

**UNIVERSITY OF YANGON
A THESIS OF MASTER OF RESEARCH
(ANTHROPOLOGY)**

**THE SOCIAL ECONOMIC LIFE OF PA-O NATIONAL
HTITALI VILLAGE OF PINLAUNG TOWNSHIP,
THE SOUTHERN SHAN STATE,
UNION OF MYANMAR**

**Submitted by
MA NANG MYINT AYE
Anth-1
(2002-2003)
ANTHROPOLOGY**

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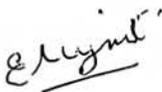


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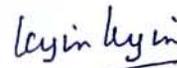
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CONTENTS

Page

Acknowledgment

Introduction

CHAPTER (1)

GEOGRAPHY

- (a) Location and area 1
- (b) Landscape, natural vegetation and climate 1
- (c) Communication 2
- (d) Number of houses, population, households and housing style 3

CHAPTER (2)

BACKGROUND HISTORY

- (a) Background history of Pa-O national 6
- (b) How Pa-O national got to Htitali 11
- (c) The Founding of the village 12

CHAPTER (3)

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, PHYSICAL FEATURES AND ATTITUDE, DRESSING , TRADITIONAL FOODS.

- (a) Language 14
- (b) Literature 19
- (c) Physical feature and Attitude 22
- (d) Dressing 23
- (e) Traditional foods 27

CHAPTER (4)

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

- (a) Forms of family 29
- (b) Kinship system 30
- (c) Kinship terminology 31

	Page
(d) Succession and inheritance	34
(e) Puberty life	35
(f) Engagement	42
(g) Wedding ceremony	44
(h) Divorce	49
(i) Pregnancy, giving birth to a child and naming	50
(g) Child life	57
(k) Ailment and Treatment	58
(l) Death and funeral ceremony	61

CHAPTER (5) ECONOMY

(a) Hill-side cultivation	69
(1) Growing sebesten trees (The-nat-phet trees)	71
(2) Stages of growing sebesten leaves (growing methods)	72
(3) Growing tea plants	80
(4) Making dry tea leaves	85
(5) Making pickled tea leaves	86
(6) Other crops	87
(b) Breeding	89
(c) Handicraft	90
(d) Division and organization of labour	92
(e) Trade	93

	Page
CHAPTER (6) RELIGION	
(a) Worship	95
(b) Traditional festivals Pa-O National	102
(i) Novitiation ceremony	108
(ii) Traditional of laung ching rocket (Pwe-lu-phine)	114
(c) Traditional proverbs and stories	121
(d) Traditional music and dance	115
 CHAPTER (7) ADMINISTRATION AND EDUCATION	
(a) Old time administration	125
(b) Present time administration	127
(c) Traditional judiciary	129
(d) The Pa-O national flag, the cblem of Pa-O national	131
(e) Education	131
Conclusion	
References	
The list of informants	

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INTRODUCTION

Many ethnic peoples are residing in various parts of the Union of Myanmar, in its states and divisions. For perpetuating of the Union and gaining national development, national consolidation among all these ethnic peoples plays the vital role. Again for gaining this national consolidation, every ethnic group must try to know about other's traditions and cultures to establish ever friendly relations with one another.

With this concept in mind, in making a research work and compiling a thesis for my Master of Research Degree, I have chosen the Pa-o national of Htitali village in Pinlaung Township of southern Shan State, to make a research on their socio-economic life (social life based on economy). Another reasoning for particularly choosing these people is that I myself is a Pa-os and I believe that I can make an effective study as I know their language and customs well.

In making my research, I have used Functional Theory which anthropologists of today are mostly using. Functional Theory is the method of study of a society or a community based on their daily activities from the time of their birth to the time of their death. By studying these daily activities, one can surely depict the true picture of culture pattern of a society.

Basing on this functional Theory of Anthropology, I have tried to make research work on their socio-economic life under seven chapters. As I am a government employee, I could go to their native land only two times. But I could collect the important data by using the method of Direct Investigation that is by discussing with the informants who have the knowledge of their social behaviour and traditions; and also observing their daily routine works and ceremonies. I also used the method of Indirect Investigation by studying from books and papers written about them. But I myself being a Pa-O national, I believe that this Indirect Investigation method also has helped me a lot. Incollecting data for my

work, government personnels of Pinlaung Township, elderly persons and villagers have given me effective help, and I could take photographs of some important places and things as well .

As national consolidation and national development can be gained through records of all ethnic peoples correctly made, I have tried to make this record for coming generations from Anthropological point of view, to the utmost extent my abilities have permitted.



Pa-O Man and Woman

CHAPTER 1

GEOGRAPHY

(a) Location and area

Htitali village where Pa-o national reside is in Pinlaung Township of southern Shan State. Pinlaung Township lies between the North Latitude lines of 19 and 20, East Longitude lines of 97 and 98. It is about 400 miles away from Yangon by highway route. The village is six miles away from Pinlaung, in its southeast. When one travels about two miles along Pinlaung Phekho highway, one will find the cross-road that leads to the village which is about four miles away from there. Pinlaung lies on the land 4,800 feet high above sea-level and Htitali lies about 4,840 feet high above sea-level.

The length of the village area is about one mile from north to south while its breadth is about five furlongs from east to west.

Htitali has in its east Kaung mi village, in its west Sintaung village, in its south Tinhtet village, in its north Pint village as its neighbouring villages.

(b) Landscape, Natural vegetation and Climate

As Htitali is situated on the eastern Shan Mountain Range, its landscape is crumpled and wrinkled. There are many chains of hills, mounds, ridges, valleys, chasms etc. around it. Shan Plateau being the most ancient in the country, there are many broken flat rocks which show that there had been breakings in land layers after forming as the plateau. Due to forceful movements and readjustments in land layers metamorphic rocks were formed and from these alabasters appeared. Its clay type earth is hard and reddish.

As it is 4,800 feet higher than sea-level, as natural vegetation we can find mountain woods in which mostly are pines. Some of these mountain woods are ever-green ones while the rest are dry ones. In ever-green woods, we can find chestnuts, sweet chestnuts, "ownto" tree etc. and in dry ones, "ingyin" (tall,

indigenous hard wood tree bearing sprays of fragrant, red flowers in early summer Pentacme swavis, Laukyar", "(mehto) " etc. are mostly found. Besides, there are many bamboo groves in these mountain woods.

As for flowers, there are "swetaw" (*Bauhinia acuminata*), several kinds of "pitauk" (the gum-kino tree *Pterocarpus macrocarpus*), cherry, blue-colour gold mohur tree *Poinciana regia*) etc. As for fruits, we can find pear (*Pyrus communis*), basil (*Ocimum sanctum*), damson (*Prunus communis*), peach (*Prunus persica*) and others which can be found on flat lands such as banana, papaya, sweet sop (*Annona squamosa*), guava (*Psidium guajava*). There are also many plants called "myinkhwar" (kind of pennywort used medicinally and also as a vegetable). Under big trees, there mostly are bushes, creepers, many kinds of grass, weeds, medicinal plants etc. Orchid bearing yellow waxy flowers (*Dendrobium brandisii*) are found on the tree branches.

As the village is much higher than sea-level, it has cold climate; the lowest temperature being 30° to 40° Fahrenheit and the highest being 70° to 80° Fahrenheit. Though April and May are hottest months, as it is situated on the plateau much higher than sea-level, it has cold and wet climate during this time.

The annual average rainfall is about (80) inches.

(c) Communication

As the village is located on the eastern Shan Yoma it is not easy to communicate. Villagers have to use the red-dish laterite road the breadth of which is about 10 feet. To get to Htitali, one has to go first to Yinmi village (Nyaung Khan Yeik) from Pinlaung which is two miles away by line-bus or by horse-drawn cart. The bus-fare is 50 kyats per head and the fee for hiring horse-drawn cart is 200 kyats. If one goes on foot from Nyaung Khan Yeik to Htitali, one has to travel three miles first to get to the foot of the mountain range and then another three miles to Htitali along the mountain path. As it is not easy for

them to travel from one place to another, the villagers go to Pinlaung on market-day which comes only after every five days or when a day of religious significance is approaching, they go on the every of the market day to the town. It is learnt that when they go to Pinlaung on market-day, they have to spend the night there in the town and come back to the village only the next day. On the return trip from the market, they carry the goods they have bought such as dry tea leaves, the leaves of the sebesten tree (used as wrappers for rolling cheroots), rice etc. on bullock-carts. The fee for carrying a rice bag from Yinmhi to their village is 400 kyats. The fee for carrying one "viss" of dry tea leaves being 175 kyats, for a basket of the sebesten leaves that weights 15 visses is 200 kyats. If one carries this basket to Taunggyi one has to give 300 kyats for it. They sell the leaves of the sebesten tree in "Taunggyi" and on such occasion they have to spend 500 kyats for bullock-cart and bus.

(d) Number of houses, population, households and house-style

The number of houses, households and population of Htitali is shown in the following table based on the datas collected in November, 2002.

Village	Houses	Household	Religion	Population		
				Male	Female	Total
Htitali	184	216	Buddhists	499	567	1066

The house of Pa-O national in Htitali is mostly found to have galvanized iron sheets as roofing, timber planks as flooring, bricks as walling, and two ridges of roof for two chambers of the house. Other houses have galvanized iron sheets as roofing, bamboo slats as flooring, bamboo matting as walling, and most of them have long legs. Houses have windows for vantilation. In housing, Pa-O national usually use forest products such as wood and bamboo.

Thatch is used only a little. The woods they mostly use in housing are pine, cherry, patauk, thityar, In, Ingyin, pyinkado and teak. They do not take these trees from forest reserve but only from the outside areas where such trees can be found as natural vegetation. They saw the logs into planks with their sawmill to be used for housing.

Htitali villagers usually build their houses in Dabaung. (March), Kason (May) and Pyatho (January). Before beginning to build a house, the owner of the house always tries to find out if the ground he has chosen is suitable for housing by consulting an elderly person who knows astrology. The consulting fee is not fixed and he can give some money as he likes. Their traditional way of finding out if the ground is suitable for housing is first they have to turn up the earth for three times and then cover it with thin paper. On this thin paper, they have to keep three heaps of grains of rice and cover it with something to be left one night. The next morning, when they remove the cover, if they find the grains of rice intact, they take it as the favourable answer. But if the grains of rice are found to be scattered or not at the original places, they take that the ground is unsuitable for building a house on it. When a house is about to be built, first they prepare an offering consisting of a hand of banana fresh and green and a coconut in a basin. Other things which are usually put into this basin are a pieces of white fabric, a piece of red fabric, one "pyi" of rice, one packet of candles, one packet of incense sticks, sprig of Eugenia, money etc. These things are usually put in a basin or a bamboo tray.

Before building, the headman of the village (Phyar-don) has to be informed and invited to give instructions. In setting up pillare, the ones that are going to support the bed-room are given the first priority. This setting up of pillars is usually done in the morning. When the pillars are about to be set up, they put cooked rice, fermented soyabean, chilli and salt on a big leaf, forming three heaps. Then sprinkle with "Khaung-ye" (kind of intoxicating brew fermented in traditional way), upon these they say prayers. In setting up the pillar, the top

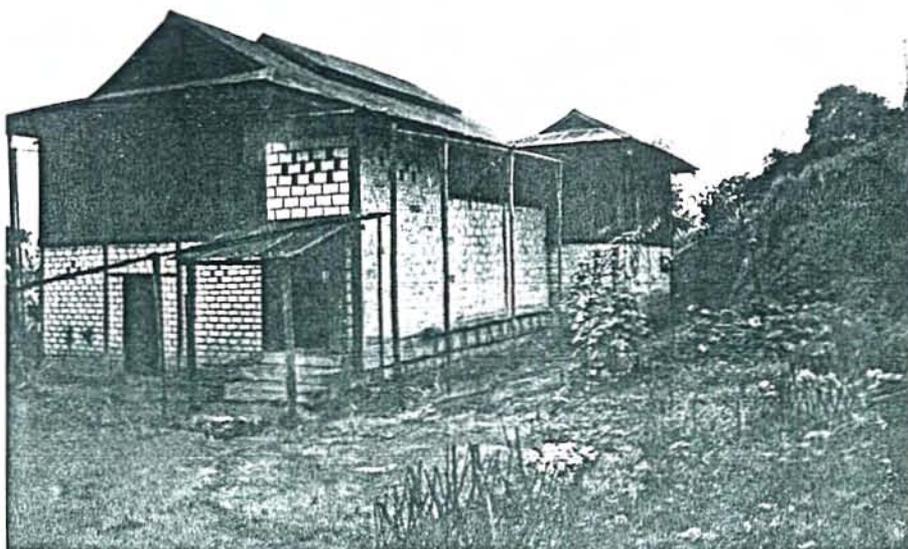
of it is held by Sunday-born, the middle of it by Thursday-born the foot of it by Wednesday-born. The number of pillars is always an even number. But the number of pillars must be an odd one. This custom is still observed by Pa-O national of this village. When a household is going to build a house, the neighbours come to help them. Along with the house, they also build a tank made of bricks, the length and breadth of which is 15 feet each and the height 18 feet. As the villagers have to rely on rain water, they collect and preserve it for the whole year. Now the number of water tanks in Htitali is found to be 132.

In ancient times, these Pa-O national had only two rooms in their house, one for sitting-room and the other for bed-room. There was no separate room for kitchen. In those days, they had three or four front pillars in building a house. Nowadays, there are even five front pillars but with three rooms, one for sitting-room, the other for bed-room and the next one for kitchen. There is always a shed-roofed annex to the kitchen. Some houses have long legs and on the ground floors, they store leaves of the sebesten tree, pickled tea leaves, potato, paddy, chilli etc.

Just like Myanmar, Pa-O national abstain from building houses during the Buddhist lent. In a house, the shrine for the Buddha is always kept on the eastern wall, neat and tidy. The formation of rooms in a house is one sitting room, two bed-rooms and one kitchen room. As the village is on the mountain the climate is very cold and so every house has a fire-place in the sitting room for heat. The fire place is made by making a square shaped hole in the floor. The depth of it being about eight inches, the length of each side is about 40 inches. The frame of it is made of wooden rod the breadth of which is three inches. The bed of the fire place is made of wood or bamboo slat on which red colour earth is put. When the earth is dug, the digger must be the one whose parents are still alive. No any other person who cannot meet this requirement must not dig the ground to take out the earth for the fire-place. In digging the ground, the hole must be five cubits in depth. After carrying the earth to the



The road leading into Htitali



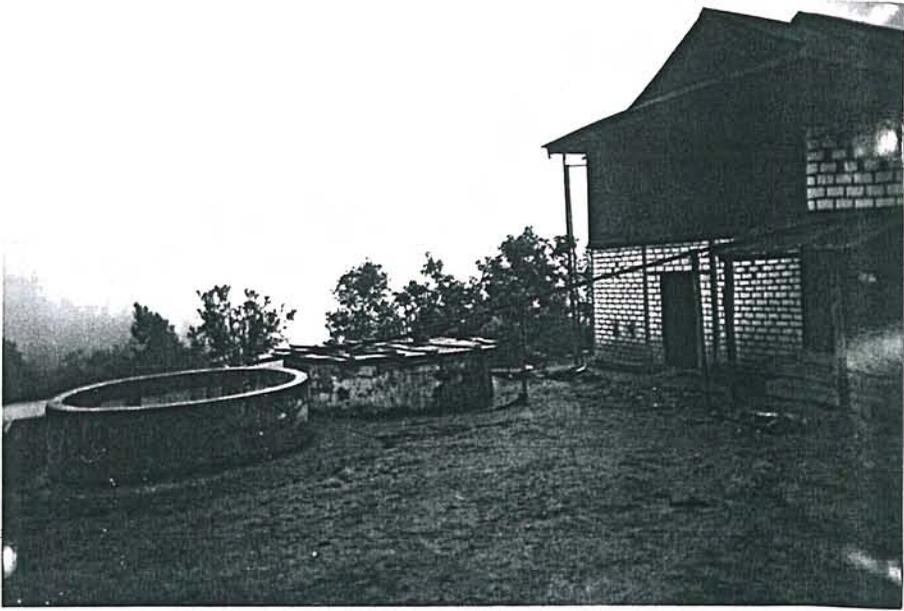
Pa-O house traditional style



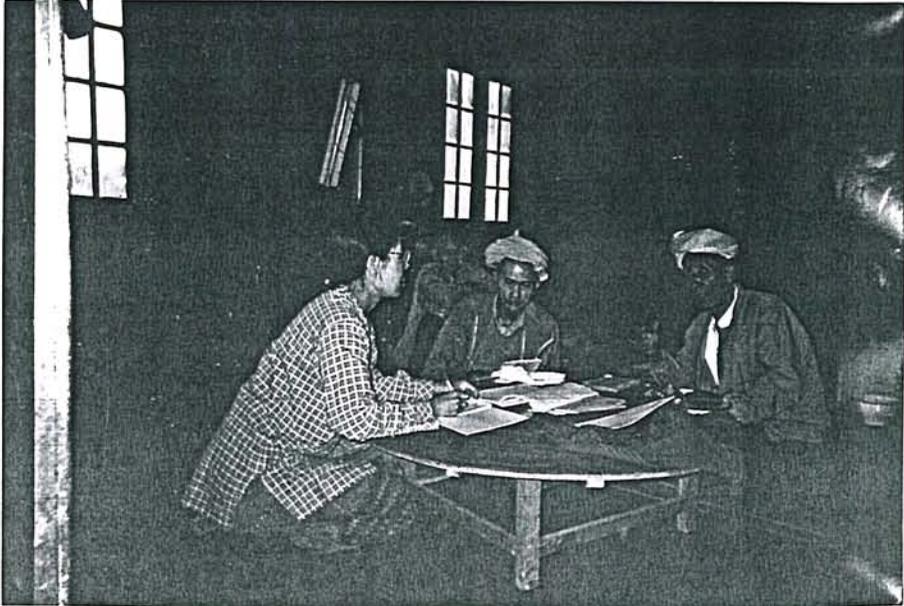
The distant view of Htitali



The entrance to Htitali

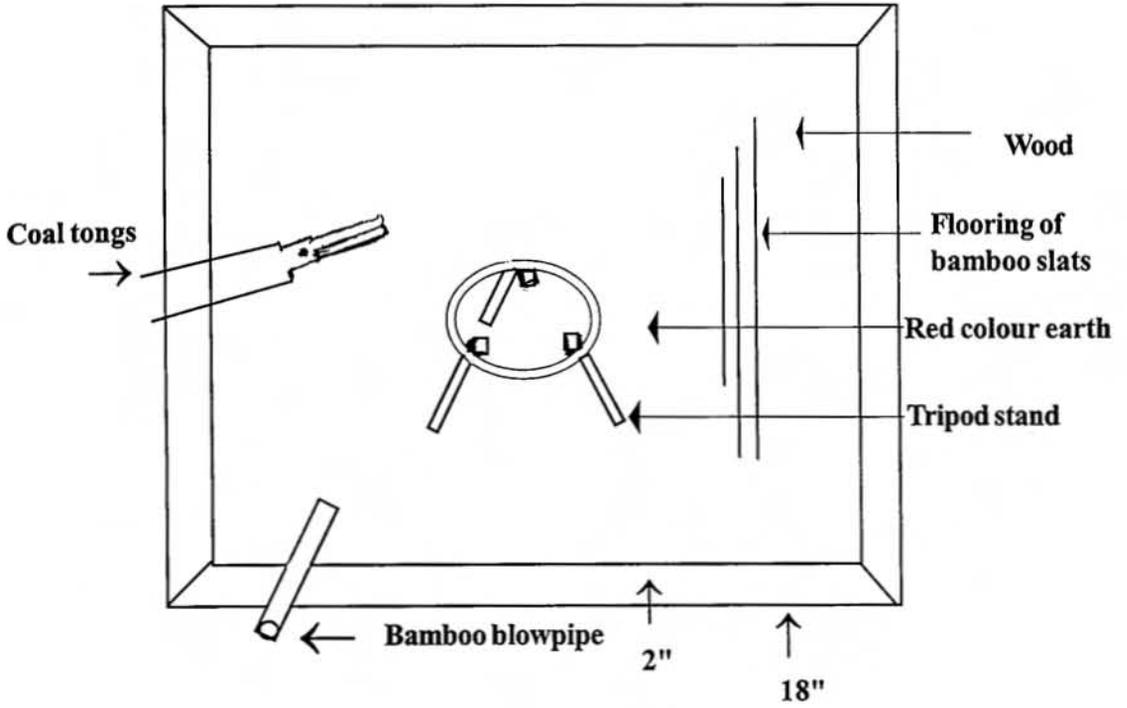


Rain water tank



Meeting with informant villagers of Hitali

FIRE PLACE OF PA-O NATIONAL



house, the digger must take back five fistfuls of earth to the place where digging was made. There are always two racks above the fire-place in the kitchen room, on one of which a small mortar, pestle, dry gourd, chilli, fermented soyabean, salt and seeds of various plants are kept while on the other there is a mat on which pickled tea leaves are to be put and kept to get dry in the sun. In former times, around this fire-place of the kitchen room, it is said that there were separate places marked for parents, respectable guests, young people and women. But nowadays, this custom is no longer followed and there is also no such thing as payment for a fine like in olden days.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORY

(a) The background history of Pa-O national

Like Kayin national, Pa-Os had migrated from Mongolian plateau to the western part of China first and then to Myanmar territory along the riverine routes of the Ayeyarwady, Thanlwin and Mekong.

They had entered the Myanmar territory in three groups, the first group passing through the valley of the Mekong to its delta area where they had settled for some time. But later when new migrants got to their place, they moved southwards to the sea shore and then turning westward they got to the valleys of the penang River and the Nampine River. A part of that first group moved from Thailand territory to Myanmar in which they settled at the areas of kaukareik and Phaang of Kayin state and Thaton of Mon state. They founded the capital city of Thuwunna-bumi (Thaton).

The second group entered the Myanmar territory along the riverine route of the Shrivill River and then moving south-westward. Then they got to the

Ayeyarwady River which they called the Saywa River at that time and they later settled at Takaung region. Later, due to the pressure of the new migrants to the region they had to move southward and settled at the regions of Hanlin, Peikthano, Sri-ksetra. When Sri-ksetra was ruined, some of them passed the Bago Yoma to get to the valleys of the Thanlwin River and the Sittaung River. It is said that this group settled together with the Pa-Os who had founded the capital city of Thuwunma-bumi (Thaton).

