

YANGON UNIVERSITY

**THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE
(ANTHROPOLOGY)**

**"THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE
KAYAN (PADAUNG) NATIONAL"
PANPET VILLAGE GROUP,
DEEMAWSO TOWNSHIP, KAYAH STATE**

**MA MOE THIDA HTWE
AN-6
ANTHROPOLOGY
(1997-1999)**

**"THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE
KAYAN (PADAUNG) NATIONAL"
PANPET VILLAGE GROUP, DEEMAWSO TOWNSHIP
KAYAH STATE**

SUBMITTED BY – MA MOE THIDA HTWE

AN - 6

ANTHROPOLOGY

(1997 – 1999)

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge with pleasure my gratitude to all those who have helped me in the project at both researching and editing my thesis. Without their generous, competent and sympathetic support and guidance, it would be very difficult to have such a success in my fieldwork.

Firstly, I want to express my gratitude to my beloved parents who have looked after me throughout my life with tender loving care and loving kindness; my sister Ma Shwe Zin who has given encouragement and whatever help she is able to afford; my sister-cum-benefactor Ma Ohmar Tun who has with motherly love, given me guidance and encouragement as well as practical effective support in moral, social and financial matters, to help me gain such a stature and status in the academic field.

I also want to extend my gratitude to Sayamagyi Daw Tin Yee, Supervisor of my thesis, Professor of Anthropology Department, and External Examiner Daw Kyin Kyin, retired Lecturer and Head of Anthropology Department (Yangon University), who both have read my thesis with patience and made valuable contributions both in policy and detail; Sayagyi U Than Tun, (Ex-Senior Research Officer, International Relation Section), Writer, translator, who has rendered much help with patience and benevolence in my translation of this thesis into English version; all the Assistant Lecturers and teachers who have explained everything that I should know in detail to me; Captain Naing Win (Defence Ministry) who has given help in collecting the data for this work, and U Myint Naing (Kyi Myint Naing,Loikaw), U Maung Sein and Daw Elizabeth (Township Peace and Development Council of

Deemawso), U P.Sein Sho and U Khu Nyar (Township Peace and Development Council of Phekon),who have given help in transportation to get to the places concerned.

I also like to express my gratitude to all the members of the families of U Ah Thine, U Mya Win and U Sai Aung Pwint, who have, during my research work, made necessary arrangement for my convenience in meals and lodging, and all the informants among the natives of the Kayah and Shan national region, my friend U Myoe Myint (Country Representative, Eastern Petroleum Services) who has given help with benevolence in making the manuscript of this thesis into a computer print-out copy.

Ma Moe Thida Htwe

An – 6

Anthropology

1997 – 99

CONTENTS

No.	Particulars	Page
	Acknowledgements	
	Introduction	
	Chapter 1. Locality	
	(A) Geography of the Panpet Village Group	1
	(B) Migration of the Kayan (Padaung) National	3
	Chapter 2. Historical Background	
	(A) History of the Panpet Village Group	12
	(B) Founding the Village	13
	(C) Building the House	15
	(D) Population and Household	17
	(E) Daily Food	18
	Chapter 3. Features, Temperament and Dressing	
	(A) Physical Characteristics	20
	(B) Temperament	21
	(C) Dressing	23
	1. Male's Dress	23
	2. Female's Dress	24
	3. Brass Rings Wearing Custom	26
	4. Teeth Dying Custom	30
	(D) Language	32
	(E) Literature	35
	(F) Fortune Telling	40
	1. Cock-Bone Method	40
	2. Thatch-Breaking Method	44

Chapter 4. Social Organization

(A) Forms of Family	46
(B) Kinship system and Kinship Terms	48
(C) Puberty	51
(D) Rules of Choice of Marriage Partner	53
(E) Betrothal	55
(F) Marriage	58
(G) Divorce	61
(H) Adoption and Inheritance	63
(I) Pregnancy	64
(J) Confinement	66
(K) Naming	68
(L) Childhood and Education	70
(M) Diseases and Medicine	74
(N) Ailment and Treatment	75
(O) Funeral Custom	77

Chapter 5. Economy

(A) Cultivation of Crops	85
(B) Animal Breeding	92
(C) Hunting	94
(D) Fermentation of <i>Khaung-Ye</i>	97
(E) Handicraft	101
(F) Daily Life	105
(G) Trade	107
(H) Division of Labour	109

Chapter 6. Administration	
(A) The Old and Present Administrative System	113
(B) The Old and Present Judicial System	119
(C) The Customary Judicial Rulings	122
(D) The Kayinni (Karen-ni), Region Customary Law	131
(E) The Warfare	152
Chapter 7. Religion	
(A) Animism	155
1. The Meaning of Kae-htoo-boo	156
2. The History of the Worship of Kae-htoo-boo	159
3. The Shaman	162
(B) Christianity	163
(C) Buddhism	165
(D) Traditional Festivals	168
1. The Religious Ceremonies	168
2. The Economic Ceremonies	174
3. The Social Ceremonies	175
(E) Superstition	180
(F) Natural Philosophy and Interpretation of Omens	183
Chapter 8. Art	
(A) Traditional Dance	189
(B) Traditional Song	192
(C) Musical Instruments	195
(D) Proverbs and Verbal Homilies	200
(E) Folk Tales and Legends	203

Conclusion

Reference Books

List of Informants



KAYAN (PADAUNG) NATIONAL

Introduction

Myanmar, with seven States and seven Divisions, is a Union of many nationalities speaking over one hundred languages and dialects. The term Myanmar embraces all nationalities, the major races of which are the Kachin, Kayah, Kayin, Chin, Bamar, Mon, Rakhine and Shan. These national races have been residing together in amity for hundreds of years, in different parts of Myanmar, on highland regions as well as plains, peacefully and freely, fondly and tenaciously following their own traditions and customs throughout the history. So the Department of Anthropology of the Yangon University has deemed it a necessary to make systematical, anthropological study of their social organization, traditions, customs, manners and behaviors of our brother, and accordingly has made all the necessary arrangements for the Master Class students, whose specializations are of the national races of our country, to make research visits to the lands concerned.

In the year 1993, while I was attending the class Qualify Part (I), I too had a fervent desire to make such a research work in the lands of our nationals. But, then I was not sure of myself as to which region I should go and make a field research work on which national to prepare the thesis for my Master Degree in due course.

During that time, one day, I happened to pay a visit to the residence of one Kayah gentleman by the name of U Ah Thine (a former football player in the Myanmar Selected Team) in Loikaw. Then and there, from the Taung Kwe Zedi (The Split Mountain Pagoda), I had the very first chance of feasting my eyes on the panoramic, scenic splendors of the forests, mountains and

valleys that lay beautifully in all the expanses of the landscape around me, stretching up from horizon to horizon, and the exquisite scenery of the Loikaw Township cityscape that had made me pleased and enraptured since.

Not only that – during my stay there, I had another chance of seeing the peculiar dresses, manners and customs of the Kingroups of the Kayah national such as the Kayan (Padaung), Kayaw, Manumanaw, Gaykho, Kaybah, Yinbaw, Yintale and Zayein. I became very much interested in them. Yet, I have to confess that, among all the national people that I had seen then, the one that could draw my attention most was the Kayan (Padaung) women who were wearing the bright brass rings around their necks and legs. Truly, I made a silent decision to make research work on these national people, who have maintained adorning with their traditional ornament of brass rings for such a long time, when I made a thesis for my Master Degree.

So, when I passed the written examination of the Master Class and was about to start my thesis programme, I chose 'The Social Organization of the Kayan (Padaung) national' as the topic of my thesis as had been decided long time ago. I made my first research visit to the Kayah State and Shan State, from July 25 to August 11, in the year 1997. Then, during that first trip, I came to learn that, through the informants of those national group with whom I had the chance of interview, there are four kinds of Kingroup among the Kayans:

- (1) **The Kayan (Padaung)** who regard themselves as the master of the hilly regions and who have that peculiar custom of wearing brass rings around their necks and legs

- (2) **The Kayan (Kangan) alias the Yinbaw** who have the custom of wearing silver coins around their necks and who mostly live on the plains
- (3) **The Kayan (Gaykho)** who mostly reside on the highland regions and who speak the language which very much resembles that of the Kayan (Padaung) national and
- (4) **The Kayan (Lahta) alias (Zayein)** who usually live among the rocky parts of the lands, in small houses and whose male people have all bald heads.

When I made an inquiry of the main residing places of the Kayan (Padaung) national I was informed that these people have been living in the Deemawso Township in the Kayah State and in the Phekon Township of the southern part of the Shan State. So I went to the Peking Village Group of the Phekon Township, in the southern Shan State with the kind help of that Township Peace and Development Council. As there was no traffic route directly leading to the Peking Village Group, we had to complete the remaining part of the journey on foot. And being the rainy season, as there were mud, mine and puddle all along the road, we had a very slow progress during that part of the journey. When, finally, I got there, I found that the climate and environment were not such ones I had been used to and there were hardships of strange meals and lodging for me. Nevertheless, I tried to collect the reliable data for my work as much as I could, during that trip .In making research on the social organization, customs and traditions of the Kayans (Padaung) of the Peking village group, I found that they have changed a lot, through the process of cultural diffusion and influence of other religious beliefs so much so that the famous tradition of their 'Kae-htoo-boo'

worship and the peculiar custom of brass rings wearing had already become the receding phenomenon.

As I could not get their original culture, I decided to change my fieldwork. So I made my second visit for field research work in the Kayah State during the time from February 27 to March 28, 1998. With the kind help of the Loikaw Region Peace and Development Council, I could pay a visit to the Panpet Village Group, in the northwestern part of the Deemawso Township where I could make intensive and more thorough study of the true traditions and customs of the Panpet village group through reliable informants whom had chosen in accord with the research method.

Once I was about to enter the Panpet village group, from the entrance to their area, I could see the Flagstaff Pole of the 'Kae-htoo-boo' and some Padaung girls age of five or so walking here and there in the village compound with brass rings around their necks. These clearly showed that, I thought, that the Padaungs of that Panpet village group were still embracing their time-honoured custom of brass rings wearing and the worship of the 'Kae-htoo-boo' Flagstaff.

As the Panpet village group comprises the five village units I had to make my field research work in all those five units. Though Ronku and Dawkey village units might be said adjoining, the other three were quite a distance from the village where I stayed. But really it was a worthy endeavor when I had paid visits to all the village units, I came to know that I would be able to find out their true traditions and customs which mostly were still intact in this modern age.

After making research works and photo-recordings of their daily life and significant places to my heart's content, I prepared for my return trip. I

had to reach Loikaw first before directly returning home. But I should say that it was indeed a remarkable day in my life. I had to walk for three hours from the Ronku Village Unit to the crossroads of the Panpet village group through woods and muddy plains to get a car or a tractor, which might happen to be on the way I was going. Still, when I got there, I had to wait there, at the cross-roads, for another hour until at last a tractor come from the direction of La-ei village and I happily became a passenger, sitting on the bags of maize it had carried. Yet I was lucky enough to get a seat there because I could feast my eyes on the beautiful scene of the Deemawso Township where the national I took interest in were residing, throughout the journey. While thus looking at the beauty of the scene and sometimes listening attentively to the sound of engine, I got to Deemawso from where again to Loikaw I had to take a car and then a pony cart that happened to be on my way.

I was however especially glad for all the interesting, valuable data I could gather for my thesis as the traditions and customs of my study site were still unchanged, without being diffused and influenced by other culture. I believe, because of the above-mentioned facts, that I am now able to prepare my thesis with firsthand information, which would vividly reveal the true nature of their culture. As I have stated before, the scope of study for my thesis is 'The Social Organization of the Kayan (Padaung) National' which I have described in eight chapters on relevant subjects.

Whatever facts and figures included in this thesis are collected at firsthand through my interview with informants carefully chosen by me in accord with the research sampling method to suit the purpose. Yet ~ if any mistake which scholars may find in reading this, I would like to say that I am wholly responsible for it.

Chapter 1

Locality

The Kayan (Padaung) national spread over several regions in Myanmar. Nowadays, they are found to be locating in Deemawso and Loikaw Townships in the Kayah State, Phekon, Pinlong and Sesaing Townships in the Shan State, northern part of Thantaung in the Kayin State, eastern part of Pyinmana in Mandalay Division. But most of them mainly reside in the villages in the northwestern part of Deemawso Township in the Kayah State, far eastern part of Myanmar.

Among those villages, the Panpet village group is quite significant for its villagers who are still embracing their time-honoured traditions and customs, including the peculiar wearing of brass rings around their necks and legs.

(A) Geography of the Panpet Village Group

The Panpet village group is situated near the border between the Kayah State and the Shan State, 15 miles away from Deemawso Township to the northwest. It occupies an area, which is about 4000 feet high above sea level, between the longitudes of 96° 58"E and latitudes 19°37"N. There are four villages around it; Pherthouk village on the east; Lopu village on the west; Saungyay village on the north; Lwikahti village on the south. Panpet comprises five small village units namely Ronkhu, Dawkey, Kateku,

Bansabanote and Painmasaung. Ronkhu and Dawkey village units are adjoining while other three units a little separated by a pine forest.

The combined area of Ronkhu and Dawkey village units is roughly estimated to be of three-mile length and one-mile breadth. All the rest units each have about two-mile length and one-mile breadth, the distance between three units being half-mile long. So, the total area of Panpet may be said as (11) square miles.

Being a highland area, Panpet has a cool and dry climate, having only an annual rate of rainfall of about 35 inches. The maximum cool season is in January with a usual temperature of 9.10°C and the hottest season is in March with a usual temperature of 15°C. Only during the time from February to May it is hot at daytime and moderate at night.

All around the Panpet village group, there are layers and layers of rock, geologically called 'Plateau Limestone', which were during Palaeozoic Era of about 280 million years ago under the sea and later, became land surface. As these plateau limestone have no 'porosity' (the quality to contain water inside) and 'permeability' (the quality to make water move from place to place), water cannot exist inside them. Panpet, being a village founded on such kind of rocks, water cannot be easily obtained in that area. There is a hillside on the north of the village, which is covered with 'siltstone', 'shale' and 'mudstone'. As these kinds of stone are able to detain water inside, there we may see plantations on the hillsides. The colour of the land surface in that area is 'terra rossa soil' (dark red).

The trees and plants mostly to be found in that area are pine, 'hson-bo', 'lauk-ya', 'sagar' (*cananga odorata*), 'thit-e' (*castanea stirsa*). The trees intermittantly grown in the whole area are 'nyan'(*sesbania caannabina*),



Entrance to Deemawso Township



Beauty of Ngwe Taung Dam

'ingyin'(pentacne suavis), 'in' (dipterocarpus tubertulatus). On the big trees and limestone, orchids are found. There are a variety of orchids bearing waxy flowers. The colours are purple, white, orange and grey.

In the forests near Panpet village group, the big games mostly to be found are sanbur, barking deer, bear, wild goat, wild boar, wild cat, wild dog, tiger, leopard, monkey, rabbit, porcupine. The birds mostly to be found in those forests are peacock, pheasant, woodpecker, and eagle, blue and green jays. The reptiles to be found are boa constrictor, python, cobra, green viper and king cobra.

(B) Migration of the Kayan (Padaung) National

The Kayan national claim that their original name is Kan-yan, "Kan" means "the territory" and "Yan" is "the tenacity" or "being well settled". Accordingly, Kan-yan means "the people who settle in a certain territory without moving anywhere." As the time has elapsed, Kan-yan gradually became Kayan. The Shan national call them 'Pat-taung', meaning in their language, 'the wearer of brass rings'. It is believed that 'Pat-taung' has gradually changed into 'Padaung' as time elapsed. They call themselves 'Kay - khaung - doo' which has the master of the hilly regions. Other nationals and the administrative personnel of the country call this national **"The Kayan (Padaung) National"**.

The Kayan (Padaung) national have noted by heart to remember from whom they are descended and where their ancestors lived by reciting an ancient, long poem "*Karkaung*", which their ancestors have committed to

memory through generations. According to them, their history of descent runs as follows:

The Kayan national formerly resided in the area called Asia Minor, which was then known as Maw-Hike-sha. The meaning of Maw - Hike-sha is "the largest and foremost territory". While at Asia Minor they built a skyscraper tower which one day for its being over high in size collapsed, blocking all the men inside. The Kayan called that place Babylon, (Panbilon) means "blocked on all sides". Then the leader of the people living then and there, named Phu Kalate divided the land surface into three parts by water, which caused all the Kayan people to be on the eastern part of the territory from where the sun rises.

Again when they moved to a place called Ikeyar, the people became stupid enough to be immoral and so one day fires dropped from the sky toward them and the whole landscape broke to pieces, destroying horribly seven great cities and seven great villages, forming the Ikeyar Lake at that place.

As they suffered drought and famine for seven continuous years at Ahrat they had to transfer to Moe-thar alias Thar Desert. After they had been a tribe that wandered from place to place looking for greener pastures for their animals and having no fixed homes, for about 400 years, they reached Maw-gwe alias Mongolia, a mountainous area covered in forests (Maw-gwe means the highest point of the horizon).

While inhabiting the Mongolia area, the Kayan people were divided into two groups namely Linyan and Linchu who were from time to time engaged in fighting for heritage sake which later caused the Linyan people to move southward. Again, from the Linyan group who had transferred to the

south, there emerged two groups, which had the names "Khay alias Chinese", and "Kheyay alias Kayan" respectively. The two newly formed groups were frequently at loggerheads with each other for ownership of the territory and the losers, the Kayan national had to move toward the south. After thus moving there, they were governed by a governor who was called "Sawbwa Linkhayan". This time, when they moved southward from Mongolia they reached a place called Taung- Pher Taung- Bet alias Tibet and earned their living by farm works on the hillsides of Kwilong Kwilang. But one day unfortunately, as the edge of the chasm broke away they had to move again to a place and settled where there were three big lakes and which was the starting point of three rivers. During that era, they were governed by Htawpha Min alias Sawbwa Htawpha.

While they were in Tibet, as they confronted with hunger problems, they had no choice but to move still further southward again along Thanlwin River alias Cho Basin which took them to a place in Yunnan Province where there were abundance of sweet chesnuts (*castanea sativa*). There they founded a town named Po-an, the meaning of which was 'a frying pan in which sweet chesnuts were roasted'. While they were at Yunnan, they had recorded the Kayan calendar years by way of weaving the round bamboo trays, called "Sagaws", in a particular way to represent it. Then again, they constructed a big bridge to cross over the Thanlwin River to get to its western bank. When the construction process was completed, all the poor men who had only a little belonging to carry along with them were given the permission to pass over the bridge first. But unlucky they were! The bridge, not strong enough to sustain the weight, broke down leaving all the rich men who had a great possession of elephants, horses and mules on the eastern bank of the

river. It was believed that these people on the eastern bank and their descendants spread over the large area which later came to be called Yun alias Thai, Khmer alias Cambodia, Sumatra, Garawat Island. And because of the breaking of the bridge, they were again divided into two groups.

The Kayans who were able to cross the Thanlwin River and get to its western bank were headed by a leader called Sawbwa Htaw-meh-pa whose Karen followers known as Yanboo and Kayan followers known as Yan Pa-O, later moved down along the Thanlwin River. The Kayan who had adopted the name of Yan Pa-O founded the city of Thaton while the others named Yanboo (Kayin) founded Pa-an (the name taking after a town called Po-an in Yunnan Province). Then the rest Kayan group led by Sawbwa Lakarit sailed down along the Zuli River, which was later known as the Shweli River up to the point where the Shweli and the Ayeyarwaddy meet. There, the Kayan group who took the southern route and adopted the name of Gaykho founded the city of Ahwa-way which later became famous as Innwa and the rest Kayan people who at that time were named as Kayan (La-hta) took the northern route up to a place where they could settle and found a city called Hanlin (Hanli, in their language, means red ground place) which later became known as Hanlin. Those two cities called the "Ka-yan-tań" which means "Kayan State".

Then, an Indian Sawbwa with the name of Tha-Ki raided and destroyed Hanlin using elephant troops, and took away Kayan Sawbwa Lakharan and his sister Musa, who were later executed by him in a town called Pazun alias Ta-kaung. After execution, the flesh of Sawbwa Lakharan were cut into small pieces and thrown away into the Ayeyarwady where the pieces, at the middle of the river, turned into smoke and rose into the sky

later to be dropped as rain. And again from that area they moved to a place called "Haw-hte-le", meaning the Golden Palace, which later became Mandalay; and there they met with the Myanmar people whereupon they danced happily with them. It was at Mandalay that they got a 'Mun Palwei' (fipple-flute) from the Myanmar national as present.

At the time of aggression into Hanlin by Thaki, the Indian Sawbwa, the brother-in-law of Sawbwa Lakharit, Kay-fer-do, led down some Kayan national along the Ayeyarwady up to a place called Moe-pyan alias Pyi at which point they could not proceed any further because of the vast expanse of sea water lying before them. There they settled and founded a large village named Pyi Village. But one day while they were at Pyi, just because of a quarrel over the ownership of a bamboo tray they had to wage a battle against the people called Tar-laing alias Talaing. The Talaing national won and the Kayan Sawbwa Bway Phaw was killed. The story goes that before he was killed Bway Phaw founded a Kayan State comprising three territories: the upper part of Pyi, Bagan and Innwa.

Due to the failure in the battle against the Talaing, Kayan Sawbwa Khun- Htoo- Khwan founded a small town named Par-kan alias Bagan, which was in the central part of the Kayan State. During the time they were living in Baban, Khun-Htoo- Khwan suppressed a great frightful bird with a poison arrow.

While residing in Bagan, the Kayan national lost battles to the Pyu national who waged a war against them and had to move down to the town of Pyi again. This time, the grandson Phar Phaw of the late Kayan Sawbwa Bway Phaw led the people to rebuild Pyi and later to build a pagoda named "Phar Phaw". Then, due to the frequent raids and intrusion by the Talaing

people, all the Kayan national had to transfer to the city of Thi-da-gon alias Yangon where one day an old woman called Grandma Phone Mu-gout said to have found live gold and silver creepers. Again because of the sporadic attacks made by the Talaing who raided Thi-da-gon and burnt the villages down, the Kayan national had to move to a place called Pa-le-ko alias Bago the meaning of which is "a place surrounded by sea". There they built another pagoda which resembled the former "Phar Phaw" pagoda of Pyi when they got to Bago, they were very much happy for the reunion with their former brethren, Pa-o and Kayan national, and hence held a great ceremony of reunion with a festival which lasted seven days and seven nights. The site for that fun giving festival was named Maw-du-mo alias Mottama (the place of fun) and founded a city bearing that name also. But unfortunately, due to the attacks made by the Mon national and the Myanmar there, the Kayans were forced to move toward the east until they reached Thaton where they settled for some time. Thaton means "the golden city" in their language. When they were in Thaton there met again with Pa-o national. One day, on hunting Pa-o people got an elephant while the Kayans were able to get a porcupine. But in distribution of the flesh of that porcupine between all the Pa-o and Kayan, Pa-o complained that they did not get the amount of share they deserved and that had brought the discord into them. Consequently, the Kayan and the Pa-o national again decided to stay separately.

The Kayans again moved northward; some of them to Bago while some continued further until they got back to Taungoo. Then they climbed up a mountain called Doe-law-saik, the meaning of which is "the mountain near the stream where drinking water dried up". Then again, further, they were now at Thantaung from which they proceeded to enter the territory nowadays

named the Kayah State where they settled happily, freely and peacefully since, till the present time.

On migration pattern of the Kayin national including the Kayan national, who entered Myanmar territory in olden days, Maung Sin Kye wrote in his book titled "The Kayin life, the Kayin custom" on page 17, under the heading of "How the Kayin national got into Myanmar", "It has been said that the nationalities settling in the Union of Myanmar are descended from three tribes namely Tibeto-Burman, Mon-Khmer and Tai-Chinese. Accordingly, all the nationalities are of the same ancestors and thus they are our brethren".

"And it has been well accepted that the Kayin national was included in the Tai-Chinese tribe which was one of the three tribes that had migrated in ancient times to Myanmar."

"How the Kayin national of Tai-Chinese tribe got into Myanmar and spread over the various parts of the country was as follows:"

(1) Some of them moved along the Ayeyarwady River until they reached several places and the Bago Yoma and the Deltaic area.

(2) Some of them following the route along Thanlwin River and them passing over the Shan Plateau, settled near Toungoo and the places all along the Tanintharyi Coastal Strip.

(3) Some of them sailing down along the Mekhong and Shweli rivers, leaving some at the Kayah State and the Tanintharyi Coastal Strip from which they proceeded to Thai, Laos, Philippines and Borneo, some people believe.

It is written in the book, "Myanmar Naing Ngan before the time of Ahnawrahta", by Major Ba Shin, on pages 84 - 85, on the nationals that had entered Myanmar territory, that at the earliest times of history the tribes, Pyu, Thet, Naga, Chin and Kayin races had entered, that the Kayin had migrated

from the north-east to the areas along the Thanlwin River and then through the area in northern Shan State, where the sub-group of the Mon-Khmer resided, to the southern part peacefully and quietly until they reached the southern Shan State where again they seemed to move westward". Besides, it is written in the book, "The History of Myanmar Naing Ngan Taw" by Bamo Tin Aung, on page 48, that "Beside the Pyu, the Myanmar and the Shan and the Kayin who were of the same tribe with the Thai migrated from Tibet of China and Yunnan to Myanmar group by group".

On describing the Kayin who had entered Myanmar territory earlier than the Myanmar, it is written on the page 17 of that book "The Myanmar entered the Myanmar territory only after the Shan and the Kayin races who were of the Tai-Chinese tribe had settled in the northern areas and eastern hilly regions of Myanmar". On the same subject, Dr. Than Tun, M.A., B.L., Ph.D (London) has written in the book, "The History of Old Time Myanmar", on page 19, "The Tibeto-Myanmar tribe of the larger Tibeto-Chinese gradually moved from north to south and founded the state. I would like to say that the races, Thet, Kandu, Pyu and Kayin were earlier than the Myanmar in Myanmar Naing Ngan."

In the book, " The Culture and Traditions of the Nationalities of the Union Of Myanmar (Kayah)", published by Myanma Socialist Programme Party, on page 29, on the subject of migration pattern of the Kayah tribe (formerly called Karen-ni) including the Kayan nationals , it states that, "The native land of the Mongoloid people was the Tarim Basin, in central Asia. Later, due to the increase in population and bullying attacks by more powerful groups, they had to find more favourable places which made them enter Myanmar territory".

On migration pattern of the Kayan (Padaung) national, it is written in the book, "The Upper Burma Gazetteer And The Shan State", (Part I, Vol I, Chapter IX, page 536) by J. George Scott that "They have no knowledge of their previous home or history. They state in vague sort of way that they migrated from the south, and their old men say that they came last from Taungoo. This is very natural as their centre of the world."

Again, on the subject of migration pattern of the Kayan national, Marshall H.I. wrote in his book, "The Karen people of Burma" published by Columbus University in 1922, on page 14, the Karen people settled in China in ancient time and thus had resemblance in language and religious practices of the Chinese. And on page 15 of that book also, there is a version that "Dyaks" people of Borneo in Indonesia were of the same tribe with the Kayan national".

According to anthropological studies, all of the national group now residing in Myanmar are descended from the Mongoloid tribe formerly living on Mongol Plateau and so they all are brethren. Only, due to the rivers, streams and land masses that seemed to separate them, uneasiness in communication between the plain areas and the highland regions which led them to more and more separate living, difference in climate and environment etc., the difference in their styles of living, dressing and tradition were formed.

Chapter 2

Historical Background

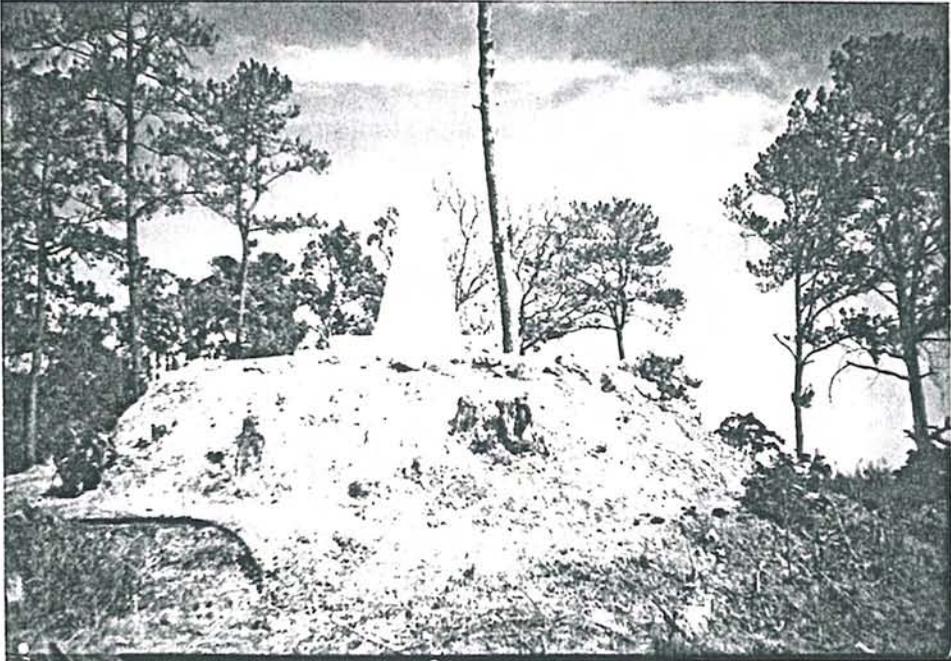
(A) History of the Panpet Village Group

In fact, the Panpet village group had been a place where the Shan national lived. About 1,100 years ago, one Pho-la-maw who had to earn his living by taking care of the cows, which belonged to the Shan national, founded a village on a mountain called "Kya". So the village bore the name Kya Village. Only after living on that Mountain for over 1,000 years until 90 years ago when the village was destroyed by a great fire, they moved to the foot area of the mountain where a new village was founded again. The places around the new village were covered with pine trees. So the Shan national who lived nearby named their new village Panpet, which in the Shan language means "the village surrounded by pine trees".

After moving toward the foot of the mountain, the first village founded by them was called "Peinmasaung village unit". Peinmasaung, a word from the Kayan language, means "the village of unity". The leader of that village group who led in founding it was U Lar Saung, and now the village has been in existence for about 90 years. After that, Ronku village unit was founded. The meaning of Ronku in the Kayan language is "Silver Hill". The leader founder of that Ronku village group was U Lar Lauk and now the village is about 70 years old. Just after Ronku, Dawkey village unit came into being in an area on the northern side of Ronku, not far away. Again, some 40 years ago, on the northern side of Dawkey village unit, on a hill, Kateku village unit



Scenery of the Panpet Village Group



At the Gate of Ronkhu Village

was founded. Kateku is a word of the Kayan language, which has the meaning of "striking with hand". It was noted that the last village unit founded by the Kayan (Padaung) national was Bansarbanote village, meaning in the Kayan language "the village on the north of Bansar Mountain". That last village group was founded by the Kayan (Padaung) national under the leadership of a village-head named U Lar Lane and its existence is noted to be 14 years.

Due to the successive founding of the villages by the Kayan (Padaung) national and the increase in population, the Shan national who had been living there moved toward the west until finally they got into the Shan State, thus leaving Panpet to be wholly a Kayan village since.

(B) Founding The Village

As they have regarded themselves the masters of mountains, they prefer highland area to plains when they think of founding a village. The reason for preferring them for villages was said to be due to the word of wisdom by their ancient ancestors who used to say that on a plain a man's body easily gets hot because of the heat of the sun. May be because of that it is mostly found that their villages are on the mountains 4000 to 5000 feet high above sea level.

The Kayan have the natural tendency to settle at one place for many hundred years without moving anywhere. Only when the villages were burnt down by fire or some epidemic diseases or hunger problems endangered

them, they left the old places to move to new ones where they would again settle for many years.

Whenever they think of founding a village, the site is chosen by the leader of their group. But a favourable natural condition of the potential site of the village alone is not yet complete. Still there are many factors, which could endanger the life of the whole village. They believe, cannot be foreseen by human beings. So, before making the final decision as to the site of the village, to find out whether or not the new place would bring them good luck, they wholly rely on the process of fortune telling which they call "the cock bone method (finding out the answer whether ill-luck or good-luck would prevail by using the bones of a cock). After thus finding out if it is suitable for them or not, the exact place for the village is finally chosen with full confidence. But it is learnt that this process of finding out the future fortune by using the cock-bones method prevails at every stage of founding a village. Say, for example, this method by the bones of a cock said "Good" as to the particular site of a new village, but again, after foundation process, if it said "Bad", a new site has to be chosen again, according to their time-honoured custom. Once the site-choosing business is completed, the other thing they pay most attention is the choosing of a site for graveyard.' One thing they attach importance in choosing a place for the new village is that the place must not be the one where accidental deaths have ever occurred or where there had been a grave-yard or where there was held a spiritual rite for their guardian spirits.

In choosing the name for the village, they used to take into consideration such facts as the name of the leader who has led in founding

the village, the name of the nearest mountain and the name of the tribe they all belong to.

(C) Building The House

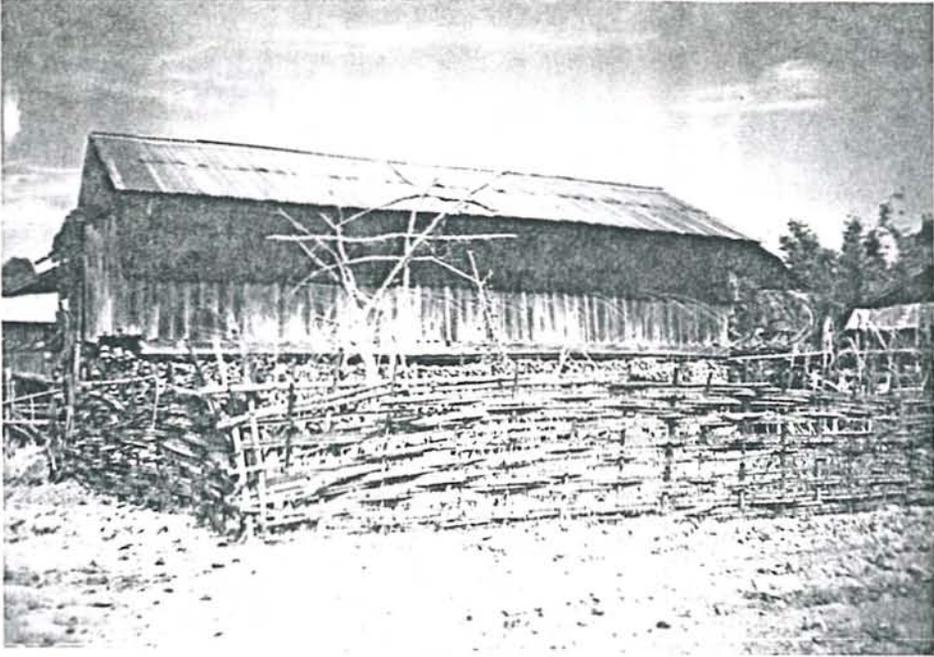
Almost all of their houses are one-storey buildings and their legs are quite tall. They generally use timber for floors and walls whereas they use thatch for roofing. The height of the legs of their houses is usually higher than that of a man. On the ground under the floor a big pile of logs to be used as fuel for the whole year is kept. The shape of a house is usually rectangular and there are always a ladder and veranda in front of the house. In the house, half of the floor-space is provided for sitting room where some central space is occupied by a fireplace. The rest half, apart from the sitting room, is divided into two bedrooms. There is usually only one window for the whole sitting room. Because of the ever-low temperature it is very cold and for that reason their sitting room has only one window, just to be able to contain the heat in it. So, for a visitor, he would find smoke lingering in the air, which could cause him or her hard to breath. Over the fireplace, a large number of maize is collected there to get heat from the fire underneath. These maize are kept to be used in preparing *khaung-ye* (fermented liquor produced by traditional method) and to feed the chickens. The corner of the fireplace is the usual place for *khaung-ye* pots.

The Panpet villagers usually build their houses in hot season and the needed materials for housing such as trees; bamboos are collected in cold season. In olden days, *Thapyay* was mostly used in housing but now pine is commonly used instead. Before taking a tree for housing, they thoroughly

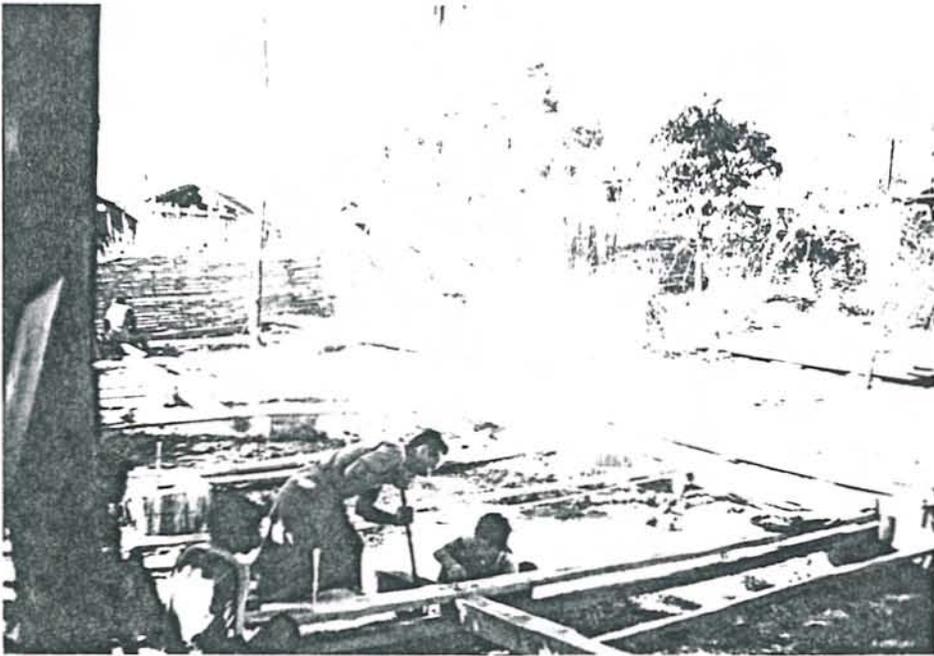
examine it not to be the one, which has once been hit by a thunderbolt or the trunk, which is hollow, or a tree that has bird's nests. Moreover, they never use a tree for housing purpose if it is grown on the edge of a chasm or on the way to a graveyard or a place where some other people have used for spiritual rite for their guardian spirits.

Just as in choosing a site for a new village, they rely on the traditional method of fortune telling by spiritual master with the help of the bones of a cock before deciding on a place for a new house. Similarly, they never fail to do it before the foundation work of the house is started. When the construction begins after all these, not only the members of the family but also the neighbours render help. When it is finished, yet before the family moves to it, a ceremony to mark the using of the house as a dwelling place is held. So that relatives and friends from nearby villages come and help with chores. The hosts generally feed the visitors with *khaung-ye* together with cooked rice and various curries. At this ceremony, the elders and the old people are specially cared and fed. Only after the ceremony, the family uses it as a dwelling place.

In Panpet village group, there never has been discriminative practice for the type of the house. There is no such rule or custom that indicates what type of house an ordinary man has the right to build and what he must not do, etc. All the houses have the same design, only varying in its bigness and grandeur according to the financial status of each and every family. But here one interesting custom is they never try to mend the old house when it gets weak, but they move to a new place where they make a new one.



Traditional House



Building the House

(D) Population and Household

The population of the Kayan (Padaung) national in the Kayah State (1998) are as follows:

No.	Township	Population
1.	Deemawso	15,646
2.	Loikaw	9,897
3.	Bawlake	31
4.	Shataw	27
5.	Mese	24
6.	Phruso	18
Total		25,643

The household and population of the Kayan (Padaung) national in the Panpet Village Group (1998) are as follows :

No.	Village Unit	Household	Population
1.	Ronkhu	50	268
2.	Painmasaung	44	191
3.	Kateku	25	152
4.	Bansabanote	21	139
5.	Dawkey	13	65
Total		153	815

(E) Daily Food

The staple food of the Kayan is rice and *Khaung-ye*. They pound rice, which they get from hillside cultivation by using a simple wooden mortar and wooden pestle to take out the husks. They cook the unpolished rice until the water has evaporated. As it is the paddy rice got from hillside cultivation the colour is red and the quality is inferior. Chilly is the constant ingredient in their curry. The condiment added for special flavour in their curry is a plant that produces fruit called *meckha*, the size of which is that of a peppercorn. If the fruit of *meckha* is pounded and applied to the meat curry the smell of raw meat disappears. In rainy and winter seasons, though the leaves of pumpkin, mustard, cabbage etc. are abundant but, in summer, these are very scarce. So they used to store dried potatoes, pumpkin, edible root from the herb (*Allium tuberosum*) the root of the *Jew* plant for summer days. They take dried mustard and pickled mustard as one of their foods. How they pickle mustard is ~ they dig up a hole of three feet by one foot with the depth of four feet in which banana leaves are kept as floor and side covers. Then the mustard leaves are pressed into it. Some put a certain amount of salt and cold cooked rice. The stones are put on the leaves to become compact. After four or five days, they get sour mustard leaves. Then these sour mustard leaves are dried up in the sun and kept for summer days.

The curry of meat, rice, dried mustard leaves, chilli, *meckha* fruit is a favourite one, which they used to serve the people with in the funeral and wedding ceremonies. The curry of the viscera and the pith of the banana stem is also a good dish for them. Another curry which they serve people with at the house-warming ceremony is ~ the edible root from the herb *Jew* plant

and the minced meat of the pig are wrapped up in the banana leaves and roasted. Then the leaves are taken off and they are eaten with pounded chillies.

Their daily foods are the curries of rootstock of the taro plant, chilly and dried mustard leaves; pumpkin, potatoes and *meckha* fruits; bamboo shoots, rice, pumpkin and chilly.

The pounded leaves of sour mustard, ginger and green chillies, the pounded edible root from the herb called *Jew* with chillies and the pounded bean with *meckha* fruit are also the combinations of dishes for a meal.

Another dish they used to take is a mixed salad of roasted meat and viscera with minced lemon leaves and edible root from the herb *Jew* plant. The salad of minced *swe-taw* (*Bauhinia acuminata*) leaves with groundnut and *meckha* fruit is also their favourite item in their meal. The taste of this salad is acrid.

When the minced roots of the *Jew* plants, the minced meat of the pig, the pounded *meckha* fruit, salt, the artificial sweetening agent for seasoning food (monosodium glutamate) are mixed well and pressed into the intestines of pig after being mixed well and broiled, they get sausage of pork with a good flavour. Similarly, when the roots of *Jew* plants, bamboo shoots, minced meat, pounded *meckha* fruits, salt, the sweetening agent for seasoning food (monosodium glutamate) are pressed into the intestines of a bull after being mixed well and broiled, they get sausage of beef. They take these sausages of pork or beef with *Khaung-ye*.

Chapter 3

Features, Temperament and Dressing

(A) Physical Characteristics

According to the anthropological point of view, the Kayan (Padaung) national have the same features with Mongoloid race. Though the weather may have changed the complexion of some of them to become reddish or somewhat brown, it must be said that they belong to the yellow-skin Mongoloid race. The average height of males being 5'3" and 5'8", the females generally have the height between 5' and 5'4". Since they are highlanders and just because of the frequent ascending and descending, their muscles become big and strong. Due to the incessant use of their manual labour, the muscles on their arms, shoulders and backs are solid. They have big bones, solidly built bodies and sound health.

Their heads are generally round and their faces oval. The colour of their eyeballs is brown and black. With somewhat narrow eyes, their eyelids are a bit big. The noses are long and prominent yet not pointed at the ends. Their lips are thin and wide at the ends. Most of them have big front teeth. But due to the habit of betel chewing by males as well as females, the lips always look red and the teeth yellow. Here another interesting custom is the dying of the teeth. It is learnt that the custom has begun since the olden days of their ancestors. Still there are many old men and women whose teeth are of black colour. But the custom is losing force among the Kayan (Padaung) national of modern time. The women are found to have low shoulders due to

the wearing of the brass rings since they were children. As the muscles on the shoulders become low, their necks look longer than the normal size. The rings around the neck, which occupy all the places between the lower base of the neck and the chin, make the wearer's head a little raised upward. And most of the women with the rings have slim bodies; the reason for being so seems to lie in the weight of the rings they have to carry. But all the girls and women have almost the same feature and body structure, and they look twin sisters when they are seen from a distance.

