative approach. The study of grave pottery in Samon valley reveals that the society might have practiced two or more kinds of burial rites and the differences in the numbers and types of pottery represented different social ranks. Moreover, the dynamics utilizing pottery are concerned with the distance between their locations and the water resources.

Keywords: Early Metal Age, burial assemblages, grave pottery, quantitative approach, Samon valley

Introduction

The Early Metal Age sites, especially in the Upper Myanmar have drawn the attention of researchers from the late 1990s to recent times. Mu, Chindwin and Samon river valleys are the important places where the evidences of the Early Metal Age Society are abundantly found. Since these sites are burial sites, the evidences of these societies from these areas often reflect the funeral ceremonies. An increasing number of researchers, therefore, emphasize the culture of the Early Metal Age society from different point of views such as burial practice, cultural context, metal objects and so on. These research works reveal the local and regional cultural sequences and the chronology of this society, dating back from c.1000 BCE to c.500 CE (Pryce et al., 2016). However, there is no result in the literature regarding how the burial customs impacted on the grave pottery. A few previous researches on grave goods, especially the grave pottery (Ko Ko Kyaing, 2003; Sein Myint, 2003; Win Maung, 2003; Maitay, 2006), focused on the characteristics and typology of the pottery and compared with those of the neighbouring countries. Therefore, this study aims to investigate the role of grave pottery in the burial rite in these sites, how they distribute or spread in the local and regional context, and how they are related to the social status in the past.

Previous works on Early Metal Age Society of Samon Valley

There are many research works carried out to learn about the development of cultural achievement of society in Myanmar since the colonial period. Particularly, many scholars have researched the Stone age cultural sequences, early urbanized culture such as “Pyu”, the imperial state Bagan and other historical sites through archaeological remains and historical sources. However, there has been little research on the late prehistoric society from Bronze and early Iron ages before 1990s. Due to few researches and archaeological findings, it was difficult to reconstruct the nature of society from these ages. Therefore, Stargardt (1990: 14) suggests that due to lack of the technological achievement in Myanmar shifted studies were made from stone to iron without

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touching upon the copper nor bronze Ages. With the discovery of Nyaunggan burial site in central Myanmar bronze artifacts were discovered in 1998, the archaeologists found evidences of Early Metal Age society along Chindwin, Mu and Samon rivers. Among them, it is remarkable that a great number of the evidences of these societies are abundantly found along the Samon river valley and hence it becomes an important place to study the Early Metal Age in the country. Therefore, many researchers emphasize the Samon valley to excavate cultural artefacts of the Early Metal Age society.

There are series of excavations were carried out to understand the Early Metal Age society at Myin U Hle, Kokkokhala and Hnaw Kan between 1999 and 2001. Win Maung has described the Samon valley culture probably related to the Early Metal Age society. He (2002) found the archaeological evidences of the societies who had settled down in the area with a culture of Samon Valley somewhat similar to Halin ancient city of Pyu Civilization. Therefore, he concluded that the Samon valley was a homeland for the predecessors of Pyu Civilization.

Bob Hudson, the Australian archaeologist, endorses the suggestion of Win Maung's opinion of "Samon Valley as a homeland of the ancestors of Pyu". He, therefore, (2005) articulates a hypothesis that Samon valley was not only a Pyu homeland, but also the origins of the Myanmar's early urban system. Additionally, he claims there might have been cultural affinities between late prehistoric society of Samon Valley and pre-urban society of Halin and the ancient Pyu city, according to archaeological evidences, especially bronze artefacts, carnelian beads, coffin decorations and earthenware: distillation pots. He also compares these cultures with the other late prehistoric society in a local and regional context, especially China.

In 2006, Anna Sophie Coupey studied the funeral practices of children of Early Metal Age society in Myanmar. She (2006) compared the ways of burial for children and grave goods of Myanmar with those of neighbouring countries, particularly Thailand. She concluded that the influence on the funeral practices came from India based on geographic location of Myanmar, funeral practices, and the appearance of exotic objects in graves of Southeast Asia, especially Thailand similar with Samon valley.

Christophe Maitay wrote a research paper to describe the characteristics of ceramics found in Samon Valley. He (2006) attempted to define some specific characteristics of Upper Myanmar ceramics, in order to propose a provisional typology of the Ywa Htin Iron Age potteries, and a more precise chronology for Metal Age. He presented a range of characteristics found in the Iron Age ceramics discovered in Samon Valley burial sites through the archaeological excavations.

In 2010, it was Elizabeth Moore who studied the bronze cultures of Myanmar including Samon and compared them with Dian Cultures of Yunnan, China. She (2010) stated that Samon valley culture, one of Upper Myanmar cultures, did not fall into a 'Dian' cultural sphere, and said instead it was a local development. She also concluded that the Samon finds bring Myanmar into a discourse of wider overland and maritime exchange c. 500 BCE to 800CE.

Khin Cho Htwe wrote a paper orienting to the ancient burial practice in Samon Valley in 2013. She (2013) described the burial features of three excavated sites in Samon: Hnaw Kan, Ywa Htin and Myo Hla and the features of their significant grave goods such as Kye Doke (bronze packets) and "Mother goddess" figures. She described the role of the burial practice and importance of their particular grave goods.

Aung Mon studied a number of Early Metal Age sites for his PhD thesis at the University of Yangon. He (2013) attempted to fulfil the gaps of prehistoric chronology by analysing the culture of the artefacts such as metal artefacts and earthenware, geographical features and their burial practice and ritual thoughts. According to his works, it was revealed that Samon is the area where the social rank began to intensify and represents the transitional period from the bronze to

iron age. Samon people were traders and agriculturalists, and their traditional customs showed and they were not only the ancestors of Pyu but also the ancestors of other tribes settled down in this area. Although there are many archaeological investigations dealing with the Early Metal Age society in Samon valley, these research works revealed the cultural sequences and chronology of this society.

