

AN ESTIMATION OF ARTICLES ON BURMESE HISTORY PUBLISHED IN THE *JBR*S, 1910-70¹

by

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THE JOURNAL OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY so far published has reached the 126th number in 51 volumes (89 until 1941 and 37 since 1948). At the beginning it was a bi-annual publication but in its Fourth year of appearance it became a quarterly. When it appeared again three years after the Second world War it lapsed again into a bi-annual and unfortunately the journal publication now-a-days is usually one year behind times. Until recently most of the contributions are written in English but membership is not confined to Burma alone and therefore I believe it will soon be corrected. In all these 126 numbers, contributions on art subjects, as you all know, are most numerous. In addition to this we find that articles on Burmese history with its allied subjects like Anthropology, Archaeology, Art, Biography, Education, Epigraphy, Ethnology, Language, Literature, Philosophy and Religion are in the majority. We have 82 articles on Anthropology, 7 on Archaeology, 12 on Art, 15 on Biography, 3 on Education, 20 on Epigraphy, 10 on Ethnology, 243 on History, 20 on Language, 60 on Literature and 21 on Philosophy and Religion. So there are 243 articles on Burmese history together with 250 on its allied subjects. I shall have a list of them arranged by authors and appended to this article when published. For our present discussion I intend to group these articles according to periods like Prehistoric,

Pyu, Pagan, Ava, Konbaung and British Periods. Some of the articles are just publishing rare documents with editor's notes and introductions. I shall deal with them separately. Moreover some articles are simply English rendering of local chronicles on native customs and beliefs made purposely for the benefit of "foreigner-members" who formed nearly half of the total membership in the early years of the society. For instance there were 71 Europeans in a total of 152 members in 1911. In this light we cannot call those articles meant of them as 'new contributions' Nevertheless we must bear in mind that such articles are fairly numerous. Some articles are in the form of questions which largely still remain unanswered. I have one important point to say about the contributors. Most of them in the earlier days were what Professor Hugh Tinker called 'Soldier-Administrator Historians' (like Arthur Purves Phayre and Henry Yule) and therefore amateurs yet we know that some amateurs are surprisingly good while some professionals are comparatively poor. Anyhow our criterion is whether the article in question gives some additional information to the stock of knowledge on Burmese history.

We are still very much behind times in the study of prehistoric Burma. Professors Pe Maung Tin and G.H. Luce who tried to push back our knowledge of Burmese History as far back as possible

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1. Paper read on the second day of the conference (5 April 1970) held to commemorate the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Society at the Rangoon University Convocation Hall with U Chit Thong in the Chair.

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could not get further than 121 B.C. (See their joint contribution 'Burma down to the Fall of Pagan,' XXIX, iii, 254-82). But it seems that some geologists since 1870 had reported from time to time the presence of stone artifacts in central Burma. On 26 September 1930, J. Coggin Brown read a paper on the stone age in Burma at an ordinary meeting of our society. The paper was in fact a summary of all information available at that time on the stone age in Burma and it was published in our journal in August 1931 (XXI, ii, 33-34). The author mentioned that no palaeolithic remains were found in Burma. He made that mistake because he tried to compare the chipped stones found around Yenangaung with those of India. On finding no resemblance he failed to recognise them as palaeolithics. Now we know that Burma belongs to the Adze Culture while most of India belongs to the Axe Culture and the Anyathians were developing well in Burma by the second interglacial (480,000-440,000 BP). The author continued to mention that the Neolithic implements found in Burma from Tenasserim up to the Yunnan border are also quite different from those of India (except Assam). On bronze implements, he said that the findings were so few that no adequate judgement on them could be possible except that they were "objects of considerable artistic merit and great metallurgical skill." He also says that the Burmese considered all such implements to possess some magical curative qualities. According to him we know that J. C. Mackenzie was one of the original investigators in this field.

Next to J. C. Brown comes Lt. Col. H. Lack who also published his "Palaeolithic Man in Burma" in August 1931 (XXI, ii, 45-51). The main point in his argument is that as Burma lies in the direct line of the probable advance of the Pithecanthropus of Java to the Pithecanthropus of China, it is not improbable that there were Pithecanthropus in Burma too. We now know that he was proved correct by the American Expedition headed by Dr H. de Terra and

Dr Hallam L. Movius, Jr, who explored the area around Yenangaung between 23 November and 2 December 1939. As a matter of fact they were attracted to Burma by the reports of J.C. Brown and T.O. Morris that appeared in our Journal.

The report by T. O. Morris first appeared in April 1932 (XXII, i, 19-20). The implement that he discovered from the Themathauk gravel terrace of Singu is of the Chellian Culture. It is fashioned from a block of silicified tuff. A full report by him appeared in our journal of April 1935 (XXV, i, 1-39). He recognised six terraces and named them (1) Taungbyin Myint (2) Taungbyin (3) Konbyin Myint (4) Konbyin (5) Lebyin and (6) Kaing. Terraces one and three are the places of Palaeolithic men. From these places he had discovered quite a variety of scrapers and graters. His specimens of Neolithic implements were from a very wide area stretching from Mergui in the south up to the Kachin hills in the north. His remark that many neoliths were reported to have been collected though "only a few of these appear to have found permanent resting places in public museums is still correct." All these neoliths were "the cutting tools of a wood-working people" together with grinding wheels and pounding stones (resembling the bark-cloth heaters of Malaya). The next report made by T. O. Morris appearing in our journal of April 1938 (XXVIII, ii, 95-9) is on the copper and bronze tools of Burma. Such tools are very hard to find. He could enumerate only fourteen specimens so far discovered and the reasons for such scarcity are firstly due to a lack of organised research, secondly to the rapidity of decay suffered by these metal objects in our monsoon climate and thirdly due to the popular belief that they possess magical powers. He suggested that these implements cannot be dated earlier than the first century A.D. and their affinities are predominantly with Indo-China and China. They

compare more favourably with those of Dong-son in Vietnam.