(B) Temperament

Anthropologists study temperament by making an overall, general survey of the whole tribe. It was the British anthropologist, Malinowski, who gave instruction that the study of a culture of a tribe should be made together with their Psychology. Later, female anthropologists such as Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead, after making scientific studies of tribal Psychology and social problems, brought out a new anthropological concept. That guiding principle is none other than that the study of temperament should be based on the study of culture of the whole tribe. According to that new concept, the study of temperament of a tribe should be based on the psychological facts: whether or not they are energetic, honest, intelligent, hospitable, gentle or rude.

The studies made on their temperament, show that the Kayans are painstaking and have racialism and localism. They hardly forget what is done to them and revengeful. So whatever project you want to materialize in that

area, it is fairly important to be good and smooth at the beginning. Unless efficiency and success are shown at the beginning they will not take interest and believe you anymore. When they meet a stranger for the first time they look shy. But when familiarity is gained, it would be seen that they are hospitable, generous and never hesitate to feed others. However much rice and food are scarce at their place, they love to treat guests generously. They are quite content with the crops, which they have produced through their own effort. They are also brave in fighting. It has been said through generations that in 1889, during the battles against the colonialism, the Kayan fighters tattooed a "rising sun" on the wrists and napes of the necks and fought resolutely. But there was no record and their names are unknown now. And also during the resistance movement against the fascist Japanese, the Kayan patriotic fighters joined the other nationals and fought bravely. On their participation in the fight against the fascists, the writer Film Director Mynit Maung wrote in his book, "Ngwe Taung Pyi, the native land of the Kayah" on page 17, "Padaungs are sincere in manners and behaviours as they are simple in dress, especially the women who seem to be shy. They used to go into the house and hide when they see a stranger. When speaking or laughing, they used to cover their mouths with their palms with shyness."

"Yet they look active and alert always. Still there are some who had served in the army during British administration as good soldiers. And still there are some who took part in the resistance movement against the fascists. U Thine Than Tin who was one of the Kayah State executives and the late U Thine Ba Han were prominent Padaungs".

(C) Dressing

(1) Male's Dress

An old style a Kayan male wears a knot leaning to the right side with a piece of cloth wound round his head as a turban. The turban is usually of coarse cotton cloth or smooth one with white, red and pink colours. As for the shirts, they generally wear white colour ones or woollen jackets. The colours of the trousers they mostly wear are white and black. In ceremonies, they used to wear the above-mentioned style of dresses but sometimes they are multi-colour woollen ones. And it is also their custom to wear a belt, which is a combination of leather strings and brass rings tied together yet alternately. From one of these brass rings, there usually is slung a sword in an exquisite scabbard which is made of silver; the handle of the sword is also made of tusk.

The old style Kayans have their ears pierced and wear silver eardrops or multi-colour woollen pieces frayed, during the festival times. And around the neck, a male wears a silver chain, which in fact is a series of very small silver coils threaded, to which a silver coin with various designs on its surfaces is hung. This silver coin is called *Baud*. Moreover, around the legs just below the ankles, three or four chains of small round seeds called *Botetha* are worn. Besides, a Kayan male also wears rings made of seed around the arms as well as the calves of the legs, which are also called *Karboth*.

But nowadays, the Kayan males no longer wear knots or turbans or have their ears pierced. Instead, they now wear shirts and Shan trousers. On auspicious days, and during festival times, they now wear white shirts that

buttons down the front part, called *Thindaings*, and Shan trousers. But they also wear red or pink turbans round their heads. This may be said as their latest, modern costume.

The youngsters nevertheless wear only nylon sports-shirts and cotton *longyis*, (sarong wears by a Myanmar male), on visiting to other villages or when they go out shopping to the town.

(2) Female's Dress

A Kayan female usually wears a hand-woven garment with white colour at the upper portion and red colour at the lower part which is long down to the middle of her thigh and as lower garment, at the waist, wears a hand-woven garment with red and black horizontal stripes which is usually long down to the upper part of the calf of the leg.

Hair-do style of a Kayan female is somewhat peculiar: the hair knot: of conical shape is on top of that knot, there is a pointed hair-pin called *Katyoke katkhike* just below which there are two small hair-pins of circular shape called *mines*, the size of each being that of a one Kyat coin. Then there are two silver-edged combs, which are placed at the front and back of the head, in the hairs. And from those two small hairpins are hung small coins attached with strings, which look like diamond branches. A small solid piece of silver is also hung on the forehead while pieces of cloth with red, yellow, blue and green are wound just above the ears at the edge of the hairs.

The most significant of all in dressing with these Kayan females is the custom of wearing brass rings around their necks and legs. The whole neck is wound round with solid brass rings, which are slim in the middle and wide at the top and below. At the back of the neck, small brass rings are fitted

vertically so that the horizontal rings may not get loose. Silver string of small silver coins threaded and a necklace of silver coins are also hung around the necks. And they also wear chain of ambers and silver rings around the wrists. Through the big holes, which are pierced in the ears, the silver or brass earrings and earplugs are worn. On each leg, from just below the knee to the calf of the leg and then from the calf of the leg to ankles, four brass rings are also wound round. Just under the ankles, there are strings of small *Botetha* and spherical and hollow silver bells.

Nowadays, the females wear the outfit, which includes a garment with sleeves, a *htabi*, (sarong wears by a Myanmar female) with horizontal red and black stripes. And there is a long strip of white cloth wound round the head, on festival days. At ordinary time, a Kayan (Padaung) female dresses just like a Myanmar woman.

It can be well said that the Kayan females are still observing their tradition because it is a very rare scene in Panpet to see a Kayan girl or a woman without the brass rings. At festival times, after rubbing their rings with hay to polish them, they wear the traditional costumes completely. On going to farm or at home or in the village, a female usually wears a short hand-woven skirt on which is worn again a male sarong of 'Bear' trade mark.

Children of up to the age of two have only shirts leaving the lower parts of the bodies naked. Around the neck and the wrist of a child, white cotton strings are tied as talisman or, considered as preventing spiritual dangers. And around the ankles of a child, there usually are rings made of spherical and hollow silver bells, the diameter of each of which being round about 6 cm. Only when they have attained the age of three or four, the boys wear shirts and short-sleeved trousers while the girls of that age wear hand-

woven garments and short *htabi*. At the age of five, the girls start wearing the brass rings.

(3) Brass Rings Wearing Custom

The story as to their tradition of wearing the rings varies. The different versions are as follows:

~The mother of the Kayan (Padaung) national being a dragon and their father a spirit to be like their mother the Kayan females wear these rings around their necks.

~Since the Kayans had been wandering all over the places in olden days until one day they got to the place called " Thi-da-gon " where one Grandma named Phone Mu-gout found live gold and silver creepers and wore one of them around her neck which became the beginning of the tradition of wearing the brass rings.

~As the Kayan national moved from their former native land to Mongolia, Tibet and then to Myanmar they had been more active and always ahead of the neighbour who out of jealousy, with the intention of making them clumsy in moving, had the Kayan females wear the rings around their necks. (This belief is still what the Kayan (Padaung) national of the Panpet village group have now in their minds as to the origin of the tradition.)

~In olden days, as the Shan governors and Myanmar kings occasionally paid visits to the area where the Kayan lived, they were insomuch afraid that these governors and kings would take the beautiful Kayan girls and women away to their palaces that the elders of the village made them look ugly by having them wear the rings around the necks. In the book, "Ngwe Taung Pyi, the native land of the Kayah", on pages 56-57, on

how the tradition of this wearing of the brass rings started, the writer Film Director Myint Maung wrote:

"As to the tradition of wearing the brass rings around the necks by Padaung girls, I have noted one word which has been accepted as truth since the olden days.

"Padaung people belonged to the Kan-yan tribe. Once a king had a son and a daughter whom he loved very dearly. One day, the king sent his beloved son to the neighbouring king, who then was ruling Yunnan Province, as an envoy, with presents to be offered. After many years, the son envoy of the Padaung king returned home bringing back with him many valuable things among which were silver rings.

"The sister valued the silver rings most among all the presents so much that she kept it intact somewhere without wearing them. But afterwards she was afraid that it would be stolen one day and wore it herself around the neck".

"It has been accepted that the wearing of brass rings around the necks have become a tradition since, after that incident of the Kan-yan princess who fondly wore the silver rings. Formerly, those rings were not of brass; they were made of silver as in the story stated. And the number of rings also was only five. The "brass" took the place of "silver" after their endeavours to make it look more and more exquisite which in the long run became a tradition."

No matter how many versions have been being exist as to the origin of this tradition, all the Kayan girls and women fondly wear those brass rings around their necks and they are much proud of it.

The brass rings worn by Kayan (Padaung) females are not hollow inside but solid; they weigh totally from 11 to 19 lb. The number of rings

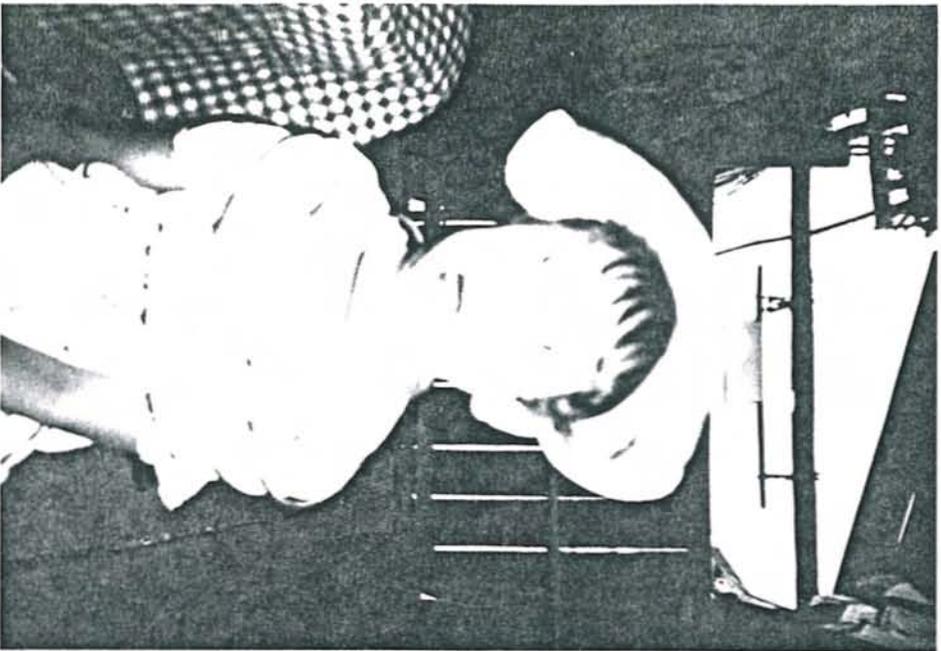
round the neck varies from 18 to 25 while round the legs from 15 to 30. There are still another four spring brass rings, which are wound round just over the brass rings, which are already on the legs, just below the knees. To ease the friction between the rings and the flesh, on the neck and the calf of the leg, pieces of black or blue cotton cloths are wrapped up.

The girls in the Panpet village group start wearing the brass rings only when they have attained the age of five. When the parents consider they are of the proper age to wear them, they invite a shaman versed in the traditional rites or the women who know how to do it to their houses. In so inviting, they have to take with them a pullet as a present. The person who would manage the initiation of rings wearing has to choose the date. Here it is learnt that they have a belief that to initiate the ring wearing on any day of waning moon in any month would bring accidents or ill luck. So they take care that it be on a day during the waxing period of the moon or full moon day. The parents are to give the person who is taking charge of it enough amount of brass in advance allowing enough time for preparation and moulding of smooth and diameter-consistent round brass rods which are to bend to form rings. The trimming instrument is just five inches long and one and half inches in circumference with a bending end.

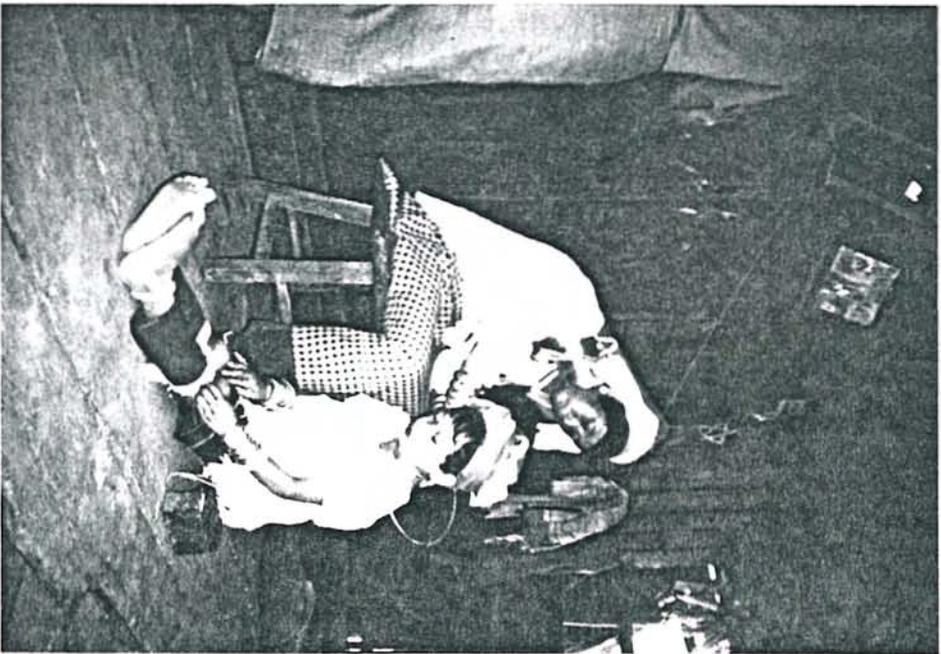
On the initiation day of the brass rings wearing ceremony, the neighbours are also invited and served with several foods. The master who takes charge of the whole business begins winding the rings round the necks by reciting traditional incantations. Mostly, the rings are five in number. Only after it gets settled on the neck without causing any damage to the flesh, the right leg winding is started. The numbers of rings are at most seven.

The number of rings increased at the time when a girl has attained the age of puberty or when she marries or when the family prospers. So it could be taken as a general fact that the number of rings depends on the financial status of a family. When the number of rings is going to be raised, the former ones on the neck or the legs are taken out before redressing them along with the newly added ones. At the time of taking out of the formerly dressed ones, a rug or a pillow has to be put under the head. Otherwise, it would break the neck or even take away the life. The usual thing they use in polishing the brass rings is the hay with which they rub them again and again until they shine brightly.

It is quite obvious that all the girls and women of Panpet village group are very much proud of what they wear on their necks and legs. It was told that young girls aspire to become wearers of those rings when they see their elder sisters and mothers proudly wearing those rings. So when they have got the privilege of wearing them at the proper age, they always take care that those are always bright and clear. The more the number of the rings one could wear, the more proud and delighted a female becomes. And she is truly held in esteem and regard among the young males of the village. The parents of the girls who could wear many of them also could enjoy social privilege of asking for more paying of the bride-price on marrying their offspring to a young man who has to pay it according to the number of rings on his lover's neck. They really attach importance to its number and so it clearly tells how much well prospered the owner is. Similarly, the number of rings a married woman could wear well suggests the financial status of her husband because it has been a usual practice to increase its number as a husband prospers. How much all the females are proud of them is vividly shown by the fact that



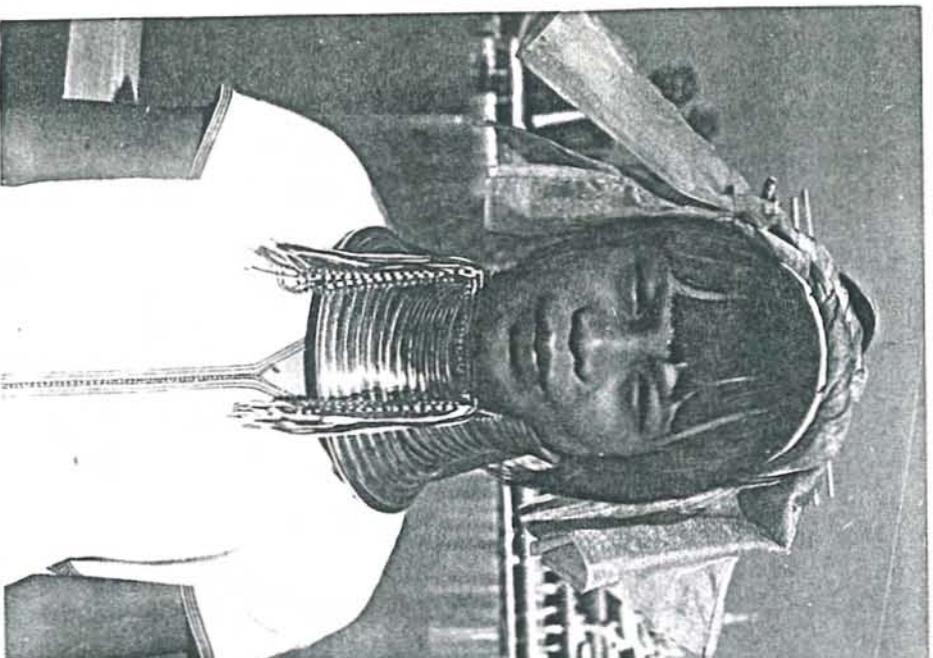
The Girl Who Is Going to Wear Brass Rings



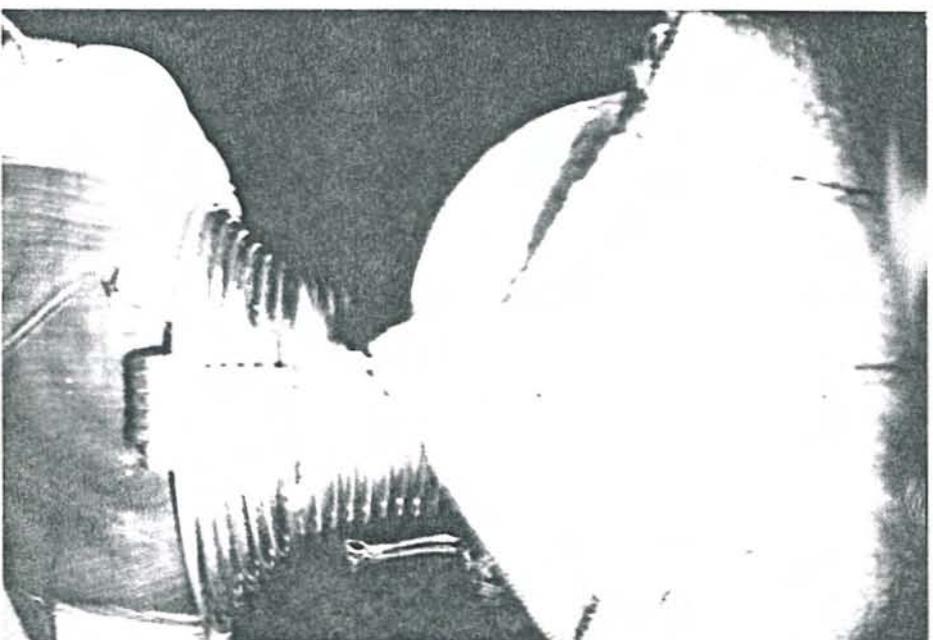
Wearing Brass Rings



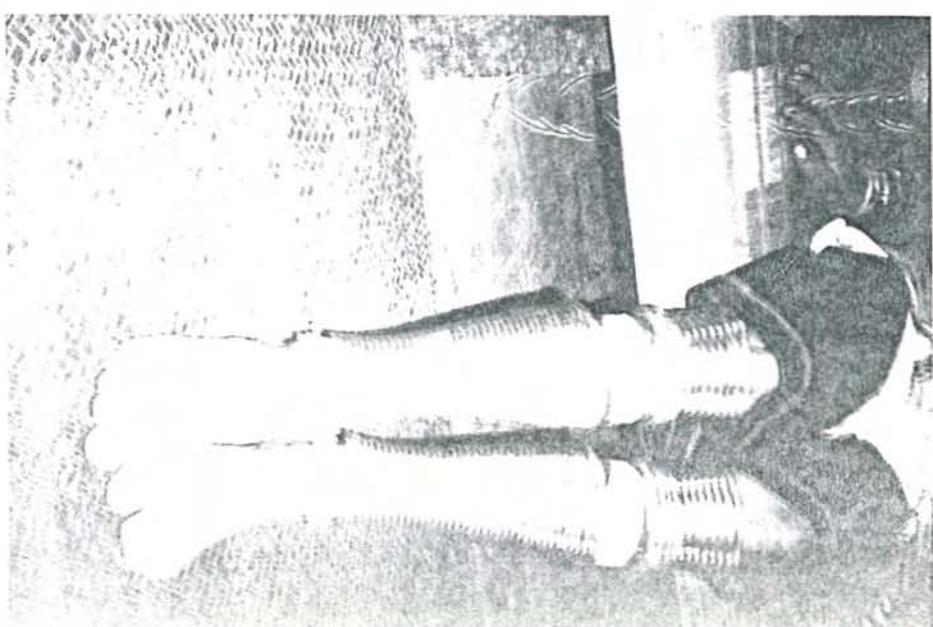
Trimming of Brass Rings



Frontal View



Back-side View



The Brass Rings Around the Legs

even the old women could like to be buried with those rings worn when they die. They used to ask for that right from their family members before they breathe their last breaths.

But here what we could observe is due to the weight of the rings wound up around the neck, the muscles in the neck are stretched out to be about 25 cm longer and the levels of the shoulders lowered. In the same way, it could be seen that the rings on the legs are restraining the development of the muscles and causing the wearer to move clumsily.

(4) Teeth Dying Custom

In olden days, the Kayan ethnic group had the custom of teeth dying of young boys and girls, when they attained the age of puberty. The usual time for teeth dying falls in the months of Nattaw and Pyartho, which is after harvest season. During the teeth-dying ceremony, they abstain from doing things such as fermenting *khaung-ye*, weaving on a loom and going on a journey. The dying process usually takes one-week time. Three days before the dying day, two pavilions, one for girls and the other for boys, are built face to face, somewhere outside the village. The young ones, who are going to get dyed, have to stay only in their respective pavilion and they are not allowed to go across to the other.

A kind of fruit named *swaytar* is used in dying the teeth. Its size is just a little bigger than a seed of pepper and colour yellowish brown. It is a kind of creeper and the young boys, who are going to get their teeth dyed, have to search for those *swaytar* fruits in the forest. When sufficient quantity of them has been collected, they are squeezed into liquid and kept in a bamboo tube. Some lads go on hunting and whatever they get there is sent to the girls'

pavilion to have it cooked. After cooking, the curry is sent back to the lads' pavilion to feast. It is a custom for young men, before teeth dying ceremony begins, to make hairpins out of wood, to give the girls in the opposite pavilion as presents. After the preparations, the date for dying the teeth is fixed and all the ones who are to get dyed have to abstain from eating meat.

The usual starting time of the teeth dying is about nine o'clock in the morning. All the boys and girls who are to take part in this ceremony have to keep a piece of lemon or lime each between their teeth. The person who knows the rules has to check and instruct how to bite the piece of lemon and lime properly. After two hours or so, every girl or boy's teeth are sprinkled with the liquid, which has been prepared for dying. After that, they just carry on with the dying process. The one whose teeth do not dye well has to remain biting the piece of lime or lemon and wait until the proper time comes. The young person whose teeth are dyed is to keep the dying liquid in the mouth for some enough time. After an hour, it is again checked and if they have dyed well, it is finished. If they have not yet, again he or she has to keep the liquid in the mouth for some more time until it has been successful dyed and all the teeth become black. During the dying process, not to get one's lips dyed and to let air pass into the mouth to make the teeth hard again, the lips are set apart by a small bamboo stick. It is learnt that the reason for biting a piece of lemon or lime is to make the teeth softened. When the supervising person thinks that the teeth have dyed well, he takes out the stick set between the two lips.

After the dying ceremony is successfully completed, all the girls and boys in the pavilions are allowed to go back home, into the village. Once they are at the entrance to the village, they are welcomed by the villagers playing

musical instruments such as drums and gongs happily. Then at that moment, the young boys give the girls the hairpins, which they have made in advance. And all the persons who have helped with the chores of the ceremony are treated to a feast by the parents of the boys and girls whose teeth have been just dyed.

But here one interesting custom is a girl or a boy never gets her or his teeth dyed just because of the urging by the parents. They just do it because it is graceful. If one does not have any desire to do so, one is allowed not to take part in the ceremony. But the one who believe that black-coloured teeth are quite graceful, he or she may have second or third time dying when the teeth become less dark. It is learnt, there is only one ceremony of teeth dying in one year in any villages. Now this custom has obviously receded.

(D) Language

The alphabets of the Kayan (Padaung) national resemble those of the Kayah and show a little resemblance with that of the Kayan Kangan (Yinbaw) and Kayan (Gaykho) which are also included in the Kayan tribe. As the villages are quite near to one another, it is natural they all have not much difference in language as well as intonation and ascent. But as for the villages that are quite far away from them, it was learnt that they differ a little bit. However, they could understand each other well when they converse. Though the intonation and emphatic ascents are not the same. Though they have their own language, it was said that, they have adopted some words from other languages. And they have invented new names of their own for the useful things in their daily lives.

The languages are classified by scholars syntactically, which means based on the rules of sentence building. They are basically four in number:

- (1) Monosyllabic
- (2) Incorporating
- (3) Agglutinative
- (4) Inflection

In the languages that are included in the monosyllabic group, there are such words, which have only one unit of pronunciation containing only one vowel sound.

As monosyllabic word never changes in form (not deflected) and stands individually, that kind of language can also be called "individual language". Among these, the Chinese language is the most prominent. In such languages, one does not pay attention to the syntax (the rules of grammar for sentence-building). It is written on page (11) of that book that "As monosyllabic or Chinese or Tibeto-Chinese languages are the ones that should be taken interest in, they have been spread over the Far East and East Asian regions. Apart from the Indo-European languages they are the mostly spoken ones in the world. And they can be divided into several groups such as Mon, Karen, Shan-Chinese, Thai-Chinese and Tibetó-Burman".

Karen group falls into eight categories.

- Group (1) Sagaw, Paku, Wèwau, Monepwa.
- Group (2) Pwo (Tanintharyi and Deltaic areas)
- Group (3) Moepwa
- Group (4) Karen-phyu, Bwè, Brè
- Group (5) Kayah
- Group (6) **Padaung**, Yinbaw, Gaykho

Group (7) Taungthu

Group (8) Zayein

It is learnt that in Myanmar, apart from the Myanmar language, it is the Kayin language that is spoken by the largest number of people. They are also in Thailand. Among the Kayin national, Sakaw and Pwo-kayin live on plains. Among highlander Kayins, the population of Taungthu is the largest. They call themselves "Pa-O", and they live in southern Shan State and Thaton locality.

The Kayah nationals live in the Kayah State. They live in Moe Pye and Kayah State. Karen Phyu, Kayin national live in Taungoo, Kayah State and Yamyethin.*¹

The linguists, in studying the vernaculars of Asia, classify them into two groups: Tibeto-Chinese and Austric. As the languages of Mon, Karen, Taic-Chinese and Tibeto-Burman are classified as Tibeto-Chinese, they assume that vernacular of the Kayan (Padaung) national is included in the Kayin language group. It is said that in Myanmar, the population that speak the Kayin language ranks second to that of the Myanmar language*².

The classification of the languages is done according to the syntax of the sentence of language, as follows:

- (1) Positional or Monosyllabic or Isolating language,
- (2) Incorporating language,
- (3) Agglutinative language,
- (4) Inflectional / Inflexional language.

¹ ဘာသာလောကကျမ်း ၊ စာ ၁ ၊ ဦးဖေမောင်တင် (ရန်ကုန်တက္ကသိုလ်ကျောင်းဆုမ်းကြီးဟောင်း)

² ခေတ်ဟောင်းမြန်မာ့စာပေဝင်၊ စာ ၁၉ - ၂၀၊ သန်းထွန်း၊ M.A, B.L, Ph.D (London).

Mr. H. L. Eales, in the first volume of the Report on the census of Burma of 1891, suggested the classification of the languages of Eastern Asia according to the use or non-use of tones. He thus formulated a new division into polytonic and monotonic languages and arranged them as follows:

- (1) Polytonic – This includes the languages of China, the Tibeo-Burman and the Pre-Chinese languages, the Taic-Shan, Mon Taic, Mon Khamer and Karen, which de Lacouperie (M. Terrien) classifies as pre-Chinese.
- (2) Monotonic – which will include the Aryan, Semitic, and Dravidian family.*³

By judging the above mentioned facts, the Kayan (Padaund) national language is derived from Monosyllabic or Tibeto-Chinese group ,which included in the Kayin group and Polytonic language.

(E) Literature

The Kayan have so far no recorded literature. In the year 1927, Italian missionary Pharso Leed and Carbo Ferry came to Mawbaław, a village in Thandaung Township, the Kayin State and studied the Kayan (Gaykho) national's spoken language before inventing the Kayan alphabets and written form of the language which is based on Latin alphabets.

Then the missionary Italian priest taught all the Kayan national what they had invented. These nationals were the Kayan (Padaung), the Kayan (Kangan) alias Yinbaw and the Kayan (Gaykho). Several books and papers

³ The Upper Burma Gazetteer. p.475, Chapt IX, Part I, Vol. I by J George Scott.

on the Christianity were printed in that newly invented written form, and so it can be justly said that so far the Kayan literature is just only a religious one.

But one interesting thing concerning with their lack of literature or literary works in their own Kayan language is their belief that ~ their Kayan ancestors had once received literature from their guardian spirit but due to their carelessness. So they now have to rely on the traditional methods of fortune telling such as cock-bone and thatch-breaking methods to take guidance for their future, instead of relying on the words of wisdom, which should have been written in their own language since the olden days.

The Kayan Alphabets Invented Basing on Latin Letters

Consonants

Kayan	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Alphalet	a	b	C	d	e	f	g
Pronunciation	<i>aa</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>ae</i>	<i>ae</i> <i>phwe</i>	<i>gyi</i>
Kayan	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
Alphalet	h	I	J	k	l	m	n
Pronunciation	<i>haka</i>	<i>ee</i>	<i>Yae</i>	<i>kpa</i>	<i>ae</i> <i>le</i>	<i>ae</i> <i>me</i>	<i>ae</i> <i>ne</i>
Kayan	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U
Alphalet	o	p	Q	r	s	t	u
Pronunciation	<i>oa</i>	<i>pi</i>	<i>Kyu</i>	<i>aar</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>yu</i>
Kayan	V	W	X	Y	Z		
Alphalet	v	w	X	y	z		
Pronunciation	<i>vae</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>As</i>	<i>wai</i>	<i>zay</i> <i>ta</i>		

Vowels

Kayan Alphabet	A	E	I	O	U
Pronunciation	<i>aa</i>	<i>Ae</i>	<i>ee</i>	<i>oa</i>	<i>yu</i>

In the Kayan literature, there are five vowels, which have their own names and different pronunciations. Moreover, when they are combined, other different pronunciations appear.

There are also six phonetic signs, which can alter the intonations of the original sounds of the five vowels.

1. ($\overset{v}{_}$) This V - shape sign is called *Htaung Dain*.
2. ($\overset{/}{_}$) The name of this right slanting sign is *Htaungzo*.
3. ($\overset{-}{_}$) The name of this straight line sign is *Htaung Sauk*.
4. ($\overset{\wedge}{_}$) This small inverted V - shape sign is called *Htaung Taw*.
5. ($\overset{\backslash}{_}$) The name of this left slanting sign is *Htaung Baw*.
6. ($\overset{\sim}{_}$) This sign which has the shape of a Myanmar alphabet " la " is called *Htaung Swi*.

Some Daily Use Conversations in the Kayan Language

1	Take off your footwear.	Phlāī́ Lantaí Ḱhannhla.
2.	How far this street leads.	Khlāī́ Jǒ bǒn Phlāǒ dǒ mǎ?
3.	There is a forest.	Mi ghaí laí taphâ.
4.	An ant has bitten me.	Dâmjǒ dāsá ei pǎ.
5.	There is fog.	Palhásǔ cēsǔ lan dù.
6.	We beat drums and strike gongs.	Bǎ dàǒ htaǒ daǒ paan.
7.	They start to work late in the morning.	Awithu mǎ blai' tǎ.
8.	Bring back three bundles of paddy.	Pheizei bǎ thú khlǎ.
9.	We don't lend it to strangers.	Prǎ lagǎ pǎ cǒ qa ḱhan.
10.	We are just ordinary people.	Rǎ mè prǎ thajao thajá.
11.	He is not up to standard.	Awi mè pra razǎ radaí.
12.	There are several kinds of trouble.	Tapan' tasǎ ò pǔ mǔ.
13.	Eggplant has been taken off.	Jǎ htanphaǒ ghan mǎ.
14.	We have harvested the paddy crops.	Pǎ sǎrai bá, wai lǒ há.
15.	Give me a part of raw beeswax.	Phí Khǐ hwaikrǎ takǎ.
16.	He knows how to tell fortune by sliced-bamboo method.	Awi gha' hwǎthǎ Bǎbá zan'.
17.	He has broken a hatchet.	Awi mǎgha' tapǎ taba.
18.	He knocked me on my head.	Awi klǎn khǐ khuko.
19.	If one's home is not pure one should not go hunting.	Thi thran', pèkhwa klí.
20.	The fire is dead.	Mí ghai lanprè há.
21.	Donkey resembles mule and horse.	Mjè mè lan lha dò thǎi.

(F) Fortune Telling

Fortune telling is very much alive in the Kayan society. As human beings, it is no wonder they have undying interest in their own selves. But one of the main reasons for fortune telling to become so much alive, they said, is the lack of own literature. The two methods they have relied on through generations are "Cock-Bone method" and "Thatch-Breaking method". The paraphernalia used in these methods are a cock and a piece of sliced bamboo stick.

(1) Cock-Bone Method

Their belief regarding the origin of this custom is - in the olden days, the spirit gave the Kayah national including the Kayans a gold parchment. The Kayah national, unable to read it, exchanged that gold parchment for a silver parchment from the white-skinned youngest brother who, after exchanging, went to the north with the sun. Still the Kayahs were unable to read the silver parchment and again made an exchange for "paper parchment" from the eldest brother, the Chinese. Yet still they were unable to read the words written on those papers and at last made an exchange for a parchment made of leather from the Shan national.

The Kayahs used to take that parchment everywhere they went. One day while they were working on the farm they put it on the stump of a tree, which a dog, thinking it was food, ate it up. When they found out that the leather parchment was lost they made an inquiry about it. But when they got to the dog, which had eaten it, the dog told that it had been turned into dung and that dung was eaten by a pig. Again when they asked the pig about it,

the pig told them like the dog and that his dung had been eaten by a cock. Finally when they met the cock, it confessed that he had eaten the dung of the pig and those letters were now in the bone marrow of its thighs. So the cock told them to take out the bones and find out the answer for anything they wanted to know if there occurred anything important. And thus the Kayahs, including the Kayans, began to believe that the truth given by the spirit was in the bones of the cock and this belief had introduced the custom of that way of fortune telling since.

Another similar belief is that the spirit worshipped by the Kayahs including the Kayans, one day called up all the (101) peoples to deliver the literature for them all. On that day, the Kayahs were blessed with a gold bark of a tree with literature written on it. But as the Kayahs were interested only in work, they put the gold bark on a tree-stump, which was forgotten by them on their return. The next morning, when they searched for it they found only a few pieces of it eaten by white ants at the foot of the stump. So they went to the God and told what had happened to the gold-bark literature whereupon the spirit asked them what had eaten those white ants. They replied that a cock had eaten them all. Then the spirit told the Kayahs that he had already given them the best literature yet they had been careless and it had now become the food for a cock. So if they wanted to know something, the spirit allowed them, told they take out the bones of the cock and find out the answer for that. The spirit of course told them how to carry it out in detail. This story, which tells us about the origin of that peculiar custom of cock-bone method of fortune telling, is what some of them believe to the present day.

The Kayans used to choose good, lucky days for searching the right place of cultivation and for choosing the right place of housing, by using the cock-bone fortune telling method. They never fail to find out which would be suitable for them by applying this custom of cock-bone fortune telling for any matter in their daily life. And in this case, the spiritual leader should be a male who can perform in details. No female is allowed to take the leadership role here.

If a member of the family has fallen ill, to know whether or not any demon or evil spirits are involved, they use this method to find out the answer and for the place and the kind of animal to be used as in the sacrifice offering, if it is needed to do so, for the good of the patient. They strictly obey the instructions, which are produced with this method; for example, if it says a cock is to be offered to the spirit they never hesitate to carry it out. The kind of animal varies from time to time, it is learnt, such as a cock, a hen, a cow or a pig.

Similarly, when there is argument between the two persons or two families, before they go to the court to settle the case, they rely on this custom to find out if the case would come out in their favour. But one interesting point is, in difficult cases, where no substantial evidence is available; both parties agree to accept the "verdict" of this method.

The detail procedure of the cock-bone method for fortune telling runs like this:

A cock is strangled but before it dies all the dung inside is removed through the anus. Then the intestines are cut off from the roots in the body. Afterwards, through the anus, the cock's left thigh is cut off and the tissues are grated off. After that, the lower part of the bone in the thigh is cut off with

a knife and a sliced bamboo stick is pushed through the hole in the bone whereupon the blood inside is forced out. By studying the coming out of the blood, how many holes the bone has can be observed. In this way, the holes in the bone are found out. When all the holes are found out, the ready-made small bamboo sticks, which they got by slicing a bamboo piece, are pushed through them to make markings. In the same way, the right thigh of the cock is treated. Both of the bones each have three or four holes, which is natural. When both of the bones have been made ready in the above-mentioned way, by making comparative study of them, predictions for the problems are at last made. But as each form of location of the bones indicates a certain harbinger, it is necessary to commit them to memory before making a prophecy.

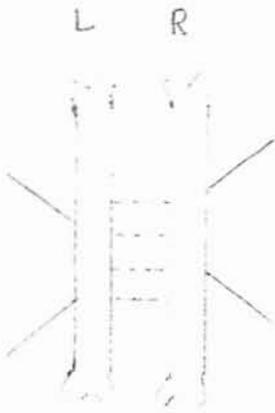
Here are some illustrations showing the connection between the positions of the holes and the specific prophecies to be made.

(2) Thatch - Breaking Method

By breaking the mid-rib of a thatch, to produce prophecy has been one of the two fortune-telling methods, which are very much alive in the Kayan (Padaung) villages. As to how this custom has started, the version runs as follows:

At the beginning stage of this world, there were two suns whose scorching heat had destroyed all the crops cultivated on the earth. One day, the people went to the guardian spirit of the whole earth to ask for the answer of what to do to get a secure life. Where upon, the spirit told them to find out the needed answer by using the method of fortune telling named " Thatch-Breaking Method". They all acted as had been advised and they now got the right answer, which showed the true cause of their trouble. Their answer was

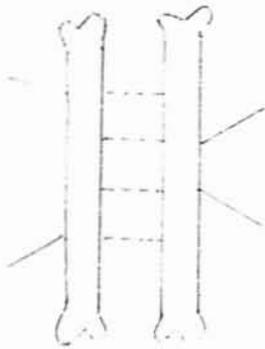
"The Positions of the Holes in the Bones of the Cock"



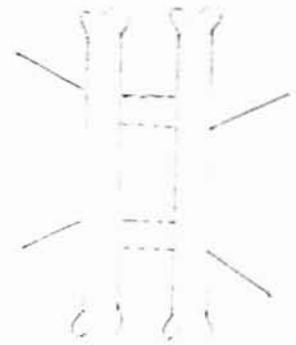
-no disturbance and success



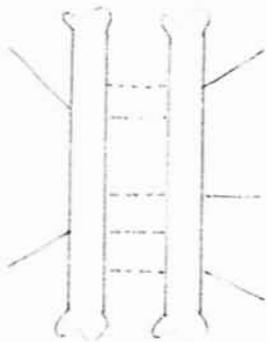
- will success, though there is disturbance



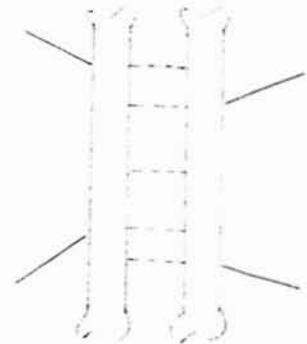
- shows loss (but a little bit)



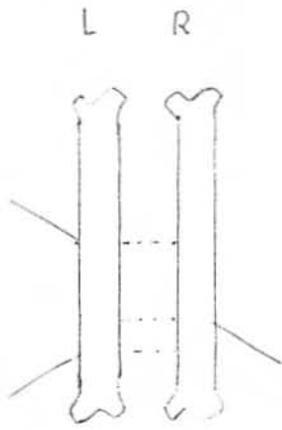
- shows loss (a great deal)



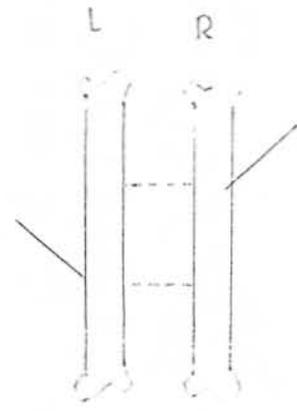
- quarrel, disturbance but there is chance for winning



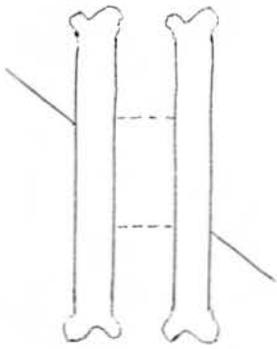
- will encounter enemy and loss



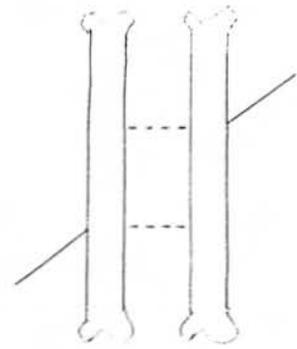
- will be in trouble



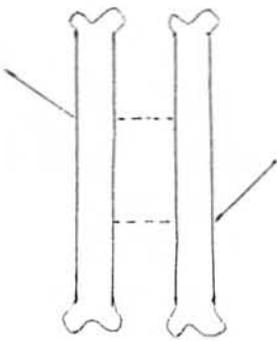
- will be successful in founding the business



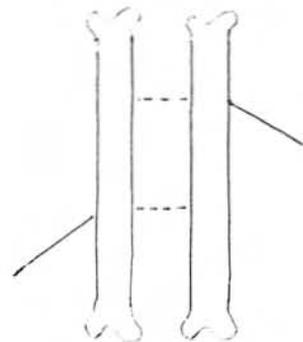
- still there is chance for loss



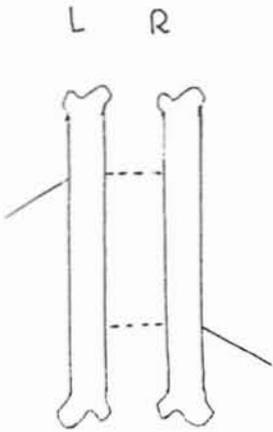
- will get to the top and have success



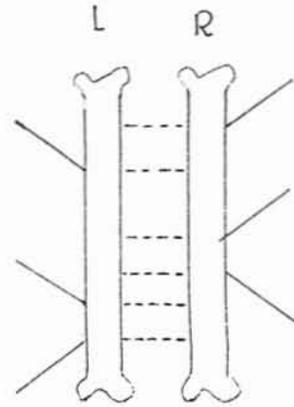
- too much expense



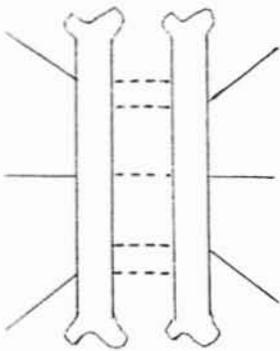
- though difficult, there is chance for easy life



-will be destroyed



-will be attacked with gossip to destroy but there is success



-will be attacked with gossip to destroy and there is loss

In studying the position of the holes in the thighbones of the cock and their associated predictions, we may find that if the hole of the right thighbone is higher than the one in the left bone, there is a good prediction. So their prediction system can be concluded that it is mainly based on the right thighbone of the cock.



