

## A Study on the British Annexation of (Bhamo) Banmaw (1885-87)

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### Abstract

The present research paper attempted to study the British Annexation of Banmaw (1885-87)". The research paper present; why the British occupied Banmaw, what were causes to occupy Banmaw, how the British prepared to occupy Banmaw, and the conditions of Banmaw before and after the British annexation. Based on contemporary records, the paper was conducted. I believe that my research work will be a partial significant value for colonial period of Myanmar.

**Key words:** British, annexation

### Introduction

The total area of Banmaw township is 759.01 miles and locates on the left bank of (Irrawaddy) Ayeyarwaddy River. It is traditionally says that the word "Ban Maw" is belong from the Shan language "Man Maw". The town lies about twelve miles distant in a straight line from the foot of the Kachin hills. During the reign of Myanmar Kings, the British had long been interested in the northern Myanmar, especially Banmaw which located at the east bank of Ayeyarwaddy. Therefore, Banmaw is the gate of Upper Myanmar and the port for trading, existed for centuries with Yunan Province of China. Before the British annexation of the whole Myanmar in 1885, they attempted to develop and control some parts of the Southern Silk road to reach Southern China, Banmaw and Myitkyina were the same important trading centres within Myanmar boundaries.

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Banmaw Township locates between 23°54' and 24° 42' N and between 96°53' and 93°24' E. It lies 385 feet above sea level. The total area of the township is 759.01 sq miles and from east to west 33 sq miles and north to south 55 sq miles respectively<sup>1</sup> and locates on the left bank of the (Irrawaddy) Ayeyarwaddy River, 687 miles from the sea.<sup>2</sup>

Banmaw Township includes in Banmaw District, Kachin State, and northern Myanmar. It bounds from the east by Momauk Township, from the west by Shwegu Township, from the south by Mansi Township and from the north by Waingmaw Township of Myitkyina District respectively.<sup>3</sup> It is traditionally says that the word "Ban Maw" is belong from the Shan language "Man Maw". The name Man or Wanmaw (Bhamo) is Shan, and implies that it was originally a potter's village.<sup>4</sup> The town lies about twelve miles distant in a straight line from the foot of the Kachin hills.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Banmaw Township General Administration Department*, Banmaw, October 2017, p. 2 (Henceforth: *Administration*, 2017)

<sup>2</sup> Dawson, G. W, *Burma Gazetteer The Bhamo District*, Rangoon, Superintendent, Government Printing and STATY., Union Of Burma, 1960, 89 (Henceforth; Dawson, 1960)

<sup>3</sup> *Administration*, 2017, 2

<sup>4</sup> J.G Scott and Hardiman J.P, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, Part Two, Vol.I, Rangoon, Superintendent and Government Printing, 1901, p.56 (Henceforth; Scott and Hardiman, 1901)

<sup>5</sup> Scott and Hardiman, 1901, 71

During the reign of Myanmar Kings, the British had long been interested in the northern Myanmar, especially Banmaw which located at the east bank of Ayeyarwaddy. Therefore, Banmaw is the gate of Upper Myanmar and the port for trading, existed for centuries with Yunan Province of China.<sup>6</sup> On 22 November 1835, Mr. Burney planned a journey with a total of 1,200 people by fourteen launches. They left from Mandalay for Mogaung and arrived at the destination on 5 January 1836. And they retreated from Mogaung due to the Chinese Yunan disliked the journey.<sup>7</sup> In 1848, Baron Otto des Granges published “A Short Survey of the countries between Bengal and China”. In this book, it showed that the great commercial and politically importance of Banmaw and possibility of a direct overland trade between Calcutta and China.<sup>8</sup>

In 1863, Dr. Clement Williams, formerly resident at the court of Mandalay strongly advocated the Banmaw route as politically, physically and commercially the most advantageous it after return from Banmaw. His journey was lasted twenty-one days and he arrived at Banmaw on February 1863. The aim of his journey was to study the possibility trade route with China from overland through Banmaw.<sup>9</sup> In 1867, Major Sladen began a journey to study the possibility of the trading route with China by overland route through Banmaw supported by Rangoon Chambers of Commerce. In 1869, he suggested to British government to open the British resident at Banmaw and to ply a steamer to Banmaw once a month by Irrawaddy Flotilla Company.<sup>10</sup> Hence the British opened the resident office at Banmaw in 1869. Another reason the British interested in northern part of Myanmar, they want to make Mogaung and Hukoung Valley as a center for trade route between Yunan and India. They often tried to construct the Yunan-Assam railway line in order to extract the mineral resources from this region.<sup>11</sup>

Before the British annexation of the whole Myanmar in 1885, the Southern Silk road existed as an important communication. So they attempted to develop and control some parts of the Southern Silk road to reach Southern China, Banmaw and Myitkyina were the same important trading centres within Myanmar boundaries, to link between India (in the West) and China (in the East).<sup>12</sup> The Stilwell Road consisted of both Ledo Road and Burma Road which eventually runs to Banmaw Road leading to South China.<sup>13</sup> At present this Stilwell road stretches from Ledo in Assam to Banmaw and then proceeds to Kuming across the Patkai range.<sup>14</sup> Kachin region, including Banmaw Township with China was contiguous border; they had socio-economic relation and contact throughout history. Therefore, on 25 October 1885, while they planned to occupy the Upper Myanmar, the British inquired the Chinese attention by sending a telegraph to British resident Mr. O’Cormor in Beijing.<sup>15</sup> The Chinese government took the advantages to show their influence over Myanmar by sending a reply telegram to the

<sup>6</sup> Nu Nu, History of Banmaw (1886-1948), Ph.D Dissertation, History Department, Mandalay University, 2009, p.2 (Henceforth; Nu Nu, 2009)

<sup>7</sup> (a) Dorothy Woodman, The Making of Burma, London, The Creset Press, 1962, p. 353 (Henceforth; Dorothy, 1962)

(b) Nu Nu, 2009, 2

<sup>8</sup> (a) John Anderson, *From Mandalay to Momien*, London, Macmillan and Co.1876, p.6 (Henceforth; Anderson, 1876)

(b) Scott and Hardiman, 1901, 62

<sup>9</sup> Anderson, 1876, 7

<sup>10</sup> Anderson, 1876, 1

<sup>11</sup> Dorothy, 1962, 353

<sup>12</sup> Lipi Ghosh, India-Myanmar Relations Historical Links to Contemporary Convergences, New Delhi (India), Paragon International Publishers, 2016, p.23 (Henceforth; Lipi Ghosh, 2016)

<sup>13</sup> Lipi Ghosh, 2016, 159

<sup>14</sup> Lipi Ghosh, 2016, 161

<sup>15</sup> Kyan, *The End of Feudal Burma*, Rangoon, Sapaybeikman Press, 1978, p. 18 (Henceforth; Kyan, 1978)

British foreign office on 1<sup>st</sup> November 1885. On 30 December 1885, British Deputy Commissioner C.H.E Andamson sent a letter to the Chinese officers Bohs Lee Win Sho<sup>16</sup> and Yin Ta Yin that means British troops were now stationed at Banmaw.<sup>17</sup> It clearly mentioned that British troops were stationed at Banmaw for security reasons. The ex-governor of Banmaw was reappointed to his post; no invasion would be made into the Chinese territory and the Chinese merchants would be given the rights of trade because of the British wish to maintain the Sino-British friendly relations. The governor of Yunan presented a report to the Chinese emperor political changes occurred in southern Yunan province and that change may be occurred the British annexation of Myanmar.<sup>18</sup> On 28 November 1885, the Upper Myanmar was annexed by the British. On 15 December 1885, Mr. Bernard Chief Commissioner of Lower Myanmar arrived at Mandalay. And was transferred the responsibilities of administration from General Prendergast, and announced to cease the military administration.<sup>19</sup>

After the annexation of Upper Myanmar, General Prendergast planned for military expedition to capture Banmaw on 6 December 1885 and then marched up the Ayeyawady River with a strong force. Brigadier General Norman, Major C.B Cooke and Captain Andamson were accompanied with him. The forces which composed of Banmaw expedition were as follows:

Steam-ship "Ananda" ---Survey party under Commander Carpenter, Royal Navy

Steam launch "Berta" Paddle launch "Pegu,"--- "Turquoise"---detachment

Steam-ship "Colonel Fytche," with flats Nos. 2 and 3.--- Hospital and 50 coolies

Steam-ship "Kah-byoo"---Field Force Headquarters and gun-barge

Steam-ship "Okpho," with flats Nos. 49 and 56.--- Headquarters and half Battalion, 25<sup>th</sup> Madras Infantry, one Company, Bengal Sappers, Commissariat Ordnance Stores, and 335 coolies

Steam-ship "Pallow," with flats No.40 and 45---Brigadier-General Norman, C.B, and Staff, half Battallion, Royal Welsh Fusiliers, Hazara Mountain Battery, 290 coolies, 6 motors, with detachment of 30 officers and 60 gunners, 4-1<sup>st</sup> North Irish Division, Royal Artillery (half Battery)

Steam-ship "Pulu," with flats Nos. 6 and 43 --- Field Force Headquarters, Naval Brigade, "Turquoise" detachment and 37 Mounted Infantry.<sup>20</sup>

Commanded by Brigadier General Norman No.2 regiment marched up to Ayeyawady and then they occupied Banmaw on 28 December 1885 without any resistance.<sup>21</sup> U Pho Hla, the present governor of Banmaw, accompanied with *Sitke* (regimental officier) U Tun Kywe, U Pho Tun, U Kyi, U Phe, U Chain (town clerk) and etc. they went to Sawaddi as precursors to meet the British forces.<sup>22</sup> The governor of Banmaw was reappointed to his former position<sup>23</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Also describes Li Win-sho, Scott and Hardiman, Part I, Vol. I, 1900, p. 333

<sup>17</sup> Kyan, 1978, 30

<sup>18</sup> Kyan, 1978, 30-31

<sup>19</sup> J.G Scott and Hardiman J.P, Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States, Vol., Part One, Rangoon, Superintendent and Government Printing, 1900, p.117 (Henceforth; Scott and Hardiman, 1900)

<sup>20</sup> Nu Nu, 2009, 6

<sup>21</sup> Banmaw Zaw Aung, *Record of Banmaw native*, Yangon Woncha Taung Sarpe, 2015, p. 23 (Henceforth, Zaw Aung, 2015)

<sup>22</sup> Zaw Aung, 2015, 23

<sup>23</sup> Dawson, 1960, 68

and his forces were disarmed and sent to Mandalay. The British troops were temporarily and inadequately encamped within the stockade.<sup>24</sup> And then General Norman was instructed by General Prendergast to clear the jungle and for 1000 yards round Banmaw<sup>25</sup> and the civil administration was organized at once.<sup>26</sup> General Prendergast and the Headquarter Staff, Burmah Field Force, left Banmaw. Brigadier-General Norman, C.B, was left there in command temporarily the following forces.

Half Battery 4-1 Royal Artillery,  
2 Companies Royal Welsh Fusiliers,  
Hazara Mountain Battery,  
1 Company Bengal Sapper,  
Half Battalion 25<sup>th</sup> Madras Infantry<sup>27</sup>

After the annexation of Banmaw, a police force was organized on October 1887. The district force was first enrolled on October 1887 and consisted of the District Superintendent, two head constables, four sergeants and seventy-eight constables, of whom eleven were mounted.<sup>28</sup> The annexation of Banmaw was very importance for the British. The occupation effected, the British not only the mastery in Upper Myanmar but caused in contact with the Chinese. The Upper Myanmar and China lies about 50 miles of border from Banmaw to the northeast.<sup>29</sup> After the British annexation, Banmaw was divided into two administrative areas: northern and southern. The north of Mington Street was administered by *Sitke U Tun Kywe* with 20 armed policemen as well as the south of the street was administered by *Sitke U Pho Tun* with 20 armed policemen. To station the British army, buildings for the soldiers and administrative functions were helped by *Narkhan* (Liaison) U Kyi and U Phe accompanied with Deputy Commissioner and some officials.<sup>30</sup> Although the British occupied Banmaw without resistance but they faced difficulties in the occupation of surrounding areas of Shan, Kachin and some native ethnic groups. In these regions the British were ambushed by the natives. On 19 January 1886, Shans from the areas of Momeik *Sawbwa* attacked Okshitgon Village which about 3 miles in south of Banmaw.<sup>31</sup> Before the British annexation, Banmaw town within the stockade not including outside the stockade quarters had only five quarters such as Khuntha, Myaynu, Aleyat, Nyaungpin and Mington quarters. At that time, as the robbers often invaded around the five quarters, were enclosed with wooden fence and the gates were usually closed at night.<sup>32</sup> After the annexation of Banmaw, the troops within the stockade were rushed by a composite force of Chinese, Kachins and Shans on the night on 14<sup>th</sup> November 1886. In the following year Sir F. Roberts visited Banmaw and selected sites for barracks. The stockade became unnecessary and the town began to expand as far as geographical limitations permitted. Banmaw now extends along the river-bank for about four miles, from Fort A nearly to the banks of the Namsiri chaung. Only about one and a half miles of the bank are free from the river floods, and on this are situated the main

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<sup>24</sup> (a) Dawson, 1960, 91

(b) Zaw Aung, 2015, 49

<sup>25</sup> Nu Nu, 2009, 7

<sup>26</sup> Scott and Hardiman, 1900, 123

<sup>27</sup> Nu Nu, 2009, 7

<sup>28</sup> Dawson, 1960, 74

<sup>29</sup> Nu Nu, 2009, 8

<sup>30</sup> Zaw Aung, 2015, 24

<sup>31</sup> Nu Nu, 2009, 8

<sup>32</sup> Zaw Aung, 2015, 48

Government buildings and the Burmese and Chinese quarters.<sup>33</sup> After the annexation of Banmaw, the British tried to occupy the Kachin hill tract but they did not occupy the region until next few years.<sup>34</sup>

On February 1886, some troops from Banmaw were sent to suppress the rebellion at Mogaung. The Kachins took advantage of the weakening of the Banmaw garrison to attack Sawaddi, nine miles down the river.<sup>35</sup> The first Kachin leader who resisted to the British was Phonkan Duwa. Simultaneously the British arrived at Banmaw he planned to resist by mobilizing the arms and provisions. But they retreated due to the British attacked to the mobilizing Phonkan Kachin forces near Banmaw on 12 April 1886. The Kachins attacked in Mansi and Laymaing village on 22 May 1886.<sup>36</sup> During the months of June, July and August of 1887 the Kachins raided frequently on the plains and on 14<sup>th</sup> November attacked Banmaw, made their way into the stockade over the northeastern battery, killed three sepoy, and set fire to the barracks.<sup>37</sup> There were several encounters with marauding Kachins in the plains in 1887, but the hills were left practically unexplored.<sup>38</sup>

For years, after the annexation of Banmaw the British faced rebellion from throughout the region and could not make the effective administration. And also they could not suppress the rebellion due to difficult accessions. The serious battles occurred between the British forces and the others such as Phon Kan Duwa, Saw Khan Hlaing-Sawbwa of Mohlaing, Saw Yan Naing-son of Makhayar Prince, the nationalist leaders of Myanmar, Shan and Kachins in Banmaw region.<sup>39</sup> In the next year, Mr. Cloney was appointed as Subdivisional Officer of Shwegu. Saw Khan Hlaing was proclaimed as outlaw by the British. On 1 December 1887, Upper Sinkhan or Kaungton Township was organized and then took over the responsibilities of the administration.<sup>40</sup>

### Conclusion

The Chinese often attempted to occupy Banmaw since the Nyaungyan Period. The Chinese and the British often conflict to control Banmaw until the Konbaung Period. The British really occupied Banmaw under King Thibaw. The main reason of the British annexation of Banmaw was for trading with China and to control the northern region of Myanmar. Banmaw township in Kachin State and China are conterminous. During the annexation the British faced without resistance but they faced difficulties in the occupation of surrounding areas of Shan, Kachin and some native ethnic groups.

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<sup>33</sup> Dawson, 1960, 91

<sup>34</sup> Maran Bauk La, *Sama Duwa Sinwa Naung*, Yangon, Sarpe Loka Bookhouse, 1980, p.11 (Henceforth; Maran Bauk La, 1980)

<sup>35</sup> Dawson, 1960, 22

<sup>36</sup> Bauk La, 1980, 20

<sup>37</sup> Scott, 1900, 334

<sup>38</sup> Scott, 1900, 334

<sup>39</sup> Zaw Aung, 2015, 25-6

<sup>40</sup> Dawson, 1960, 69

(Professor), Banmaw University. Above all, to all who encouraged and helped me in doing this research I owe much gratitude.