In the last journal that appeared before the Second World War (XXXI, ii, August 1941), J.L. Leyden published photographs of six neolithic implements, two bronze axes, one bronze bracelet and three bronze finger rings discovered in the Kachin Hills. He also described the Kachin belief that these implements were made by ape men called *Sanam* who had very long hair, high brow ridges and no chin. That sounds like the description of the *Australopithecus* though the implements discovered were very much advanced than those that could have been used by those ape-men.

As I have mentioned above, reports like this invited scholars to make investigations in the stone age of Burma. Recent exploration at the padah-lin caves (9 January 1969) revealed cave paintings said to be of the neolithic period and are of the first of their kind found in South-East Asia. (see Aung Thaw : "Exploring Padah-lin Caves" *Spectrum*, II, i, April 1969, pp. 162-6). I feel that they rather belong to the late Palaeolithic or Mesolithic periods than to the Neolithic, because such paintings are usually connected with hunting rituals which are not characteristic of neolithic life. The most we can say is that they might possibly be of the pre-pottery Neolithic period. It is rather sad that our journal so far has had no contributions on this padah-lin expedition and also on recent archaeological excavations revealing the history of Burma in the first five centuries of the Christian Era. The problem whether Burma had definite periods of chalcolithic and bronze ages or had by-passed them from the neolithic to iron age still remains unsolved. Excavations at Beikthano unearthed an advanced iron age culture earlier than the 5th century A.D. This Beikthano culture is generally considered as the Pyu culture (see Aung Thaw : *Report on the Excavations at Beikthano*, Ran-

goon, Union Culture, 1968). But the diggings reveal no conclusive evidence as to call them entirely Pyu.

We are fortunate to have a fairly good number of articles on Pyu period. The four urn inscriptions from the tombs of Suriya, Hari and Siha Vikrama at Hmawza, near Prome, were deciphered by C.O. Blagden and his note on them appears in our journal of April 1917 (VII, i, 37-44). In his book on the Pyu alphabet, our president for 1968 U Tha Myat follows Blagden's dating that the Pyus were already using our present Sakaraj that started reckoning since A.D. 638. (Tha Myat : *Pyu Reader : History of Pyu Alphabet*, Rangoon, the National Printing Works, 1963). But in the course of his writing he took pains to illustrate that the Hmawza Pyus were using the Gupta script (p. 37). In that case it is not improbable that they were using the Gupta Era of A.D. 319. The sculptures in relief found at Sriksetra betray Gupta influence. (*BRSFAP*, II, 390).

In August 1932, Professor G.H. Luce published in our journal an article on various Pyu names (XXII, ii, 90). He suggested that people north of Burma called them by a name similar to our Burmese Pyu, but the Pyu people themselves together with Mons and Javanese used the names that sounds very much like *Tulcut*. Then in December 1937, he contributed a fuller account on the Pyu (reprinted in *BRSFAP*, II, 307-21). The Chinese told of a Buddhist country probably in central Burma in the first half of the 3rd century A.D. and again in the 7th century in the same area. Although he was not sure who those third century Buddhists were he said that the 7th century people were probably Pyu. With guarded phrases he continued to say that our Burmese era is of Pyu. origin and Beikthano could have been a rival city of Sriksetra. By recent excavations, we find that Sriksetra produces an abundance of Buddhist objects

while Beikthano is noted for their absence. The two places are only 110 miles by road and there are no difficult natural barriers between them. Again Sriksetra has lithic inscriptions of 4th century A.D. Gupta script and of 5th century A.D. Kadamba script while Beikthano so far reveals only one clay sealing bearing two impressions of a seal which reads *samghasiri* of 2nd century A.D. Brahmi script. In the light of these I feel almost sure that the two cities were not contemporaneous and Beikthano probably was not a Pyu city. The cremation of the dead in both places suggests cultural affinity but the resemblance stops there. It seems that Sriksetra thrived after Beikthano's fall in the 5th century A.D. or earlier. We are told that Nanchao destroyed the Pyu capital in A. D. 832. Professor Luce was in favour of identifying the capital sacked by the Nanchao as Hanlin (*BRSFAP*, II, 317). Archaeological excavations at Hanlin might help us to decide whether it is correct to say that Hanlin fell in 832 at the hands of Nanchao invaders or not. We know that excavations were made at Hanlin recently but a detailed observation is impossible until the report is published. Unfortunately the Archaeological Survey has been unable to publish its *annual reports* in time. The last report we have is for the year ending 30 September 1961 and it has nothing to say on Hanlin.