Taking Out of a Thigh-bone



Insertion of a Sliced Bamboo Strip into the Hole of the Thigh-bone

" the earth having two suns". So, again they approached the spirit and pleaded with him to render help. Again, the spirit asked them to use the method of breaking the mid-rib of a thatch to find out how to clear away the "surplus sun". They did properly what was told and now knew how to solve it. So they took a crossbow and shot a sun, to get rid of it. The one "sun" which was hit by the arrows in its eyes became blind and could no longer produce scorching heat for the earth. It turned into a moon! Thus, since that time, there had been only one sun and one moon, they believe to this day. Since that time, this thatch breaking method of fortune telling has started, it is believed.

Regarding this, another version is also found to be existing which runs as follows:

On pages 31-32, Chapter (5), Second Part of The Foremost Treatise on Kae-hto-boo Religion, it is written that Phar-Ros Themom got three eggs one day. To hatch them, he asked Phar Dee Klar to calculate and Phaw Thu to make prediction by the method of breaking a thatch-rib for guidance. The two men predicted that to hatch the eggs he had to use two hens, Soh Haw Maw and Soh Haw Phe (Taung Pho and Taung Ma), which had to lay the egg. When done as had been instructed, there came out of the first egg a "thunderbolt", at mid-night, which went up into the sky. Similarly, a mermaid came out from the second egg and a human being from the third one. From that time onwards, the method of fortune telling called "Thatch breaking" has existed.

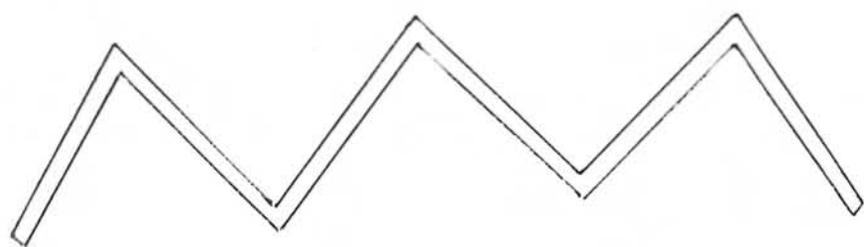
This custom has been very much alive among the Kayans to this day. They always rely on this method to know if their future is good or bad. And it is also found to be used on such occasions when a child is given a name,

when cattle are lost, when cultivation starts. This method of fortune telling, unlike the cock-bone method, can be done by both males and females.

There are two ways of breaking a thatch-rib, before making a prediction. The first one is to break the rib of a thatch into several parts. If the last part is equal to other parts, it says that "it is good" with regard to something they want to know. But if the last part is longer than the previous ones by half, it indicates, "it is not so good". On the contrary, if the last part is shorter than the first ones by half, it means "totally bad". The other way of taking out answers from the signs shown by the thatch is after breaking the rib, you have to count the number of parts you have made; of course it may be "even" number or "odd" one. But it all depends on your "vow", e.g., a "wish" you have made in advance or sworn by all that is holy, to take "even" as a harbinger for "good" or "bad".



Fortune-Telling by Breaking the Thatch



Good



Fair



Bad

who come individually. By looking at the thatches, bamboo leaves and thorns, which are hung in front of the house and the vociferous crowd in it, one can know there is a funeral case.

The corpse is kept for three days before burying; during that time, the guests are treated to several kinds of meat such as cow, buffalo and pig. The neighbours also render help in cooking as well as servicing. The guests, after forming into groups, dance round the corpse the whole night, group after group.

When an old person dies, his or her friends come and sing wailing songs. Mostly, these songs are sung by old women. But as there might be several age groups among these women, the wailing songs are classified into several kinds. The old women sing such wailing songs in which the wording is chosen to suit their age group while younger women use another kind of wailing songs written to suit their age. There are wailing songs to be sung by young men and girls who have attained the age of puberty yet unmarried. The subject matter of a wailing song is about the experiences of a person throughout his life. All these experiences are composed into the form of a song to be sung with a voice choked with emotion.

On the third day, in the morning, the arrangements for attending the funeral are done. To bring out the coffin, the front door is used but not by the ladder formally used by the family; by a temporary one, which was constructed some time earlier than this. In carrying the coffin, the end in which direction the legs of the dead body are placed inside must go first. Again in carrying it to the graveyard, the males must shoulder it. Here also the end of the coffin in which direction the legs are placed inside must go first all along the route. The reason for doing so, they said, is to help the dead

man cut off his or her attachment towards the family and the village.

When it got to the graveyard, a gun is fired just for one time. Then the coffin is put down on the ground and a few drops of *Khaung-ye* are put into the mouth of the dead body while a cooking pot, a *Khaung-ye* pot and a chicken are placed into the coffin. If the family concerned can afford, a cow is divided into two parts and the head-part is put into it also. Then again another gun firing follows. After that, the coffin is lowered into the hole readily dug there for it. This time, the end of the coffin in which the head of the dead person is placed inside must be in the direction of the village. The reason for such placing is to make the dead man unable to come back to the village and cause danger.

All the persons who have accompanied the coffin must throw a handful of earth each into the hollow place into which the coffin had been lowered, saying

"Have a good journey without any worry about the others left behind."

Then the head of the family of the dead person, spreading rice and curry of meat over the burial mound, must say:

"Here I give the food for the ones who were dead earlier; enjoy it and give protection to the one who is just now dead and live together in unity."

After heaping the earth on the coffin, on the mound, all the things which belonged to the dead man when he was alive are put together with a tree-shaped stand where money notes are hung and a box for clothing. And then, around the mound, a diamond shaped design of lattice fences must be placed with a roof. In olden days, the roofing was of bamboo strips or thatch. But nowadays it has become like a custom to use galvanised iron sheets as roofing. So from a distance, the graveyard looks like rows of small houses

with galvanised iron sheets as the roofs. It is learnt that they believe, by putting the food and all the things, which belonged to the dead man, that he would get plenty of food and abundance in the next life. In the same way, providing fence and roof is meant for him to be secure and peaceful in the coming existence. So by judging all these customs, it can be safely said that they have a belief that there is a life after death.

After all these duties concerning with funeral, a gunfire is made, and they all return to the village. But still there is one duty to be assigned to the one who was at the nearest position in the procession and hence the last person to depart. He must strike the little house over the mound with a stick several times and at several places around it, saying:

"You stay here. We're going back now. Don't follow us."

And then he has to throw away the stick. But here one of their customs is ~ all the people who have just come back from the graveyard are not to return home straight. They all must go back to the dead man's former house to wash their hands with the substances that are contained in *Khaung-ye*.

But the funeral ceremony, which usually lasts three days, takes place when they are not occupied with works, and if the dead person died of an ordinary disease. If it happens when they are not convenient or during the time of harvest, they just bury the dead person immediately, without any ceremony.

They also believe that the dead person can make contact with the family members through dreams. If in a dream the dead one says that he has no food and clothing, the members of the family used to put them all in a bamboo basket and leave it in a tree, hanging. By so doing, the dead person really gets what they have given, they believe.

If a man has fallen from a tree or, because of a land-slide, gets buried under the ground or bitten by a certain kind of big game and is dead, it is regarded by them as " **a violent death**". So also for a woman who dies when she is confined. If such violent death occurs at a distant place from the village, the corpse is not taken back to the village. Instead, they bury it just where it has taken place. But a piece of the dead man's clothes, nails of fingers and toes and hair are to be brought back home and put into the coffin for formal practice of funeral ceremony which usually takes three days. Only one thing significant in this case is ~ no gunfire is needed ~ just like in normal case.

If a case of violent death occurs not far away from the village, the dead body is allowed to be taken back into the village. In so carrying, there used to be gunfire at the gate of the village and at the front door of the house. This gun-firing custom is meant to threaten away the evil spirits (ghosts) which might have accompanied the corpse. At that time, in all the houses of the village, thorns are hung in front of them and chillies are set fire to produce smokes. For such kind of violent death also, the funeral ceremony takes three days just like in the normal ones. But here just before taking away the coffin, there must be a gunfire and at the gate of the graveyard another gunfire is needed. And the guests who have accompanied the corpse are to enter the graveyard only through the special place. At that, traditional arrangement by occult means, to banish attachment to the family, are made or the dead man's spirit. On leaving the graveyard area, also they have to use this place as the exit. For the one who has died a violent death, at his or her mound, no food is given and neither fencing nor roofing is done for it also. The coffin is just lowered into the hole readily dug and after heaping earth on it, at the end of

the coffin in which direction the head of the corpse is put, only a flower pot is placed.

After burying and all, the guests who have accompanied the corpse, can go back to the village while the family members and close friends stay behind to watch the traditional practice of occult of banish attachment on the part of the deceased's spirit. It is called "cutting the attachment strand of the spirit". The procedure for this runs as follows:

An 18 feet-long bamboo pole is divided into two parts, one 7 feet-long and another 11 feet-long, which is the topmost part. Those two parts are stood upright together. The leaves are not whittled. The topmost part of the pole is tied with three cotton strands of white, black and red colours, which are one foot long each. While the lower end of those strands are tied to a piece of iron rod. An iron plate is placed about three feet away to which the topmost part could bend down. Cooked rice with curry and *Khaung-ye* are prepared near the bamboo pole dedicated to the dead man.

In summoning the spirit of the dead man, the family members and the close friends of his have to do one by one. They have a belief that only the intimate ones can summon the spirit. Here the person assigned to banish the attachment to the family, by occult means, is the most important. He must be clever, skilled and experienced. His hand must be tied up with nine cotton strands to which a silver coin and a piece of iron are tied. This is a preventive measure as it is harmful to him if he fails to cut the attachment of the spirit to the family members left behind.

When the signal comes just at the right moment, the one assigned to cut, holding a sword in his hand, must be ready at the place where the iron plate is kept. The other one assigned to summon the spirit has to say:

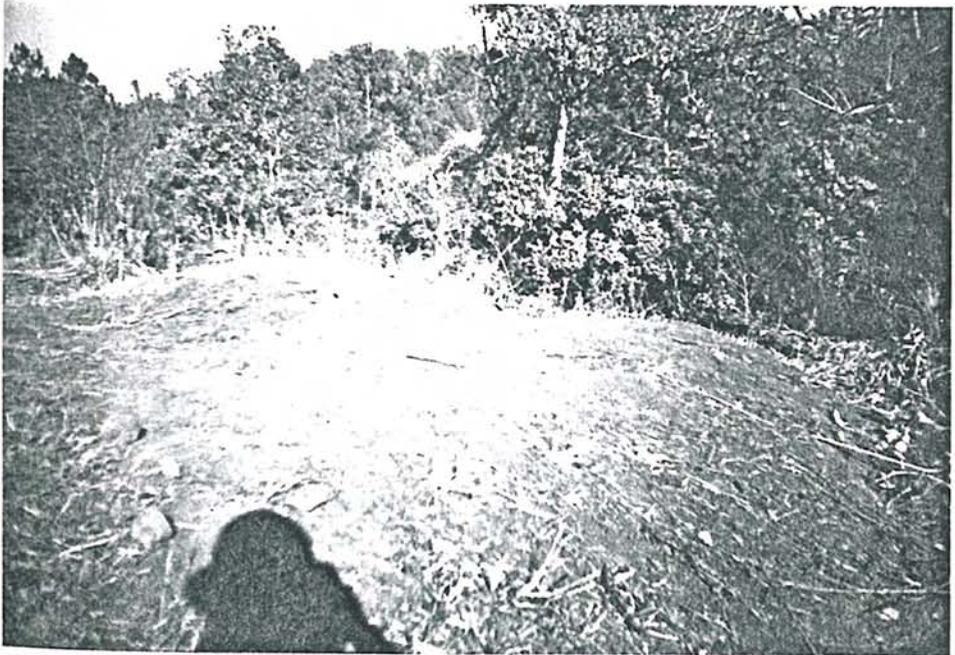
"The one who has died a violent death must stay at the top of the bamboo pole. So, today come and stay here. After that, climb down and have meal with *Khaung-ye*. Come in great haste. Otherwise all the rice and curry will become stale."

But the spirits were not come just after being summoned. So sometimes, they have to try from morning to evening, one by one, until the spirit comes. When it comes, the topmost part of the bamboo bends down, thus bringing with it the piece of iron rod to a lower level, until that iron rod touches the iron plate, kept about three feet away from the foot of the bamboo pole. Just at that moment of touching, the person assigned to cut has to cut the strands with one stroke. If he is not successful, the bending bamboo will go up and never will bend down again however much they try again and again. And this is a bad omen for the village; there will surely be disturbance and another person is going to die a violent death. If he is successful in cutting the "strand of spirit", there will be no more harm to the village. So the person who could successfully cut "the string of spirit" is duly rewarded by the family-head concerned with a cup of rice, a pot of *Khaung-ye*, a chopping hoe and a silver coin to show their thankfulness.

At a funeral for violent death, this custom of "cutting the strand of spirit" plays an important role, according to their custom. This success or failure in cutting has a significant meaning for the fate of the whole family left and the whole village, they earnestly believe. Just as the success can bring relief to the whole village, failure can cause, as they are superstitious, timidity and fright among them. Sometimes the whole village transfers to another place in fright if there will occur a case of failure.



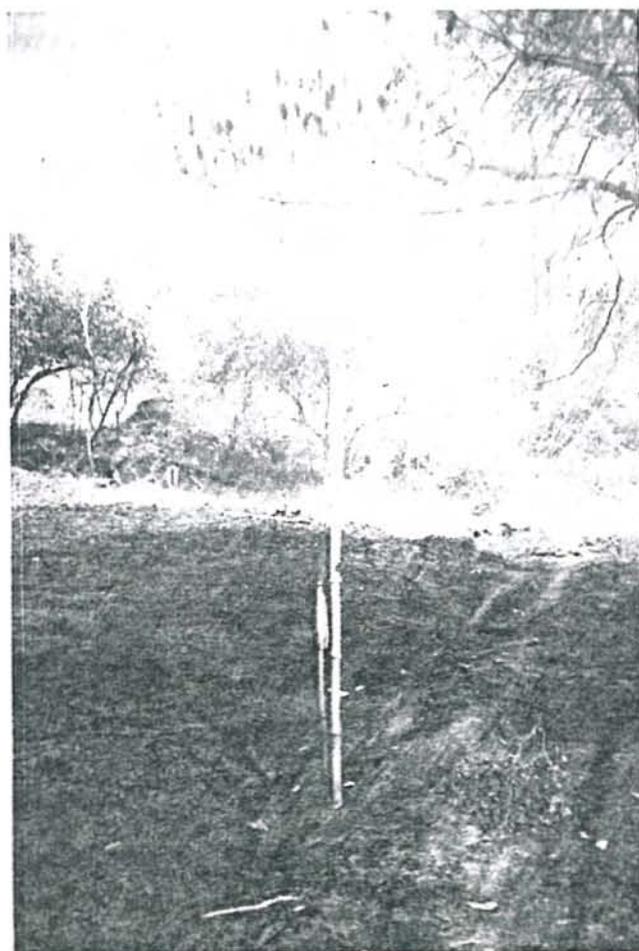
Panpet Graveyard



Violent Death's Mound



"Offering - baskets" to the Expires



"Special Place" to cut the attachment strands.

(M) Diseases and Medicines

As their region is a mountainous one it can be said that it is a malarial area. Due to the scarcity of water, food, plates and their hands are not properly washed, several kinds of cholera also endanger them. Domestic animals such as fowls and pigs are allowed to wander freely and dogs can stay with them in their houses. Moreover, there are no latrines to receive human waste. These factors have been contributing to the existence and spreading of some contagious diseases. Besides the weakness in personal cleanliness, such as irregularity of bathing and no habit of cutting nails have been caused for some skin diseases in their villages.

When they roam about the forests and woods, clear jungles and undergrowth at farming places and go on hunting, they never have footwear and so they are exposed to many dangers especially to the legs, mostly by pointed sticks, thorns and branches which usually cause them to be wounded. But again when they happen to be wounded at the legs and hands, they do not attend to it properly by washing it thoroughly and applying medicines. So the wounds sometimes become serious matters only to be cured by heavy treatments later.

As for home remedies, they compound them out of some herbs and leaves, which have medical properties. For malaria, boiled mixture of species of black turmeric and ginger would take care of it, they believe. Similarly, they believe by taking the broiled tail of a monitor lizard can get rid of the cholera and the drops of liquid got by crushing the leaves of a kind of medical shrub which we call *Bi-sat* (*Eupatorium odoratum*) can cure the wounds caused by slight accidents. And *Kyauk-thway* and the bile of a bear are also included in their traditional medicines. That bile of a bear is the versatile, they believe,

which can cure all diseases. There is also a kind of shrub which has medical properties called *Ta-pin-daing-mya-nan*. These medical shrubs are mostly to be found in their region. But it is learnt that they search for this kind of medical shrub in the forests not to compound medicines but to sell them to others.

(N) Ailment and Treatment

They classify ailment into two kinds: one ~ ordinary and two ~ caused by an evil spirit. If one is ordinarily having ailment, one is cured by traditional treatment. But if it is believed to be caused by an evil spirit, they try to solve this problem by giving offertory to the spirit concerned." possessed by a spirit " is; in their knowledge, a spirit of a human being taken away for some time after being threatened by a guardian spirit or evil spirit. Cutting out a tree which is a dwelling place of a spirit, misbehaving in the forests which arouses the anger of the guardian spirit of a forest or mountain and trespassing the area which is holy or something ~ all these wrong-doings can result in a state of " being possessed by a spirit ", they all believe.

When one of the villagers falls ill, they first of all go and consult the shaman of the village. Among them, shaman has the dignified role of a doctor, it is learnt. The shaman is the one who has to judge first and foremost whether or not it is an ordinary illness. How this man finds out the answer for a client is interesting: ~ he puts, on his palm, nine pieces of thatches or nine bamboo strips or nine grains of rice, and after reciting traditional verses, blow them away with his mouth. If one of the things is blown away into the air and gets to a place, that direction shows the place where the spirit, who has given

his client that illness, lives. If none of them could be blown by air and there remain on the palm, not any kind of spirit is involved in the case.

When it is judged as the ordinary fever, the shaman puts seven grains of rice into the head of the patient and recites the verses. Only after that, the patient is given the necessary traditional medicines. But if it is regarded as a case involved with certain kind of spirit, the shaman tries to get contact with that spirit and makes arrangement to summon the spirit of the patient which has been taken away by him. That ritual and pleading with the evil spirit is done at home.

In summoning the patient's spirit, a fowl or an egg has to be offered to the spirit concerned, and the shaman has to say: " Please return the spirit of this so-and-so person with kindness, by using a rope or a bamboo. " Yet ~ the spirit of the patient would be returned or not is still not sure. They again have to consult the fortune-telling method of " cock-bone ". Only when the prediction comes out that it would be returned, they can rest that it will. Otherwise ~ if the prediction gives a negative answer, it is a hopeless case, they believe.

Still, after the ritual for summoning the patient's spirit, if the patient is in bad condition, the shaman has to try again to get contact with the guardian spirit, and plead with him or her. If there is a demand for a specific kind of animal to be offered to him by the spirit, that animal is killed and taken to the place where the patient has misbehaved. The animal can be killed by any weapon but its flesh must be mixed with rice and cooked in a bamboo tube. When cooked, those flesh and rice must be packed in the leaves of banana and spread to many places, saying, " We here have offered you what you are fond of; please have it as your wish, and then let the spirit of the patient be



Offertory To the "Spirits" Concerned with the Patient

free and give your kind protection to the patient. " After all these, all the persons present there must have them all without leaving any. But a female with menses is not allowed to have it.

In so doing, the kind of animal to be offered depends upon the demand of the spirit and the situation of the patient. Sometimes, a fowl or a pig is not effective. Even a buffalo has to be offered depending on the case. But if the shaman finds out that the guardian spirit of something, which has given all that trouble is very angry and cannot forgive the patient, he immediately returns home after surrendering the case. If a man is seriously ill and presumed to be dying, the relatives and friends of the patient come to him and serve with rice and *Khaung-ye* as the last time.

If the patient is cured under the guidance of the shaman, then a ceremony of " bless giving " must be held for him or her. At that ceremony, three old men and three old women are invited and serve with the cooked rice and *Khaung-ye*. These old people have to tie the right hand of the patient, who has just recovered with three or five or seven numbers (it must be an odd number) of white cotton strands, praying for his health and giving blessing for his prosperity and fulfilling of his or her wishes. The shaman must be given at that time, as the fee for his treatment and contribution to that recovery, rice, a chicken and *Khaung-ye*.

(O) Funeral Custom

As has been mentioned in the previous chapter, they have a custom of choosing the place of graveyard when they choose for a site for the new village. The graveyard is now on the west of the Panpet village group. But

they never cremate a dead body; only bury it in the ground.

If they judge that someone is incurably stricken with some disease and dying, they all sit round him or her and watch quietly. To check him or her if he or she is really dead, some place a cotton wool just at the opening of the nose while others check the pulse at the wrist. If there is no air and no pulse, they take it as a "death" case.

According to their custom, the dead body must be given a bath only in the morning; not in the afternoon. In so doing, a bamboo tube must be used as a cup. Bathing process must be started from the lower part of the body. After bathing, it must be dressed with new clothing, its every finger must be worn by a silver ring each, the two feet must also be worn with silver footwear, the head must be worn round by a towel as a turban, into its mouth a silver coin must be put, and then if a coffin is ready the dead body must be put in it; if not, it must be wrapped up by a mat and put on a raised bamboo platform in the sitting room. As for a coffin, they use a round log carved out into a coffin form or make a coffin by pine-wood planks. At the place in the direction of the dead body's head, for the meal, cooked rice, *Khaung-ye* and a chicken tied to a pole must be placed. And around the body, the dead man's clothing and rugs are hung. If the dead man is a male, his harrow, chopping hoe, sword and plough; if a female, her bamboo tray, bamboo basket, spinning wheel, shuttle casing are also hung beside the corpse. All these things are to be buried along with the dead body in the graveyard.

According to their custom, when a man dies, ceremonial ' *phar-s*', gong, pack-bull bell are beaten at least three times during the day time and another three times in the evening. On such days, the host invites the relatives far and near who usually come in- groups. But there are also some

(1) Pregnancy

The Kayans pay special attention to the pregnant women and take care of them. The pregnant women are never given heavy tasks to perform. And they are taught "taboo" and "mana" of a pregnant woman, according to their customs.

A pregnant woman must not look at a snake and a monkey; by looking at a snake, the baby to be born will have the habit of thrusting out the tongue like a snake and by looking at a monkey, it will acquire the habit of playing like a monkey. Then, other "taboo" are; she must not cut off a tree wrapped up by a creeper; she must not wash a bag; she must not sew up a hole in a pillow; she must not sit blocking the door of a house. Denying to obey them would mean unfortunate experience in confinement, they all believe.

In this way, as for the meals, a pregnant woman must abstain from taking a medicine compounded with the roots of a tree or a bamboo. For health sake, she must not take too much of any dietary item that increases heat in one's system and that has peppery taste. And she must also avoid eating the flesh of turtle, gibbon and egg, twin-banana and plantain bud. If she has taken the flesh of a turtle, she may face with difficulty in confinement in such a way that the baby will keep on going in and out, just like the head of the animal. So also, if that is the flesh of a gibbon that she has taken, she will again meet disturbance in confinement. As a gibbon is a shy and coward animal and its hands and legs are very firm, during confinement, the baby may cling to something very firmly and it will cause danger to the mother. And similarly, the egg will give the mother another kind of trouble; the placenta of the baby will be just like an egg. The twin-banana of course will make the

ther have twins; the plantain bud will also cause the placenta to be just like it.

Not only for the pregnant women, there are also some "taboo" for their husbands during that period. They must not dig up the ground, take any food from a house of funeral and take fermented Soya-bean as food. If they don't obey these, the newly born baby will be frequently ill. Then he must avoid from cutting a plant fibre because it will make the lips of the baby turned up. Moreover, he must not touch any trap made of lacquer tree for it will cause the mother's worm sticky like lacquer, and again like a trap that detains animals, she will suffer the similar trouble in confinement.

One month before the confinement, a pregnant woman prepares to have a smoked dry eel ready. If any trouble occurs in confining period, she would take it because it is their belief that the baby will slide out just like an eel. They always collect everything they would need in advance and they take care of themselves to have an easy confinement.

When the confinement time draws near, some experienced hands and some of her female relatives come and take care of her closely. There is a mid-wife from state health department in the Panpet village group. The pregnant women, starting from their early days to near confinement time, pay regular visits to that mid-wife. Two or three local midwives also come to them and give briefing on the subject.

(J) Confinement

The Kayans mostly take help from the local midwives when the confinement periods arrive. Only sometimes, when these local hands are ill and the state midwife is away at a distant place, their husbands carry out the duty of midwife themselves in confining period. The pregnant who is just about to confine has to bite her own hair which is smeared with soot and salt. At the place in the direction of her head, there is a rope hung from the beam of the house. If she pulls it and tries to be confined it would be much easier for her to give birth to a child, they believe.

When the baby is totally out of its mother's womb, the placenta must be cut by the outer rind of a bamboo and after giving it a bath and then wrapping up with a piece of cloth to be warm, it is finally put in a bamboo tube. Then the placenta must be washed with hot water until it is perfectly clean. They have a belief that if the placenta is not thoroughly washed, the baby would be ugly as well as sickly. The placenta is now in a bamboo tube with a joint at one end, which is tied with a rope to one of the corner poles of the house. Before that bamboo tube is kept there, its open end is smeared with ash or lime and well closed. If it is not secure, ants, termites and flies enter it, then the baby will cry too much and be frightened often and ill, they so believe. So if the baby shows these signs, they used to check the bamboo tube if it is well done or not. But it is also learnt that some people dig up a hole in the ground and bury it usually at the near of the house.

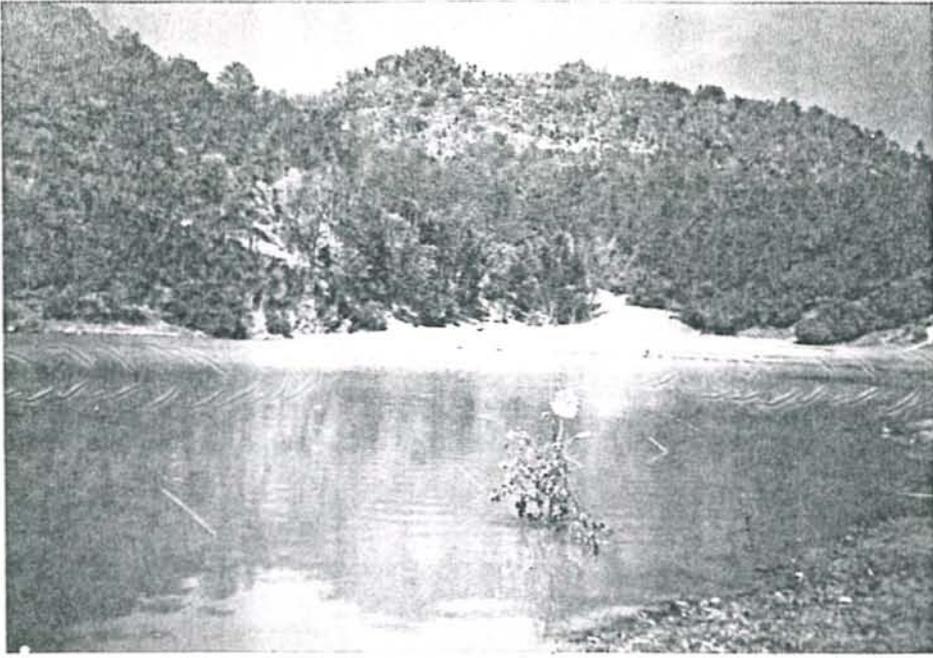
After giving birth to a baby successfully, the mother takes a rest for a while and gets traditional heat treatment by warming herself at heated blocks of rock which she has collected during her early pregnant days. These rocks

are piled up at the rear of the house, a little to the right of it, before they are used.

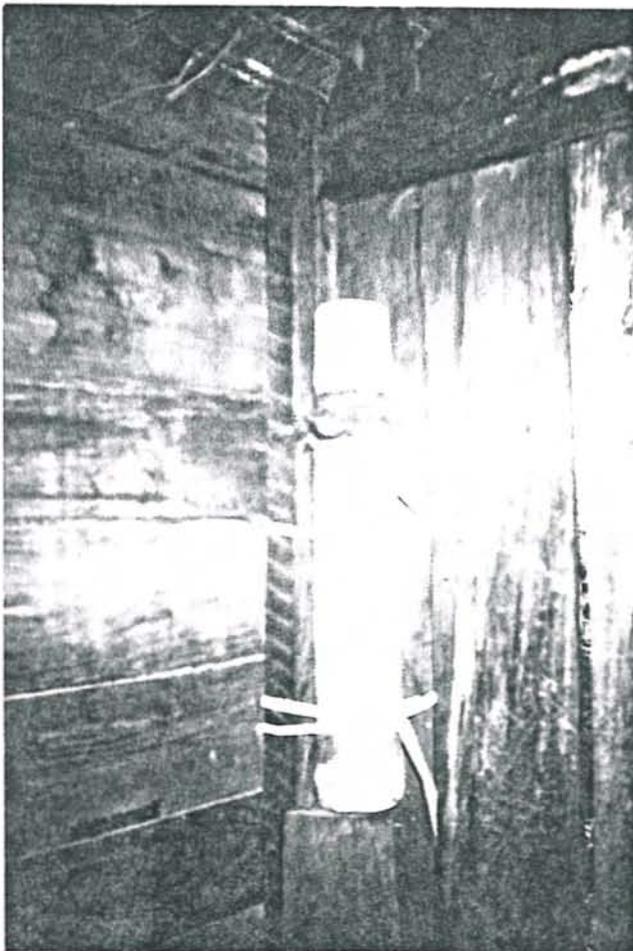
This is how a woman who has just come out of confinement gets traditional heat treatment: first of all, a rock of about six inches square is set fire in which the firewood is basil (*cinum canum*) or *kaw*, which are hard woods, until they get reddened. After that the heated rock is put into a pot of water and she has to sit just above that, shielded by rug or mats all around her, only open at the top large enough for a head to pass through, for ventilation. By getting this treatment she becomes free of impure blood and any wound she has got in giving birth to the baby, gets quickly healed, they believe. This traditional heat treatment is given for days, three weeks after giving birth.

The mother takes the baby nowhere within one month. Only after one month or so, she takes it to the nearby houses or friendly persons. Then the host has to give the baby a chicken and a few currency notes as present, which is called in their language *Thatha-ee*.

The woman, who has just given birth to a child and is still getting the traditional heat treatment, is not allowed to use some household things such as pot, cooking pot, pot of curry and firewood the whole family has been using. For her, separate arrangement has to be made for her daily use. Even there must be a separate kitchen for her. Let alone the woman, who has just given birth to a child, any female within menses period is not allowed to have a meal with other members of the family. She must also use separate kitchen for cooking. The reason for that, they said, is not to cause any harm to the family. Of course, for a woman, who has just given birth and is still under traditional heat treatment, it is more restrict. She must not get drinking water



"Secluded lake" for a Woman in Confinement



"Bamboo-tube" to Keep for the Infant's Placenta.

at the lakeside drinking water fetching place. If a place has been used to fetch drinking water for her, it has to be marked by a bamboo fence, as an indication for others not to use the place.

Except the people who had given help when she was confined, nobody is allowed to enter her room. Even to her house no friend or stranger or relative is allowed to pay a visit. In olden days, if there was a woman who was confined in the village, all the rest villagers had to stop their farm works; her husband had to abstain from going on hunting also.

(K) Naming

According to their custom, a naming ceremony is held for a child who has attained the age of from one month to six months. But before holding it, they usually consult a man who is versed in traditional fortune-telling method of "Thatch-breaking". Depending upon the prediction made by the fortune-teller, the child is given a name. In so giving, the name is usually taken from the names of grandfathers or grandmothers either from the father's or the mother's side. The reason for such taking old names is, they said, just to show their ancestry. If that is a boy, its name starts with a "La"; or if it is a girl, its name usually starts with "Mu". But nowadays, for boys, instead of "La", "Khu" is being used. Yet, "Khu" is given, in most of the families, to a middle son. And there is also a custom of giving names to indicate whether he is the first son or the second son or so on.

Male		Female	
First son	Lane	First daughter	Mo
Second son	Kaw	Second daughter	Ngay
Third son	Ngè	Third daughter	Ngay
The youngest son	Nan	The youngest daughter	Nan

If, after the name has been given, within a few days, the child has been crying too much or fallen ill, they take it as a sign of "wrong name" and try to give another one, again after consulting the fortune-teller. The villagers of the "Kateku" village unit, in the Panpet village group, are Christians and accordingly they do not give the traditional names to the child; instead, they take it to their priest to be christened. On the day of name giving, some relatives and friends give the child a chicken or a small bird or a few amount of money as present.

When the children attain the proper age to attend school, some parents used to give them Myanmar names but most of them being just simple ones such as Maung Win, Maung Hla, Ma Mya, Ma Phyu.

It is also learnt that the Kayans have different names to be called according to their ages, as follows:

Lexicon	Kayan (Padaung)
Newly-born baby	Pi-ser-lain
From age (1) to (7)	Pi-ser-phon
From age (7) to (12)	Pi-ser-laung
Young unmarried man	Pat-laung
Young unmarried woman	Mat-laing
Middle age (male / female)	Nam-don
Old man	Pat-kra
Old woman	Mat-kra

(L) Childhood and Education

The young children are found to be grown affectionately by their parents and elders. If mother is busy father attends to them tenderly and fondly. Again when father is occupied with something, sister or brother carries it on the back, slung across the shoulder lovingly and tenderly. The infants are breast-fed; whenever they cry they are immediately attended, soothed tenderly, and during the time of illness, mothers throw away their works and attend to them. But, since they practise patrilocal family system, boys are more fond of than girls.

The Kayan (Padaung) mothers usually breast-feed their babies up to their age of eight months. Only when the baby is deprived of mother's milk for various reasons or when it can possibly be left to the others' care, they go to farm works. When a baby is weaned, it is accustomed to *Khaung-ye*; sometime, to expedite the matter of weaning, rice gruel is fed. At the age of one and half or two and half utmost, they are sent to their grandfathers or grandmothers while parents are attending to farm works. The old man or the woman who is no longer occupied with farm works attends to the baby until the parents return from work and take it back.

When an infant gradually reaches an age and it is able to identify people around it, its grandfather or grandmother tells it traditional folk tales, proverbs and about the ancestors, for relief of boredom or knowledge. In the folk-tales, the characters are mostly animals and birds, and the subjects are sometimes about forests, mountains, rivers and lands. But the themes are usually meant to promote moral principles, bravery, strength and sturdiness of mind. Nevertheless, when nature is dealt, forces controlling the events of

physical world, such as rain falling, thunder, flash of lightning, thunderclap and so on are revealed in their own traditional beliefs.

At the age of seven or eight, the boys begin working with their fathers at farms to help with the duties as much as they can. When they become about ten years old, they help with clearing forests and undergrowth at their farm places and burning the bushes. When at home, they are taught by their grandfathers how to plait cane or bamboo baskets with slings and mats also.

The young girls, at the age of five or six, have to look after the younger brother or sister by carrying him or her on the back, slung across the shoulder. Sometimes, the girls of the same age go into the forest to collect vegetables and bamboo shoots. The drinking water has to be fetched from the lake, which is at the back of the village. When they go for drinking water, they usually go in-group, some of them five and the others ten, with baskets slung around their foreheads, in which are bamboo tubes with joints at one end. As in this way they have led a social life by working together with others, since they were young, and they have adopted community and family spirit, I presume. All the girls, starting from the age ten or eleven, learn all the crafts what a woman in the Kayan (Padaung) society is expected to master. Apart from the farm work which is a traditional livelihood, they are to be taught lessons in home works such as cotton dyeing, weaving on a back-strap loom and cooking etc. It is their way of teaching their youths by employing them as practical hands in their traditional works.

The youths seem to have less chance to sway from their parents and a little time for leisure even. So when they have this rare chance of enjoying it, They used to have a wonderful time by having a chat under a big tree in its shade or playing with tops or playing tag. While at play, boys and girls form

separate groups. In case of quarrelling, they are brought back home and admonished by parents to behave well next time. If they disobey, they are beaten by their fathers.

Since they have been accustomed to *Khaung-ye* from the time they were weaned as babies, the boys start to drink liquor at the age of the ten to twelve. As for the girls, though they like *Khaung-ye* they are rarely found to be drinking liquor. And they don't seem to acquire the habit of smoking and chewing of betel quid until they reach the age of 12.

The young boys of the Panpet village group have worked joining hands with their elders for living since they were very young. So if they are not competent in these farm works they are despised. So also the young women are despised if they lack skill in home works and weaving on back-strap looms.

Accordingly, both young males and females have tried to be competent in all their works since they were young. The parents and elders train their sons to be of manly character and brave; the girls to be gentle with poise. So in their society, there are no tomboys nor sissies and also no mentally deranged persons, vagabonds and bastard children. Though very few physically deformed young persons are found there, they are not outcast but treated equally as others.

Before the British administration, there were no schools at all in their villages. So the Kayan boys and girls had no chance to have modern education and they were taught only to become good farmers and the ones competent in home-works. Only during the British rule, the missionary schools came to exist and farsighted parents sent their offspring, at the age of the seven or eight to those schools. Only during the vacation, they were

given traditional crafts while making them work with the parents and elders at farms. Still there were no enough schools for every village and all the young boys and girls did not have the opportunity to have modern education. Only the young persons of the villages, which had schools, and others who lived nearby could go to schools to learn. Yet, the schools were only of primary level. When they have finished learning, they got to return to their traditional works full-time. But nowadays, there are State Primary and Middle Schools in their village group and the boys and girls have acquired the opportunity to have modern education more than ever. Some of the intelligent parents who could afford send their sons and daughters to the city, State High Schools after passing the middle school standards. Now in their village group, there is a State Primary School in Ronkhu village unit and another is called The Panpet State Primary School.

No.	Name of School	Teachers	Students		Total
			Male	Female	
1	Ronkhu State Primary School	3	30	20	50
2	Panpet State Primary School	3	25	15	40

Table Showing the Number of Schools, Teachers and Students (1998)



Kayan (Padaung) Boy



Kayan (Padaung) Girl



Children, Who are Going to Fetch Water



State Primary School (Ronkhu)

Chapter 4

Social Organization

(A) Forms of Family

Family is the basic social organization. One or more men living with one or more women in a socially sanctioned and more or less enduring sex relationship with socially recognized rights and obligations, together with their offspring. There are four types of families;

1. Nuclear Family
2. Extended Family
3. Joint Family
4. Compound Family

In the Kayan families of the Panpet village group father is the head of the family and the most influential person of all that is the patriarchal type of family. All the offspring pay more respect to their father rather than mother and of course more afraid of him also. On studying the prevailing type of the family, generally, there is the **nuclear family** type. But when sons get married, these nuclear families become **joint family** type. According to their custom, when the eldest son gets married, he never leaves his parents and gets away at least until the next is married. Only when the second son becomes a married person, the eldest son may leave his parents' home and seek a separate family life. In the same way, only when the third son gets married and lives together with his parents, the second son moves away to other place to have a separate living. So, it may be generally said that until

the youngest son or the last one to get married takes care of the parents by living together with them, the elder sons or the first ones to get married have to stay for some years with their parents, looking after them. Thus, we may conclude that since the first son gets married a Kayan family becomes a joint family type.

Even when the two nuclear families are combined to form a joint family type, father is still the head of the family and the most influential one. The two families, those of father and son, share all the sources of income as the common property of all. When father expires, mother takes his place to become the influential leader of the group. And when both parents pass away, the eldest son has the customary right to that role of the leadership.

When a daughter gets married, she has to move to her husband's house where her parents-in-law are living as they practise the **patrilocal** system. Hence, when a mother becomes old, she usually lives with her youngest son's family in her own house, or sometimes, she may move to other son's house.

It is learnt that all the Kayan (Padaung) families at the Panpet village group are living in amity and unity. Husband and wife are also found to be fond of each other. Parents dearly love their offspring. Especially, the Kayan mothers have special loving kindness towards their children. Until the newly born baby attains the age of eight months, mother never goes out to farm work. She is always there with her baby to properly raise it, taking utmost care. Only when it is no longer breast-fed or it can be left with others, she goes to farm work. If they don't have any offspring of their own, they adopt other people's children.

(B) Kinship System and Kinship Terms

For the Kayans who have no literary works in their language, kinship plays an important part. Generally, they look back the line of descendants up to many generations. Regard for a person depends upon the closeness of relationship. On occasions of sorrow or rejoicing, only the relatives have the customary right to take part. Laws are enacted and prohibitions are prescribed based on the customary way or relationship.

We might say that there are three kinds of kinship system forming in the Kayan's society of the Panpet Village Group namely kinship by **blood**, kinship by **marriage** and kinship by **adoption**.

Again, when we study the "kinship by blood" of them, we could see that it has been a **patrilineal** kinship and not a matrilineal one.

Though there has been a custom of **patrilineal joint family** we find that they are very friendly with the relatives on the maternal side also. Again in spite of the friendly relationship with the relatives of the maternal side we have seen that only the relatives of the paternal side get more customary rights. In social, economic and religious affairs, we find that these relatives co-operate with each other in unity, using whatever financial and manpower they could organize. It is also learnt that they have a culture where the younger ones pay respect to the elders in their society.

When we study "kinship by marriage" of them we find that the relationship between the relatives of both sides are quite friendly, understanding and united. Similarly, the relationship between the parents of a husband and those of a wife are very smooth based on the principle of paying respect to the elders. There has been no class discrimination and the

relationship between sisters-in-law is also very friendly based on understanding.

When we study their "kinship by adoption" we might find that they adopt both boys and girls; but what we should say here is they give the first priority to the boys, especially those from a husband's side. Besides, as they have **patrilineal descent system**. Sons by blood relation have the same privilege with those adopted sons and daughters by blood relation, cousins and relatives treat with the adopted sons very well and these adopted ones could get the equal amount of share of an inheritance.

Among the Kayans of the Panpet village group, when a man and a woman get married, the female becomes one of the relatives on her husband's side. Their offspring too are regarded as relatives on their father's side. For instance, if a male from the *Tape* clan is married to a girl from *Saung* clan, their offspring will become members of the *Tape* clan. Similarly, if a girl from the *Tape* clan marries a man from the *Tar* clan, their children will become the members of the *Tar* clan.

And it is also an interesting custom that they used to count the number of relatives only on the father's side i.e., **patrilineal** system. They are usually able to count back up to the ten generations of the lineage on the paternal side while they can do so up to only one or two generations on the mother's. For example, Laywe is the son of Lakalein and Lakalein is the son of Lakhwan and Lakhwan is the son of Lakwi and Lakwi is the son of Lahtan and Lahtan is the son of Lakay and Lakay is the son of Lalauk and Lalauk is the son of Lalon etc. up to (10) generations.

Lalon
↓
Lalauk
↓
Lakay
↓
Lahtan
↓
Lakhwi
↓
Laphaw
↓
Lakwi
↓
Lakhwan (Grandpa) + Munan (Grandma)
↓
Lakalein (Father + Muk-de (Mother))
↓
Laywe

After thus noting down their ancestors, to show their ancestral history, a column with the names of their ancestors is built which is usually placed on a hill just outside the village. The reason for erecting such a column as a monument is their desire to keep alive the memory of their ancestors and also to leave the record for the coming generations.