Geographical and Archaeological settings of Samon Valley

Samon river one of the tributaries of the Ayeyarwaddy flows through Pyawbwe, Meikhtila, Wundwin, Kyaukse and Tada U Township in Mandalay, Region. The location is between Latitude 20.16667 to 20.58333 N and Longitude 95.66667 to 96.5 E, about 200 m above the sea level. The valley runs north-south, bounded to the east by the Shan Plateau. The valley lies in between Shan Plateau to the East and Bago Range to the West.

There are fifteen Early Metal Age sites in Samon Valley excavated by the Department of Archaeology of Mandalay and the French-Myanmar joint archaeological team from 1999 to 2010. These excavated sites are Ywa Htin Gon, Ohh Min, Htan Ta Pin, Hton Bo and Kyo Gon in Pyawbwe Township, Hnaw Kan, Myin Oo Hle and Myauk Lei in Mahlaing Township, Myo Hla in Yamethin Township, Nyaung Gon and Myhar Yawai in Meikhtila Township, Ywa Gon Gyi in Thazi Township, and Kokkokhahla and Kan Thit Gon in Wundwin Township. However, people reported that there are over 60 sites around the Pyawbwe Township alone (Aung Mon, 2013).

Yet, there is no successful absolute chronology for these sites based on scientific dating. Therefore, to establish the chronological sequence of the sites from Samon valley, the archaeologists often used cultural features and artefacts typology from the sites by comparing them with those from the local (i.e. Taungthaman) and regional context. According to the typology of the artifact from most of the sites, especially the southern Samon sites such as Ohh Min, Htan Ta Pin, Hton Bo, Nyaung Gon and Ywa Htin are dated back to c. 500 BCE to c.500 CE. Ywa Gon Gyi, however, is related to the Neolithic occupation and its chronology can be extended to early second millennium BCE (Pautreau, Coupey, & Kyaw, 2010).

Studying the burial sites of Samon Valley, it is found that most of the body of the adult and semi-adult deceased, male and female, were buried in the coffins or shrouds, placed in the supine position with upper and lower members stretched-out. Particularly, the infant deceased were buried inside the two or three big jars, lain with their opening touching and facing each other. Most of the body of the deceased were oriented towards East to West and some were oriented towards north to south (Pautreau, Coupey, & Kyaw, 2010).

Human remains are found in association with their possessions such as various types of pottery, several types of beads, stone artifacts, bronze tools and objects, iron weapons and animal bones. Among the grave goods, pottery is the important funerary inclusions among the burial sites. There can be found three types of pottery: globular pots, cylindrical pots and shallow bowls as particular funeral offerings. Pautreau claims that the tradition of offering the three classic vessels in the graves of the Samon valley probably might have been started in the 4th century BCE at Ywa Htin, but it is difficult to determine when the practice declined (Pautreau, Coupey, & Kyaw, 2010).

In this paper, the burial rites and the grave pottery of five excavated sites in Samon Valley are selected for analysis, based on the limitations of the archaeological records. These sites are Ohh Min, Htan Ta Pin, Nyaung Gon, Hton Bo and Ywa Gon Gyi. The individual sites are discussed as follows.

Ohh Min

It is situated about 10 km to the northeast of Pyaw Bwe Township, Mandalay Region. It is also situated around 1.5 km from the left bank of the Samon River and its coordinates are 20.639167 degrees North and 96.126972 degrees East at an altitude of 206 m. The archaeological excavations was carried out by French-Myanmar joint team in January, 2005. The excavations yielded 10 inhumations; eight inhumations of adult, one immature and one unidentified, and pottery vessels; seven globular pots, five cylindrical pots and six shallow bowls. Bronze and iron tools were not revealed in the excavations although they are found as surface finds (Pautreau, Coupey, & Kyaw, 2010).

In the burial features, the deceased were buried in supine position with upper and lower members stretched-out. Most of them were oriented towards East to West. All the deceased are primary burial. Three pottery vessels were placed around the legs of the deceased, sometimes near the waist and neck as the funeral offerings. This set of pottery were found in four graves (Pautreau, Coupey, & Kyaw, 2010). It is noticed that no beads are found as associated finds.

Htan Ta Pin

It is situated about 4 km to the west of Pyaw Bwe Township. The village is situated on the left bank of the Samon River and coordinates are 20.58725 degrees North and 96.002272 degrees East at an altitude of 204 m. The archaeological excavations were carried out by the French-Myanmar Archaeological team in 2006. The excavations yielded a total number of 36 more or less intact graves. A number of 23 graves still contained human remains; 17 graves had been used for individual adults and 6 graves for immature (children), and 13 graves contained grave goods. The commonest excavated finds are the classical pottery, and carnelian and glass beads. Some animal remains, bone bracelets and some polished stone tools can be found near the human remains (Pautreau, Coupey, & Kyaw, 2010).

In the burial features, most of the deceased were buried in supine position with the head towards East and the feet towards West. The 21 graves are primary burials and 2 graves are secondary or reduced burials. The pottery vessels were placed near the feet of the deceased. A complete set of pottery were found in 15 graves (Pautreau, Coupey, & Kyaw, 2010). It is suggested that society might have settled down in Htan Ta Pin since the Neolithic period, as some polished stone tools can be found.

Nyaung Gon

It is located to the west of Nyaung Gon Dam, about 10 km to the southwest of Meikhtila Township, Mandalay Region. It is situated on the left bank of Samon valley and coordinates are 20.824111 degrees North and 95.834528 degrees East at an altitude 244m. The archaeological excavations were carried out by the French-Myanmar joint archaeological team in January 2007. The excavation yielded 36 graves. A number of 21 graves are still contained human remains: 9 graves had been used for adults and 17 graves for immature (children), and 10 graves containing only grave goods. Most of the graves were not in good condition due to the grave looters. Some of the deceased children were buried in two or three large jars. The most representative excavated finds are the three classical pottery vessels as well as pedestal bowls, and stone, bone and earthenware beads. The animal remains were also found. The significant finds of Nyaung Gon are one copper arrow spear head and thirteen copper wire bundles (Pautreau, Coupey, & Kyaw, 2010). In the burial features, the deceased were buried in supine position and oriented from East to West. Ten immature graves in large jars placed against each other were found and one grave corresponded to one in which the body had been reduced. The bronze wire bundles were buried around the waist and hand of the deceased. Most of the graves are primary burials and some are

reduced or secondary burials (Pautreau, Coupey, & Kyaw, 2010). Three classical pottery vessels found in most of the burial sites in Samon valley were not found in this site and the pedestal bowls are only related to the adult burials. Therefore, it is assumed that Nyaung Gon is slightly different to the other sites.