There was also another suggestion that Sriksetra fell as a direct result of the coming of Karens south-westwards by the Taungoo-Shwegyin route in the 8th century A.D. After a comparative study of Karen languages Professor Luce on 2 March 1954 stated that "there is reason to believe that their entry into Burma shortly precedes that of the Burmans" who reached the central plains of Burma in the 9th century A.D. (See *JBS*, XLII, i 1-18). This involves two important theories and until such time as archaeological evidence is forth-coming, we are in no position either to support

or refute them. This paper called for a more complete elaboration on the part of the professor and so a little over three years later, on 9 August 1957 he appeared again at one of our ordinary meetings and read a paper entitled "Old Kyaukse and the Coming of the Burmans" (XLII, i, 75-109). This time he was precise in saying that "Kyaukse, not Tagaung, was the first home of the Burmans". So archaeological excavations at Tagaung suddenly became very very important.

We are told that former diggings at Tagaung reveal nothing ante-dating 11th century A.D. We are fortunate this year as U Than Swe of the Archaeological Survey Department will be reading a paper on Tagaung at the fifth Annual Research Conference on the 8th instant. Then we will see whether the contention that the Tagaung story is a fabrication still holds good or not. But I am afraid, the two great events in Burmese history *viz.*, the Sakiyan migration and the introduction of Buddhism into Burma during the Buddha's lifetime will never have any archaeological support.

We find that Professor Luce based his theory concerning Kyaukse as the early home of the Burmans in Burma partly on *Man Shu* written by Fan Ch'o in about A. D. 863 and largely on inscriptions of 12th-13th centuries A. D. After having read the English translation of *Man Shu*, I have these impressions. Firstly it is not an eye-witness account; secondly its geography is hopeless; and lastly it had been copied and published several times that errors abound. It was really a very daring feat and translate it and when it was done, with due respect to the scholarship of the translator, we are still reluctant to use the information from it with confidence. It is certainly not a first class source material. In addition to this, to use written records of the 12th century A.D. to explain an event that was supposed to have happened 300 years earlier is also rather hard to swallow. Using the lithic inscriptions of

12th-13th centuries A.D. to explain how Burmans lived during the Pagan Period is the most rightful thing to do. But it is improbable that they can in any way describe how Burmans came and settled in the central plains which is a semi-desert land where cultivation by irrigation means a maximum effort with minimum returns. Kyaukse area is fertile but it is small. It has only 563 square miles for cultivation. If the Burmans speedily spread out from Kyaukse to further settlements; it would almost be suicidal because they were venturing out onto a comparatively useless area. The explanation that the intense heat of the plains afforded a good defence against the Nanchao invaders is not really a water-tight answer. If *Manshu* is to be believed, the Nanchao hordes stopped at nothing to devastate almost the whole of South-East Asia in the 9th century A.D. I think I have said enough to make myself clear that we are not happy about Luce's theory on the coming of the Burmans. It needs further investigation. This theory has crept into many books subsequently written and published. But all I can say is that propagation alone can not possibly turn a conjecture into a reality.

When we come to the Pagan Period, we are very much on safer grounds. Using contemporary lithic inscriptions, the articles contributed to our journal are immensely useful. The outstanding ones are by Luce like "The Economic Life of the Early Burman" (XXX, i, 283-335, *BRSFAP*, II, 323-76), "Mons of the Pagan Dynasty" (XXXVI, i, 1-19) and by Pe Maung Tin like "Women in the Inscriptions of Pagan" XXV, i, 149-59, *BRSFAP*, II, 411-22) and "Buddhism in the Inscriptions of Pagan" (XXVI, i, 52-70, *BRSFAP*, II, 423-42). Although we rely very much on inscriptions as source material to write history we must also bear in mind that inscriptions alone cannot give us all the information we want because they usually record only the meritorious deeds done by the wealthy and influential people.

We cannot find anything about prostitution in U Pe Maung Tin's article on women because the inscriptions are silent about it. Apart from that we have also noticed that inscriptions are not evenly spread out. What I mean to say here is that, for a certain place and a certain period, for instance Pagan in the 12th century, we have many inscriptions but for other places and other periods there are comparatively less. They might be quite reliable for recording contemporary event but in recalling past events, for instance the Kalyani inscription of A.D. 1480 trying to recount how Buddhism came to Burma in 308 B.C., we find that it would be simply hopeless to use them.

After a close study of the ruins at Pagan we have interesting articles like W.B. Sinclair's "Monasteries of Pagan" (X, i, 1-4, *BRSFAP*, II, 505-17, Luce's "Greater Temples of Pagan" (VII, iii, 189-98; *BRSFAP*, II, 169-78) and "Smaller Temples of Pagan", (X, ii, 41-8; *BRSFAP*, II, 179-91). Yet there remain much more to be written on Pagan art and architecture. Wood paintings belonging to Pagan, Ava and Konbaung period found at Pagan need special study.

Attempts has been made to check the historicity of Pagan kings and so we have articles like Mya Than's "Some of the Earlier Kings of of Pagan Dynasty" (XXII, ii, 101-2). Consequently corrections are made in our history. I have no time to go into details but the main points are as follows :

1. Burmans were Buddhists before Aniruddha's conquest of the south.
2. Aniruddha's expansion has nothing to do with Buddhism nor was he the originator of the complicated canal irrigation in Burma.
3. Buddhism at Pagan during and after Aniruddha's time was not exactly the Theravada that we understand