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## A Study on the History of Maha Loka Marajin Pagoda in Sagaing Region

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### Abstract

This paper is on “A Study on the History of Maha Loka Marajin Pagoda in Sagaing Region”. This research paper present; who built the pagoda, when did the pagoda build, where is the pagoda locate, who donated money for the building of the pagoda and what were the main construction materials for building the pagoda, where was sanctuary place and what were the main support for long the pagoda. This paper examines based on the field trips to collect primary sources and secondary sources and contemporary records were also used. I believe that my new research work will be a partial significant value for religious and social history of Myanmar in the late Konbaung Period.

**Key words:** Konbaung Period, Thathanabaing Sayadaw

### Introduction

Maha Loka Marajin pagoda locates in Phayagyi Village, Budalin Township, Sagaing Region. The donor of pagoda is Second Maungdaung *Thathanabaing Sayadaw* U Ñeya, the native of Natyedaung Village. *Sayadaw* was promoted as *Thathanabaing* two times, under King Thawawaddy and King Mindon. *Sayadaw* U Ñeya built Maha Loka Marajin pagoda at his birthplace under King Bagan with the helps of queen and daughter of King Thawawaddy. For six years, when he was dismissed as *Thathanabaing*, the pagoda was built from 1846 to 1849. *Sayadaw* exempted all taxes from the shops of the Maha Loka Marajin pagoda festival and the people who lived the new village called Phayagyi Village to maintain the pagoda for long.

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*Sayadaw* U Ñeya, also known as Second Maungdaung *Thathanabaing Sayadaw* was promoted as *Thathanabaing* (Primate) for two times in later Konbaung Period.<sup>4</sup> He was born in Natyedaung Village, Kani Township.<sup>5</sup> The title of Ñeya Dhammalinkara Maha Dhamma Rajadhi Raja Guru" to *Sayadaw* was conferred by King Thawawaddy. During the reign of King Mindon, he was conferred the title of "Ñeya Dhammabhimunivara Ñana Keitti Siridhaja Dhammasenapati Maha Dhamma Rajadhi Raja Guru."<sup>6</sup> Under King Bagan, he was retired from the post of *Thathanabaing*. For six years he was dismissed from the post of *Thathanabaing* but

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<sup>4</sup> *Sayadaw* U Ñeya was promoted as *Thathanabaing* in 1839 by Thawawaddy Min and again on 16 April 1853 by King Mindon

<sup>5</sup> The birthplace of *Thathanabaing* locates near Phayagyi Village, Budalin Township, Sagaing Region

<sup>6</sup> (a) Hla Tha Mein, *Gandawin Pokekogyawmyar Ahtokepatti* (biography of well-known persons in classic) Yangon, Hanthawaddy Press, 1961, p. 86-87 (Henceforth: Hla Tha Mein, 1961)

(b) *The Royal Orders of Burma AD 1598-1885, (1853-85)*, Edited, compiled, translated and annotated with long preface by Dr. Than Tun, Part IX, Kyoto, The Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1989, p.337 (Henceforth: ROB IX, 1989)

King Bagan took advice from Sayadaw U Ñeya.<sup>7</sup> Although *Sayadaw* retired from *Thathanabaing* King Bagan's mother and younger sister paid deep respect to *Sayadaw*. They donated 80,000 coins of silver to *Sayadaw* for the construction of pagoda.<sup>8</sup> With the help of queen and daughter of King Thayawaddy, *Sayadaw* returned to his native village<sup>9</sup> and built Maha Loka Marajin Pagoda<sup>10</sup> from 1846 and the finial was put on the pagoda on 30 April 1849.<sup>11</sup> The circumference of basic pedestal of the pagoda measures 50 cubic feet.<sup>12</sup> The materials used in the building of Maha Loka Marajin pagoda were mentioned as follows:

Table I. List of Construction Materials

Materials	Nos
Brick	200 Kyins furnaces <sup>13</sup>
Slaked Lime	10,000 baskets
Jaggery and Molasses	8000 viss
Calky Material	500 viss
Sand	300 carts
Gum or Glue (made of buffalo hide)	500

Source: *Loka Marajin*, do (observe)

Massive amount of money and construction materials were used to finish the pagoda and other buildings like *Sima* Ordination Hall, praying hall and etc. *Sayadaw* used more money and materials. The total extra expense excluded from the above mentioned 533 *kyats* 2 *mus*, 186 *kyats* 6 *mus*, 426 *kyats* 5 *mus* as follows:

Table-II. List of Expense Total Extra Expense

	Nos	Rate	Value (in kyat)
Tree gum (for one coat)	160	8 kyat	120
Vermillion	40	1.5	600
Shan resin	60	1	60
Crimson Dye from Shan State	5	1	5
---	5	1	5
Fees to pay gold leaves workers			320
Two Masonary Staircases			160
<b>Total</b>			<b>1278</b>

Source: *Parabaik* MS, no.2, Phayagyi Monastery, Phayagyi Village, U Okkansa Collection (Henceforth: UOKSC)

<sup>7</sup> Ashin Kelasa, *Mandalay Thathanawin* (Religious History of Mandalay), Department of Religious Affairs, 2013, p. 47 (Henceforth: Kelasa, 2013)

<sup>8</sup> *History of Maha Loka Marajin Pagoda*, Palm-leaf MS, Phayagyi Monastery, Phayagyi Village, U Okkansa Collection, de (observe) (Henceforth: *Loka Marajin*)

<sup>9</sup> Natyedaung Village, Kani Township, Sagaing Region, Upper Myanmar

<sup>10</sup> *Sayadaw* built the pagoda at his birthplace, it locates between the two townships of Budalin and Kani

<sup>11</sup> History of Maha Loka Marajin Pagoda Inscription, locates in the precinct of Maha Loka Marajin Pagoda, Phayagyi Monastery, Phayagyi Village, Budalin Township

<sup>12</sup> Baddhanta Nanabhivamsa, *Ba-hu-thu-ta Pa-ka-tha-ni Kyan* (Treatise on Knowledge) Amarapura, Pitaka Press, 1996, 215 (Henceforth: Ñanabhivamsa, 1996)

<sup>13</sup> One brick furnace in present day can produce between 5000 and 10,000 bricks



Maha Loka Marajin pagoda was built by over two hundred stone sculptors and masons.<sup>14</sup> After the pagoda and other buildings were completed, thirty-eight utensils and articles were donated at the four corners of pagoda. These thirty-eight items were donated to *Thathanabaing* by King Mindon. But *Sayadaw* thinking of these were not suitable for him and then donated to the pagoda probably. The utensils and articles donated to the pagoda at the southern praying hall were as follows:

Table-III. List of Utensils Donated to Maha Loka Marajin Pagoda

Items	Nos	Items	Nos
Stringed Trolley	1	Salver studded with semi-precious stones	2
Glass Couch	1	Cup studded with semi-precious stones	1
Velvet sheet for glass couch	1	Cloth for ceiling	1
Glass hand-washing basin	1	Umbrella (large)	1
peacock-feather fan	1	Glass mosaic sedan-chair	1
Glass lamp stand	1	Chinese Carpet	6
Glass goglet	1	Glass mosaic wooden tray with conical cover	2
porcelain with gold lining	1	Bamboo disk with lid (large)	1
porcelain kettle	1	Glass mosaic disk with lid (large)	1
pigeon kettle for libation	1	Large disk with lid	1
mat with woolen linen large	1	Glass Lantern	2
mat with velvet linen	1	Drum (large)	2
velvet pillow	1	Drum (small)	3
Long velvet pillow	1	Glass Lantern(with five vertices)	5
Yak's tail fly-whisk	1	Betel box studded with semiprecious stones	1
Gilt Lacquered dish with lid	1	Tabindaing Lantern	2
Glass spittoon with flower design	1	Alm-bowl studded with semi-precious stones	1
Spotted glass goglet	1	Harp studded with semi-precious stones	1
Dishes	11		

Source: *Parabaik* MS, no. 24, UOKSC; *Loka Marajin, di* (observe)

<sup>14</sup> *Loka Marajin, dho* (observe)

It is interesting to note that if a well-wisher liked to make donation to the famous pagodas or *Theras*, he would need to take permission from the king. In the lighting ceremony of Maha Loka Marajin Pagoda, Hlahtwe *Sayadaw* submitted a list of donation for the stupa and for *Sanghas*.<sup>15</sup> The offerings donated to the stupa and *Sanghas* included eye-glasses were mentioned in the next page:

Table-IV. List of Offerings to the Local *Sangha* Offerings

Items	Nos
Candle Box (for stupa)	6
Bolt of Robe	4
Razor	50
Eyeglasses	50
Match Boxes (Packs)	30
Reel of Thread (Packs)	3

Source: *Parabaik* MS, no. 23, UOKSC

King Mindon and Chief Queen also donated the lands around the Maha Loka Marajin pagoda. *Sayadaw* himself purchased fifty acres of lands surrounding of the pagoda and donated to the pagoda. These glebe lands were cultivated paddy, cotton, peas, sesame, and millet.<sup>16</sup> The most productive religious lands were dedicated to Maha Loka Marajin pagoda built by Second Maungdaung *Thathanabaing Sayadaw*. Although no one knew the exact width of the glebe lands of pagoda, it is assumed that the lands were cultivated by the tenants or landless farmers. Some portions of annual yields were used for the maintenance of pagoda, and daily offering of food and light. Paddy, millet, sesame and cotton were mostly grown on the glebe lands. The annual yields of Maha Loka Marajin pagoda from 1877 to 1886 can be seen as follows:

Table-V. Annual Yields of the Religious Lands of Maha Loka Marajin Pagoda (in baskets)

Year	Paddy	Millet	Sesame	Cotton (in viss)
1877	35.5	32.5	2.5	8
1878	147.5	51	1.5	-
1879	134	35	2.5	-
1880	185	5	-	-
1881	182	-	7	-
1882	102.5	20	1.75	-
1883	50	-	-	-
1884	120.5	8	-	-
1885	116	11	6.25	-
1886	47	8.15	3	-

Source: *Parabaik* MS, no. 2, UOKSC

<sup>15</sup> "The Letter of Hlahtwe *Sayadaw*, no date", *Parabaik* MS, no. 23, UOKSC

<sup>16</sup> "Records of crops yield from the religious lands of Maha Loka Marajin pagoda in 1877," *Parabaik* MS, no. 2, UOKSC

The neighbouring area of the Maha Loka Marajin pagoda, according to the request of *Sayadaw*, King Mindon made the area a sanctuary on 18 April 1853, the royal order read as follows:

According to the request of the *Sayadawgyi* in order to promote the merit of Abbhaya Dana, Jivita Dana and Sanwuttaniya for the creatures in eight directions of pagoda built near the Poppa-To Hill (Natyedaung Hill), to the west of Maungdaung Village, the living animals in eight directions of pagoda shall be made a sanctuary. No catching, shooting or killing shall be done. A column in sign of the sanctuary shall be erected by local authorities. The marking of column shall be recorded in the local map.<sup>17</sup>

The stone pillars were erected to clarify the territories of sanctuaries.<sup>18</sup> In the pagoda precinct, stone umbrellas and stone alms-bowls were donated by the *Sayadaws* of queens, princes, and crown servicemen.<sup>19</sup> There were twelve stone umbrellas<sup>20</sup> and four stone alms-bowls in total.<sup>21</sup> At the east of the pagoda, there is a vestibule. Every pillar of vestibule was decorated with the relief of Rama *Zat*. Now some remnants of the reliefs of the Rama *Zat* can be seen on the pillars on the vestibule. The south of the pagoda precinct, there was a monastery called Phayagyi monastery. King Mindon, queens, crown servicemen and ordinary people donated bells and religious scriptures to the monastery. According to the sources, some donors were; Queen of Western Palace, Mohnyin Mibaya, Daughter of Sagaing Min, Me U- wife of *Yunsu Wun* (In charge of a service group organized with Yun people), Shwetaung Nawrahta, Clerk of Kani *Myosa* and U Aung Min, *Phaya daga* from royal capital (son-in-law of Magway *Wungyi*).<sup>22</sup> There were 322 sets of palm-leaf manuscripts donated by the above mentioned donors. All of these manuscripts are related with Sutta, Vinaya and Abhidhamma scripture.<sup>23</sup>

According to the sources, bananas and coconuts were probably grown in a small garden near the lake, northeast of pagoda precinct.<sup>24</sup> In the northwest corner of the pagoda precinct, there lies a footprint of the Buddha. Before 1972, about 300 sand stone slabs of Rama *Zat* were placed around the platform of the pagoda.<sup>25</sup> In 1972, a building was built in the monastic compound (which lies south of the pagoda compound) and the stone slabs of Rama *Zat* were placed in there. The pagoda festival of the Maha Loka Marajin pagoda annually holds since the late Konbaung Period to present. In addition, shopkeepers who sold their commodities at this festival were exempted taxes by order of *Thathanabaing Sayadaw*.<sup>26</sup> The town chiefs of Alon and Kani donated all taxes from this pagoda festival of every year to *Sayadawgyi*.<sup>27</sup> A new village near the pagoda was built and the people who lived in there were exempted from all kind of taxes.<sup>28</sup> During King Mindon's reign, Natyedaung region was struck by the famine and the people from Natyedaung deserted their village. And also some people moved to the new

<sup>17</sup> Sancturaies of Maha Loka Marajin, History Department Collection, Mandalay University

<sup>18</sup> The pillars can be seen Phayagyi Monastery, Natyedaun Monastery and Natyedaung Hill

<sup>19</sup> *Loka Marajin, du* (observe)-*du* (reverse)

<sup>20</sup> *Loka Marajin, du* (observe)-*du* (reverse)

<sup>21</sup> *Loka Marajin, du* (reverse)-*de* (obverse)

<sup>22</sup> "Bell Inscription dated 1222 ME", Phayagyi Monastery, Phayagyi Village, Budalin Township

<sup>23</sup> "List of Pitaka Scriptures Donation (1849-51)", *Parabaik MS*, no.16,UOKSC

<sup>24</sup> "List of coconut and banaba cultivators from Natyedaung Village", *Parabaik MS*, no.31, UOKSC

<sup>25</sup> Interview with U Than Kun, Age (65) years, Phogon Village, Budalin Township, 1.3.2016

<sup>26</sup> "Order of Tax Exemption, 12 March 1865", Royal (Patent) Letter on Toddy-palm leaf, no.2, UOKSC

<sup>27</sup> "Order of *Thathanabaing*, 15 May 1861", Handwritten Manuscript, U Aung Thein Collection

<sup>28</sup> "Order of Tax Exemption of *Thathanabaing*, 12 March 1865", Royal(Patent) Letter on Toddy-palm leaf ,no.2, UOKSC

village or sanctuary site built by *Sayadawgyi*.<sup>29</sup> After the demise of the *Thathanabaing Sayadaw*, Maha Loka Marajin Pagoda was maintained by his elder sister Mi Hman Ku. She was a money-lender like other wealthy persons of rural areas of later Konbaung Period.<sup>30</sup> But her money-lendings was no properties or interests only maintaince for Maha Loka Marajin pagoda. Some of annual yields were used for the maintenance of pagoda, and daily offering of food and light.

### Conclusion

The Second Maungdaung *Thathanabaing Sayadaw* built Maha Loka Marajin pagoda at his birthplace. As he was appointed as *Thathanabaing* two times, he built a big pagoda with the help of some royal families. Therefore, pagoda was donated various valuable items and also other religious monuments were built around the pagoda. Some donors donated about 300 stone slabs of Rama *Zat* to the pagoda. The neighbouring area of the Maha Loka Marajin pagoda, in order to maintain the pagoda for long, King Mindon made the sanctuary area, according to the request of *Thathanabaing Sayadaw*. Some portions of annual yields were used for the maintenance of pagoda, and daily offering of food and light.

### Acknowledgement

I owe my special thanks to Rector (in-charge) Dr. Aung Kyaw Thin and Pro-rector Dr. Aye Aye Han for allowing and encouraging this research work. I would like to express my heart-felt thank to heads: Dr. Aye Aye Thwe (Professor Head), Dr. Naw Kapaw Say (Professor), Banmaw University. Above all, to all who encouraged and helped me in doing this research I owe much gratitude.

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<sup>29</sup> "The report of Natyedaung *Thugyi*, no date" *Parabaik* MS, no.24, Medin (South) Village Monastery, U Pyinnya Vamsa's Collection (Henceforth: UPVSC)

<sup>30</sup> (a) "20 December 1861, Money-lending deed of Mg Lin & Shin Thar Mi," *Parabaik* MS, no.20, UOKSC  
(b) "13 September 1867, money-lending deed of Mg Hmaw & Shin Be," *Parabaik* MS, no.20, UOKSC

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## **A Study on Mural Paintings of Ancient Temples in Later Bagan Period from Sar Lei Village**

San San Myint \*

### **Abstract**

Sar Lei situates border between Yenanchaung and Chauk Townships. There are forty-one ancient temples. Among them, eleven ancient temples have been seen various mural paintings as interior decorations and the exterior decorations can be seen beautiful and exquisite flowers and motifs stucco designs and sculpture of stone carvings. Most of the mural paintings are faded. This research paper presented about the mural paintings and still exist exterior decorations of three temples of four (No.7, 8 & 10).