The third and the last group of the Pa-os who had entered the Myanmar territory moved from China to the southern part of Shan State passing through the mountain passes of Kutkhine, Kyukok and Lasho Mountain ranges. They settled at Iwelin and Taunggyi in southern Shan State. A part of this group later got to the places which are now called Pinlaung, Maukme and Lwekaw. Then they again from the valley areas of the Thanlwin River and Sittaung River to the sea shore areas. This group living in the areas of the sea shore later was mixed with the first and the second groups of Pa-os who had founded the capital city of Thuwunna-bumi (Thaton). Where the dynasties of Pa-O kings ruled one after another for many generations. Among those kings the king Thuria-Sandar was the most famous. The 158th king after the king Thuria - Sandar named Dhamma Marlar made a Mon lady the chief queen. It is said that there were 18 kings of Pa-O-Mon parentage. They were:

1. Maung Hla (Father-Pa-O + mother-Mon)
2. Ahthantula (the son of the older sister of Maung Hla)
3. Athayarza (his son)
4. Hathtinyarza (his son)
5. Thura-the-na yarza (his son)
6. Yarza Zawganic (his son)
7. Yarza Zawway (his son)
8. Yarza Padarta (his son)
9. Yarza Pamaw (his son)

- | | |
|--|-------|
| 10. Yarza U-Par | U-par |
| 11. Yarza Thotetawa | U-par |
| 12. Zeya Yarza | U-par |
| 13. Thodedi Yarza | U-par |
| 14. U pala Yarza | U-par |
| 15. Minala Yarza | U-par |
| 16. Dwardatha Yarza | U-par |
| 17. Ahra-min- nya yarza (father-Mon-mother-Pa-O) | |
| 18. Manuhar Min (Father-Pa-O.Mon) mixed parentage + mother. Mon) | |

It shows that in those ancient times the Pa-o national had their own land and kings for many generations.

In A.D 1057, Buddhist Era 1601 , Myanmar calendar year 419, King Ahnawrahta of Bagan attacked and occupied Thaton, and then took king Manuha as prisoner to Bagan. The conqueror king Ahnawrahta also took the three repositories of Buddhist scriptures and many learned monks to Bagan together with king Manuha. In the same inscription made in Myanmar calendar year 585 by the wife of the counsellor Ahnandathu, there are the words “ ပအိုဝ်း အိုဝ်ထိန် ” which shows that there were Pa-O national at Bagan at that time.

During the eleventh and twelfth century A.D., though some Pa-O national continued to live in Thuwunna-bumi (Thaton), others moved to several parts of the country in nine groups. It is said that seven out of these nine groups later got to the southern part of Shan State. Where they settled at Mawchi, Moebye, Sesaing, Pinlaung, Saingkaing etc. The one out of the rest two groups led by a narrator named. Mawhtawpher moved toward the western part of the town nowadays called Pakokku. This group is still known as high-landers there. All the Pa-O national recognize these highlanders of Pakokku region as the members of their ethnic group. The rest one out of the two groups moved toward the valley region of the Sittaung River, Shan state and Myanmar-Thailand border area. Some moved to Inlay of Nyaungshwe Township.

The Pa-O national who had got to Shan State settled at Sesaing under the leadership of the grandsons of king Manuha, Khun Maung Naing and Khun Maung Tha.

In founding the town Sesaing, in remembrance of their former Thuwunna-bumi (Thaton), they poured water which nine men had carried with shoulder-yokes onto the ground and spread earth which was also carried by nine men with shoulder-yokes onto the ground where they were going to found the town. This town Sesaing was also called Thaton-lay (small Thaton).

The name Sesaing was derived from the legend that when they began to found that town, they got a precious stone in the hole of a lacquer tree at that place. Lacquer tree is called in Pa-O language "the" and precious stone "thaing". As Pa-Os pronounce "sa" for the letter "tha", this "Thethaing" becomes "Sesaing". Sesaing was founded in Myanmar calendar year 458. The reason for calling this Sesaing "Thaton-lay" was said to be based on the legend which goes that when Myanmar King Bodaw BadonMin (Myanmar calendar year 1144-1181; A.D. 1782-1819) found out that Thuwunna - bumi was the native land of Pa-Os, he gave the name "Thaton-lay" for Sesaing now Pa-Os were living. So they called Thuwunna-bumi (Thaton) "Thaton-gyi" (Big Thaton)

There is also a different version regarding the ancestral history of the Pao national. It says that there were three tribal groups which had entered the Myanmar territory, namely (1) Mon-Khmer group, (2) Tibeto-Burman group and (3) Thai-Chinese group. In migrating from Mongolian Plateau to the Myanmar territory, Mon-khmer group was said to be led by Pyus who founded the capital city of Tagaung. After Tagaung was ruined, in A.D. 7th and 8th centuries, it is said that there were some writings in the history books that "Thuwunna-bumi (Thaton) was the city of Pyus". Though now Pyus no longer exist, some scholars assume that Pa-os may be those Pyus who had founded the capital city of Thuwunna-bumi (Thaton) because English spelling of "Pyu" is found to be "Piao" as well as "Pyu".

In the paper named "Myanmar Kings" Administration" and the treatise named "Lawkahita-yar-thi, it is described that there are seven kinds of Myanmar national and they are: Myanmar, Yaw (Paye'), Rakhine, Dawe, Pyu, Kanyan and Taungthu. So Pa-O national who were also called Taungthu might be among the Tibeto-Burman tribal group.

The treatise called "Barthar Lawka" written by U Phe Maung Tin describes that the meaning of "Taungthu" is the farmer who cultivates on the mountainous area. Besides, the other meaning of "Taungthu", is the Kayin national who reside on the mountain ranges.

In the book called "the History of colonial Myanmar', it is described that "the historians believe that as Maung-gut national entered the Myanmar territory in groups, Kayins and Pa-os had come earlier than Shans and Myanmar; but they were later than Mons."

In the encyclopaedia of Myanmar, it is described that Pa-O national are one of the descendants of Kayin ethnic group. The term "Taungthu" is found on the ancient Bagan stone inscriptions.

In one article about ethnic peoples of Myanmar, there are Sakaw Kayin, Po-kayin, Patu Kayin, Moene-pwa Kyin, Bwe Kayin, Pa-O (Taungthu) in the small group of Kayin ethnic group. In the history book of ancient Myanmar, it is described that the term "Taungthu" believed to be the descendants of Kayin national is found on the Bagan stone inscription. Other scholars believe that Pa-O national were the descendents of Po Kayin or Kayins of mountain ranges, or Taungthu who were the third Largest group in Kayin ethnic group had assumed the name of Pa-O and lived in the regions of southern Shan State and Thaton.

In 1921 census report, Pa-O national were included in the group of Po-kayins. Po-kayins were divided into the groups of Mon Kayin, Pa-O Taungthu and Moepwa. In the book called "Kayin life and customs', it is described that according to Myanmar Administration Act of 1935, the Governor declared on 6th

May, 1936, that there were ten groups of Kayin ethnic group, Pa-O national being one of them with the name of "Taungthu Kayin"

In the book named "The Pa-O People of the Shan State, Union of Burma; A sociological and Ethnographic study of the Pa-O (Taungthu) People" by willian Dunn Hackeet it is described that Pa-o national were the third largest group of Kayin ethnic people according to the census from 1901 to 1931.

In the book about Shan State by Saw Khun Kyi (Pa-O) of Thaton, published in 1302 (Myanmar calendar year), in Myanmar as wells as English, in describing the names of the ethnic propels we can find "Talaing, Kayin, Taungthu, Rakhine, Chin, Kachin" etc., and so from the time they had settled in Shan State after the ruin of Thaton to the time just before the country got independence, they were known as "Taungthu".

(b) How Pa-O national got to Htitali

Thaton was the native land of Pa-O national. Pa-O kings ruled Thuwunna-bumi for many generations. Buddha "sasana" greatly flourished during the time of King Manuha. The records show that king Maunha was a Pa-O king. At that time, through the venerable monk "Shin Ahrahan", king Anawrahta got the news that Thaton had three repositories of Buddhist Scriptures and with the intention of propagating the teachings of the Buddha in Bagan, he sent his men to bring the copies of those repositories to Bagan. But as King Manuha had denied to give it, King Anawrahta had to fight Thaton.

After King Manuha was taken away as prisoner, there was no one who could pacify the land. So Pa-O national left Thaton in nine groups. Some of them got to Shan State and settled there, in several parts of it. Then they founded a town named Sesaing which was also called Thaton-lay. In this way, they seemed to have got to Htitali of Pinlaung.

The village of the Htitali was called in former days Narlan village. It was the name given in reference to the Narlan Mountain which is in its south east.

Narlan Taung was also called Myint-moe-Taung, figuratively The meaning of the word "Narlan" is "paying head to the words of parents". As to the changing to "Htitali", the story goes that there was a small well in the wood below Narlan village. The well was said to be never consumed in any season. In reference to that well, the village was renamed "Htitalwoo". But "Htitalwoo" was the name called by Pa-os, and the Myanmar called it "Htitali".

However, the neighbouring villages of Htitali also call it "Hti-ree" which means "the water that comes off first". The term Htitali is said to have the meaning of a stream or a well. According to the words of the elders, the village was founded about 120 years ago. It is said that in olden days there was a small well called "Ye-pote-twin" ("Hti-thein-on" in Pa-O Language) which could be used by all the villagers the whole year round. But when the water from that well was left for two days without being used, it turned into rotten water and could not be used any more. Due to that well of rotten water the village has been called Htitali to this day.

(c) The founding of the village.

The village of Htitali is on Shan Plateau, on the mountain ranges which is 4,840 feet higher than sea level. As the village was founded on the mountainous area, it is not systematic and the surface is wavy. There are many rocks in the ground.

According to the words of the elders, the village was founded some 120 years ago. It is said that the founder of the village founded it with reference to the pagoda on the Narlan mountain which is on the top of the eastern mountain ranges. At the time of its foundation, there were only 25 houses and the population was about 80 people. Htitali was in those former days called Narlan village. Later, due to the finding of a well it got the name of Hti-ree first and then changed to Htitali.

As the village houses are built on the hills and slopes of the mountains,

the shape of the village is oblong. Now there are altogether 186 houses in the village. There are two styles of housing in the village, the traditional style and the modern style. The traditional style is the one built with wood or bamboo, with steep roof and without windows. It has three rooms, sitting room, bed room and Kitchen room. As the economic situations has improved, the villagers have built two-chamber houses with wooden walling, wooden flooring and roofing of galvanized iron sheet. Some of the houses are built with bricks and it has windows for every room for ventilation. Before building a house, they drive in stakes to mark off ground plan on a chosen auspicious day. If it is a house built with bamboo the neighbours help the owner to complete it within a day. To store crops, to keep farming appliances and cattle on the ground beneath the house, they build it with long legs. And to withstand strong wind, the roof is usually made steep. It is found that all of the brick houses are built by Pa-O carpenters and masons.

As their economy has improved these days, their houses have become bigger and bigger, some having even four to five front pillars, and the width of each room from nine to twelve feet.

It can be learnt that in choosing a place for founding a village, as they are cultivators, they give priority to the fertility of the land and not to the other favourable situations for a village. Only after founding a village on a fertile land, they try to make communication routes and get water for household use. These communication and water problems are solved collectively after their cultivation works, at leisure times. But now due to the help from the state, their standard of living has improved. And due to more state schools, now more and more Pa-Os can speak Myanmar language. Not only in the sector of modern education but also in the study of Buddhist scriptures, there is much improvement due to the state's help.

CHAPTER 3

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE, PHYSICAL FEATURE AND
ALTITUDE, DRESSING, TRADITIONAL FOODS**(a) Language**

When typological classification of over 6,000 languages of the world is studied, it is found that there are only three main language groups:

(1) Indo-European language group, (2) Semitic language group, (3) Mongolian language group.

The various ethnic groups residing in Myanmar were the descendants of the Mongoloids and their languages belong to the Mongolian language group.

The scholars say that the language of the Pa-o national belongs to the language group spoken by Tibeto-Burmans or it is similar to the language spoken by the Kayin national. Besides, there are many Myanmar archaic words and Pali words in the Pa-O Language. These words are ကျေးဇူး (gratitude), မေတ္တာ (loving kindness), သစ္စာ (faithfulness), ကရုဏာ (sympathy), သုခ (happiness), ဒုက္ခ (suffering), အနိစ္စ (impermanance), အကျိုး (effect), အကြောင်း (cause), ကံ (luck, fortune), ကုသိုလ် (virtuous action, merit) etc. And there are many synonyms as well as Myanmar original words in their language.

In speaking as well as reading, the letter "ရ" (Myanmar alphabet) is pronounced "Ra" by them. In-counting numbers, Myanmar တစ် (tit=one) is တ(ta), Myanmar နှစ် (hnit = two) is နီ (ni) Myanmar သုံး (thone=three) is ဆွံ (swun), Myanmar လေး (lay= four) is လစ် (lit), Myanmar ငါး (ngar=five) is ငတ် (ngat) respectively in Pa-O language. We can find that there is slight difference in the pronunciation. By looking at that they pronounce ဆ (hsa) for Myanmar word သ (tha), we can say that the Pa-O national are using Myanmar archaic words.

No.	Number	In Myanmar	In Pa-O
1.	one	tit	ta
2.	two	hnit	ni
3.	three	thone	swum
4.	four	lay	lit
5.	five	ngar	ngat
6.	six	chauk	hsu (thu)
7.	seven	khu-nit	nwut
8.	eight	shit	hswut (thwut)
9.	nine	koo	kut
10.	ten	ta-hse	ta-shi (ta-hsi)

In studying the following words, we can find that there are many similar words with Myanmar.

In Myanmar	In Pa-O
Kyaung (school)	Kyaung
Pwee (festival)	Pwe
Naryi (clock)	Narryi
Lu (man)	Lo
Hti (umbrella)	Hti
Zay (market)	Hsay (chay)
Pa-wa (shawl)	Phauk-war

By looking at the above mentioned words , we can see that once Myanmar and Pa-Os had been friendly for a long time and accordingly one had adopted one's words reciprocally. The pride of an ethnic group is that they have their own language. Though there are many similar words with Myanmar, most of the words are found to be quite different. It shows that Pa-O national have

their own language. In Pa-O language, one can find the culture, worship, faith and moral lessons which had been followed by Pa-O ancestors for many many generations. That is the reason why these Pa-O national have fondly used their language.

Scholars believe that there was some connection between Pyu Language and Pa-O language. According to typological classification Pyu language and Pa-O language belong to the Mongolian language group, Tibeto-Chinese group and eastern Tibeto-Burman group. When these two languages are studied how much deeply they were related, we find similarities in the words which describe numbers and people as well as things which they were fond of.

No.	Number	Myanmar	Pa-O	Pyu
1.	1	tit	ta	ta
2.	2	hnit	ni	ru
3.	3	thone	swun	ho/haw
4.	4	lay	lit	pala
5.	5	ngar	ngat	niga
6.	6	chauk	hsu (thu)	taru
7.	7	khu-nit	Nut	kanu
8.	8	shit	Swut (thwut)	hara
9.	9	Koo	kuat	ta-ko
10.	10	ta-hse	ta-shi (ta-hsi)	hsi

No.	Myanmar	Pa-O	Pyu
1.	Master	Bway	Bay
2.	Wife	Mar	Maya
3.	Gold	Htar/khan	Hta
4.	Grandson or Granddaughter	Li	Pali
5.	Friend	Swa (Thwa)	Thara

In praising a good deed, in Pali it is said "Thardu" (well done), in Myanmar "Kaung-lay-swa", in Pa-O "Har", in Pyu "Har" respectively. In complete, when a good deed is praised "well done", in Pyu language it is said "Ha pyar saw" while in Pao language "Hit pay htar". These two words are found to have similarity.

In ancient Pyu Language as well as Pa-O language, there are four letter of "Ka" group ka,sa, ta and pa; and four letter of "kha" group. Kha, hsa, hta, pha. The language group of "Ka" group became, the language of "Pao District" while the language group of "Kha" group became the language of "Pao kunlone". In "Ka" group language, country is called "Kan" and "Water" "ti". In "kha" group language, country is called "Khan" and water "hti".

Some scholars said that Pa-O national were the descendants of "Po Kayins" and "Taung-tan Kayins". Scholars who believe that Pa-O national were originally of the Kayin ethnic group said that there are some similar words between Pa-O and Kayin languages.

No.	Myanmar	Pa-O	Kayin
1.	small	pay pay	pi-pi
2.	pork	htaw-yar	htaw-ny
3.	maiden	mu-nam	hmu-nam
4.	water	hti	hti
5.	drink water	awa hti, auk-hti	auhti

By looking at these similar words it can be assumed that Pa-O national and Kayin national had the same language, and they were the descendants of the same ancestors. But apart from these similar words others are quite different from each other. We can also find similar syntax in both languages.

Language	Subject	Verb	Object
Myanmar	I	eat	nice
Pa-O	khway	an	dyin
Kayin	Yar	aung	may

William Dunm Hackeet also said that there is some connection between Pa-O language and Kayin language, and they seemed to have descended from same ancestors and migrated from the same place to the Myanmar territory.

Linguistics is the scientific study of the world's languages. In linguistics, these are two methods of study: (1) the study based on the similarity of words and grammar and (2) the study based on the formation of word and syntax.

According to the first method there are three main language groups in all the languages of the world, and the languages spoken by all ethnic groups in Myanmar belong to the Mongolian language family of Tibeto-Chinese group.

In a language, we can find that there are "vowel sound" and "consonant sound". In Myanmar language, there are altogether 11 letters with vowel sounds and 33 letters with consonant sounds, including the letters derived from Pali. There are 12 letters of vowel sounds and 21 letters of consonant sounds in Pa-O language. These letters of vowel sound are “အ၊အာ အိ၊အီ၊အု၊အူ၊အေ၊အဲ၊အော်၊အို၊အိုင်၊အိတ်” and consonant sound are က၊ခ၊င၊စ၊ဆ၊ည၊တ၊ထ၊ဒ၊န၊ပ၊ဖ၊ဗ၊မ၊ယ၊ရ၊လ၊ဝ၊သ၊ဟ၊အ”

If the intonations of Pa-O language and Myanmar language are studied, we can find that there are eight intonations in Pa-O while there are only three in Myanmar. But only six intonations are now used and these are:

Myanmar - က ကာ ကား

Pa-O - က က, ကာ ကာ, ကား ကား

Myanmar language belongs to Mongolian language family, Tibeto-chinese lineage, Tibeto-Burman group, Asam-Myanmar division. While Pa-O language belongs to Mongolian language family, Tibeto Chinese lineage, Kayin division.

(b) Literature

When the history of Pa-O literature is studied, we can find that there are three eras, the first being the era of "Thuwunna-bumi, the second being the era of the venerable "Saya-daw" named Badanta-kawi-thara Mine Pyo Sayadaw, the third being the era of the venerable Badanta-thunanda Hti-thein-kyaung Saya-daw.

The first era began with the Pa-O kings of Thuwunna-bumi. The kings of later dynasties could bring the Three Pitakas from Ceylon (Sri Lanka). In Myanmar calendar year 419, King-Ahnawrahta took these three "Pitakas" to Bagan. At that time, not only the monks well versed in the Buddhist scriptures but also the technicians of various professions were also taken away to Bagan. It is said that the Three Pitakas taken away by King Ahnawrahta were the ones written on palm leaves. So the Pa-O writing can be said that it had begun during the time of King Thuria-Sander. Since that time Thaton had contacts with Ceylon and India, and it can be presumed that the written form of Pa-O literature had begun from that time. Some scholars presume that the ancient Pa-O writings might have existed during the time between 13th century A.D. and 18th century A.D. and later it was destroyed by wars.

The Pa-O writings now existing are the forms written by Mine Pyo "Sayadaw" who was a native of Nyaungshwe. The "Sayadaw" showed these Pao literature to King Mindon who donated him some "Pitakas" to be translated into Pa-O language, on his return journey with an elephant. So the present form of Pa writing can be assumed as having begun some 150 years ago. In the look named "Vesandra" translated by Min Pyo Sayadaw into Pa-O, it is mentioned that the translation work became complete in 4th waxing day of Nattaw, in Myanmar calendar year 1178. By looking at this, the Mine Pyo form of writing might have begun since some 184 years ago. It is written in Myanmar Encyclopaedia (1) that before Christian missionaries arrived, among the Kayin ethnic groups, only Pa-O national had the written form of the literature.

There were famous Sayadaws in the history of Pa-O literature.

They were:

- (1) Badanta-kawi-thara Mine Pyo Sayadaw of Nyaung-Shwe Township Shwe Township
- (2) Naung Hin Sayadaw of Sesaing Township.
- (3) Sandri Sayadaw of Taunggyi.
- (4) Saung-pyaung Sayadaw U Eka of Pinlaung Township,
- (5) Sayadaw U Thi La of Pinloun Township,

Mine Pyo Sayadaw first invented the Pa-O writing and translated some "Pitakas" into Pa-O language. Pinpon Sayadaw and Saung-pyaung Sayadaw translated some positions of "Pitakas" into Pa-O. Naung Hin Sayadaw had made corrections for the translated works by others. Sandri Sayadaw composed verses about the subject of these works. The Pitaka verses are taught to the orators who narrated these during religious festivals and on such occasion as offering meal to the monks for the deceased person.

In Mine Pyo form of writing, as it was only at the beginning stage. Some Pa-O words had several forms of pronunciation, and it can be said unstable. So, for a man who does not speak Pa-o language, it is not easy to read with correct pronunciation. Never the less, Mine Pyo invention was of great help for the development of the Pa-O literature, religion and nationalism.

The last invention by Taunggyi Sayadaw which was bases on Mine Pyo principle became successful in making a word to have only one pronunciation. This third era was led by Hti Thein Kyaung Sayadaw of Taunggyi. The last invention was also successful in making a man who can read Pa-O to be able to read Myanmar also. No one knew that the invented form of writing was with the Sayadaw until Myanmar calendar year 1300. In the year 1305, Nyaung-shwe "sawbwa" Sao Shwe Thike invited over 100 Sayadaws from Shan State to hold a Buddhist synod of "Vinaya Pitakas". In this synod, 10 Pa-O Sayadaws took part.

On that occasion, when the subject of Pa-O language was discussed, Hti-Thin Sayadaw put up his invention before the Saydadaws present there. As all have accepted as the suitable form, all have encouraged Hti Thein Sayadaw to complete his research work. The spelling system of Pa-O language is so successful that it can spell the words of other languages too. In the year 1309, there also appeared other inventions beside Hti Thein invention. But Hti Thein form was regarded as the best and it has been used since then as the new Pa-O writing form.