Hton Bo

It is situated about 3 km to the west of Yintaw village in Pyaw Bwe, Mandalay Region. It is also located on the left bank of Samon River and coordinates are 20.691128 degrees North and 95.916628 degrees East and at an altitude about 213m. The archaeological excavations were carried out by the French-Myanmar archaeological team in 2008. The excavation yielded 27 graves and 17 graves contained 21 individual human remains (8 graves for adults and 9 graves for immature). Three types of pottery vessels and beads were mostly found in the graves. A very few numbers of iron tools and weapons were also found in the graves. The animal remains and tortoise shells were also found (Pautreau, Coupey, & Kyaw, 2010).

In the burial features, the deceased were buried in supine position oriented towards the East. Most of the pottery were buried around the feet. Both the primary and secondary or reduced burials are found in this area (Pautreau, Coupey, & Kyaw, 2010). The remain of tortoise shells as funeral offerings have not been found in other prehistoric burial sites in the Samon Valley. The finding of iron tools indicates that Hton Bo is more related to the Iron Age.

Ywa Gon Gyi

It is situated about 10 km to the North of Thazi Township, Mandalay region and from about 1km to the north of Kanthitkon village which also has ancient burial sites. It is also located on the left bank of the Samon River and coordinates are 20.937822 degrees North and 96.032372 degrees East and at an altitude 166m. It was excavated by the French-Myanmar archaeological team in 2009 and 2010. The excavations yielded 82 graves: 46 of the deceased individuals are adults, 18 were immature(children) and other 8 of the deceased were unidentified. The different types of pottery (globular pots, cylindrical pots, shallow bowls and pedestal bowls), bronze wire bundles, bronze coffin ornaments, iron tools, polished stone tools and some beads were found near the deceased. But beads are rarely found (Pautreau, Coupey, & Kyaw, 2010).

In the burial features, the deceased were buried in supine position and oriented towards North to South. The 61 graves are primary burials and 11 graves are reduced and regrouped into 7 structures. Fourteen burials contained no human remains. The pottery vessels were mostly placed near the feet of the deceased. A complete set of pottery vessels were found only in two graves (Pautreau, Coupey, & Kyaw, 2010). It is assumed that Ywa Gon Gyi is related to the Neolithic, bronze and iron ages as the polished stone tools, the bronze artefacts and the iron artefacts were found here. Moreover, it is also found that Ywa Gon Gyi is the only site where the deceased were buried and oriented towards North to South in out of five sites.

Materials and Methods

Quantification is one of the useful methods for studying the pottery in archaeology. It has been defined as ‘the process of measuring the amounts of pottery of different categories in one or more assemblages’ (Orton, Tyers, & Vince, 1993). The aim is to investigate and compare the populations of different pottery types in order to inform questions of chronology, use, social and economic conditions and site formation process (Barclay, et al., 2016). Orton stated that “this is a subject which has often generated more heat than light in recent years” (Orton, Tyers, & Vince, 1993). His statement has remained as undeniable for more than twenty years. Kotsonas outlined the quantitative approaches that reveal the composition of burial assemblages, the representation

of varied types in different assemblages and the role of ceramics in the funerary ritual (Kotsonas, 2011).

This study, therefore, applied the quantitative method to measure the amount of each type of pottery in individual sites, and Geographic Information System (GIS) was used to explore the spatial context and the role of ceramics in the burial rite among these sites. This study collected the pottery data from the burial sites such as Ohh Min, Htan Ta Pin, Nyaung Gon, Hton Bo and Ywa Gon Gyi in Samon Valley excavated between 2005 and 2010. This study analysed a totality of 153 pottery which are usually found in the excavations. These potteries can be divided into five groups: globular pots, cylindrical pots, shallow bowls, pedestal bowls and vases.

Results

The pottery from the sites under present research has similar styles of decoration, form and size. These five sites have revealed a series of pottery samples which are fundamental for understanding the Early Metal Age society of Samon valley. A significant variation in shapes has revealed a large number of form variants. As shown in the figure (1), five main groups have been identified due to their morphological variations: cylindrical pots, globular pot, pedestal bowl, shallow bowl and vase. The globular pot can be divided into 10 variants, the cylindrical pot into 16 variants, the shallow bowl into 15 variants, the pedestal bowl into 9 variants and the vase into 1 variant. Figure 2 summarizes the results on the amount of pottery used in graves of five sites. The highest percentage (42%) of all the pottery among the five sites is the globular pots. The shallow bowls are the second highest percentage (34%) of all the pottery. The cylindrical pots are 14%. These three types of pottery can be found as a set of grave pottery and in all sites. The pedestal bowls total nine percent. This is the least percentage (1%) out of all the pottery. Hence, it is suggested that the globular pot was the most fundamental and essential container in the Early Metal Age in Samon valley.



Figure 1 Morphological Variations of Samon Pottery (modified and adopted from Pautreau, Coupey, & Kyaw, 2010)

Figure 3 presents five main groups of pottery types and their distribution among five sites of Samon valley. The proportion of globular pot and shallow bowl is much higher than the other types of pottery. Particularly, the proportion of globular pot increases in the Ohh Min and Ywa Gon Gyi sites which are short distances to water resources. It indicates that the occurrence of globular pot increases as the location of burial sites are found closer to the water resources. It is, therefore, suggested that the globular pots might have been used for storage of water. Furthermore, the proportion of cylindrical pots associated with the pedestal bowls decreases noticeably in Nyaung Gon and Ywa Gon Gyi which are located slightly further north. It is possible that cylindrical pots and pedestal bowl might have been used for the same function. Moreover, the proportion of shallow bowl gradually decreases as the sites are found closer to the Samon river. It highlights that the utilization of shallow bowl might have been popular in areas closer to the Samon river. The proportion of pedestal bowl increases in the sites which are slightly closer to the northern part of the valley. The vase is a significant type of pottery in the Samon valley and it is only found in Nyaung Gon.