- to-day. We even notice that there was the presence of anthropomorphism in those days. There were such people as "Pagoda slaves" but they were not social outcasts at all.
4. There was nothing like pure Buddhism at Pagan. The word pure could be used only in a comparative sense and Mahayana practices together with animism were very much mixed up in Pagan Buddhism.
 5. *Bhikkhuni* were still in existence during the Pagan period as there are *Bhikkhuni* in China to-day.
 6. *Arañ* were not as debased as alleged to be. They were more popularly known as *Tawklon* monks and they thrived towards the end of the Pagan dynasty.
 7. *Arañ* were never suppressed by Royal Order. We can even say that kings and queens also patronised them. It seems that it was only in the late 15th century that they were suppressed i.e. during King Ramādhīpati's reign in Pegu.
 8. There never was such thing as *jus primae noctis* in any period of Burmese history.
 9. *Kyanzittha* or *Thiluin Mañ* was a usurper.
 10. The propagation that the ruling king was a future Buddha and that he had the Buddha's prophecy to become a ruler was already in vogue in the Pagan period.
 11. There was a foreign invasion in 1165 that caused a break in the line of kings at Pagan. But this has been revised recently by Dr Yi Yi who says that some fairly reliable copies of Pagan inscriptions found among the Mahamuni collection mention that *Cañsū II* was king already in A. D. 1168. Perhaps he was king right from 1165 though he was not strong enough to make his influence felt beyond Pagan before 1174. (See Yi Yi: "Mahamuni Collection of Inscriptions", *The Journal of the Literary and Social Sciences*, I, iii, 563). In this sense there was no interregnum of nine years (1165-74) at Pagan without king.
 12. The name Nandaungmya (Many Entreaties for Succession) is not correct. It was *Nātoñmyā* (A Person who has Many Ear Ornaments) and he was definitely not the youngest son of his predecessor.
 13. The *Hluttaw* did not have its origin in the Pagan period.
 14. *Kyaswa* was not a weak ruler.
 15. There were many Queen Saws. So that *Tayokeype's* Chief Queen was just the personification of many queens whose various advices could be used collectively as a check against tyranny.
- Out of all these corrections, the "1165 invasion" story was recently challenged by G.E. Godakumbura, Commissioner of Archaeology, Colombo. He read a paper on "Relations between Burma and Ceylon" at an ordinary meeting of our society on 9 September 1966 and it was published in December 1966 (XLIX,ii,145-62). He depended much on traditional accounts like *Mahāvamsa* and *Dīpavamsa* which record most cordial relations between Burma and Ceylon. He even repeated the Burmese story of *Buddhaghosa* and how Buddhism thrived at *Thaton* with an emphasis that the Buddhism that Pagan received from *Thaton* had its origin in Ceylon. We doubt the historicity of these events very much. Then he took up the stories given in the *Kalyani* inscription of A.D. 1480 and in *Paññāsami's Sasanavamsa* written in 1861 about religious reformations in Burma made in the 15th century with Sinhalese help. But the

main purpose of his article is to refute a statement he found in what he called the 'new chronology' that the Sinhalese invaded Burma in A.D. 1165 when a Pagan king was killed and therefore we called him Kalagya. It is correct that the *Mahāvamsa* in chapter 76, verse 10, etc. mentions an attack on Ramaññadesa and the death of a king but if it was Pagan that the Sinhalese attacked the *Mahāvamsa* would certainly mention it by its correct name of Arimaddana as it has done in verse 38 of the same chapter. I think his argument is quite sound on this score.

Burma's relation with Siam is very well represented in our journals. U Aung Thein also known as Phra Phraison Salarak translated into English almost anything that has been written in the Burmese chronicles on Siam and published them in the *Journal of the Siam Society*. So our society approached him to do the counterpart of what he had done for Siam. As a result we have "Intercourse between Siam and Burma as recorded in the *Royal Autograph Edition of the History of Siam*" published in three instalments in our journal in 1935-1938 (XXV,ii,49-108, XXVIII,ii, 109-76 and XXVIII,iii, 232). After that U Aung Thein continued to translate from Siamese into English a book by HRH Prince Damrong Rajanubhab entitled *Our Wars with the Burmese*. As a matter of fact it was about the attacks made by the Burmese against their capitals. Part one is on the twenty four attacks against Ayuthia until it was destroyed in 1766 and part two on twenty attacks against Bangkok. Unfortunately U Aung Thein finished translating only part one of that book and it was duly published in our journal in three instalments in 1955 (XXXVIII,iii,121-96, XL,ii, 135-240 and XL,ii,ii(a),241-347). *The remaining part is left to us to complete.*

Now that we have talked about Burma's relation with Ceylon and Siam at length, we would like to know what our journal has to say about Burma's relation with other neighbouring countries.

With China we have Luce's "Chinese Invasions of Burma in the 18th century" (XV,ii,115-28). We all are only familiar with the Burmese version of that episode and therefore we are very thankful to Professor Luce when he produced other versions of it as well for comparison. This is about all that was written in our journal on relations with China.