After choosing it as the most suitable one, it had been taught to students in the year 1312, in Htan-phaya Kyaung of Taunggyi Township. In the year 1314, this course was extended to the northern part of Taunggyi. In the year 1317, Pa-O alphabets were finally approved. After inventing Pa-O types for printing in Yangon, in the year 1319, they could publish a Pa-O primer and this had led to more public study of the language. In the year 1323, after making some corrections in the writing form in first Taunggyi Kyaung, they could publish text books for First standard and Primary level. During the festival of Pa-o National Day held in kyauk-ta-lone, in 1329, and during the festival of Pa-O national Day held in Naung-yar-saing in the year 1339, Pa-o scholars and Pa-O University students approved Hti-Thein form of writing as the best, suitable one.

In the year 1340, the first Teachers Training Course for Pa-o Language was opened for the first time. Likewise, in the year 1344, in Taunggyi, the same training course was given to students in a building owned by Pa-O national. Likewise, the same course was given to learners in Tigyit for Pinlaung and Kalaw Township, and other townships such as Taunggyi, Hopone, Sesaing. In 1347, in Phermon Kyaung of Taunggyi, the former association called "The Association of the Pa-O custodians of "Sasana" was reorganized as "The Association of Propagation of Lao Literature'. In the year 1349, in first Taung Kyaung Gyi of Taunggyi, some corrections as well as addition were made for the Pa-o language.

From the year 1347 and the Teachers' Training course for Pa-O language were opened, in one village after another, in southern Shan State. It is learnt that from 1347 to 1362 of Myanmar calendar year, (10882) teachers of Pa-o language had been trained.

In Pa-O literature, literary works about variety of subjects such as religion, astrology, economy, education etc. can be found. According to the research made by the Association of Pa-O literature and culture, there are altogether 164 treatises written in Pa-O language. These are :

- (12) treatises on "Vinaya"
- (19) treatises on "Abhidhamma"
- (113) treatises on "Suttan"
- (20) treatises on History.

It is learnt that these treatises were compiled by Pa-o Sayadaws. In Pa-O language, literature is called "late-le", "late" having the meaning of "alphabets" and "be" the meaning of "wisdom".

(c) Physical Features and attitude

Most of the Pa-O national, male and female, have similar features. As their face is round and they have big lower jaw bone, the face gets a square shape. Their eyes are of mostly normal size and only a very few have big eyeballs. There are creases in the eyelids and the colour of the eye is black or brown. Most of them have distinct noses and lips of normal size except some who have bigger size. Their complexion is brownish hued or yellow or fair. They have black colour hair which is usually strong. Very few people have curly hair.

They all have strong and stout bodies as they have to work hard in fields and on the farms. Very few have skin bodies. The average height of a female is from 4 feet and 10 inches to 5 feet and 3 inches to 4 inches.

Altitude

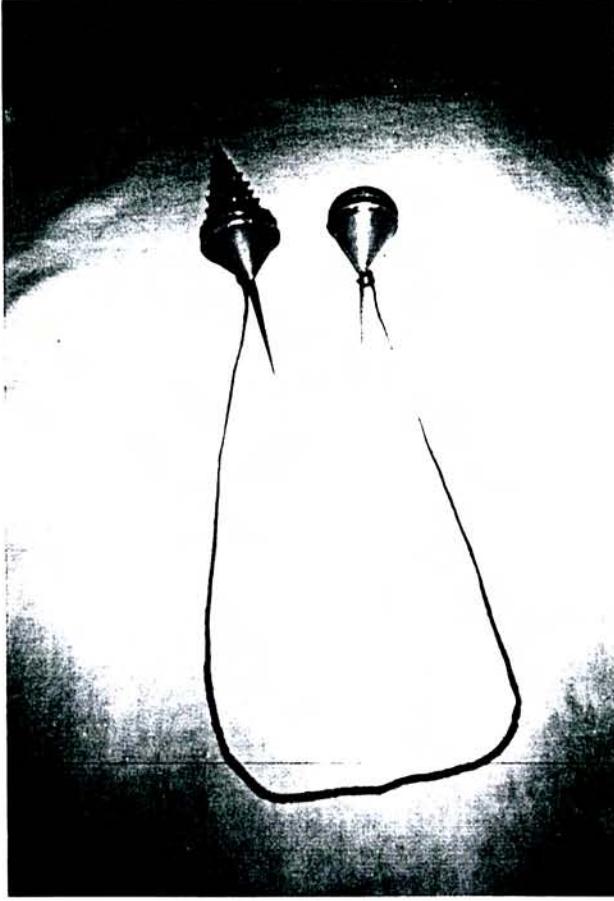
As Pa-O national are highlanders , they lead a peaceful, simple life and they all are honest and simple. As there is a saying"water never stays at an highland area; people never like a man who is over proud", Pa-o national are never conceited on account of their wealth and education. They are simple and industrious.

By nature, they are very friendly. They never hesitate to greet anyone on the way who is Pa-O or other nationality, whether he is a stranger or an acquaintance. They are very helpful also. In Myanmar Encyclopaedia vol (1), it is mentioned that Pa-O national are strongly built, brave and indifferent to strangers; they are not too much shy and sedate. They get friendly easily with strangers. In the book named "Proverbs of the National Peoples". by U Min Naing, it is mentioned that the Pa-O national are simple and industrious; male as well as female works hard. They are by nature good in doing business so they are not economically backward.

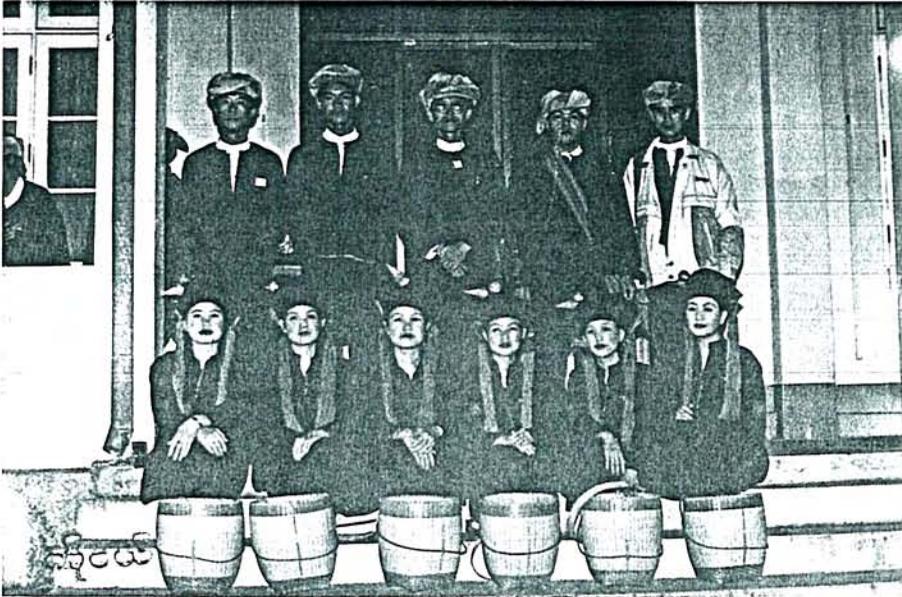
When a guest comes to them, they are friendly and frank; they warmly welcome him and try to be as hospitable as they can be. They always serve a guest with plain tea and snacks. Because of this disposition, Pa-O national are called "the months in black robes". They are proud of their work. Being Buddhists they are kind to every one.

(d) Dressing

In dressing, mostly they use black coloured clothing. The reason for using black colour is probably that it can absorb heat and it can help them withstand against cold. Besides, this colour can have no stain or blemish so they make black coloured costumes for ceremonies also. Their clothing are made of expensive woolen cloth of black colour. It is said that in olden days, their ancestors wore black coloured satin and silk. The prevailing price of a man's costume is about 40,000 kyats while a woman's costume is about 37,000 kyats.



Pointed hair-pin and round hair-pin



Pa-O Nationals

Even a poor family has such expensive costumes for family members. As they use this black colour only, there seems to be no rivalry among them. In those former days, the Pa-os wove the fabrics themselves.

Man's costume

A man's costume is a baggy trousers and a jacket. It is learnt that in olden days their trousers are more baggy than these days. But now for easy movement, their trousers are no more baggy. Under the jacket, they usually wear white shirts with stiff collars. As man usually wears a belt around his waist and carries a bag with betel box or a flat basket with sling. He also wears a turban. In olden days, Pa-o men wore satin turbans. The length of a turban is usually 10 to 12 cubits. Now they wear small blankets called "phu saung" as turbans.

They usually like square shape designs of red and yellow colour. In wearing a turban, the edge is kept downwards. On festive occasions, they carry silver scabbards or scabbards of fine quality of silver on their belts. The length of the scabbard is about one foot. The handle of the sword in the scabbard is made of elephant tusk. The scabbard is kept outside the jacket. Some carry these scabbards slung over shoulders with twisted silk threads as slings.

Woman's costume

Though Pa-O man's costume looks like that of a Shan, Pa-O woman's costume has no similar design with that of a Shan lady. As they still have the belief that they are the descendants of a father "weikgar" (man with supernatural powers) and a mother Naga (serpent dragon), Pa-O lady's costume looks like a "naga".

There are altogether five items in a lady's costume including turban. Others are black coloured smock-like garment, black coloured jacket with long sleeves, black coloured nether garment, black coloured piece of cloth wrapped around the calves down to the anklets. The lower edge of nether garment ends

near just below the knees. Smock-like garment is worn over that nether garment. The uppermost clothe is the black coloured jacket with long sleeves which ends at the waist. These layers of clothing resemble the scales of a dragon.

A woman has a hair-knof right at the top or somewhere above the temple. It is said that this style of hairdo is to show that they keep the three objects of veneration, the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha at the top of the head. The head is wrapped around with a shawl as a turban. In olden days, this turban was usually made of silk. Now only on festive occasions, they wear silk turbans the length of which is about five two and half yards. In those former days, they wore shawls around the heads which were made of velvet or wool. Now their shawls are of several designs with multi-colours.

Beside the turban, they also wear two hair-pins called "katuse" in the hair. One hair-pin looks like a banana-bud while the other one is like a small ball the size of which is like that of an areca nut. The bud of the banana is symbolized as the crest of a "naga" while the small ball is for the eye of it. The hair-pin is just like an offshoot from a branch with flowers. They wear these hair-pins on festive occasions.

It is learnt that in olden days, the poor ones wore silver hair-pins the weight of which was about two "ticals". But nowadays, they wear bud-like one made of gold the weight of which is three to three and half "ticals", and the ball-shape one made of gold the weight of which is about half-tical. The Pa-os call this bud-like one "the long hair-pin" and ball-shape one "the short hair-pin".

Pa-O ladies also wear gold ear-plugs some of which are made as the rolled plates of gold. Ear-plug is called in Pa-O language "Pay-lar-htoo". The ear-plug called "Pay-lar" is made of gold plate but some make this in the form of a rolled plate of gold with hollow. The length of this gold plate is about one foot and the breadth is about one inch. In olden days, as Pa-O ladies had big holes on their ear-lobes, they had to wear these ear-plugs of rolled gold plates. The ones with small holes on their earlobes only wore eardrops. This "pay-lar-

htoo" is usually made of gold of fine quality. The weight of the eardrops is about two "ticals". It is said that wearing of these "pay-lar-htoos" and ear-plugs is the token that they fondly wear the teachings of the Buddha in their ears.

In olden days, Pa-O ladies wore silver bracelets of round shape and flat shape, the breadth of which was about one inch. Nowadays, they wear only gold bracelets. In olden days, Pa-O ladies wore anklets made of silver of finest quality between the knees and calves. These anklets were called "Taung-khan". "Taung-khan" was made of silver or silver of finest quality and it had the breadth of one inch. The weight of such an anklet was about one and a quarter to two "ticals". These silver rings were strung with a thread. A woman wore one anklet or two around each leg. Sometimes, the weight of these silver anklets around both legs were about two to two and half "visses". But nowadays, Pa-O ladies only wear metal anklets or cotton threads which are called "bo-pwa-kyo".

Pa-O women prefer to natural beauty than the one created. They just use only lipsticks and snow make-up. Besides, Pa-O national wear other ornaments with red coloured ruby, mostly on festive occasions. Pa-O ladies wear gold and silver bracelets of various designs. Rings are worn by male as well as female Pa-os.

Other wearings

Pa-O men mostly wear shoes and only a small number wear slippers. There is also a kind of wooden footwear which is called a "Khan-pher-Ka-rauk" which they wear sometimes. It is usually made of "cherry" wood. The height of this footwear is about three inches. The cord of this wooden footwear is made of motor-car tyre or other rubber. The bottom of this wooden slipper is struck with metal rivets to prevent slipping. It is mostly used in raining season. Pa-O men mostly wear round bamboo hat. Only some wear other hats. Pa-O men carry flat bamboo baskets with slings slung over shoulders called "Taung-pyar" when they go to cultivation ground or market or on a journey. Pa-O women carry

round bamboo baskets with slings called "phaw", slung across their heads or shoulders. These baskets are woven by themselves.

(d) Traditional food

Pa-O national's daily food is rice and it is mostly their products or from flat-land areas. They have three meals everyday; the first early in the morning, the second at lunch-time and the third after plantation duty in the evening.

The main curry of Pa-O national is fermented soya-bean prepared with chilly and salt. They eat this fermented soya-bean instead of preserved fish. Though they do not abstain from eating meat, they mostly like to have vegetables as food. Animals are very rarely slaughtered for market. Being Buddhists, as they believe that slaughtering and eating meat is sinful, they mostly rely on vegetables as food. They do not use much oil in preparing curries. The vegetables they mostly take as food are: mustard, pumpkin, leaves of pumpkin chayote (*sechium edule*). leaves of chayote, edible herb called "gyu-myt" (*Allium tuberosum*) potatoe, beans, chilly and other local seasonal products.

They usually make a sweet and sour dish of mustard or picked mustard. On festive occasions, the main dishes are: fermented bamboo shoot and bean curd, dry fish and bean curd, dry fish and fermented bamboo shoot, soup of bitter taste, fried chilly, tomato salad, salad of "gyummyit". As for snacks, they serve "hin-htote" (a kind of meat dish wrapped up with edible leaf), fried sweet pancakes made from glutinous rice, fried "kin-paung" (a kind of edible leaf), fried bean curd etc.

Most of Pa-O national, young and old alike, like betel quid and cheroot. They offer these to the monks in the monasteries and serve these to the guests. They also are fond of strong plain tea. They drink "Khaung-ye" which is an intoxicating brew fermented in traditional way just for withstanding the cold climate. They do not produce "khaung-ye" for market; they just make it for own use.

The traditional method of preparing "Khaung-ye" is" first the rice is cooked; but it must not be fully cooked and the grains of cooked rice must be hard. Then this cooked rice is mixed with yeast and put in glazed earthen jar and

crammed. To be air-tight, the jar is covered with paddy husks. After one week, boiling water is poured into the jar and khaung-ye is produced. "Khaung-ye" in this glazed earthen jar is taken into glass to be drunk directly from that or with the help of a pipe. This firstly taken brew is called "Oo-ye" (the first distillate). When Pa-o men and women sit down together to drink this "Khaung-ye", they take it one by one serially ; they believe that if one takes it earlier than the one who must be given the turn first, one will get really drunk.

There is also an intoxicating brew traditionall fermented called "tasihti". Pa-O men and women prefer this to "Khaung-ye". "Tasihti" has the meaning of "holy medicine". They believe that it can prevent them from all urine diseases and being constipated.

The method of preparation of this "tasihti" is: one "kyat" weight of the root of the tree called "let-pan", "nyaung", "kyan-me" or "ah-yoe", the inner part of the stem of pine, or its roof, "zar-deik-ph" (nutmeg- *Myristica fragrans*), the flowers of nutmeg, "le-hnyin" clove *Syzygiun aromaticum*), "Kokkara" sting of a ray, enamel , "bandu" "pan-ma" , the roots of kusu grass a kind of herb with aromatic tubeis called "gamone", are mixed with two "Kyats" of "U-pathakar". These are divided into parts and wrapped up with a coarse fabric to be stored in a glazed earthen jar with palmsugar for days. The longer the time it is stored it is the better. If it is stored only for a few days, its taste is sweet and when it is kept for more days, its taste becomes sour. "Tasihti" can make one discharge urine freely and if it is mixed with salt, it can make one have regular bowel movements. If it is taken in excess, one gets drunk. Pa-O national , men and women alike, take this brew as a medicine after their tired working on the farms or in the fields, in the evening, after meal or before meal.

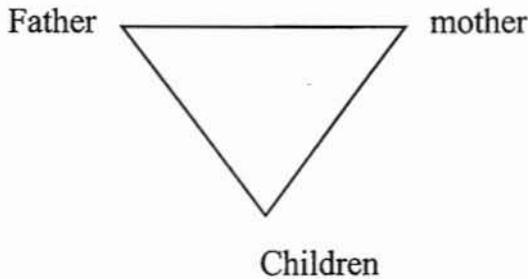
One lovely custom of these Pa-O national is taking their meal sitting together which is called in their language "Anmon-gyin. One usually takes the cooked rice and curries from one's home to the other house, to take the meal together with the members of that house. At plantation sites also, they take meals together with others. This lovely custom can make them to have intinacy with one another and them unity among all of them. Besides, they have the chance to discuss the problem of their cultivtion works there.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

(a) Forms of Family

According to anthropology, Family is a social unit comprising a husband and a wife and their offspring or adopted sons and daughters. In other words, it is a triangular form of social organization of father, mother and offspring. According to anthropologist G.P. Murdock, a husband and a wife without children is not yet a family, it is only a household. Only when there is at least a child or an adopted one this triangular form of social unit can become a basic family or a simple family. From anthropology point of view, families can be divided into four forms:



- (1) The Basic family or The Simple Family;
- (2) The Extended Family;
- (3) The Joint Family;
- (4) The compound Family;

In Hitali, most of the families are found to be of the Basic Family type or the Extended Family one where parents, married and unmarried sons and daughters, grandparents and grand children are comprised as members.

In an extended form of family, the economic affairs of the whole group is controlled by parents; but they do not monopolize it. Though father is the head of the family, mother is found to be more influential in household affairs. In economic as well as social affair, men and women have the same status. As father has to take the leading role in managing family affairs, he is regarded as the leader of the group; yet mothers who also has to take the responsibility, for managing

household things is an important person among them. So not only the children but also the husband takes advice from his wife.

When there is no longer a father in a family, mother automatically becomes the leader of the group. Only when both of them die, the eldest son or the daughters among the children takes that leadership role. If it is the eldest daughter who has to act as the leader, she has to manage household things as well as economic affairs of the whole family. In the absence of parents, all the children have the right to share the benefits of the family's business.

The Pa-o national have a lovely custom of paying respect to all the elderly persons in the family as knowledgeable ones.

They count both sisters and brothers and cousins as kins. They also regard relatives from husband's or wife's side as close ones. As they have bilineal kinships system, they have close and cordial relationship with relatives from both parents' sides.

After marriage, the newlywed couple can stay at any home they like; there is no such customary law which says where they must live. The couple can stay with parents of either side as the prevailing situation permits. During the time they are living with parents, they try to save things and money, to buy own house, land and garden. But now, as they have prospered to some extent, the newly wed couples mostly buy own house and land just after marriage.

There is also no customary prohibition as to who must marry first or something like that. The eldest or the middle or the youngest one can marry at any time he or she likes, and have a separate home with own business. But mostly the youngest son or the daughter remains in the house with parents after marriage.

(b) Kinship System

Kinship system plays important role in a society, or a community of ethnic group for its perpetuation, when kinship system of Pa-O national of Htitali is studied, we can find there are three kinds of kinship system. These are :

- (1) Kinship by blood;
- (2) Kinship by marriages;
- (3) Kinship by adoption;

Among the Pa-o national of this village, there is no such practices of Patrilineal Descent or Matrilineal Descent; they count as kins all the relatives from both parents sides. That is they practise bilineal kinship system.

All the relatives from both husband and wife side seem to regard one another as close relatives and there is intimacy among them.

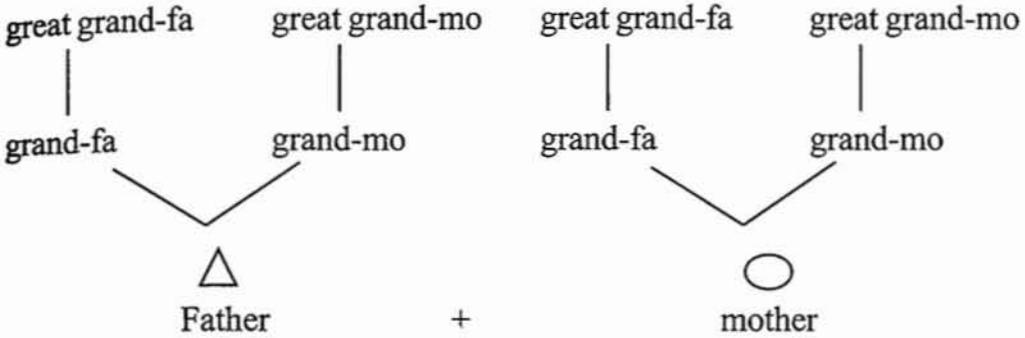
In adoption, they adopt both boy and girl. Not only the ones without children but also the ones with own children adopt the ones they like. The adopted one may be from the groups of relatives or from outside circle. They treat the ones they have adopted just like own children, and they also allow them to meet their own parents as they like. But no marriage is allowed between one's own children and the adopted ones. The adopted ones can get all the rights enjoyed by natural sons and daughters.