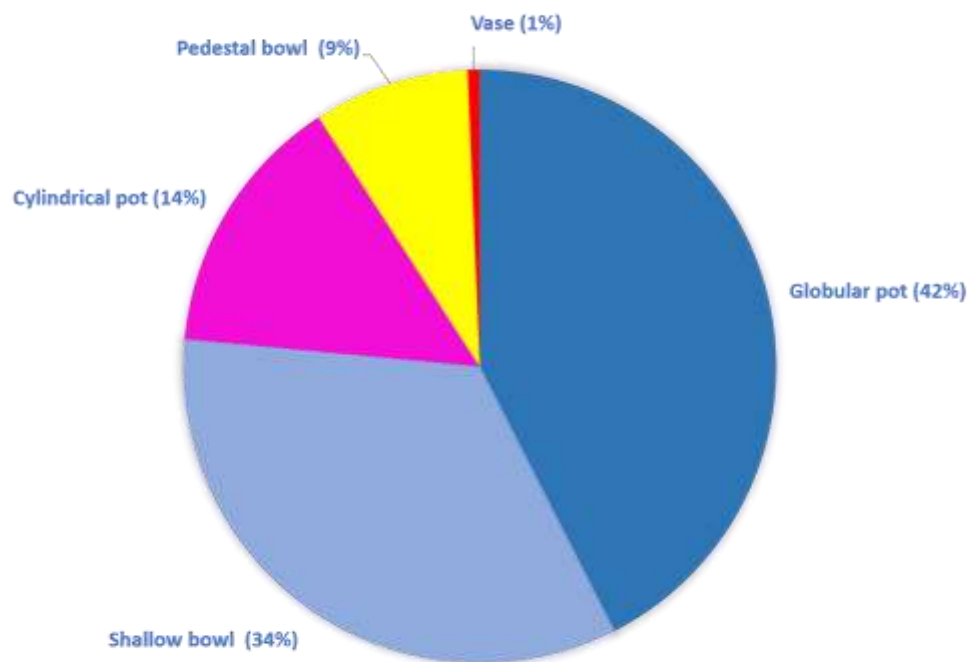


Figure 1 A Pie Chart showing the percentage of pottery utilization in five excavated sites of Samon Valley

However, pottery can be found in several number and various positions in the graves of the Early Metal Age society. A few human remains are associated with only one type of pottery: globular pot, but some are related to two types of pottery: globular pot and shallow bowls. And in contrast, a smaller number of human remains are associated with three types of pottery: globular pots, shallow bowls, cylindrical pots. Therefore, the globular pot, the cylindrical pot and the shallow bowl can be assumed as a classic pottery set in the Early Metal Age graves. It is indicated that the utilization of pottery in graves are related to the social ranks indicating a higher social class as the number of pottery used increased. Moreover, figure 4 presents the comparison of the total number of graves in individual sites and the number of graves in which the classic pottery sets are found as a grave pottery set. It is found that there is no grave which is associated with this classic pottery set in Nyaung Gon. In addition, only two graves out of seventy-five graves can be found

with this pottery set in Ywa Gon Gyi. It indicates that the burial rite of the classic pottery set of graves decreases in the graves which are commonly related to the pedestal bowls. It supposes that the burial practice of Nyaung Gon and Ywa Gon Gyi slightly differed from the burial practice of Ohh Min, Htan Ta Pin and Hton Bo.