**Keywords:** Sar Lei Village, Temple, Mural paintings, Stucco motif designs

### **Introduction**

Sar Lei Village situates north latitude 20° 3' and East longitude 94° 35.9' and on the eastern bank of the Ayeyawady River. It lies border between Yenanchaung and Chauk Townships. It stands about thirty-five miles four furlongs from Chauk and 36 bridge of Yenanchaung faraway 500 yards turn left drive about seven miles. According to oral history Sar Lei name is get from exchange salt with *Dah* (knife). There are forty-one ancient temples. However, some are brick mounds and some of ruins. Among them, eleven ancient temples have been seen various mural paintings as interior decorations. As the exterior decorations we can be seen beautiful and exquisite flowers and motifs stucco designs and sculpture of stone carvings. The art and architecture of these religious edifices show that these temples constructed during the later Bagan Period. Moreover, it is found eleven stone inscriptions. One of inscription dated *sakkaraj* 637 M.E (1275 A.D) approved these temples were constructed in later Bagan Period.

### **A Study on Mural Paintings of Ancient Temples in Later Bagan Period from Sar Lei Village**

Sar Lei Village Tract consist of three villages; Ohobo Village (230 families, 220 houses, 1150 populations), Sar Lei Kyun Village (234 families, 226 houses, 1131 populations) and Kone Sar Lei Village (446 families, 411 houses, 1930 populations). There are four temples range from north to south on the Bo Phan mound at the south of the village. They are temple No.7, 8, 9 and 10.

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Photo 1. Temple No.7, 8, 9 and 10



Photo 2. Temple No.7

The Temple No. 7 lies at the northward. It is a hollow temple with *sikhara* (square tower).<sup>1</sup> The main building is 23 feet in length, 21 feet in width. Its height is 29 feet and 10 inches.<sup>2</sup> The temple faces east. In the interior there is no image and no mural painting. But at the exterior of the temple have been found some stucco motifs such as *Kirtimukha* and Foliage.



*Kirtimukha*



Foliage

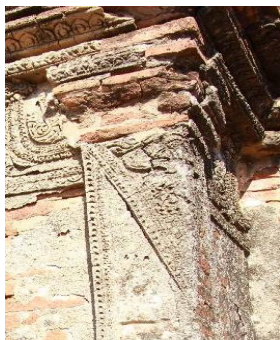
<sup>1</sup> Field Trip, 2.11.2017, Sar Lei Village, Yenanchaung Township

<sup>2</sup> Myin Gun, Kyun Taw, *Sar Lei desa Shayhaung A-sauk-a-ohn-mya Hmattan* (Record of Ancient Monuments from Myin Gun, Kyun Taw, Sar Lei), Yangon, Culture Ministry, 2014, p. 82 (Henceforth: *Ancient Monuments*, 2014)

Moreover, at the east of the northern wall there is miniature portal cover by beautiful and exquisite stucco *kanote*<sup>3</sup>. The feature of this portal is the same with the miniature portals on spire of Ananda Temple, Bagan.



Photo 3. Miniature Portal (Northern Side, Temple No. 7)



Stucco on Pillars



Miniature Portal (Southern Side, Temple No. 7)



Photo 4. Sikhara

Moreover, *Sikhara* has Buddha image on ogre (*Bilu*) throne. This image is *namaskāra mudra* (prayer, with both hands at the breast in an attitude of prayer) and *Jhāna Āsāna*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The Myanmar floral design; Bagan Period Murals, Ceilings, Masonry, Stucco, Brass and Bronze Wood Carvings, Cloth paintings found in temples and pagodas

<sup>4</sup> Dr Than Tun, *Myanmar Me Phoke Myay-hte-pyit-ci* (Myanmar Terracotta), Yangon, Monywa Publish, 2002, pp. 62-3





Photo 5. Temple No. 8

Ancient temple No. 8 lies beside on the south of the No.7. This is a hollow temple with miniature stupa on *sikhara* (square tower) with three terraces. The base terraces and middle terraces have stairs from plinth to upper terraces (*nat hleiga*) နတ်လမ်းမုခ်. There are surrounding corner stupas (*daun zeidi*). Its height is 29' and 10".<sup>5</sup> Its structure is from north to south 27'in length and east to west 20' in width.<sup>6</sup> It faces east and it has one porch with vaulted arch.

As the exterior decoration a few stucco designs still exist such as foliage, floral and *manussiha*. There are two miniature portals which stucco *seintaung* cover on pillar at the North and South of the temple as temple No.7.



Foliage &amp; floral

*Manussiha*

In the interior, there is pedestal with *kanote* floral rows mural. The image is lost. According to the remained shape we can suggest that this image is standing position. We can found Bodhi tree mixed colour green and yellow between reredos and *kanote* floral rows mural.

<sup>5</sup> *Ancient Monuments, 2014*, 83

<sup>6</sup> Personal Interview with U Myint Swe (Assistant-Researcher 4), Archaeology Department, 43 years, Sar Lei Village



Photo 6. Pedestal with *kanote* floral rows

The mural paintings can be seen on the corners and walls of the left and right of pedestal. The left corner of pedestal there are the standing horse holding three scroll ropes. And then at the right of the pedestal also found *Vyala* (standing lion) holding three scroll ropes.



Standing Horse



*Vyala* (Standing Lion)

Moreover, under the sitting Buddha figures is drawn the *Arimetteyya* (future Buddha) both the south and north wall.



Photo 7. *Arimetteyya* (Future Buddha)

The faded mural paintings are found on the wall of left niche. Above these paintings there is kudu (window shape horseshoe). These paintings probably suggest depicting scenes of 550 *Jatakas*. The same dress style, hair style and the method of line painting can be seen on the walls of some Bagan temples which constructed at the 13<sup>th</sup> century.



Photo 8. Faded Mural Paintings on the Wall of Left Niche

There are also found faded mural paintings on the right wall of the temple. According to the pictures of the base can deduce the donation ceremony.



Photo 9. Faded Mural Paintings on the Right Wall

And then, we can be found the skillfully drawn *kanote* & *kweklehsekan* (ကွက်လယ်ဆက်ပန်း) which same artifact of Bagan ceiling painting (Kondawgyi Pagoda – A.D 13<sup>th</sup> century).



Photo 10. *kanote* & *kweklehsekpan* (ကွက်လယ်ဆက်ပန်း)

Moreover, there also found big *hsekpan* with *kein nara*, *kein nari* and lion and small *hsekpan* with deer, *hintha* and duck.



Photo 11. Big *hsekpan*

After that, there are found that the center of the ceiling has the faded Buddha foot print. Most of the ancient artifacts damage due to the poor knowledge of technical and natural disaster i.e earthquake. Moreover, there are found few letters, few drawings on mural paintings by native people. Hence, every citizen must know and keep our valuable ancient buildings as our own property.

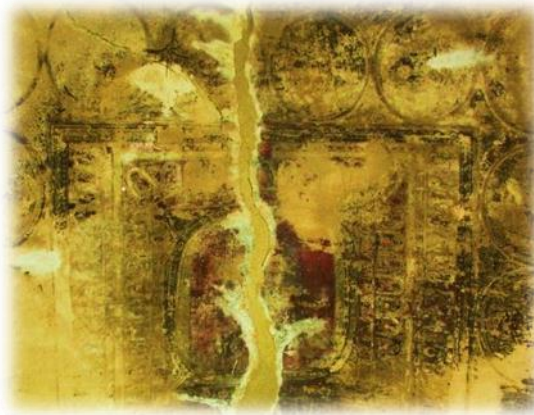


Photo 12. Faded Buddha Foot Print



Temple No. 10 lies at the northern part of the temple No. 8 and beside the temple No. 9. It is a hallow temple with pyramidal *sikhara* which surmounts the two terraces. The main building is 38 feet in length, 27 feet in width. The temple is 38 feet 10 inches in height. The temple faces east and it has one porch with voussoired arch.



Photo 13. Temle No. 10

A Buddha image is found on the pedestal of the brick temple. The style and form of the Buddha image is a sitting Buddha image. It has *Bhūmipphassa Mudrā* and *Jhāna Āsāna*. The style of the robe is shown on left shoulder only and exposing the right breast, and robe is shown with line.

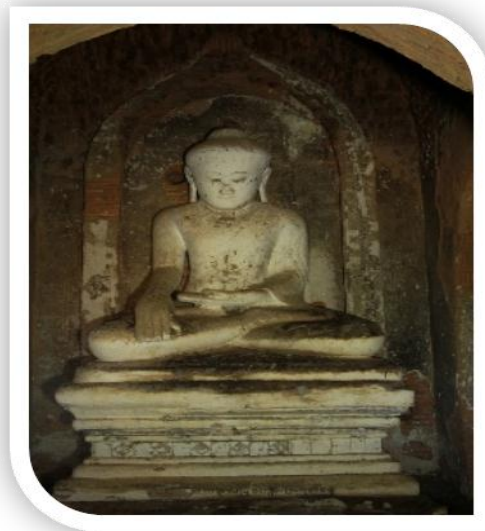


Photo 14. A Sitting Buddha Image

The faded paintings are found on the northern wall of the temple. There can be seen the painting look like Siva.



Photo 15. Siva

Similarly, the southern wall has also the painting probably Vishnu.



Photo 16. Vishnu

According to architectural designs, image style, mural paintings and stucco relief and fresco designs these temples had been constructed during the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, there are eleven stone inscriptions collected and maintained in the compound of Dhamme Sana monastery of Sar Lei Village. Among them, one of inscription (Stone inscription No. 10) dated *sakkaraj* 637 M.E (1275 A.D), we can suggest that these temples constructed during the Sithu IV (Narathihapate) who reigned during 1256 to 1287.



Photo 17. Stone Inscription No. 10 consist of 13 Lines dated with 637 M.E (1275 A.D)

Sar Lei village lies between Yenanchaung and Chauk Township. There are forty-one ancient temples. However, some are brick mounds and some ruins. Eleven temples have been mural paintings and flowers and motifs stucco designs. All of the temples face towards east. Most of the temples are surmounted by *sikhara* with niches and Singhalese type *ceti* on the top. These temples have one entrance and most of the temples have two niches. These temples were constructed since Bagan Period and they are preserved and protected by Archaeology Department. There are eleven stone inscriptions. But the original place did not know. According to the stone inscription (dated *sakkaraj* 637 M.E (1275 A.D), we can suggest that these temples constructed during the Sithu IV (Narathihapate) who reigned during 1256 to 1287. Most of the temples have the sitting cross-legged Buddha image with *Bhūmipphasa Mudrā* and *Jāna Āsāna*. Mural paintings are found on the interior walls but most are faint and it is difficult to guess which *Jātakas* or shapes had drawn.

### Acknowledgement

I profound gratitude goes first to Rector (in-charge) Dr. Aung Kyaw Thin. My sincere thanks go to Dr. Aye Aye Han (Pro- rector). I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Aye Aye Thwe, (Professor Head) and Dr. Naw Kapaw Say (Professor). Above all, to all who encouraged and helped me in doing this research I owe much gratitude.

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## **A Study on Socio-economy based on Agriculture of Shwebo Township (1948- 1974)**

Myint Myint Khaing<sup>1</sup>, Khin Thidar Win<sup>2</sup> and Tin Zaw Lin<sup>3</sup>

### **Abstract**

This paper studies the Socio- economy based on Agriculture of Shwebo Township (1948- 1974). Although Shwebo has other economic business, this paper presents the role of the agricultural occupation. Moreover, the conditions of the peasants' life were also studied. And then, the government's efforts and supports for the convenient of peasants' life was prescribed.

### **Introduction**

This paper presents an account of the Socio- economy based on agriculture of Shwebo Township (1948- 1974). Firstly, the government enacted the Farming Laws for the development of agriculture. The lands were allocated by the government to the peasants for the land deposit. Moreover, the Village Renting Cultivation Committee and Allocating Land Committee exploited over the peasants so the peasants were little benefited. The peasants worked as the tenant farmers at the land of landlords. The landlords passaged the lands in the township and other townships. The government lent and agricultural loans and harvested loan for the development of peasants' life. The government tried to transform from handing agricultural sector to machinery agricultural sector.

### **A Study on Socio-economy based on Agriculture of Shwebo Township (1948- 1974)**

Myanmar is the country based on agriculture since ancient time. Shwebo Township, Sagaing Division is also based on agriculture. Central Myanmar was an inadequate rainfall region thus ponds, lakes and inns were constructed for agriculture. Since Bagan Period. Shwebo Township was located in central Myanmar, it has to depend on water from dams, lakes and stream for agriculture.

Although Shwebo has other economic business, the whole township of economy was based on agriculture. After independence Myanmar, the government proclaimed the laws for prosperous peasants' life. They are;

- (1) 1948 Land Nationalization Law
- (2) 1950 Renting for Cultivating piece of land standard Act
- (3) 1953 Tenant Farmer Deposit Law
- (4) 1953 Land Nationalization Law

Although the above laws were passed by the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League Government (AFPFL Government), the peasants were not fully received the rights in laws because of the landowner system and oppressive of the landowners<sup>4</sup>. After gaining independence, at the time of the AFPFL Government, the cultivation lands were increased in

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<sup>3</sup> Tutor, Department of History, Banmaw University

<sup>4</sup> Mg Hla Kyi, "Taung- Thu- lethamar- yeyar Upade- mya hint Akyo- khansar- khwint" (The Laws of Peasant's affairs and Benefits), *Myawaddy Magazine*, Vol. 32, No. 8, 1984, P. 56 (Henceforth; Hla Kyi, 1984)



Myanmar the dams and embankments were building and rearing for agriculture. Private canals, lakes and wells were dug by the peasants<sup>5</sup>. In 1948, the total irrigation paddy field was 9,558,559 acres in the whole country and Sagaing Division involved in Shwebo had 423,000 acres. According to the evidence Sagaing Division was the second largest irrigated cultivated areas<sup>6</sup>.

In Shwebo Township, *Le-may* is majority and *Yar-may* is minority. In the western township, it was irrigated region with feeders of Karboe dam and Mu canal. In the eastern part rainfall was depended for cultivation. In Shwebo Township, it irrigated land areas were over 100,000 acres<sup>7</sup>. Mu River was aimed to use for construction the diverted dam at Wet-toe region, 38 miles far from upper Karboe dam and reservoir at Thaphansait place. The main objective of this plan was cultivated the subsidiary crop in 1,100,000 acres<sup>8</sup>. The cultivation land was decreased during 1949- 1952.<sup>9</sup> Because of the effects of the World War II, Shwebo Township will be decreased also. This suggested that the politics in constancy was the main cause. So, the AFPFL government passed the plans for the development of agriculture. The government organized the tenant farmer deposit boards till to the village for land deposit and the lacking land peasants could undertake the lands. The tenancy rate was fixed in accordance with the land tax rate<sup>10</sup>. But the evidence of land mortgage was shown that tenancy rated was paid double than the land tax<sup>11</sup>. The tenancy rate was various forms such as 4 *Kyats*, 6.7 *Kyats*, 7 *Kyats*, 8 *Kyats*, 11 *Kyats* and 12 *Kyats*<sup>12</sup>. Only even one owner gave the land by various tenancy rate.

In Shwebo Township, the Village Renting Cultivation Land Committee (The Village Board) allotted lands to the peasants on April 1952. Each peasant was allowed to give only 25 acres. In reality, the lands were seized from the owner who possessed on ten to fifteen acres and thus they did not work at their own lands and they worked only at the lands given by the Village Board Cultivation Land Committee. So the peasants were exploited by the Committee. The government's management was to receive the land to the peasants but the Village Board membership's authority was developed<sup>13</sup>.

The Village Board in Shwebo Township was not affairs so the peasants demanded to abolish the Village Board in 1951. But this Board was reappointed in 1952. The peasants who gave up the lands were suppressed for giving the supported vote to the Social Red (Communist who accepted the Communist opinion). Over the thousand peasants were acted as land lacking and over 400 people were arrested<sup>14</sup>. Thus, the fact was found that the peasants were suppressed by the local ruler and their living standard was poor.