(c) Kinship Terminology

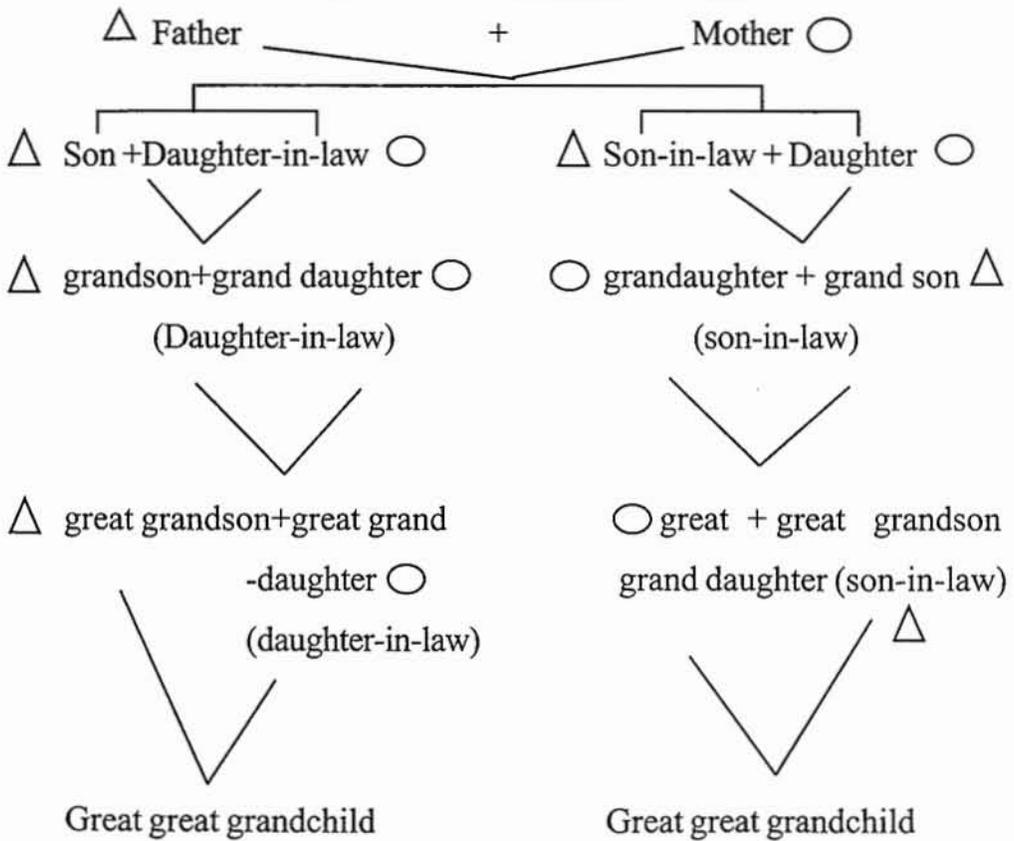
Kinship terminology also plays an important role in a group because it can bring unity and peace to them. In this village, the terms addressed to the relatives from paternal and maternal sides are different. The reason for the difference is they have the custom of cross cousins marriage. So by hearing the term, one can know whether the addressed is from father's or mother's side.

In the relation by blood system of the Pa-o national, there are three generations in the line of ancestry and four generations in the line of descent.

Three generations of ancestors



Four generations of descendants



△ = Male
 ○ = Female
 △ + ○ = Couple

Fa = Father
 Mo = Mother

The terms addressed to relatives

	From paternal side		From maternal side
elder brother of father	Pherton	elder brother of mother	Pu
younger brother of father	pherton	younger brother of mother	Pu
elder sister of father	phi	elder sister of mother	Moetan
younger sister of father	phi	younger sister of mother	Moetan

Anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan classified kinship terminology into two types: descriptive terms and classificatory terms. Again, classificatory terms are divided into two groups: Hawaiian one and Seneca one.

The kinship terms of the pa-o nationals can be found as follows:

Myamar	Pa-O
Father	Pher
Mother	Mwo
Grandfather	Pher-pyar
Grandmother	Mwo-pyar
Son	Pokho
Daughter	Pomu
Son-in-laws	Mer (Met)
Daughter-in-law	Panum (Punum)
Father-in-law	Phu
Mothers-in-law	phi
grandson	likho
granddaughter	limu

Being Buddhists, the pa-o national pay respect to the elders. They

are always humble and polite to them. To a man of one's father's age, one's address "pher" and a woman of one's mother's age "Mwo" ; just like one addresses to own father and mother. It shows their culture. So, from anthropological point of view, we must say they have the custom of using classificatory terms.

(d) Succession and Inheritance

In an ethnic group, it is the highest responsibility of every kinship group to preserve its traditions and customs for perpetuation of the whole ethnic group. So, when old people die, for preservation of the kinship group, an infant baby is recognized as a member of it. For this recognition, there are traditional ceremonies held to commemorate this. These traditional ceremonies are usually naming ceremony, novication ceremony, ceremony to mark the occasion of reaching the age of puberty etc: These activities are to incorporate the young or the new blood into the group of the adults of a society.

Among the community of Pa-o national, there have been customs of succession and inheritance. Inheritance can happen in the presence of both parents or when one of them dies. when father or mother dies, the one left has to take the leading role of the family group and if at that time a son or a daughter wants to marry and move away, he or she is given a certain portion of the family properties such as land, money, cattle etc: If both parents die, the eldest son or the daughter has to lead the family, and at that time if they want to apportion the heritage among them, it is usually done on equal share basis.

But in apportioning the heritage among the ones who are still living with the parents and the ones who are living seperatedly, there is sometimes more favour for the side who are still living with the parents because they look after them closely. In most cases, the married sons and daughters get the heritage when both parents are still alive. This custom is to help them leading a good life. Then the rest of the family property goes to the one who is still living with the parents when they die. The one who usually remains with the parents, even after marriage, is the

youngest son or the daughter. And usually this son or the daughter gets the land or the garden nearest to the house. This bias is made out of kindness towards the youngest in the family who looks after the old people such as parents and grandparents.

If both husband and wife die leaving no child to inherit, parents of both sides can possess their properties. Especially, the parents when the dead ones have lived can have the right to possess most of them. If there are brothers or sisters of the dead ones who had looked after them before they died they can inherit their properties. But if the deceased persons had made a will to give their possessions to a particular person, that person can enjoy the right to possess all the properties. If there is not a will, the one who has looked after them and who was beside them at the time of death can inherit all of their possessions. Sometimes, such person gets only half of these properties while the other half goes to the welfare fund of the village.

Lawsuit for inheritance problem is very rarely to be found in their community. If there happens to be such problem the problem is solved by the arbitration of the head man (Pyar-don) and the coders of the village. They mostly decide so that the ones concerned can have equal share. In apportioning the land, mostly the ones who have no land at all or a little can have equal share among them. The persons concerned usually accept the decision made by the head man and the elders of the village, and so lawsuit regarding such problem is very rare among them.

(e) Puberty lifes

Age of puberty in their community, is 15 to 16. The chaperon and the leader of bachelors usually declare who has reached the age of puberty. The chaperon and the leader of bachelors are chosen by the elders and the head man of the village and they have not only this duty but also the responsibility of leading the village on occasions of joy or grief. The leader of bachelors is chosen on the

basis that he is active in village affairs, influential and experienced in managing things. All the bachelors in the village have a disciplined life under his leadership and they are all obedient to him. The chaperon has to organize and lead the maidens of the village to work hand in hand with bachelors. For a maiden, to become a chaperon, her looks and age do not count; she must be active and has a good social dealing. whenever there is an occasion of grief or joy, she has to convene all the maidens of the village for the welfare of the village or to help the ones in need of help. If a maiden is chosen chaperon by general consent, she must not shirk that duty. On social occasions, chaperon is invited to take part leading the maidens of the villages by giving her a handkerchief or a candle or a packet of pickled tea leaves. when guests are fed with meals on such social occasions, she has to lead the group of maidens to serve them. The maidens of the village hold their chaperon in high regard; they are always obedient to her. The leader of bachelors and chaperon hold a meeting at the village monastery whenever such an occasion arises.

In Pa-o community, a bachelor can deal with a maiden freely. But they have discipline in this and their elders also never allow young persons to misconduct in this. On market days and festive occasions, maidens and bachelors can meet and have a chat. Even if it is a stranger who homes to chat with her, a maiden must not neglect him. It is a custom and no one in the surrounding does not regard it as a misconduct.

Though maidens and bachelors can meet freely and go together freely, they are afraid to be criticized, and they have modesty. Especially young women are afraid to be criticized. Pa-O young men try to have new friends of young women than young men. But maidens and bachelors never exchange visits without a serious purpose. Only when there is enough reason or when they want to pay courtship a bachelor goes to a maiden's house occasionally. A maiden never goes to a bachelor's house without reason. So we can see that in pa-O national's community, maidens have more modesty, than bachelors.

The time to pay courtship for a bachelor is not customarily fixed, but

usually the time is after working house, in the evening when he has finished his dinner. Paying courtship is in their language called "Lemunum". According to their custom, there are three kinds of "Lemunum". These are:

- (1) Paying courtship by sitting together around the fire-place at the maiden's house;
- (2) Paying courtship on festive occasions;
- (3) Paying courtship at the cultivation sites;

"Lemunum" is a significant custom of Pa-Onational. The prime object of this custom is to propose a maiden he wants to choose as a marriage partner and to ask her to accept his presents for wedding. In other words, it is the act of approaching a maiden to propose her. A bachelor can pay courtship to any maiden in any village. A maiden also has to receive the bachelor who wants to have a chat with her with the intention of paying courtship to her. If she declines someone to receive in this way, she is regarded as a nude one and for this her parents have to lose face. There is no fixed times customarily; mostly they go to maidens' houses after their working in the fields, by bringing torches or electric hand-lights.

If the maiden is in other village, a bachelor can go to her with person or with many to pay courtship. When a bachelor comes to a maiden's house, her parents stay away from them so that the young man and woman can have privacy. The maiden has to receive him near the fire-place by serving him with plain tea, betel quids and tobacco. In marking advances to the maiden, circuitous way of approaching is used.

But when the maiden is in other village, the bachelor who wants to pay courtship to her has to inform the leader of bachelors of that village or one of the bachelors there that he wants to go to her house. Only after that he can go to her with one of the bachelors of the maiden's village or many of them. He must not go there alone. If the leader of bachelors of that village or the bachelor he has informed and asked to help him declines to take him to the maiden's house, that person is denounced. If the bachelor goes to the

maiden's house of the other village without informing the leader of bachelors or one of the bachelors of the young woman's village, he is not allowed to enter her house. The maiden will not accept his visit. If this custom is not followed, the bachelor or the maiden will get punishment from the villagers by being driven out of society.

If the maiden is from the same village, the bachelor can pay visit to the maiden's house with his friends without informing the leader of the bachelors. The maiden must receive the visitor near the fire-place, herself sitting in the direction of the legs when sleeping. Even if she does not like him she must not deny to have a chat with him. If the bachelor visitor is not alone and with other people or friends, she must have a chat with all of them. Then the bachelor and his group have to watch her cleverly whom she has interest in mostly. When others find out who is the one she likes they must cleverly let the two have more time to chat.

When a group of bachelors pay a visit to pay courtship, if there happens to be other bachelors at her home, the group from the maiden's village must cleverly retreat to give the first chance to the strangers from other village. If they fail to follow this custom, they are also sure of being treated in the same way when they, pay visit to the village of these strangers.

The maiden has to receive any bachelor who pays a visit to her whether he is her acquaintance or not. But there is a peculiar custom in the village: if the bachelor has to go outside the house or downstairs at the time, he is having a chat with her, he must not go back to her again to continue the chatting; he must return straight to his home. Maidens in the village mostly provide plain tea to the bachelors. But a maiden avoids serving the bachelor she likes with plain tea because she is afraid that he may want to urinate and go outside of the house or downstairs. Which means he has to leave her home or that day. This being the common practice among them, by looking at the thing a maiden has provided, one can know whether she likes the visitor

or not. If it is the plain tea that she has given to him during the time of chatting, it is sure that she does not like him.

In making advances to a maiden, a bachelor uses not only plain language but also sets riddles to give an answer which indicates that he loves her. Likewise, the maiden sets a riddle for him to give an answer which also shows her attitude. Bachelors try to meet the maidens to pay courtship on festive occasions, social as well as religious, especially during the novitiation ceremony and the lent, on sabbath days. The usually hold a novitiation ceremony for serve days collectively, by building a great pavilion. At this ceremony, as the guests with meals, bachelors try to approach the ones they like while helping them. Maidens have to receive them politely. During the lent, bachelors and maidens of the village have to prepare foods for the monks and the elderly people who have observed precepts on the former day. This preparation of food usually takes place on the day just before Sabbath day, and during that time while working together the bachelors can have the chance to pay courtship to the maidens.

The other place where a bachelor can have this chance of paying courtship to a maiden he likes is during the time they are working on the farm or in the garden. Here the bachelor usually sings a love song to show that he has the affection for her. Then the young woman also sings a song in response. But most of the Pa-O national are very busy at their plantation works and so the young persons have mostly no time to have a chat.

Though, according to their custom, the young men have the right to pay courtship to the young women they like, they never take advantage of this custom by committing pre-marital sexual relation. They have customary restriction for this and almost all of them follow this discipline. If the tow young persons have made such a mistake, they have to confess in front of the head-man and the elders of the village, other bachelors and maidens. In making confession, the two must prepare an offering consisting of coconut

and bananas, and then a certain amount of money as fine must also be given to them. If they do not pay fine, they must accept the kind of punishment decided by the head-man and the elders. But this kind of social misconduct is very rarely to be seen among them; they are very much afraid of bringing dishonour on their families. So they avoid doing anything that will head to denouncing and being driven out of society.

Giving present

when a maiden and a bachelor have become lovers, the young man gives a present to the young woman as a wedding present. This present is the token of recognition of the maiden as his marriage partner. In former days, this present was a lime-box of crescent shape made of gold, or silver or bronze. And the box was usually with ornamentations of carved figurines and floral designs.

It is learnt that, in Pinlaung Township, this present is gold hairpin or gold ear-plugs or gold ear-drops or necklace or bracelet or gold ring. Besides, silver coins are also given. But these gold ornaments must be without gems or precious stones because. These gems or precious stones are regarded more noble than women.

In giving this present to the maiden by the bachelor, it is not given directly into her hand; it is just kept near the fire-place. If he wants to give this present at the cultivation site, he keeps it on a branch of sebsten leaves or tea leaves which is quite visible for her. If the maiden wishes to accept it she takes it or if she does not wish to accept it she asks him to take it back.

Though a maiden has already had a chosen marriage partner from whom she had taken such a present, she can receive other bachelor at home and even take such a present from him. But most of the maidens do not accept such presents.

If a maiden has married the second one after taking such a present from the first one, she must return three times of the amount of money of this present to the first one. Until this three-time amount is given back, she is not allowed to hold a wedding ceremony, with her second one. If the bachelor has done, like this, he must not ask the maiden to return his present or the bride-price. The maiden has the customary right to possess it.

Choosing marriage partner

In choosing marriage partner, the Pa-O bachelors never decide themselves; they take advice from parents, relatives and friends. For having a happy matrimonial life, they decide the matter under the guidance of the parents and elders. In this Pa-O community, there is no such customary restriction that one must not marry the other nationality. If someone has married the one of other nationality, the relatives receive him or her as their relative warmly. The primary factor in choosing a marriage partner is that he or she must be of good lineage, honest, industrious, healthy and not the one driven out of society for some social mistake. Being Buddhist, they are afraid of getting a new relative by marriage in their group who has antagonistic religious views or who has pursued the witch-craft.

But in most cases, marriage partner is from among the ones living in the same village because the background history as well as the attitude of such a person is well known to them, and he or she can easily carry on the family business for living. Another reason for choosing a marriage partner from one's own village or from nearly village is the Pa-O villages are far away from one another and communication between there are very hard. It is learnt that in choosing a marriage partner, they do not give priority to the one who is wealthy but the one who is industrious.

(f) Engagement

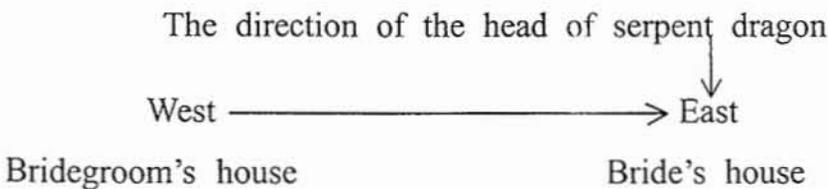
In this Pa-O community, though there are some engagements made by the choice of parents alone, most of these are made by their own choice of both lovers under the guidance or with the advice of parents and elders. When a bachelor and a maiden have decided to marry, they first try to make engagement under the sponsorship of parents and elders. First of all, the young man must try to know the attitude of the young woman's parents. So the young woman has to approach her mother first and then her father to get their approval. When this approval is got, for engagement, there are several persons who have to act as go-betweens. They are: one elderly man and a woman of the village, two or four elderly persons from the maiden's side, parents from both sides and the leader of bachelors of the village. First the parents of the young man must go to the house of the young woman's parents, bringing with them one elder and the leader of bachelors of the village, between 7 and 8 o'clock in the evening. Choosing such a time in the evening for talking about engagement is to prevent getting shame by the two young lovers if there is no agreement from the young woman's parents.

In this matter, the leader of bachelors of the village plays the key role. For engagement, the parents of the young man must offer the bride-price to the parents of the young woman. In former days, the bride-price usually, consisted of such things as silver lime-box, silver betel-box, silver bowl and other things made of silver of fine quality, and gold ear-plugs, gold bracelet, gold necklace, gold coins etc., if they were wealthy persons. If they cannot afford to spend much on this, the bride-price could be just a quarter-kyat of gold. But nowadays, this bride-price wholly depends on the financial situation of the family concerned. The would-be bride only has the right to possess these.

After engagement, an auspicious date for the wedding ceremony is chosen at that time. In choosing such a date, they avoid taking full-moon day,

new moon day, ill-fated day, lent and the new year festival time. As there is a Pa-O saying “Unsuitable Six months and Suitable Six months”, they avoid holding wedding ceremony in War so (july), Warkhaung (August), Tawthalin (September), Nattaw (December), Pyatho (January), Dabaung (March). The wedding day is astrologically chosen to be an auspicious day. They avoid holding ceremony two times in a year and never hold a ceremony while one of the family members is away on a journey.

For making engagement, the Htitali villagers usually send two go-betweens who are one elderly man and a woman to the parents of the young woman. When agreed by the parents of the maiden, the young man’s parents give wedding presents as bride price to them. After calculating astrologically, the auspicious day for the wedding ceremony is chosen. In choosing, they also calculate astrologically the direction of the head of the serpent dragon. If it is found that its direction is towards the east, they believe that one must avoid going from east to west because one will enter the mouth of the dragon. For example, the wedding ceremony is to be held at the young woman’s residence; and if her house is in the east of the young man’s house; then to hold the ceremony, he must go from east to west which means he has to enter the mouth of the dragon. They believe that by not following this custom, one will surely meet unlucky, things in the future.



When astrologically auspicious data is fixed, the would-be bride has to inform the head-man and leader of bachelors about her wedding with whom she is going to marry, and so on by bringing a cheroot to each of them.

(g) Wedding Ceremony

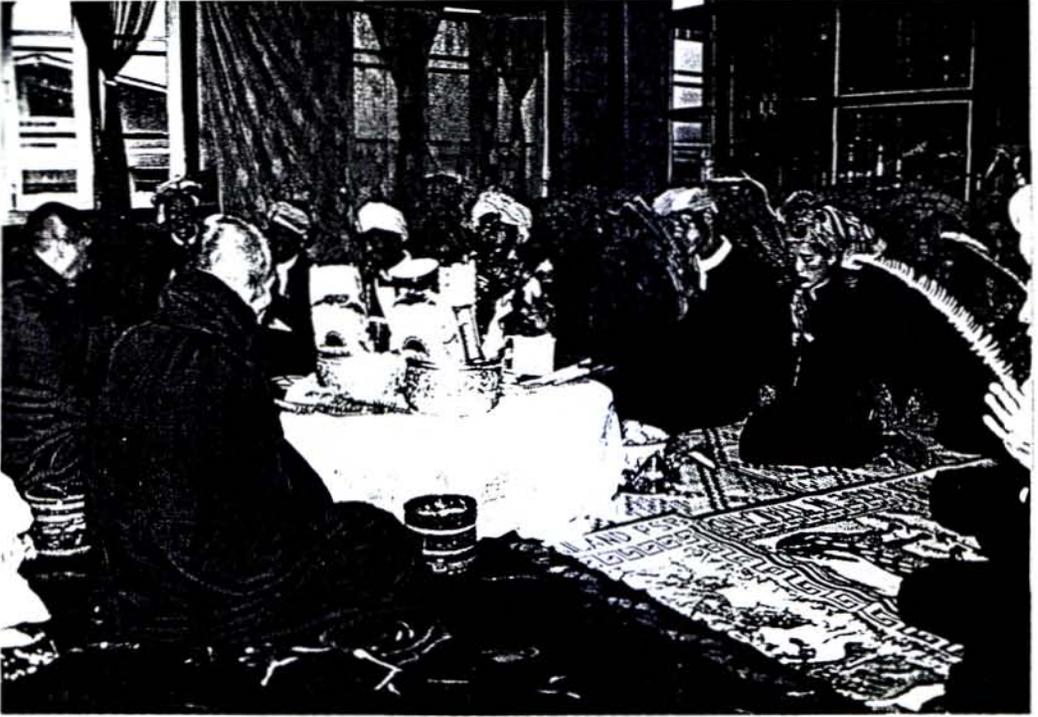
In every society, when a son or a daughter attains the age of puberty, parents try to choose a suitable marriage partner for him or her; it is the duty of every parent. And in holding a wedding ceremony, it must be in accordance with the customary laws and discipline the society has observed since the olden days.

From anthropology point of view, there are three marriage system; these are:

- (1) Monogamy in which one man is united with only one woman;
- (2) Polygyny, in which one man may be united with two or more recognized wives at one time;
- (3) Polyandry in which the husbands of a woman are, by preference, brothers of one another;

When the marriage system of the Pa-O national is studied, it is found that parallel cousin marriage is not allowed; only cross-cousin marriage is customarily accepted. Though we can say that they have followed the system of cross-cousin marriage, the marriage between the son of one's elder brother and the daughter of one's younger sister, and the marriage between the daughter of one's elder sister and the son of one's younger brother are not allowed. Only the marriage between the daughter of one's elder brother and the son of one's younger sister, and the marriage between the son of one's elder sister and the daughter of one's younger brother are accepted by them.

When the marriage system of the ancient Pa-O national is studied, it is found that they had practised the system of Endogamy, in which the marriage is allowed between members of the same tribe, village, caste or other social group. But we can also find that they also had the custom of Exogamy in which one can seek a partner outside his ethnic group clan or race.