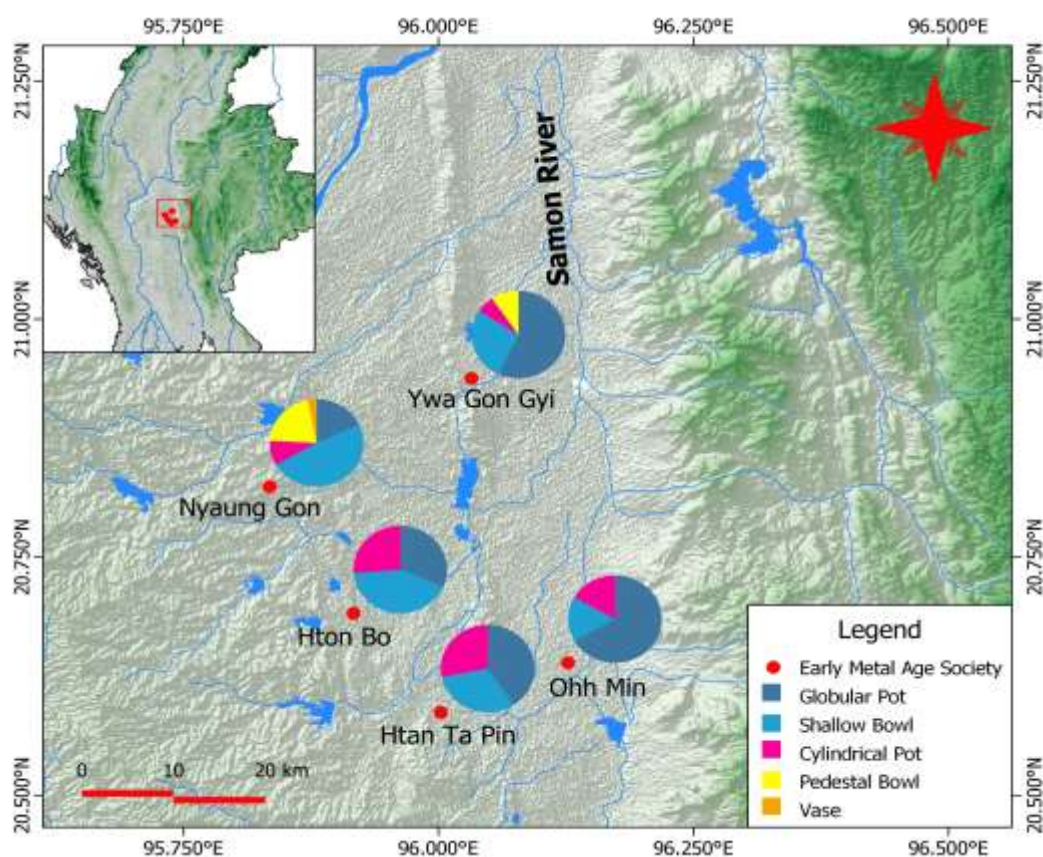


Figure 2 A map showing types of pottery in five excavated sites of Samon Valley and their distributions

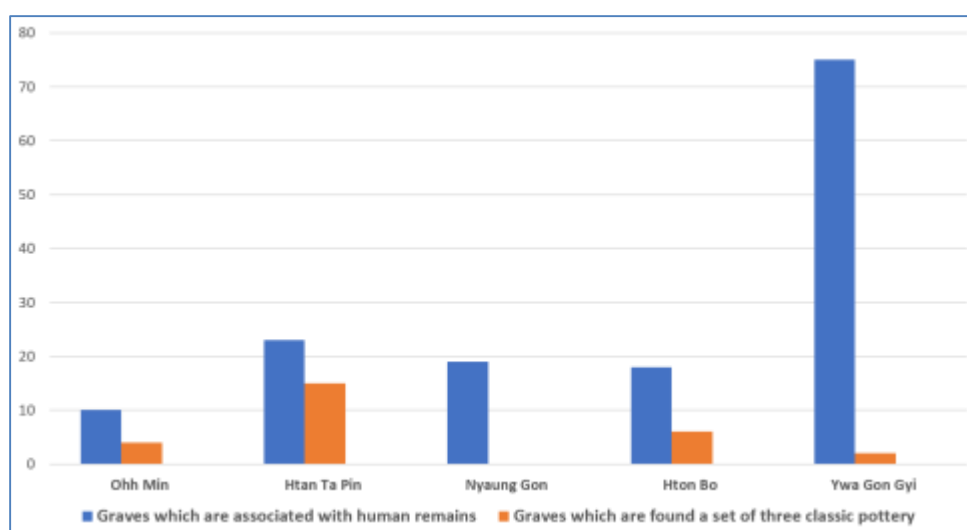


Figure 3 Comparison of graves of individual sites and utilization of a set of three classic pottery

Discussion and Conclusion

This research investigated the role of pottery in the burial rite of Samon valley and their distributions. This study shows that there are some differences in the distribution of pottery among the burial sites of Samon valley. Particularly, a large amount of globular pots can be found in all the sites. In some cases, for example, the globular pots are abundantly discovered in the sites which are very near to the water resources such as Ohh Min and Ywa Gon Gyi. It supports that the globular pots might have been used for water storage in that Early Metal Age. Moreover, the globular pot, the cylindrical pot and the shallow bowl were probably the most basic and essential containers for the burial ceremonies and probably for the domestic uses of Early Metal Age as they are found in most of the graves among five sites of Samon valley. Therefore, it is supposed that the distributions of pottery are concerned with the distance between their locations and the water resources.

On the other hand, this study shows that the utilization of pottery in the burial rite somewhat relates with the social status. For example, only one type of pottery might have been used for the lower social rank and the higher social rank might have used a classic pottery set or more types of pottery. Therefore, it is concluded that the utilization of pottery in the burial rites of Samon valley is related to the social status and the amount of pottery in each grave can indicate social ranks of individual human remain. Moreover, the difference between the burial practice of Nyaung Gon and Ywa Gon Gyi, and the burial practice of Ohh Min, Htan Ta Pin and Hton Bo shows that the burial practices of Early Metal Age society might be two or more rites.

This study has taken a step in the role and utilization of pottery in graves and their distributions of the Early Metal Age society in Samon valley by the quantitative and the typological approaches. Further investigation should be verified the quantitative amount of pottery wear types, fabric compositions, making techniques of the pottery to realize the distribution of local cultural context among the Early Metal Age society.

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TRADITIONAL FUNERAL CUSTOMS AND PRACTICES IN MYANMAR SOCIETY

San San Oo¹

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.royalpalmemorial.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 decreased 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 rites 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 turned 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 infused life into the corpse (*phote-thwin*). The dead body then came 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 then 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, 1952-1965



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-သတ်ပျောက်ဆွမ်း*) 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 offer 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 Gems (*Tharanagon*) are conducted together. These 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-သရနဂုံ*) 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 fulfill 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, 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"* (အတိတ်-ဌာန-သရုပ်) 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 *Gadde-ga* has changed from twenty-five pats 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 powder 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 *Gadde-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 or 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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REFLECTIONS ON ANCESTOR WORSHIP; A CASE STUDY OF POE KAYIN PEOPLE LIVING IN KAMAPAR VILLAGE, KUNGYANGONE TOWNSHIP, YANGON REGION

Sandar Win¹

Abstract

Poe Kayin people who reside in Kamapar village celebrate the ceremonies of paying homage to the late ancestors. They hold it for the good of their business, health and education. Every member of the family has to take part in the ceremony. This study was viewed from religious anthropology perspectives and conducting qualitative ethnographic field approach. The aim of the search is to explain the essential theme of the ritual of Poe Kayin people's ancestor worship. The objectives are to reveal the importance of paying homage to the ancestors in social affairs and well-being of the Kayin people, to learn the procedures of the ceremony of paying homage to the ancestors and to record the ritual of worshipping the ancestors for the next generations. The data was collected and performed by key informant interview, in-depth interview, participant observation and focus group interview. Young people come back home at the time of propitiation of the spirits of the ancestors. Therefore they are not used to the service of the spiritual medium and they should learn the rituals. Actually ancestor worship ceremony is a small family gathering of home coming children. In addition, all the family members can worship their late ancestor together. Besides they get together for breakfast, lunch and dinner and treat the villagers with rice and curry. Such rituals should be handed down from generation to generation to preserve family and ethnic unity.