How relatives are addressed in a society plays an important role in reciprocal relations between the relatives and family members. Of course, the way a relative is addressed is essentially an indication how he or she should be treated. In anthropology, two kinds of Term exist based on the two different customary practices:

- (1) Descriptive Term
- (2) Classificatory Term

As for the Kayans of the Panpet village group, it is learnt that they use the **descriptive terms**, basically, while sometimes only the classificatory terms are applied. And there is no difference in respect of addressing the bilateral relatives, i.e. on both sides. The traditional practice of them regarding family life clearly shows that they have patrilineal and patrilocal characteristics. But all the bilateral relatives are regarded as 'close ones'.

(C) Puberty

Among the villagers of the Panpet village group, it is generally regarded the age of puberty for young males is 15 or 16 while female ones 14 or 15. The usual meeting times for the young males and females are during the wedding ceremony, house-warming ceremony, market-day and at farm works. In olden days, in the villages of the Kayans, there usually was a place of refuge or bachelor house for young males called "Haw". In that building, about 20 or 30 bachelors were living. The place of refuge, which could accommodate up to 40 of them, was the biggest type. A young man who had attained the age of 15 or 16 was entitled to live there. At day times, they were

at their farm works and returned to the common place of refuge for them after work. But for their meals, they usually had them at their homes where their families lived. The leader of the place of refuge for bachelors was confirmed bachelor or widower. When a bachelor member got married, he had no more right to live there.

The young men had to spend most of their daytime at farms and only during the leisure time in the evenings they could pay visit to the young girls they liked. It is their custom for the girls to accept the visits made by them. So, sometimes there may be three or four of them at the gate of the same girl's house for courting. There was no jealousy among them. If a young man was already there with the girl, the others, latecomers retreated. The young man who is courting her has to sit and talk with the girl only by the fireplace, which is in the sitting room. The young man usually shows his love for her by gesture or suggestive words. The parents of the girl also have to welcome the young man and sit down and talk with him in the sitting room. But mostly the parents listen to what their daughter and the young man were talking about from behind the walls of the sitting room. Sometimes the young man spends the whole night talking with the girl; only at dawn, he departs and goes to farm work.

During the courting period, when the young man has got the favour from the girl, he goes to the farm where she is working and helps with her works having a delightful chat. Similarly, the girl also goes to the young man's farm at day times to help with his works there. The relationship between the young men and young girls is open and sincere. Though they could enjoy private meeting, they are always faithful and never commit sexual relation before they get married.

(D) Rules of Choice of Marriage Partner

In making a choice for the marriage partner, the parents and guardians concerned usually take the leading role. But there are also instances when the youths make their own choice. Even they turn down their parents' choice if they can't accept them. So also the parents could refuse to accept their daughter's choices. But the girls or the young men usually try to get consent from their parents before they marry. Here, according to their custom, the principle person who has to make the final decision with regard to the marriage partner is the father concerned. When father dies, mother can take this role. Only when mother has passed away, the elder brother or the younger brother of father, i.e. uncle, can make this decision and give permission.

Here are the preferential rules adopted by the Kayans regarding the marriage:

- (1) Marriage permission is given only when the young man is competent in hunting, cultivation work, clearing cultivation land and small trees as a hillside cultivator and basket plaiting with bamboo.
- (2) As for the girls, they must be competent in weaving on a back-strap loom, making earthen pots, spinning, gathering firewood and fetching water.
- (3) Before marriage, the consent of the parents from both sides must be obtained.
- (4) If the couple who are going to get married are between the descendants of niece and the descendants of her uncle or between the descendants of nephew and that of the aunt are not allowed to marry. If they fail to obey it, the couple is called *Vaung* and they are to be

(8) If the elder brother dies, the younger brother can marry the wife of his elder brother. Similarly, if the younger brother dies, the elder has the right to marry the widow of his younger brother. In other words, **levirate system** is allowed among them. But if the elder brother is married to the elder sister, the younger brother is not allowed to marry the younger sister of his brother's wife. For a man, no matter his wife is dead or alive, he cannot marry the younger or elder sister of his wife. If he breaks this rule, he is called *Pra-aik*, who would cause the relations to be harmful. It means that "Sororate system" is not practised according to their custom. So they practise both the **endogamy and exogamy marriage system**.

(9) There are two lineages of shaman called "Ee-lu-fu" and "Kae-fu". Ee-lu-fu lineage has the customary right to take charge of the ritual at "Kae-htoo-boo" ceremony while "Kae-fu" lineage has only the duty to take charge of the ritual for the guardian spirit of mountains and forests. Cross-marriage between the descendants of the two lineages is not allowed because "Ee-lu-fu" lineage is superior than "Kae-fu" lineage.

(E) Betrothal

Betrothal plays an important role in marriage matters among the Kayans. The elders responsible for the decision regarding the marriage first make enquiry about the generation of the girl's side and if they find nothing to disapprove, they send a matchmaker who would act as a go-between, to the family from the girl's side, and try to make an engagement. But that go-between must be one of the relatives of the young man, no matter that person be a male or a female. The go-between has to act secretly. Before the

daybreak or in the evening, he or she must go to the girl's house, secretly. The reason for doing so is not to impair the dignity of the two families, in case it is not successful.

The first morning or the first night, when he gets to them, he has to tell them about his mission and come back saying he will return the next day for the answer. On the next day, when the go-between gets the green light, he must give them a gold chain or jewellery or a silver coin as present.

If, after betrothal, the young man has betrayed and had a love affair with another girl, he has to give (100) silver coins* to the betrothed girl and (20) silver coins to her parents as compensation for impairing their dignity. If he has not got those coins, he must deliver the amount of money, which is equal to the price of those silver coins.

If, in the same way, the girl has betrayed, she has to give 20 silver coins along with the things she has formerly accepted as present.

If a young man had a love affair with a girl before the betrothal, but a girl wants that man to be his marriage partner, that young man has to pay 40 silver coins to the girl before the betrothal, as compensation. Similarly, if the girl ever had such an affair, she also has to give her would be marriage partner 40 silver coins as compensation.

If, after betrothal, both the young man and the girl have betrayed, they have to give the village elders any amount of money they are asked for as compensation. Besides, the go-between must also be given a silver coin and a big cock along with nine strands of cotton and a piece of iron rod as offering. The piece of iron rod must be tied to the hand of go-between with those nine cotton strands.

* Silver coins are still in use. If one does not have any of them, he is obliged to get by some means or the other.

Before betrothal, if the couple has committed **premarital relation**, it is taken as an insult to the dignity of the village and accordingly they have to offer the guardian spirit of the village a cock. Sometimes, the couple is driven from the village.

After the betrothal, the young man and the girl have the right to freely visit the houses. Only after a few months, the date for the wedding ceremony is fixed through negotiation. For the marriage approval from the girl's side, the young man has to give the bride price in the form of silver coins to the girl's parents. The girl's parents could demand how many silver coins they want for the bride-price through the go-between. If the girl is a brass-ring wearer, depending on the number of rings, the parents can ask for the bride price. Generally, if the number is 20, the bride-price is 300 coins and if it is 25 they can ask for up to 500 coins. But if the girl is not a brass-ring wearer or if she is a Christian, depending on the skill of the girl in household chores and the financial situation of the young man, the bride-price is fixed by the girl's parents. The young man's parents have to say how much they can afford, and there usually is a negotiation process between the two sides. When it is successful, the date for the wedding ceremony is fixed after consulting the man who could tell the fortune by means of "cock-bone method". The bride price to be paid before the marriage plays an important role in marriage as well as divorce.

If the betrothal is successful, at the wedding ceremony, the parents of the bridegroom have to pay the go-between a silver coin, a mat, a gulp of *khaung-ye* and about six inches long piece of meat round the nape of a pig on the wedding day. From the girl's side, it is only a few coins. But if there is a failure of betrothal, go-between is entitled to nothing.

(F) Marriage

The marriage ceremonies are held both at the houses of the bride and the bridegroom. But usually, at the house of the bridegroom, the ceremony is held extensively while at the bride's house to a lesser extent. The most part of the expense goes to the bridegroom's side. On the wedding day, the bridegroom has to stand treat for everything that is needed for a feast such as rice, pork meat and *khaung-ye* for the guests, as has been asked by the bride's parents. The relatives are invited to the place of the wedding ceremony.

Early in the morning of the wedding day, according to their custom, a small pig is killed and its liver taken out for examination whether or not it is not broken and intact. If it is in good condition, they take it as a harbinger of "good fortune" and wedding ceremony is held. But if it turns out bad, they take it as a sign of "bad luck" which will manifest in the form of no prosperity, no children and no blessing. Then the marriage arrangement is totally abandoned. All the bride-price and other than that have been given by the bridegroom had to be returned to the bride's parents before by the bridegroom to the bride's parents are also to be returned. But, mostly, they never decide it so with only one pig. Up to three numbers of pig are tried and still all the livers are ruined or broken, they decide to break up all the arrangements. If at last one of the livers is found in good condition, all the arrangements are carried on. But the bride and bridegroom must not take the flesh of that pig as a meal; for them, two fowls are specially killed for meal.

In the morning of the wedding day, at both houses, all the delicious food are prepared for the guests for a big feast. But the receptions are to be made by the bride and the bridegroom at their respective houses. Parents

from both sides first go to the bridegroom's house to take food. During the ceremony, the bridegroom has to give the bride's parents from five to twenty numbers of mat and a certain amount of money as bride-price. And to the relatives of the bride are given also with one leg of a pig, *khaung-ye*" and two silver coins. In the afternoon, the bride's parents and relatives return to their house.

Only in the evening, the relatives from the bridegroom's side go to the bride's house to bring her to the bridegroom's house. Then the bride's parents and friends accompany her to her husband's house, bringing with them all the things that belong to the bride. On marching to the bridegroom's house, a bell is ringing along the road, full of jubilation. When they get to the bridegroom's house, his parents have to give the bride a cup of *khaung-ye* and silver coins which they have formerly promised to give as bride-price. If the number of silver coins are not up to what has been promised, she has the right to deny drinking the *khaung-ye* given because it is an opportunity for her once in a life time and the number of silver coins indicates how much she is valued. Besides, it is a custom for a bride to wear those coins in the form of necklaces round her neck. The bride can show her acceptance and satisfaction by drinking the *khaung-ye* given. When it is drunk, all her parents, relatives and friends are served with cooked rice, curries and *khaung-ye*. Then the whole night, the young men and girls dance and sing at the bridegroom's house. The bridegroom has to make a jubilant reception for all the guests, dancing with the young girls and men in the village. The bride is to sleep at the bridegroom's house with her friend while the bride's parents also spend the whole night at that house.

The next morning, the elders in the village come to the bridegroom's house to make blessing and good wishes for the couple. Then a discussion

follows when the relatives and parents from both sides negotiate how they will decide and act if any problem occurs in the family of the newly-wed couple. Here specifically, they decide what will do if the bridegroom should act in a decent way. And in the same way, what should be done if the responsible person for the problem is the wife. On the wedding day, it is needed for the bridegroom's parents to declare that from that time onwards they have owned the bride and similarly, the bride's parents have to confess that she is handed over to them once and for all as of that time. These declaration and confession matters are done in the presence of dignified village elders. The newly-wed couple also has to make a vow that they will practise monogamy and live together for life treating each other fondly. The vow is customarily associated with drinking of *Khaung-ye*. Finally, the village elders, honourable persons and the aged people are treated to *Khaung-ye*. After all these social duties have been done smoothly, it can be said that the wedding ceremony comes to an end.

The wedding ceremonies are usually held grandly just before harvest time or during it. But if it is a wedding ceremony between a widow and a widower, it is done without waiting for that time. Though there is no prohibition regarding the marriage of divorcee, widow and widower, they are never respected as have been before.

Among the five Panpet village units, Kateku village unit is significant for its people being Christians and these people hold wedding ceremony according to the Christian customs.

There are many family systems such as monogamy, polygamy and so on. But the Kayans practise **monogamy** system. And it is also learnt that committing adultery is regarded among them as a disgusting social offence.

(G) Divorce

As it has been stated above, the Kayans practise monogamy in marriage life. So divorce very rarely occurs among them. According to their custom, a wife has been handed over to her husband since the wedding day and accordingly if the couple has no more desire to stay together, they have to divorce in front of all the elders of the village.

If the bride and bridegroom want to divorce on the very day of the wedding, as they lack affection towards each other, it is allowed to do so as their wish. But if the bridegroom takes the initiative in this matter, he has to pay 12 silver coins as compensation and if the bride has started the problem, she has to refund the expense for the whole wedding ceremony.

But after a certain number of years in marriage, be it on account of one of the partners has committed adultery or the laziness of one of them in work or some other discord in the family, if they want to divorce, they have to accomplish it in front of the elders of the village who supervised in making a wedding-day vow with drinking of *Khaung-ye*. If due to the misbehaviour on the part of the wife has caused the divorce, she must pay two times the expense of the wedding ceremony along with some amount of money to the husband for impairing his dignity. Besides, she had to return the bride price that has been given to her before the marriage and the presents given to her by the bridegroom's parents on the wedding day. Moreover, the go-between must also be given some amount of money.

In the same way, if some offence on the husband's part has caused it, he has no right to reclaim all the expense as well as the bride-price given to her wife before the wedding and on the wedding day. But he must pay some amount of money to the go-between.

If a married man wants to marry another woman, he has to leave all the property, acquired during the first married life, with his first wife and children. If he takes a lesser wife without the permission of the legally wedded first wife, she has the right to divorce him.

At the time of their divorce, if there have been children and if they were born during their married life, they are also entitled to the property acquired during the married life of them. The elders have to decide regarding the children's future and fate. At the time of divorce, all the sons belong to father and the daughters to mother. If all male and female children wish to go away with their father, they have the legal right to do that. But the sons have no right to remain with their mother. According to their patrilineal system, sons are the legal members of the family groups and hence they have no right to change side to the mother's relatives. As for the daughters, after their marriage, they are to be handed over to her husband's side and so they are not much valued.

If, at the time of divorce, there is a baby, mother has the customary right to act as the guardian. But if it is a male, she has the right only to be his guardian until he is 18 years old. During that time, father has to provide support to his former wife, which is usually a draught buffalo. For a baby of under age 3, he has to supply her with one cart-load of paddy every year. If she is pregnant at the time of divorce, he has to compensate for her confinement and other things. Only when the son has attained the proper age, father takes him to his house.

But, mostly, if any one of the couple tries to forsake the legal marriage, he or she has to forsake all the children and the belongings.

(H) Adoption and Inheritance

When it comes to adoption, the Kayans usually adopt the nephews of husbands, that is, the sons of the older or younger brothers of husbands. If the husband has no brother of blood relation, the son of a cousin brother is adopted. If they have no sons, daughters become the choice. It is a very rare case that they adopt the one on the wife's side a stranger. It is learnt that they love the adopted ones dearly, as their own sons and daughters.

When it comes to inheritance, if the head of the family, a father, is dead, mother has the customary right to retain all the property that has been acquired before. When mother also is dead, if there are left children not yet married, the elder or younger brother of father has to act as the administrator of the inheritance until the children have attained the proper age. When the property of inheritance is divided, the son gets more than the girl because when the girl gets married, she has to move to her husband's residence and everything that is concerned with her would be taken charge of by her husband. Among the sons, as the youngest son is to live together with his parents, he gets the house as his own. If the late parents have no offspring but only adopted ones, they get the inheritance.

If the married couple has no offspring and the husband passes away at his young age, the wife gets the inheritance until she marries another person. But when she is married again, as there is no heir, all the property left goes to the elder or younger brother of her husband.

Chapter 5

Economy

(A) Cultivation of Crops

The Kayan (Padaung) national earn their livelihood by cultivation of crop; the main crops being paddy. As their area is mostly a forest-clad mountainous region, maize, pumpkin and beans are cultivated on the plains, which are rarely to be found, while paddy growing is done by terrace-farming method on the hillsides, which of course have good drainage. In growing paddy, the traditional rotation method as well as modern terrace-farming method is employed.

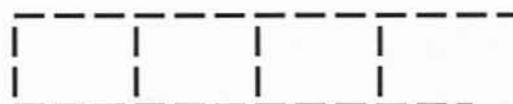
The rotation of crops method is just like the ones employed in some remote hilly regions to this day. This method is truly a laboured scheme and needs to be done stage by stage. No ploughing is done or possible in thickly forested hilly regions. After the ground is cleared of trees, plants and bushes by slashing and burning, little holes are dug in it and paddy seeds are planted in them. Except for occasional weeding, there is little else to do but wait until harvest time and the crop-yield is meagre as a rule. This method can be used in the same plot of land for no more than one year as torrential rains wash the topsoil, which no longer has any tree cover, away. So they use the method of rotation of crops annually. That is, after the harvest time, the plot is abandoned and another area is slashed and burned. Sometimes they got to a distant place from the village, only returning to the first site after ten years or so.

The modern method of terrace farming does not require clearing new plots of land, but it is an uphill task needing a great deal of patience, time and material assistance. First of all, on the hillsides, grounds are prepared into the forms of terraces, to detain the soil or at least not to lose it easily. These terraces are made mostly by chopping hoes; each with a breadth of three feet and height one foot. On such days, close relatives and friends of the owner or that plot come and help with this laboured scheme. As there are terraces, the fertile topsoil cannot be easily washed away by the water that flows down the slope starting from the topmost area of the mountain. Thus, they can work at the same place for years and the trouble of slashing-and-burning or rotation of crops from one plot to another, resulting in deforestation of large areas is saved. From the place just two furlongs away, before reaching the Panpet village group, it commands a good view of many terrace-farms for which boundary lines are made by heaps of rocks to avoid exhausting the soil.

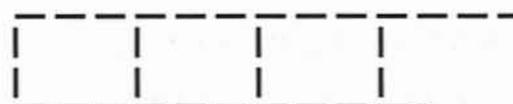
There is of course a separate season for such works each as-choosing a plot, clearing of trees, bushes and plants by slashing, and then burning and digging little holes and planting paddy seeds in them. The very first thing in farming work being the choosing of a right plot, they never fail to consult a fortune-teller of cock-bone method, before starting everything. Near a possible plot for farming, before clearing the trees and all, a creeper is cut into many pieces by which they try to form square-shapes. If the parts of the creeper happen to form "squares" exactly, it shows that it is "good". But, if just a small number of pieces are needed to form them all into "squares", it is taken as a sign of "fair". Nevertheless, (as it is shown in the coming diagram) if many number of pieces are needed to make them all into 'squares', it is "bad".



good



fair



bad

After choosing the right plot, clearing of trees and bushes by slashing follows, which usually takes place during the Myanmar month of Pyarho. There is a custom for them, which they have to practice on the day of clearing of the trees and bushes. The most prosperous farmer or the village farmer, who had reaped a good yield of crops last year, must start the clearing business, at least for a token sake. While clearing the plot, if they happen to hear some animals such as barking deer, sambur, crow and wildcat cry, they take it as a bad omen and move to another possible place.

After clearing the plot there follows burning of trees and bushes in the Myanmar month of Tabaung but with due preventive measures not to let the fire spread into the forest. Hence if the fire happens to spread to the other village or other man's plot, he has to pay money as compensation. But the money is not fixed. The burning is done only in daytime. Before burning is started, they try to threaten away the animals, which might have been hiding

there. Here another interesting custom is: the whole business of burning is, if possible, begun by a short-tempered man in the village because they believe it would produce more flames and fire. The person assigned to set fire has to sleep somewhere outside the village, one day before the work starts. That man must abstain from having any food prepared in the village, instead he must prepare himself by a bamboo tube. Even in drinking *Khaung-ye* and taking meals, only the bamboo tube and cup must be used.

After burning trees, plants and bushes, the burnt logs are cleared and after one or two rains, digging holes in the ground and planting paddy seeds in them begin, which is usually done in the Myanmar month of Kason. At that time of planting paddy seeds, other villagers also come and help with the task. But here is also a custom for them to start the work of the season of planting the seeds in the holes from the most prosperous farmer's farm. Only after that farm, they used to render help to the others. When the work is about to be finished, they fire a gun to threaten away the evil spirits that might disturb them. On such a day, happy as they are, they all dance in an ecstasy of delight to the tunes of the drums and gongs.

There is not much to do more in the farms than occasional weeding until the harvest time. In olden days, the dung of the bull and the seeds of pine were used as fertilizer. But nowadays, along with those traditional ones chemical fertilizers are also applied. The paraphernalia of the Kayans in the cultivation works are hoe, harrow, plough, bamboo hat (with a broad brim), ickle, and bamboo basket. Vegetables such as gourd, pumpkin and cucumber are planted between the plantations and the pine trees while maize is only planted just beside the house or at the rear of it. In cultivating maize the urine of bull is used as fertilizer.

When the harvest time begins, they all go to the most prosperous man's plantation and help with reaping the crops, the meaning of which is to get a similar prosperity and a good yield for them. They apply alternate collective reaping system and there used to be no leader. Family members, relatives and friends all participate in the work of the season. All the people who have taken part in this task, are well treated to good dishes prepared with meat of chicken and pig by the owner of the plantation. Thus, alternately, with collective labour system, the reaping duties of all the farmers are well done during the season.

After the season of reaping, there of course comes the one for threshing the seeds of the paddy crops. For threshing, the usual paraphernalia is a wooden board with holes, against which the crop is struck. To collect the seeds, a wooden mat is placed just beneath the board.

It is a beauty in their custom to prepare the first paddy seeds and offer that cooked rice with respect to the grandparents, parents and old people of the village. The old people in their turn make good wishes for the family and blessings for the prosperity and good health of the donors. But here one thing is - a girl of puberty age or a woman still in her menstrual period is neither allowed to have nor take part in cooking this first rice. On this day of treating the old people to the first rice, they abstain from fermenting *Khaung-ye* at home and even the woman who has just given birth to a child and still receiving the traditional heat treatment is temporarily transferred to another place. Moreover, the chicken or the pig just hatched and bred is also moved to another house during that time. Not only that! guests are also not allowed to put up in the house. A similar practice of this custom is also found on the first threshing day.

The usual place for the storage of paddy is the barns, which are built not far away from the village. In the barn, not only the paddy but also the valuable things are kept.

The reason for using barns as the storing place of paddy and the most valued properties is that they all have fireplaces in the sitting rooms and there always seem to have of danger of fire for every house. And there is the scarcity of water in their area. Moreover, all the grown-up people are at their farm works, away from the village at day times. So if a fire breaks out, the whole village could be burnt down, they fear. If barns are involved in the case of fire, there would be shortage of food. That is the sole reason why barns are kept away from the houses and why the valuable possessions are also stored away in those, which could be seen from their houses, though some distance apart.

They used to take a certain baskets of grains of rice from the granaries only when they want. They pound them with a mortar. By tossing up rice grains in a bamboo tray they separate chaff, broken and wizened grains. Only after that they cook them in the pots. They use the chaff and bran as the food for pigs. If they have surplus or when others are in need of it, they never hesitate to lend them. As it is lent out of friendship, they never take interest for that; they only take back the volume what they have lent.

The gourds and the pumpkins, which they have planted in the plantations and pine are kept on a rack in front of the house. Mustards are left to dry in the sun and stored away in the baskets. Maize are tied together in bunches and put on the rack placed above the fireplace. When there is no rice they bring down that maize and pound them before eating. Chillies too are left to dry in the sun and stored away in the plastic bags.

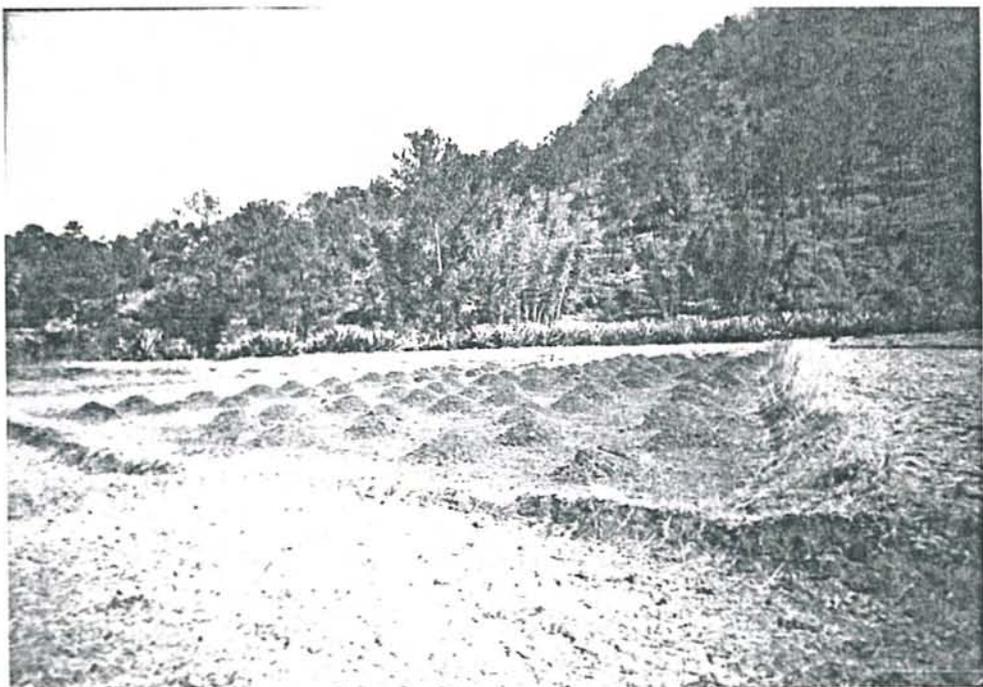
There are many taboos with regard to their cultivation works. On the day of transplanting the paddy and maize, no visitor is allowed to enter the house of the owner of the plantation. Moreover, no family member is allowed to go to a house where there is a funeral ceremony. On the very first day of the farming, no member of the family is allowed to eat boiled garden pea or anything from the house where there is a funeral or any thing that has been offered to a spirit.

At harvesting time, shaving head is banned. On the first day of harvesting, the owner of the plantation must begin reaping and only after him all the others must continue. While harvesting, if someone dies, no meritorious deed should be done except the dead burying of the body. Only after harvesting, meritorious deed dedicating to that should be done. Within three days, starting from the very first day of harvesting, no one is allowed to walk across the plantation. If any one breaks this custom, they believe that "the spirit of the paddy" would be cleared away and there would also be no good yielding in the current year as well as the next. On the very first day of cooking and eating the first rice, any female who is still in her menstruation period must not take part in cooking as well as eating with others.

One day ahead of the setting fire of the plants and under bush at the plantation site, the one assigned to do that must sleep somewhere outside the village. On the day of that duty, he must not take any food as breakfast that was cooked in the village and instead he must cook his rice in a bamboo tube himself. And he must drink *Khaung-ye* out of a bamboo tube only. Besides, he must have his meal in a bamboo plate. During the time the plantation is set afire, until the fire is lessened, no visitor who is already in the village is allowed to leave it. If the person happens to leave the village before the fire is



Terrace Farms



Preparing the Soil

cool down, it would cross over the plantation and get through the forest causing forest fire and danger.

On the day of the sowing seeds, the first one assigned to do so, must abstain from eating meat. If there is a female who is still having menses in the house, that family never sows the seeds during that time or that female must be transferred to another place temporarily. The sowing person must abstain from having sexual intercourse. And sowing seeds and reaping the paddy crops are not allowed to be done on full moon days.

(B) Animal Breeding

The animal such as chicken, pig, buffalo and bull are bred by the Kayan (Padaung) national but it is not on commercial scale. They are only meant for the religious and agricultural rituals and to be used as offerings to the spirits according to the prediction made by fortune-tellers. And they are also used to feed the guests in all the ceremonies, for funeral as well as wedding. Almost all the families breed those animals. Though not on commercial scale, they sometimes sell them when there is a surplus with them.

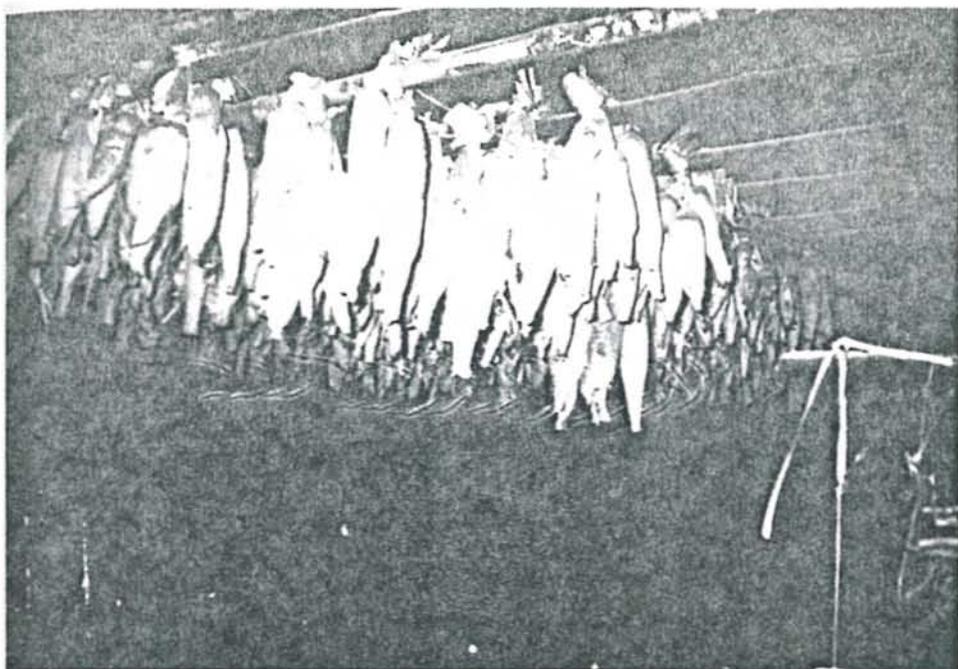
As they always decide on anything only after consulting the fortune-teller who uses the method of "cock-bone", they pay more attention to the breeding of chicken. They usually feed the chickens only in summer days when there is scarcity of food for them. Chickens just hatched are daily fed up to the time they attain the age of one month. When they become over one month old, they are only fed once a week. A pig is daily fed by a food which is

made of a mixture of certain kinds of leaves and broken rice; the amount of food is just about half of a milk-tin. Little pigs are also fed just like chickens. They store maize for chickens enough for one whole year, on the rack, which is placed above the fireplace to be smoked. They rarely feed chickens and pigs except in summer days. The animals are left free to wander in the village as their wish and they usually have all the excrement discharged by the villagers.

They usually breed buffaloes to use them in ploughing and bulls to use as pack-bullocks. They store hay especially for those animals to be fed in summer when there prevails scarcity of food. They used to keep that hay in the fork of a tree, which usually is not far away from the house. In breeding buffaloes and bulls, they are not left free to go anywhere; instead, they are properly herded by young boys and girls. If a man is hired for herding, he gets ten Kyats for that but some of them do the job for meals and clothes only.

Every household has dogs, which are meant for guarding the house as well as hunting. They never take the meat of dogs as meal. Sometimes, for agricultural rituals, if they cannot afford to offer buffalo or bull, dogs are used instead. Cat is rarely bred by them.

There are also taboos with regard to animal breeding. No flesh of the white fowl must be offered to a spirit and no curry of that flesh must be supplied to a visitor. And no meat of the animal, which is killed by a thunderbolt, must be sold or eaten. No female is allowed to eat any meat offered to the spirit to propitiate them, with the intention of raising the crop yield.



Maize for the Animals



Hay for the Cattle

(C) Hunting

They usually go hunting, in group or individually, after their plantation season. Mostly, the experienced man takes the leading role. The weapons used in hunting are spear, cross-bow, sword and hand made fire-arms. They sometimes beat bushes in the jungle to force hunted animals to break cover and use dogs to catch them while another times they lay traps for the hunted animals . As their area being a mountainous and forest-clad region, there are many valleys and streams in which barking deer, deer, sambar, wild boar, wild goat and bear inhabit. They are talented hunters.

There are several hunting seasons each of which is suitable for one specific kind of animal. For example, sambar deer are hunted in such season when tender grass plentifully grows, and similarly the season of barking deer is when fruits are in plenty in the forest. In olden days, spear and poison-arrow are mainly used in hunting but nowadays hand made firearms has taken their places. During the times of their ancestors, tigers were caught by iron traps fixed with springs or by persuading them to enter a compound with a fence around it where chickens and birds were placed as decoys. Once they have entered, the entrance to the compound was immediately closed enclosing the tiger in it. As for other animals, a big bow was made out of hard wood with a string, which at the right time let the bent rod of wood loose to strike the animal with its rebounding force. To catch the birds, a bamboo pole or a thin wooden rod was smeared with sticky substance, which was made of seeds of a banyan tree. Once the bird took its perch on it, because of the stickiness, it could not leave the resting-place and thus was caught. Another kind of their hunting tricks was by using dogs. When a horn of water buffalo

blown, dogs barked while the others, who were not good at using a spear and a bow, beat bushes to force hunted animals to break cover. They frightened animals who broke cover were hit by the marksmen.

Another reason for their hunting is to leave the meat of those animals to dry in the sun for ceremonies. But most of the times the meat are distributed among the hunters to be cooked and eaten. The first man who could hit the game animal is rewarded with the best portion of the body such as the one of the thigh. If the game is big enough, it's meat is equally distributed among the families but according to the number of members in each. But the head of the game must be offered to the shrine for a spirit. Only when there is not such shrine, it must be given to the headman of the village. The reason for doing so lies in the fact that head is the eminent part of the body. If the game is a small one, it is only distributed among the families equally. But if the game falls dead near the paddy transplinters (female), they are also often included in the list to be given some portion of it. Some of them give the one who first hit the prey, one thigh, backbone, liver, intestine and heart. If the prey is not dead with one stroke and another person has to complete it, that second person is given the meat on the backbone while the remains part is distributed among the hunters themselves.

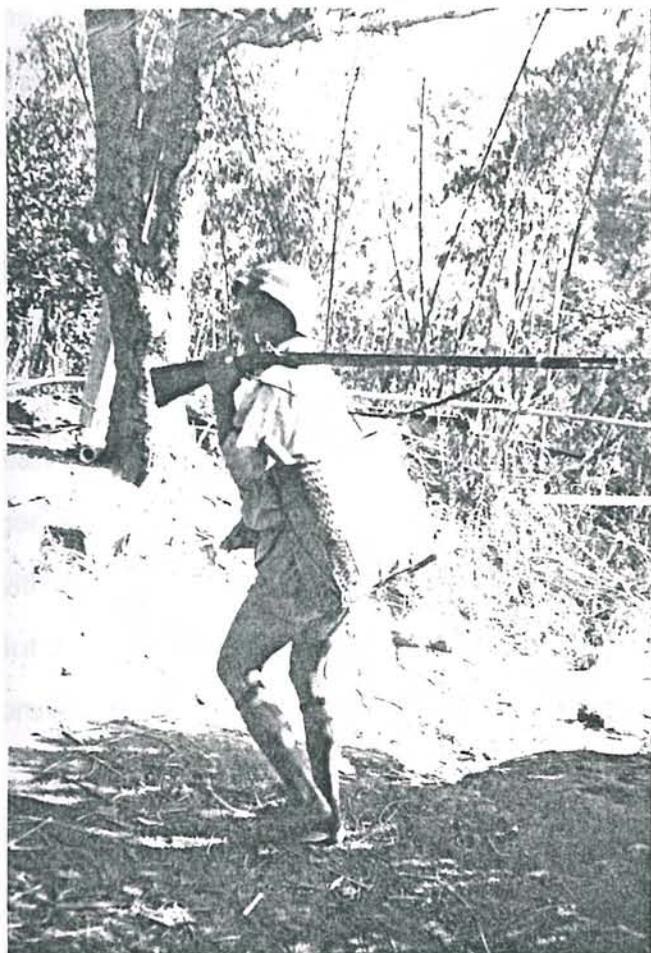
They usually have the children wear the string of the tiger's claws. They compound medicines out of hoof and brain of a wild goat, liver of bear and liver of tiger. And they regard that the fang of a tiger may defend the danger of evil spirits. They compound medicine with ingredients of intestines from porcupine, barking deer and patridge. And slippers are made out of the skin of buffaloes. At the beginning of the rainy season, they make offerings to their traditional sprit for their future hunting success. After making such offerings to

least for one time, they believe, they could get games whenever they go hunting.

After having some meat of the games they have hunted for meals, the surplus is left to dry in the sun and sell it or exchange them for other crops. For them, all the claws, livers and skin of the animals are useful in some way or the other; nothing of them is thrown away as useless things.

There are taboo on certain things that are regarded for religious or other reasons as not to be done, touched, used, etc. in their group. Certain things that are still taboo in hunting are – hunters must abstain from eating fermented soya-bean, anything from a house where there is a funeral and things that has been offered to the spirit; a husband of a pregnant woman must not take part in the hunting. If he wants to take part he must put a small stone in other partner's bag secretly; if he disobeys this custom they would not only fail to get any game but also have to face danger. They all must avoid having sexual intercourse on the day of hunting; they must not eat anything from a house where there is a wedding ceremony and on their way to hunting place, they must not speak to anyone they meet. A husband of a woman who has recently given birth to a child and still having heat treatment must not be a partner in hunting group; no hunting must be done if there is a woman or a girl of puberty age in the house who is still in her menstruation period or a woman who is confined or if there are home-bred animals such as fowl, pig, bull which have recently bred; no hunting must be done on full moon days or new moon days.

Another taboo with regard to hunting is – while the whole village goes out of the village for hunting, the road leading into the village is closed and no visitor is allowed to enter. If he or she happens to be in the village a



A Hunter

compensation must be given to the villagers. The reason for such prohibition is - if the visitor has happened to take those banned food in the village it would bring danger to the hunters.

No woman or girl is allowed to hunt. Even any female is not allowed to approach the place where there are offerings for the spirit with regard to hunting. While the whole village is out for hunting, all such things as fermentation of liquor or *Khaung-ye*, weaving on a loom, spinning, pounding rice, fetching water, sewing clothes, washing hair, making noises in the village are prohibited. If any of these are broken, the hunters would have to face danger. Especially, if they go hunting for a tiger, even engagement is postponed to the next day when they could kill a tiger, they used to have a jolly time beating ceremonial frog-drum, shouting and crying jubilantly. Then the dead tiger is hung from a tree and they all, one by one, throw with spears and hack with swords, which of course is their custom of showing off their jubilation. But the head of the game is never brought into the village as their spirit disapproves.

(D) Fermentation of *Khaung-ye*

Khaung-ye is a kind of intoxicating brew fermented by traditional method since olden days. They ferment it for daily drinking as well as for sales if there is surplus. It is nourishment as well as an indispensable item in the traditional rituals. There is a legend which shows what they believe in respect at the origin of this brew :-

Once upon a time, there was a pleasant and peaceful lake beside which seven celestial beings were blacksmith making. The crocodile in the

nearby water could not bear the loud noise made by their work. So the crocodile sent the frog to them to stop it. The frog said to them,

"Who are the blacksmiths here? Stop it now!"

The celestial beings whereupon took the frog in a coal tongs and burned it whereas swellings appeared all over its body. Again the crocodile let the banded snake-head (a kind of fish which we call *Ngaryant*) go and tell them to stop working. And again the fish was burnt by them only to have developed thick scales over the whole body. Finally, the crocodile itself got onto the land and asked them to stop it whereupon the seven celestial beings got angry and turned the head of the crocodile with a coal tongs saying,

"You are such a stubborn fellow."

Due to that, the lower jaw of the crocodile was raised a little upwards. Unable to bear the pain, the animal pleaded with them saying,

"Forgive my life. I will give you the method to make the water taste sweet."

The method was no other than their traditional method of fermenting *Khaung-ye* now.

The ingredients, the crocodile said to be included in preparing it are: maize or glutinous rice and yeast (*Tazay*).

From that time onwards, whenever they make a journey by boat, they take with them yeast and a lump of charcoal and a piece of chilli. Without them, the property of the *Khaung-ye* would be retrieved by the crocodile, in other words, the liquid would lose its quality of "being sweet".

The ingredients of the yeast are: small bitter fruits which are called *Kar-phaw* in their language, small layers of barks of a tree called *Pa-yine*, white bitter flowers called *Pan-kar-phu*, charcoal, extremely hot kind of chilli named

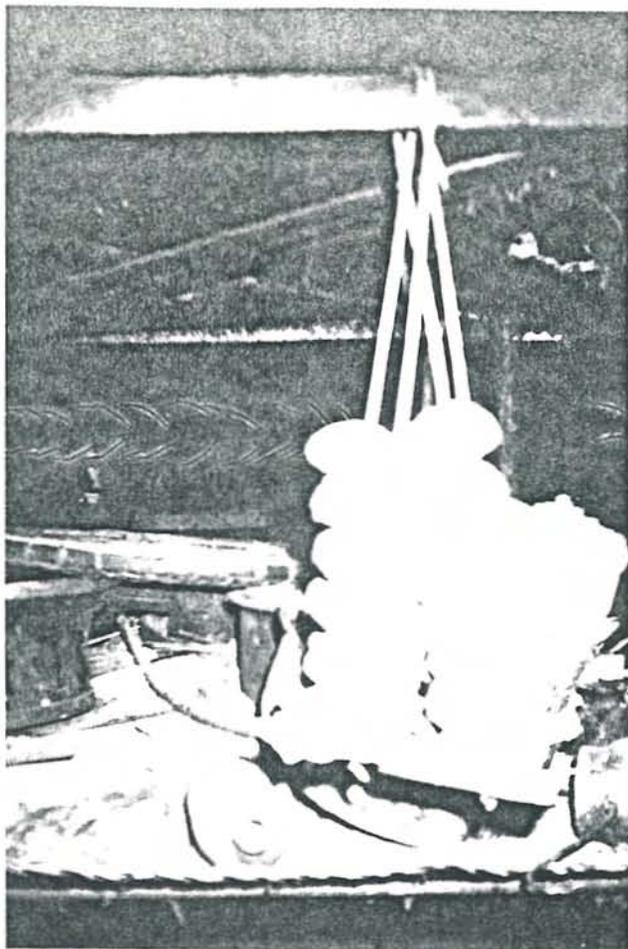
ka -Ja-aw, and glutinous rice. The above-mentioned items except the glutinous rice are equally mixed and made into small balls the size of an areca nut each, and then left to dry in the sun for 20 days. Then the glutinous rice must be pounded and made into the form of a circle in the middle of which a lump of charcoal is put. The small balls which are now dry in the sun are made into powder and sprinkled onto that circle of glutinous rice and charcoal. After 10 days, it becomes the yeast with which the intoxicating brew, *Khaung-ye* could be fermented. The form of the yeast thus prepared by their traditional method resembles the Myanmar doughnut ring made from glutinous rice, which we called *Mont-let-kauk*. But here one interesting thing is the one who prepares the yeast must abstain from eating such things, which are sour, putrid, rotten or decomposed such as fermented soya-bean, preserved fish (*ngapi*) and egg. And he or she must be an old man or woman of over 60, or young boy or girl of under 9. Married persons and young men and girls who have attained the age of puberty are not allowed to do it. They are said to be unclean. That yeast is sold on market days, the current price for a set of five numbers being 45 or 50 Kyats.

The main raw material of the *Khaung-ye* is glutinous rice or maize. The detailed process for fermenting is: after cooking the glutinous rice or maize, it is spread on a mat and cooled. The cooled substance is mixed with the yeast well and then put in a basket for one night. Then again on the next day, it is mixed well with bran of paddy or maize. Afterwards, it is kept in a big pot for 15 days or one month. In some cooler regions, it has to be kept in the pot for nearly two months. Then it becomes a solidified substance of *Khaung-ye*.

In fermenting *Khaung-ye*, the solidified substance of it must be mixed with bran and put into a bamboo tube or a small earthen pot into which hot

water is poured , to be fermented. Just after 15 minutes, it becomes *Khaung-ye* But some people have a slightly different method of preparing it. They mix grains of rice, which are only husked but not polished, and paddy husks in a ratio of "three is to two" and put them into a pot with a perforated bottom forming the upper part of a steamer (cooking utensil) to be cooked by means of steam. The cooked rice in that pot is put on a bamboo mat to be cooled. When it gets cool, after mixing with the yeast, it is transferred into a basket with banana leaves underneath. There must be a cover over it. After two days, the cooked rice becomes soft and a smell of sour comes out. That is the smell of the *Khaung*. Again, the cooked rice is taken out of the basket and spread on the mat. Then at last, if it is pressed into a glazed earthen jar, the clear liquid *Khaung--ye* oozes out slowly. The colour of that liquid resembles that of a honey and is called "the first *Khaung-ye*". The solid substances are taken out to be mixed with hot water to get the *Khaung-ye* which is also called "fermented *khaung-ye*". The method for fermenting liquor is also just like the one for *Khaung-ye* after preparing everything up to the stage of "solid substances of *Khaung*" and these substances must be mixed with water before distilling. While in the process, the steam is collected through a pipe. When it transforms into liquid state, it is called liquor.