There are two articles on Burma's relation with Vietnam in 1823-4 (XIII,ii,1-7 and XLVII,149-72). It was about Burmese proposal to enter into alliance with Cochin-China (now called South Vietnam) against Siam. The proposal was rejected. Naymyotazaung was head of the mission and William Gibson was employed as interpreter. They left Vietnam on 31 March 1824 and on their arrival at Singapore on 9 April 1824, they found that Burma was at war with the English Company and the members of the mission became war prisoners. The Vietnamese records mention that the Burmese came in 1823 to offer submission (*JBR*, XLII, ii,325). The Burmese also recorded it that a Yoon mission led by Cao-dahn-cam (Kalwelam) came to offer submission. The envoys were admitted into the Royal presence on 14 May 1822 and they left the Burmese capital on 3 September 1822 accompanied by Naymyotazaung (*Kon-houngzet*, II, Rangoon, The Ledinamdine Press, 1967 Reprint, pp. 3-6-7). We also find copies of letters sent from Burma to Vietnam in Pe and Parabike. In this relation between Burma and Vietnam, Suzanne Karpeles the first contributor on the subject to our journal uses two Vietnamese sources together with some British documents while B. R. Pearn, the second contributor, uses only British sources. I just mention it to show that most of our contributors simply ignore the Burmese side of the story probably because they have no time to look for them or because they think that it is not necessary. I personally think that it is not correct to ignore Burmese sources when writing especially Burma's relation with the British. Never the less our journal has

published many articles on Burma-British relations mostly written by history professors of the Rangoon University, viz., D.G.E. Hall, B. R. Pearn and W. S. Desai. All three are my Sayas and so I know that they have some knowledge of Burmese. No good judgement of the situation is possible unless one is prepared to listen to what both parties have to say. Therefore their contributions are considered incomplete.

To use more of Burmese sources to explain events that happened in Burma is another policy and Thadothirithudhamma John Sydenham Furnivall (14 February 1778-7 July 1960) advocated it right from the beginning of our journal. On "the Foundation of Pagan" (I,ii, 6-9) he supported the statement made in the Burmese chronicles that Pagan was built in A.D. 849. Then he wrote about the Burmese translation of the Portuguese history until 1641 (II,ii,161-7) which has a fairly good account on how the Portuguese came to Burma and became important until king Anaukphelun overpowered them in 1613. The book was later published by the Sun Press Limited in 1918. Then he wrote on the history of Hanthawaddy and published in our journal in four instalments (III,i, 47-53; III, ii, 165-9; IV, i, 45-8; IV, iii, 209-13). Next he published the history of Syriam in Burmese with his English translation and notes in three instalments (V,i, 1-11; V, ii, 49-57; V, iii, 129-51). After that he published the Sittans together with his translations and notes. I shall deal with them separately. "From China to Peru" (VII, i, 27-35) is the name he gave to his article that explains Tenasserim's 17th century foreign relations. After finding a fragment of a tombstone at Mergui, he wrote about Samuel White (VII,iii,241-9). This eventually led him to write more on Mergui and Tenasserim (XII,i, 24-33; XVI, i, 58-67; XIX,iii, 83-93) As a matter of fact he started writing about the British administrative system comparing it with the Burmese administration wherever possible. In this aspect, these three articles in our journal, viz., "As it was in

the beginning (of British Rule in Burma)" (XVIII,ii,51-61), "The Early Revenue History of Tenasserim-Land Revenue" (XIX, iii, 83-93) and "the Fashioning of Leviathan-the Beginnings of British Rule in Burma" (XXIX, i,1-137) are outstanding. Then he started a study on Europeans in Burma (XXIX, iii, 236-49; XXXI, i, 33-40). After the Second World War he became more interested in the study of economic history in Burma and thus we have "Safety First: A study in Economic History of Burma" (XL,i,24-38).

While J.S Furnivall was writing on Tenasserim, we have M. S. Collis and San Shew Bu writing on Arakan. Their joint contributions on "Arakan's Place in the Civilization of the Bay" (XV,i, 34-52) and "Dom Martin, 1606-43; The First Burman to visit Europe" (XVI,i,11-23) are quite interesting. Collis alone writes about "the History of Old Myaungmya" (X,ii, 77-8), "Arakan in 1630" (XIII, iii, 199-200) and "The City of Golden Mrauk-U" (XIII,iii,244-56). Reverend R. Halliday uses Mon sources to write about the history of lower Burma. He published Mon works in our journal such as *Lik Smin Asah* (King *Asah*) (VII,iii,203-19) and *Slapat Rājawan Datau Sin in Roi* (A History of Kings) XIII,i,13-31&33-67) with translations and notes. Professors Luce and Pe Maung Tin, as we have mentioned above, are also very much in favour of using Burmese sources. There are also contributions using Burmese tradition alone. Saya Lun (who later became famous as Thakhin Kodaw Hmine) wrote on King Hsinbyumyashin of Hanthawaddy (X,iii, 112-18). Saya Thein of Hmawbi wrote about "Queen Shin Saw Bu" (I, ii,10-16), "Rangoon in 1852" (II,ii, 185-96, V,i, 13-19) and "Pegu in 1333" (XIII, ii, 136-8).

Following in their wake we have many contributions using mostly Burmese sources when the journal appeared again after the Second World War. For instance we have Ma Kyan: "King Mindon's Councillors" (XIV,i,43-60) and "Burmese