Keywords: celebrate, paying homage, ceremony, ancestors

Introduction

Religion may be regarded as the beliefs and patterns of behavior by which human try to deal with what they view as important problems that cannot be solved with known technology or organizational techniques. To overcome these limitations, people turn to the manipulation of supernatural beings and power.

Religion consists of various rituals- prayers, songs, dances, offerings, and sacrifices- people enact to try to manipulate supernatural beings and powers to their advantage. These beings and power may consist of gods and goddesses, ancestral and other spirits or impersonal powers, either by themselves or in various combinations (Haviland, 2007).

Ancestor worship is found in many forms in cultures throughout the world, Veneration of ancestors is regarded as a means through which an individual can assure his or her own immortality. It is perhaps the world's oldest religion. Some anthropologists theorize that it grew out of belief in some societies that dead people still exist in some form because they appear in dreams. Ancestor worship involves the belief the dead live on as spirits and that it is the responsibility of their family members and descendants to make sure that are well taken care of. If they are not, they may come back and cause trouble to the family member and descendants that have ignored or disrespected them.

In Myanmar and other places, special reverence is accorded a family's ancestors. This practice, known as the family cult or cult of the ancestors is derived from the belief that after death the spirits of the departed continued to influence the world of the living.

This ancestor worship is very deeply rooted in Kayin Buddhist community and still very much alive today. It has long been a key religious belief and practice in Poe Kayin community. Perhaps the ultimate qualification to become an ancestor is death. Death is the dividing line between the world of the living and the world of the dead. It is however not the only criteria. Not

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all dead people are considered as ancestors. Generally speaking, the ancestors are the deceased who were once members of the social group of a clan. Only parents, grandparents, great grandparents can qualify as ancestors. Young boys and girls who die cannot become ancestors.

A. Research Questions

What role does ancestor worship play in Poe Kayin Community?

What are the beliefs of your ancestors?

How do you worship your ancestors?

Who are the ancestors?

B. Research Aim and Objectives

Aim

To explain the essential theme of the ritual of Poe Kayin people's ancestor worship.

Objectives

To reveal the importance of paying homage to the ancestors in social affairs and well-being of the Kayin people.

To learn the procedures of the ceremony of paying homage to the ancestors.

To record the ritual of worshipping the ancestors for the next generations.

Research Methodology

This study was viewed from religious anthropological perspectives and conducted qualitative, ethnographic fieldwork approach. In field study, data were collected by key informant interview, In-depth Interview, Focus group interview and participant Observation.

Location and Area

The sub-ethnic group of Kayin people named Po-Kayin reside in the villages called Kamapar, Towkyaung, Mankaleik, kyauikpat, Ingut, Wakauktaw, Kyarkhat, which are located in Kungyangon Township, Yangon Region, Kungyangon Township is situated near the river called Toe River, 34 miles away from Yangon in its southern part, 9 miles away from Kawhmu, and eight miles away from Ingarpu which is on the opposite side of Dedaye River. Its area is 28,827 square miles. Kamapar village is located in north-eastern part of Kungyangon which is more than 800 feet above sea level.



Population, Household and Villages

There are seven wards, 43 village-tracts, 118 villages, 5 sub-districts in Kungyangon Township. The Kamapar village-tract where Po-Kayins are residing has 1,404 households, 1,376 houses, and the total population is 5,824 with males (3,187) and females (2,637).



The entrance of the village

Transportation

Kamapar village is situated in Kungyangone Township, Yangon region. It is located on the left hand side of the Yangon. Dedaye- Pyapon-Bogalay motorway. It can be reached by motorway. If one wants to visit Kamapar village he or she has to cross the Hlaing River by a ferry boat to Dala. From Dala if he or she takes one of the buses which go to Pyapon, Dedaye, Bogalay and Kyaiklat, he or she gets off at Kamapar village. Ferry boat fare is one hundred kyats and bus fare to Kamapar village is two thousand kyats.

The traditional customs of ancestor worship

According to the interviews, it is learnt that the Poe Kayin people who reside in Kamapar village profess Buddhism. Since they are Buddhists, they celebrate the ceremony of paying homage to their late ancestors to beg their pardon thinking that they have done something wrong to the forebears. If the forebears are still living, they can take part in the place of ancestors.

Formerly, the custom of ancestors worship was meant for the health of the family members. Later it was also meant for successful business. Nowadays, it is meant for children's education.

Nobody knows exactly when ancestor worship began. They hold the ceremony in order not to break the tradition. Concerning the oral history of ancestors worship, a seventy year old man said,

"Once upon a time, one of the Kayin kings had a number of offspring. They usually eat their meals in a big circular tray on a stand together. When the children are grown up they became lords at remote places. When they could not come back to their parents, they get together at home and have the meals with their family. At the same time, they dedicated the feast to their ancestors. In order to beg their pardon, they also drank hand cleaning water, and foot cleaning water at the fast."

Ceremony of paying homage to the ancestors is not held by the living family members regularly. Some people do it annually whereas some people do it three years a time depending on their financial situation. When they are faced with social issues or when they overcome their social issues, they hold it and say prayers for success. Sometimes, when they achieve their objective, they hold it twice a year.

A woman who is sixty three years old said,

"In this village, a Poe Kayin damsel married a Hindu lad and they earn their living by breeding cattle. Then they moved to another place. They regularly came back to Kamapar village with their grandchildren to pay homage to the ancestors in order not to break the tradition."

Poe Kayin people who reside in Kamapar village earn their living by cultivating rice and betel leaves. The villagers cooperate on not only in agriculture but also in paying homage to the ancestors. They are well experienced in the ceremony.