Pa-O bridegroom and bride listening to religious sermon together with guests



Dressing the bridegroom and the bride with cotton strings as presents



The bridegroom and the bride opening the parcels of presents

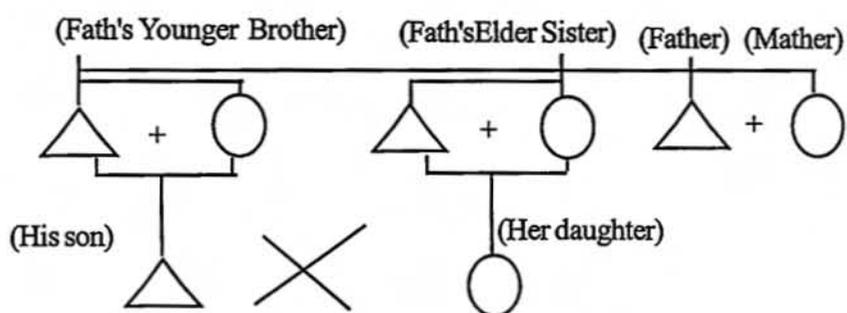
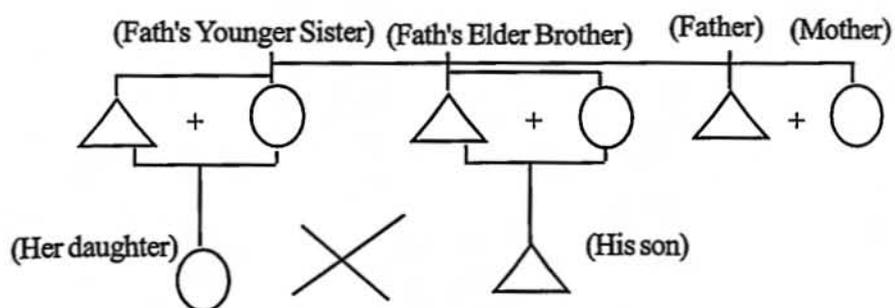


The leader of bachelors dressing the bridegroom and the bride with cotton strings

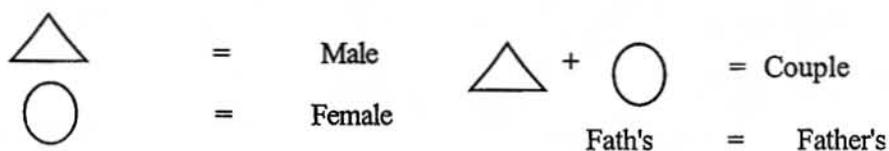
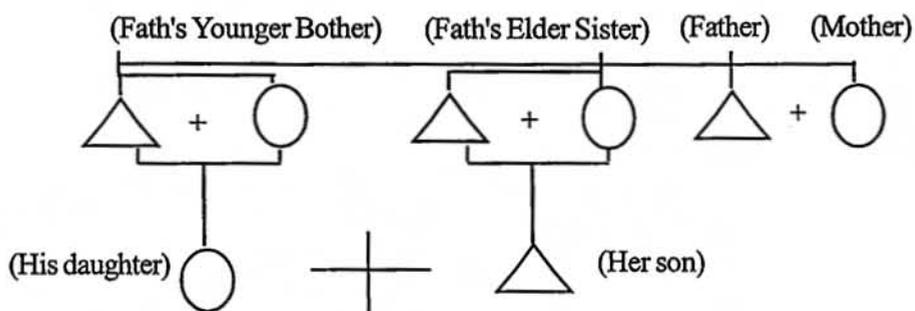
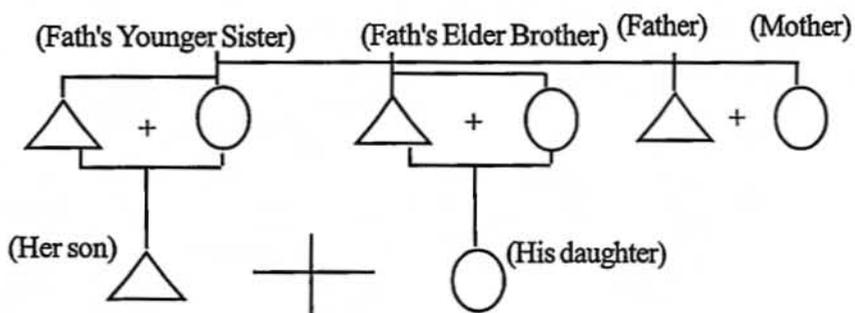


The baby being heated in traditional bamboo basket

AVOIDANCE OF MARRIAGE



PREFERENTIAL OF MARRIAGE



When both sides of parents agree, the parents of the Would-be bridegroom has to give the bride-price to the parents of the would-be bride, and the young man's side must stand all the expense of the wedding ceremony. But if the parents of the young woman is wealthy, they also contribute a certain amount of money to wedding expense.

In Htitali, invitation to the wedding ceremony is made, one week ahead, by going to each house of the village with a present of two cheroots. The wedding ceremony is mostly held at the bride's residence. But nowadays it is also held at the bridegroom's house. Cooking of rice and curries for the ceremony is usually made by the members of the bridegroom's group.

In Htitali, wedding ceremony, is held not only in the morning, but also in the evening. The main item of things needed for a wedding ceremony is three basins of offerings consisting of coconut and bananas. These offerings must be prepared by the elderly persons of the village who have been married since their younger days and all for the first time. Besides, there must also be a silver bowl with water in which pieces of gold and silver are immersed. In one offering of coconut and bananas, here are the pairs of things to be incorporated into the basin.

Banana	two hands
Pickled fish	two packets
Tea laves	two packets
Tobacco	two packets
Areaa nut	two packets
Betel leaf	two packets
Cheroot (so numbers)	two bundles
Ball of thead	two numbers

These three basins of offerings consisting of the above-mentioned items are: (1) for parents of both sides, (2) for the leader of bachelors of the village, (3) for the elderly person of the village and the guests. It is said that

sometimes such items as pop-corn rolled into a ball with palm sugar, cheroot, lighter etc. are also put in the basin of offering for the guests. But for the wedding ceremony of widow, widower and divorce, one of any items that are usually put is left out.

The usual time for a wedding ceremony is from sunrise to noon. If the ceremony is to be held in the evening, it is usually begun from the time after sun-set when it is dusky. But there is a taboo not to play drums and kill animals during the time wedding ceremony is held. They believe that if this custom is not followed, there will be a break of marriage. In this wedding ceremony, they usually wear national dress; there is no special costume to be worn on this occasion.

At the wedding, the bridegroom has his best man and the bride has her bridesmaid who is a bachelors and a maiden and who have both parents alive. The guests who come to the ceremony wear not only the bridegroom and the bride with wedding cotton strings but also the best-man and the bridesmaid.

In the morning of the wedding day, the bridegroom, his bestman and the head-man of the village go to the leader of the bachelors of the village who by opening the packets of tea leaves and pickled fish gives them the permission to hold the wedding ceremony. This opening of the packets carries the meaning that the invitation is already given to all the maidens and bachelors of the village.

Before the wedding ceremony begins, the bridegroom has to be taken to the house of the bride by the bestman and the bachelors of the village. The ceremony is begun only when the leader of the bachelors arrives. The taken of the beginning of the wedding ceremony is the peeling of bananas and opening of the packets of pickled fish and tea leaves. The couple is wedded by an elderly man or a woman, whose spouse is still alive and who has been married since their younger days and both for the first time, by

wearing cotton strings as a talisman around their hands. Then he or she has to make a blessing for them that they may live together till death. The one who has acted as the wedding master must have his or her parents still alive. The consecration master who reads eulogy at the auspicious occasion is usually a gentleman who is respected by all the villagers.

After that the couple must pay obeisance to the elders of the village and parents of both sides. First of all, parents of both sides wear cotton strings around the hands of the bridegroom and the bride. In wearing this, first the left hand of the bridegroom and then both hands of the bride are worn. This wearing of cotton strings winding around their hands as a taken of wedding is in Pa-O language called 'la-khwin'. In wearing the cotton strings around the hand, the number of rounds must be at least three times and not more than five. But in Htitali some wear these cotton strings winding around the hands of the couple each having seven rounds. It is learnt that the number of times in winding around the hand has its meaning: three times is the reference to the three objects of veneration, the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha, five times is to the Five Benefactors and seven times is to the peace and welfare of the seven-day born people.

The relatives and friends of the couple give several things made of gold and silver as wedding presents. In former days, it was usually silver coins. Parents of both sides usually give house and cultivation plots as wedding presents. The guests are treated with cooked rice and curry which usually is made of pickled fish, and then tea and khaung-ye (intoxicating brew fermented in traditional way).

At the Pa-O wedding of Htitali which is held in the evening, the guests are treated with cooked rice of pickled fish and khaung-ye. In Htitali, wedding ceremony is never held in the compound of monastery or school or rest-house. Mostly, it is held at the house of the bride. In ititali and some villages, it is learnt that the newly-wed couple has to go to the relatives of

both sides living in several villages to pay obeisance with things they can afford to offer, within three to four days after wedding. Things they usually offer on this occasion are found to be: fresh bananas, pickled fish, tea leaves, betel leaves, tobacco, candle etc, putting in a big circular tray with a stand which is called in Myanmar language 'daung-lan' To offer the packets of pickled fish on this occasion, a bachelor who has his both parents alive has to open the big packet of pickled fish for making packets of various sizes again, before the wedding day comes. These packets of various size are made by other bachelors of the village. In making a packet, it must be made of two leaves and two thin bamboo strips which are tied around it. When the couple pays obeisance to the relative with offerings the relatives also give them wedding presents in return. Pickled fish is traditionally the main, inevitable thing at a Pa-O wedding ceremony.

During the ceremony, they have a custom of asking for money for a feast by bachelors, friends and relatives, by blocking the way of the couple with white cotton thread, or by merely using hands. But in Hlitali, some use gold strings while children use bamboo poles to block the way for asking such money. After getting the money they have asked for, they make a blessing for the couple for having pleasant and peaceful life. If this money for feast is declined to be given, they believe that the couple will have a short married life.

After wedding, the newlywed couple mostly stays with the parents of the bridegroom or the bride; only after gathering farm land, housing land, cattle, seeds which are the most important things for a family, they move to separate house. In Pa-O community, we can find that there is also the practice of marriage by elopement. Before taking away the young woman, the young man must inform the leader of bachelors of his intention. Only then, after some time, the young man can send a go-between, through the leader of bachelors, to the young woman's parents.

(h) Divorce

In Htitali, almost all of them practice the marriage system of monogamy; and husbands and wives stay together till death. But if there is some concrete reason to end a marriage, they can divorce. But most of them hate to do so and adultery is greatly despised by them. The one who has committed adultery is driven out of society.

The elders of the village and the relatives of the husband and wife try as much as they can to deter the divorce. They try to solve the problem by arbitration. They never allow to happen this without concrete reason. But, if there is no any other way but divorce, it must be made in front of the head-man of the village. As taken of divorce, a betel leaf or a piece of tobacco must be divided into two parts, and each must be given to them. Then the husband and wife have to hold a cotton thread at each end and the head-man must cut it into two parts.

If divorce is based on the willing of both parties, the property they have acquired must be equally divided into two parts. If divorce occurs within one year from wedding time and if the one who wants divorce is the husband, he has to lose the bride-price and if that is the wife who wants divorce, she must give back the bride-price she had taken at the wedding time. After dividing the property, the children are also divided between the husband and the wife. There is no customary restriction as to who should have the right to take the children. A child can stay with either father or mother as he or she wishes. If a child who has not yet grown up stays with the mother, the father must support his former wife until the child has attained the age of 15.

It is learnt that Pa-O national have strong belief in astrology just like Myanmar. So sometimes a husband and a wife stay separately as a token of divorce, based on the prediction of astrologer. This act is to overt the impending danger of actual divorce. This kind of divorce is found to be allowed by the elders and parents of both sides.

Most of them accept the decision of the head-man and the parents in making a divorce. It is found that the head-man of the village and elders always have no bias towards neither party.

Being Buddhists, the Pa-O national are found to be serious followers of the teachings of the Buddha. So when a husband wants to become a permanent member of the religious order by attaining monkhood, it is also regarded as a case of divorce. In such a case, the property of the family goes to the wife who has to look after the rest of the family.

(i) Pregnancy, giving birth to a child and naming ceremony.

Pregnancy

Though there is no customary restriction as a taboo that a pregnant woman must not go to the festivals and ceremonies, Pa-O pregnant woman avoids going there. One of the taboo during the time of pregnancy is that she or her husband must not kill a snake, if it is not followed, they believe that there will be a deformed infant baby. Another taboo is that they must not cut off any tree or bamboo because it will make her find difficulty in giving birth to the baby. The next taboo is if the pregnant woman happens to meet a rope on the way which is tied to a horse or a bull, she must not cross it; she must continue her journey below it. If she has happened to cross that rope, she believes that her pregnancy period will be prolonged up to 11 or 12 months just like these animals. She must also avoid carrying heavy load, making bundles of firewood, making holes, digging ground to make a ditch etc. because it will make her find difficulty in giving birth to the baby. Besides, she must avoid eating chilly, hot medicine, anything that can cause hypertension and gas in the body. So, to avoid forming gas in the body, she must not eat plantain bud, banded snakehead (*ophiocephalus striatus*) which has square-shape makes at the tail, mushroom and pickled fish. She must also avoid eating a kind of fish called 'nga-phain' because it can cause abortion.

The reason for not eating banana during the pregnancy period is because it can make her difficult in giving birth. She also avoids eating hornet, honey, some jack fruit, pungent smelling edible fruit called "da-nyin" etc. because these can make abortion or make her give birth to twins.

Not only there are many taboos so also there are some manas. During the pregnancy period, the husband can carry the coffin on shoulder. But he must not touch the ground of the cemetery during the time the coffin is being buried. If he has happened to touch the ground of the cemetery or the rope under the coffin, his wife will meet danger in giving birth to the child.

But the pregnant woman can attend to the daily routine works such as plucking tea leaves, making dry tea leaves, cooking, washing, sweeping etc. They say that by, making such movements it will be more easy for her to deliver the child. Before the child is given birth to, to tie the umbilical cord the threads are yarned into a bigger thread in advance. The yarned thread is black in colour. When pregnancy is advanced, the pregnant woman avoids going to the monastery and the places where 'suttas' from Buddhist scriptures are recited and sermons are given. One taboo for pregnant woman is that she must not go to the market early in the morning. Another one is that she must not greet an acquaintance before that person greets her first. If pregnant woman has happened to greet him or her first, that person will become unlucky.

giving birth to a child

In former days, when a pregnant woman was about to deliver the child, a midwife or an experienced women came and helped her. When the child is delivered, its umbilical cord is tied with the twisted thread to cut it with a bamboo strip the edge of which is made sharp. The infant baby's placenta is put in a bowl and washed before it is packed with a plastic bag to be buried in the ground by its father or some other person. But the

placenta must not be tightly packed because they believe that by doing so the baby will be suffocated and it will cry day and night. The direction of the place where this placenta is buried is calculated astrologically. The direction of the place for this they avoid using to bury the placenta is called 'bumi' (astrological term of the fourth column in the diagram of location of stars and planets on a horoscope) . They believe that if the first born happens to be a Saturday-born, the parents of the baby will meet misfortune. So, parents try to avert this impending danger by 'selling' the baby to some other person.

In olden days, the umbilical cord of the infant baby was cut off just as it was delivered. After that, it was given a bath. But breast -feeding by the mother was made only on the third day. During those three days, the infant was given only the drinking water sterilized by boiling. But nowadays, when pregnancy period attains the age of three months, the pregnant woman goes to the midwife trained by the Health Department, to take instructions. There is no government clinic in Htitali; but there are three assistant midwives appointed by the government. These midwives regularly weight the body weight of a pregnant woman, measure her blood pressure and test her urine until the due data reaches. If they have some problem with a pregnant woman, she is sent to the public hospital of Pinlaung Township.

The government-appointed midwives cut the umbilical cord of the child with distilled scissors while the midwives in the village use only bamboo strip to do this. The infant baby is given a bath with cold or hot water depending on the climate. After five to seven days of its birth, the umbilical cord of the baby withers and drops off. After one months, the baby's head is shaved. But now the mothers of infant babies in Htitali, breast-feeding is given to babies just after they have been delivered. This very first breast-feeding is believed to have the power to get side of diseases the baby may have at that time. If the mother's breast is not yet yielding the milk, the infant

is fed with glucose four to five times a day. Sometimes saccharin solution is given to the baby. They believe that by giving drinking water sterilized by boiling to the baby, it will become more and more healthy.

Up to one month after birth, the mother and the baby have to stay near the fire-place which is kept ever burning. The reason for staying near the fire-place is the climate is very cold. The infant baby is usually kept in the bamboo basket which is covered with blanket to be always warm and healthy. The mother of the infant usually takes ginger soup, boiled egg, the soup of boiled featherback (*Notopterus notopterus*), soup of boiled chicken etc. after birth. She has to take also the powder of turmeric (*curcuma longa*) two time a day, each time two-spoonfuls. When the mother gets giddy because of toxalmia, she inhales the fume of the turmeric put on the ember or the pine-wood burnt. If the mother's breast does not yield milk, she has to take the solution of the boiled ginger with salt or the turmeric with salt. She also takes the soup of the leaves called "kyet-ther-hin-ywet", The leaves of the horseradish tree and the kind of pennywort used medicinally and also as a vegetable (*Hydrocotyle asiatica*) called "myin-khwar-ywet". When she takes bath, the water has to be mixed with the boiled water of the leaves called 'mate-the-lin'. 'maha-yein' 'Thet-yin-gyi', tobacco leaves, 'Phone-ma-thein', the mother of the baby takes heat treatment. 'To take heat treatment, the solution of the water and sandle-wood, red sandlewood, the leaves of the plant called 'thet-ke-mway', chopped stalks of tobacco, tobacco leaves has to be boiled in an earthen pot and it has to be put in a dry gourd with a hole through which a bamboo pipe is fixed. The pipe must be connected to the place where the woman is to take heat treatment and which is covered with mat around it. The woman must sit on a stool and with the half of the hot fume takes the traditional heat treatment. The place of the woman which is covered with mats as the walling must be also covered with blanket on top. After inducing perspiration, the whole body has to be smeared with 'mate-

tha-lin' leaves. Then she must wear a long piece of fabric around her waist tight for me to two months. When sleeping, she must use a big pillow, and she must never lie facing upwards. Sometimes, she must sleep in sitting position not to suffer from toxaemia. To be able to stand up easily, there must be a rope hung from somewhere above for her. During that time, she must also take the traditional hot medicine and a little liquor.

In former days, a pregnant woman must give me 'pyi' (about 1/16th the part of a bushel) of rice, a bunch of ginger, a packet of salt to the midwife of the village before giving birth to the baby. A certain amount of money was also included if she could afford to do so. After giving birth, she must wash the hands of the midwife with the solution of soap acacia (*Acacia concinna*). The guests who come to the house within three days of the birth are treated with 'khaung-ye' soups of 'mont-kyin' leaves and 'the fish called featherback called 'nga-phe'. Before giving these foods their hands and the face of these guests must be washed by the family members with the water in a bowl in which soap acacia, sprigs of *Eugenia* are put together with water. The guests also give presents such as egg, snacks, diaper, other useful things for baby etc. to the family in return. The guests give blessings to the baby by wearing its hand with sewing threads around it.

After giving birth, for about six months, the mother of the baby has to avoid eating some foods which can cause to form gas and which are hot. After about two weeks, she can eat chicken curry, dry curry and a kind of fish called 'nga-khu'. When confinement period comes to an end, the mother must take bath with water mixed with soap acacia and 'ta-yaw' (small tree or shrub of the *Grewia* species).

The fire-place which has been used during confinement days must be cleaned so that even the ash are not left. One month after giving birth, she can move back to her former bed. After confinement period, on the first day she goes outside, she usually takes her baby to the monastery or the market.

Naming ceremony

One week or one month after birth, the parents hold a naming ceremony for the baby. The guests who are present there on this occasion give several kinds of present to the baby. On that day an astrologer or a traditional medicine man or a monk choose a name for the baby after making astrological calculations based on the day when the baby is born. The guests present on such occasion are mostly ladies and there are some few close male relatives. The guests are usually treated with 'khaung-ye', snacks, plain tea, ginger and soup of 'nga-phe'. There is an earthen pot with water in which a branch of the plant called 'ze-phu' (Eastern goose-berry-*Embllica officinalis*), sprigs of *Eugenia*, and soap acacia are kept. With the water in that pot, the hands of the midwife who has helped in giving birth to the baby must be washed by the mother of the child. Afterwards, the midwife and the mother of the baby must wash their faces with the wet branch of 'ze-phu' as a token. After them, the members of the family as well as the guests must do likewise.

The Pa-O national have the custom of holding novitiation ceremony to initiate their sons into the Buddhist order only when these sons have attained proper age. It is said that in former days, they had the custom of boring holes in the earlobes of the girls and also the boys. But as for the boys, only the left-side ear was bored a hole. Nowadays, this custom is followed only for the eldest son. They have a belief that by boring holes in the earlobes of their children they will be lucky in the future and their children will be obedient to them.

From the time the children have attained the age of six to seven, they are given names which are in accordance with the letters traditionally allotted to represent particular days of the week. To a young boy or a man of middle age, 'Maung' or 'Maung pay' is used in addressing while to a young girl or a woman of middle age, she is addressed 'Hmu' or 'Hmu pay', if their names are not known. In Myanmar language, 'Maung' means 'maung

‘yin’ (term of address used when addressing a male younger than oneself) and ‘Maung pay’ means ‘young boy’ while ‘Hmu’ means ‘a girl’ and ‘Hmu pay’ means ‘young girl’. In Pa-O hamlets, a name of a boy or a man begins with the letter ‘Ta’. For example, Ta kyaw, Ta Lun, ‘Ta Oo. A name of a girl or a woman has the beginning letter ‘Mi’ in her name. For example, Mi Aung, Mi Hun, Mi Khan etc. A young man who has discarded the garb of a novice usually has the beginning letter ‘Htwet’ in his name. For example, for a boy whose name is Maung Kyaw, now the name because ‘Hwet Kyaw’. But the beginning letters of the Pa-O townfolk are different from those of the people of hamlets; a male’s name has the beginning better ‘Khun’ while a female’s name has ‘Nan’.

‘Khun’ has the meaning of ‘a man of noble lineage’ or a brave man or a man of manly character. ‘Nan’ has the meaning of ‘a woman of noble lineage’ or politic woman or demure today or goddess. For example, the names of a man and a woman are:

Khun Than Zaw, Khun Arkar

Nan Khan Dawi, Nan Dewi

There is also a custom of changing the term of addressing to a male or a female depending on the significant donation he or she has made. For example, a man who has donated a monastery is addressed ‘Kyaung kar’ and a woman of the same donation ‘Mè Kyaung’. Likewise, the man who has underwritten a charitable cause to become a sponsor of a monk is addressed ‘phayar kar’ while a female sponsor is called ‘Mè phayar kar’.