Though *Khaung-ye* and liquor are intoxicating brew, as their region is a cool place, they could help the blood circulate regularly and the people could work actively, they all believe. True, it has been a significant part of their life since they were very young. They fondly take it during the religious and social ceremonies. All males and females, old and young, fondly drink *Khaung-ye*. Yet there never occurs quarrels and fighting or any rowdy manners associated with profane language after drinking it.



The Yeast



Lacquer -Distillation

(E) Handicraft

Apart from the art of plantation, which is their main livelihood, they all are talented breeders and hunters. Moreover, they are competent in construction of houses, plaiting of all kinds of bamboo baskets, bamboo trays and mats, weaving on back-strap loom, making earthen pots and so on. As in their region, bamboo and wood are in plenty; they can build their houses themselves, without hiring carpenters.

But they mostly use bamboo, which is one of the most important raw materials for them. With bamboo, they make variety of household containers and other appliances. Even they have invented a cap, out of a bamboo joint, which can close and open the top easily, for the bamboo tube in which *Khaung-ye* is stored. And there are two handles made with cane on that bamboo tube. The tube with which *Khaung-ye* can be sucked is also made with bamboo. Bamboo mats are plaited in three categories: the first one, mats used in harvest season and for bedding; the second one, fine and smooth mats for sitting; the third one, rough mats used in leaving the solid substances of *Khaung-ye*, paddy and bean to dry in the sun. A fine mat is rubbed with outer rind of a bamboo and left in the sun to dry. Then they are put onto the rack placed above the fireplace to dry more and more. A rough mat is plaited with the inner part of the bamboo. There are two kinds of bamboo used in plaiting mats; one is the bamboo slat the thickness of which is just only the breadth of a finger and the other thinner bamboo slat, which is used for the edging of the mat. The basic layer being made with bamboo slat, at the corner of the mat it is bent into upright position. Through the basic layers, thinly

sliced bamboo strips are plaited. The borderline is folded a little and edgings are neatly bound.

Though bamboo basket is plaited just like ordinary basket, its edging is neatly bound with cane. There are several designs of basket: square shape one, the one slung over the back, the circular-shape one, the one used on a journey, the one to be put in it the bamboo tubes to fetch water which is a big one slung over the back.

There are only two kinds of betel box in the village: the one plaited with slender round bamboo strips and another with flat bamboo strips. The traditional musical instruments, such as flute and a wind instrument, which resembles a mouth organ called 'bar-jar', are also made of bamboo. When hand made firearm is used, gunpowder has to be pounded before using and so the hunter needs a box to keep it. These small boxes are made with covers with bamboo tubes the circumference of which are six inches long each.

They make earthen pots also themselves to keep *Khaung-ye* and other durable things in them. First of all, clay is mixed with water and left for two days. When it becomes soft, it is again mixed well with powder made from a kind of white rock. And again, when it becomes thoroughly mixed, it is made into circular shape rings, all of which are put one on top of another, and by using hands, the general design of the required form is made. When the form is roughly shaped, the rim is up-turned and the finishing touch is done with a piece of wet cloth. And the earthen pots are left to dry in the sun and baked. But to make them glistening, they are again baked but this time with special barks of trees used as fuel. When the colour of the pots change into red, the barks are removed. When they are half cold, all of them are polished with rods of sealing wax so that they become hard. When these are meant to use as

Khaung-ye pots, they are made of the mixture of clay and glaze that are mixed well in the ratio of two to one. But some of them would like to smear them with liquid glaze before baking.

Every grown-up female knows how to weave on a back-strap loom. For weaving, they cultivate cotton plants at plantation, but not on commercial scale; just enough for the family's clothing. After plucking cotton in the baskets, they all are put on the rack in front of the house to dry in the sun. The seeds of the cotton are separated by the bamboo blades of whirled fan or propeller. After that, cotton is ginned and wound round a wooden shuttle from which again cotton fibre is spun. Those fibres are mixed with the solid substance in the *Khaung-ye* or surplus water that is drained off while rice is being cooked, and boiled (which is dressing cotton). After that, the fibres are left to dry in the sun and when dried, wound round the wooden spinning wheels. Thus the spindles with white colour cotton are obtained. To get variety of colour, they manage by means of traditional methods of dyeing. But their traditional colours are mostly red, yellow and black. They manage to get the colour of the earth with barks of a tree which we call *Pauk-pin* (tree bearing showy clusters of red flowers in April). Similarly, with flowers of that *Pauk-pin* and bark of a banyan tree, lime and tamarind fruit, they get reddish brown colour. If the bark of a tree which they call *sha* is used in dyeing they get brown colour. In the same way, they try to get the red colour from the substance what we call here *Cheik-say*; yellow colour from the boiled turmeric root; the black colour, from the mixture of the leaves of Eastern gooseberry and mud which has to be left to mix thoroughly for three days; the green colour from boiling the leaves of bean.

As the girls and women have been competent hands in ginning and spinning of cotton, wearing on back-strap loom since they were young, they spend most of their time on this work, especially when they become old and on longer able to attend to the farm works. So one can see always a loom in front of a Kayan house. The reason for keeping a loom only in front of the house is that they have only one window in the house and it is a little dark always.

The component parts of a back-strap loom are summit bar, warp bar, binding rod, the middle bar, drive belt, weaving temple used in stretching the webbing taut, roller for the band of woven fabric, belt and bobbin. In making a loom, depending on the length, if there is a surplus portion of a bar, the end of the fibres are hooked to the surplus while the other end is hooked to the belt. And there is also a wooden block against which the weaver kicks to stretch the webbing. The length of the webbing is not fixed. It all depends on the length of the piece one wants. In its process of weaving, weaving temple controls the regularity of the borderline. The woven webbing is rolled into the rollers. The kinds of clothing they usually produce by back-strap looms are turban, white colour shirt and black skirt which usually is over eighteen inches long.

It is learnt that, in their society, there are no skilled workmen who earn their living by crafts such as carpentry and pottery. They just produce by means of their traditional methods just enough for their respective household use.



Back-strap Weaving

(F) Daily Life

The Kayan (Padaung) have the habit of rising up from beds when they hear a cock crow for the first time, before dawn. Once they get up, they begin to prepare food for the family members who would go to the plantation. After preparing food, they leave the houses to get to the farms, which are usually two or three miles away from the village. They work there the whole day, until the sunset and then, they return home. They are mostly busy during the seasons of planting and harvesting. Only after harvest time, they could do other works. At that time, grown-up females are usually engaged in such works as plaiting baskets, mats and weaving on back-strap looms while men engage themselves in going hunting, collecting woods, repairing and building houses.

They used to classify the works to be done each at its proper time. The month which is called in their language "*Larni-thein*" corresponds to the Myanmar month of "Tabaung". During that month, they hold a festival, which is called "Festival of Flagstaff with Brahminy duck". And they build new houses and house-warming and wedding ceremonies are also done in this month.

The Myanmar month of "Tagu" is for them a month called, in their language, "*Larno-har*", during which they hold the most famous "Kae-hto-boo" festival. And it is also a month for setting fire in the plantations and collecting the bamboo to repair their fences.

In the month of "*Larni-co*", the month of "Kason" in Myanmar calendar, as it is the beginning of the rainy season, maize and pumpkin are cultivated.

During the month "*Larni-se alias Lar-new*", the Myanmar month of "Nayone", as it is in the middle of the rainy season, they begin their terrace cultivation and sowing seeds of maize.

In the month of "*Lar-saw*", Myanmar month "Waso", clearing of weeds in the plantations and farms are carried out.

The Kayan month of "*Lar-tha-khu*" corresponds to the Myanmar month of "Wagaung" and during that month, as their plantation works have been done, they go to forest to search for fuel or building materials.

The Kayan month of "*Larthu-moo*" is the Myanmar month, "Tawthalin". During that month, as the crops have become ripened, they spend most of their time in protecting the plantations against the intrusion by birds which used to destroy the crops.

During the month of "*Larthu-ser*" Myanmar month of "Thidingyut", a little portion of the crops is reaped and offered to the old men and women of the village as donation.

The month "*Lar-lanan*" is the Myanmar month of "Tazaungmon". During that time, the harvesting begins.

During the month of "*Lar-san-paraw*", to which the corresponding Myanmar month is "Nattaw", threshing of the paddy and plucking of the maize, gourd, pumpkin and other vegetables are done. In olden days, the dying of the teeth was done in this month.

The Kayan month of "*Lar-wi*" which is the Myanmar month of "Pyatho" is a time during which the relatives and friends are invited and treated to cooked rice and curries dedicating to their deceased parents and grandparents. And in this month, they begin clearing of trees and undergrowth at their plantation sites.

The Kayan month of "*Larni-thant*" is the Myanmar month of "Tapotwe". In this month, as farm works are already finished, the males go to other villages, with saws on their shoulders, to earn their side income. Others begin to make arrangement to start building houses with wood and bamboo, while women engage themselves in such works as thatching and weaving on back-strip looms.

(G) Trade

The economy for livelihood of the Kayan (Padaung) national is just on the level of self-existence of a family and accordingly they don't have any production system on commercial scale. Only a little surplus of rice, maize, bean and chilli are sold.

As they have still no markets, they have to go to the nearest possible places which are no less than four or five miles away from their villages. The only market they frequent is situated in a village called "Peking" which lies in the west of Panpet Village Group. *Khaung-ye* is sold there by pots as well as by cups. After selling their traditional liquor, with what they have got for that, they used to buy salt, soap, preserved fish and clothes before they return home. When they are engaged in trade in such commodities as rice and maize, they generally use barter system. Only in the markets, 'cash on delivery' or 'credit' system is used. But it is their lovely trait in character never to break promise regarding settlement of payment whenever a trade of credit system has been made. As the credit system is used mostly based on the friendliness between the two, buyer and seller, interest is never taken for the

period delayed by the one who sold. Only when the creditor returns with surplus out of perception the seller quietly accepts the term. Some of male, after their plantation season, often go to other places, in summer, searching for side income. They are sometimes engaged in the government works temporarily or at other times they make money by sawing logs into planks. With what they get by that work, they mainly spend to buy galvanized iron sheets. But some would like to search for the herb named *Tapin-daing-myanan'* in the forest which is quite popular for its medical properties and great demand in the market. It is learnt that a Kayan male's summer side-income ranges between Kyats 10,000 and Kyats 20,000 and hence it is quite helpful to the household.

They use scales, which are made of wood, in their trade, along with weights of twelve-and-a-half-ticals, 25-ticals, 50-ticals, one-viss, two-viss etc. To weigh rice, they use baskets, which are specially made to measure out "half-pyi", "one-pyi" and "sixteen-pyi".

Although they have to spend nearly one whole year in plantation works, it is labour-intensive; yet the yield is not enough to trade. They get paddy for the family's consumption only. True, there were some who earned their living by crafts. But nowadays only a few take interest in such way of earning money. Similarly although the females are good weavers, they seem to have no intention to use it as a way of earning money. They just produce to sustain their daily life while leading a simple life. It can be said that due to that contentment they have not prospered.



A Butcher from the Market



A Seller of "Khaung-ye" of Five Day Market

(H) Division of Labour

There is no clear-cut differentiation between male work and female work. But the males take charge of works which demand heavy manual labour such as transplanting of paddy seedlings into the holes, ploughing, harrowing, upturning the soil, wood collecting, skinning and cutting up carcass of animals, cutting wood for "Kae-hto-boo festival", and erecting the poles etc. Yet, males also take part in such crafts such as plaiting bamboo baskets and mats. Women attend to the works of cooking for the family, fermenting *Khaung-ye*, weaving on back-strap looms and other household works. But some women work in the plantations joining hand with the males. When the males have cut the trees and under bush, the females clear them by carrying away the branches and logs, and they also clear the weeds among the plants. While the under bush are set fire, other light duties are done by the females. In sowing seeds, plucking the young plants, transplanting the seedlings, mostly the females take the leading role. And after striking or threshing of the crops by males, the females carry them in baskets to the granaries.

The young males or females about eight or nine years old are not yet suitable for farm works and plantations and they have to look after the buffaloes and bulls as well as younger brothers and sisters. Moreover, they feed the chickens and pigs with the remnants of their food and the solid substances of the *Khaung-ye*. But when they attain the age of 12 or 13, they accompany their fathers and mothers to the plantations and farms to help with the duties they could perform. The young boys mostly help with their fathers' works while the girls work for their mothers to the extent they are capable of. At that time, if old people are left at the houses, they carry out the duties of the young boys and girls such as feeding the animals, fermenting *Khaung-ye*,

plaiting baskets and mats. In olden days, the tents were built for the old people who wanted to stay separately. But nowadays the grandchildren pay respect to their grandparents and take-care of them well. And whenever there is problem, they consult the old people who are willing to give advice to them.

They always carry out the religious, social, economic and village-affairs duties collectively. When there is "Kae-hto-boo" festival and other occasions such as offering of food to the monk within seven days of a person's death and "summoning the spirit" of a dead person by occult means, they not only collectively perform the tasks jubilantly but also share the expenses. They also work collectively for the welfare of the village and when there are occasions to drive away the evil spirits and devils from the village and to clean the village, they carry out these tasks in a jubilant mood.

In social affairs such as wedding, building a new house, funeral ceremony etc., the whole village never hesitate to co-operate with the families concerned as their ancestors. When there is a wedding in the village not only the relatives but also the neighbours help the bride's or the bridegroom's family with miscellaneous items. When there is a project of a family to build a new house, the villagers are always willing to render help in collecting wood and bamboo. When the project starts, the most competent man in carpentry takes the leading role while the others heartily take part in the construction process, some slicing bamboo and others roofing the house with thatch or others, thus completing the whole plan within four or five days. In the same way, when there is a funeral in the village, the villagers, within three or five days of the ceremony, collectively help the family concerned, engaging themselves in such works as making a coffin, feeding the guests and carrying the coffin to the graveyard.

Similarly, in cultivation works, they jubilantly exchange labour with one another for mutual benefit. When the time comes to clear the plants and under bush at the farming sites, three or four family members gather at one place to help the members of a family at their site. Thus, through reciprocal helping habit, sometimes all the farming sites of the whole village are cleared of all unnecessary plants and under bush within a day's time. So also in transplanting, thrashing, harvesting and storing paddy in the granaries, they reciprocally help with the chores in a jubilant mood. In animal breeding the members of a family all attend to the miscellaneous items of breeding.

It has been their habit since long time ago to go hunting collectively, the most talented hunter leading the group. Once the date and the time have been fixed, the leader of the group divided the labour among the participants, the shooting duty going to the marksmen while the duty of beating the bushes to force hunted animals to uncover going to other followers. When bushes are set fire, to threaten the big games to uncover, at the foot of a hill by a group of followers, the marksmen have to shoot the animals from the top of it or the hill pass, with hand made firearms or crossbows. At the end of the expedition, the games are distributed among the partners somewhere outside the village, while the females help them with fetching *Khaung-ye* and food for the hunters.

With regard to their economic activities, we could say that there are practices of social grouping based on **sex, age and occupation**. And the tradition of **reciprocity** is found to be existing through their practice of **barter system** and contribution of labour on a reciprocal basis during the cultivation time. Due to the weather and environmental conditions, they can produce food only a little more than enough and make household appliances just for them. So in their society, there is not much difference between the rich and the poor.

Chapter 6

Administration

(A) The Old and Present Administrative System

In olden times, the Kayan (Padaung) national had a custom to elect two men; one of wisdom and the other who had martial prowess as leaders by common consent in each village. The two elected persons had to take charge of the administration of the whole village group in accordance with their custom. But if any deviation from the customary practice was detected they could be recalled or removed from their posts at once. The hero-leaders were wholly responsible for the management of the village affairs, military as well as administration. The remaining duty of religious affairs went into the hands of the shamans who were supposed to have possessed supernatural power.

These elected heroes had acted as administrators among them for many years, all with certain influence over the surrounding villages who admired them for their noble qualities and their bravery. So they were quite within their rights to negotiate truce or stage warfare. Due to their influence on the villages around they were again appointed by all those villagers to more influential posts called "Saw Pya" (the chief administrator in their language). The "Saw Pyas" thus gained their rights to manage independently the affairs of the whole areas, which were clearly demarcated by boundary lines and later became their domains. Their history has shown that during those times there were very rare instances of aggression by one domain against another. So they were never annexed by others. Even with chieftains

of other areas they could mostly maintain good relationship and aggressive acts were very rarely seen throughout the time.

The "Saw-Pyas" were autocratic feudal lords. He could give death sentence to whom he wanted to. But there was no such differentiation between classes, among their society, as the ruling class and the ruled. All the people esteemed "Saw Pyas" and village-heads the ones dedicated to the welfare of the society. Hence they well accepted their administrations and never tried to revolt them. There was no such ban for the ordinary people not to marry the offspring of "Saw Pyas". The descendants of "Saw Pyas" have the customary right of succession; the eldest son could become a "Saw Pya" if his father was dead. But there was exception; if the would-be successor was not qualified enough to be a "Saw Pya" or if he was not supposed to be a good ruler in accordance with the custom, he might be recalled and the one truly qualified could be elected as the successor by common consent.

In olden days, there were five domains where respective "Saw Pyas" ruled, in the Kayah State, such as Kantarawady, Ballakhe, Naungpale, Nanphekhon and Kyephogyi. Just before the Second World War, "Saw Pya" ruling system discontinued in Nanphekhon and Naungpale, and those two domains were incorporated into Ballakhe. So, in later days, there were only three divisions in the Kayah State such as Ballakhe, Kantarawady and Kyephogyi where three "Saw Pyas" ruled, with one administration office in each. The domains were later called Townships, and the administration office of Ballakhe was set up in Ballakhe Township and the office of Kantarawady was in Loikaw Township while the one for Kyephogyi was in Phruso Township

During the British administration, each Township was divided into Circles in each of which was an administration office, where a Circle officer was in charge of it. The administration offices of "Saw Pya" played the central role in the system while the Circle ones had to carry out the instructions given by them.

The key administrative high official in the "Saw Pya" offices were Chief Official and Deputy Official. The Chief Official acted as an adviser of "Saw Pya" and his deputy with him in the same office. Both of them being in close contact with "Saw Pya" at all time, they were significant members in the administrative system of that time. The Deputy was the one who had to take charge of all the miscellaneous duties and there were two officers under him who were the heads of the two sections – Revenue Section and Judicial Section. The one who was the head of Judicial Section was also called Judge. There were 10 to 15 members of staff in the main office.

The head of a Circle Office was a Circle Officer whose subordinates were Circle Headman also called "Hain". These Headmen were mostly salaried except some who were volunteers, and they held these positions not by inheritance but by qualification. Under these Circle Headmen, there were also Headmen who had to take charge of villages. A Headman was responsible to collect revenue from his village. The subordinate men to the village Headman each to take charge of ten houses.

There were sections in a Circle Office, each dealing with a particular matter, such as Education, Revenue, Health and Forest. There were several clerks and policemen in every section. The Circle Officer being the chief, he had the power to run a law court and make legal order. But before making any decision, he used to take consent of the persons who sat on the jury, in

which the Circle Headmen were also members. If any one was not satisfied with the verdict of the Circle Officer, he had the right of appeal to the main "Saw Pya" office. Then the Deputy in charge of judicial affairs, after the case was heard again, made appropriate decision. If again someone had a desire to lodge an appeal, he could still go to the highest office of Saw Pya, which had the ultimate authority to give the final verdict.

During the time of British administration, the headmen of the villages were entitled to take 10 percent of the tax each, while the rest was to go to Saw Pya offices. The kind of the tax levied at that time was capitation tax. The "Saw Pyas" also had to take only one fourth of the total revenue and the rest must be forwarded to the Division Head Office.

Although the post of a village headman was the lowest rank of the British colonial administrative system, he was the most influential figure in a Kayan village. He and his subordinate were elected by the villagers. There was a jury man in each kingroup. He was also elected by his relatives. If there had occurred any problem, first of all, the juryman had to solve it.

In all the important matters such as constructing roads, cleaning the village, digging a drain and holding the festival of "Kae-htoo-boo", the villagers had to consult the juryman of kingroup. Only when the juryman could not settle the case, it was referred to the village headman. In all the cases such as quarrel, divorce, murder, hitting, theft, the village headman could make the final decision. But in examining the persons concerned the juryman of kingroup and the man in charge of ten-house unit were present.

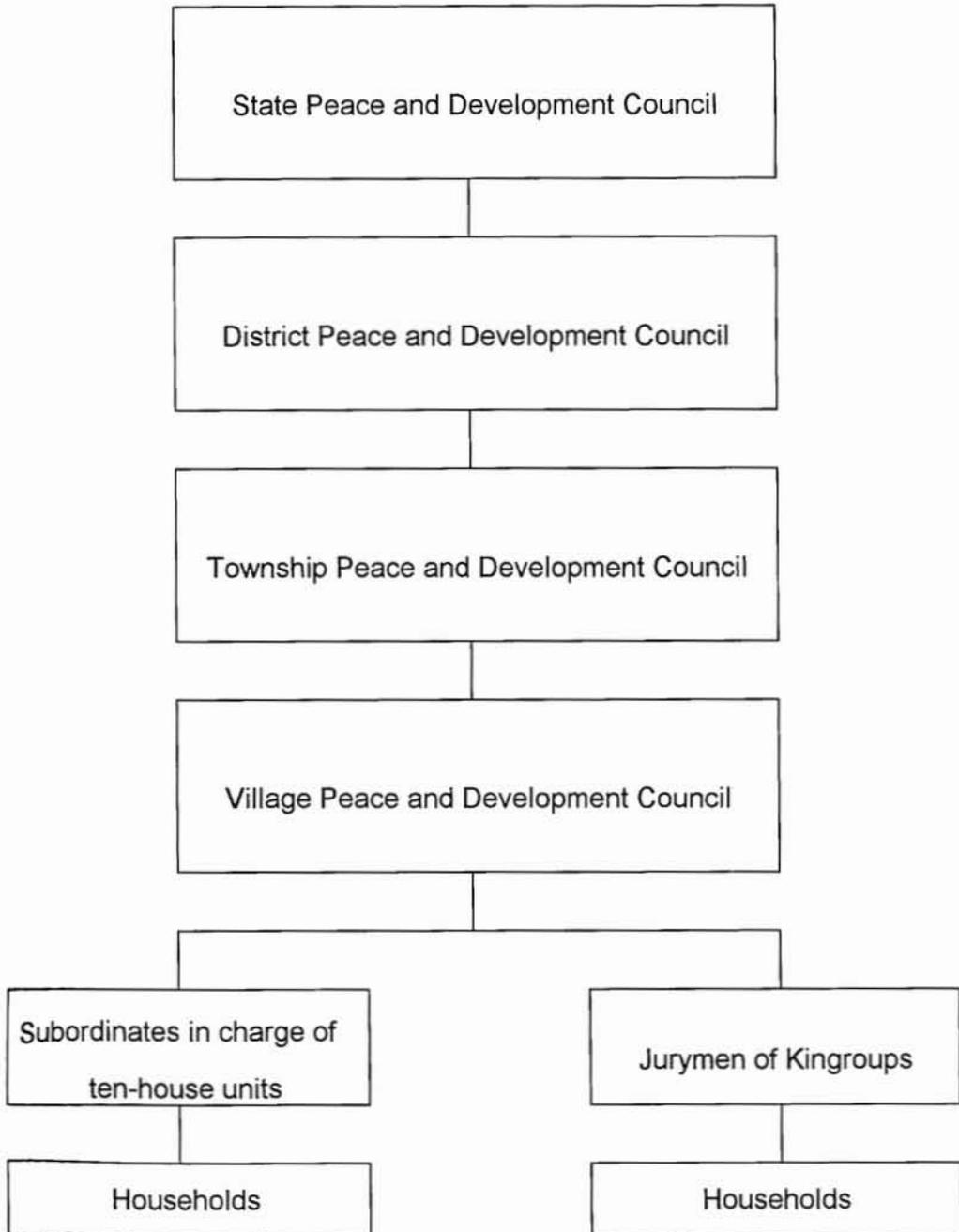
The juryman of kingroup must have the following qualifications:

- (1) The one who is capable of getting along with others,
- (2) The one who is versed in the customary practices,
- (3) The one who is reliable and trust worthy,
- (4) The one who is eloquent and articulate,
- (5) The one who is well-informed,
- (6) The one who is over 20 years of age,
- (7) The one who to a some extent could afford to feed the guests

Though it was understood, in olden time, that a "Saw Pya" could appoint a circle officer and that officer could appoint a village headman, actually, they all were elected by village headmen, who could be recalled by the villagers. When a headman died, if his eldest son was qualified enough for that post, he could succeed his father.

In olden time, what is now Panpet village group was called Panpet Circle and accordingly administered by a circle Headman. The first Circle Headman was U La Hike and the second was U La Htan while the third one being U La Hwa. Afterwards, the "Saw Pya" administrative system was cancelled and The People's Council took its place.

Now the Kayah State has the same administrative system with other States and Divisions. There are State Peace and Development Council, District Peace and Development Council, Township Peace and Development Council and Village Peace and Development Council that take charge of the administration in the Kayah State. Under the Village Peace and Development Council, there are organized subordinates each in charge of a ten house unit and juryman of kingroup.

The Present Time Administrative System

(B) The Old and Present Judicial System

The Kayan (Padaung) national group had no recorded legal proceedings since the days of their ancestors. Only they had what their ancestors had taught them to learn by heart, through generations. But they never failed to apply them when they had a case to decide. So there was only a little difference, in giving a punishment to the accused of the same case, between the groups.

In their customary judicial system, there were no permanent judges. Only when there was a case to decide with judiciary mind that is in accordance with their custom they made arrangement to get a judge for it. Yet, it never was a hard problem for them as there were leading personalities among them who could act as judges for a case. They were "Saw Pya ", Circle Headman (Myo-oak), village Headman (Thugyi), the subordinate to the village Headman (Hse-ain-gaung) and the jurymen from both sides of kingroup.

And there was also no particular place site for which was to be used as a court. Only the most convenient place was fixed to hold a trial in accordance with their customary judicial system. That place, however, was mostly to be the house of the village Headman. Before the trial, the plaintiff and the accused had to pay a certain amount of money as a fee for the court.

Before examining the accused, the Headman formed groups of people, who were thoroughly versed in their customs. As they were knowledgeable and reliable, he had them study the case first. Only after that, he cross-examined both the plaintiff and the accused and let them argue with facts in front of the jury. After hearing, he decided the case but after consulting the jury who had to make the verdict.

Just as the trial began, the very first thing to do was taking of an oath by both plaintiff and accused in front of all. For instance, "If I tell lies here in the court, may I, one day when I go into the forest, die bitten by a tiger, or one day when I go on a voyage across the water, die drowned in it" etc. But in a civil suit, where contestants were the two villagers, the judicial group set up a spear which must be grasped by both sides with the hands, before taking the oath: "If we tell lies here in the court, may we die inserted with this spear".

After the trial, though they believed someone to be responsible for something and hence to be punished, but if they lacked evidence to make judgement, they used to resort to the method of "Chilli Liquid" to bring out the truth. With the consent of both sides, they made a liquid of powdered chilli with water and had both sides wash their faces with it. The one who could go through this ordeal without any smart in the eyes was regarded by them the winner of the case.

The other way of approach to bring out the truth was by means of "cock-bone fortune telling method". The plaintiff and the accused both had to take a thighbone of the cock each where there were holes through which they had to insert the sliced bamboo sticks. By looking at the position of the sticks, that is which one had the sticks more upright on it, the case was decided. If a thighbone had sticks "more in upright position to it - the owner of that one would be the winner of the case. But this method was used only when there were no witnesses for the case.

Again, if there were no witnesses, they used to rely on the method of "cooking rice" also. The procedure was: both sides had to take a fistful of rice each and packed them with leaves. After that the two packets of rice were cooked in the same pot. When the time was due, the two packets of rice in

the pot were thoroughly examined and the one, which was well cooked, was the indicator that its owner was the winner.

Another way of handling a trial when there were no witnesses was the method of "submerging in the water". The procedure was: the judicial group had the plaintiff and the accused submerge in the water as much time as they could. The one who could stay submerged longer would be the winner.

In their customary judicial system, compensation for loss or damage for the ones who felt aggrieved seemed to be the main form of punishment. The compensation was given mostly in the forms of money, buffalo, bull, farm, land etc. How to make compensation was not decided by only one but by all the members of the judicial group who took into consideration all the facts in accordance with the customs. Other forms of punishment were: driving away from the village, out casting, and sentencing to death.

But there used to be very few numbers of cases among them except a few of animal-stealing case and argument over pieces of land. When there had occurred such ones, they first went to the subordinate of the village Headman (Hse-ain-gaung) to settle the dispute. Only when they were not satisfied with the man's handling of the case, they used to go next to the village Headman (Thugyi), Again, if they were not satisfied with the Headman, it was Circle Headman (Taik-thugyi) they would go to next. In this way, they could still go to the highest office of "Saw Pya" where the right of appeal ended because it was the highest authority for them all at that time. Afterwards, the "Saw Pya" administrative system was cancelled and The People's Council took its place.

Now, the judicial officers and judges are employed at all levels of the village, township and division, forming judicial hierarchy under central body.

(C) The Customary Judicial Rulings

Murder case and Causing to Hurt

1 - Murder case

Murder case is a very rare thing among the Kyans. If a person has committed that they pass judgement where a large amount of compensation is involved. If someone has evidently plotted to kill a person a death sentence can be given to him. To implement that death sentence, the responsibility goes to the villagers or the relatives of the accused that has to take the death sentence. Generally, the ones that have committed such dangerous, criminal acts are the desperadoes or who do not pay heed to the discipline of the village. These evil persons are found to have been discarded by their parents and relatives.

The parents and relatives concerned have to accept the judgement of death sentence passed by the judicial group. But if they do not take the initiative to implement the death penalty, the villagers have to take the responsibility. If the relatives have declined to implement it they have the duty to pay 25 Kyats to the person who will take charge of it.

In such a case, the parents and relatives concerned have to give a cow to the villagers as a sign of paying obeisance to the village, and this, they said, is to show that it is done by common consent among the villagers and it is also meant to avert the similar event. That feast is called 'hsat-chan-moe' in their language.

2 - Culpable homicide not amounting to Murder.

A man lost his life in a fighting and if a person can be held culpable of this homicide yet not amounting to murder, the relatives of that person have to solve the problem. If it is evident that it was merely an accidental death, no judicial group takes initiative to make a law-suit. Only, the one who may be held culpable of that case must stand all the expense of the funeral ceremony only. Such cases occur while they go hunting in the forest. Sometimes one of them, mistaking another member of their group for a prey, shoots the unfortunate person with a gun or a cross-bow.

3 - Case of Suicide

For one who has committed suicide the relatives concerned have to offer a buffalo or a bull to the village to 'cleanse' it; the villagers have to consume it after making offering to the spirit.

If one did not succeed in killing oneself, and after putting him on trial for that, if something is found out to be the root cause, the relatives concerned have to make pledge in front of the village elders to admonish their person and to prevent a similar case in the future.

4 - Plotting to kill a person with poison.

For plotting to kill a person with poison the accused has to compensate by giving away all his property to the relatives of the person murdered.

But in a similar case, if the accused does not succeed in murdering a person with poison, he has to give compensation.

5 - Threatening

A case of threatening is also said to be a rare one among them. In such a case, on trial if the accused is found to have threatened another person to kill or to do something, he is to make compensation in the form the judicial body has asked for. If the accused declines to obey the judgement passed by them, they can seize a certain, reasonable portion of the accuser's property as compensation.

If a person has caused another person to have trouble as has been threatened, and if that person has been a recorded desperado of the village who has committed crimes in the past, the judicial body, after consulting his relatives secretly, makes arrangement to seize him and execute or plot to kill him secretly.

6 - Causing to hurt.

If, in a fighting, a person has caused another person to get hurt, the judicial body, after settling the case by compromise, passed judgement to give compensation. Moreover, the accused has to tie up a strand of cotton around the hand of the wounded and put a few coins in a cup of water with which the accused has to wash the wounded person's face. After that, the accused has to make a chicken curry by killing a fowl and feed the one hurt.

Rape Case and other sexual crimes

Adultery is also a rare happening among their society. They have a practice of monogamy and a standard of morality that forbids such sexual crimes. They regard such crime as worthy of heavy penalty. So if any two are

evidently guilty of adultery, they get death sentence or they are forced to go to the graveyard and make suicide by hanging.

1 - Rape Case

If there is a rape case, and on trial if the accused is found to be truly culpable of that amounting to rape, he has to give compensation to the plaintiff and also a bull or a buffalo to the villagers to make offering to the spirits to 'cleanse' the village; they kill the animal to offer as sacrifice; and the accused has to stand all the expense for all these matters.

2 - Committing adultery by a bachelor

If a bachelor has committed adultery, to 'cleanse' the village, he has to make a ceremony of offering to the spirit in the village and also some arrangement to 'cleanse' the husband and her offspring. The man and the woman who have committed adultery must stand the expense for offering to the spirit in the village.

3 - Adultery between married persons

If the two married persons have committed adultery, there usually follows a heavy condemnation and compensation from both. Then, in accordance with the decision made by the village elders, they have to give the following items to the village and carry out duties as mentioned below:

- (1) A pair of a cow or a sow and an ox or a boar.
- (2) A pair of a white hen and a white cock.
- (3) To 'cleanse' the village, a ceremony of making offering to the spirit must be held and the villagers must be fed.

(4) The two wrongdoers have to tie up a black strand of cotton each around the right hands as well as the left hands of the judges who have passed the judgement.

(5) Both of the wrongdoers have to make arrangements of offering the spirit to 'cleansing' the families.

4 - Adultery between a married man and a maiden

If there was a sexual intercourse between a married person and a maiden, the man has to compensate while the maiden must make a devotional offering to the spirit to 'cleansing' the village with that compensation.

5 - Sexual intercourse between a bachelor and a maiden

If there was a sexual intercourse or premarital relation between a bachelor and a maiden out of love the elders from both sides consider how they are related and if they are possible to get married, and if it is found possible they are allowed to marry after having them make a devotional offering to the village,

In considering how they are related, if the two of them are uncle and niece or aunt and nephew, they are forbidden to marry. To make the devotional offering, the man has to pay most of the compensation. But if the girl becomes pregnant and gives birth to a son the man is entitled to take it while a daughter must go to her mother. The man has to stand the expense for the confinement and the baby.

6 - Having sexual relation with the one engaged

Though engaged, if there is a sexual relation before the marriage, they have to make a devotional offering to the village and give the go-between

one 'Kyat', a cock and a strand of cotton. The strand of cotton must be tied up around the hand of the go-between.

7 - Cohabiting with other person's wife

With the consent of the woman, if someone has taken away other person's wife and cohabited for some time, the man has to give compensation to the relatives of the woman.

8 - Taking a lesser wife

If a married person has taken a lesser wife, he has to give the first wife and children all the property acquired during the married life and go away from home alone.

9 - Seducing and cohabiting

If a married person has seduced a maiden by pretending to be a bachelor, he is believed to have committed three acts of crime: (1) telling lie, (2) insulting and (3) seducing. This man has to pay compensation two times the amount a bachelor, an accused, has to pay usually. The compensation must be given to the girl with whom he has cohabited and at the same time he must depart from her. Then a devotional offering to the village must be made by both of them.

10 - Sexual relation between brother and sister

If a person has committed such a crime of having sexual relation with one's own brother or sister, both brother and sister are driven away from the village for life or if they refuse to obey their decision they are killed.

11 - Divorce

If there has been somewhat divorce between a husband and a wife, the elders of the village have to study the root cause and settle it by compromise, or they have to admonish the one who is supposed to have done the mistake and negotiate a settlement. If both sides have no more desire to live together, they have to arrange a divorce legally. Among them separate living of a husband and a wife out of discord is not allowed.

Libel and defamation

Even if the libel was done verbally, the one who has done so has to give compensation to the one he has defamed.

1 - Accusing someone of being a witch

As they are strong believers in witchcraft, they think these witches with evil magic powers can cause not only a person but also the whole village so many kinds of trouble. So if a person is believed to be a witch, that person is no longer allowed to stay in the village; he or she is driven away from the village. If the person accused to be a witch stays with his relatives, the villagers try to kill all of them.

But if there is a wrong accusation of being a witch, the accuser has to compensate the one wrongly accused. If the wrong accuser cannot afford to pay the compensation his relatives have to take that responsibility.

Stealing

In their village, most of the stealing cases involve buffalos and bulls that belong to other villages. It is learnt that other things never stolen.

In such a case, the judicial body which always comprises members from both villages usually decides to return the stolen animals and to compensate.

But if the stolen animal cannot be returned a certain amount of money : that is equivalent to the prevailing price of the animal is fixed to compensate. The receiver of stolen property is also recognized as a thief. All the conspirators must take the share of the compensation. After returning the stolen animal, the judicial body confiscates the compensation money to be used as the expense for judicial process.

If someone has burgled a house the stolen property must be returned to the owner and the thief has to pay obeisance to the owner with a sow that has bred and tied up a strand of cotton each around the hands of each member of the family who were burgled along with the money of fine.

Destroying the property that belong to others

If a person has destroyed the property that belongs to other person intentionally, the headman of the village has to be paid by the destroyer. If someone's cattle has destroyed other person's plantation and cultivation sites and if the damage is not great, the owner of the cattle has to kill a fowl with whose blood he must smear the strands of cotton and again those strands must be wrapped up around the crops at that plantation site. If such thing happens, no one tries to file a lawsuit.

But if the damage is great, the owner of the cattle which have caused the damage must give the compensation which is equivalent to the prevailing price of the crops destroyed. But if the cattle come and destroy the plants and crops over and over again and if the owner has not taken any action to check them, those cattle can be beaten or killed. Then the meat of those cattle must be shared by the owner of the animals and the plantation site. But if there is no enough evidence that the owner of the plantation site has beaten or killed the animal, the owner of the plantation site has to compensate with the equivalent amount of money.

Misappropriation

If, on trial, the said misappropriation case is found to be true, the accused has to return the amount misappropriated plus the interest. Besides, the accused has to give the fine also to the judicial body.

If someone finds the cattle that belong to other person set at liberty and herds them the owner of the cattle has to pay the volunteer man the fee for that. But if someone is found to have tried to misappropriate some other person's cattle by pretending to be herding he has to give compensation. If someone has reported the headman of the village that some cattle has reached his place, it is not recognized as misappropriation case.

Destroying the graveyard

It is their custom to take care of the graveyard. They fix the places for each family to bury the dead men. If someone has destroyed it through the destroyer does not get hurt they believe there will be danger to the whole

village. So if there is such a case, the destroyer has to stand the expense of the devotional offering with buffalo or bull or pig.

Digging up the graveyard for valuable things is regarded as the disgusting deed and the one who has committed that crime can be killed by the villagers. If one of one's own village has taken part in that criminal act he is put on trial and if he is found to be guilty he must give compensation and also be executed.

If the graveyard catches fire because of the fire set by them to burn the bushes at the plantation site, the responsible person has to give the compensation with buffalo or bull or pig to make devotional offering as has been decided by the shaman.

(D) The Kayinni (Karen-ni) Region Customary Law

There was no printed material bearing the name of The Kayinni Customary Law for all the lands where the Kayinni reside before 1923. It was in fact the customary law that had been practised by their ancestors and later by them in deciding the cases or the conflicts. But it is learnt that there is no difference in their reference to that when a similar case is decided in all the separate regions where they settle.

During the British rule in the Shan State, the Kayinni national group applied that customary law in solving problems, conflicts and cases. But the British administrative personnel did not disturb it.

But when foreigners came and stayed in the Kayinni region, the British authorities ordered the judges of first grade, second grade and third grade that they must apply The Criminal Code (1898) when they decided the cases

occurred between the foreigners themselves. It is clear that the British high officials regarded that the Kayinni customary law was only concerned with the Kayinni national group and not with the others although they (the foreigners) were for the time being living there.

But the British government later asked the national groups concerned to submit the recorded court proceedings which were done in accordance with their customary laws. As there were no such written literature or records of their proceedings the Kayinni national group was in difficulty.

To get rid of this difficulty, the Saw Pya of Ballakhe region, Sap Khun Nge, compiled a record bearing the name of The Kayinni Customary Law, in 1923, making reference to the Criminal Code (1898). With effect from that time, all the criminal cases in Ballakhe region were decided in accordance with that customary law. The following is some portion of the Kayinni Customary Law, which was taken from the book published by the Institute of Culture of the Kayah State.

The Kayinni Region Customary Law

Para: (1) Crime of Rioting

(a) If there were five or more than five people gathered to commit crime, every one of them must be fined up to Kyats 200. If any of them could not afford to pay he must serve a sentence of imprisonment up to (6) months.

(b) If there were more than five people or there was only one who riotously shouted, using abusive language, at the festival site or on the road, every one of them must be fined Kyats. 50; if any one could not afford it, he must serve a sentence of imprisonment for one month with hard labour.

Instruction

Bail was refused; withdrawal of lawsuit not allowed; any judge could make judgement regarding this.

Para: (2) Bribery of Officials

If any official, including police, committed bribery, the accused must be fined up to Kyats 200; if he or she could not afford to pay, the accused had to serve a sentence of one year's imprisonment.

Instruction

Warrant to be issued; Bail allowed; withdrawal of lawsuit was not allowed; sentence of two year's imprisonment by empowered judge to make such judgement.

Para: (3) Disobidience

Anyone who had committed such crimes as destroying the summons, notice, advertisement and warrant, and denying to accept the above-mentioned papers when delivered and failing to comply with the instruction after receiving, must be fined up to Kyats 100; if the accused could not afford it, he or she must serve a sentence of four months' imprisonment.

Instruction

Warrant to be issued; Bail granted; withdrawal of lawsuit not allowed; up to six months' imprisonment by empowered judge of kingroup.

Para: (4) Making and Using of Fake Currency.

In spite of the knowledge that it was fake, if one used the fake currency or faked the currency oneself, one must be fined kyats 300 or serve the sentence of two years' imprisonment, or both, if one could not afford to pay.

Instruction

Bail was refused; withdrawal of lawsuit was not allowed; the administration personnel of the territory could make judgement.

Para: (5) Using of Fake Weights and Measures for Grains

If one used the fake weights and measures for grain, which were neither approved by the Office nor the public, one must be fined up to kyats 50 or serve the sentence of two months' imprisonment if one could not afford to pay.

Instruction

Bail could be granted; withdrawal of law-suit not allowed; up to six months' imprisonment with hard labour by empowered judge.

Para: (6) Disturbing Health

If one urged the others by force to take poisoned food or anything that could jeopardize health, or trade in explosives that could cause fire, one must be fined up to Kyats 100; if one could not afford to pay it, one must serve the sentence of up to six months' imprisonment with hard labour.

Instruction

Bail could be granted; withdrawal of lawsuit not allowed; up to six months' imprisonment by empowered judge.

Para: (7) Destroying Religious Edifices

(a) Be it the graveyard in the Kayinni land or religious edifices of the Buddhist or the members of other religions such as pagodas, monasteries

and lakes, if one tried to destroy them, one must serve the sentence of up to one year's imprisonment with hard labour.

(b) If one did something insolently that disturbed religious edifices, to the disappointment of the worshippers, one must be fined Kyats 200 or serve the sentence of up to six months' imprisonment if one could not pay the fine.

Instruction

Bail refused; withdrawal of the lawsuit not allowed; up to six months' imprisonment by empowered judge.

Para: (8) Murder

(a) If one merely tried to cause death or actually killed a person, the government could punish him with the sentence of 15 years' imprisonment or penal settlement.