Mission to Bengal in 1830" (XLIV,ii, 141-64); Kyin Swi's "The Origin and Development of the Dhammathais" (XIX, ii, 173-106); Min Kyaw Yaza: "Burmese Ministers" (XLV, ii, 137-62); Than Tun: "Social Life in Burma, 1000-1300" (XLI, 37-47) "Religion in Burma, 1000-1300" (XLII, ii, 47-70), "Religious Buildings of Burma, 1000-1300" (XLII, ii, 71-80), "Mahakassapa and His Tradition" (XLII, ii, 99-118), "History of Burma, 1300-1400" (XLII,ii,119-134) and "Administration under King Thalun, 1629-48" (II,ii,173-88); Tin Hla: "Brief History of Burmese Dictionaries" (XLVII,ii 225-47); Tin Hla Thaw: "History of Burma, 1400-1500" (XLII,ii,135-52); Wun: "Brief History of Early Burmese Translations" (XIV,ii,129-36) and Yi Yi: "The Throne, of the Burmese Kings" (XLIII,ii,97-123), "Life at the Burmese Court under the Konbaung Kings" (XLIV, i, 85-125), "Historical Source Material for the Konbaung Period" (XLIV,ii,247-96), "The Judicial System of King Mindon" (XIV, i,7-28) and "Sittans of the Konbaung Period" (XLIX, i, 71-127). In fact a movement is in progress to collect and publish Burmese source material on history and the Text Publications Committee of our society is very much interested in it at present.

At this point, I think, I must tell you about G.E.Harvey's "The Writing of Burmese History" published in 1919 (IX,i,63-82). As Harvey's book on Burmese history came out in 1925, it seem that when he talked on how to write it a Burmese audience at the Rangoon College on 27 February 1919, he was just trying to find out public reaction to his plan. Firstly, he wanted to explain why Burmans are Mongolian by race and Indian by tradition. Secondly he wanted to draw parallels—the parallel between the Burmese and British histories and the parallel between the Buddhist and Christian Church histories so as to get a better perspective of events in Burma. For example Anawrattha was the contemporary of William the Conqueror, Pagan pagodas have their counterpart with cathedrals in

Britain, Theravada Buddhism fought against heresy in much in the same way as Orthodox Christianity had to suppress the heathens. Thirdly he wanted to deal with the unification problem. The geographical unit to be known as Burma should have a single political control under one rule. When that singleness is shattered the historian has to analyse it so that it could not be repeated. Fourthly he wanted to write more about the people because the Burmese Yazawins wrote almost exclusively about kings. The achievement of the people in the form of art and architecture should be portrayed vigourously. Lastly he wanted the Burmans to write Burmese History.

Nothing great will be done on Burmese history until you yourselves do it. We English are foreigners and find it hard to read the original authorities. It is not our business to write the history of your country. It is your business and it is most especially the duty of those of you who have received an English education because although there is any amount of vernacular scholarship and any amount of enthusiasm among dear old vernacular Sayas, it will never come to any good till it is brought into contact with the exactness, the breadth of view, the scientific spirit of the West (*JBRS*, IX, i, 79)

Mr Harvey also had a clear idea of how the book was to be written. He says that it has to be written in English of good literary style. Half a dozen specialists should work on it for ten years and write it down in two parts of several volumes each. The first part will be purely narrative with no foot-notes but plenty of illustrations. The second part will be solely of appendices and discussions on doubtful points. I am sure you will agree with me that some of his advice still holds good. When the Burma Historical Commission was formed in 1955 most of the members, I think, were very much in

favour of following his advice in carrying out their duty to get a standard history of Burma written.

is at least thirty million years old or more.

Another article which I would like to discuss here is J. C Mackenzie's "Climate in Burmese History" which was read at an ordinary meeting of the society on 26 September 1913 and published in our journal in June 1913 (III,i,40-6). He wanted to attribute human migration to a change in climate. That was correct in prehistoric times when the Fourth Glaciation receded between 15,000 and 10,000 B.P. When the paper was open to discussion Dr. G. R. T. Ross said that the presence of the English in Burma was not due to a desiccation in England. Capitalism was the cause. We have had no change of climate during historic times. The area around Pagan is named Tattadesa meaning a parched land. It is dry because it is well within the rain shadow area due to the presence of the Arakan Yomas. That range of mountains

For information on administration both British and Burmese, one has to read the articles by J. S. Furnivall, Than Tun and Yi Yi. On education U Kaung made a wonderful survey of missionary schools in Burma and he was supplemented by Vivian Ba in many ways. Ma Kyan dealt with the British educational policy and execution and Nyi Nyi's review on university education is very interesting. On the history of literature we have Ba Han, Hla Pe, Pe Maung Tin, Thein Han, Tin Hla and Wun. Hla Pe's "The Rise of Popular Literature in Burma" (LI,ii, 123-42) and Thein Han's "A Study of the Rise of the Burmese Novel" (LI,i,-1-8) should arouse our interest for further studies in the field.

I have mentioned above that there are local histories published in our journal. Here is a list of them.:

စကိုင်း	(Enriquez, C.M., V,iii, 119-22)
တကောင်း	(Chan Htwan Aung, X, iii, 119)
တနင်္သာရီ	(Furnivall, J. S., VII, i, 27-35, XIX, iii, 83-93)
ပုဂံ	(Furnivall, J.S., I, ii, 6-9)
ပူတာအို	(Barnard, J. T. O., XV, ii, 137-41)
ဗန်းမော်	(Hanson, O, XII, iii, 146-8)
မင်းဘူး	(Ba Shin, XXVI, i, 43-51)
မြောက်ဦး	(Collis, M.S., XII, iii, 244-56)
မြောင်းမြ	(Collis, M. S., X, ii, 77-8)
ပြိတ်	(Furnivall, J. S., XII, i, 24-33; Kyaw Din, VII, iii, 251-4; Kyi, O. XII, i, 21-3)
ရွှေဘို	(Enriquez, C. M., iii, 117-11)
သရေဆွေရာ	(Furnivall, J. S., XX, ii, 83)
သံလျင်	(Furnivall, J. S., V, i, 1-11, V-ii, 49-57. V, iii, 129-51)
ဟံသာဝတီ	(Furnivall, J. S., III, i, 47-53)