A married man’s name has the beginning better ‘Pher’ whereas a married woman’s name begins with ‘Mwo’.

For example:

U khun Kyaw becomes Pher Kyaw;

Daw Nan Dwi becomes Mwo Dwi;

Another peculiar custom of naming is - a parent's name begins with the last letter of his or her eldest son. For example, if the eldest son's name is Khun Maung Pyo, his father is called 'Pyo Pher' while his mother is called 'Pyo-Nwo'.

Besides, the Pa-O national call their respectable head-man of the village 'Phyer Don' the meaning of which is the lord of the village or the guardian of the village.

(j) Child life

The Pa-O mothers are much fond of their offspring and look after tendery. When parents are attending to the duty of plucking tea leaves or sebesten leaves in the garden, grandparent look after them. When a baby has attained the age of three to fourth months, it is fed with plain cooked rice or boiled rice. Before feeding, the mother of the baby chews the cooked rice. When the baby has attained the age of one year, it is weaned by smearing bitter tonic over the mother's tip of the breast. After weaning the child, it is mainly, fed with rice. Parents and grandparents soothe their babies by just talking or singing. When the baby firstly learns to speak some words, it is taught by, the elders how to address such terms as father, mother, grand father, grandmother, uncle, aunt, brother, sister etc. and also the names of the relatives and neighbours. Being Buddhists, when their babies have attained the age of two to three years, they are taught how to pay respect seriously to the three objects of veneration, the Buddha, the Dhamma, the Sangha, parents and elders by telling them stories at leisure time or bed-time.

Pa-O children of age three to four are sent to nursery schools to introduce them with the pleasure of school life. As there are no cars in the village, children can play along the roads of the village and in the blank plots of land without meeting any danger of having car accidents. Mostly they play game of pitch with small missiles, usually seabeans seeds or potsherds or kind

of high jump or throwing marbles or game of tag. They also help their parents by plucking tea leaves and sebsten leaves in the gardens. At the age of about 14 to 15 young men help their parent with their business while young women help their parents with household works as well as plucking tea leaves or making pickled tea leaves.

When school time is over, young boys play game of throwing small stone balls into the holes in the ground or throwing stone balls at the small dolls set up on the ground or throwing things with small rubber rings or football or game of tag. Young women usually play a kind of outdoor game where two teams of girls have to take part, with one team defending a marked- off area while the other tries to pass through it. Without being tagged or kind of high jump or skip (with rope) or game of tag or game of imitating the cooking etc. Before going to school or after coming back from school, young ones carry water for household use and for the shrine of the Buddha (drinking water to the offered to the Buddha and the water to be put into the pots of flowers offered to the Buddha) , carry fire-wood to the kitchen from where these are stored, sweep the ground in the compound of the house, look after the young boys and girls and so on. On holidays, they go to the garden with parents to help them with plucking tea leaves or making fire to dry tea leaves or to mix tea leaves or to keep tea leaves in the sun to get dry or collecting things after work etc. As these Pa-O children are the ones living in the villages on the mountain ranges, they are honest and they never quarrel; they do not use abusive language and they are always obedient to their parents.

(k) Ailment and treatment

As Pa-O villages are situated on the mountain ranges, there is no easy access to them and they also have to rely on their legs in travelling. They all are strong and healthy as they have to go always on foot on the paths

of the mountain ranges, work incessantly for their living breath in only fresh air, eating fresh fruit and follow the teaching of the religion. When they sometimes ail, they take only traditional medicine. Some use occult means such as summoning spirits or lighting candles to cure the disease. When a child gets ailment, parents usually consult the elderly persons or the traditional medicine man. This consulting is to find out what mistake the ailing child has made and where and how to get rid of the ailment. The consulting fee for such a case is usually two tin-full of rice and one and on-fourth Kyat. If a man or a young person of age under 12 loses consciousness out of strong fever, the spirit of the unconscious person has to be summoned back by an elderly person or the man of herbal medicine. Who keeps a fistful of cooked rice and a fistful of salt on the banana leaf over which liquor has to be poured. A cotton thread has to be wound round the edge of the banana leaf and ask the guardian 'nat' of the earth for giving back the spirit of the patient. After collecting the cotton thread around the banana leaf, it must be tied to the head as well as around the hands before reciting 'mantras'. Some light candles are prepared by occult means to cure the disease.

Before preparing an oil lamp (consisting of a saucer of oil and a wick), an offertory has to be made with one 'pyi' of rice, one coconut, three area nuts, pickled tea leaves in a banana leaf twisted to be a conical shape, betel leaf formed in a conical shape, spring of sugenia, Bermuda grass and the consulting fee of 200 kyats. If the oil lamp is to be lighted for getting rid of disease and because one has reached a period of misfortune according to one's horoscope astrologically, a cabalistic square composed of mystic figures and characters in a grid must be made on the lamp which is to be lighted together with the hair piece of cloth, nails of fingers and toes of the patient. For wick a cotton thread the length of which must be 96 hand spans is twisted into a one with three stands. The cabalistic square is made on the kind of paper called 'shan paper' or 'mine-kine paper'. If one is astrologically

so unfortunate as to meet the danger of losing one's life, the cabalistic design has to be made with nine squares. If one has reached a period of misfortune according to one's horoscope astrologically, the number of squares must be 25 in the cabalistic design. In lighting the oil lamp, the weight of the oil must be five ticals.

When a wick is lighted in an oil lamp of earthen plate, the shan paper with cabalistic design, the wick of twisted thread, finger nails and toenails, hair, piece of clothe of the patient, five facials of oil are put in it.

The Pa-O national have used indigenous medicine traditionally for the ailing persons. Pregnant woman with close due date of delivery of baby and who has just given birth to a one smear the solution of the turmeric grined over the body and drink it and inhale it also for good health. She also takes a kind of soup with heavy, peppery seasoning. For children also, indigenous medicine is used. If a child has a skin disease of itch and rash or herpes, it is fed with the solution of boiled maize. If they think that an ailment is because of some witchcraft, they consult the man of herbal medicine, and sometimes invite monks to recite the Suttas from the Buddhist scriptures.

Pa-O children have talismans with cabalistic designs around their necks and hands. The reason for such wearing these things is to prevent the child from being possessed by some evil spirits and hurting by witchcraft, or to keep it as a token gift as a sort of charm for well-being when the child is frequently ill. There on also some grown-up persons who wear such talismans around their necks. Some tattoo cabalistic designs supposed to have mystic power on the back, arm, chest which are on the upper part of the body. In former days, most Pa-O men had tattoos on several parts of their bodies, but nowadays, only some young men have such totoood designs on their arms. The reason for tattooing is said to have manly image. But some

tattooed marks are meant to possess mystic power that are invulnerable to swords, and stick, while some are for the power of love potion.

In the communities of the Pa-O national of southern Shan State, when someone gets ill, the villagers mostly think that the ailing person is being possessed by some spirit. In such a case, to appease the spirit that has possessed the sick one, an elderly person in the family goes outside of the house at about seven o'clock in the evening, bringing with him a sword lamp and a packet of rice, and then put that rice some-where on the ground asking the spirit not to give trouble and make the sick one become good. This traditional act is called in their language 'khaw-khya (make offering of spirit food). The reason for carrying a sword in the hand of the man who makes this offering is said to threaten away some evil spirits which might want to disturb him. Some make this offering with a live chicken, a bottle of liquor and a sword, instead of rice. After this, the hand of the ailing person is worn around with a cotton thread, and then the others pray for his good health.

(l) Death and funeral ceremony

Just like Myanmar, the Pa-O national also have two kinds of death: natural death and violent death. If it is a natural. Death, the corpse is given a bath and then worn with Pa-O national dress. Then it is put somewhere in front of the house. In former days, if the deceased person was an elderly person, the corpse was put into the coffin. Which already made for him or her when all relative were completed. Under the coffin, they usually put a piece of wood or three blocks of wood so that it can be easily lifted. These wooden blocks were discarded in the cemetery compound on the day of the funeral procession. Nowadays, they hire a carpenter to make a pse only when someone dies. Before the coffin is made, the corpse is kept on a mat, with a pillow, neatly and tidily. The two big toes of the dead one are tied together with a green cotton thread. In the direction of the head of the corpse, they

put a post with flowers, cheroot, betel quid and others for the deceased person. The coffin is usually decorated with golden and silver papers. If the coffin is kept in the sitting room of the house, the direction of the legs must be towards the door of the house, and when it is carried away from there on the funeral day, the direction of the legs must be also towards the door.

In olden days, a coin was put into the mouth of the deceased person as a token of ferriage to another world. The amount of the money was one quarter of a kyat or five quarter-kyats. The Pa-O national have the custom of taking refuge in the Three gems to share the merit with the deceased just like Myanmars. The other family members put things into the coffin which are much fond of by the deceased, such as betel box, lime box, tobacco pipe, string of beads, shawl, slipper, walking stick, hat etc. If the deceased is an elderly person who had kept precepts, the corpse is kept at the house for three to five days. At meal time, Plates of cooked rice and curry are kept near the head of the deceased. For the deceased of the natural death, the coffin is usually buried. The hole at the burial site is dug one day ahead of the funeral day. If the family can afford, the professional grave digger is hired to dig the ground. Before digging, the guardian 'nat' of the cemetery is offered pickled tea leaves, tobacco, lime areca nuts on a betel leaf as an act of asking for permission to dig the ground. In digging, even though the digger strikes a stone layer in the ground, he must continue his work until the hole is complete; he must not move to another place. The diggers must avoid telling jokes during the time of digging; if this custom is not followed, they believe that it will bring misfortune to the village.

(i) Violent death

A sudden death without any ailment is recognized as violent death. In former days, the corpse of such kind of death was immediately carried to the cemetery to be cremated. As there was no enough time to make a coffin, the corpse

was wrapped up with a mat to be carried to the cemetery. If the deceased died outside the village compound, the corpse is directly carried to the cemetery only after cremation, the ash are put into an earthen pot and buried in the ground. There is always a wooden post with signs that mentions the name as well as the date of the death. For violent death, they offer meal to the monks on the seventh day after death, and express their wish that others may also acquire the benefit from this meritorious deed equally. Besides, they donate other things to the monks at the monastery and meals to the villagers on that day.

In those olden days, it is learnt that the corpse of the deceased who died on a new-moon day or the third day of the water festival was immediately taken outside of the village compound to be taken to the cemetery. They believed that by not following this custom they will meet misfortune in the near future. This in fact is not to carry this tragic thing into next year which is quite approaching. But this custom is no longer lively among them.

When a pregnant woman dies, the corpse is directly cremated without making a coffin. If she dies after giving birth. If she dies after giving birth to the baby it is called in their language 'simay' If a pregnant woman dies before giving birth to the baby, her womb is operated and the dead baby is taken out to be buried separately. But the dead mother is cremated and her ash is put in an earthen pot to be buried at separate place. They believe that burying the ash of the mother and the corpse of the baby will bring misfortune to the village. After burying the ash, her husband has to retreat from the burial mound and take off his clothes, both his shirt and nether garment, to run away in the direction of his home in the village. While thus running, he must not look back. At that time of running, the man who has accompanied that husband must fire a gun to make the spirit of his wife known that it is no more concerned with him.

If it is not done so, they believe that the spirit of the wife will, out of attachment to him, harm him when he marries again with another woman. Again, the second wife will meet the same misfortune when she gets pregnant.

When the dead man is a bachelor, his private things such as his mirror, sword with scabbard, concertina etc. are carried to the cemetery. If the dead bachelor has no such personal things, such things are hired to be thus carried there. If the dead one is an unmarried woman, face powder, make-up umbrella, comb, slipper are put into the coffin. If the dead bachelor is one who is fond of beauty, face powder and make-up are put into the coffin.

When the funeral ceremony is about to begin, the corpse is put into the coffin and then two packets of rice, one for the dead one and the other for his mate. The packet of rice must be made of banana leaf. Beside this packet, a bottle of water and a shawl are also put into it. Things of which the dead one is fond of are also put into the coffin. For example betel box, lime box, pipe, string of beads, slipper, walking stick, hat. Some wealthy families here a narrator in the morning of the day of funeral ceremony or the day just before that, to narrate the 'jatakas'. There guests listening to him contribute money for the narrator. The family concerned also offers some money to him who is called 'Mawsaya' in their language. The guests are treated with meal if the family can afford to do so; if they cannot afford to do it, they are also given just cheroot and pickled tea leaves. When the coffin is brought out of the house, it is spread with water all along the way until it has got outside. The platform on which the coffin has to be put is kept outside of the house. When the coffin is carried to the cemetery, the legs of the corpse must be always kept in the direction of the cemetery. On the way there, the ones who have carried the coffin move forward and backward which shows that they do not want to lose him.

The funeral ceremony usually begins between one o'clock and three o'clock in the afterroom. On the way to the cemetery with the coffin, triangular brass gong is played which is meant to invite the evil spirits to come with the procession. On the way back home, it must not be played because it will cause them to come with the people to the village. If the day of funeral ceremony is on Sunday, some people in the procession must carry torches which are to be quenched when they get outside of the village compound. The reason for making torches is based on the belief that Sunday being on auspicious day there is no enough light in the celestial abode and hence there will be no sun as well as moon for the corpse; so it needs torches for the light to see the path.

Before burying, the coffin is opened and the face of the corpse is washed with sprigs of Eugenia. After inviting the spirit of the deceased, they take refuge in the Three Gems to share the merit with the deceased and express their wish that others may also acquire equally the benefit from their meritorious deed. The Pa-O national of southern Shan State have the custom of burying the corpse the head of which is in the direction of the north and the legs in the south. The reason for thus keeping the head in the direction of the north is in remembrance of their former native land, Thaton. After burying the coffin, they keep nine bamboo slats and nine blocks of earth on the mound. This custom is still followed by them. This number 'nine' is said to represent the memory that they had moved away from Thaton in nine groups'. A rope made of bamboo strips must be put inside the mound, at the place in the direction of the legs of the corpse, leaving one end of it outside. That end is to be pulled out backward and thrown away. After every thing, on the way back home, they place three lines of defence with thorns to deter the coming back of the spirit to the village. All the people in the funeral ceremony directly return to the house of the dead person and wash their hands and legs with water before going back to their homes.

In Htitali, when there is a funeral ceremony, from the beginning day to the end, the member of the association of joy and grief who are the youngsters of the village, contribute their labour to help the family concerned. To prepare cooked rice and curries to treat the guests on the seventh day, the leader of bachelors of the village has to be invited to help the family with his group, by giving a packet of pickled tea leaves or cheroot. In Htitali, on such occasion, invitation is made by giving a packet of picked tea leaves to each family. On the seventh day and again on the day of the exact one-month time, the family concerned offers meal to the monks as well as guests.

(ii) Novitiation

This ceremony of giving meal to the monks and guests on the seventh day of the death is held just like for a novitiation ceremony; the guests from other villages are also invited to come there. This ceremony of offering meal on the seventh day is called 'Pwe-Pan-San' in their language. Sometimes, some two to three families collectively offer such a meal after saving enough money for that. It is learnt that some poor families give such a meal to monks and guests after one year exact.

The site for offering this meal is usually at the vacant area just beside the house or in the monastery compound. If it is held at the vacant area near the house, they usually build a pavilion just like they do for a novitiation ceremony. This pavilion is called 'kanar' in their language. In the pavilion, they prepare tree-shaped stands with various articles of offering hanging for the monasteries from where the monks have been invited to be offered meal. We can also find flag-staffs in the pavilion on such occasion and these are made of pieces of fabric. The number of flag-staff shows the number of the deceased persons for whom the meal is given. After giving this meal and listening to the sermon given by the monk, the flag-staff is hoisted in a pagoda compound with a bamboo pole. For the deceased of violent

death, the flag-staff is made of iron rod. Wealthy families make the pillars of the flag-staff with wooden poles or a cement poles which have to be prepared in advance. As there are also relatives and friends from distant places, these people have to be given accommodation to stay there for some days. To invite the people to come and have meal on that day, first they must go and invite the head-man of the village with a packet of pickled tea leaves; he will invite the whole village on behalf of the family concerned.

In the evening of the eve of that meal offering day, one of the friends or the relatives or the family members has to go to the cemetery and invite the spirit of the deceased to come to the place where meal is offered to monks and guests. That person has to ask the spirit to come with a sprig of Eugenia or a branch of Eastern gooseberry. The reason for thus inviting is to make the spirit listen to the sermon given by the monk. This spring of Eugenia or the branch of Eastern gooseberry must be kept at one of the pillars of the pavilion by tying with bamboo strip or in the bamboo walling.

When someone is invited to the ceremony of novitiation called 'pwe-pan' and the ceremony of offering meals to the monks and guests on the seventh day of someone's death which is called 'pwe-pan-sun', That persons tries to go there however far away from his or her place. In the evening just before the day on which the meal is given, the guests far and near are entertained by the narrator called 'maw-aye'. So the relative and friends from distant villages try to come these early not to miss this chance of listening to the narration. The reason for inviting the narrator to the place on this occasion is that he can clearly expound the teachings of the Buddha and persuade the people to practice it the next morning the monks are offered meal. Before the sermon is given by the monk, they keep a bowl in which cooked rice, curry banana etc. are put for the deceased some-where near the place the monk is to give the sermon . After listening to the sermon they express their wish that others may also acquire the benefit from their meritorious deed

equally and pour water symbolically. For the guests, the plates with cooked rice and curries are prepared ready in the pavilion. When the guests return, packets of cooked rice and curries are given to them to eat on their way. After offering meal to the monks the narrator expounds the concept of impermanence and if the family members are grieving too much he says 'every-thing animate or inanimate, in this world, is impermanent; nobody can avoid meeting aging, suffering and death' to make the listeners have apprehension. Only when the food is prepared by the head of the family concerned, the narrator stops his preaching and takes his meal. After taking the meal, the narrator and the guests take five precepts from the monk and listen to the sermon given by the monk; then they express their wish that others may also acquire the benefit from their meritorious deed equally and pour water symbolically. The guests offer things to the monk when the sermon comes to an end. But in some cases, the sermon is given first by the monk and only after that the narrator gives his narrative preaching. When everything is finished, the guests and the villagers help the family concerned to keep things back in order.

When a presiding monk dies, the corpse is kept for one month to one year, depending on the financial situation of the whole village. The coffin for the corpse of a presiding monk is usually made with glass mosaic embedded in gilding, and it is bigger than that of layman. During the time the corpse is kept for the people to pay obeisance, they sing funeral songs or dirges extolling the virtues of that departed monk. Then the coffin is cremated in a kind of structure which is for housing the funeral pyre for a dead monk. The ash is stored in a gilded pot which is to be entombed. The tomb is made in the shape of a pagoda and it is called the 'pagoda of the burial urn.' Which usually has a height not less than five feet. If the presiding monk is a popular one who is supposed to have mystic power, the height of the pagoda is usually taller than the normal one and it is decorated to be more spectacular.

CHAPTER 5

ECONOMY

Economy

The main economy of the villagers of "Htitali" in Pinlaung Township is hill-side cultivation of paddy rice and the cultivation of sebesten leaves called "The-Nat-Phet" and tea leaves. They also grow "danyin" potato, line, turmeric, ginger, and soya beans and several oil products.

(a) Hill-side cultivation

Pa-O national living in Shan State grow paddy and other crops on the hill-sides by making terraces. It is the kind of dry cultivation, and no irrigated water is needed to support the growing. They use a plot continuously almost for three years and after that they move to other suitable places. It is said that by growing on hill-sides, a little amount of water and moisture is enough for them. The way they make such a plot is first they must search for a hill-side where trees and bushes are slashed in Nattaw and Pyatho. They burn these tree stumps and bushes in Dabaung (March). In Tagu (April), they plough the land with buffalo, and they turn up the soil themselves with shopping hoes and grubbing hoes. After ploughing the land, the tree stumps and bushes are burned in Tagu. And then they must prepare to start the work which they call "payit-phose-chin". It is nothing but, after turning up the soil with chopping hoes, making small mounds of earth, with equal distance between one another. There must be a hole at the top of each of these mounds for putting cow dung and hay to be burned. When burning, the holes of the mounds must be covered by earth. It is for making the land fertile and it is called in Pa-O language "su-phy". This process of making a land fertile is mostly done by highlanders.

Since the time of their great grandfathers, Pa-O national have grown



Hill-side cultivation



sebesten trees, plants bearing tea leaves and paddy rice to this day. They use hill-side cultivation method in producing paddy crops. They have used the method of scattering seeds to grow paddy. They shift from one hill-side to the other from year to year. In Nattaw and Pyatho (December and January) of Myanmar calendar year, they clear big trees from the place which they are going to use as cultivation site. In Dabaung (March), they set the stumps of trees and bushes to fire. This preparation work is collectively done by the villagers, based on the system of contribution of labour on reciprocal basis. They begin to grow paddy in one of the waning days of Kason (May) or one of the waxing days of Nayone (June). Before beginning to grow this, they offer foods to the guardian "nat" of the hill to propitiate him. In making this offering, they must first prepare three plates, three heaps of cooked rice each having one time grasping with the hand, three chillies, three fermented soya-beans three cups of liquor. The number "three" on this occasion is said to denote their reverence for the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha. When it is begun to make offering, each heap of cooked rice must be put in every plate along with a fermented soya-bean and a chilli. Then on every plate with a heap of cooked rice and a fermented soya-bean liquor must be poured and then the three plates must be offered. The two elderly men must supervise this offering and by this act, they believe that they will get good yield and least wastage.

One month after scattering seeds, fertilizer is applied to the ground and weeding is made. During the period from the new-moon day of Thidingyut (October) to the waxing days of Tanzaungmon (November), reaping takes place. In weeding and reaping, the system of contribution of labour on reciprocal basis is applied. The ones who have come to help the work are treated with meal. But some have brought packets of rice and curry to contribute their labour. After threshing the crops reaped, these are carried to the village to be left in the sun to get dry. In olden days, when the rice became dry enough, these were pounded by mortars; but nowadays rice-mills are used. Paddy produced by a family is

all kept aside for own consumption. But as there is no enough cultivable land for every family in Htitali , they have to grow on the small vacant spaces among the rocks, and they cannot have enough paddy for the whole year. So some families have to buy some more paddy, for own consumption. Due to the shortage of cultivable land, the villagers in Htitali cannot grow paddy for market. Now most of the families only grow sebesten trees for leaves and tea plants for tea leaves.