Instruction

Bail not granted; withdrawal of lawsuit not allowed; the administration personnel of the territory could make judgement.

(b) If the intention to kill someone was found out, the accused must be fined up to Kyats 200 or serve the sentence of up to six months' imprisonment with hard labour.

Instruction

Warrant to be issued; bail could be granted; withdrawal of lawsuit not allowed; up to six months' imprisonment by empowered judge.

Para: (10) Causing Pain

(a) If any one caused the other to have pain with a blunt weapon, he must be fined up to kyats100 or serve the sentence of four months' imprisonment if he could not afford the money.

Instruction

Summons to be issued; bail could be granted; withdrawal of lawsuit allowed; any judge could make judgement.

(b) If anyone caused another person to have serious pain with a pointed weapon, he or she must be fined up to Kyats 200 or serve a sentence of up to one year's imprisonment with hard labour.

Instruction

Just like the one mentioned above.

(c) Anyone who caused the other to have pain indirectly could be fined up to Kyats 50 or sentenced to two months' imprisonment with hard labour.

(d) Anyone who tried to cause the other to have serious pain but not successful, must be fined up to Kyats 50 or sentenced to two months' imprisonment with hard labour if the accused could not afford to pay.

Instruction

Summons to be issued; bail granted; withdrawal of lawsuit allowed; any judge could make judgement.

Para: (11) For Unlawfully Detaining a Person

If anyone detained a person and the detainer was not an official or policeman who were empowered to do so, that detainer must be fined up to Kyats 150 or sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labour if the accused could not afford to pay.

Instruction

Bail could be granted; withdrawal of lawsuit allowed; up to two years' imprisonment by empowered judge.

Para: (12) Stealing a Person

Without the agreement or consent of the guardian concerned, if anyone stole a young person by force, that person must be fined up to Kyats 200 or sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labour.

Instruction

Bail could be granted; withdrawal of lawsuit not allowed; up to two years' imprisonment by empowered judge.

Para: (13) Rape

(a) Even if the girl agreed, if she was under age 12, or if the guardian did not agree, even if the girl under 20 had agreed or not, the one who tried to make sexual relation with her must be fined up to Kyats 300 or sentenced

to two years' imprisonment with hard labour.

But only after the male organ had been put into the female's organ, it must be taken as committed.

Instruction

Bail could be granted; withdrawal of lawsuit not allowed; the civil judges could make judgement.

(b) But if there was only an attempt to rape and the male organ was not yet in the female's one, the plotter must be fined up to Kyats 50 or sentenced to two months' imprisonment if the accused could not afford to pay.

Instruction

Bail could be granted; withdrawal of lawsuit allowed; up to six months' imprisonment by empowered judge.

Para: (14) Stealing of Animals

(a) Anyone who stole animals such as buffalo, bull, horse must be fined up to Kyats 250 or sentenced to two years' imprisonment with hard labour, or both, or only imprisonment.

(b) Anyone who stole any property must be fined up to Kyats 200 or sentenced to two years' imprisonment with hard labour.

Instruction

Bail not granted; withdrawal of lawsuit not allowed; any judge could make judgement.

Para: (15) Robbing by Threat

Anyone who robbed by threat, with a weapon in his hand, must be fined up to Kyats 300 or sentenced to two years' imprisonment if the accused could not pay it.

Instruction

Bail could not be granted; withdrawal of lawsuit not allowed; up to six months' imprisonment; empowered judge could make judgement.

Para: (16) Looting and Robbing

(a) If a group of less than five members robbed others of their property, they must be fined up to Kyats 300 or sentenced to two years' imprisonment with hard labour if they could not pay it.

(b) If a group of five or more than five committed robbery, they must be fined up to Kyats 500 or sentenced to three years' imprisonment with hard labour if they could not afford it, or both, or only imprisonment of up to 3 years.

Instruction

Bail could not be granted; withdrawal of lawsuit not allowed; any judge could make judgement.

Para: (17) Misappropriation

(a) Anyone who committed misappropriation of others' property or jewellery must be fined up to Kyats 200 or sentenced to one year's imprisonment with hard labour if he could not afford it .

(b) If anyone pawned a thing or kept it to himself which he had found and picked up by chance on the road, he was said to have committed misappropriation and he must be fined for that as have been mentioned above in

Instruction

Warrant to be issued and bail could be granted; withdrawal of the lawsuit allowed if the court concerned approved; any judge could make judgement.

Para: (18) Misappropriation of Property given on trust.

Anyone who misappropriated something which was given to him to keep for a time, on trust, must be fined Kyats 200 or sentenced to six months' imprisonment if the accused could not pay it; but to make judgement by judging the value of the thing and all.

Instruction

Bail could not be granted; withdrawal of lawsuit not allowed; up to six months' imprisonment by any empowered judge.

Para: (19) Hiding a stolen property of other person

(a) Anyone who wittingly bought or hid the stolen or robbed property was said to have committed this crime and he must be fined Kyats 300 or sentenced to one year's imprisonment if the accused could not afford to pay. It or both fine and imprisonment, or only imprisonment of one year.

(b) If anyone took part in selling that stolen or robbed property, he must be punished as above.

Instruction

Bail could not be granted; withdrawal of lawsuit not allowed; up to one year's imprisonment by empowered judge.

Para: (20) Lying

Anyone who acquired other person's property by means of cheating or by forcing anyone to make a signature on a certain paper must be fined Kyats 300 or sentenced to one year's imprisonment with hard labour if the accused could not pay it.

Instruction

Warrant to be issued and bail could be granted; withdrawal of lawsuit allowed; up to six months' imprisonment by empowered judge.

Para: (21) Changing Hand of Ownership of One's Property to Others

Anyone who, after the warrant had been issued, with the intention not to return the money to the creditor, pawned the property or changed the ownership to others must be fined Kyats 200 or sentenced to one year's imprisonment if the accused could not pay for the fine.

Instruction

Warrant to be issued; bail could be granted; withdrawal of lawsuit not allowed; up to six months' imprisonment by any empowered judge.

Para: (22) Torture

(a) Anyone who beat animals such as buffalo, bull and horse mercilessly, causing them to lose parts of their bodies, must be fined Kyats 100 or sentenced to four months' imprisonment if the accused could not pay for the fine.

(b) Anyone who destroyed any other person's property must also be punished as above.

Instruction

Summons to be issued; bail could be granted; withdrawal of lawsuit not allowed; any judge could make judgement.

Para: (23) Entering Dwelling

Anyone who, with the intention of hurting somebody or seizing the property, entered a building or a house, must be fined Kyats 100 or sentenced to four months' imprisonment if the accused could not pay for the fine.

Instruction

Bail could be granted; withdrawal of lawsuit not allowed; any judge could make judgement.

Para: (24) Forgery

Anyone who forged other person's brand or signature to his benefit must be fined Kyats 300 or sentenced to two years' imprisonment with hard labour if the accused could not afford to pay for the fine, or both fine and imprisonment, or only imprisonment of two years.

Instruction

Warrant to be issued; bail could be granted; withdrawal of lawsuit not allowed; up to two years' imprisonment by empowered judge.

Para: (25) Breach of Agreement

Anyone who, after promise to send some other person's goods to a place, failed to carry out that promise and thus caused any kind of loss on the part of the other, must be fined Kyats 100 or sentenced to four months' imprisonment with hard labour if the accused could not pay for the fine.

Instruction

Summons to be issued; bail could be granted; withdrawal of lawsuit allowed; up to six months' imprisonment by any empowered judge.

Para: (26) Cohabiting with other person's legally wedded wife.

Anyone who committed sexual intercourse and cohabited with a woman at some place or , without marriage, took her away to some other place or made sexual relation with her without her husband's permission must give the woman's husband a compensation the amount of which must be judged on the dignity, generation and status of her husband. If the accused could not compensate, he must be sentenced up to two years' imprisonment. The wife must be a legally wedded one by her husband.

But, after compensation, the accused must not think that he could take away the woman unless her husband discarded her.

For this crime, as the mayor of upper Taung Gyi issued a circular that whoever committed this crime (any national or any government servant) must be only fined and not be sentenced to imprisonment; the circular was spread to all the Kayinni offices and the Office of the gazetted officer (of sub-divisional rank in colonial days which they then called "Wun-dauk-taw-min".)

Instruction

Warrant to be issued; bail could be granted; withdrawal of lawsuit allowed; up to two years' imprisonment by any empowered judge.

Para : (27) Impairing one's dignity

Anyone who, by acts of words or letters or photographs, impaired someone's dignity must be fined Kyats (100) or sentenced to six months' imprisonment without hard labour.

Instruction

Summons to be issued; bail could be granted; withdrawal of lawsuit allowed. Any judge could make judgement.

Para : (28) Insulting

Anyone who, with an intention to destroy peace, insulted the community must be fined Kyats (200) or sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labour if the accused could not afford to pay it.

Instruction

Warrant to be issued; bail could be granted; withdrawal of lawsuit allowed; any judge could make judgement.

Para : (29) Accusing of being witch

Anyone who wrongly accused other person of being a witch must give compensation of up to Kyats (200). If the accused could not afford to compensate, he must be sentenced to one year's imprisonment with hard labour.

If the one accused of being witch could not go through an ordeal of submerging in the water and proved to be a true witch, his or her family must be driven away from the village.

Instruction

Warrant to be issued; bail could be granted; withdrawal of lawsuit not allowed; up to six months' imprisonment by any empowered judge.

Para : (30) Carelessness

(a) Through carelessness, anyone who caused death to some other person must be fined up to Kyats (300) or sentenced to two years' imprisonment if the accused could not afford to pay, or both punishment of fine and imprisonment, or only imprisonment of up to two years.

Instruction

Bail could not be given; withdrawal of lawsuit not allowed; the chief administration personnel of the territory could make judgement.

Para : (31) Setting Fire

Anyone who set fire other person's house or his own must be fined up to Kyats (500) or sentenced to three years' imprisonment if the accused could not pay for the fine, or both punishment of fine as well as imprisonment, or only imprisonment of three years.

Instruction

Bail could not be granted; withdrawal of lawsuit not allowed; up to two years' imprisonment by any empowered judge.

Para : (32) Defiance Against Police

Anyone who defiantly disturbed the duty of the police must be fined up to Kyats (150) or sentenced to five months' imprisonment if the accused could not afford the fine.

Instruction

Warrant to be issued; bail could be granted; withdrawal of lawsuit not allowed; up to six months' imprisonment by any empowered judge.

Para : (33) Carelessness of the Police

(a) Any policeman who, through carelessness, caused the prisoner to be free must be fined Kyats (75) or sentenced to three months' imprisonment if the accused could not pay for the fine.

Instruction

Summons to be issued; bail could be granted; withdrawal of lawsuit not allowed; any judge could make judgement.

(b) If a judge did not report that there were thieves and robbers in his village to his superior offices and thus let the evil persons go freely, he must

be fined Kyats (50) or sentenced to two months' imprisonment if he could not pay for the fine.

Instruction

As have been mentioned in the above paragraph.

Para : (34) Lack of Respect

Anyone who agitated the public by means of words or letters to impair the dignity of the administration personnel of the territory or the government officials must be fined Kyats (200) or sentenced to one year's imprisonment if the accused could not pay for the fine.

Instruction

Bail could be granted; withdrawal of lawsuit not allowed; up to two years' imprisonment by any empowered judge.

Para : (35) Deserting the Prison

Any prisoner, whether in the prison or had deserted it to get away, must be managed to serve his former punishment fully.

Instruction

Bail could not be granted; withdrawal of lawsuit not allowed; the former judge could make judgement.

Para : (36) The Foot-prints of Animals Left

if the foot-prints of a lost animal were found in a certain village and those villagers could not show other foot-prints indicating the leave of that animal from their village, the villagers concerned must give the owner, one altogether five numbers of that animal, and one must be taken by the judge who had decided the case.

Instruction

Warrant to issued and bail could be granted, withdrawal of lawsuit not allowed, any judge could make judgement.

Guiltless Crime

Para : (1) If the judges sincerely had acted in accordance with the prescribed law, they were not guilty.

Para : (2) If they had acted in accordance with the remarks made by the Head of the Office, they were not guilty.

Para : (3) While acting sincerely to bring out justice, if they had happened to do mistake, unfortunately, they were not guilty.

Para : (4) While trying to avoid great danger, if they had happened to commit trivial mistake, they were not guilty.

- Para : (5) Any boy of under age (7) was to be exempted from being punished legally.
- Para : (6) If a youth of under age (10) had committed crime but if it was done out of immaturity, he was not guilty.
- Para : (7) Any mentally deranged person was never guilty.
- Para : (8) If someone got drunk because of others and committed a certain crime, he was not guilty. But if he had drunk alcohol and committed it, he was responsible for that.
- Para : (9) If anyone sincerely did something but not with the intention of killing other person, he was not guilty.
- Para : (10) Sincerely saying something was not to be taken as guilty.
- Para : (11) If it was judged as a trivial offence without bias, the one who did that was not guilty.
- Para : (12) Anyone who happened to kill a person that had raided his or her house to hurt with a fatal blow or to seize the property was not guilty because there was only the intention of defending.
- Para : (13) In any challenge of fighting with bilateral agreement, even if there was a death case, no one was guilty.

E) The Warfare

The basic unit of the organization of the Kayan (Padaung) national, in political and warfare, is village, which is the highest as well as the widest area in their society.

At some times, through strong kingroup spirit and arrogant attitudes of some people, there were arguments and fighting over the ownership of the land between the villages. And there were also a few instances of fighting through love of power by the leaders of the villages taking charge of the administration of them.

Due to the difficulty in communication between various areas, lack of commercial production apart from the primitive mode of home production meant for self-existence, lack of trade other than barter system for some items and fighting occurred between the villages, they have never gained the status to develop a city life.

In joining battle with enemies, they were said to have used surprise tactics as well as challenging engagement. As they have been superstitious about the guardian spirit of their areas, before starting warfare, they never failed to give offerings to those spirits for their success in battles. They mostly used goats in offering. But it is also learnt that on such occasions some of them used to go to the graveyard to offer up the prayers for their achievement of aim. Offering of goat at the praying site was said to have meant for the guardian spirit of the mountain. To find out whether or not a certain day was a lucky one, they as usual relied on the time-honoured traditional method of "cock-bone fortune telling" If the prediction by that method said it was "no good" or if one of them on the way to battle-ground stumbled over something

or simply fell down to the ground, it was taken as a sign of ill luck and they retreated to their place.

Another way of testing their luck before waging warfare on the first day of the battle was by shooting with a crossbow at the blades of a fan. If the arrow, after hitting one of them, went towards the east, it was regarded as a good sign while the returning of the arrow towards the shooter was taken as a negative sign, and they changed their plan on that day.

On the first day of the battle, before setting off, they made cleaning works in the village. If chickens and baby pigs were bred on that day, they took it as "unclean" because it meant that some of them would be wounded. So they used to drive these animals away outside the village even when they were breeding. Another way of preventing the danger that might appear in the battle-time was by way of their superstition – just before joining battle with the challengers, they abstained from eating curries of creeping plants such as gourd, pumpkin, water convolvulus and cucumber. During the time of engagement in fighting, the villager who remains in the village had to sit down quietly in the village.

The fighters, to prevent from danger, had to carry talismans usually in their hair to bring good luck in fighting or to win the battle.

Once the two challenging groups were on the battleground, face to face, the two leaders first engaged themselves in verbal attack on each other, using abusive language with threat. But there were instances when these troops, instead of joining battle with each other, arranged a fighting of gamecocks the result of which was to be taken as the answer; otherwise they would have to fight vigorously. Yet, there was still more peculiar way of deciding the conflict; someone had to find a crowing cock and bring it to both

sides and watch if it crowed or not at a particular side of the battle groups. The side at which the cock did not crow was recognized as the loser.

The prisoners of the battle were taken as the slaves by the conquerors. They had to work at the leaders' houses before they were redeemed with ceremonial frog drum, buffalo, bull, money, territory etc. If they were not redeemed, later they became as the native villagers, freely going as their wish. But the conquerors never took them as their lifetime prisoners.

The weapons mostly used by them in the battles were: percussion lock firearm, crossbow, sword, spear, shields etc. They used to make these weapons before the battle came. Unless they had these enough for a battle, they never tried to go to battleground.

It was traditional among them that a big tree or a rock was made a monument of winning in the battle between the two villages. Before that "monument of conquerors", the conquered had to make oath that so long as the monument existed they would not revolt against the conquerors. The conquerors had the right to seize the conquered properties of land, buffalo, bull and other things as they fancied. The leader of the conquered troops had the right to take the lion's share of the things seized.

In the Kayan (Padaung) society, regarding with administration and judicial affairs, it is learnt that they still practise their customary laws as well as the prevailing enacted law of the country. The relationship between the public and the administration bodies is also found to be good and they all seem united, holding the principle of paying respect to the elders and superiors.

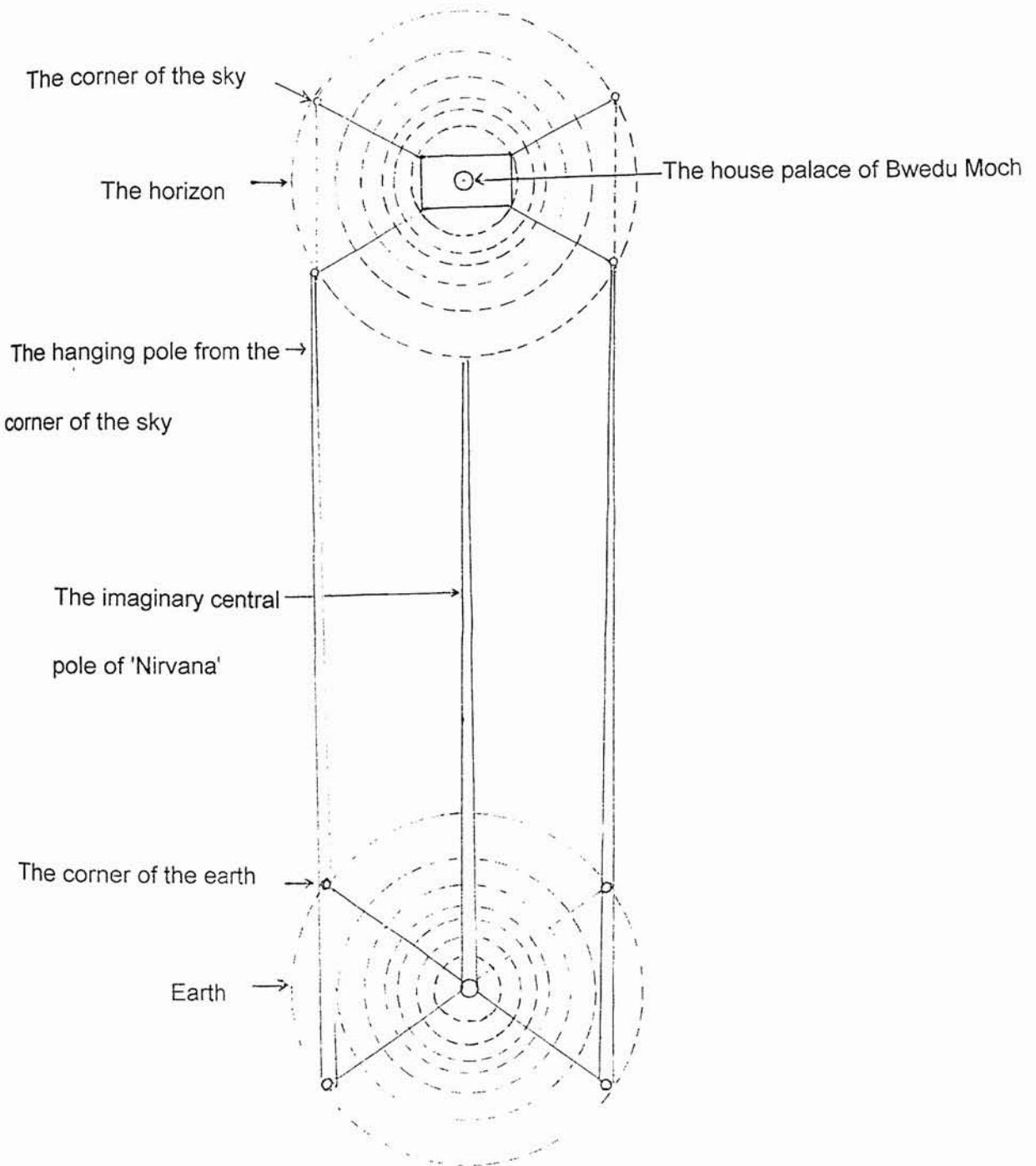
Chapter 7

Religion

(A) Animism

Regarding worship, the Kayan (Padaung) national has strong belief in spirits, "Animism". The name of their most powerful guardian spirit is 'Bwedu Mochi'. They believe this spirit as the creator of all animate and inanimate beings in this universe. According to 'Karkaung', the traditional long poems, their ancestors had worshipped Bwedu Mochi since prehistoric times, before they migrated to Myanmar territory. They make yearly ritual offering of foods to this Bwedu Mochi by holding a festival called "Kae-htoo-boo". They give offerings and pray for their safety, bumper crop and good rain. They earnestly believe that failing to hold this ceremony of offering to honour Bwedu Mochi would result in suffering from drought, failing in crop and other forms of danger.

It is also their belief that the all-powerful Bwedu Mochi has employed many spirits, stationed at all forests, mountains, waters and earth, to give protection to them. In olden times, human beings could never conquer forces of nature, which always had battled them by giving all forms of danger. Thus they believe that there must be spirit more powerful than human beings at these places. So, to be always free from natural disasters and calamities and later to be prosperous in earning their livelihood, they offer foods to Bwedu Mochi annually. The hunters also yearly offer animals they get by hunting for



"How the Spirit Bwedu Mochi has Created the Earth and the Sky"

safety and more success in the future. Not only that; when they think that someone has been possessed by a spirit, during the time of expedition in the forest, they also make such offering to Bwedu Mochi to propitiate him.

They all believe that there are guardian spirits for every human being and every house called '*Karu-karaung*'. To these personal spirits they offer foods when they get ill, or yearly, or some of them, once in every three years. To the spirits of houses they make offerings at the time of house warming ceremonies. According to their belief, there are also guardian spirits for the dead persons who died of violent deaths and who were dead because of some disease. To these spirits they occasionally make offerings. But treating these guardian spirits with contempt would bring one illness and danger, they believe.

(1) The Meaning of Kae-htoo-boo

In the Kayah language, 'Kae' means 'territory'; 'htoo' means 'accomplishment'; 'boo' means 'pole' or 'axle'. Another name of that 'Kae-htoo-boo' is 'Ee-lu-boo'. 'Ee-lu' means 'donation'; 'boo' means 'pole' or 'axle'. So the word 'Ee-lu-boo' means 'The pole of donation'. Again the next name for these 'Kae-htoo-boo' and 'Ee-lu-boo' is in the Kayan (Padaung) language 'Kant-khunt'. 'Kant' in their language is 'territory' and 'khunt' - 'centre of a place'; the word 'Kant-khunt' thus carries the meaning 'The Centre of the Territory'. Yet again, there is still another term for 'Kae-htoo-boo'. That is 'Mawdu-de-boo', meaning 'The central pole of the great sky. But here I would like to use the term 'Kae-htoo-boo' throughout my paper.

Mainly, 'Kae-htoo-boo' has two poles; one 'Kae-htoo-boo-du' which is a big bamboo pole (some say that it is 'male' pole) and another 'Kae-htoo-boo-phu' which is a small bamboo pole (some say that it is 'female' pole). The male pole is 25 feet to 45 feet long, with its circumference from one foot to nearly two and half feet. There are four parts or four stages at 'Kae-htoo-boo-du'; umbrella, shaft of umbrella, the supportive wooden layer, flagstaff plate. The flagstaff plate is mostly seen at the big pole. At the top of the shaft of umbrella, there is a 'circle' made of a sliced bamboo or a wooden plate on which is a circular hole, which denotes 'the moon'. To that circle the banyan leaves are tied with sliced bamboo strips. In fact, these banyan leaves are also made of sliced bamboo strips. The umbrella, which is right under the circular-shape bamboo or wood, is made of bamboo. To that bamboo are tied ears of paddy, which is meant to have a bumper crop. Again under that umbrella, sliced bamboo pieces woven into the forms of mollusc or chicken-basket or beehive are attached. Just under the umbrella, at the top of the flagstaff, there is one-storey wooden house called "The abode of rain-spirit". And then under that, sliced bamboo strips woven into fish bones and fish-trap are tied. At the top of the flagstaff, under "the abode of rain-spirit" a flagstaff plate is attached. In olden days, the pole of 'Kae-htoo-boo-du' was made a six-segment or eight-segment one but nowadays only a circular pole is used.

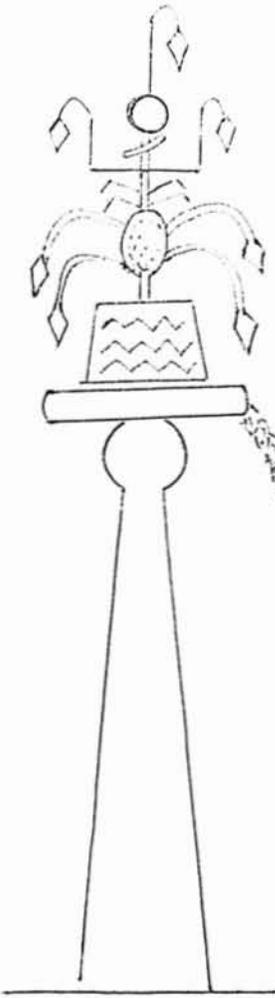
The height of the 'female pole' is only 12 feet or 15 feet and it has four segments or surfaces. On every surface of that pole are carved out the figures of star, sun, moon, man, water bottle and other animals. But nowadays as there are mostly circular poles these carved figures are a rare item to be seen. At the top of the pole, there are two horns of a buffalo, which actually are made of wood. This was explained to be the sign of offering

buffalo as sacrifice to Bwedu Mochi and the guardian spirit of that flagstaff during the ceremony. But it could also be taken as a sign of their regard to buffalo-horns.

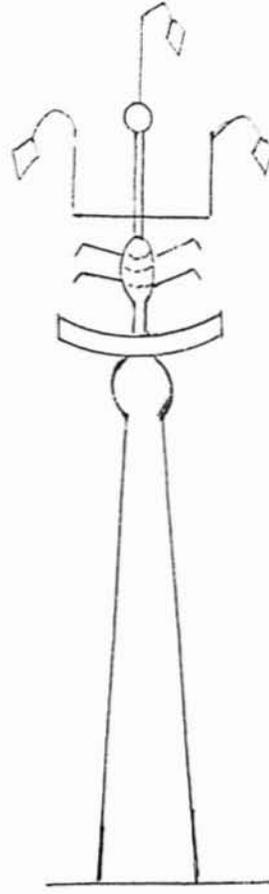
Near the 'female pole' or 'Kae-htoo-boo-phu', there is posted a flagstaff called 'Kae-tyar', at the top of which is a circular tray with a stem decorated with lotus petals. 'Kae' in their language is 'state' or 'country' or territory and 'tyar' has the meaning of 'offering'. So 'Kae-tyar' carries the meaning of 'offering for the state' with the lotus-petal tray with a stem. Another name for it is 'the small flagstaff tray'. According to their custom regarding the worship of 'Kae-htoo-boo', a new village that wants to erect a 'Kae-htoo-boo' flagstaff is not allowed in the first year. They must first and foremost worship a 'Kae-tyar' flagstaff for one year and only after that span of time, they have the right to erect a big flagstaff of 'Kae-htoo-boo'.

They have the custom of erecting a small flagstaff of four surfaces called 'Taw-ti' every seven years. On every surface of the pole, there are figures of sun, moon, star and other carved animals. The aim for worshipping this 'Taw-ti' is to be able to increase their population and for the abundance of the animals they always use. But here one thing of which they have got to be mindful is that they must not carry the pole of 'Taw-ti' just like they carry other ordinary poles. It must be carried with reverence in upright position unlike they carry the flagstaff of 'Kae-htoo-boo'. It is learnt that there are two kinds of 'Taw-ti' flagstaff. In erecting that 'Taw-ti' flagstaff, there is a particular duration of time at which to be started. It is between 3 o'clock and 5 o'clock, before dawn.

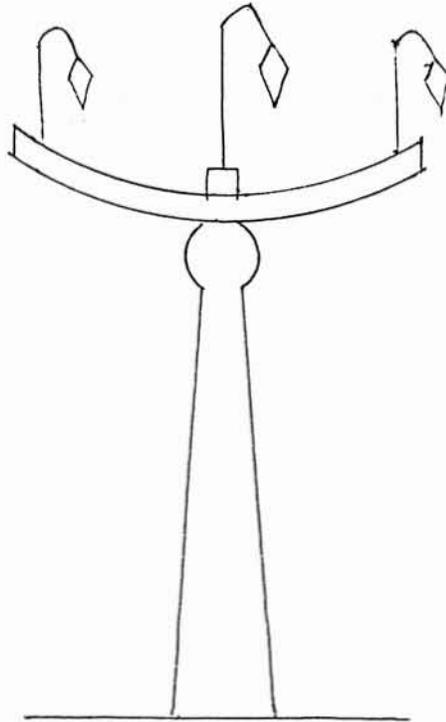
There is also another kind of flagstaff which they yearly erect and worship. It is 'Baw-pa-lyar' and the aim of that is to have a good crop in that



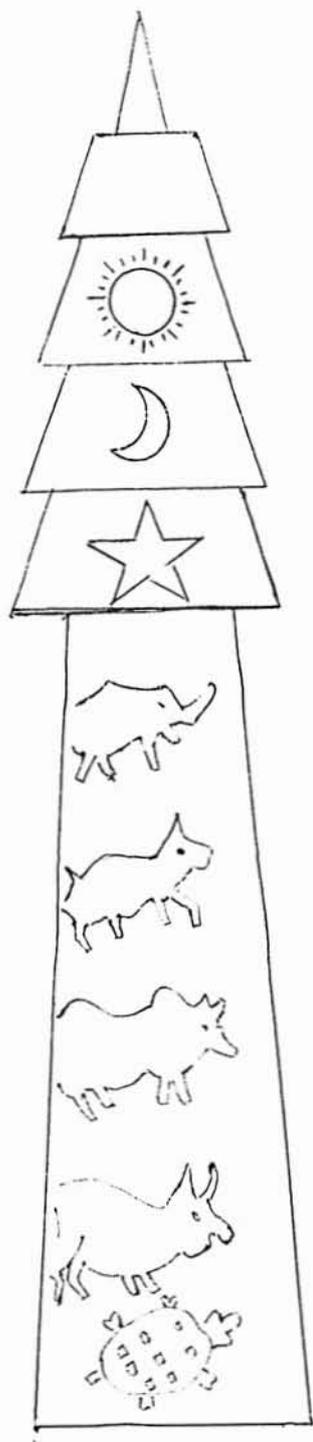
Kae-htoo-boo-du



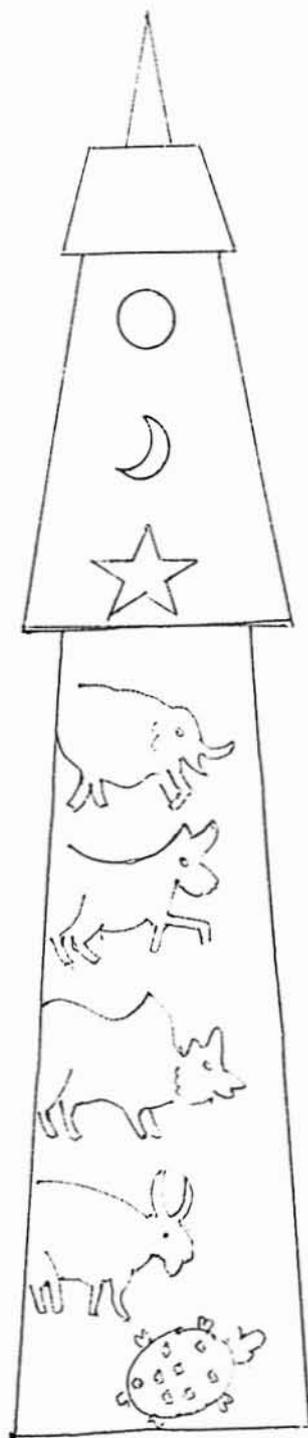
Kae-htoo-boo-phu



Kae-tyar



Taw-ti (a)



Taw-ti (b)

year. At that flagstaff, there are bamboo-made figures such as chicken-basket, beehive, the leave of a banyan tree and a crescent. After it has been erected, the people from all houses of the village go to that place and make offerings to the spirit with such things as cucumber, pumpkin and other crops each a little by putting them all in the small tray of the flagstaff praying for their good harvest and crop.

The most popular flagstaff among the Kayan (Padaung) national is 'The flagstaff with a bird on it. That bird is made of bamboo. They said that the bird is a 'Brahminy duck'. The emergence of that legendary bird runs as follows:

Long time ago, while all the people were waiting for 'day' and 'night', during the time of ceremony for 'Kae-htoo-boo', one day in the dark at night time, a "Brahminy duck" came down from the sky to that place and left an egg, from which a spectrum of light emitted and with the help of that light they all jubilantly could continue holding of the ceremony. From that time onwards, to show off their thanks to that strange bird, the Brahminy duck, their ancestors put it at the top of the flagstaff. They all believe that it was a good servant, a messenger, of the spirit.

(2) The History of the worship of 'Kae-htoo-boo'

According to their version, at the beginning of this universe, there was only Bwedu Mochi, the guardian spirit of the universe, who sojourned at a separate abode. But one day, being tired of his loneliness, to create the universe, he first created a lesser spirit. The created spirit, after drawing the design of the universe, to materialize the scheme, he again created seven pairs of male and female spirits. They believe that these seven pairs made

this universe just like they sew the clothes. The specific duties assigned to every pair is as follows:

No.	Male spirits	Female spirits	Duties Assigned
1.	Nahi	Nahar	Spinning
2.	Nakyi	Nakyar	Binding Cotton fibres
3.	Nasi	Nasar	Weaving on a loom
4.	Natu	Natar	Levelling the ground
5.	Naru	Narar	Sewing
6.	Naku	Nakar	Adjusting the thickness
7.	Nalu	Nalar	Checking

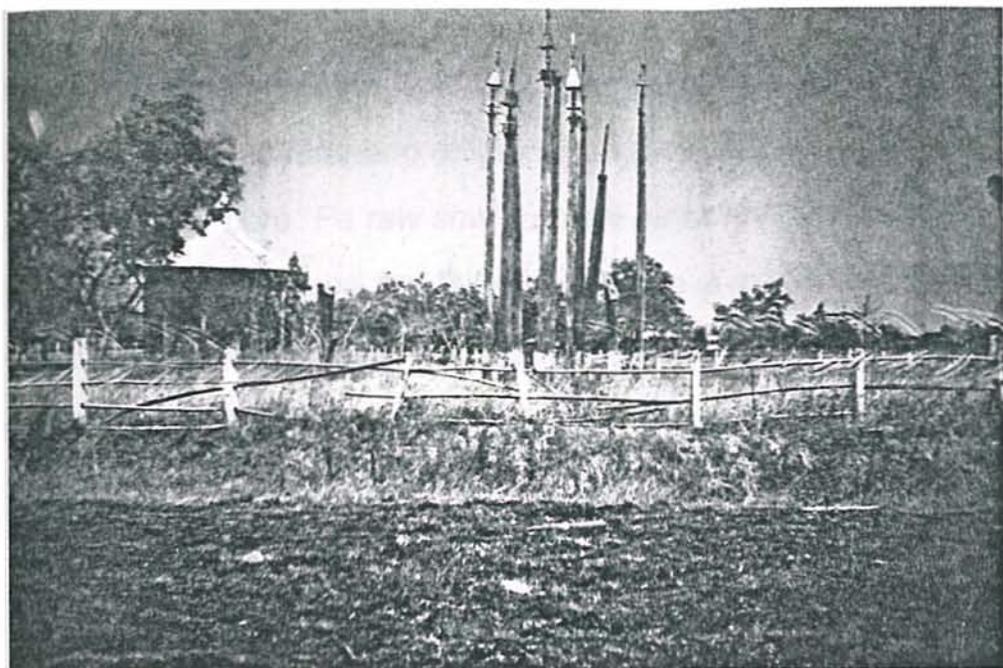
Due to their dutifulness of these seven pairs, the universe became a lovely place for all.

'Bwedu Mochi', after construction of the universe, first created "light" and afterwards differentiated 'day' and 'night'. Then after creating stars and constellation, he fixed the paths for all these to move around. After that, streams, forests, mountains, water, land, variety of animals, seven villages and seven abodes of 'Nirvana' were created. Only at last, Bwedu Mochi created two human beings named 'Taki Pawphetho' and 'Taki Byarpephree', teaching the former all the ritualistic details called 'Kae' and letting him do these. The female was then given the ritualistic details of 'Kae-htoo-boo' alias 'Ee-lu-boo' and ordered her to offer him with reverence. When other animate beings heard of this they came and gathered at the ceremonial site of 'Kae-htoo-boo'. Termites cut the tree named 'Pho-he' and made it a pole with four

faces around it. Then again the tree called 'Di-htoo-maw', was also cut and made to have eight faces around it. Afterwards, it was erected to become 'a pole of worship'. At that time, as there was no drum or gong, they played bamboo slats as gongs and short lengths of bamboo closed at the ends as drums. By striking the bamboo slats they made the sounds of cymbals. The one who beat the gong was the crab and another one who carried the drum slung over the shoulder was the "dragonfly". The one who played the cymbals was the "butterfly". Thus by playing various "instruments" they eulogized the spirit, "Bwedu mochi" and paid worship. But due to their mistake in praising and worshipping the spirit, their 'pole of worship' fell down to the ground. This showed that their spirits did not allow any other animals except human beings and the guardian spirits to perform the ceremony of worship. From that time onwards, the "Kae-htoo-boo" ceremony was done by only human beings throughout the history until the present time according to the tradition. The only reason for performing the ceremony of worship for "Kae-htoo-boo" yearly and regularly without break is that they got it directly from the spirit "Bwedu-mochi".

In the year 1948, when Myanmar got the independence, all the ethnic groups which belong to the larger Kayah tribe recognized, with common consent, the Kae-htoo-boo as a religion of Animism. But on 8th April, 1979, when the collective worshipping ceremony was held on the eve of the 'Kae-htoo-boo' festival for the 21st time, all the Kayah nationals decided, with common consent, to adopt the name of "Kae-htoo-boo religion" instead of the name of "Animism".

It is written, on page 54, chapter 16 of the book ' The First Treatise on Kae-htoo-boo Religion', under the heading of , "Kae-htoo-boo alias the life of



"Kae-htoo-boo" Flagstaffs



"Brahiminy - Bird" Flagstaff

the flagstaff religion", that the "Kae-htoo-boo" religion is now 4500 years old. The motto of the "Kae-htoo-boo religion is in their Kayan language, "*Pe raw shwi lu maw du di bore. Pe raw shwi lu maw bu di lay*" which means "Try to attain "Nirvana"; to achieve the "Nirvana", make a collective worship". The members of the 'Kae-htoo-boo' religion believe that their 'Kae-htoo-boo' flagstaff worship is the most holy and divine of all.

(3) The Shaman

The shaman is the one who has supernatural power and hence he is the important person in their society. Mostly, they are between 40 and 70 years of age and their descendants have hereditary right to take their places. They are said to have this power through clairvoyance. But they are not always occupied with duties of a shaman. To earn their livelihood, they have to do their cultivation works and home industries. There are no female shamans; only the male shamans are found there in their society.

In offering sacrifices to spirit, there are two classes of shaman, 'Ee-lu-fu' and 'Kae-fu'. 'Ee-lu-fu' class has the right to do offering duty in a Kae-htoo-boo ceremony as it is regarded that they are holier than the other class. 'Kae-fu' has only the right to make offerings of sacrifice to the guardian spirits of the forest, mountain and land. According to their belief, "Ee-lu-fu" is holier than "Kae-fu". So no such cross-marriage is allowed between the two classes, the superior and the inferior. The two classes perform their duties according to their respective status.

If someone falls ill because he or she is possessed by a spirit, they consult the shaman to cure the ailment. The shaman has to find out the ailment of the patient, he is possessed of, by means of the fortune telling

method of "cock-bone". It is so believed that the spirit concerned makes contact with the shaman through his power of clairvoyance to give him the information what kind of animal he wants as sacrifice. Then the shaman, offering the animal having been asked for, pleaded with the spirit to forgive the ailing person or to cure him. The family concerned with the patient has to give the shaman rice or chicken .On such occasion when there is a bad harvest or there is a time of catastrophe, the shaman has the duty to make offerings of food to the spirit. And for the security of the village and for success in the battle, they are responsible to make the necessary rites of offering. In other words, the shaman is the one who has the duty to get rid of the friction or to solve the problem between human beings and spirits.

(B) Christianity

The Kayans have been converted to Christianity since 120 years ago. In the year 1858, when the Christian missionary Catholic priest Bigandat got to Taungoo, he found out that some of the Kayin had already become Christians. In 1868, Catholic priests got to 'Lake-tho', where the Gaypa national who ethnically belong to the Kayah lived for missionary works. Since that time, some Gaypa national began to profess Christianity. The priests who had preached on Christianity were Bidefi, Tonar Torel, Cobon and Tangress Conti, who were sent by the priest Bigandat.

In 1870, Catholic priests made Toungoo their missionary headquarters and sent the priest Bifi to the lands of the Kayah national to carry out the extensive missionary duties. During that period, the priest Cabon was at 'Lake-tho', doing his missionary works. Later the priest Tonar Torel came to

help the priest Cabon with his works. They did the missionary work in the region where the Gaypa and the Kayans (Gaykho) lived. Due to their intensive missionary work, in the years between 1873 and 1876, the Gaypa and the Kayans (Gaykho) became Christians.

While doing their missionary duty, as there was still no literature for the Kayah, the priest G. Contic invented the literature of the Gaypa, in which language and written form, the books of prayers and songs for the choir were invented.

In 1890, the head priest Bigandat at Yangon (formerly Rangoon) made the priest Tonar Torel the head of the group of priests at Toungoo. But Tonar Torel handed over his duty to the priest G. Conti and travelled along the Kayah mountainous regions, doing missionary work. Due to these priests, some of the Kayah, Kayan (Padaung), Kayan (Kangan) Yinbaw and Kayan (Gaykho) became Christians.

In 1909, the priest Tonar Tore died and the priest Se Grada succeeded to his place. During the time of Se Grada, the number of Christians among the Kayah increased a lot. The Reverend Se Grada made tours yearly in the region, extending missionary branches at suitable places, for each of which a priest was assigned to do missionary work. Thus extended missionary branches were founded in 1915 in Hti-thar-saw, in 1916 in Moso, in 1928 in Daw Rauk Khu and in 1933 in Loikaw.