The elderly Poe Kayin people help in agricultural work as much as they can. However, they no longer lead the family in business depending on their children's subsidization. They never lead the ceremony but they take part as the elders. Concerning the traditional ceremony, an old man who is seventy two years of age said,

"Since we profess Buddhism, we do not want to kill chickens as well as pigs committing a sin. As for the young people, they hold it to be healthy and wealthy."

Concerning the importance of the ceremony, a man who is forty years old said,

"For the ceremony of paying homage to the ancestors (Inkhine), four chickens and two pigs are killed. We know that we have committed a sin. In spite of that, we had to do it in order to wipe out the social issues."

Only a few young Poe Kayin earn their living by traditional agriculture. They are now working for governmental departments and companies in Yangon and Mandalay. Some go to foreign countries, for example South Korea to work there. When their families inform them, they come back home and take part in the ceremony. Although they participate in it, they are not eager to do so.

There are three spiritual mediums who can lead the ceremony in the village. At present one of the three spiritual medium is taking responsibility. If he passes away, some difficulties may arise later because the other two spiritual mediums are not accustomed to the ceremony. A home coming Poe Kayin youth worker who is twenty five years old said,

“While I was working overseas, I sent money to my family regularly and to hold the ceremony without fail on behalf of me. This year I come back home to pay homage to my ancestors myself.”

When some of the villagers are faced with social issues, they go to the village spiritual medium and do what he instructs if he sees that it is necessary. Some people do not go to the spiritual medium and pay homage to the ancestors with his help.

Ceremony of paying homage to the ancestors is very costly. The cost of the ceremony is based on the size of the pig. It varies three hundred thousand *Kyat* to five hundred thousand *Kyat*. (Myanmar Currency) If the villagers do not have sufficient money to hold ceremony, they make a promise that they will do it when they have enough money. Some of the money for the ceremony is packed in a white cloth and placed on the altar. It is known as “*Koegyin*”. The money is meant for the ancestors. It is usually done by the spiritual medium or head of the family.



Koegyin

As soon as they achieve the objective, they consult the spiritual medium and arrange to hold the ceremony. All the family members have to take part in the ceremony. If someone is late for the ceremony, he or she cannot enter the house while the ceremony is in progress. He or she can enter the house only when the ceremony is over.

Although they have achieved the objectives, if they do not hold the ceremony, they are warned three times. It is said that if they don't hold the ceremony in spite of the warning, they can get into trouble. It is also said that if they promise to hold the ceremony when the circumstances permit, they can achieve their objectives.

In a family, when both the parents are not still living, the eldest son or daughter has to lead the ceremony. Married son or daughter who lives separately can hold it at their homes. However they cannot go to their parents' homes and hold it. If they want to hold it at their parents' home, they must give twenty thousand kyats or thirty thousand kyats to them. Some people who marry twice have to hold the ceremony for the children of first marriage so that the children of second marriage can pay homage to the ancestors.

The responsibilities of a spiritual medium

Since Poe Kayin people who reside in Kamapar village are accustomed to the ceremony of paying homage to the ancestors, they are well experienced. The spiritual medium is the instructor

of the ceremony. A spiritual medium must be a man. He must be a person who abides by the religious precepts. He must be fluent in Poe Kayin language and knowledge about the ritual. He also earns his living by traditional agriculture. He must refrain from drinking alcohol. As a result a spiritual medium is a rare species. He can hand down to young generation but no one is interested in it. While paying homage to the ancestors, one who is eager to know can learn the procedures practically from the spiritual medium. Age is not limited. One can be a spiritual medium after his wife reaches the menopause. There are three generations of spiritual medium in the village. The present spiritual medium has had twenty nine years of service. The spiritual medium who is fifty nine years old said,

“Actually the service is meant for the aged persons .I have been a spiritual medium since I was thirty years of age. I was admitted because I was knowledgeable about the ritual although I was young.”

The honorarium for the spiritual medium is two thousand kyats or three thousand kyats and a viss of pork. The procedure of the ceremony is different from that of the neighboring villages.

Holding the ceremony of paying homage to the ancestors

In Poe Kayin language, the ceremony of paying homage to the ancestors is called “*Pet-in-Khine*”. It means the ceremony of begging the late ancestors, pardon if their children have insulted them unintentionally when they were young. Other Kayin people call it ‘*Nat-sar-dae*’. Poe Kayin people of Kampar do not like the term. They say it is to that pay respect to the late ancestors. If their old parents are still living, the children take place in front of the stage and pay respect according to the proceeding days. They do not hold the ceremony during the Buddhist lent, on Wednesday, full moon day, the last waning day and the 8th waxing day. If there is an emergency case, they may hold it during the Buddhist lent.

First of all, the head of the family has to consult the spiritual medium and choose the date. The date depends on the free time of the spiritual medium and the family members. There are three mediums who know the procedures. But only one is in service. Sometimes, he has to serve four ceremonies in a day.

After the date has been fixed, the spiritual medium asks the “*Phu-thein-kyar*” spirit which dwells on the dry tree stump in the field outside the village to invite the spirits of the ancestors. The “*Phu-thein-kyar*” spirit has two assistants. One can invite the ancestors in heaven and another can invite the ancestors in the lower abode. The spiritual medium himself goes to the stump and asks them to invite the ancestors in the afternoon or in the evening.

Before the day of the ceremony, the altar of the house is cleaned up. Then the spiritual medium asks permission from the home spirit, door spirit, staircase spirit, garden spirit, village spirit, the outside of the village spirit and four guardian spirits to allow the spirits of the ancestors to enter the house.

One day ahead of the ceremony, the house owner makes obeisance to *U Shin Gyi* spirit in order to be free from danger. Anybody can make obeisance to *U Shin Gyi* spirit without sex discrimination and age limitation. The only thing is woman can make it only after menstruation. Steamed glutinous rice and coconut which are placed in three plates with three candles are offered to *U Shin Gyi* spirit in the evening or at night. The ceremony of paying homage to the ancestors takes two days. On the first day the hostess pays homage to her ancestors. She does it once in the morning and once in the afternoon. Chicken is meant for the morning and pork is meant for the afternoon. She starts the ceremony at 6 a.m or 7 a.m.