(1) Growing sebesten trees (The -nat-phet trees)

In farmer days, it was the Pa-O national who had produced the sebesten leaves more than any other region. But now they grow tea plants more and more. The reason for less production of the sebesten leaves is said to be due to the difficulty of getting firewood. Sebesten leaf is called in Pa-O language "sein-lar" while in Shan language "taung". Its name in Myanmar is "the-nat-phet". Sebesten tree is a deciduous one. The best sebesten leaves can be got from the sebesten trees which are grown in the shade on a slope of a valley. The circumference of the stem of the tree is generally one and a half inches and its height is about ten feet. To pluck the tendrions of the sebesten trees, every summer season or in Pyatho and Dabodwe (January and February), the plants are cut. There are two kinds of sebesten trees; one being the good one and another being the wild one. The leaves of the wild type have coarse surface and brownish colour. Its quality is weak and it is not much useful. The sebesten leaf of the good quality is bright in colour and smooth. In rolling cheroot, is as it is smooth and flexinble , and good looking. So it is very useful and fetches a good price in the market.

In collecting seeds, the best seeds from the sebesten trees the age of which are from 10 to 30 years. Can be collected. In Kason and Nayone (May and June), the tree bears fruits which become ripe in Tawthalin and Thidingyut (September and October). The fruits plucked in those months are kept in the



Plantation of sebesten trees



Pa-O woman plucking sebesten leaves

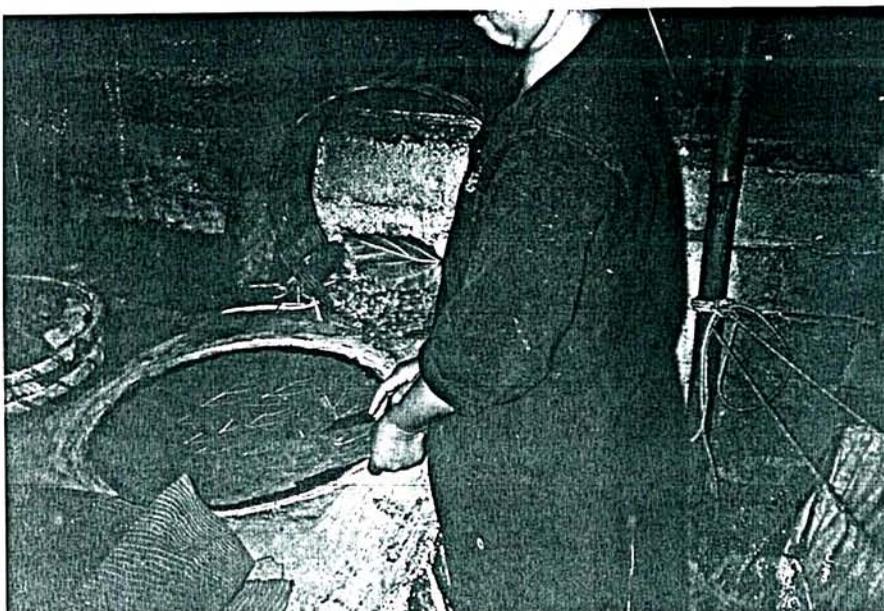


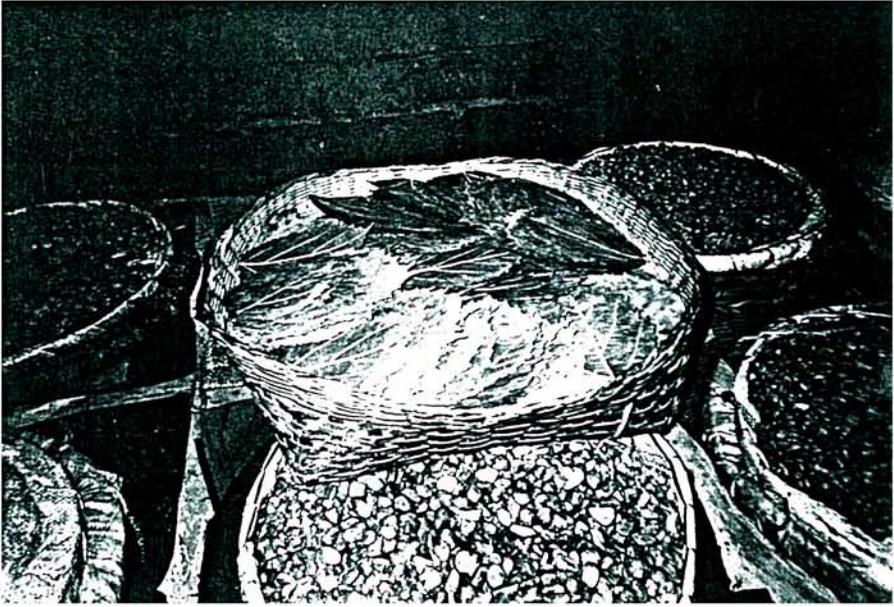
Setting sebesten leaves in the pan properly to be roasted



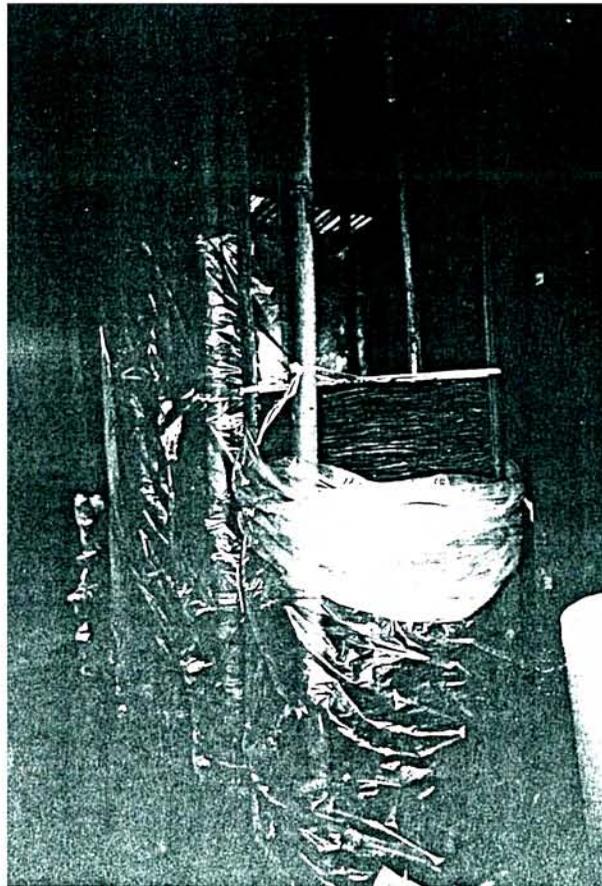


Sebesten leaves being roasted by fire





The roasted sebesten leaves



water and after that these are pressed with hands to get seeds. These seeds are kept in the sun to get dry for five to seven days to transplant. A tin that can contain four gallons of Kerosene oil can hold about 7,500 to 10,000 seeds.

(2) Stages of growing of sebesten leaves (growing methods)

The plot where these sebesten trees are to be grown is cleared of trees and bushes in Tanzaungmon and Nattaw (November and December). In Dabaung, the tree stumps and bushes are burnt to become ash. After that, in Warso and Warkhaung (July and August), transplanting is begun these. Only when the roots of the trees get firm in the ground, the earth can be turned up.

There are generally three methods of growing.

- (1) By sowing seeds in the nursery to get seedlings,
- (2) By growing with branches;
- (3) By using seeds;

Among the three mentioned above, the first method which is by sowing seeds in the nursery to get seedlings is the most popular one.

Depending on the relative humidity of the soil, the seedlings can be of two kinds; the seedlings in the water and the seedlings on the land. The seedlings nursed in the water have to be scattered on the flat land where there is high rate of relative humidity in the months of Thidingyut and Tanzaungmon (October and November).

The seedling nursed on the land, are scattered on dry land during the waning days of Dabodwe (February) or the waxing days of Dabaung (March). The seedlings of the sebesten trees are easily nursed on the high land where there is no water. The seedlings nursed at the place where there is high rate of relative humidity become fully grown after six months while the other type gets fully grown after one year. Generally, when the height of a seedling becomes two and half feet to three feet, it can be transplanted. Before transplanting, weeding has

to be made two to four times a year. One year after transplantation, the seedlings have to be cut so that the height of all becomes two feet to three and half feet.

According to the method of using branches, the branches are cut in the months of Pyatho and Daboolwe (January and February) to be transplanted.

Whatever the type of the seedling, the seeds are buried in the ground each being three inches to five inches away from the nearest one.

After that, ash or cow-dung must be spread all over the plot. Now modern fertilizers are also used for development. To protect the young seedlings from mist heat, these are covered with straw or dried grass. When young seedlings grow up, the earth had to be turned up with chopping hoe and rake.

In cutting branches to be transplanted, the strong and flawless stems are chosen to cut out a branch of one-foot length from each of these. Then these branches are kept in the hole of the ground the depth of which is roughly two feet, but it must be a humid place. This hole must be fully covered with something. Another method is these branches can be kept under the water in a stream where the water in a stream where the current of water is ever lively. After six months, the branches begin to have roots. Then after digging holes each having the depth of four inches, the branches with small roots are kept horizontally on the ground. There appear small, delicate leaves on the joints of these branches and when these leaves attain the length of over one foot these are covered with earth.

According to the method of using seeds, planting is begun in Warso and Warkhaung (July and August) making holes in the ground with the help of a pointed iron rods. Though pointed iron rod is used in making holes, chopping hoe is used there for turning up the earth of the plot where trees and bushes had been cleared and the whole surface had been burnt.

It is learnt that to get full development for a sebesten tree about 10 ticals of the fertilizer named "Pa-le Fertilizer" or two tinfuls (condensed-mal tin) of cow-dung fertilizer are needed to be applied.

After three to four years, the stem of a sebestem tree attains the radius of one inch to two and half inches. Then these trees can be cut off. Generally cutting is made in the Myanmar months of Pyatho and Dabodwe (January and February). Before cutting, the seasonal leaves called "the-nat-phets" are plucked. "Tha-nat-phets" are the leaves that grow during the early period of raining season and are left on the branches and the leaves that grow on the outgrowth of the stems. Plucking and washing of these leaves is called "plucking of seasonal leave". After plucking these, the big leaves on the branches drop off and at their places, there appear small delicate leaves. The best time for cutting the plants of the sebestem trees is this time when small delicate leaves appear on the branches. In cutting the plants, sword or saw is used. In the areas of Pinlaung Township, mostly saw is used. In one day, a Pa-O farmer can cut 1,000 to 1,200 of these trees and grow 1,000 to 1,200 of them also. Most of the Pa-O men do this cutting job and they use saw the length of which is 18 inches to 20 inches. This cutting of sebestem trees is done not every year but once in two years because when it is cut every year it has less development, less yield of leaves and insects come to destroy it. To prevent the insects, the insecticide called DTT and lime of equal amounts have to be mixed before smearing the tree stumps. Falling of hailstones in the raining season, insects which can destroy the trees, the mist in the winter are real dangers to get leaves. Mist can make a tree bone dry and even dead. Likewise, hailstones can destroy the leaves. The kinds of insects which mostly destroy this business are. Snout Beetles, Caterpillars. The kind of insect called Pest is the most dangerous one. Pests can make leaves torn and ripped, the sprouts bone dry, and cut off the out growths. Some insects can destroy the whole farm of sebestem trees in one night time. Another insecticide to prevent the insects is called Malathion one spoonful of which is to be mixed with five gallons of water before spreading when insecticide D.T.T. is used, one tinful of it is mixed with four to five gallons of water. The tree stumps can also be smeared with the solution of D.T.T and lime. The kinds of insects which

generally destroy these sebesten leaves are called "Min-chi-pay", "Min-par", "Min-na-kaung", "Laung-pe" "Sin-po", "Paywet-seik-ni", "Po-pyaw". etc.

The outgrowths have to be cut off so that a sebesten tree can become fully developed. These outgrowth and tendrils must be cut off before the sebesten leaves are being cut and fried. It has to be done four to six times a year. In weeding, the grass which grows between the sebesten trees must be cleared off one to two times a year using swords and bent swords. By cutting these grass, they get a kind of natural fertilizer and it is more convenient for them to pluck the seasonal leaves. When second-time weeding is done, chopping hoes are used instead of words.

(i) Plucking Sebesten Leaves

Two to three weeks after first rain, during the waxing days of kason (May), the work of plucking sebesten leaves begin. There are two times of plucking of these leaves, one being the plucking of leaves during the early days of the rainy season and the other being the plucking of seasonal leaves. The first kind of plucking is done in May to August. Depending on the largeness of the cultivation plot, plucking has to be done for three to five times beginning from May. The leaves at the very base of the stem must be plucked first. The average number of leaves to be plucked is four to six. When all the trees are finished, the leaves from all the trees are plucked for the second time, third, fourth time and so on. This plucking rate depends on the labour they can afford for plucking and roasting the leaves. As all the leaves which have been plucked on a day have to be roasted in a furnace on the same day, the number of leaves to be plucked must be the one the furnace can manage to make all of them get dry. Both male and female do the job of plucking. It is learnt that a person can pluck about nine visses of sebesten leaves in one hour. In the early days of rainy season, they get the biggest and the best leaves from the middle parts of the stems. The leaves near the top of the stems are called "the sebestem

leaves of last plucking ". These leaves are the lowest degree of quality . The plucking and roasting of the leaves plucked in the early days of raing season come to an end in Workhaung (August). The plucking of the seasonal sebesten leaves is done one to two times in a year. It is done in the months of Tawthalin and Thidingyut (September and October). The colour of the seasonal leaves are more green in colour and smaller in size than the ones plucked during the easy days of raing season; and they are thinner. It is learnt that Pinlaung Township can produce more sebesten leaves than Pinlon, Taunggyi and Loylin. The reason for this more production is that the climate as well as the soil of Pinlaung is more favourable for the tree.

(ii) Roasting the sebesten leaves

After plucking green sebesten leaves, before roasting them, every leaf must be peeled off along the line of streak beginning from the stack. This is done by both male and female workers. A person can do this work of peeling up to five "visses" of such green leaves in one hour. While some leaves are being roasted, other ones are being peeled off. While peeling the leaves, they divide them into two groups: the bigness (more than five inches in radius) and the small ones (less than five inches in radius) .It is said that by such classifying into two kinds it is easier for them to sell these leaves in the market.

Giving heat to the leaves in a big frying pan is called by them "roasting of the sebesten leaves". In this process, the green leaves become dry. Some make furnaces for roasting leaves near their houses in big tents. Such as furnace can last for many a years. The shope of a furnace is rectangular one and its length is about three feet while the breadth is two feet. Every year , before using , the furnace it must be repaired. Generally, there are 16 frying pans which are set in two rows. The furnace can be made of clay or cement. There are two sizes of frying pan used for roasting the leaves: the bigger one with 20 inches of radius and the small one with 18 inches of radius. When 10 visses of green sebesten

leaves are roasted, they get four visses of sebesten leaves which can be sold in the market. First, sebesten leaves are kept around the inner part of the brim, each overlapping the other, clock-wise or anti clock-wise. There are about 25 leaves in a frying pan. Over these leaves, a packet of sand or a packet of sand made of coarse fabric must be put. So that the leaves get heat and they get flat when heated. Big logs of fire-wood are set fire in the furnace so that the fire burns endinuously round the clock. This heating process takes 18 to 20 minutes of time for 25 leaves. In this way, they put leaves in all the pans which are kept in two rows. The furnaces which are near the roots of the logs get more heat from fire and that is why the leaves are changed from one pan to the other until the leaves get to the first pan which gets the most heat.

They get heated sebesten leaves of 5 "ficals" to 30 "ficals" from one sebesten tree. In average, the overall product of sebesten leaves from one area of plantation plot is about 80 to 150 "visses". As the roasted sebesten leaves are delicate, these have to be put in the bamboo baskets very carefully. Then the leaves are pressed with weights so that they become flat. After putting the roasted leaves in the baskets, they are kept in the house or in a tent not to be exposed to air. If the baskets are kept on the ground or somewhere in the air, the colour of the leaves become brown on block and not brilliant for sale. Generally, in the villages on the mountain areas, as these are mist, the sebesten leaves are kept near the fire place in the house where there is less air. The roasted leaves are mostly kept on the racks in the tent. Where there is furnace. The height of the rack is roughly one and half feet.

They need more fire-wood to roast than to cook rice and curry. And long and bigger logs are needed for roasting process. The length of a log used for the furnace is about three and half feet. The reason for using big logs as fire wood is to get enough heat for roasting and by using such big ones, they need not to attend to it for getting enough, incessant heat. For these big logs, they generally go into the nearby woods to collect them, when they are free of

other duties, in Tanzaungmon and Nattaw (November and December). Some try to collect fire-wood for this purpose at the place where trees and bushes are cut off for turning it into the plantation ground of the sebesten leaves. But this firewood is not enough for the purpose.

In Htitali of Pinlaung Township, as there is not enough fire-wood for them, they grow the plants called "pin-sein" which takes three years time to become fully grown. The Pa-O national established the village near the plantation ground of these sebesten leaves. Not only around the village compound but also in the compound of their houses, they grow sebesten trees. Mostly, the plantation sites are on the slopes, hills and valleys. As these trees are on the slopes of the mountains, modern machinery cannot be used and only thus traditional apparatus, swords and bent swords, have to rely upon.

The yield of roasted sebesten leaves for the market depends on such factors as climate, landscape, type of soil, method, the span of the tree, appliance of fertilizer and insecticide etc. There usually are 20 to 30 sebesten leaves on a branch. If fertilizer and insecticide are fully used, the average yield per acre of sebesten leaves is 150 to 200 "visses".

In Htitali of Southern Shan State, the highest yield of a family is 400 visses and the lowest is 80 visses of sebesten leaves. In average, a family can produce 100 "visses" of leaves. The villagers do this job by contributing labour on reciprocal basis. If a family has not enough members to do the work, they hire labourers with money. The fee for plucking one basketful of sebesten leaves is 200 Kyats. But this rate of fees changes from one place to another.

The Htitali villagers classify the sebesten leaves into two kinds: the bigger size and the other smaller size. The bigger size leaves can be sold at 500 Kyats precise and the smaller ones at 300 kyats precise.

The classification of sebesten leaves is generally made by women. Each classification has its symbols such as kha (ခ), Ka (က), La (လ), Sa (စ), Wa(ဝ), Tha (ထ). After gaining independence by the country, the classifications

of these sebesten leaves become 13 in number: Kha, Ka, La, Sa, Wa, Tha, X(the cross), Tha-Wa, Tha-pyar, Tha-ni, Pati, Ahsotekyi, Ahsote-thay and Pe. The classifications with their sizes are as follows:

No.	Name	Symbol	Size
1.	Khaung	Kha	from 9 inches to above
2.	Ka-gyi	Ka	from 8½ inches to 9 inches
3.	Ah-lat	La	from 8 inches to 9½ inches
4.	Sa-ka	Sa	from 7½ inches to 8 inches
5.	Wa-lone	Wa	from 7 inches to 7½ inches
6.	Tha-wa	Tha	from 6½ inches to 7 inches
7.	Tha-pyar	Tha-pyar	from 6 inches to 6½ inches
8.	Tha-ni	Tha-ni	from 5½ inches to 6 inches
9.	Tha X	Tha X	from 5 inches to 5½ inches
10.	Tha Hint Chaung	Tha II	from 4 inches to 4½ inches
11.	Tha Thone Chaung	Tha III	from 3 inches to 3½ inches
12.	Pati	Pati	below 3 inches
13.	Ah sote-kyi	Ah sotekyi	from 3 inches to above
14.	Th sote thay	Ah sotethay	from 3 inches to above
15.	Pe	Pe	from 3 inches to above

After classification , the sebesten leaves are kept in baskets or deep bamboo baskets called "Khyaung-pan" , in the form of a coil and over it the weights are put. Taking out from this , they make packet of these for the markets in towns and cities. In selling, they classify two kinds: the bigger size and the normal size. Selling these leaves without any classification is called "Pin -kya type of selling". In weighing the leaves, the Htitali villages use the sales called "Li" (chinese seales)

Fire-wood plays vital role in producing roasted sebesten leaves. Now

in Htitali, as there is scarcity of fire-wood, they cannot produce the roasted sebesten leaves like in former days. They now rely on the production of tea leaves.

(3) Growing tea plants

Tea leaf which we call in Myanmar language "La-pket" is in Pa-o language "name" which in Shan language "namet". Pickled tea leaves is one of the main items of food for Myanmar. It is also a royal food. In the Myanmar Encyclopaedia vol. 12, it is mentioned that pickled tea leaf is the leaf of the celestials. Myanmar saying "Among fruits, the best is mango, among meat, the best is pork, among leaves, the best is pickled tea leaves shows how much Myanmar are fond of it and how much it is tasty.

The records show that the origin of pickled tea leaves is china. Since about 3,000 years ago, the Chinese have the culture of growing tea plants, producing dry tea leaves and taking plain tea. In Zichwan valley of Souther China, tea plants were natural growth. The chinses Botanists have recently found a variety of tea plants which were the wild growth of the South-Western part of China. Tea plants are mostly grown in Yunan Province and Zichwan Province. Since about 300 years ago, the culture of taking plain tea and growing tea plants have got to Europe and America. It is also learnt that since about 200 years ago, it has got to India and Suilanka.

King Shen Naung who ruled China in B.C 2734 was one in a forest boiling a pot of water and at that time leaves from nearby plants dropped into the pot. The king, out of curiosity, tasted the boiled water with those leaves and he became much fond of it. He put a record about the leaf that it can satiate a man's thirst, it can reduce sleepiness; it can make a man pleased.