<sup>5</sup> *Report on Land and Agriculture*, Land Rural Department Cooperating, Yangon, Sarpay Beikman Press, 1971, PP. 110- 112 (Henceforth; *Land and Agriculture*, 1971)

<sup>6</sup> *Myanmar Leyar- myay Thamaing* (History of Myanmar Land), Vol. II, Burma Socialist Program Party, 1971, P. 48 (Henceforth; *Leyar- Myay Thamaing*, 1971)

<sup>7</sup> Thi Thi Than "Shwebo Myo-ne ei Ye- thwin Desa hnint Mo-kaung Desa Hnaing- shin laelar- chet" (Comparative study of Irrigated lands and Dry lands of Shwebo Township), M.A Thesis, Department of Geography, Mandalay University, 1985, P. 101 (Henceforth; Thi Thi Than, 1985)

<sup>8</sup> *Land and agriculture*, 1971, 123

<sup>9</sup> Win Maung; *History of Myanmar Paddy Trade*, Ministry of Economic and Commerce, Shwebo, 1982, P. 47 (Henceforth; Wing Maung, 1982)

<sup>10</sup> Thi Thi Lwin, "Economic History Wetlet Township (1948- 1974)", Ph.D Dissertation, Department of History, Mandalay University, 2013, P.52 (Henceforth; Thi Thi Lwin, 2013)

<sup>11</sup> Criminal Case, No, 22, 1952, Shwebo District Law Court

<sup>12</sup> Thi Thi Lwin, 2013, 52- 53

<sup>13</sup> Ludu Newspaper, 6 June 1952, 6

<sup>14</sup> Ludu Newspaper, 7 April 1952, 3

At the next year, the peasants were not rent the land for the cultivation. Thus, the peasants were appealed against the degree by a lower court of land as follows;

- (1) To suspend the previous pressing down over the peasants and to allocate the land
- (2) The peasants who were appealed to the district were threatened by the village heads and force behaviors were contracted strongly and
- (3) The peasants who were arrested for harrowing in their own land at the previous year without exception<sup>15</sup>.

Although the fact was found that the peasants who worked at the land rent for cultivation by village Board, the landowners not permitted. The Village Board rented Ko Tun Sein and three others owned by U Yae Paw lived in Aung Chan Thar Village. Ko Tun Sein and three others harrowed land was not permitted by U Yae Paw. So, they were laid down the law, sentence of imprisonment three months or fine fifty kyats<sup>16</sup>. Thus, Shwebo tenant farmers' live were low acutely.

The tenant farmers failed to give the tenants. According to the evidence, Daw Kyi lived in Shwebo western marked rent the land 3.75 acres to Mg Aye lived in Ohnneboat village, Wetlet Township. Mg Aye did not give 82 kyats rented for cultivating land for three years. Like this case Daw Kyi rent the land 3.64 acres to Mg Toe Aung and 13.7 acres to Mg Tun Tin. Mg Toe Aung did not give 132 kyats and Mg Tun Tin did not give 170 kyats rented for cultivating land. Thus, the cases were happened for earning rent for cultivating of lands.<sup>17</sup> Daw Kyi rented the land to three peasants was different tenancy rate. Like the tenancy rate was different, land tax was also different. In the case of U Kyi Maung and Mg Shwe Nyo lived in Htoogyi village land tax was 8. 26 *kyats* and in the case of U Kyi Maung and U Nyein, land tax was 9.61 *kyats*<sup>18</sup>. By depending on the condition of irrigate land, the land tax was different.

The government tried to solve the landlord predomination and the land lacking peasants' trouble. In 1948, the AFPFL government submitted the Land Nationalization Law to the Parliament but this law was not implemented. So, in 1953, the land Nationalization Law was submitted again to the parliament.<sup>19</sup> Land Nationalization Ministry fixed the land acres 20,184,315 from the landlord possession in the whole nation 20,184,315 acres with the president's order. The expropriation land acres had more exemption lands thus the allocation of lands was less for average person<sup>20</sup>. In 1948, Land Nationalization Law prescribed that "One peasant worked with pairs of cattle who would receive ten acres at least<sup>21</sup> and with the pairs of buffalo who could receive from 12- 15 acres at least". The peasant who allocated the land had six acres by means of estimation. The peasant would not cost the double expense of the six acres for working only twelve acres. The paddy production would be double. Although the government allocated government could only seize the 13. 12 percent of lands and thus the rest lands were cultivated continually with the renting System<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> U Thant, *Pyi-taw-thar Kha- yee* (Journey of Welfare State), Vol. I, Yangon, Translation of Burma Association, 1961, P. 182-183 (Henceforth; U Thant, 1961)

<sup>16</sup> Criminal Cases, No. 10, 1959, Shwebo District Law Court

<sup>17</sup> Thi Thi Lwin, 2013, 52- 53

<sup>18</sup> Criminal Case, No. 22, 1954, Shwebo District Law Court

<sup>19</sup> U Thant, 1961, 182- 183

<sup>20</sup> Land Nationalization Law (1953), Yangon, Baho Press, 1965, PP. 33- 37

<sup>21</sup> *Naing- ngan- daw Sipwa- yay Saway- nway Pwe* (State Economic Forum), Yangon, Government of the Union of Burma Printing and Stationery, 1960, P. 227

<sup>22</sup> Phone Hlaing, "Ayeyarwady Taing Lyyarmay Thamaing" (History of Paddy Land and Ayeyawady Division), 1948-58, M.A Thesis, Department of History, Yangon University, 1975, P. 46 (Henceforth, Phone Hlaing, 1975)

The lands were made as nationalization relevance to the Land Nationalization Law enacted by the AFPFL government. In 1957, the total of 27 villages Shwebo District, Shwebo Township and Wetlet Township were allocated the land acres allocated to the peasants was 3. 14 acres<sup>23</sup>. These acres were not self- sufficient for the five persons family.

To solve the lives of trouble peasants, the government was taken out the agricultural loan. In 1952, the agricultural loan 580,000 kyats was got for Shwebo District and Shwebo Township got 170,000 kyats. In Shwebo District, there are sixty-four village tracts, fourteen village tracts were region, thus fifty village tracts were allocated the loan. This agricultural was not sufficient for Shwebo District. Thus, they demanded the agricultural loan again and so 400,000 kyats received once again<sup>24</sup>. The agricultural loan 980,000 kyats was received Shwebo District in 1952. Related to agricultural loan, fifteen kyats to thirty-five kyats. In discrimination the kinds, the one who paid back the loan at the year early was given thirty- five kyats, the one who paid back middle was given twenty- five kyats and the last one paid back was given fifteen kyats<sup>25</sup>. Thus, to get the most loan, the peasants were tried to pay back the loan early. So, they could not wait to receive the good price of paddy and they sold the paddy with attainable price. Although they received the highest loan amount, they sold the lowest paddy price so they did not affect the suitable benefits. In 1953, the government fixed the paddy price 305 kyats, but if the paddy was sold early than the government fixed time the price was 200 kyats<sup>26</sup>. In 1965- 66, the price fixed by the government could be seen<sup>27</sup> as follows;

Table I. Paddy Price brought by the Government (1965- 1966)

Kind of Paddy	First Time December- February	Second Time March- July	Third Time July- December
Nga- kywae	385 Ks	395 Ks	400 Ks
Eae-mahta	330 Ks	340 Ks	345 Ks
Nga- sein	310 Ks	320 K	325 Ks

Source; Win Maung, 1982, 164

By the above table, the price fixed by the government was found three kinds. The peasant did not sell the good price thus the economic convenient was less. Besides, the government fixed the interest six *kyats* and twenty- five *kyats* for 100 *kyats* agricultural loan. The Village Board cut five *kyats* in 100 *kyats* when the peasants borrowed immediately. Then the conference fee two *kyats*, the membership of the all Burma Peasant Association (Ba-Ta-La-Sa) fee one *kyat*, totally eight *kyats* was cut and only ninety-two *kyats* was given and signed 100 *kyats* in statistics. When they paid back the loan, the interest twelve *kyats* and eight *kyats* was given besides 100 *kyats*. The peasants received only seventy-nine *kyats*<sup>28</sup>. Although the government lent the loan to the peasants, the Village Board membership and the local rulers were benefit.

The government lent the agricultural loans from the department such as (1) Village Bank, (2) agricultural expense loan cooperation, (3) village cooperation and general

<sup>23</sup> Ludu Newspaper, 26 February 1954, 3

<sup>24</sup> Ludu Newspaper, 26 June 1952, 8

<sup>25</sup> Ludu Newspaper, 26 June 1952, 3

<sup>26</sup> Civil Case, No. 63, 1953, Shwebo District Law Court

<sup>27</sup> Win Maung, 1982, 164-165

<sup>28</sup> Ludu Newspaper, 26 June 1952, 3

department loan for the peasants<sup>29</sup>. The government lent over 114 million *kyats* in one year for the peasants' agricultural loan<sup>30</sup>. The agricultural bank lent six *kyats* interest to the village bank in one year and the village bank lent twelve *kyats* interest for 100 *kyats* to the peasant in one year<sup>31</sup>. The interest is one *kyat* in one month, so this loan was help for the peasants.

The government permitted the agricultural loan for the peasants on April 1962. In Shwebo Township, twenty- eight village banks lend 1,354,040 *kyats* for rainy agricultural loan. The four village banks lent 93,160 *kyats* for winter agricultural loan<sup>32</sup>. The agricultural loan of Shwebo Township was expressed as follows;

Table II. Agricultural loan for Shwebo Township (1962- 1964)

Year	Village Banks	Rainy Season Loan (Kyats)	Winter Season Loan (Kyats)	Harvest Loan (Kyats)
1962	28 4	1,354,040	93,160	
1963	41 6 31	1,829,590	200,806	215,510
1964	45 15	1,665,790	258,045	
1965	59 16	2,036,765		
1966	41 11	1,380,820	150,080	
1967	52	1,874,575		3,997,710
1968	44	1,583,145		
1971		1,568,820	48,955	

Source (a) *Myo-ne Hmattan*, 1968, 103- 104; (b) *Myo-ne Hmattan*, 1972, 7

According to the above table, the loan for rainy was more than the loan for winter, so the rainy crop was cultivated more than the winter crop. The government lent the harvest loan and they solved the difficulties of the peasants as possible as. We found that the harvest loan was lent in 1963 and 1967. Besides the Revolutionary Government lent the agricultural loan and passed the acts to protect the peasants that not to seize the peasant's properties by the lord with the debt.

<sup>29</sup> *Land and agriculture*, 1956, 18

<sup>30</sup> *Burma Socialist Program Party Economic Affairs*, No. 1, Sarpay Beikman Press, 1965, P. 32

<sup>31</sup> *Land and agriculture*, 1971, 18

<sup>32</sup> *Shwebo Myo-ne Hmattan* (Record of Shwebo Township), Township Security and Administrative Committee, 1968, PP. 103- 104 (Henceforth; *Myo-ne Hmattan*, 1962)

The People Bank Agricultural Loan Sector lent the requirement currency to the peasants in 1972. A farmer had the chance to take out the highest loan 500 kyats. The agricultural loan rate for rainy were different by the different kinds of crops.<sup>33</sup> While cultivating the paddy, Shwebo Khun Ni, Nga Sein and Hmawbe paddy were cultivated after independence. The production rate was thirty to forty baskets in one acre. At the time of Socialist Revolution period, the new species of paddy seeds were tested and grown to develop the agriculture. The paddy production rate was fifty to sixty baskets in one acre<sup>34</sup>.

The paddy lands were project crops and long staple cotton agriculture were grown in main irrigated regions. For long staple cotton agriculture farming tractor camp was opened to transform from handwork system to mechanized forming system on April 1963<sup>35</sup>. Comparing with mechanized farming plan, cooperation tractor camp was abolished and cooperated with mechanized farming camp. On 1 October 1972, Mechanized Farming Directorate was changed and formed. For the cultivation of long staple cotton, the tractors from tractor camp were borrowed.<sup>36</sup> According to the long staple cotton cultivation plan, cotton cultivation was revealed within Shwebo Township annually as follows:

Table III. The condition of the Cotton Cultivation in Shwebo Township (1962-1972)

Year	Cultivated Acre
1962-3	223.40
1963-64	5853.30
1964-65	6492.91
1965-66	5810.20
1966-67	4934.45
1967-68	7832.02
1968-69	7142.11
1969-70	7714.17
1970-71	6613.45
1971-72	6710.50

Source; *Myo-ne Hmattan*, 1972, 50- 53

According to the above table, the condition of cotton cultivation was found that over 2000 acres could only plant at the project started year 1962-63 and the cultivation was developed. The government lent the agricultural loan for the cotton cultivation. Although the government lent the agricultural loan, if the peasants needed the money they borrowed and mortgaged the land. The peasant mortgaged the land repeatedly when their economy was inconvenient. U Kyaw lived in Htanaungwon village mortgaged his land to Mai Ma lived in Min-yat, Shwebo, three times. He first mortgaged in 1922 but he could not redeem till 1950 because of the economic difficulties. The case was happened<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> *Myo-ne Hmattan*, 1972, 152- 153

<sup>34</sup> Personal Interview with U Tun Saung, 72 years, Kyauk- myint village, 18. 6. 2019

<sup>35</sup> *Myo-ne Hmattan*, 1972, 50- 53

<sup>36</sup> *Myo-ne Hmattan*, 1972, 81- 83

<sup>37</sup> Criminal Case, No. 3, 1948, Shwebo District Law Court

Next case was also found in 1955, Mg Chit Kaw lived in Htanaungwon village borrowed 1500 kyats from Mg Hla Maung lived Maygon village and he was given land treaty as guaranty. He was agreed and signed to give 150 paddy baskets as the interest<sup>38</sup>. By looking this case, he gave not the money but paddy for interest, although the money was borrowed. For the economic convenient the peasant worked as tenant farmer, borrowed the money and mortgaged the land.

### **Conclusion**

Shwebo Township locates in Sagaing Division. Agriculture had been the main economy of Shwebo Township. Therefore, this paper presents the Socio- economy based on Agriculture. Rice is the principle crop of the Shwebo Township. Soon after independence Myanmar, the government enacted the 1948 Land Nationalization Law and 1950 Renting for Cultivating piece of Land Stand Act. But this law was not effectively implemented. Although the government allocated the lands; the peasants were not self-sufficient because the peasant who was allocated the land had six acres by means of estimation. Thus, the peasants were continually cultivated with the renting system to the landlords. The problems were disputed between the landlords and the peasants because of the tenant peasants failed to give the tenants. To solve the economic difficult, the peasants mortgaged the lands and borrowed the money with interest from the landlords. So, the government lent the agricultural loan and harvested loan to the peasants. The peasants were not fully received the loan due to exploit the rulers of Township and the village Renting Cultivation Land Committee. Related to the agricultural loan was divided into three kinds based on payback period. To get most loans, the peasant sold the paddy with the lowest price to pay back the loan earlier. Although the government provided, the life of the peasants was little convenient during 1948-1974. During the reign of Burma Socialist Program Party, socio-economy of peasants was little progress. After the practice of Market Oriented Economy, socio- economy of peasants was more progress.

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<sup>38</sup> Criminal Case, No. 4, 1948, Shwebo District Law Court

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### List of Interview

1. U Tun Saung, 72 years, Kyauk- myint village, 18. 6. 2019

## A Study on the Administration of the Wetlet Region under Myanmar Kings (1752-1885)

Myint Myint Khaing<sup>1</sup>, Khin Thidar Win<sup>2</sup>, Tin Zaw Lin<sup>3</sup>

### Abstract

This paper deals with the Administration of Wetlet Region under Myanmar kings. It stresses the appearance of Wetlet area and its development to a township. And then it describes the formation of cavalry groups and administration of Wetlet Region. This paper concludes the judiciary and tax collection under Myanmar Kings.

### Introduction

Wetlet area situates in Shwebo District, Sagaing Division. Wetlet area was not significant but it was popularly in the colonial period. In the Bagan period inscription Wetlet area is located under the *Thugyi* administration. Hanlin in the Wetlet area had developed as the city state during the Pyu Period in the ancient time. Wetlet area probably situated under the administration of Hanlin City State. During the Bagan Period, this area was under the Thugyi administration by the evidences of inscriptions. After the Bagan period, Wetlet area in the Shwebo region situated in the *Thuna-pranta-taing*. From the Bagan to Naungyan period Shwebo was included in the administration of *Myauk-bet Taik*. During the reign of Athinkhaya-sawyun Wetlet region was included in the *Ye-bet* Calvary. Although other towns and villages at Myanmar were administered by the *Myowun* and *Myosas*, Wetlet area in Shwebo region was controlled by *Myin-wun*, *Myin Gaung* and *Myin-si*. During the reign of King Mindon and King Thibaw, the salary system was introduced. *Hsa-ya-daws* (monks) were important role in the administration of Wetlet area. The ruling administrative officials were responsible for the peace of charges.