The offertories are prepared before the spiritual medium’s arrival. The villagers come and help in the preparation. First of all, cooked rice is offered to Lord Buddha. Then a cock and a hen

are killed by wrapping them tightly with strip of bamboo to prevent open wounds. The cock and the hen can be homebred or bought. The chickens must be grown up and free from wounds. Then their stomachs are cut and their entrails are picked out and the chickens are boiled. Their nails must not be cut. Killing and cooking chickens and pigs are done by the family members and relatives.

The entrails of the cock and hen are tied with a strip of bamboo separately and boiled without salt. After they have been boiled, they are put into the respective stomach again. Then a bamboo tray is overturned, two banana leaves are spread out on it and the tray is put on the leaves. After that cooked rice is put in the middle of the two chickens. The boiled hen is on the left side and the boiled cock is on the right side in the form of crouching. Two betel quids including betel leaf, tobacco, slaked lime and betel nut, a glass of water and a kindled candle are put in the aluminium tray. The tray is put in front of the altar. The living parents and grandparents are seated at the head of the house. On behalf of the late ancestors, their old clothes are put at the head of the house. The spiritual medium puts the sandalwood scented water into a glass and spray it onto Lord Buddha and then onto the tray. After that he invites the late ancestors to join the family and have the meals, begs their pardon if the young people committed something wrong physically, verbally and mentally, he has to say two times before, and after the candle fire dies out. When the candle fire dies out, cooked rice, chicken and betel quid are packed in banana leaf and serves the food to the ancestors first as a gesture of respect. Then the spiritual medium and all the family members eat the food in ascending order using the left hands owing to different lives. If the parents and grandparents are still living, their hand washing water are drunk by their children and grandchildren in order to be free from misdeed. After the homage, contributors, invited guests and villagers are entertained to rice, pork curry and chicken salad. Chicken is made salad using onion, chilli and salt without oil. The ceremonial curry depends on the donor's financial situation. Sometimes pork curry is mixed with potato or pumpkin.



Preparation with chicken of the ceremony of the paying homage to the ancestor

After the morning ceremony is over, afternoon ceremony is prepared. First of all, the head of a female pig is hit with an axe to kill and its bristle is shared. Then its head, hands, legs and tail are cut. Then its abdomen is cut and its entrails are picked out. The nape meat, rib, head, hip meat, hands and legs are set aside for the ceremony. After cleaning them all, they are boiled without salt. Local people believe that if the meat is not well done, the ceremony is not successful. If the ceremony is unsuccessful, they celebrate it again at their convenient time. The bile is picked out from the entrails and boiled separately. Two leaves of banana are spread out in the bamboo tray.

A big bowl is placed on the tray. The head, nape meat, rib, hip meat, hands, legs and tail are placed in the bowl. A glass of water, two betel quids and a lighted candle are offered to the ancestors by the spiritual medium. As soon as the candle light dies out, the food is served to the ancestors first as a gesture of respect.



Preparation with pork of the ceremony of the paying homage to the ancestor

Cooked rice, pork curry and betel leaves are packed and set aside. Morning chicken packet and afternoon pork packet are put into the bamboo woven by the spiritual medium himself and wrapped with cotton thread. Wrapping with the cotton thread is meant by the ancestors' different lives. These are the gifts for the ancestors and "*Phu-thein-kya*" spirit who resides at the dry stump outside the village.

Local people believe that if someone is impertinent to "*Phu-thein-kya*", he or she gets into trouble. Once, a child grabbed the gifts meant for "*Phu-thein-kya*" spirit and ancestors while the spiritual medium was offering. No sooner had the child grabbed the parcels than he suffered from stomachache and passed away. Every Poe Kayin pays respect to "*Phu-thein-kya*" spirit.

When the afternoon worship is over, boiled pork is mixed with onion and chilli powder to make salad without oil. Invited guests are fed for the second time. The villagers are given pork and they can cook it as they like. In this way the ceremony is over for the first day. The host and hostess cannot use the bamboo tray, the aluminium tray and the bowl again for the next day. They have to finish the rice and curry up on the first day.

The second day is meant for the ceremony of the husband's ancestors. On that day, the wife's relatives must not come. The ancestral spirits of the husband's parents and grandparents are invited and paid homage. The morning ceremony is the same as the wife's first day arrangement. The pig used in the afternoon ceremony is a male pig. The afternoon ceremony is also the same as the wife's first day arrangement. On these days, the family members have to retrain from drinking alcohol. The drunk men must not come to the ceremony because their parents and grandparents dislike it. Nevertheless they can come and have the meals at lunch time. The number of ceremony is variable every year. One year, seventy pigs were used to propitiate the spirits of the ancestors. It was the largest amount during the spiritual medium's service.



Interviewing with the spiritual medium

Discussion

Poe Kayin people who reside in Kamapar village celebrate the ceremonies of paying homage to the late ancestors. They hold it so far the good of their business, health and education. Although it is costly, they do it because they believe that their objectives are good. Even if they cannot hold it at present, they promise to propitiate their ancestors, without fail, sometimes in the future. As soon as they achieve their objectives, they hold it without fail. Preparation is necessary for the ceremony. Every member of the family has to take part in the ceremony. As for the elderly people, they are placed at the head of the house. Young people come back home at the time of propitiation of the spirits of their ancestors. Therefore, they are not familiar with the service of the spiritual medium. They must learn the rituals.

Conclusion

Actually the ancestor worship ceremony is a small family gathering of home coming children. In addition, all the family members can worship their late ancestors together. Besides they get together for breakfast, lunch and dinner and they treat the villagers to rice and curry. Whatever or not the ancestor worship accomplishes what Poe Kayins believe it does, it serves a number of social functions. It plays an important role in maintaining social solidarity.

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