အေဂျူဂ (Enriquez, C. M., V, iii, 126-8)

အေဝ (Enriquez, C. M., V, iii, 123-6)

The Biographies given in our journal are as follows:

- Aide, Peter (Symes, J. M., XVIII, ii, 62-8)
- Ba Gyan, Sindin Governor (San Shwe Bu, IX, iii, 151-3)
- Bagyidaw, King (Desai, W.S., XXVIII, iii, 233-43)
- Bandula (Enriquez, C. M., XI, iii, 158-62; Langham-Carter, R.R., XXVI, ii, 122-9)
- Boke, Thathanabaing Sayadaw U (Langham-Carter, R.R., XXX, i, 338-9)
- Buddhaghosa (Pe Maung Tin, XII, i, 14-20)
- Carey, Felix (Hall, D. G. E., XXIII, iii, 123-5; Pearn, B. R., XXVIII, i, 1-91)
- Chin Byan (Pearn, B. R., XXIII, ii, 55-85)
- Councillors of King Mindon (Kyan, XLIV, i, 43-60)
- De Brito (Blagden, C. O., III, i, 80)
- Dom Martin Collis, M.S., XVI, i, 11-23)
- Gibson, William (Pearn, B. R., XLVII, i, 149)
- Hermit of Kado (Langham-Carter, R.R. XXX, i, 338)
- Htaung Bo, U (Langham-Carter, R.R., XXVI, i, 33-4)
- Kinwun Mingyi (Langham-Carter, R.R., XXV, iii, 121-8)
- Letwethondara (Thein, VI, i, 9-12)
- Luard, Sir William (Pearn, B. R., XXIX, iii, 250-6)
- Monook, Sarkies (Langham-Carter, R.R., XXII, iii, 132)
- Massinga of Syriam (Mousinho, M. de Abreu, AVI, ii, 99-138)
- Me Nu, Queen (Langham-Carter, R.R., XIX, ii, 31-5)
- Mindon, King (Desai, W.S., *BRSFAP*, 1, 27-32)
- Nyana, Thathanabaing Sayadaw, U (Langham-Carter, R.R., XXX, i, 336-8)
- Nyeya, Thathanabaing Sayadaw U, (Langham-Carter, R.R. XXX, i, 339-42)
- Pemberton, R.B. (Hall, D. G. E.; XLIII, ii, 1-96)
- Phaulkon (Furnivall, J.S., XVI, i 58-67)
- Ponnya, U (Ba Thein, XV, ii, 153-61; On, XVI, ii, 139-49)
- Poets and Writers, Dictionary of (Ba Thein, X, iii, 120-59)
- Richardson, David Lester (Langham-Carter, R.R., XLIX, ii, 207-18)
- Robertson, Campbell (Collis, M.S., XIII, iii, 257-60)
- Seindakyawthu (Ba Han, VIII, ii, 107-11)

Shin Sawbu (Thein, I, ii,12-16)

Tharrawaddy, King (Desai, W. S., XXV, ii, 109-20)

White, Samuel (Furnivall, J. S., VII, iii, 241-9)

If I might be allowed to make a suggestion, I think the society should have a programme of asking members to write local histories and biographies to be published in the journal from time to time.

Book reviews also appear in our journal very often though it is a sad thing to say that this practice has been discontinued recently. Books on history reviewed are as follow;

Bode, Mabel H. : *The Pali Literature of Burma* (I, i, 119-22)

Christian, J.L.: *Burma and the Japanese Invader* XXXII, i, 95-6) *Burma* (XXXII, iii, 93)

Cocks, S.W.: *A short History of Burma* (I, i, 147)

Ennis, Thomas E.: *French Policy and Development in Indo-China* (XXVII, iii,310)

Foucher, M.A.: *The Beginning of Buddhist Art and other Essays in Indian and Central Asian Archaeology* (IX,iii, 159-60)

Furnivall, J. S.: *Netherlnds India* (XXIX, ii, 198-207)

Griswold, A.B.: *Dated Buddha Images of Northern Siam* (XL, ii, (a), 354-5)

Jesse, Tennyson: *Story of Burma* (XXXII, i 97-9)

Judson, Edward: *The Life of Adoniram Judson* (I, ii, 51-2)

Kala, U: *Mahārājawañkrī*: II, (XXII,ii,103-5)

Konbaungzet: (XIII,ii,69-76)

Langham-Carter, R.R.: *Old Moulmein*, (XXXIII,i,95)

Lloyd: *Twentieth Century Impressions of Burma* (I,i,110-12)

Mahāvamsa (II,ii,240-2)

Marks, John E.: *Forty Years in Burma* (VIII,ii,172-6)

Mwan Rājawañ (XII,ii,69-76)

Purser, W.C.B.: *Christian Missions in Burma* (I,ii,57-9)

Quigly, E.P.: *Some Observations on Libraries, Manuscripts and Books of Burma from the 3rd Century A.D. to 1886* (XL,ii,(a)360)

Ray, N.R.: *Therāvāda Buddhism in Burma* (XXXIII,ii,263-5)

Rawlinson, H. G.: *Bactria-History of A Forgotten Empire (India under Greek Rule)* (III,i,89-90)