Due to the energetic work of the priests, kateku village unit of the Panpet Village Group became the Catholic Christians in the year 1953. The head of the missionary group stationed at Kateku Church was the priest Carlo. The donor for the church at kateku was U Latoe and the various responsibilities concerned with church affairs are done by Marte Oo, who is



Christian Church

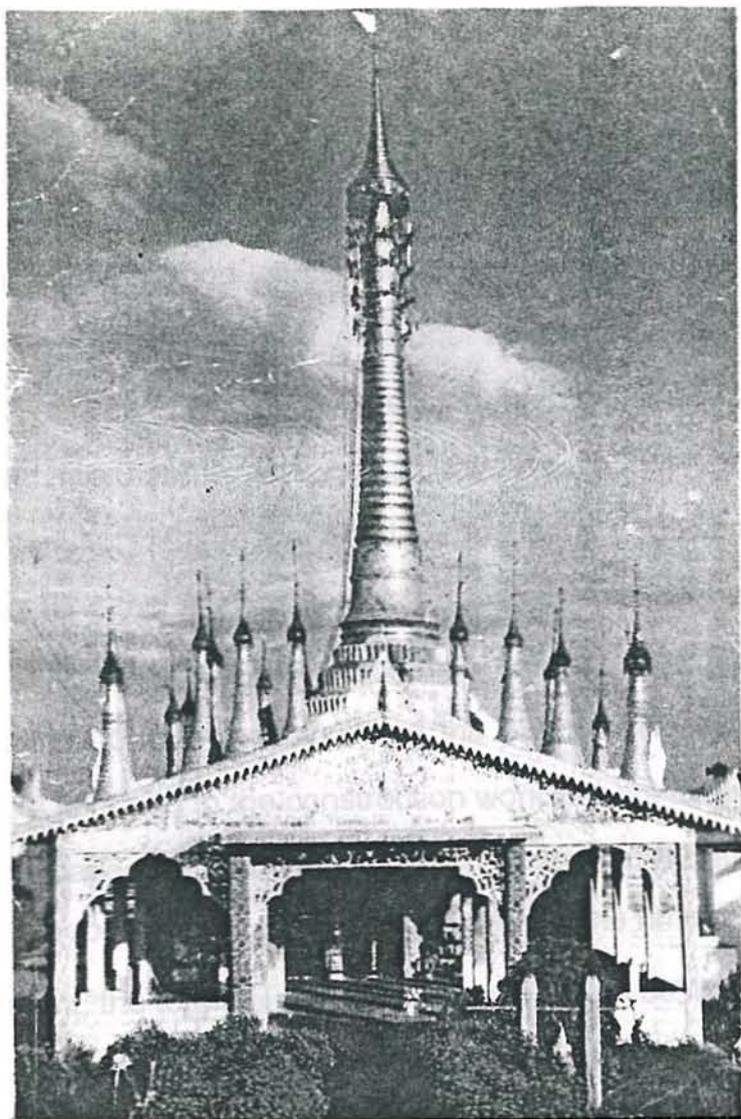
the leader of youths in the village. When they became Christians, they discarded the belief in the traditional spirits. As they are Christians, they go to the church every Sunday for worshipping and praying for the deceased.

(C) Buddhism

The Kayan (Padaung) national became Christians and Buddhists after 1900, especially after Myanmar gained independence. Though the basic causes that converted them from Animism to Christianity and Buddhism might be said as the cultural influence of the Shan national and the missionary works of the Buddhist monks in that hilly region, actually it was the pagoda called " The Historical Moe Bye Pagoda" where relics of the Buddha were enshrined, in Moe Bye.

That pagoda was built in the year 235 of the Mahar Era (BC-309), by the king 'Siri dhama Sawka' who sent the monks as missionaries to build 84,000 pagodas (*zedis*) simultaneously in nine great 'territories'. Then the height of the pagoda was just four spans and half. As the true relics of the Lord Buddha were enshrined in it, the pagoda was named "The True Relics Pagoda". The king 'Ahlaung Sithu' of the Pagan era rebuilt the pagoda and increased its height to thirty and half feet to denote there were nine 'states' of the Shan national. on 4th waxing day of Kason, in the year 476 of the Myanmar Era (AD -1114).

In the year 1147 of Myanmar Era, the King of Badon alias King Bodawpaya of the Konbaung Dynasty (AD 1750-1885) got to Moe Bye which is situated at the edge of the southern Shan State and paid obeisance to "The Zedi of True Relics". The King had taken interest in the valour and



True Relics Moe Bye Zedi



Buddhist Monastery

activeness of the Padaung men in military affairs and custom of wearing brass rings by the Padaung women since he was merely a prince. As the Padaungs merely worshipped their traditional spirits, the King found that they were of just primitive class in culture and religion. He thought that by converting them into Buddhism they could have newly developed ideas about the religion and culture. So he managed to rebuild the pagoda with still higher height by consulting the Shan 'Saw bwa' (governor) of Moe Bye. But to draw the attraction of the Kayans (Padaungs), he made arrangements to have the active participation of them in rebuilding the pagoda. He was said to have ordered them to take part in the construction work without failure.

Now the pagoda became 90 feet high if measured between the plinth and the 'plantain bud' (ငှက်ပျော့ပွား) of the pagoda. If the umbrella is also taken into measurement, the total height of the pagoda would be 108 feet.

So we could here find that all the measurement of the heights of the pagoda built and rebuilt by the kings of various eras are divisible by the numbers 3 and 9 (တြင်းကျေ၊ နဝင်းကျေ) .

The King of Badon, in rebuilding the pagoda, unlike his previous works, had the portion between the edge of the bell-like dome and the end of the 'plantain bud' oblong. It had ovolo mouldings (ဖေါင်းရစ်) above the bell-like dome (ခေါင်းလောင်းမှောက်) that resemble the bronze rings around the long neck of a Padaung women. There are all together 19 ovolo mouldings and their total height is nearly 20 feet. The topmost ovolo moulding of those 19 and the lowest one are not much different in diameter; only two feet. It is said that this extraordinary performance was done in accordance with the desire of the King of Badon to draw the attraction of the Kayan (Padaung) national to become interested in the pagoda and to revere it. It is also learnt that due to

the King's regard for the Kayan (Padaung) national. They agreeably called him 'The King of Padaungs'.

Similarly, they have called 'The True Relics Pagoda' 'The Padaung Pagoda' to this day.

Nowadays, we may see in some Kayan villages, ceremonies to denote their conversion from Animism to Buddhism. As it is not needed to discard their traditional worship of their spirits, the numbers of Buddhists increase day after day in their society. Among the five village units of the Panpet village group, the villagers of the two units, 'Painmasaung Village Unit and Banserbanote Village Unit are the Buddhists who also have belief in their traditional spirits. There is a monastery between those two units and during the time from 1994 to 1996 the missionary, *Sayadaw* (the presiding monk of a Buddhist monastery) Badanta U Pyinnyar Zawta, resided there. Since the time the *Sayadaw* has been absent, the Buddhist religious affairs have been led by one U Maung Aye alias U Larlane of the Banserbanote Village Unit. Occasionally, the members of an occult science association named 'Shwe Yin Kyaw', from Loikaw Township, came to them and preached them sermons about Buddhist Philosophy and precepts. These people also cured ailments that were involved with occult affairs.

They also perform their traditional practices along with the Buddhist duties. For example, when they paid obeisance with gifts in respect and gratitude of the 'Shwe Yin Kyaw Sayas', who preached sermons and cured ailments, they also celebrated their traditional 'ceremony of blessing', in which they invited the old people in the village and asked them for blessing for their welfare and goodness in the future. The one who was going to take blessing had to pay obeisance to the old people who were sitting in line, one



The Old Men Tying up the Strands of Blessing.



The Old Women Tying up the Strands of Blessing.

by one, who tied strands of amulet (the number of the strands being 3 or 5 or 7 or 9 ~ odd numbers) around the right arm with words of blessings. Then these people were fed with foods and *khaung-ye*, and money was also offered.

Though there are different religious beliefs such as Buddhism, Christianity, Animism among them, there have never occurred any argument or conflict about those beliefs.

(D) Traditional Festivals

They have many ceremonies, which can generally be classified as the religious, the economic and social. The 'Kae-htoo-boo' ceremony is of the religious nature while the sowing of seeds or the harvesting ceremonies are of the economic; the ceremony of the house-warming; the ceremony to honour giving birth to many babies and the festival for young bachelors and maidens are of social nature.

(1) The Religious Ceremonies

Among all the ceremonies, the Kae-htoo-boo is the most prominent among them. It is held in April, every year, in accordance with their tradition.

The aim and object for holding Kae-htoo-boo is for good weather, peace, clearance of diseases and good harvest. Here the other possible aim for holding that ceremony yearly without break may be for gathering of the relatives and friends who are living apart, far away from one another, as the communication between any two regions is not convenient due to the forests and mountains scattered all over the whole area. Moreover, they have to

spend most of the time at farms for their live hood and it is during that ceremony only they can have a chance of meeting one another.

There are of course customary rules and regulations for holding a 'Kae-htoo-boo' ceremony, which they pay much heed. If any of these rules has been broken by anyone of them, they are so much afraid of it that they move away to another place for safety. So there are preliminary works to be done by them before holding that ceremony.

Enough number of *khaung-ye* pots have to be fermented in advance to make offering to the 'spirit' and to feed the guests during the ceremony of 'Kae-htoo-boo'. Then on the day when all the villages are free, they consult the fortune-teller of the 'cock-bone' method to find out the auspicious day for cutting a big tree, the trunk of which is to be used as a flagstaff for 'Kae-htoo-boo'. In choosing the tree, some prefer teak while others like a broad-leaved tall timber tree, which we call *In Pin* (*Dipterocarpus tuberculatus*). The only characteristics they take heed in choosing are: it must not be a tree wrapped up by a creeper; it must not be a bent one; it must not be a moth-eaten one. After choosing, they again try to find out whether it is suitable or not by 'cock-bone' fortune telling method. When it is successful, they put the chicken curry along with glutinous rice, banana, a fruit we call in Myanmar *Myauk-U* in the small flagstaff circular tray called 'Kae-tyar' and offer them to the spirit, praying for all goodness. On the day that auspicious tree is to be cut, if it is not far away from the village, at three o'clock in the morning or if it is near the village, at one o'clock after midnight, a gathering of villagers in which one member from each family goes to the site jubilantly, playing their traditional instruments.

But there is one custom in cutting the tree they have to pay heed; it must be the shaman who starts cutting it. Only after him, the others have to follow suit. When it has been cut, they cut out the length they would need and tying with rope, they carry it on their shoulders because no vehicle must be used in carrying it. All along the way, they have to beat gong while the shaman has to ride the trunk of the tree by sitting astride it. When it reaches the chosen spot, the waiter girls and women feed the men who carry it with cooked rice, curries and *khaung-ye*. After that in great jubilation, they carried the trunk to the ceremonial site, which usually is on a mound in the centre spot of the village or at the edge of its area. Here, they have to place the cut trunk, the top end of it on a wooden block, so that it does not touch the ground. And it is sprayed with water by a sprig of *Eugenia* to be auspicious. Then they make arrangement to assign the villagers to guard that tree-trunk, day and night, against the dogs that must not be let to cross over it.

It usually takes three or four days to make the exact model of it. While men are busy with moulding, the women have to collect all the things that would be needed to decorate the tree-trunk to be used as the flagstaff such as flowers, umbrella, bamboo bells and pennons. Then a piece of cloth to be used as a flag has to be woven with cotton within three days on a back-strap loom, to which every family must contribute five tickles of cotton. In olden days, only pure virgin had to weave it on the loom but nowadays, any Kayan woman can make it.

The people of the village where the 'Kae-htoo-boo' ceremony is going to be held have to treat the guest from other places with *khaung-ye*, cooked rice and curries, one day ahead of the ceremony. Moreover, they used to give

a small pot of *khaung-ye* and a piece of pork curry each to the relatives who also have to do likewise when the ceremony is held in their village.

The next morning, when all are gathered together, some pull the ropes while others help with erecting the pole, the tree-trunk. During the time of erecting in an upright position, the rest villagers play traditional instruments, dancing round the erected tree-trunk. Once it is properly erected, a buffalo which is kept ready for the purpose is killed on one of whose horns has been tied a silver coin wrapped up in a piece of cloth. The slaughter of the buffalo is entitled to take the silver-coin as the fee for his service. The slaughter usually kills the animal with one stroke of his spear but if he fails to succeed it, the helping hands have to render help by cutting the animal's legs with swords. Here they have a custom of interpreting omens by looking at the position and the place where the buffalo falls down to the ground, dead. If its head is in the direction of the east, it is usually interpreted as 'no good sign for the weather' and hence there would be no good harvest. If its head is in the direction of the west, it is interpreted the opposite. However much the grandeur of the ceremony is, only one buffalo is killed (In other parts of the regions, there is a custom of offering snacks of red and white colours together with banana only.).

After being cooked, the curry of that buffalo meat is first offered to the guardian spirits of the forest, mountain and land all around the place by the shaman 'Kae-phu'. Then the shaman 'Ee-lu-phu' has to make offerings of food to the principal spirit, Bwedu Mochi, with fish, *Myauk-u*, banana and chicken curry by placing them on the special place dedicated to the chief spirit. After that, they pray for all goodness of the whole area. The successful

conclusion of the ceremony is marked by the sounds of the gong, which is usually beaten three times.

After offering sacrifice to the spirit, the shaman of 'Ee-lu-phu' goes under the house provided for the spirit 'Bwedu Mochi' with cock to make predictions by using the cock-bones for the whole village. Then the dead cock is taken to his house and cooked without mixing with anything. After that, the chicken curry is placed on the banana leaf together with the pot of glutinous rice and *khaung-ye* to be offered to 'Bwedu Mochi' at its "palace". The offering must be made at all the flagstuffs on the banana leaves. After pouring *khaung-ye* while offering the foods, the portion of the left over is taken to his house and eaten by the members of his family. During that time, the villagers and the guests dance round the flagstaff playing traditional instruments of drum and gong in all their jubilant moods. The women used to throw water on the dancers in encouraging manner. Only after that they all gather at the place where cooked rice, curry and *khaung-ye* are provided by the villagers.

In the afternoon, every family takes a cock to the fortune-teller to get predictions for their future. If they find the predictions good for them, they are very much happy with a belief that a good harvest and a good health for each are waiting for them in the days yet to come. A widow has to ask for help from some other male to get prediction by 'cock-bone' method for them. No woman is allowed to enter the area of 'Kae-htoo-boo' flagstaff.

In olden days, there was no custom of holding a 'Kae-htoo-boo' ceremony collectively by the whole State; instead it was held according to the region. Only after the independence, the collective holding of it began as 'The State Ceremony' In 1957, the State government sponsored the grand

celebration of the 'Kae-htoo-boo' ceremony in Dawtangu village, near a place called 'seven lakes terrace', for the first time in history.

For the Kayans who ethnically belong to the Kayah race, by holding the 'Kae-htoo-boo' ceremony yearly, they get such social and religious profits such as having reunion with relatives, getting new friends, making good meritorious deeds, having fun, having more friendly relation between the villagers, having the chance of working together for youths and adults, having the chance of meeting for the young men and girls of puberty age, and, last but not least, they are able to maintain their traditions and customs that unify them as brethren.

There are many taboo with regard to the Kae-htoo-boo ceremony. If they fail to obey the traditional taboo regarding this ceremony, they know they will have to move to another place leaving the village and the houses. During the time of this ceremony, they have to abstain from doing such things as hunting, reaping grass used in thatching, building a house and wedding. This Kae-htoo-boo ceremony is never held while there is a person that is seriously ill, in the village. And during the month in which this ceremony is going to be held, if there is a funeral ceremony in the village, only the cutting of the tree trunk to be used as the pole of Kae-htoo-boo is done and not the ceremony. But if someone dies in the village on the day when the cutting of the tree trunk is to be done for the Kae-htoo-boo flagstaff, the cutting business must be discontinued and the ceremony also must be cancelled. During the time of the ceremony, the villagers must avoid eating fermented Soya-bean, preserve fish, mushroom, saurus crane, lapwing, woodpecker, swallow, magpie robin, peacock, pangolin, porcupine, monkey, monitor lizard, short-headed snake-head, barking deer, deer, dog and mollusc. The Kae-htoo-boo ritualists have

to keep their bodies clean and be vegetarians since one or two days before the ceremony until it is finished. Before the pole for the flagstaff is erected, while the tree trunk is laid on the ground, the villagers have to watch it so that no dog crosses over it. They must also abstain from dropping waste matter or urinate at the place where the Kae-htoo-boo flagstaff is going to be posted.

When villagers dance round the flagstaff pole, there must be no female participants. Besides no guest or female is allowed to touch that pole. They take much care in erecting the pole because if it falls down to the ground while erecting they take it as a very bad omen and the whole village moves away to another place.

The Brahminy duck in Myanmar language is '*Hinthar*'. The Kayans also call it the Big Bird when they hold a ceremony with a flagstaff on top of which is a Brahminy duck. The usual time for holding that ceremony is during the Myanmar month of Tabaung (February). They erect a wooden pole on which is a Brahminy duck made of bamboo. Whenever there is a new ceremony to be held at his proper time, the old one of the last year has to be taken out. The way of preparing for this ceremony is just the same as that of the 'Kae-htoo-boo'. When the flagstaff is erected, they dance round it by playing instruments such as drums and gongs. But during this ceremony, the young men sing songs, in an insinuating way, near the girls. After feeding themselves with curries of chicken, pork and meat, they sing and dance happily the whole night.

(2) The Economic Ceremonies

They never hold ceremonies, which are meant to develop their economy. They regularly hold a ceremony of sowing of seeds at the end of

Myanmar month, Tagu (April). On that day, they get up early in the morning and at about four they leave homes for the plantation sites. At round about six, they start sowing of seeds until the noon comes. At noon, on this day, they stop working and go back to the village where they pay visits from one house to another and dance while playing traditional instruments of drums and gongs.

In olden days, the harvesting ceremony was held to mark the conclusion of a year's work of cultivation. When the harvesting comes, a family has to make arrangement with which family or families they are going to perform collective harvesting. Usually, from five to ten families perform it collectively. On that day, they gather at one house and have meals together, inviting friends. But this custom is not much to be seen among them nowadays.

(3) The Social Ceremonies

After harvesting season, the time of building new houses comes. In summer days, they build houses and during this "house-warming ceremony", not only the friends and relatives from one's village but also from other places come and help with the chores. When a family is about to hold such a ceremony, friends in the village come and give the host some *khaung-ye* and rice because during the ceremony the guests are served with cooked rice and variety of curries. Only after this ceremony, they move to a new house. But here one interesting custom is they never hold such ceremony between the 8th waxing day of the moon and the 8th waning day of it.

The shaman leads the procession of the family members and others, with a cock in his hands wrapped up in a piece of cloth, from a place which is

not far away from the new house. They are now on their way to the new house to occupy it as a dwelling place for the first time. The shaman has, apart from the cock, carried a pole on his shoulder to which a spear, a piece of rug, a bell, a necklace, a small branch of bamboo, a bamboo tube, all wrapped up in a piece of cloth, are tied together. Just after the shaman there closely follow two men on whose shoulders is a pole from which a live pig the legs of which are tied up with a piece of rope. And after them, now the family members follow. The shaman, when he reaches the plot of land, searches for an insect of any kind and puts it into the bamboo tube as a sign of good luck, which would bring blessing. Then they march to the new house where he stops at the foot of the ladder to divide a pumpkin. Afterwards, stepping on the two segments of the pumpkin he goes up the stairs to the house while all the followers have to wait standing there.

Once he is in the sitting room, the shaman strikes the house with the spear in his hand, reciting traditional incantations to drive away the evil spirits which may have been living there. Then, he throws away the spear onto the ground carefully so that it hits and stands on it in upright position. When they see the spear standing on the ground, the people who have been at the foot of the ladder come up the stairs to the shaman who, at that time, cuts the beak of a cock with the outer rind of a bamboo. By taking the blood from the beak, the shaman touches all the foreheads of the family members and then gives them a little amount of *Khaung-ye*.

The shaman kill the cock and takes out thighbones to make predictions for the family who are going to have a new house with "cock-bone fortune telling" method. After that they kill the pig which was carried by them on shoulders with the spear.

During the house-warming ceremony, the fireplace is made by earth that is mixed with water to become mud. After stamping on the mud to get a flat surface, paddy husks are spread over it. When, for the very first time, the fireplace is lighted, they burn paddy, banana leaves and matches. As signs of good luck and peacefulness, they keep segments of pumpkin inserted by sticks at the corners of the house.

Then, beating *phar-si*, they dance in which they step between moving bamboo poles timed to music, and then holding shields. When they are dancing to the tunes of *phar-si*, the Kayan men have to stamp hard on the floor which, they said, is to test the strength and toughness of the new house.

From that evening till the next morning, three old women have to keep the fire in the fireplace alive by using nearly a cartload of logs to make it hard enough to use the next day.

As during this ceremony they beat ceremonial drum called *phar-si* and dance to its tunes, it is also called 'A Ceremony of *Klu* auspicious day'. In 1955, on 26th April, the Kayinni State *Klu* Auspicious Ceremony was held for the first time.

In the book 'The *Klu* Auspicious Ceremony of the Kayah State' by (National) U Myint, on p.5, under the heading of 'The *Klu* Auspicious Ceremony of the Kayinni State' it is written to the effect that *Klu* Ceremony has the meaning of *phar-si* (Ceremonial Drum) Ceremony. It is a house-warming ceremony held in accordance with the Kayinni tradition usually before rainy season every year.

Among all the traditional instruments, *phar-si* is the most gracious and auspicious, they have regarded. Accordingly, they use it where grace and harbinger of success and blessing are greatly emphasized.

When they are going to move to a newly built house, they use to beat this auspicious *phar-si* and the Kayinni call it 'The *Klu* Auspicious Ceremony'.

Formerly, though the whole state of the Kayinni was able to hold the *Klu* Auspicious Ceremony collectively but nowadays, for various reasons, they cannot do so. It is now being held by a family when it is going to move to new house in accordance with their custom. The fact that relatives and neighbours help the owner of the new house with chores and duties from the very beginning to the house-warming stage shows they are fond of collective action. In other words, they value the spirit of community. Besides, the dances they make at house-warming ceremony such as shield dance and group dance in which dancer step between moving bamboo poles timed to music show how much harmony and understanding needed by the participants. They are really good at these dances. It partially shows that they have unity spirit.

Another ceremony of social nature occasionally held by them is to denote that a family is blessed with many children. In their language it is called '*Phote* ceremony'. They hold this when they have children from five numbers and above. At this, the relatives and especially the elders of the village are invited to the house. Some people, who can afford to manage, offer raw meat of buffalo and bull to the spirit for them and children to be safe and abundant. But some poor people only offer chicken or pig to them. This offering rite is sponsored by an old woman or the shaman himself. By placing offerings of fresh meat and *khaung-ye* at one corner of the house for the spirit, the shaman pay obeisance and offer up prayers for the host and the children. After offering, the rest portion of the meat is cooked and the guests are fed. The adults are treated to alcoholic liquor while youths are supplied

with *khaung-ye*. On this occasion also they play traditional instruments and dance happily.

It is a kind of rite for both young males and females of age of puberty or "*Phu-sa pwe*". In olden days, when there was still a common bachelor house for male youths, this festival was held in the month of Tabaung or Tagu every year. Young maidens and married men were allowed to enter the bachelor house on this special day. They just played traditional instruments and sang and danced the whole night in great jubilation. There were also special dance groups who danced with sticks, to the tunes of the drums. The other special groups who came to that bachelor house were 'the riddle group' who set riddles for others to answer and 'the riddle solver group' who tried to solve all the problems raised by the riddle group. In fact, this occasion had been invented by their ancestors to give a yearly chance of meeting for them. They could fall in love with each other during this time or it might give them some understandings. But today there is no longer bachelor house for male youths in the village. So, instead of having a wonderful time in the building, they now make it somewhere outside the village. They set a big fire in the middle and around it they sat and danced and sang during that 'campfire festival'.

Here also young males and females have a good chance of meeting and having a chat. To this 'campfire festival', the youths from nearby villages also have wonderful time. Throughout the whole night they all are given permission to freely contact the ones they take interest in, there are no such things as quarrelling and fighting among them.

(E) Superstition

The Kayan (Padaung) national are found to be superstitious based on their beliefs. They believe that by using a person's hair anyone can be made ill or dead by occult means. So they keep it somewhere on the wall of the house which is beyond the reach of a person. Pieces of cloth and old worn-out clothes are also destroyed by fire with the fear that these might be used to hurt them by occult means. As they believe that somebody can cast a magic spell over some other person by adding something, which is prepared by the occult means to a food or drink, they hesitate to eat anything given by a stranger. So to show their sincerity in treating a friendly person with *Khaung-ye*, they first drink a little of it before offering it to the guest.

If a seriously ailing person hears some voice or some sound of footsteps somewhere around his place, they take it as a sign of death for him because they believe that those voice and sound of footsteps are made by a ghost of someone deceased sometime before. They believe that ghosts can come and take away the life of an ailing person and cause a person harm or haunt him to be frightened. So to prevent the ghosts from entering the house, they have doors that are made of bamboo slats between any two of which are left wide gaps to the entrances of streets and houses. In making a door with bamboo slats they arrange so that there are holes the number of which is an "odd" one with an aim of preventing ghosts from entering the house. Another belief is that by keeping thorny branches of a tree around the fence of a house ghosts can be prevented. They believe that a ghost of such person who fell dead from a tree or who was murdered or who made suicide is apt to cause people harm as he died a violent death because of his evil deeds. If

any kind of epidemic disease is in a village, they believe that at such time ghosts come into the village to eat villagers. So when the cholera epidemic, they set fire to chillies to threaten away ghosts from the village.

They never let children to get outside at dusk in case they might be caused harm by ghosts. If at dusk a group of persons are travelling somewhere the person that has got a baby has to be at the top of the procession while others have to walk from behind. If a mother alone is travelling, she does not carry her baby slung on her back; instead, she keeps it in her laps in front of her.

They have a belief in the claws of a tiger to have the power to drive away ghosts and also the power to make a person healthy. The reason for not letting a child go out of the village is, according to their belief, the children and women usually feel timid and they are liable to be startled out of wits when they become suddenly frightened. A child of under age one is never allowed to go to the house where there is a funeral and to a house where there is a confinement. Children and women are not allowed to cut down a tree, which was planted as a monument in the area of the vanquished by the conqueror. The reason for this is children and women who feel timid easily might get hurt by the vow taken at the time of planting which usually goes like this ~ "as we are now defeated, we next time will never fight the conqueror; if we break this solemn promise, may we lose our lives." The Kayans have a belief in the reincarnation of a person. When a close relative dies, they make a mark with chalk or charcoal at some place of his body, mostly on the hand or the leg. When this person reincarnates and if the mark made by them in his previous life reappears somewhere above the former place, they believe he will get a long life in the present existence. If it is at some lower place, he

will have a shorter life span. They also believe a reincarnated person is able to tell about the events of his previous life.

The shaman or the practitioner of indigenous medicine cures not only a normal ailing person but also a person bewitched. During the time of confinement, they are always on the alert for the witches who may cast a spell on the infant by magic power. If someone gets ill the practitioner of the indigenous medicine cures him of that illness. There are some practitioners who specialize in treating the wound caused by biting of a snake or a tiger. The traditional treatment given by them vary according to the nature of disease or illness. They sometimes recite traditional incantations while at other times they give water over which have been recited for therapeutic effect or medicine. But there are also times when they just massage the patient or cure him by transferring his disease into an egg by their occult power. They believe that a shaman can diagnose a disease by using an egg and cure the patient of it by rubbing him with that egg. When the egg, after rubbing the patient with it, was broken, they said that they found there was blood instead of yolk inside the egg. The fee for medical treatment is given in the form of chicken, money or *Khaung-ye*; but only at the time when the patient is totally cured.

They strongly believe that a witch is vile and can cause a person to have evil effect only and rot the good one. The witches are said to be seen on the full moon day or the new moon day. They hate a witch very much and if they suspect a person to be a witch they drive him away from the village; sometimes they kill him. Here one more thing is that they believe a female witch to be more powerful and they are more afraid of them.

Regarding with giants, they say the giants live in the big caves of rock. Specifically, they believe many giants live in the caves called "Naim-hton-pat". A woman who is having the menses or a man with red turban is not allowed to pass near them; if they happen to pass it they are likely to fall ill; even they may become insane. They said, on full moon days and new moon days, they could hear the drums beating and sometimes they could see white shades moving here and there, near these caves.

(F) Natural Philosophy and Interpretation of Omens

The Kayans believe that the **earthquake** is caused by a big fish. The big fish in turning round mistook its tail for another fish had a thrill of horror and made movement. In olden days, they used to shout aloud when an earthquake occurred "Oh! we are here." They said that if they did not shout it would become the doomsday.

They believe a **rainbow** to be the route of the spirits of the dead men who died violent deaths called *parunts* in their language. They never point at a rainbow with finger because that finger may decay. If there is a rainbow in the daytime they believe they will be lucky for the day; but if it is in the afternoon they take it just a normal case.

Lightning and **thunderstorm** are taken by them as rolling of the iron blocks in the celestial abodes which cause to rain. There are two kinds of lightning, "water lightning" and "fire lightning". "Fire lightning" can cause a tree to become dry and later dead while "water lightning" cannot do so. They believe the lightning to be something solid. When a lightning strikes a thing or a person, they make an offering to the "lightning spirit" with a pig or a cow,

which they kill immediately at the site of the lightning. It means that if the lightning has occurred at the plantation site they have to make offering to the spirit at that place and if the lightning strikes at a house they have to make the offering of sacrifice just under that house. The meat offered to the spirit is cooked at that place and eaten by them at one sitting. If they cannot eat out the meat at one sitting, the remnants are left there; not a piece of those must be taken away home. If they take it home without paying heed to this traditional belief, they believe, the lightning will one day strike his home. Women in post-natal confinement or women with menses or person who ferment *Khaung-ye* or men who have to manage the yeast in fermenting or a person in whose house chickens and pigs were recently bred are not allowed to eat the meat that has been offered to the "lightning spirit". With regard to rain, if the roll of the thunder has appeared from the north-west, they believe that the rain will be strong while the roll of thunder from the north-east or east is taken as the sign that the rain will be scant.

If they suffer from **drought** they believe that it has occurred because of the evil deed of a group of farmers and accordingly they call for rain by making vow. In calling for rain, the shaman chooses a group of people and takes them to the outside of the village to make offering to the spirit with a pig. If there is a drought for a long time, a bamboo pole, which has the height equal to that of a man is posted in the ground and, a fowl is kept at the top of it after killing. Then the shaman, reciting traditional *mantras*, has to scrap the pole with the sword once in upward direction and twice in downward direction. If they want the rain to be scant, the direction of the scraping of the sword must be two times in upward direction while only once in downward direction.

As regards the **eclipses** of the sun and the moon, they believe that these phenomenon have occurred because of a great black dog who has swallowed them. So whenever these things have occurred they shout "Vomit up the thing. Vomit up the thing", striking gongs and firing off few rounds into the air, just to threaten away the evil dog. During the time the sun is eclipsed, women are not allowed to take bath and during the time the moon is eclipsed, the pregnant women must not look up at it. If they happen to look up, the evil effect they might get is the newly born baby will be a blind one.

With regard to the **shining of the sun**, they believe that the sun rays protruding from behind the clouds means there will be a torrential rain in the afternoon or the time of the sunshine will be longer than it used to be. If the day is dark or gloomy though the sun is shining, they take it the heat will be of other normal days. As regards the sunset, if there is yellow colour in the sky, they take it a sigh that there will be no more rain in the coming week. They begin sowing of the seed and planting when the sun's position is in the same line with the mark they have previously made on the rock.

They also **interpret omens** by looking at how the moon has appeared on the scene. If they think see the moon rising up into the sky in its vertically upright position, without slanting, they take it as a sigh that there will be many death cases in the coming month; if it is slanting, there will be less. It has been a custom for them to drive away the evil spirits by waving thatches, bamboo leaves and thorny branches on a new moon day because they have thought that the evil spirits have caused them to suffer several kinds of disease. They abstain from fermenting *Khaung-ye* on the full moon and new moon days. The bless giving to the patient who became well through the treatment of the shaman is done only on one waxing day of the moon. In

initiating the brass rings wearing also, the master or the shaman chooses the full moon day or one waxing moon day to perform. But they never regard fire as holy and so there never has been a practice of worshipping it. They keep the things burnt by fire, and the dead men and the animals that were burnt down to death, outside the village for they have a belief if they keep them in the village another burning case will happen again.

If they see fire balls of red colour or green colour flying in the air towards the village and disappear they think that it is a sigh of another fire case or trouble for them in the near future. Yet if they see those red or green fireballs disappear near the top of the mountain, they believe that it is sigh of showing that there are many valuable properties of their forefathers at that top of the mountain.

They think that the fall of a star is the defecation of it. If a star falls onto the top of a tree they believe that there will be a parasitic shrub of the "Loranthus" family called *Kyi-paung-pin* on that tree. If there is a star in the sky emitting smoke or fume or a meteor, it is usually a sign for them that there will be war.

By looking at the seed of a mango which is worm-holed, they interpret omens in such a way that ~ if the place worm-holed is near the top there will be much rain; if it is in the middle there will be normal rain; if it is at the lower part of the seed the rain will be scant. If a tree, which produces aromatic substances, in a stream, has its young and delicate leaves worm-eaten, they believe they are going to have many kinds of diseases in the coming summer and there will be heat with a nature of abrupt changes. If that tree has produced good leaves, they take it as a sign of less kinds of diseases and a

normal heat of the sun is waiting for them. If cherry trees are abundant with flowers, they take it as a sign that there will be a bad crop that year.

If a bird of ill-omen made a sound over a house or if a vulture or a brown fish-owl perches on a house, they take it as an ill-omen, believing that a member of the family of that house will soon die. If a lapwing has made a sound over the village, they are sure that they are going to hear a bad news. If a gecko cries in a house, they will be free of disease and healthy but if it cries while heavily raining, there will be only sporadic rains very soon. If bees come and rest in a house, at any place, they are happy with a belief that they are going to prosper.

According to their belief, there are two kinds of mound, one for the sign of prosperity and another for the sign of illness. But generally they take the mounds as ill omens. If a banana tree, at any place in the compound of the house, has the first plantain bud that is pointing in the direction of the house, they immediately cut it off in a fear that other people will dominate them. If the end of the plantain bud is pointed towards the outside of the house, they take it as a good sign of prosperity and health. As they believe the animals hate species of "Kaempferia" plant believed to bring guests, they plant those species at the plantation sites as well as the houses. They regard crow as a bird of extra ordinary power because gall bladder of a crow can be used in their traditional medicines.

If, on a road, they find a snake which crosses from their right side to left side, they take it as a good sign whereas from left side to right side is just the opposite. If a traveller finds a barking deer on his way crossing the road in front of him, from his left side to right side, he immediately turns back because it is an ill-omen; but if it crosses from his right to his left side it is

taken that the traveller has got to be careful on his journey. If a man on his journey, happens to see the knee or the groin of a woman at a lakeside bathing place, it is for him an omen that he will be unlucky in money affairs. Similarly, while one goes hunting, if he happens to see such a scene, he believes that he will be unlucky for the matter. If they go hunting in group and if one of them has seen such a thing he has to go back home without giving any information about it to his colleagues; if he has told them they all have to return to the village; otherwise they all may get into trouble or they will be unlucky enough not to get any game at all.

With regard to **dream**, the Kayans have a belief that if they wore new clothes in the dream they believe that they may get fall ill very soon, and in the same way, if a house was seen on fire in the dream, they are sure they will get sickness or even die. If someone saw the sun or moon in the dream he is quite sure of becoming prominent in the near future. But if someone has seen the sunset in the dream, he is sure it is a sigh that a member of his family is going to die, especially his wife might become the unfortunate. Instead of the sunset, if it was the moon that disappeared under the horizon he saw in his dream, it is taken as a sign that a man is sure to die soon. If, in the dream, there was a funeral, they think that they are going to have the chance of eating a delicious dish. Yet, pig or horse in the dream carries the meaning that they will be unlucky. The sign of good luck, they believe, is associated with the dream in which they caught fish.

Chapter 8

Art

(A) Traditional Dance

As the Kayan (Padaung) national have several kinds of festival, they have invented several kinds of dance to suit the different mood of each and every occasion. To name them a few, there are 'Kae-htoo-boo' traditional dance for 'Kae-htoo-boo' festival; shield dance or stick dance or group dance in which dancers steep between moving bamboo poles timed to music for house-warming ceremony; funeral dance for funeral rite; 'Tarlan- Bar- Thayu' or friendship dance for wedding ceremony and so on.

The nature of their dance seems to have been invented for group dance. There is neither solo dance nor a romantic dance by a male only one type of dance where all the dancers have to take part collecting and in harmony. But there are such kinds of dance as males' group dance, females' group dance or both-sex group dance.

Kae-htoo-boo Dance

The main character or the most important person in 'Kae-htoo-boo' dance is the drummer, to whose tune the dancers have to perform. The drummer has to carry or keep it slung around the neck with strings, while playing. All the rest dancers have to act like him who is at the top of the procession. When the drummer raises his leg or moves forward or backward the rest have to act just at the same time like him for the sake of uniformity.

When the leader drummer wants to change the course of the dance, he has to give the sign just in advance so that the others know that there will be a change. The number of participants is not limited; the more the number, the grander the group dance.

But there is one strict customary practice. No female is allowed to take part in this 'Kae-htoo-boo' dance. Only they can take part in some way, by spraying water over the male dancers with springs of Eugenia .

The Shield Dance or The Stick Dance

The shield dance resembles a military parade; just like showing how warriors play with shields, swords and spears in the battle-field. Some here use sticks instead of real swords and spears, it is also called a 'Stick Dance', which in the Kayan language is *Baw Tan*.

In the shield dance, only two or more persons can perform the art. If there are only two, every one has to carry a sword or a spear or a stick in one hand while the other has to hold a shield. If one acts as though he is hacking another person, the other must raise his shield as if he is defending. This dance originated in olden days' learning of manly skills by warriors before waging a battle or war. Nowadays, this dance is performed at the ceremony of house-warming. But only men can perform this dance.

Dance with Bamboo Poles

The dance with bamboo poles is usually performed at the house-warming ceremony. Before the dance begins, four bamboo slats are put on the ground in square shape, with four people standing face to face. Timed to the tunes of *Phar-si*, the bamboo slats are beaten against each other, while

the dancers have to move quickly to avoid them. Thus, while dancing to the tunes of *Phar-si* and the striking sounds of the bamboo slats, the four dancers in the middle have to push one another with shoulders. If one fails to avoid the push, he or she has to go out for another person to take his place.

This famous dance is performed at the house-warming ceremony or in summer days, after plantation works in the late afternoon, at the plantation sites. Both men and women perform this art. This dance is in their language called *Swaik-ni-phu*. It helps one reduce the tension of one's muscles and moreover, anyone can become healthy, active and strong by this dance. This traditional dance seemed to have been invented for health reason also.

The Funeral Dance

If there is a funeral in the village, the dancers dance round the dead body while musical sounds are produced by such traditional instruments as the long double-headed drum and fipple-flute. The dancing starts early in the evening and ends at dawn. In dancing, a man and a woman, in pair, joining hands, go round the dead body always with their right hand side to it, while singing. All the friends and relatives, in turn, dance round the dead body just like the others. This dance is, in their language, called *Ywine*.

The Tarlan-Bar-Thayu Dance

This dance is performed at the wedding ceremony and other fun-giving festival. In olden days, they had the tradition of electing the leaders or administrators for their villages. These leaders, wishing to be always on good terms with other leaders, they arranged cross-marriages between their offspring and exchanged presents. At such wedding ceremonies, where



Kayan Traditional Dance

friendship was the vital thing, this dance was performed. In this performance, the men and the women have to dance in pairs. This is still a custom among the Kayans.

The Tadu- Tapaing Dance

This dance is performed at the ceremonies, which are held on such auspicious days as the Kayah State Day, the Union Day, the National Day and others. This can be said as a modern traditional dance because the men playing flutes and bands sing while the women with scarfs in their hands, wave while dancing. In this performance, women from four to ten members can take part.

(B) Traditional Song

As for the Kayans the most revered song or poem is called *Kar-kaung*, in which are incorporated all the traditional poems and proverbs of their ancestors. As there had been no written form of the language, their ancestors had to try to get it by heart. Still their descendants also have to try in similar way to remember it always. So, as it is a very long one, there are only a very few who can sing this traditional song from the beginning to the end. This song, in fact, is the recorded history of their ancestors since the time immemorial.

During the time of the famous Myanmar king, Bayin Naung, they were said to have fought, joining hands with the Myanmar, against Thailand and made victory. They still have songs that depict the misery of wars of that time in which all had to sacrifice blood, sweat and lives, written sentimentally and sympathetically.

There are also many songs, which they sing on various occasions; some depicting their nationalism, others describing their valor and strength when engaged in battles. Some of their songs are about their tradition. There are many love songs depicting the feeling of young lovers.

The Meaning of The Kayan (Padaung) Patriotic Song

"We the Padaung national have encountered many troubles and difficulties which we successfully surpassed and conquered to possess this land of our country".

"We have revolted against the British and Japanese colonial rule with our moral and military strength, and the British and the Japanese have run away."

"Let us defend our stability of our State and national administration".

The Meaning of ' Tarlan- Bar -Thayu' Song

"With tune after tune of 'tone- na- tone', suitably played, it's a pleasant festivity".

"The festivity held to mark the engagement of 'Muray Ohn' of the northern part of the village and 'Khun Klan Bauk' of the southern part of the village well known as the relative of the grandpa 'Ine Hone' of royal blood."

"Full of grief, I can't forget. Though lack of education, forever in mind, we of this age would maintain royal blood. Always beyond Loikaw and Paung Laung, after journey over steep mountains, got to the Mountain called Myin-ma-hti where gold, silver and gems were abundant, and dug up to prosper, I got only a face that did not smile. My life was bad just like a bamboo grown in the forest."

"Though beautiful with all kinds of flowers, of white, red and blue colours, together with *Swe Taw* (*Bauhinla acuminata*) , my life is unforgettable and sorrowful."

"Though we would like to be together at such pleasant night of full moon day, we've been separated; so grievous our lives are."

"Only this night, my lover's departed; pining away with tears, I couldn't ease my sorrow; in my mind, longing for the lover for days and nights".

The meaning of 'Tadu- Tapine Song'

"The Kayan (Padaung) national of the Mongoloid tribe, through the green forests of the garden, looking for cleaner waters and greener pastures, migrated to Myanmar and erected golden palace and tree; and lived happily together."

"In accordance with the custom, taking food from the *Khaung-ye* cups coated with oleo-resin (obtained from sliced bamboo, observe their traditions and customs. Through the leadership of their chief 'Kaung-ma-inn' , by yearly holding festivals, with heaps of gold and silver on the mountain 'Loi-nan-fa', they consolidated all the nationalities."

"Let us we the Kayan national try, men and women, side by side, joining hands, by our cultivation works such as broadcasting seeds, transplanting, harvesting, thrashing, weaving on looms, spinning, according to season, collecting and happily."

(C) Musical Instruments

The traditional musical instruments always associated with their traditional dances are *phar-si*, buffalo-horn, flute, pack-bull bell, drum, gong. Nowadays, band is also seen to be frequently used with these traditional arms.

Phar-si

The most important as well as the most famous traditional musical instrument among not only the Kayans but also the Kayah is *phar-si*. According to their words, this instrument had been invented and used by their ancestors since the time they were living at Yunnan. But it was, unlike the present time ones, made of gold or silver, they believed. Nowadays, the material for making a *phar-si* is composed proportionately of five kinds of metals such as gold, silver, copper, tin and zinc. The moulding of the most characteristic manufacture of the Kayah, *Phar-si*, had been started since 500 years ago by Shan workmen who were then living in Ngwe Taung, was burnt down to ashes and consequently the number of craftsmen was greatly reduced. And the industry of that instrument faded out along with the changing of the Ngwe Taung City into Ngwe Taung Ywa (village).

Phar-si is one-end metal drum which has a large neck. There one could see six or twelve circles (sun shape) at the center spot of the surface of it while at its four corners, there is a frog or two or three of them utmost, one upon the another. Then there are figures of molluse, fish, egret and stripes. There are also *phar-si* on which surfaces the figures of elephant and horse are carved out and called *sin-si* (elephant-drum) or *myin-si* (horse-drum). Besides, there is a kind of *phar-si* which has the figure of 'Bo-daw' (a holy

man who has supernatural power by his rigorous practice).

Phar-si is divided into two kinds; auspicious one and inauspicious one. On the surface of the auspicious *phar-si*, at four corners, there are figures of frog running one after another. That *phar-si* is beaten to gather people at the ceremonies of Kae-htoo-boo and house-warming. But on the surface of the inauspicious *phar-si*, the figures of frogs are depicted not as running one after another but as fighting with each other. So when people hear the sound of this inauspicious *phar-si*, they become militant, conceited and cruel-minded. Nowadays this kind of *phar-si* is beaten at the ceremonies of funeral. In olden days they were beaten when they were about to go the battle-fields, to arouse their battle spirit.