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Wetlet area situates in Shwebo District, Sagaing Division. Geographically, it locates between 95° 20' and 96° 10' East Longitude and 22° 10' in the North Latitude with an area of 524.81 square miles. Wetlet area locates in the east by Ayeyawaddy river, in the west by Mu river, in the north by Shwebo township and in the south by Sagaing township.<sup>4</sup> But according to Shwebo District Gazetteer, its area is 512 square miles in 1911.<sup>5</sup> In ancient time, Wetlet area was not significant but it was popularly in the colonial period. The inscription of Bagan period found at Wetlet area, in which found “*Wetletkan*”<sup>6</sup> and then the word “*Pleik Wetlet*” was found in the *Shinmaha-Kassapa* inscription of Bagan period.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, the name of ‘Wetlet’

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<sup>4</sup> Wetlet Myo-ne (Wetlet Township Gazetteer), Township Paty Unit, Wetlet, 1982, p.3 (Henceforth Wetlet Hmat Tan)

<sup>5</sup> A. Williamson, *Burma Gazetteer*, Shwebo District, Vol. A, Yangon, Government Printing, 1912, p-247 (Henceforth Williamson, 1912)

<sup>6</sup> U Nyein Maung, *Shai-haung Myanmar Kyauk-sar-myar* (Ancient Myanmar Inscription, Vol. II, Yangon, Archaeology Department, 1982, p-232 (Henceforth; Nyein Maung, 1982)

<sup>7</sup> U Nyein Maung, 1982, 120



was probably derived from 'Wetletkan' and 'Pelik Wetlet'. Bagan period inscriptions are found in Wetlet area in which the village names are located in present Wetlet area<sup>8</sup>. As all these villages are located in Wetlet area, Wetlet had been existed since ancient times. Wetlet area was not an important one as it was not included in the village list of *Myauk-bet-taik* which was collected for the treasury mentioned on June 1679. During the Bagan period while the state was divided into 'Taiks', the name 'Wetlet' was not found. But *Moke-so-chon Taik*, *Hanlin Taik*, *La-dwe Taik*<sup>9</sup> and *Inn-be Taik*<sup>10</sup> which existed in Wetlet area. Thus this was suggested that Wetlet area had been existed since Bagan period. In the Bagan period inscription the *Thugyi* of 'Minkyi', *Mahahti*,<sup>11</sup> *Minywa*,<sup>12</sup> *Singut*, *Thayaing*<sup>13</sup> and *Hanlin*<sup>14</sup> were found. So Wetlet area is located under the *Thugyi* administration.

*Hanlin* in the Wetlet area had developed as the city state during the *Pyu* Period.<sup>15</sup> Thus *Pyu* civilization flourished in Wetlet area. When *Pyu* period (AD 4 to 9 centuries) faded this area remained as the normal area. According to the inquests of 1668 and 1679 under *Thalun Min*, a number of villages in Wetlet area constituted the villages of Royal Archive and some were of the *Taiks*. The villages of *Ku-kaung*, *Sin-gut*, *Te-taw*, *Na-nan*, *Ma-gyi-don*, *Moke-so-chon*, *Hmet-hti*, *Min-ywa*, *Tha-yaing*, *Shame-ma-ga*, *Yonetha*, *Hla-dwe* and *Inn-be* were consisted of the Royal Archive. The villages of *Sainaing*, *Tat-ywa* and *Yinba* were consisted of *Sin-kyi Taik*. And then the villages of *Hanlin*, *Yin-ma-taw* and *Min-kyi* were included in the list of *Twin-thin Taik*. The list of *Mahadan Taik* included *Nga-bat-chaung*, *Kamphu*, *Ywa-thit*, *Kaing-ywa* and *Na-be-Hla* villages.<sup>16</sup> There were forty-three villages in Wetlet area where historical evidence of Bagan to Konbaung period were found. We found the all evidences in which 'Wetlet' village was not found. Thus we can suggest that Wetlet is an unknown village. Wetlet town appeared only in the colonial period.<sup>17</sup> Soon after the British occupation of Myanmar, firstly Wetlet included in the *Shwebo District*, *Shwebo jurisdiction*, in 1893 it included in *Shamemaga-Hladaw jurisdiction* and in 1895 it appeared into Wetlet Township. When *Mandalay-Myitkyina railway* was constructed in colonial period Wetlet gradually developed into headquarter town.<sup>18</sup>

In the ancient time, Wetlet area probably situated under the administration of *Hanlin* City state. During the Bagan Period, this area was under *Thugyi* administration by the evidences of inscriptions. After Bagan Period, Myanmar was divided into seven divisions. *Shwebo* area was situated in *Thuna-pranta-taing*.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, Wetlet area in the *Shwebo* region situates in the *Thuna-pranta-taing*. The state was divided into *Taiks*, Wetlet area in *Shwebo District* included in *Myauk-bet Taik*.

<sup>8</sup> U Nyein Maung, *Shai-haung Myanmar Kyauk-sar-myar* (Ancient Myanmar Inscription, Vol. I), Yangon, Archaeology Department, 1972, p-55 (Henceforth Nyein Maung SMK 1972)

<sup>9</sup> Than Tun, *Athit-myin Bama Thamaing* (Myanmar history on New Outlook), Yangon, Hna-lone Hla Sarpay, 1968, p-186 (Henceforth Than Tun, 1968)

<sup>10</sup> Dr Toe Hla; Chindwin-myt-tha Mu-ayeyar, *Monywa*, Daw Chi offset, 1995, p-8 (Henceforth Toe Hla, 1995)

<sup>11</sup> . Nyein Maung, 1982, 150

<sup>12</sup> . Nyein Maung, 1982, 54

<sup>13</sup> . Nyein Maung, 1982, 12

<sup>14</sup> . Nyein Maung, 1982, 123

<sup>15</sup> Williamson, 1912, 248

<sup>16</sup> . U Tun Yi, *Shay-khit Myanmar Naing-ngan Myo-ywa Ne-pe Thamaing* (History of Town, villages and Circle in Ancient Myanmar), Yangon, Sarpay Bank, Type script, pp 66-67

<sup>17</sup> Williamsom, 1912, 35-37

<sup>18</sup> Williamsom, 1912, 155

<sup>19</sup> Williamsom, 1912, 173

From Bagan to Nyaung-yan Period, Shwebo was included in the administration of Myauk-bet Taik. The cavalry from Shwebo region was also known as the Northern Cavalry which was renowned from Pinya, Sagaing to Konbaung period. King Athin-khaya-sawyun (1315-1322) ordered to form the Nine Northern Cavalry on 30 October 1326.<sup>20</sup> Athin-khaya-sawyun also formed the *Ye-bet Cavalry*.<sup>21</sup> Anauk-bet Lum Min (Maha Dhamma Yaza) (1607-1637) appointed *Wun-shin-daw Thinkhaya* to supervise the Nine Northern Cavalry. During the reign of Thawaddy (1837-1846) renewed the Northern Cavalry land. This Cavalry was included *Siputtara Gaung*, *Khun-nit-ywa Gaung*, *Myakan Goung* and *Man-gyi-don Gaung*.<sup>22</sup> *Shae-win-daw-hmu Mingyi* Maha Minhtin Minkhaung was appointed to administer 400 cavalry soldiers. The cavalry was renamed as the *Ye-bet myin*, which was administered by the *Taung-let Ye-bet Myin-tat-bo*, *Myauk-let Ye-bet Myin-tat-bo* and *Khum-nit-ywa Myin-tat-bo*.<sup>23</sup> Because of the cavalries were important for military affairs, the cavalries were often reorganized by the kings.

Although other towns and villages at Myanmar were administered by the *Myowun* and *Myosas*, Shwebo region was controlled by *Myin-wun*, *Myin Gaung* and *Myin-si*. *Myin-wun*, *Myin Gaung* and *Myin-si* were direct appointed by the king to administer the Yadanatheinga region. During the course of Konbaung period, Yadanatheinga region was administered by *Myin-su Ahmuhdans*. In Shwebo region the cavalry was found by the system of *Gaung-su*. Ten houses made one horse, ten horses was constituted one *Gaung*.<sup>24</sup> In the cavalry a unit of hundred houses was administered by a *Myin-gaung*. In the cavalry, *Myin-Gaund* (head of horsemen), *Myin-saye* (horse clerk), *Myin-tat-hmu* (captain of cavalry unit) and *Myin-wun* (the official in charge of cavalry unit) were appointed. There are various names of cavalries naming after the cavalry towns and villages, or their duty or their leading commander such as *Myin-hmu-mintha* (a prince cavalry commander), *Myin-su-gyi wun*, *Myin-tat-hmu*, fief towns and villages of *Myin-gaung* or *Myin-si*. In Wetlet area such naming of cavalry units found as *Khaw-daw gaung*, *Yonetha-gaung*, *Hla-daw gaung*, *Thayaing gaung*, *Halin-gyi gaung*, *Inn-be gaung*, *Kadu Khan-nit Ywa gaung-su*, *Ma-gyi-dongaung-su* and *Pauk-kan Bo*, *Thaman-tha Bo*, *Wetlet-ywe Bo*, *Inn-be Bo*, *Nga-bat Chaung Bo*, and *Hla-daw-gyi Bo*.<sup>25</sup>

By this mention, cavalry villages of Wetlet region were more than other region of the Yadanatheinga cavalry Region. The administration of cavalry villages was under the control of *Myin-gaung* or *Thugyi*<sup>26</sup> (village headman). To mark the *Myin-si ahmu-dans*, the horse emblem was tattooed on the right side of the body below the armpit or just on the belly.<sup>27</sup> Although servicemen were not allowed to move from one service group to another, servicemen of horse group were allowed to move and serve from one horses group to another. If the post of *Myin-si* was held for three successions, in a family there was no objection for the relatives to inherit *Myin-si* post. A *Myin-si* who was not a pagoda slave or a reconvict was

<sup>20</sup> Toe Hla 1955, 4,5

<sup>21</sup> Than Tun, 1985, 202

<sup>22</sup> . Maung Maung Tin, *Shwe-nan-thone waw-hara-abeikdon* (Dictionary of Royal Usage), Yangon, Ministry at Religious Affairs, p 298

<sup>23</sup> . U Maung Maung Tin, *Konbaung-zet Maha-yaza-wundaw-gyi* (The Great Chronicle of Mahayazawun) Yangon, Ledimandaing Press, 1967, Vol.II, p 570

<sup>24</sup> . Maung Maung Tin, 1968, 570-71

<sup>25</sup> . Khaing Khaing Myint, *A Socio-Economic History of Wetlet Township (1948-1885)*, MA Thesis, Department of History, Mandalay University, 2000, p.2 (Henceforth, Khaing Khaing Myint, 2000)

<sup>26</sup> .Williamson; 1912, 164-166

<sup>27</sup> . Khin Maung Htay; "Konbaung Khit Okachoke-yei" (Konbaung period Administration (1752-1885)) M.A (Thesis), Department of History, Mandalay University, 1975, p 183 (Henceforth Khin Maung Htay; 1975)

allowed to move to another horse group.<sup>28</sup>The formation of *Yebet Myin-nye* was enlisted throughout the Yadanatheinga Region if necessary for the extension of cavalry. the list of cavalry units in Wetlet area can be seen in the following table.<sup>29</sup>

The list of Cavalry units in Wetlet Area (1873-1802)

The Name of Myin gaung	Initial	Officers	Absentees	Reject	Deducted	Balance
<i>Khunnitywa gaung</i>	113	11	9	1	21	92
<i>Khaw-daw</i>	100	3	2	-	5	95
<i>Yonetha</i>	104	5	-	3	8	96
<i>Hladaw</i>	275	26	26	62	114	159
<i>Thayaing</i>	117	9	1	2	12	105
<i>Hanlingyi</i>	49	3	-	19	42	7
<i>Innbe</i>	111	5	10	-	15	96
Total	867	62	48	87	217	650

Source:Tun Yi, 2003, 82,83

According to the above table, there were 867 households when *Yebetmyin* group were organized in the villages in Wetlet area. There remained only 650 households after deducting the officers, absentees and rejections. Originally there were 867 dwellings out of which 62 were houses of administrative officers. Thus, firstly one *Myin-si* was formed ten houses. As one *Myin-si* was formed of ten houses, the funds for the armed men was too much, it was reformed with the fifty houses.<sup>30</sup>

Some of the cavalry villages were formed to have no headmen. The lack of headmen might be due to the break in the line of succession by hereditary and the headmen might be in the hiding because of actionable offences. It is assumed that the economic and social situation was unstable in such villages without headmen. Furthermore, there would be difficulty in the collection of revenue thereby reducing the royal income.

Among the headmen, two kinds of headman are found those with titles and those without titles. In the cavalry villages in Wetlet area, there were thirteen headmen with '*Tuyin*' titles and one headman with '*Zala*' and '*Thurein*' title.<sup>31</sup> '*Tuyin*' titles were conferred on *Myin-si* and *Myin-gaung* whereas '*Thurein*' title was conferred on service musketeers and '*Zala*' was boatmen.<sup>32</sup> It can be firmly said that there were men of bravery and physical strength in the service groups of cavalry, musketeers and boatmen. The lists of village headmen with the

<sup>28</sup> . Than Tun; 1989, 695

<sup>29</sup> . Tun Yi, *Konbaung-khit Sayin-padetha* (The List of Konbaung Period), Toyohashi, Aichi University, 2003, pp 82-83 (Henceforth Tun Yi, 2003)

<sup>30</sup> .(a) The appointments of *Myinsi* and *Myingaung* are confirmed, Royal (Patent) Letter, Thein Tan Collection, Tesu village.

(b) Formation of *Yebetmyin* group, *Parabaik MS*, NLC No. 1082

<sup>31</sup> . Tun Yi, 2003, 43-51

<sup>32</sup> . Maha Zeyathinkhaya, *Voharalinattha Dipari*, Yangon, Hanthawati press, 1960, p 56

villages in their charge, we find that some village headmen won not only one title but even two. *Pyun-oo* village headman won the titles of *Zala* and *Thurein* by which signified that the headman won two classes of title for gunners and boatman. Other evidences showed that there were also cavalymen in the village. It was interesting to note that the admixture of boatmen, gunners and cavalryman lived together relatively in a small village of *Pyun-oo* village. By the above fact we can understand that villages in Wetlet area, regardless of big or small, were important to the country, as they contributed much needed servicemen.

In the Konbaung period, Shwebo cavalry region had at least 20000 cavalymen.<sup>33</sup> According to the cavalry list of *Shwepyitagan*, there were 864 cavalymen in Wetlet area.<sup>34</sup> The king usually rigged them out anyone of 'Samye' or 'Nemye' or 'Lokmye'. At the time of peace and tranquillity, cavalymen carried out cultivation works on their 'Samye'. The amount of 'Samye', one cavalry had been being permitted 100 pe *Ingyidaw* village of Shwebo region<sup>35</sup> and so also was in the village of *Magyidon*, Wetlet area.<sup>36</sup>

The distribution pattern of Samye to the cavalymen was like that of 12 pe for each of *Myin-tat-bo*, 7 pe for one *Myinsi*, and 5 pe for cavalryman. The rigged out area of *Samye* for the cavalry was just subsistence in terms of the socio-economic conditions of that area.<sup>37</sup> It was small amount and cannot conduce and foster the prosperity of the cavalymen was sent to the *Myinhmu*.<sup>38</sup> Apart from the 'tax of *Samye*' cavalymen had to be paid other tax to the throne in time according to the prescription of high ranking officers. The royal orders issued on 23 September 1869, proclaimed by the *Asaung-gaingNgayon*,<sup>39</sup> for offering the present to the King. If damage of the *Samye* it was reviewed by the King. In the reign of Minkhaung I (1401-1421), cavalry villages of *Kugaung*, *Pauktaw*, *Yindaw*, *Phutlaing* and *Yinmargan* in Wetlet area were asked to pay the land taxes for their failure cavalry service and it was to be recorded in the treasury.<sup>40</sup> Under the King Minbyauk (1352-1364) of Sagaing and Mingyi Swa-sawke (1367-1400) of Innwa, to record in the treasury, *Tanintha* village in Wetlet area was included in this formation.<sup>41</sup>

In levying taxes on *Myin ahmudan* and people, to prevent misconduct and misappropriation the king issued the order that forbade the forceful tax collection.<sup>42</sup> During the reign of King Thibaw (1878-1885) when organized the *Ahmudan Asu* (services group) these *Asu Ahmudan* were supported with money. The cavalry villages of *Yebetmyin* of Shwebo could not effort the taxes of household and *Myin-naukhtauk-kye*. When they heard the news to form the *Yebetmyin Asu* there broke out instability in the villages of the city area. Economic hardship made the cause to raise the frequent occurrence of crime which led to the country to chaotic conditions, resulting the destabilization and displacement of the people and villages. Thus, the number of cavalry decreased. For instance, *Nga Phaw* together with thirty-seven

<sup>33</sup> . Toe Hla, 1995, 52

<sup>34</sup> . Khin Maung Htay, 1975, 178-79

<sup>35</sup> . U Thaung's Collection, Ye-U

<sup>36</sup> . U Panni's explanation (Pauktaw monestry) interviewed by author

<sup>37</sup> . Toe Hla, 1995, 60

<sup>38</sup> . Dr Than Tun, The Royal Orders of Burma, AD 1595-1885, Part Four, Kyoto, Kyoto University, 1985, p.130 ( Henceforth Than Tun; 1985)

<sup>39</sup> . U Thaung's collection

<sup>40</sup> . Than Tun, 1985, p 319

<sup>41</sup> . Than Tun, 1985, p 217

<sup>42</sup> . U Thaung's Collection; p 12

houses from *Nanan* village had to migrate to the *Linyin* village of Sagaing due to the economic hardship.<sup>43</sup>

In building of the Third Myanmar Empire, U Aung Zeya formed sixty-eight camaraderies. Nga Twan was one of the sixty-eight cavalry camaraderies. He was the villager of *Moksogyon* in Wetlet area. He was given various titles of *Thiri Shwetaung*, *Minhla Shwetaung*, *Minhla Mingaung*, and *MingaungMinha Nawrahta*.<sup>44</sup> Besides, leaders of *gaungs* from forty-six quarters of the city were invested with various titles and they were given the duty to defend the kingdom. Among them sixteen *ywa-gaungs* were situated in Wetlet area.<sup>45</sup> Therefore, cavalry was importance for the military affairs of those days. Thus the Wetlet area in the *Yadanatheinga Yebetmyin-mye* was essential from the Bagan Period to Konbaung period.