St. John, W.: *Life of Dr J.N. Cushing* (II,ii,239-40)

Stuart, J.: *Burma through the Centuries* (I,i,122-31)

Tinker, H.: *The Union of Burma- A Study of the First Ten Years of Independence* (XL,ii, (a) 356-7)

White, W.: *Political History of the Extraordinary Events which led to The Burmese War* (XI,iii, 113-18)

As the last item of discussion in this paper, I want to tell you something about the publication of documents in the journal. J.S. Furnivall, D.G.E. Hall, R.Halliday, B.R. Pearn and Pe Maung Tin led the way. For works large enough to appear in one single book form, the Text Publications Committee of our society takes responsibility for publishing them. It was J.S. Furnivall who started the publication of Sittans with notes and

translations in our journal. I am told that a book on Sittans edited-with introduction and notes will soon be published by the text publication committee of our society. If the Sittans could be supplemented by yet a collection of Ameindaws, I should say that the study of administration in Burma under the Burmese kings could be more complete. The Sittans so far published in our journal are as follows:

- ကောလိယမြို့ ၄၅ ခု စစ်တမ်း (VI, iii, 221)
- ကောလိယမြို့ ၆၄ ခု စစ်တမ်း (VI, iii, 221-2)
- ကျောက်စရစ်မြို့ ၄၅ ခု စစ်တမ်း (IX, i, 51)
- ကျောက်စရစ်မြို့ ၆၄ ခု စစ်တမ်း (IX, i, 51-2)
- ကျောက်မော်မြို့ ၄၅ ခု စစ်တမ်း (IX, i, 48)
- ကျောက်မော်မြို့ ၆၅ ခု စစ်တမ်း (IX, i, 49)
- ကျောင်းပြားယောင်းတပ် ၄၆ ခု စစ်တမ်း (IX, i, 52)
- စစ်တောင်းမြို့ ၄၅ ခု စစ်တမ်း (IX, i, 47-8)
- စောင်းကျွန်းမြို့ ၆၄ ခု စစ်တမ်း (VIII, i, 49)
- ခွဲဘုံမြို့ ၆၄ ခု စစ်တမ်း (IX, i, 47)
- တရှင်တိုင်မြို့ ၄၅ ခု စစ်တမ်း (XLIV, i, 81-2)
- တရှင်တိုင်မြို့ ၆၄ ခု စစ်တမ်း (XLIV, i, 83-4)
- တိတုတ်မြို့ ၆၄ ခု စစ်တမ်း (VIII, i, 49-50)
- ထန်းတောကြီးမြို့ ၆၄ ခု စစ်တမ်း (VIII, i, 48)
- ဒင်းမဲမြို့ ၆၄ ခု စစ်တမ်း (IX, i, 48)
- ပုဂံမြို့ ၁၁၂၇ ခု စစ်တမ်း (XXXII, i, 52-61) XXXIII, i, 39-57,
- ဘောင်းလင်းမြို့ ၆၄ ခု စစ်တမ်း (XXXIII, 229-59)
- မအူမြို့ ၆၄ ခု စစ်တမ်း (VI, iii, 222-3)
- မေရုဗ္ဗယမြို့ ၆၄ ခု စစ်တမ်း (VIII, i, 52)
- မော်ပီမြို့ ၆၄ ခု စစ်တမ်း (VIII, i, 50)
- မော်လိမြို့ ၆၄ ခု စစ်တမ်း (VIII, i, 50-1)
- မင်္ဂလာတုံမြို့ ၆၄ ခု စစ်တမ်း (VIII, i, 50)
- မင်းရဲလှမြို့ ၄၆ ခု စစ်တမ်း (IX, i, 49-50)
- မင်းရဲလှမြို့ ၆၄ ခု စစ်တမ်း (IX, i, 50)
- ရမ္မာဝတီမြို့ ၆၄ ခု စစ်တမ်း (IX, i, 45-7)
- လကုန်းဗျည်းမြို့ ၆၄ ခု စစ်တမ်း (IX, i, 50)
- ဟံသာဇင်္ဂကန်မိမြို့ ၆၄ ခု စစ်တမ်း (VIII, i, 51)

ဟံသာဝတီမြို့မှ ၆၄ ခု စစ်တမ်း
အချိန်မြို့ ၆၄ ခု စစ်တမ်း

(VI, iii, 219-21)

(VIII, i, 52)

With the exception of Pagan and Taywinding, the rest of the Sittans so far published are all from lower Burma. It is expected that the collection of Sittans from Upper Burma would be more numerous.

I know that the survey I have just made is still incomplete. But I believe it will give you a fairly good picture of how useful the journals are in promoting studies in Burmese history. We have seen that an article in it may be enlarged into a book and it has usually done a pioneer work in most field of studies. A report it was usually followed up by more investigations. As a result, we come to know more about certain aspects of history,

e.g., the Anyathian Culture of the Palaeolithic Age in Burma. But the best of results that we have received from the journal is a very close study of the Pagan civilization. For the latter periods Burma's relation with the West has been closely investigated though we knew that there is a scope for improvement by using Burmese sources. A study on Burmese source material is in progress and we expect that it shall soon be completed. We also expect that more studies on the economic history and the history of Burmese art, architecture and literature shall find publication in our journal in future. We also hope that our future publications will have more articles written in English Book reviews should appear again as a regular feature.