As there is difference in the types of *phar-si*, the ways of beating them are also different. It is learnt that it can produce seven kinds of tunes depending on the way of beating it. According to them, those tunes could be produced to resemble the sounds of a bumble bee flying, bees flying, an elephant crying, roll of thunder, a fish jumping and a rock rolling; but the listeners have to classify them while playing the drum.

In moulding *phar-si*, there are customary rules to be followed by the craftsmen; the one who is going to take charge of the moulding process has to take bath and clean himself one day ahead, and on that day in the evening, he must make an offering of banana with coconut in front of which a lighted candle dedicated to 'Dway-me-naw nat-tha-mi' to call upon her help. In the number of frogs to be put on the surface of the *phar-si* according to the dream he got last night. In the compound specially placed for moulding process, no one is allowed to use foot and using of any profane language or drinking of alcoholic liquor is to be avoided.

On moulding of *phar-si* J. George Scott wrote in "The Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States," Part II, Vol. I, on page 316, as follows:

"The most characteristic manufacture if Karen-ni is that of the *pā-si*, or Karen metal drum, which, somewhat paradoxically, is entirely carried on by Shan workmen. The industry is confined to Ngwe-daung. A mould is built up of clay on a revolving spindle. The inside of the drum is fashioned first and over this internal cylinder a layer of wax of the required thickness is spread. On this are impressed the ornamentations which will appear on the outer surface of the finished drum, the circles, scrollwork, figures of frogs and elephants. This is done by means of circular dies, running in a small holder, pressed against the revolving frame of the *pā-si*. When this is done another layer of clay is built up outside and the mould is finished. Four holes are left at the smaller end into which the molten metal is poured and out of which the melted wax comes. The mould is then carried to the place where the metal is to be melted. An earthen crucible is used. This is first filled with charcoal, and a blast is kept up with the bellows used commonly in Burmese black smiths' forges. This is carried on till the crucible is dried-hot, when bits of metal are placed on the glowing charcoal one by one until enough is melted down. While this has been going on, the *pā-si* mould is encased in a furnace built of stones and mud and this is diligently stoked. When the metal in the crucible is thoroughly molten, the mould is taken out of its furnace and brought close to the forge, where the crucible is emptied in the holes made for the purpose. The first melting ordinarily only suffices to form the top and a couple of inches of the sides; the second usually finishes the drum. When this has cooled, all that requires to be done is to thin down the lip of the drum, which greatly improves the tone; This requires experience. It is done by scraping the inside. The drums are from two and a half to three feet across the boss with sides of



"Frog-Drum" (*Pharsi*)

about the same depth. The sound is out of proportion to the metal used and is greatly inferior to that of the gongs of China. Of late years the production has been in excess of the demand and the price has fallen to about half what it once was. Good *pā-si* can now be bought for from thirty, to forty rupees".

Why they regard *phar-si* as auspicious and sacrosanct is for the reasons as follows:

~ When there is drought, they believe that by beating a *phar-si*, rain can be summoned.

~ By keeping a *phar-si* in a granary, paddy grains are ever saved, even they become seed paddy of pure stock.

~ If a *phar-si* is beaten at the ceremony of a house-warming, the family will have every source of prosperity or blessing with a peaceful and a healthy life.

~ When they march to battle-field, *phar-si* can be beaten just like drums and gongs for martial music.

~ Their most valued possessions such as gold and silver can be hidden in a *phar-si* that can be again hidden in a cave of rock or under the ground, to be used in their next lives.

The nationals who ethnically belong to the Kayah tribe have a saying with regard to their traditional auspicious drum, *phar-si*, which goes to the effect that ~"Only when the frog cries, there will be rain; only when there is rain, there will come the fish; only when there is fish, there will be flood; only when there is flood, there will come elephant to draw logs; only when there are elephants to draw logs, there will be abundance of timber; only when there is timber, there will be prosperity of the State". This saying of course is invented based on the relation between their highly valued *phar-si* and the economy of the Kayah State.

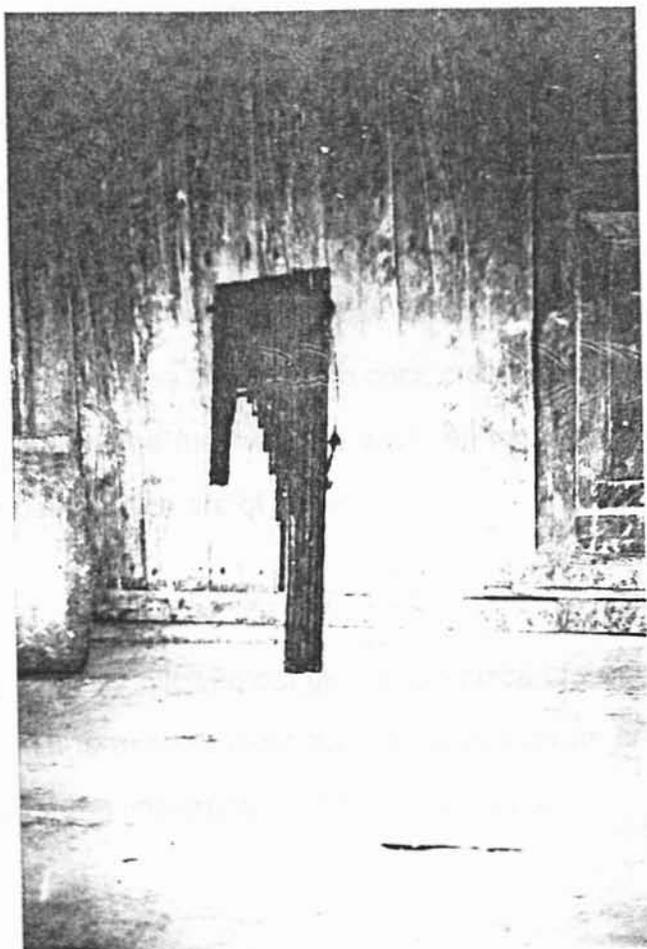
The price of *phar-si* depends on the size as well as the number of frogs, one or two or three etc., on the surface of the drum. It was learnt that in olden days, every family had one or two *phar-s'* but later due to the disappearance of the moulding industry of the *phar-si*, and due to the sales to the foreigners who bought and collected them as antiques, and again due to the customary practice of burying the *phar-si* along with the dead body of its owner, now there are only three or four of them in the whole village.

Buffalo-horn Trumpet

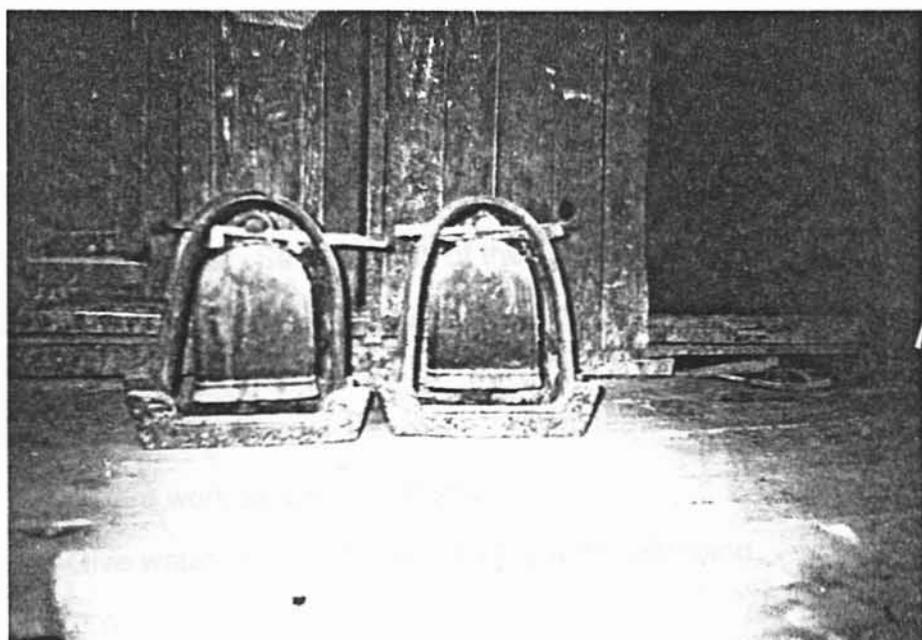
The buffalo-horn trumpet is used in battle-fields or when they go hunting. There are two kinds of it, differentiated based on the tune, high or low. Generally, the two tunes, "lay.....bu" and "bu.....lay" are significant of the one 'from high to low' and the other one 'from low to high'. The 'lay.....bu' signifies "calling people back" which is used while hunting to inform all to come back to the former place or the place where this is blown. Similarly, when they are about to go hunting the tune "bu.....lay" is blown to give the information that they are now starting.

Flute

The flute is called *mum*, is used only by the Kayan (Padaung) national among all who ethnically belong to the Kayah tribe. It is said that their ancestors had begun to use it since they were in Mandalay. It comprises (19) small bamboo which are so arranged that they produce (19) kinds of tunes. This is mostly used in funeral dances.



"Mun" Flute



"Pack- Bull Bell"

“Pack- Bull” Bell

In fact, it is a big bell that is carried on the cart drawn by pack animals, usually cow or ox. After their harvest, they carry paddy bundles on a procession of carts, on the leading cart of which this big bell is placed. It is usually beaten just at the time when a cock crows early in the morning to give signal that it is the time they went to work, all together. They usually have a pair of these bells, which are of one-set.

Drum

Their drum is hollowed out of a single piece of wood with only one end. Their long drum is used in most traditional dances as an instrument to shot the time-limit for the movement of the dancing group.

Gongs

Gongs are used in most traditional ceremonies and festivities. All sizes of gong were said to have been mould in Ngwe Taung City, in olden days.

(D) Proverbs and Verbal Homilies

The main works to earn their livelihood are cultivation and hunting among the Kayans . So almost all of their proverbs and verbal homilies are in some way or other related to these.

Proverbs

1. Share work as well as benefit.
2. Give water with left hand; take fire with right hand.

3. Though eaten one fistful, vomited one plateful.
4. A girl should strain her ears to cock's crow.
5. While working at firm look at the face of owner; while dancing in group strain your ears to the signal of '*Mun Flute*'.
6. A man without any pack animal cannot know the smooth lane.
7. Water should be blocked by embankment while it is still there is a small amount; Fire should be quenched while it has just started.
8. A silent man can kill a full-grown male elephant by striking it with a stick.
9. If you go, go up to the plantation site; if you return, return to your village.
10. If you shoot with arrow at a small bird you will lose your arrows for nothing so much; if you admonish a child you will have to say many a word.
11. Words of the poor are not effective just like a faint light is ineffective.
12. If you do not know how to ride a horse you will be kicked by it.
13. The more you are poor, the more unlucky you will become; the more you are wealthy, the more you will become lucky.
14. One mocks at somebody but in reality to praise; one borrows but in reality to possess.
15. If one is ugly, one should have a sweet mouth; if the rice grains are brownish, there should be a good curry.
16. When one is associated with the elders, one will become poor; when one is associated with '*Saw-pya*', one will become a tired man.
17. If you want the sun, you will have to give up the moon; if you want the stars, you will have to give up the whole sky.

18. The way he speaks is a rich man's though he is a disabled person.
19. He was an enemy last night but now he is an old friend.
20. A chameleon thinks its tail is the biggest in the world.
21. You get it more quickly by robbing than by asking.
22. If one is too slow one will catch the rain; if one is too clumsy, one will be growled at.
23. Before the tiger dies, don't roll out the skin of it.
24. If one has no rice, one is liable to take a wrong food; if one has no *Khaung-ye*, one is liable to become more quickly intoxicated.

Verbal homilies

(1) The big spear is kept for the brow-antlered rusa (deer) and sambur; the small spear is kept for barking deer, banteng (wild ox), deer; the past event is kept for children.

(2) If you are going to take rest first try to choose the clean place; if you are going to sit try to choose the spacious place; if you are going to struggle try to choose the cleaned out place.

(3) If you do not obey your mother you will be affected; if you do not obey your father you will have difficulty; if you act as you wish you will meet great trouble.

(4) A motherless person is inferior to others by one span; a fatherless person is inferior to others by a man's height; a person without inheritance is inferior to others by one fold.

(5) If *khaung-ye* is not sweet it is not suitable for relatives and brothers; if unpolished rice is not white it is not suitable for good friend; if a man is talkative he cannot be compatible with his villagers.

(6) The spirit of a dishonest dead man should not be allowed to stay in under-ground world; the dishonest celestials and the king of celestials should not be allowed to stay in celestial abode; dishonest men should not be allowed to stay in human abode.

(7) A mother's offspring, a good daughter at last becomes a person that pounds the rice; A father's trusted right-hand person, a good son at last becomes a person that earns money for other person; The daughter-in-law of old man and woman at last becomes a slave for other person.

(8) If you do not work for one day you will starve for one month; if you do not work for one month you will starve for one year; if you do not work for one year you will starve for your whole life.

(E) Folk Tales and Legends

It is learnt that in the Kayan (Padaung) national of the Panpet Village Group there is a tradition of telling their youngsters, sons, daughters and grandchildren, folk tales that would teach them moral lessons and give them general knowledge about life and environment. The tales are about traditions and customs, and on how one could surpass danger by paying heed to the parents' admonishing words and on how valor can conquer enemies and so on. Some of the tales contain general knowledge about physical world, but through their concepts and perspectives. The children sit round the fireplace and listen to their elders' traditional tales.

Here is a tale that teaches a lesson on how one got free of danger by paying heed to the parents and another lesson on how two sisters were entrapped in the danger as they neglected the parents' reminding words.

" Don't Neglect Parent's Words."

(*Bitanthwi - Kalaw - Par - Sein*)

Once upon a time, in a village, at the foot of a mountain near the edge of a forest, there lived two sisters called Mu Lwan and Mu Da. The elder sister, Mu Lwan being a careless and negligent girl, the younger sister Mu Da was a clever, intelligent and well-be have done.

One day , in the summer time, when two sisters were about to go into the forest to collect vegetables, their mother told them not to yearn for men in the forest; even when they met men not to talk with them; even if those men talked to them, not to reply them.

The two daughters replied that they would obey her and went into the forest. When they got deep into the forest, they found a big white tree which is called 'swe-taw' (*Bauhinia Acuminata*) whereupon the elder sister was anxious to get a flower from that tree as was her nature when she wanted something. So she said yearningly, " What the beautiful 'swe-taw' flowers they are! The whole tree is teeming with white colour. How it would be good if now a man turns up and gets those flowers for me by climbing it".

On hearing her words, the younger sister said, " What kind of a person are you? Have you now forgotten the mother's word not to yearn for any man in the forest why are you now yearning for them? Have you now forgotten your promise to her?" The elder sister then retorted, "You shut up your mouth! Now we are such far away from her, how can she hear my words? After all, I am your elder sister. I can say anything I want. What does it matter to you?"

They went deeper into the forest to collect fruits and vegetables

afterwards. But all along the route, there were 'swe-taw' trees and they all were teeming with white 'swe-taw' flowers. Eventually, Mu Lwan got excited again and grumblingly said, "Where have these men have gone? If there is one. I can have him climb the tree and pluck the flowers".

At the end of her words, a man voice "I am a man, here", appeared. No sooner had it appeared than a man came out of the forest. Mu Lwan joyfully welcomed him and said, "I want those 'swe-taw' flowers very much. Please climb up the tree and get them for me. I will thank you for your help". But the man that had just appeared was none but a giant 'Semakhar' which they called 'Mo dine', the guardian of the cave that belonged to the mountain 'Somayan'. He had merely taken human form when he heard the yearning of Mu Lwan for a man.

But here there is a confusion as to the meaning of a 'man' which carries both of the meanings of 'male' as well as 'husband'. Though Mu Lwan was just yearning for any man who would help her get the flowers from the tree, the giant had taken the meaning of that 'male' as a 'husband'. So he appeared before them declaring 'I am here a husband'. But, not knowing about the giant's true motive, Mu Lwan went ecstatic at his appearance.

Once he was in the tree, 'Mo dine' looked at the two sisters from the tree and became undecided as to whom he should take as a wife. Thinking that he would take the one who was good at nursing a husband, the giant without plucking any flower, got down to the ground after deliberately cutting his forefinger with a knife saying, "Oh! I have cut my forefinger and so I come down here. It is bleeding and I am thirsty too. Bring me water".

As they had nothing which could be used as water bottle, the giant told them that there was a small stream not far away from them and to fetch water,

he said he would give them leaves. Taking seven leaves from the nearby plant, he made two leaf wrappers in shape of cones and gave them, asking them to return quickly.

Ever clever and intelligent Mu Da was not pleased with the "man's" way of treating them as if they were his wives. She decided that it was not the proper way. So she cut off the end of the conical leaf wrapper in her hand by pinching. Only after that, she fetched water in it. Ever careless and stupid Mu Lwan brought water in the leaf wrapper as had been asked by the giant.

When they got back to the giant, there was just a little amount of water full in hers. Thus, the giant decided to choose her as his wife and drank the water with full satisfaction. Then he said, "Now the problem is solved. Now I must reveal my true self. I am no other than the giant who owned the cave of 'Somayan'. For you two who want husbands, I am here only one. So I must make my own choice, and taking Mu Lwan's hands, disappeared into the forest.

For many years the giant and Mu Lwan lived together as husband and wife, and they had children. But when there was a new baby and if it was human-like, Mo dine ate it. Only when it was giant-like, he let it grow to become a giant like him. One day, as Mu Lwan missed her mother so much and returned home to meet her, with the permission of her husband. She brought the infant that was impossible to leave with others.

When she got home, as she was afraid that someone would see her child and know that it was giant-like, she hid it on the rack just above the fireplace. Though her mother saw what she had done, she pretended to see nothing. Yet there was a strong desire in her to hold up the grandchild in her arms so by ruse she asked her daughter to fetch water from a stream. Mu

Lwan did not want to go because she was afraid that someone would take off the cloths by which the infant was wrapped up. They would surely know that she had a giant husband. But she did not suspect her mother's trick. And as she dared not deny her mother's words, she went to the stream after asking her mother not to hold up the baby if she heard it crying. She said, "If you coax it, it will never stop crying. Even it will get worse. So when you see it crying, don't do anything but spray with water over it. Only then it will stop crying".

Since she was not without worry about her baby, she ran to the stream and filled her bamboo tubes with water, and returned in great haste. She was so quick in moving that the grandmother did not get the time to look at her grandchild. So the mother, in the afternoon, asked the daughter again to fetch water. But this time, she was not able to come back immediately because her mother had made holes in the bamboo in which she was going to fetch water.

Mu Lwan dipped the bamboo tube into the water and when it was full, took out to go back to the village. But all the water got out of the bamboo tube through the holes that her mother had made. Again, she dipped the tube into the water and when she took out, as was at the first time, all the water flowed through the holes. Thus, she was for a long time unable to leave the stream with water. During that time, the old woman took off the cloth that had been used to wrap up the baby and looked at her grandchild. Now she saw the truth! Her grandchild was not a human being but a giant. She was so shocked that she had to control herself not to fall down to the ground. What a foolish daughter Mu Lwan was! She did not pay heed to her words and now she had become a wife of a giant. The old woman felt an urge to beat her strongly. She was inconsolably grief stricken because her daughter had neglected her words only to lead such a miserable life. But as it was the nature of the loving

kindness of a mother, she put the baby back in its former position and pretended not to know anything about the baby.

Only after staying with her mother for two days, Mu Lwan asked her mother for permission to return home to her husband. And she also invited her mother to pay a visit to the cave of 'Somayan'. The mother said, "Yes, I will come to you when I have got the time to spare, but now you go back home. Yet, to help me find the way easily when I come to you, now I will give you a basket of paddy husk and a white cock. On your way back home, you make heaps of paddy husk on the road, one having the size of a fistful. When you reach a crossroads, the road, which I have to follow, must be marked by a heap of paddy husk on which is a cock-feather. Again when you reach your village, to know that it is your house, you scatter paddy husk and cock-feathers all around your house. I feel cold easily when the weather is somewhat chilly so gather bundles of wood around the village".

Not long after her daughter's departure, the old woman told a man about her daughter and how she had managed to recognize the way to the 'Somayan' cave. And she sent him to her daughter's village to study all about her life at the 'Somayan'. As had been assigned to him by the old woman the man went to the 'Somayan' cave and a few days later came back. He told the old woman that he found giants named 'Semakhar' and that the giant called 'Mo dine' was living with Mu Lwan in the cave of the 'Somayan' mountain. And he also told that there were big logs of '*thityar*' and '*ingin*' heaped in front of the 'Somayan cave'.

On hearing about the 'Somayan' cave, the old woman summoned all the villages and told them about her daughters' trip into the forest to collect vegetables and then how Mu Lwan was taken away by Mo dine, the leader of

all the giants called 'Semakhar'. She also reminded them that the male and female giants would become abundant, day after day. The old woman explained to them that if this trend could not be stopped the human beings would have to face the problem of where to live. She said, though she loved her daughter as her life, she must be considerate towards all the human beings. So she urged them to go to the 'Somayan' cave to set it fire, telling them the way towards it.

The villagers, without losing any moment, immediately took all kinds of weapon and went towards the 'Somayan' cave to wage a great battle against the giants. Once they got there, they set the cave on fire with the logs that were ready for them. Then they killed 'Semakhar' giants that tried to escape from fire, one by one, by swords and spears.

From that day onwards, the giants became extinct and the villagers were happy to have peaceful life. But Mu Lwan that had disobeyed her mother was killed in the cave with the giants.

Legends

With regard to the existence of the **earth**, they believe that the spirit created it with the component parts of water, earth and air in the ratio of 30:5:500.

At first, the earth and the sky were connected with five large creepers, which acted as five big poles, and these creepers were wrapped up with cobwebs. In the beginning, the earth was flat. But one day, the spirit made a festival in the sky to which he invited all kinds of animal to have fun and food. In so doing, in his hastiness, he forgot to invite the white ants who became so much furious that they bit the creepers off instead of having their food, thus

leaving only the cobwebs by which all the animals had to climb down to the ground. The cobwebs at last became unbearable to sustain the weight and broke, letting all of the climbers fall to the ground. From that day onwards, the earth became separate from the sky and it had to rotate in the air freely, eventually becoming a round figure just like a ball.

With regard to the existence of the **human beings** on the earth, their version goes like this: in olden days, there was a very big gourd plant, which grew around seven mountains and seven streams. But the plant had only one gourd out of which seven people came out and all the nationalities residing in Myanmar are the descendants of those seven people.

When the earth came into existence, the first tree grown on it was an Eugenia tree . That is the reason for their using of the tree trunk of an Eugenia tree as the pole of the flagstaff dedicated to the 'Kae-htoo-boo' spirit . The very first tiger that came into being was the leopard while the first dog that came into being on the earth was a black dog. And, the very first persons that came into being on the surface of the earth were those seven persons who came out of the gourd.

With regard to the existence of the **sun** and the **moon** they believe, in the beginning, there were two suns, which caused all the crops on the earth to get dry and die. So their forefathers had to shout one sun with the arrow from a cross-bow and made it have an eye cataract because of which it could no longer give out heat and light, eventually becoming what now we call 'moon'. The Kayans call the moon '*La*' which in their language means 'an eye covered with cataract'. From that time onwards, there were only one sun and one moon for the earth.

As regards the coming into existence of the **fire**, they said that the

people of olden time were careless with the fire and that caused by many fires on the surface of the earth. So the celestial beings closed the eyes of all the human beings and hid the fire somewhere on the earth. But as the grass-hopper has its eyes on the head, the celestial beings, in the mistaken belief closed its mouth instead of its eyes. So the grasshopper only could see the fire. But it kindly showed the human beings where to find the lost fire, and thus due to the loving kindness of the grasshopper the human race have got the privilege of using fire since, otherwise fire would have been lost to this day in this world.

Conclusion

It has been a well agreed fact that the Kayans (Padaung) of the Panpet Village Group are descendants of the Tibeto - Myanmar tribe who speak Tai - Chinese language. But these people had no literature of their own until the Christian missionaries invented alphabets for them, Due to the lack of literary works written in their language whatever life problem they confront is solved by relying on the 'Cock – Bone' and 'Thatch-Breaking' fortune telling method.

Their houses are found to be constructed in traditional way with the similar pattern of composition of the rooms. As regards their temperament, it must be said that they are sincere, and love peaceful private life; yet they are apt to harbor grudge against people who have insulted them. But when they like someone they are very kind and apt to feel an attachment for him. They look healthy and strong with their stout bodies. They usually wear their traditional dress, which the female Padaungs weave on their back - strap looms.

The female Kayans (Padaung) have the custom of wearing brass rings since they are young. It is learnt that the more the number of these rings they wear the better they are held in esteem among them; in wedding too the girl with many rings around the neck can ask for more bride - price. So the financial situation of a husband can be judged by the number of rings his wife is wearing.

And it can safely be said the brass - ring wearing custom plays an important role in their society and it can make a female Padaung's social status higher.

Though there are many who are still following this age old custom of brass-wearing, it could safely be said that this has obviously receded in trying to find out the basic factors contributing to this receding phenomenon as much as I have found out some that seem to play the determining role. These factors are:

~ Once the government had put in ban on the sale of brass in their area, out of good intention to phase out the custom which endangers the health.

~ Once there were brass experts in Ngwe Taung city but after the Second World War the number remarkably decreased.

~ Many of the Padaungs have been converted to Christianity who no longer following the tradition.

~ The brass has become expensive and scarce. At the same time they never take back the brass rings from the death bodies.

~ Though previously they were in the remote and inaccessible areas and border areas and their way of life had remained unchanged for many years due to the insurrections which Myanmar inherited together with her independence, now that peace has been restored in this area, their frequent contact with the outside world nowadays have made some of them discard the custom.

Kinship has the determining role in their society; the customary rules and regulations as regards adoption, marriage, heritage are mainly based on the Kinship. They practice patrilineal system. They can always make count of them up to ten generations on the paternal side while they can do so up to only two generations on their maternal side. Their family system is found to be of two types: the nuclear and the joint family systems. After marriage, the

bride has to live with her husband's family in his residence the household of which is governed by the oldest man.

Though the life of an unmarried Kayan man is free, he is temperate in sexual matters. It is very rare that these young men have premarital relation with their lovers before marriage and they seduce girls to elope. Regarding their marriage system, there are customary rules which forbid the cross - marriage between the two generations of uncle and niece, cross and parallel cousins, the two members of the two families who are related through another, the third family, the brothers of one's sister and the sisters of one's brother. At a wedding ceremony, the bridegroom has to stand all the expense. They have practiced monogamy and accordingly they have solidified family life.

In confinement affairs, in olden days the husband himself acted as midwife but nowadays the professional midwife takes care of this business with the help of the nurse from the health care center of the Ministry of Health. When anyone is ailing they first go to the shaman to consult, and if it is supposed to be a normal case they use traditional medicines. If it is supposed to be something in which the guardian spirit of a tree or a mountain or the spirit of a dead man (ghost) is involved, they cure it by occult means as has been instructed by the shaman. In such a case, they usually offer a cock or a pig to the spirit as sacrifice. In funeral case, there is difference in the performance of the funeral ceremony for the normal death and a violent death. For a normal death, things that had been used by the dead man in his life time are put into the hole dug up for his coffin to be buried and his burial mound is also fenced and roofed. But for a dead man, who died a violent death, nothing is buried along with the coffin and his burial mound is also left

without any fence or roof. The customary practice to cut "the attachment string" of the deceased by occult means, which is made for a case of violent death, is quite interesting. When a person dies the close relatives (especially on the paternal side) are informed and they, with the villagers of the dead man, do everything necessary for the funeral ceremony.

Their economy is just self-reliance one and there is no surplus for the household. When the time for cultivation and plantation comes, they cooperate with one another to do the job. On the very first day of eating of their crops, the old men and women from paternal side are invited to treat. As for breeding, they do not mean to get a commercial profit out of it; they mean to get some meat for offering to the spirits. Similarly, they never use the handicrafts such as weaving baskets and weaving cloths on back-strap looms for any commercial profit. They make these things just enough for their daily life. *Khaung-ye* is also fermented just enough for the guests and the family members. When they need something they try to use a barter system for it, that is by exchanging with what they have more for anything what they would like to have.

Out of the five village units of the Panpet Village Group the two units of Ronku and Dawkey any are still following the traditional worship of the 'Kae-htoo-boo " flagstaff while the whole village of Kateku have become Christians. The other two village units, Basarbanote and Painmasaung, are Buddhists who also worship their traditional spirits. During the ceremony of 'Kae-htoo-boo' only the male Padaungs have the customary right to lead as well as to take part. The female Padaungs are only to encourage the men from a distance.

As they have been converted to Christianity they now have discarded the custom of worshipping the 'Kae-htoo-boo' flagstaff and wearing of brass rings. And they perform such ceremonies of name giving, wedding and funeral in accord with the Christian practice.

As regards administration, in olden days, they adopted the Saw pya administrative system; but now they are under State Peace and Development Council administrative system. In Saw pya administration, the sons of Saw pya had the hereditary right to succeed their fathers and this practice continued until great grandsons or it came to stop.

In conclusion, in the society of the Kayans (Padaung) only the male Padaungs have the leading roles in all the matters such as social, economic, religious, administrative, and traditional festival activities with the help of the relatives and friends far and near. In the social occasions of joy and grief also, the relatives from paternal side have the customary right to take the leading role. So their society may be concluded as the "patrilineal" one where the males dominate, where only the males have the hereditary right succession only the relatives of the paternal side are recognized in social, economy and religious activities.

Reference Books

No.	Author	Date/Print	Title
1	ကြယ်၊ မောင်စင်	၁၉၆၇၊ စက်တင်ဘာလ သီတာထွန်းပုံနှိပ်လုပ်ငန်း၊ ရန်ကုန်	ကရင်ရာဇဝင်
2	ခွန်း၊ ပီစိုး	၁၉၈၅-၈၆ ကယားပြည်နယ်စာစောင်	တိုင်းရင်းသား (ကယား) လူမျိုးစု အမည်
3	စံ၊ ကယားခင်မောင်	၁၉၈၇-၈၈ ကယားပြည်နယ်စာစောင်	ကယားအမျိုးသားဖားစည်သမိုင်း
4	စန်၊ မန်းနဲ (ဖားအံ)	၁၉၇၈၊ ဒီဇင်ဘာလ စိုးမိုးမိတ်ဆက်ပုံနှိပ်တိုက်၊ ရန်ကုန်	ကရင်ဖားစည်
5	စမ်း၊ မောင်စူး	၁၉၉၆၊ ဖေဖော်ဝါရီလ သင်းလဲဝင်းပုံနှိပ်တိုက်	ဘာသာဗေဒ
6	စိန်၊ ဦးချစ် E.P	-	ကယန်းဘာသာစကားနှင့်သင်ပုန်းကြီး
7	စံ၊ ဦးကျော်	၁၉၉၃၊ ဇူလိုင်လ	မိုးပြီမွေတော်ခါတ်စစ်ဘုရားသမိုင်း
8	တင်၊ ဦးဖေမောင်	စာပေဗိမာန်ပုံနှိပ်တိုက်	ဘာသာလောကကျမ်း
9	တွဲ၊ ခွန်နန်း (ကယန်း)	၁၉၇၅-၈၆ ကယားပြည်နယ်စာစောင်	ကယန်းစကားပုံများ
10	ထွန်း၊ ဒေါက်တာသန်း	၁၉၆၉၊ စက်တင်ဘာလ ကာယသုခပုံနှိပ်တိုက်၊ ရန်ကုန်	ခေတ်ဟောင်းမြန်မာရာဇဝင်
11	နိုက်၊ ဦး A	၁၉၉၇၊ မေလ	ကယားလူမျိုးဆင်းသက်လာပုံ (အကျဉ်းချုပ်)
12	နိုင်း၊ ဦးမင်း	၁၉၆၁၊ အစိုးရပုံနှိပ်ရေးနှင့်စာရေးကိရိယာဌာန	ကယားတို့ရိုးရာ ကူထိုးဘိုး
13	မောင်၊ ဒါရိုက်တာမြင့်	၁၉၆၇၊ ဗုဒ္ဓသာသနာအဖွဲ့ပုံနှိပ်တိုက်	ကယားတို့ဌာနေ ငွေတောင်ပြည်
14	မောင်၊ မြင့်ထွန်း	၁၉၇၉၊ ကယားပြည်နယ်စာစောင်	တိုင်းရင်းသားတို့၏ အလှတစ်မျိုး

Reference Books

No.	Author	Date/Print	Title
15	မြင့်၊ နေရှင်နယ်ဦး	၁၉၆၂၊ စကြာဝဠာပုံနှိပ်တိုက်၊ ရန်ကုန်	ကလူမင်္ဂလာပွဲတော်
16	ယန်း၊ ခွန်က (ဆောင်သူ)	၁၉၈၅-၈၆ ကယားပြည်နယ်စာစောင်	ကယန်းဆုံးမစာသံပေါက်များ
17	ရီ၊ ဦးငိုက်	ကေ့ထိုးဘိုးဘာသာဂေါပကအဖွဲ့ချုပ်	ကေ့ထိုးဘိုးဘာသာကျမ်းဦး
18	ရီ၊ ဦးငိုက်	ကေ့ထိုးဘိုးဘာသာဂေါပကအဖွဲ့ချုပ်	ကြက်ရိုးထိုးခြင်းကျမ်း
19	ရှင်၊ ဗိုလ်မှူးဘ	၁၉၇၅၊ ဖေဖော်ဝါရီလ မိုးကျော်အောင်ပုံနှိပ်တိုက်၊ ရန်ကုန်	အနော်ရထာအရင်ကမြန်မာနိုင်ငံ
20	လှ၊ လူထုဦး	၁၉၉၁၊ ဒီဇင်ဘာလ ကြီးပွားရေးပုံနှိပ်တိုက် ၊ မန္တလေး	ကယားပုံပြင်
21	အောင်၊ ဗန်းမော်တင်	၁၉၉၃၊ ပြည်သူ့အလင်းစာပုံနှိပ်တိုက်၊ ရန်ကုန်	မြန်မာနိုင်ငံတော်သမိုင်း
22	အောင်၊ မောင်စူးနစ် (မြေထဲ)	၁၉၈၇-၈၈ ကယားပြည်နယ်စာစောင်	ကယားလူမျိုးနှင့်သက်ကယ်ရိုးချိုးခြင်း
23	ဦး၊ စိုးထွန်း (ဘူမိ)	၁၉၉၃၊ ဗဟိုပုံနှိပ်တိုက်၊ ရန်ကုန်	ဘူမိခရီးသည်နှင့်ကန္တာရဝတီ
24	မြန်မာ့ဆိုရှယ်လစ်လမ်းစဉ်ပါတီ	၁၉၆၇၊ စာပေဗိမာန်ပုံနှိပ်တိုက်	တိုင်းရင်းသားယဉ်ကျေးမှုရိုးရာ ဓလေ့ထုံးစံများ (ကယား)
25	Firth, Raymond	1956 Second Edition	Elements of Social Organization
26	Ford, Doryll	1964 Oxford University	African systems of kinship and Marriage
27	Marshall, H. I	April 29, 1922 Ohio University	The Karen People of Burma
28	Scott, J. George	1900 Government Printing, Burma	Gazetter of Upper Burma and the Shan State Part I, Vol I, Chapt IX Part II, Vol I

List of Informants

No.	Name	Age	Occupation
1.	U La Wone	96	Shaman
2.	U E. P. Chit Sein	85	Ex - Township Officer
3.	U Lar	75	Shaman
4.	Daw P. Kagu	74	Dependant
5.	U Bauk	71	Ex - Teacher
6.	Daw Mu Chwe	71	Dependant
7.	U Pi Yo	70	Merchant
8.	U La Khwan	67	Cultivator
9.	U La Yee	67	Cultivator
10.	U La Balaung	67	Cultivator
11.	U Byar Ye	60	Ex - Township Officer (Information and Public Relation Department)
12.	U Sai Aung Pwint	58	(Retired), Ministry of Trade
13.	U La Toe	57	Cultivator
14.	U Phan Lo	57	Chairman, Village Peace and Development Council, Peking
15.	U La Kalane	55	Cultivator
16.	U P. Maung Soe	55	Officer, (The Culture Institute of the Kayah State)
17.	U Ahmyar Hannite	55	In-charge of a medical facility (Health Department, Loikaw)

18.	U Tu Phar	54	Chairman, (Kae-htoo-boo Association)
19.	Daw Mubi	50	Merchant
20.	U Layone	49	Cultivator
21.	Daw Edward Musu	49	Midwife
22.	U George Myo Myint	48	City Development Committee
23.	U Yu gene	48	Merchant
24.	U P. Sien Sho	47	Clerk, (Township Peace and Development Council, Phekon)
25.	U La Ywan	46	Cultivator
26.	U Khu Nyar	45	Clerk, (Township Peace and Development Council, Phekon)
27.	U Maung Sein	45	Clerk, (Township Peace and Development Council, Deemawso)
28.	U Ah Thine	45	Gate In-charge, " Nagani" Car Station
29.	U Aung Naing Oo	45	Merchant
30.	U Khu Win Myint	45	Health Officer
31.	U La Pyan	45	Cultivator
32.	Daw Mu Kyaw	45	Cultivator
33.	U La Sar	45	Cultivator
34.	U La Phaw	45	Cultivator
35.	U Kyaw Zan	45	Member of Trustee (Mway Taw Dat Sit Zedi)
36.	U Maung Nyan	45	Driver
37.	U Nwe Su	45	Clerk, (Township Peace and Development Council, Deemawso)

38.	U Pi Yo	42	Photographer
39.	U Tin Lin	40	Officer (Water Resources Utilization Department)
40.	U You Gin	40	Merchant
41.	Daw Kaw	40	Dependant
42.	U Nicolus	39	Teacher (Phekon)
43.	U La Lain	36	Health Department
44.	U La Ko	35	Cultivator
45.	U La Satu	35	Cultivator
46.	U La Grwe	33	Cultivator
47.	U Ye Aung	33	Merchant
48.	U Tu Tu	32	Clerk, (City Development, Phekon)
49.	Daw Nan Oo Khan	30	Clerk, (Information and Public Relation Department)
50.	Daw Munan	30	Loom-weaver
51.	Daw Mu Salon Nge	29	Dependant
52.	U La Kalan	29	Cultivator
53.	U Khon Kaing Lee	25	Merchant
54.	Daw Pan Muthar	25	Dependant
55.	La Khwi	23	Cultivator
56.	Mu Kanan	23	Clerk (Police Department)
57.	La Khwi	21	Student
58.	Mu Ba	21	Dependant
59.	La Ko	20	Student
60.	Khu Nan Yee	20	Student

61.	Peik Kyu	20	Student
62.	Ah mi	20	Student
63.	Mu Phat Htar	20	Student
64.	Ne dè	19	Student
65.	Nan Lyan	19	Student
66.	Lu kar	19	Student
67.	Ne mu	17	Student
68.	Su Ee	17	Student
69.	Mu Juliet	16	Student
70.	Di Di	15	Student
71.	Mu Lwan	14	Loom - weaver
72.	Mu Htway	14	Loom - weaver
73.	Mu Peik	14	Loom - weaver
74.	Mu Ba	14	Loom - weaver
75.	Mu Balan	14	Loom - weaver
76.	Mu Bay	12	Student
77.	Mu Dey	12	Student
78.	Mu Dey	11	Student
79.	Mu Kon	9	Student
80.	Mu Ngwe	7	Student



THE MAP OF KAYAH STATE
SCALE: 1 INCH=8 MILE



REFERENCE

- 1. BORDER LINE (COUNTRY) 
- 2. BORDER LINE OF STATE 
- 3. BORDER LINE OF TOWNSHIP 
- 4. VILLAGE GROUP 
- 5. VILLAGE 
- 6. CAR ROAD 
- 7. RIVER / STREAM 

LOCATION

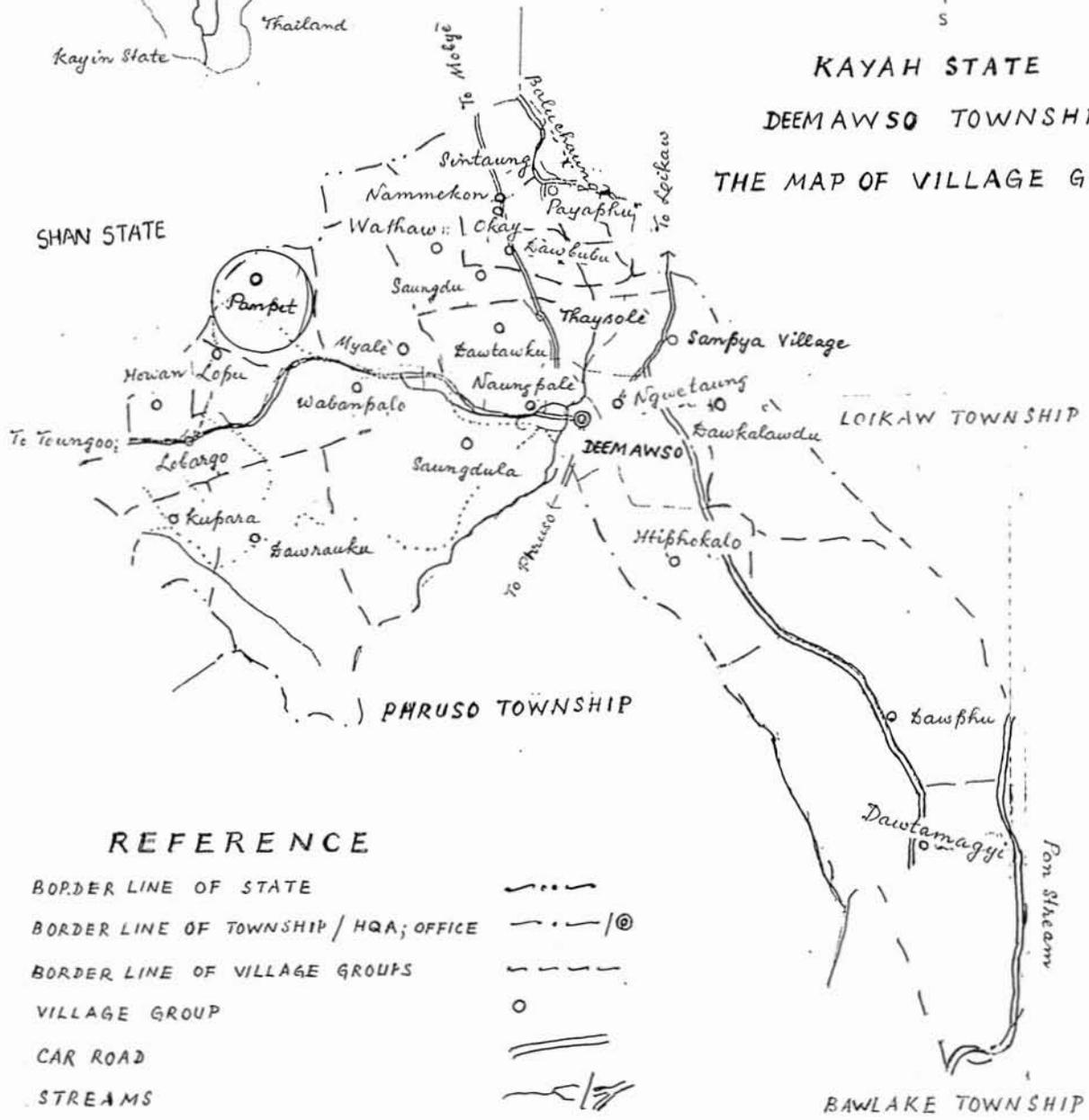
SHAN STATE



KAYAH STATE

DEEMAWSO TOWNSHIP

THE MAP OF VILLAGE GROUPS



REFERENCE

- BORDER LINE OF STATE - - - - -
- BORDER LINE OF TOWNSHIP / HQA; OFFICE - . - . - / ⊙
- BORDER LINE OF VILLAGE GROUPS - - - - -
- VILLAGE GROUP ○
- CAR ROAD = = = = =
- STREAMS ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
- PEDESTRIAN ROUTE