Besides, the *Myin ahmudan*, boat clerk<sup>46</sup> and *Kyiwin*<sup>47</sup> (granary in charge) were found. *Kyiwin* dealt with the food supply of the country. Under his supervision were *Kyiso* and *Kyisaye* (granary clerk) who were responsible to take into accounts of input and output grains.<sup>48</sup> Under *Kyiwin* there existed *Away Kyiwin*, who was local officer.<sup>49</sup> *Kyiwins* were responsible for the drawing of paddy and in addition they had to pay the salaries of *Kyisaye*.<sup>50</sup> During the reign of King Mindon (1852-1878) and King Thibaw (1878-1885), though the salary system was introduced, *ahmudans* were not paid regularly.

Apart from the economic officials of *Kyiwin* and *Kyisaye*, there also were in Wetlet area, other *ahmudans* of *Sa-tat-hmu*<sup>51</sup> (Officer in charge of salt production), *htandawoke* (Chief of toddy palm) and military officials of *Thwaygyi*.<sup>52</sup> During Konbaung period, in the Wetlet area a range of various *ahmu-dans* were found such as *myin si*, *myin-lu-lin* (page to Myin gaung), *myinsaye* (adjutant of horse), *myintatbo*, *Yun-su-wun*, *sar-chun-daw-ye*, *saye*, *Thenat-hmu-kyang thwaythaukgyi* (musketeers column company commander), *Pyinya thenat saye min* (clerk to the musketeers), *Thenat-lu-lindaw* (musketeer page), *thway-thauk-gyi-min* (company commander), *Akyat* (section commander), *Akyisaye* (clerk to the steward of household), *Gaungmin*, *Nar-gan-daw-min* (King's messengers), *Bada Let-swe-tha* (Chief treasure), *ahmudans* of *shwe-ke Hle-daw*, (director of Water work), *Ahtauk-taw*, *wun-saye*, *kyisaye* (clerk to the *Kyi-wun*), *Htan-daw-ok* (chief of the royal toddy Palmyra) *Bei-mai-ok* (chief of animal sanctuary) and so on.<sup>53</sup>

*Se-ein-gaungs* were also included in the administrative officers. Although they were called head of ten houses, they had to rule sometimes over five houses.<sup>54</sup> The duties of *se-ein-gaung* were to report population increase or decrease, movement of population, in early and exist of population to the town office. He had to see that there were no bad characters, thieves,

<sup>43</sup> . List of migration to Sagaing Township, *Parabaik* No. 1274, NLC

<sup>44</sup> . Maung Maung Tin, 2004 a, 57

<sup>45</sup> . Maung Maung Tin, 1967, 33-34

<sup>46</sup> . Thitseint Ordination Hall Inscription, 15 Nov 1875, Thit-seint Village

<sup>47</sup> . Llist of paddy stored in Thitseintgyi Granary, Mandalay University Library, *Parabaik* MS, No. 114 (Henceforth Theit-seint , No 114)

<sup>48</sup> . Myanmar-minmyar Htokput anthaw Ameintdaw-myar (Royal orders issued by Myanmar Kings), Yangon, New administration system committee, 1972, p 6

<sup>49</sup> . Dr., Yi Yi, *Burmese Sittans 1764-1826*, Arizona, the university of Arizona Press, p 42

<sup>50</sup> . Thit-seint ; No. 114

<sup>51</sup> . Nga Kyazan's land dispute, 1876, *Parabaik MS*, U Thaung Hlaing's collection, Yonetha village

<sup>52</sup> . Than Tun, 1988, 243

<sup>53</sup> . Khaing Khaing Myint; 2000, pp 17-18

<sup>54</sup> . Maung Maung Tin, 1967, 147-9

receivers of thief's cattle, slaughters, drunkards and gamblers. In *Moksogyon* village, village community association, under the leadership of ten-household, gave assistance in the occasions of joy or sorrow. Anyone, who gave one kyat for infringement and two kyats for the second time infringement.<sup>55</sup>

In summary, from Bagan period to Konbaung period Wetlet region was unknown, but the villages of the Wetlet township now were significant as the cavalry region. Moreover Hanlin was famous the Pyu city-state. At the administration of Wetlet region, there were officers and servicemen such as *Myingaung*, *Myinsi*, *Myintatthar* and *Myinsaye*.

### Conclusion

During the Pyu Period, the villages of Wetlet region were under the administration of Hanlin City State. According to the Bagan inscriptions, Wetlet probably existed since Bagan Period. During the Nyaungyan Period, it included Myaukabet *Taik* and was under the *Thugyi* administration. Under King Athinkhayar Saw Yun, it included *Yebet Myin* group and administered by *Myinsis* and *Myingaungs*. From Pinya Period to Konbaung Period, Wetlet region was a *Myinne-myay*. Although it had been *Myinne-myay*, servicemen of boat and musketeers were found this region.

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## A Study on the Conditions of Farmland Cultivation during the Reign of King Thalun

Phyo Wai Nyein \*

### Abstract

During the reign of King Thalun, the kingdom was prosperous and peaceful. Myanmar is the agricultural country where rice is the staple food of the people. So, farmland cultivation is very important. King Thalun encouraged for the progress of agriculture and cultivator's life. It can be found that most of the royal orders issued to develop agriculture during this period.

Key Words: Farmland, King Thalun, Cultivators

### Introduction

Myanmar is a agricultural country. The main crop was paddy. Paddy was cultivated in the farmland. There are four kinds of land. They are *Le* (Farmland), *Yar* (Dry Land), *Kaingkyun* (Island resulting from silting on which cultivation is done) and *U-yin* (Garden land). King Thalun expanded the agricultural land. By the collection of sittan, proclamation of royal orders, the king made efforts for the development of agriculture. In cultivation the paddy, water resource is essential. Therefore, dams, canals, lakes and creeks were dug and renovation to the old ones and maintenance were made by king Thalun.

## A Study on the Conditions of Farmland Cultivation during the Reign of King Thalun

The main economy of Myanmar is agriculture and the majority of people in the rural areas were cultivators. The cultivated land mainly divided into four kinds: *Le* (Farmland), *Yar* (Dry Land), *Kaingkyun* (Island resulting from silting on which cultivation is done) and *U-yin* (Garden land). The peasants grow crops in all these four kinds of land. In the research paper focused on the condition of farmland during the reign of king Thalun. King Minye Deikba was dethroned by his uncle King Thalun who ascended the throne in A.D. 1633. King Thalun made efforts for economic progress and effective administration.

It estimated that the population in the Nyaung-Yan Period was 2 million,<sup>1</sup> which would include all ethnic races. The majority of people during the Nyaung-Yan Period made their livelihood by cultivation and their basic economy was agriculture. Agriculture carried out mainly depending on the weather condition and physical feature. Myanmar enjoys monsoon climate. There are mountain ranges in the east, north and west. In central and southern parts of the country, there are valleys and plains that are suitable for the cultivation of crops. The Lower Myanmar is the delta area where a number of rivers and creeks joined and where there is heavy rain falls and paddy cultivation thriving.<sup>2</sup> The Central Myanmar gets less rain, average

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<sup>1</sup> Dr.Than Tun, *Tharlun Min Lethtet Okchokeyay* (Administration under King Thalun), *Journal of Burma Research Society*, Volume 49, Part I, 1966, p. 54 (Henceforth: Than Tun, 1966)

<sup>2</sup> Daw Khin Swe Win, *Myanmar Naingngan Yathi U-tu* (Climate of Myanmar), *Geography Journal*, Volume VII, No. (1), Yangon, Geography Association, 1980, p. 28



rainfall is 40 inches and so agriculture depends upon water from irrigation canals, lakes and creeks. Therefore, in Upper Myanmar, the kings themselves took the lead in the construction of dams, canals and lakes.

Myanmar is an agricultural country, the main occupation of the people was agriculture, and the main crop is paddy. The word “*Sa Par*” comes from the *Pali* word “*Ya Wa*”. The ancient Myanmar kings called paddy “*Kauk*”. There were 126 kinds of *Kaukgyi*, 34 kinds of *Kauknyin* (Glutinous rice), 6 kinds of *Kaukmuyin*, 11 kinds of *Kauklatt*, 10 kinds of *Kauklyin* and 7 kinds of *Kauksapar*.<sup>3</sup> The paddy land is called “*Asut Myay*”.<sup>4</sup> The alluvial land situated along the riverbanks where monsoon floods annually take place is called “*Le*”. *Le* (Paddy land) can be divided into *Than Le* and *Muyin Le*. Paddy land grown with rainwater in the rainy season is called “*Than Le*”<sup>5</sup> and the paddy land grown with water from lakes is called “*Muyin Le*”. *Kaukgyi* and *Kauklyin* paddy grow in *Than Le* or *Asut Le*. *Kaukgyi* is old species of paddy that lasts for the Period from 170 to 200 days. It grows in June and harvested in November.<sup>6</sup>

The species of paddy found during the Nyaung-Yan Period were *Kauknyin*, *Kaukpinsi*, *Nga Kon*, *Nga Kywe*, *Nga Lin*, and *Pan Chaw*. These were old species of paddy.<sup>7</sup> *Kauklyin* paddy is *Thet-nge* paddy that lasts 140 to 150 days. It grows in June and harvested in the middle or end of October. *Thet-nge* paddy species grown during the Nyaung-Yan Period were *Kauk-thwe-phyu*, *Kywe-pon*, *Nga Si*, *Ngu Phyat*, *Nga Yon*, *Saku*, *San Ni Ma*, *Bot Gyi*, and *Thida* etc.<sup>8</sup> It is said that there were 187 species of paddy in the Konbaung Period, but only a few species were found in the evidences. In Lamaing land, *Kaukti* and *Mae Saw* were mostly grown.<sup>9</sup> In Minbu six districts including *Saku*, *Kauknyin*, *San Shwe Tun*, and *Myat Sapar* were grown. In Depayin and Hmanthar of Shwebo District, *Kacha*, *Kantaung*, *Kaukgyi*, *Phwe Phyu* and *Mae Saw* were mostly grown.<sup>10</sup>

In the cultivation of paddy, there were two agricultural methods: the first method is clenching the seeds with hand and sowing directly on the ground. The second method is growing the seeds first in nursery and transplanting the seedlings into the ground.<sup>11</sup> In a royal order issued by King Thalun, it is stated that paddy seeds shall be sown on the full moon day of Kason (May) and the seedlings shall be transplanted on the full moon day of Nayon (June).<sup>12</sup> The transplanting method is higher in standard than the method of sowing directly on the ground and it can lead to high yield of paddy. Ten people were necessary to grow one *pe* (1.75 Acre) of paddy land.<sup>13</sup> During the Taungoo Period, the cultivation of paddy began as soon as rainfalls and in cultivating paddy. When paddy is grown, they used the method of

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<sup>3</sup> Hanthawaddy U Ba Yin, *Myanmar Leyar Takhwin* (Around the Cultivated Land of Myanmar), Yangon, Sein Kyi Press, 1976, p. 80 (Henceforth: Ba Yin, 1976)

<sup>4</sup> *Jabudipa*, 1960, Gar

<sup>5</sup> *Jabudipa*, 1960, 79

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Yi Yi, *Thutethana Abidanmya Hmatsu* (Note of Research Dictionary), Burma Research Society, Yangon, 1974, p. 474

<sup>7</sup> Dr. Than Tun, *Khithaung Myanmar Yazawin* (Chronicle of Ancient Myanmar), Yangon, Maha Dagon Sarpay, 1964, p. 180 (Henceforth: Than Tun, 1964)

<sup>8</sup> *Min Thone Par*, *Pei* MS. No.1944, Khar (Obverse) and Khi (Reverse)

<sup>9</sup> *Min Thone Par*, *Pei* MS. No.1944, Khar (Obverse) and Khi (Reverse)

<sup>10</sup> Dr. Toe Hla, *Konbaungkhit Kyelet Luhmu Sipwa Bawa* (Socio-Economic Life of Rural Area in the Konbaung Period) (1752-1885), Myanmar Historical Commission, Yangon, 2004, p.104 (Henceforth: Toe Hla, 2004)

<sup>11</sup> Than Tun, 1964, 180

<sup>12</sup> The Royal Order issued for fourteen years from the reign of king Thalun in sakaraj 1000 up to the reign of king Taninganwe, *Pei* No. 1950, Yangon, National Archives, p- Gi (Obverse), (Henceforth: *Htaung Pyae*, *Pei* No.1950)

<sup>13</sup> Toe Hla, 2004, 104

putting seedling into the ground with pointed stick.<sup>14</sup> By the evidences, it is known that there was difference in the method of cultivation between the Nyaung-Yan Period and Taungoo Period. It is estimated that stubble of paddy was burnt down every year.

In the hilly regions, the people carried out agriculture. In the hilly regions where Kadu national races were living, cultivation was made on the slope of mountains. Besides paddy cultivation, the people also carried out *Yar*.<sup>15</sup> The land was harrowed with cattle, *htun tone* (Log to which the teeth of harrow are attached) and *htun tan* (Rake).<sup>16</sup> The land is ploughed by pulling harrow with five teeth. In the rainy season, agricultural utensils were prepared, about which *Wungyi* Padetharaja composed the old song "*Se Ein Gaung*" as follows:

When rain falls in the rainy season, agricultural utensils, such as fork, grubbing hoes, harrow etc., shall be prepared for growing paddy.<sup>17</sup>

Therefore, in harrowing the land, the people used *htun-tone*, *htun-tan*, plough, fork, knife, mattock, grubbing hoe, adze and axe. These utensils were used to clear the land or in cultivation.<sup>18</sup> Buffalo and cow are essential for cultivation. These animals were used not only in harrowing the land, they were also used in transportation of the crops to *Talin* (Plain bare ground to thresh paddy) and granaries. In central Myanmar where there is little rain, buffalo is used more than cows.<sup>19</sup> During the Nyaung-Yan Period, as commercial production did not prevail and there was no market for extra crops, it is supposed that the economy and main livelihood of the people would be agriculture. The rural areas were surrounded by farm lands and there were cultivators not only in rural areas but also in the royal capital and towns. The paddy lands were found mostly in the adjacent areas of dams, reservoirs, lakes and creeks where the land was fertile which contributed to the high yield of crops and so it is supposed that the paddy land was higher in value than the *Yar Myay*.

The main economy of Myanmar during the Nyaung-Yan Period was agriculture. In order to get water that is the mainstream of cultivation, since the Bagan Period, the successive Myanmar monarchs had built dams, canals, lakes and creeks. The dams built by people of Bagan Period were Kindar dam, Nganaingthin, Pyaungpyar and Kume dam that were built across the Panlaung River to supply water. King Anawrahta had built nine dams across the Panlaung and Zawgyi rivers and nine districts were established there to grow three crops per year. Nwatet dam, Kwansei dam, and Kudaw dam were built across the Madaya River. These dams were built under the aegis of King Anawrahta himself.<sup>20</sup> To be advantageous to the cultivators, water falling from Ka Yut hill was dammed up to irrigate the lands. Meiktila Lake was also dammed up to supply water to the cultivated lands.<sup>21</sup> Although it is said that King

<sup>14</sup> Tun Nyo, 1988, Ngaw

<sup>15</sup> *Ameindaw* (The Royal Order) issued from over sakaraj 900 up to the reign of the holder of Fifth Great Synod, *Parabaik* No.604, Yangon, National Library. (Henceforth: *Ameindaw*, *Parabaik* No.604)

<sup>16</sup> "Episode of ploughing the land", Shwe Thar Lyaung Pagoda" *Mural painting* on the wall in the east, Monywa, Pho Win Taung

<sup>17</sup> U Tin, *Myanmar Min Ok-choke-pon Sar-dan hnint Bodawpaya Ei Ya-za-that khaw-thaw A-mèint-daw-tan-gyi* (A Treatise on the Myanmar Kings' System of Administration), Volume II, Yangon, Paho Press, 1965, p. 150 (Henceforth: Tin, 1965)

<sup>18</sup> *Thalun Mintaya Shout-htone hnit Taungbila Sayadaw Ahphyay* (Questions of King Thalun and answer of Taungbila Sayadaw), *Pei* MS. No. 76, p- Pi (Obverse) (Henceforth: *Thalun Shout-htone*, *Pei* MS. No.76)

<sup>19</sup> Toe Hla, 2004, 107

<sup>20</sup> U Kala, *Maha Yazawindawgyi* (The Great Chronicle), Volume I, Burma Research Society No.V, Yangon, Hanthawaddy Pitaka Press, 1960, p. 201 (Henceforth: Kala, 1960)

<sup>21</sup> Ba Yin, 1976, 91

Anawrahta was the first monarch who introduced the irrigation system, evidences show that irrigation system had been in existence many years prior to that king. The Mon people had introduced the irrigation system and Myanmar people tried to expand it. In this way, it is estimated that agriculture which had been the main economy of the country was paid special attention since the Bagan Period.

Not only the successive kings of Myanmar had constructed dams, canals, lakes and creeks, they also distributed lands to the cultivators to work for their livelihood. As a gesture of the royal patronage to agriculture, the king himself took part in the royal ploughing ceremony.<sup>22</sup> Myanmar is the agricultural country where rice is the staple food of the people. In Nyaung-Yan Period, self-sufficient feudal economy prevailed. The lands were possessed by the king and feudal lords, such as *Myosa* (Town Chief), provincial chiefs and *Thugyis* (Headman). *Le-htauk-kha* (Rent paid by the tenant farmer to the owner) and taxes were paid with crops. The people were grouped into *Asu Athin* (Groups) and they lived within their separate groups. Economically, the village was not a basic unit and *Taik* (Circle) and *Daing* (Group of village for revenue purpose) were the basic units. In regard with the ownership of land, foreigners were not allowed to possess the lands.<sup>23</sup>

In Upper and Central Myanmar, there was little rain, agriculture was mainly dependent on water from canals and dams, and so irrigated lands were found. The prominent area for agriculture was the Kyaukse Ledwin Nine Districts. Kyaukse was the original place of Myanmar which was made up of eleven villages and its main economy was agriculture. As it was located in the zone affected by drought, Kyaukse gets an annual rainfall of 19 inches minimum to 47 inches maximum. Therefore, the cultivated lands were irrigated from the rivers of Samon, Panlaung, Zawgyi and Myitnge.<sup>24</sup> The regions in the dry zone could not cultivate without irrigation. Therefore, the successive Myanmar kings made efforts to irrigate the land for cultivation. The Minbu Six districts located on the east bank of the Ayeyarwaddy River got water from Salin, Mohn and Mann creeks. In these regions, Sakaw Kayin and Palaung who had already settled there invented the irrigation system and Myanmar people continued to expand it.<sup>25</sup> In these regions, crops were mostly grown in irrigated lands. According to the list collected in February 1638 by *Taik Thugyi* (Headman of Circle) and *Sè Sao* (Person whose duty is to organize for the maintenance of dams, canals and lakes), it is known that there were 5700 *pe* of irrigated lands in five districts of Kwan Say.<sup>26</sup> During the reign of King Thalun, royal service groups were formed in southern Ledwin districts and they were granted *Loke Myay* (Land for cultivate), *Ne Myay* (Land for resident) and *Sar Myay* (Land for food). The irrigated lands were important as granary for the people living in Anya area. Therefore, over 5000 ethnic people from frontier areas and hilly regions were migrated to the areas of Kyaukse, Pyaungpyar Se, Nwa Tet Se, Kalan Kyaw Se and Kume irrigated areas and settled and granted *Loke Myay*, *Nay Myay* and *Sar Myay*.<sup>27</sup> In addition, the king made the people coming from the northern regions settled at the areas where a few *Athi* people were living. It can be seen in the royal order issued in 1628 as follows:

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<sup>22</sup> U Ba Oo, *Myanmar Okchokeyay Pyinnya* (Statecraft of Myanmar), Mandalay, Bahosi Newspaper Office, 1940, p.147 (Henceforth: Ba Oo, 1940)

<sup>23</sup> Maung Sue San, *Bama Sipwayay Sittan* (Burma Economic Sittan), Yangon, Pinya Sarpei Taik, 1968, p. 353 (Henceforth: Sue San, 1968)

<sup>24</sup> Than Tun, 1964, 173

<sup>25</sup> Than Tun, 1964, 173

<sup>26</sup> *Royal Archives*, *Pei* No.131927, Kar (Obverse)

<sup>27</sup> *Jabudipa*, 1960, 39

In the towns of Patein, Ma Bè, Seitoketaya and Circle of Phyt Thee 10 villages, 10 Villages of Lingataw, Sar Hton, Salingyi, village of Phyinsar and four Taiks (Circle), Tayoke (Chinese), Kayin, Kachin, Inn Kye who are coming from Anya area shall be settled at the ratio of 300, 150 and 100 persons respectively.<sup>28</sup>

*Athi* people were mostly engaged in the cultivation of paddy. Besides the paddy cultivation, crops were grown in *Yar*, *Kaing Kyun* and *U-yin*. The agricultural products had been remained as the basic economy of the people since the Bagan Period. In the later Period, there were more people who engaged in the cultivation of paddy, and the growing of crops in *Yar*, *Kaing* and *Uyin*. There were also hillside cultivations. During the Nyaung-Yan Period, the crown service men like *Thugyi* and *Sachi* (Clerk) etc, went round the villages to check whether there were people who had no work and these people were made to work the cultivation.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, every year at the growing season, the king made his servants to urge the cultivators to work paddy cultivation by beating gong or drum that was put on the elephant and went round the villages.<sup>30</sup> King Thalun expanded the agricultural land by granting *loke Myay*, *Ne Myay* and *Sar Myay* to the followers and made them settled at the new lands. By the collection of *Sittan*, proclamation of royal orders, the king made efforts for the development of agriculture. Therefore, during the reign of King Thalun, there were agricultural development and population growth that led to the development of the cultivators. Not only the military campaigns reduced but also economy developed and so there would be peace and tranquility in the kingdom.

In cultivating the paddy, water resource is essential. Therefore, the successive Myanmar kings constructed dams and canals and renovated the old ones. In the royal order issued on 7 November 1637 by King Thalun, renovation of dams and canals mention as follows:

If dams, canals from different parts of the kingdom are in ruin, renovation shall be made.<sup>31</sup>

Similarly, in the royal order dated 6 February 1638, it stated that in the renovation of Kwan Sei dam, 25 villages that received water from Nwa Tet dam had to give labor as follows:

As Kwan Sei dam was in ruin, the royal order issued that renovation shall be made by people from 25 villages which derived water from Kwan Sei dam.<sup>32</sup>

The aim of King Thalun's order was to make the people participate in the renovation works of the dam. King Thalun appointed officers to take charge of the dams, canals, lake and creeks, such as *Se Sao*, *Se Kyi*, *Myaung Sao*, *Kan Sao* etc. The functions of these officers were to

<sup>28</sup> *Min Khon Hnit par*, *Pei* No. 1089, Khan (Reverse), Khar (Obverse)

<sup>29</sup> *Min Khon Hnit par*, *Pei* No. 1089, Khei (Reverse)

<sup>30</sup> *Min Thone Par*, *Pei* No.1944, Ki (Obverse)

<sup>31</sup> *Min Thone Par*, *Pei* No.1944, Thay (Reverse)

<sup>32</sup> *Royal Archives*, *Pei* No. 131927, Kar (Reverse)

maintain the dams, canal, lake and creek every year. Some of the Myanmar monarchs themselves supervised the construction or renovation of dams. Generally, it was supervised by *Myo Wun* and *Myo Sayay* concerned. The officer in charge of dams in the reign of King Thalun was Abbaya Nandathu and *Se Sao* was Nga Ya. *Se Kyi* was Nga Nay and Nga Shwe Pyo. Besides these servicemen, it is stated in the *Sittan* of King Thalun that 300 Senior *Koyandaw Ahmudan* (Royal Body Guard), 200 junior *Koyandaw Ahmudan* and 150 *Yei Khon Thar* (Persons from the group of water tax collectors) took part in the maintenance of dams and canals.<sup>33</sup> Annually, the persons from the group of water tax collectors propitiated the Guardian spirit of dam. The function of *Yei Khon Thar* was to clean the rubbish in the dam. The duty of *Nat Htein* was to collect one *pyi* of paddy on one *pe* of land every year.<sup>34</sup> The dam service men had to pay two baskets of paddy *per man* at the time of propitiation to the Spirit. If someone destroys brick, stone or earth of the dam, he would be punished with five lashes. If he wanted to escape lashing, he must pay 5 *kyats* of pure silver as fine.<sup>35</sup> During the Nyaung-Yan Period, lands were irrigated not only from dam but also from lake for cultivation. The outstanding lakes were Aungpinle lake, Mya lake, Kan Pauk, Kan Daw, Kan Hla, Htaukshay Kan.<sup>36</sup> The canals existed since the Bagan Period were Zidaw Canal (Main Canal), Myaung Gyi, Myaung Sohn, Thin Twe, San Mar and Tamote Myaung.<sup>37</sup> King Thalun appointed *Se Wun* (Officer of Irrigation), *Se Sao* (Junior Officer of Irrigation) and *Myaung Sao* (Junior of Canal) to maintain the dams and canals.

In the royal order issued during the reign of King Thalun on 20 October 1643, town and village headmen were instructed to go round and watch the villages; to supervise the reclamation of new lands, to instigate those who did not work cultivation to engage in agriculture. Not to be failed their cultivation; the cultivators were not allowed to come to the royal capital. If there was a special cause for travelling to the royal capital, he must first ask permission of *Myo Kut* (Junior Town Officer), *Myo Kaing* (Town Officer), and *Myo Thugyi* (Town Headman), and then he was allowed to come to the royal capital by bringing letter of *Myo Kut*, *Myo Kaing*, and *Myo Thugyi*.<sup>38</sup> It is stated as follows:

The cultivators shall not be allowed to come to the royal capital. If they have important business, they shall bring the letter of *Myo Kut*, *Myo Kaing* and *Myo Thugyi*, and if they do not take letter, they shall be assigned the duty to collect fodder of royal elephants.<sup>39</sup>

The royal orders were also issued that lawsuits would not be settled during the Period from June when growing began to January when crops were harvested. Its purpose was not to disturb the crop cultivation. Similarly, King Badon issued order, instructing not to demand debt or consecrate lawsuits at the busy time of growing or harvesting the crop. This order was obeyed up to the reign of King Thibaw.<sup>40</sup> In this way, King Thalun of Nyaung-Yan Period and King Badon of Konbaung Period encouraged the development of agriculture. The cultivators worked agriculture for eight months, starting from 5<sup>th</sup> waxing of *Waso* (June) up to *Tabodwe*

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<sup>33</sup> *Royal Archives, Pei No. 131927, Kha (Obverse)*

<sup>34</sup> *Royal Archives, Pei No. 131927, Ka (Reverse)*

<sup>35</sup> *Royal Archives, Pei No. 131927, Kha (Obverse)*

<sup>36</sup> Than Tun, 1964, 180

<sup>37</sup> Than Tun, 1964, 173

<sup>38</sup> *Min Khon Hnit par, Pei No. 1007, Khei (Reverse), Khe (Obverse)*

<sup>39</sup> *Min Khon Hnit par, Pei No. 1007, Khei (Reverse), Khe (Obverse)*

<sup>40</sup> Toe Hla, 2004, 89

(February).<sup>41</sup> Like the male farmers, the lady farmhand had to work of transplanting paddy or pulling out rice seedlings.<sup>42</sup> The lady farmhand served as tenants in the Nyaung-Yan Period. They were led by a head called "*Thoke Thugyi*".<sup>43</sup> During the reign of King Thalun, order was issued that every cultivator must try with great effort to develop agriculture. The cultivators were also instructed to take care of the dams, creeks and lakes not to be ruined.<sup>44</sup> In this way, King Thalun was a monarch who encouraged for the progress of cultivators' life. Royal orders were also issued for the land not to be left vacant, the peasants to cultivate with their utmost effort, and to develop agriculture and to be enough for internal consumption.

During the reign of King Thalun, the king in cooperation with the subject people could administer the kingdom in peace and stability. Therefore, when King Thalun passed away in 1648, it recorded as follows:

As the country was in peace and tranquility, and the king passed away comfortably on the royal palace, he was called "*Thalun Min*".<sup>45</sup>

Therefore, it is known that the kingdom under King Thiri Thudhamma Raja Dipati (Thalun Min) was peaceful and prospered and the king passed away comfortably. So the king was called *Thalun Min*.

### Conclusion

During the reign of King Thalun, the kingdom was getting peace and prosperity. The economy of the country also developed. Paddy was the staple crop of the country grown in large scale that there was enough food for internal consumption. The kings issued royal orders for the development of agriculture. To get water, they renovated dams, canals, lakes and creeks and *Se Wun*, *Se Saw*, *Myaung Saw* were appointed to maintain the dams and canals. Severe punishments were given to those who destroyed dam, canal and lake. King Thalun encouraged the development of agriculture.

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<sup>41</sup> *Min Thone Par*, *Pei* No.1944, Khar (Obverse)

<sup>42</sup> Kyaw Tun, 1929, 9

<sup>43</sup> Ma Ma Gyi, *Amyo Thami Sarsodawmya Ahtokepatti hnit lagaungdoh ei Kabyamya* (Biography of women literati and their poems), Yangon, Myanmar Gonyi Press, 1301, p. 346

<sup>44</sup> *Min Thone Par*, *Pei* No. 1944, Khi (Obverse)

<sup>45</sup> Twin Thin Taik Wun Maha Sithu, *Maha Yazawin Thit* (New Chronicle), *Pei* MS.No.2090, Yangon, National Library, p. Htaw (Reverse)

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## A Study on the Role of Banmaw (Bhamo) in Sino-Myanmar Trade (1752-1885)

Nilar Bo\*

### Abstract

Banmaw locates in Sino-Myanmar frontier. As the political and commercial relation Myanmar and China began since Bagan Period, importance of Banmaw prevailed since that period. The Chinese traders and diplomats came into Myanmar royal capitals via Banmaw for centuries. Even today, Banmaw plays a key role in Sino-Myanmar overland trade. In monarchical days, Myanmar kings appointed town officers to deal with the Chinese traders and envoys. This paper deals with the importance of Banmaw in Sino-Myanmar commercial relations. The discussion is also made on the pattern and volume of trade.

**Key words:** economic and regional history

### Introduction

Some scholars wrote regional history to fill up the gaps of the history of Myanmar. However, they passed-by history of Banmaw. Thus, the immediate purpose of this paper is to shed light on the importance of Banmaw in Sino-Myanmar trade. The primary sources and reliable secondary works are used in this paper to yield new information.

## A Study on the Role of Banmaw (Bhamo) in Sino-Myanmar Trade (1752-1885)

Before the Konbaung Period, the most significant relations, next to political relations, between Myanmar and China were economic relations. As early as the Pyu period, the Chinese merchants began to interest the trade items of Myanmar. During that period the China had an extensive commercial relation with India and Southeast Asia and Chinese left accounts which contained the description of the products of Myanmar.<sup>1</sup> The Chinese interested in trade with the kingdom of Myanmar continued to exist during period after Bagan Period even though sporadic hostilities broke out between the two kingdoms.<sup>2</sup> Whatever the relations existed, Banmaw played a crucial role. For instance Bamaw *Sawbwa* was empowered by King Pindale (1648-61) to send Yongli, fugitive king of Ming Dynasty of China, to send royal capital.<sup>3</sup>

At the beginning of Konbaung Period, King Alaungmintaya was able to organize states on the Myanmar-Thai and Myanmar-China frontier.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, it is assumed that the trade

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<sup>1</sup> Sun Laichen, *Chinese Historical Sources on Burma, A Bibliography of primary and Secondary Source*, Journal of Burma studies, Vol 2, Dakalb, Northern Illinois University 1997, pp. 31, 33-34

<sup>2</sup> Thein Hlaing, *Nyaung Yan Khit* (Nyaung Yan Period), Yangon, Department of Historical Research and National Archives, 2018, pp. 17, 19, 20, 41, 53

<sup>3</sup> *Hmannan Maha Yazawindawgyi* (Glass Palace Chronicle), Yangon, Ministry of Information, Volume. III, pp- 254-5

<sup>4</sup> Yi Sin and Maung Maung Theik, *Konbaung-Khit-i.i Tayoke Myanmar Set-san-Yei* (Sino-Myanmar Relation during the Early Konbaung Period), Unpublished, (Typescript)1974, pp.15-16



centered at Banmaw being continued to exist. It was proved by the immediate causes of the outbreak of Sino-Myanmar War in Myedu Min's regin. Both of these conflicts were inspired by the brawls between Chinese merchants and Myanmar authorities at Banmaw.

During the Konbaung Period, there were two overland trade routes between Myanmar and China. One is Banmaw-Yunnan route and the other is Theinni-Thibaw route. The major export item of Myanmar was jade which had been the favorite trade item among the Chinese merchants since the Pyu Period. However, it is believed that the jade trade had begun since the thirteenth century.<sup>5</sup> During the time of China Emperors or Maunchu rulers, the border land between Myanmar and China were freed from rebellions and dacoits. There was peace and order. Naturally frontier trade was resumed and developed. Among the commodities which Myanmar exported to China cotton and jade was the major item. At that time, jade stones were secretly concealed in the bales of cotton which were carried on mule back across the border to Yunnan. Banmaw, frontier town in the Kachin State became an emporium of Myanmar-Yunnan border trade. Jade cutting industry also grew up in this town.<sup>6</sup> While Mogaung was the center of jade mining and extracting, Banmaw was the center for jade trade. Cutting, evaluating, inspecting and marketing of jade were done at Banmaw.

Apart from jade, the cotton had been most important commodities of Sino-Myanmar trade. Sagaing, an agricultural town on the west bank of the Ayeyawadi River was the center for cotton trade. Chinese cotton merchants lived Sagaing and opened factories to collect cotton from the surrounding areas to export to China. At the royal capital of Inwa, there were Chinese quarters (*tayoketan*) where Chinese jade merchants resided. They needed to apply royal permission to work jade mines in Mogaung and Hpa-Kant. However, the hostilities broke out during King Hsinbyushin reign temporarily terminated the border trade. After the conclusion of the Kaung-ton treaty, the situation in the border areas returned to normal. The treaty included the agreement to reopen border trade and to permit free frontier crossing. However, as the Chinese failed to surrender the Sawbwas of Banmaw, Theinni and Kyaing-ton, there was a diplomatic impasse between Myanmar and China which finally led to the termination of Sino-Myanmar relation by the Chinese emperor.<sup>7</sup> Therefore Banmaw Sawbwa lost the revenue from trade.

During the reign of Badon Min (1782-1819), the role of Banmaw was more important due to the revival of Sino-Myanmar diplomatic relations.<sup>8</sup> With the development of diplomatic relations, there was a similar revival of trade, particularly the jade and cotton trade developed significantly. Captain Hiram Cox, agent of British East India Company, stated that cotton was Myanmar's chief export to China. In return raw silk, woven silk, velvets, brocades, gold leaf, gold thread, carpets, drugs, copper coloured paper, dried fruits, sweat meats, sugar candy, coarse tea, copper and copper pots, cutlery, ironmongery, toys and silver were imported from China.<sup>9</sup> During the time of King Badon, there were two centers which controlled the trade; one was in Banmaw, and other was in Paleik near Amarapura.

The earliest trade route was from Momein to Kunyung Lien and Chansi on the Yunnan border. From this route the jade merchants entered the Kachin territory and headed for Uru

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<sup>5</sup> Dr Khin Maung Nyunt, *History of Myanmar Jade Trade Till 1938, Traditional Current and Perspective*, Yangon, Universities History Research Center, 1996, pp. 251- 4 (Henceforth: Khin Maung Nyunt, 1996)

<sup>6</sup> Khin Maung Nyunt, 1996, 254

<sup>7</sup> Dr Kyaw Thet, "Bodaw-khit Tayoke Myanmar Setsanye" (Sino- Myanmar Relations in King Boddawphaya's Reign), Yangon, Sarpadetha, 1962, pp. 323-4 (Henceforth: Kyaw Thet, 1962)

<sup>8</sup> Kyaw Thet, 1962, 323

<sup>9</sup> D.G.E Hall, *Europe and Burma*, London, Oxford University Press, 1945

river valley for an arduous journey of some 10 days. In 1970, some Chinese discovered quality jades in the Hsimu quarries. They sold them in rough by weight for silver ingots. In 1789, a new route was used. It started from Inwa to Monywa from where it proceeded to Sey village at the confluence of the Uru and Chindwin Rivers. From Sey village the merchants had to advance a two day journey on foot to reach jade mines. Before the time of King Badon, Chinese merchants opened jade markets at Inwa and attempted to obtain royal permission to extract jade on payment of duty. As the jade trade prospered, the route to jade mines became insecure due to highwaymen and dacoits. New route was therefore used and which passed through Mawlu, Mohnyin and Lawsun to reach Katha from where it continued to Indaw which located three-day journey a way from jade mines.<sup>10</sup>

As the trade developed during the king Badon's reign, Myanmar government attempted to collect more revenue and appointed local officials like Myo-wun in Banmaw whose responsibility was to collect appropriate custom duty on trade and submit to the King.<sup>11</sup> In addition, Arm-toll stations and *Ku-do-fenies* were established along the trade route. *Sa-bei-na-go-kin* collected 3 *mus* and one *pe* of silver on cart-load freight as *pwe-kin*(Brokerage) in 1788.<sup>12</sup> Sometime Banmaw Sawbwa collected custom duties on behalf *myo-wun*, and submitted to the king.<sup>13</sup> Apart from jade, the major export items to China were said cotton, salt, feather, bird-nest and imported silk, dried tea, pepper and fruits.<sup>14</sup> Bird nests and feathers were products of the islands in Taninthayi region and Hai-gyi Island. Chinese merchants were in great need of bird nest to produce tonic.

During the reign of Badon Min, the center of jade trade had transferred from Banmaw to Mogaung. Opposite to Mogaung was a wide sandbank where a big bazaar was held when a rough jades stones were brought down from the mines. Under shelter of temporarily built bamboo and thatch pavilions, merchants transacted their business. Jade stones in rough were sold by weight and the price was paid in silver bars or ingots. Myanmar government officials levied tax on the stone only when it was taken out of Mogaung. It was an *ad valorem* duty of 33 percent. Then a permit was issued which was shown to the deputy collector stationed at Tapaw, a day's journey from Mogaung by river. After this procedure the stone had a free passage without any examination of taxation. This simple system worked satisfactorily. Apart from custom duties collected by Myanmar officials,- there was one kind of hereditary tax which Kachin Duwas levied on the jade stones discovered within their jurisdiction. It was called *Manhumanta*, i.e a duty of 10 percent to the Duwas for a jade stone valued Rs 100 and above. Stones valued below Rs.100 were exempted.<sup>15</sup>

King Badon made his efforts for the convenience of merchants from China as well as from other countries. His orders revealed generosity and goodwill to the foreign merchants. For example, some Westerners were given permission to come to the royal capital and were

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<sup>10</sup> W.A, Hertz: *Burma Gazetteer, Myitkyina District*, Vol A, Yangon, Government Print and Station,1960, pp.117-118

<sup>11</sup> The Royal Orders of Burma, Vol. VI, Than Tun (Ed, Comp and Trans), Kyoto, The Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University,1987, p.588 (Henceforth: ROB VI, 1987)

<sup>12</sup> The Royal Orders of Burma, Vol. V, Than Tun (Ed, Comp and Trans), Kyoto, The Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University,1987, p.19 (Henceforth: ROB V, 1987)

<sup>13</sup> ROB VI, 1987, 618

<sup>14</sup> Sangermano, (Rev), *A Description of the Burmese Empire*, Rangoon, Government Press, 1855,175 (Henceforth: Sangermano, 1855)

<sup>15</sup> Khin Maung Nyunt, 1996, 16

exempted from any taxation.<sup>16</sup> Sometimes, the merchants had lost their properties because of the dacoits. In such case, the respective local headman who took charges the town or village where the robbery broke out.<sup>17</sup> It is interesting to note that an American merchant who came to royal capital was allowed to bring his 63 barrels of liquor and granted the right to visit the house of Crown Prince.<sup>18</sup>

The cotton trade, which was the most important item next to jade, also developed in King Badon's time. Captain Michael Symes, the leader of the British Embassy arrived Amarapura, noted the cotton export of Myanmar to China as follows:

I took notice in my way of frequent sheds, built at the side of the road, in which pots of water were placed, for the refreshment of travelers. Chagaing (Sagaing) is the principal emporium, to which cotton is brought from all parts of the country, and where, after being cleaned, it is embarked for the China market; females perform the labour of clearing it from the seeds; this is effected by double cylinders turned by a lathe, which the women works with her foot, whilst she supplied the cotton with her hands. I was told, that the most opulent merchant in the empire resides at Chagaing (Sagaing), who deals solely in this article.<sup>19</sup>

In King Badon's time, rice, cutch and tree-gum were also exported to China. For security sake, some merchants had carried fire-arms to protect themselves from the danger of freebooters and dacoits. Therefore, local officials and Saw-bwas prohibited from handling fire-arms. In 1806, Thein-ni Sawbwas had inspected the merchants who came into the trans Thanlwin region and Thein-ni area.<sup>20</sup> Myanmar government took responsibility to take care of the merchants. In addition, if the disputes broke out between the merchants, the king ordered to try the case as soon as possible.<sup>21</sup> Sometimes the Chinese merchants took smuggled opium and liquor into Myanmar. In such case the king seized the smuggled opium and liquor and let the merchant free from punishment.

It is interesting to note that the opium was smuggled into Myanmar by the Chinese merchants; it was grown in India by the British. During the reign of Bagyidaw (1819-1837), First Anglo-Myanmar War broke out against the frontier problems and it was concluded by the Yandabo Treaty. The treaty provided the establishment of the residencies at each other's capital cities.<sup>22</sup> By this agreement, the English East India Company dispatched John Crawfurd in 1827 to Inwa to sign a commercial treaty with King Bagyidaw. In the report of his embassy submitted to the authorities in Calcutta, Crawfurd listed cotton, jade, amber, ruby sapphire and edible bird's nests as major items in Myanmar's exports to China, via Banmaw-Yunnan overland route. This report stimulated the interest of the British textile industrialists in Lancashire who

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<sup>16</sup> ROB V, 1987, 611

<sup>17</sup> ROB V, 1987, 711

<sup>18</sup> ROB V, 1987, 1031

<sup>19</sup> Michael Symes, *Embassy to the Court of Ava*, Wheatmead, Gregg International Publishers Ltd, (Reprint), 1969, p. 432

<sup>20</sup> Sangermano, 1855, 177

<sup>21</sup> ROB VI, 1987, 473

<sup>22</sup> W.S Desai, *History of the British Residency in Burma (1826-1840)*, APP 1, 1939, p.465 (henceforth: Desai, 1939)

looking for a new market for their product. They funded exploration parties sent out to Myanmar-Yunnan border areas to find a new trade route. In 1830, Major Henry Burney was dispatched as permanent resident to Inwa. He was the ablest resident who took records of the every details of the description of the Kingdom of Myanmar.

According to Burney's report, the trade among Inwa, Banmaw, Yunnan and Assam was disturbed by a wild tribe. While Burney had resided in Inwa, he attempted to attain more information about the overland trade route to China. In December 1835, he sent an expedition led by Captain Hannay. When the news of the Hannay mission was known to the Chinese merchant community in Inwa, they made a complaint to Minthagyi Maung-O to halt the expedition. The Chinese merchants worried the prospect of domination of the British on their commercial interest which they enjoyed for decades.<sup>23</sup> Another British officer who observed the China-Myanmar trade was Lieutenant Pemberton, consultant of the Raja of Manipur, who was summoned by Henry Burney to settle the frontier dispute between Myanmar and Manipur at Inwa. Pemberton came down to Inwa through the overland route of Manipur and Chindwin valley.<sup>24</sup>

In 1837, while king Bagyidaw and his younger brother Tharawadi were engaged in power struggle the English East India Company employed a medical doctor-cum-botanist named D.W Griffith and sent him on a Land Journey in quest of fertile land for tea plantation. Griffith started his journey from Assam and passed through the Kachin hills, he made a sojourn at the jade mines where he saw Shans and Yunnanese extracting jade stones. Griffith thought that the king of Myanmar attained 320 viss of silver or 40,000 Rupees as revenue from jade trade. Between 1831 and 1840, jade trade had developed to great extent and at least 800 Chinese and 600 Shans engaged in the business. Yunnanfu became a great jade emporium. The Jade cutter and sculptors from Canton purchased jade from Myanmar and they carved them into gems and artworks to be exported to all over the world. With the exception of the hard times such as the Opium Wars of 1840, the Taiping Rebellion of 1850 and the Panthay Uprising of 1857 during which the border trade came to a standstill, the Myanmar jade trade with China continued to develop. Therefore it can surmise that the Myanmar-China trade, which developed with the exception of the time of armed-conflict, provided a big amount of revenue for both Chinese and Myanmar emperors. They paid their attention to develop this trade regularly.<sup>25</sup> However, after the first Anglo-Myanmar War, a third party appeared on the scene. They were the British authorities in Calcutta and Mawlamyine, the British Residents in Inwa and the British merchants who longed to lood for a lucrative market for their manufactured goods. They convinced that if they penetrated Yunnan market the great amount of revenue and promising commercial interest would awaiting for them. The British therefore, explored the Inwa-Banmaw-Yunnan route as well as Kayikkhami-Kyaing-ton-Yunnan route to dominate the commercial interest from the border trade. During the reign last two kings of Myanmar; King Mindon and Thibaw, Sino-Myanmar commercial relation was entangled by the British.

During late Konbaung Period, the importance of Banmaw was more prevalent. Particularly in the reign of King Mindon, the trade with Yunnan via Banmaw continued to develop. On the contrary, the British in Lower Myanmar attempted to penetrate the Banmaw-Yunnan trade. Thomas Spear, unofficial agent of Chief Commissioner in Lower Myanmar,

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<sup>23</sup> Desai, 1939, 246

<sup>24</sup> R.B Pemberton, *Journery from Manipour to Ava, from thence Across the Yooma Mountains to Arracan* 1880, D.G.E Hall (ed) *Journal of Burma Research Society* Vol XI iii, pt II, 1960, pp. 15-30

<sup>25</sup> Khin Maung Nyunt, 1996, 26

wrote to Phayre to exploit the Border trade with Yunnan.<sup>26</sup> Spear's letter and Henry Yule's report intensified the interest of British commercial interest. After Albert Fytche's mission in 1867, the British attempted to open a trading station at Banmaw. This attempt was supported by the chambers of commerce from India and Yangon.<sup>27</sup> They even urged the King to build railway and telegraphic lines between Mandalay and border of China via Banmaw. After negotiating with Fytche, King Mindon allowed the British expedition team to visit Banmaw. Fytche appointed Sladen, his political agent, to lead the team. Sladen enabled to visit Banmaw from thence he went to Momein- one of the administrative centers of Yunnan Province.<sup>28</sup> After Panthay rebellion, the Sino-Myanmar trade continued to develop. During that time Captain Strover, successor of Sladen took charge the British station at Banmaw. However, he was not assisted by Banmaw Myowun. Thus King Mindon even replaced another Myowun to appease the British. As the new Myowun imposed extra taxes from the Chinese merchants, Pakhan Mingyi ordered Banmaw Myowun and Sitke` not to impose extra taxes.<sup>29</sup> During King Thibaw's reign, the trade centered at Banmaw fell in the hands of private merchants. However the trade was suggested to continue to develop between the two Kingdoms.

### Conclusion

Sino-Myanmar overland trade had existed since before the Konbaung period. This trade was conducted through Banmaw-Yunnan route. Chinese caravan traders and jade miners came down along this route in Myanmar. Although this lucrative border trade had halted by the Sino-Myanmar Wars in early Konbaung Period, it revived to great extent in time of King Badon. The king appointed trusted persons as Banmaw Myowuns and encouraged the development trade. Chinese merchants had settled not only in the royal capital but in Banmaw to conduct their business. The most important trade items to be exported to China were cotton and jade while silk and other sundries were imported from China. The king obtained revenue from this trade route and gave protection to the Chinese merchants. In late Konbaung period, Banmaw continue to exit as the key trading station in Sino-Myanmar trade. Even the British agents tried to explore trade route via Banmaw.

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<sup>26</sup> Hall, 1932, 276-7

<sup>27</sup> Khin Myo Hlaing, *Sino-Myanmar Relations in Konbaung Period*, Ph.d Dissertation, Department of History, Mandalay University, 2009, p. 72 (Henceforth: Khin Myo Hlaing, 2009)

<sup>28</sup> Khin Myom Hlaing: 2009, 74

<sup>29</sup> *Hluttaw Parabaik Ato Kauk Ahmat- atha* (Catalogue of Hluttaw Records), Volume I, Yangon, Government Printing, 1901, pp. 331-3

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