In the days of yore, there was a saintly person in China who made up his mind to do practice of meditation without sleeping. But one day he got asleep while meditating. When he woke up, he got extremely sad because he had



Pa-O women plucking tea leaves



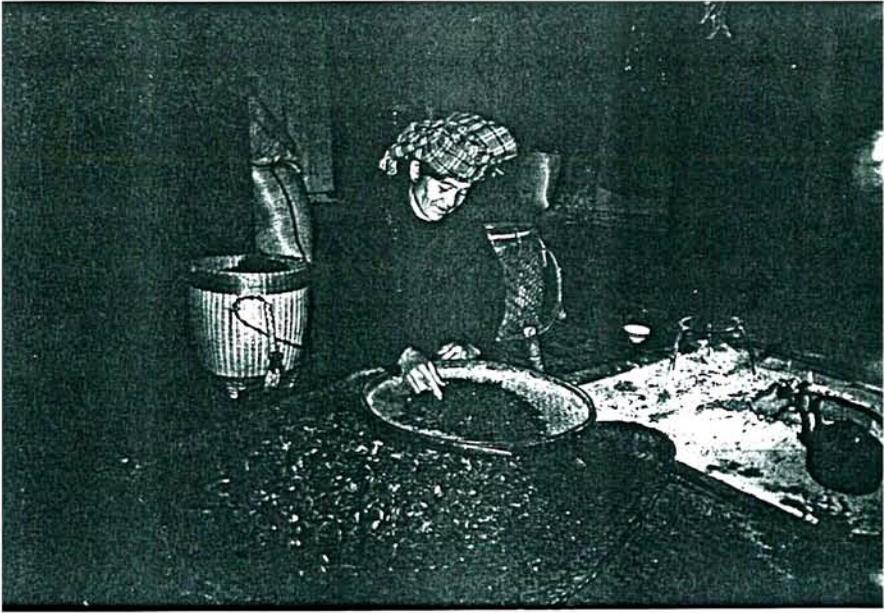
Pa-O old woman roasting tea leaves



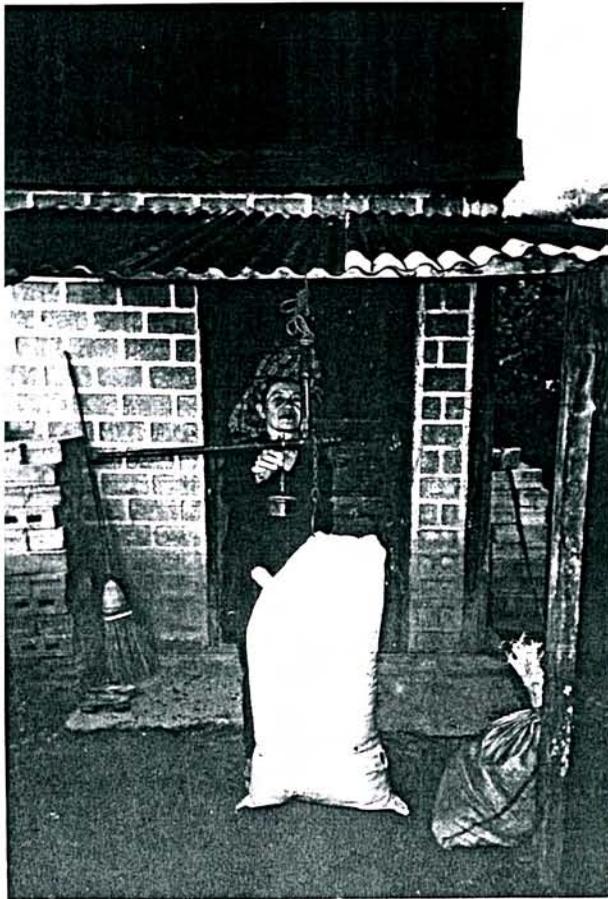
Pa-O old woman kneading pickled tea leaves



Tea leaves left in the sun to get dry



Classifying the tea leaves



Pa-O old woman selling things using a "Li" scales

broken his resolution. So he cut his eyelids with a knife and threw them away. Years later, there grew plants at the place where the saintly person had discarded his eyelids. After five years of meditation without sleep, he again became sleepy, and with great intention to get rid of his sleepiness, he tried the leaves of those plants. Fortunately, he found himself instantly fresh again after eating the leaves. The legend says that from that time onwards, the culture of drinking plain tea and having pickled tea leaves as food has begun among the Chinese.

It is learnt that in the auto-biography of U Ottama it is mentioned that one Buddhist monk in China took pickled tea leaves to Japan in 805. Likewise, the Dutch took that to Europe in 1162. In the same year, when Buddhist monks from Ceylon (Srilanka) got to Amarapura, they were shown the pickled tea leaves and asked what were those. The monks described the leaves by using the Pali phrase "ဝါတနဝုနံ" which means that the leaves can cause wind in the body. As it quite agreed with the words of the elders, the Myanmar monks defined the leaves using the Pali phrase "ဒိုလဗိဇ္ဇလဘက် ဝါတနဝုနံ". In the world records, the origin of the tea leaves is described as China. In these records, it is also mentioned that the culture of tea leaves got to England in 1666. Since the time about one thousand years before the tea leaves got to Europe the Chinese had taken plain tea, and one of the Chinese ethnic groups named Htaukiyan had called the tea leaves "tae" and the Malays called it "tae". The English word "tea" is said to have come from the Chinese word "tae".

In the homily written by U Panna, it is mentioned that the seven celestial beings in Sina-rahta Division, the native place of Denu and Palaung National, had taken the seed of the celestial beings called "talasun", "talaphetsi" and "rathawati" from North Ottara-guru Kyun; and it was during the time of King Duttabaung of Sriksetra. So it must be noted that the tea leaves had got to southern Shan State earlier than the time of King Alaungsithu who was also supposed to have brought the seeds of tea plants to the southern part of Shan State, according to some records. And accordingly, it must be noted that it

is now well over two thousand years that the culture of growing tea plants and drinking plain tea has got to the land of the southern part of Shan State.

According to "tea plant records" of the world, the countries that grow tea plants most are: China, India, England, Japan, Indonesia, Pakistan and Russia. Besides, in Myanmar, tea plants are mostly grown in the region of Kokant where Palaung national are living, on the eastern coast of the Thanlwin River, in northern Shan State. In southern Shan State, tea plants are grown and wet and dry tea leaves are traded mostly in the areas around the township of Mine-kine, Kalaw, Aung-pan, Pinlaung.

In Myanmar, since the time of their great grandfathers, there have been cultivation fields of tea plants in the regions of "Tine Shan" national which were called Thaung-thut (Saung-sut in Shan language), Mawlite, Kaung-khan, kawyar. These regions were formerly under the jurisdiction of the "Sawbwa" of Khamti' (Sawbwa- a Shan Chieftain) and later incorporated into Naga Region. But as these areas are hard to communicate and the methods of growing are absolute and not systematic, their products are not popular in the market and do not fetch good price. It is said that the seeds the tea plants cultivated by the second greatest English tea company which has produced the popular "Liptan Tea" in Asam of India came from the regions of Kaung-khan and kawyar.

The wet and dry tea leaves produced by the Pa-O national of Pinlaung Township of Southern Shan State is quite popular who the peoples of Myanmar who especially are much fond of the taste of Pinlaung's dry tea leaves.

This traditional business of producing wet and dry tea leaves had been the second greatest production business of the Pa-O national who grow these plants on the slopes of the hills and the valleys in their area which is always cold.

(i) Stages in growing tea plants

Basically, there are two kinds method to grow tea plants, one being by using the seeds and the other being by creating seedlings first.

When seeds are used according to the first methods, the seeds are put into the holes in Nattaw and Pyatho (December and January). Each hole has a square shape with the length of one side being 4 inches and the depth 9 inches. Into each hole, two to five seeds of tea plant are put. The distance between the two nearest holes is about four feet. When they are going to use the seedlings instead of the seeds, the seedlings of age six months in the nursery are brought to the cultivation land to be transplanted in Nayone and Warso (June and July). The distance between the nearest two plants must be four feet and the plants must be in rows. To protect the seedlings from sun, rain and mist, the whole plot has to be covered with something. Six months after putting seeds into the holes or transplanting the seedlings, the young plants have to be kept inside the fence of pointed bamboo sticks to protect the danger of animals which may tread on them. Besides, weeding has to be done from time to time. After three years, some leaves can be plucked from them. A tea plant of age three years generally has the height of about three feet. To make not too much high and have more branches from the stem, the tendrils must be cut off. When a tea plant has attained the age of five years, it has become luxuriant with leaves. In plucking the tendrils, out of every two leaves with one tendril each, only one must be taken. Only then the delicate leaves can be got and the plant will be long-lived. If a tea plant is free from the danger of insects and other enemies, it can have a life span of over one hundred years. It is found that tea plants mostly develop on the soil of the red-coloured earth of the slopes and the valleys around the area of Pinlaung Township.

As Htitali is a highland area and there are rocks in the ground, the Pano national have to grow these tea plants on the slopes and valleys among the rocks; and so we may find the plants, each away from the other. There is no fence to demarcate the boundary between the two plots of different owners. But there never has been a theft case. They never buy plots of land far away from their places to grow these plants; they are just content with the possible

cultivable land they have. As they have to use several possible plots of land on the slopes, the expanse of the cultivated land of this plant owned by a family differs from that of the other, And each family does not know how many acres of land it has used \ for growing these plants.

(ii) Plucking tea leaves

The plucking season generally begins in Dabaung (March) and ends in Tanzaungmon and Nattaw (November and December). After new year festival time, the leaves are plucked in June and those delicate leaves are called "Shwe-phi-lar", Likewise, the leaves plucked in Nayone to Thidingyut (June to September) are called "khaing-kaung"; and the leaves plucked in Tanzaunmon and Nattaw (November and December) are called "Khaung-waing". These terms "Khaing-kaung" and Khaung-naing" are in Shan Language. Among the dry tea leaves plucked during the three seasons of the country, the ones plucked in summer which is called " Shew-phi-oo" is the most popular one. The second best is the one called Shwe-phi-lar" (the leaves plucked in raing season). The third best "Khaing-naing" is the ones plucked in the winter season. Only when the delicate leaves are plucked in all three seasons of the country, there will be incessant growth of such delicate leaves on the plants.

As the leaves plucked in Dabaung and Tagu (March and April) are delicate , these are of the best quality. Beginning from the full-moon day of Dabaung to the time just before the new year festival the Pa-O young women and the hired labourers pluck the delicate buds, tendrils and the red-coloured branches of these plants. A hired labourer gets 50 kyats for one "viss" of tea leaves. A person can pluck these leaves from 5 "visses" to "10" visses in one day. The tea leaves plucked during this period is called "Shwe-phi-oo" (Shwe-phi-moo-lut).

This "Shwe -phi-oo" type of leaves are the ones which have never got wet with rain, and these have good taste and smell.As these leaves are beautiful

also, they get good price for this quality. The tea leaves of this "Shwe-phi-moolut" type has its several qualities and characteristics such as bright colour, small size, the stems of the branches have white stripes just like silver streaks, more weight than the other types, tiny buds which can go through the eye of a needle, several tastiest. Besides, it can get rid of poison in the body, make a tired person instantly fresh, make a person pleased, increase the power of blood and wind in a body, cure the disease of poor urination etc. The Pa-O national have the custom of offering these quality leabves first to the monks.

(4) Making dry tea leaves

There are two kinds of method in making dry tea leaves. The first is by roasting and the second is by steaming. But in Htitali, The villagers mostly use the method of roasting.

The green tea leaves are put in the pans to be heated by fire. A pan can hold all the leaves in a bamboo basket with sling which is called "paline". The roasted leaves, fendrons are spread on mats to be left in the sun to get dry. After that the yellow-coloured ones are taken out and the rest are again classified into two parts, the good and inferior. When the tea leaves are sifted with a sieve, the tiny ones that have come through the holes is regarded as the good class and the ones, which are bigger in size, left on the sieve are regarded as the inferior quality. To get one viss of dry tea leaves, four "visses" of green tea leaves have to be roasted.

For steaming the leaves, the green tea leaves are put in a big pot with a perforated bottom and it is put on a pot with boiling water for five minutes. Such a pot can hold about two "visses" of green tea leaves. After having been steamed, the leaves are spread on bamboo mats and pressed with hands. After that, the leaves are spread on the bamboo mats to be left in the sun to get dry. When all get dry, it is classified into two kinds, the one of better quality and the other of inferior quality.

The tea leaves, which are plucked beginning from the plucking season up to Kason, are used as dry tea leaves. Depending on the amount of production the price of these dry tea leaves changes.

The prices of one "viss" of dry tea leaves from August to November, 2002, can be seen as follow:

Kind of tea leaves	Prevailing	Prices
	Htitali	Pinlaung
Shwe-phi-oo (shwe-phi-moo-lut) (summer leaves)	Kyats 750-800	Kyats about 850
Shwe-phi-lar (raing season leaves)	Kyats 650-700	Kyats about 700

In Htitali, there are only two kinds of dry leaves, the good and the inferior. The price of one "viss" of dry tea leaves in Htitali, from August to November, 2002, can be seen as follows.

Kind of tea leaves	Prevailing Prices	
	Htitali	Pinlaung
The good quality	750-800	about 850
The inferior quality	350-400	about 450

(5) Making pickled tea leaves

To make pickled tea leaves, they need well-like holes in the ground the depth of which must be 5 to 6 feet. Deep bamboo baskets have to be put into these holes. The tea leaves are first roasted in the pans and then these are put

on the bamboo mats to be pressed with hands until the tendrils and the leaves are well mixed up. Then these are put into the holes in the ground made ready for these. If there is not enough holes to store up the leaves, they use deep bamboo baskets. These tea leaves in the holes or the deep bamboo baskets have to be pressed with hands. To prevent air from entering through the holes the openings have to be covered with banana leaves or leaves called "taung-sin-ywet". Then these leaves must be pressed with heavy weights such as big rocks, bricks etc. After leaving these for three months, they get pickled tea leaves. The tea leaves which are plucked in Nayone (June) and afterward are made pickled tea leaves. But in Pinlaung Township, the Pa-O national mostly produce dry tea leaves. Pickled tea leaves is not produced for the market, They produce pickled tea leaves only for use on festive occasions such as novitiation ceremony, wedding ceremony etc. Most of the families produce pickled tea leaves for their own consumption. It is learnt that their livelihood is quite sufficient by producing dry tea leaves.

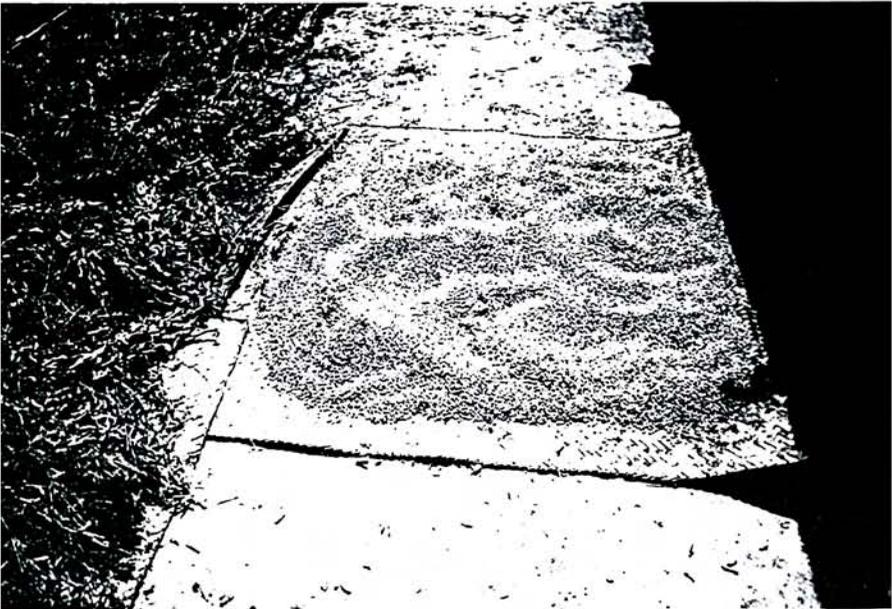
In weighting the tea leaves, their traditional Pa-O scales is used. There are two kinds of scales, the one with wooden handle and the other called "Li" scales. The ordinary scales with wooden handle is used in weighing things of up to one "viss" of weight. The "Li" scales can weigh the weights, from one "viss" to ten "visses" of weight.

(6) Other Crops

Instead of these sebesten trees, they now grow a kind of tree which bears pungent smelling edible fruits called "tanyin" (*Pithecellobium lobatum*). Every family grows vegetables for their own subsistence. In the plots around their houses they grow such plants as potato, mustard, radish plant, as potato, mustard, radish plant, cabbage, chilly, coriander (*Coriandrum sativum*), aubergine, pumpkin. (*cucurbita maxima*), charyoto (*Sechium edule*), gourd, a kind of bean called "pe`-pyin-sae-pin", long bean, a kind of plant called "Jumate", a kind of



Plantation of "Pan-hnan"



Seeds of fermented soya bean left in the sun to get dry

plant called "Jumyit" etc. They also grow flower such as coconut flower, a kind of flower they call "tanku-pan-pin", chrysanthemum, rose, garden croton (*Codiaeum variegatum*) etc. For fruits, they grow such trees as banana, lime, lemon (*Cytrus lemon*) etc. Some families grow betel leaves for own consumption. To make oil, they grow plant called "pan-hnan-pin". They produce oil by using their own oil-press.

They also grow plant called "hnan-lon-pin". This plant is mixed with "khaw-pote" (preparation steamed and pounded glutinous rice dressed with roasted sesame seeds). to eat. The other plant they mostly grow is ginger which can develop on any type of soil. There must be rain when ginger is begun to grow and the weather must be hot when the plants are fully grown. After upturning the earth and making a framework for growing, they begin to grow these plants in rows. The vacant space between any two plants must be 9 inches, and the distance between the two rows must be one to one and half inches.

The villagers of Htitali grow soya-beans plants. But they do not grow these plants for trading; it is only meant for self consumption. But when there is surplus, they sell it to others. To grow soya-bean plants, they have to dig holes in the ground where weeding has been done. In one hole, they keep three to four seeds of this plant and cover it with earth. The growing season is usually in Kason (May) and the plucking season comes in Thidingyut (October). Weeding must be done regularly before plucking. To make soya-bean seeds, the plants taken off from the ground must be threshed against a hard surface. When the seeds have been collected after threshing, these are washed with water and put into a pot with some water and put into a pot with some water to be boiled. Then a bamboo basket must be washed and put the leaves called "talar" around its inner sides so that the soya-bean seeds cannot stick to the wall of the basket.

The boiled seeds are put into that basket and it is covered with a piece of cloth. To produce the flavour of the seeds more, the basket must be put just beside a fire-place. After three days, when the basket has got enough head and

the seeds inside have produced flour, the seeds can be taken out to be cooked as they like.

To make dry fermented soya bean pancakes, the boiled seeds are pounded in a wooden mortar until they are well crushed. Then the pounded stuff must be put between the two leaves called "ta-dut-lar" and pressed with hands to become flat. Then the flat fermented soyabean pancakes are put on a mat to be left in the sun to get dry. This pancake is full of protein and they eat it just after heating or frying in the pan with oil.

(b) Breeding

Due to religious concept only very few do cattle breeding in Htitali. They have strong belief that slaughtering and eating meat is sinful. Another social reason for avoiding this business is the animals they have bred can make the village dirty and destroy the plants that they have grown. They seem to despise the ones who earn the living by breeding cattle.

As their villages are far away from one another and hard to communicate, they really need cows for carrying things and cow dung to be used as fertilizer. So some of them breed cows. But they keep these cows in the woods. Only when it becomes dark and when they want to use these animals, they are brought back home. The Pa-O national of Htitala do not breed pigs; only they breed chickens and keep them in the monastery because monks can help them know the time of the day. It is found that only 2 to 3 families breed pigs and cows for own use, in the whole village.

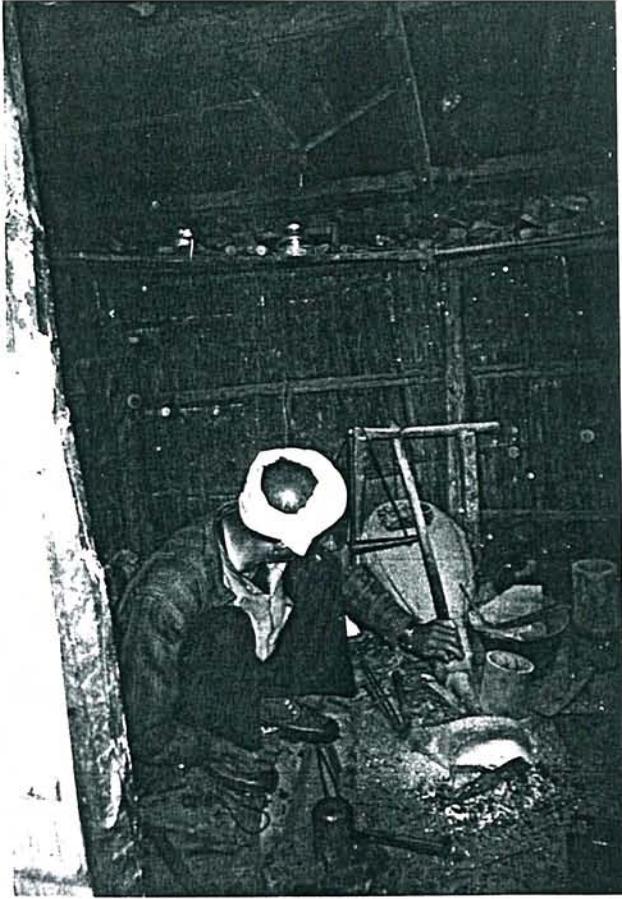
Some of them go hunting when they have free time. The usual weapons they use on such occasion are cross-bow, catapult, percussion lock fire-arm. The game they get on hunting is not for sale in the market but divided among them to be consumed.

(c) Handicrafts

Most of the Pa-O national are skilled in making bamboo basket called "phaw-lone" flat bamboo basket called "phaw-tam-pyar", bamboo sieve called "lin-pay", bamboo basket called "chin", bamboo mat called "khyang" etc. The bamboo basket is used in keeping tea leaves plucked from the plants while the sieve is to sift the leaves after having been roasted. By using the sieve, they can classify the leaves into the one of good quality and the other of bad quality. The bamboo baskets with slings they have woven are of several sizes. These are; the small and rounded one to carry bamboos, the flat basket with sling and cover, large basket woven with wide interstices to put the sebesten leaves, basket to carry rice, small basket to measure out one "pyi" of paddy grains etc. Their bamboo basket are very neatly and finally woven and it shows how much they are skilful in this craft. Besides, they also make bamboo walling, bamboo flooring and weave large bamboo basket with wide interstices to carry sebesten leaves and to stir sebesten leaves, bamboo mats on which steamed tea leaves are pressed etc.

In olden days, the main handicraft of these Pa-O national were weaving fabric with back strap looms. They wove and dyed into black colour by themselves. They made skeins of yarn out of cotton plants they have grown. The fruits of the cotton plants were plucked and ginned it with wooden machine. When the seeds have been taken out, the cotton was dress with a bow to get slivers of carded cotton to be spinned. The cotton threads were made to be skeins and mixed with surplus water that was drained off while rice was being cooked. Then these were kept in the sun to get dry. When the skeins became dry, these, were rubbed with brush to get rid of the furs. Then the skins were put into the wooden loom to weave.

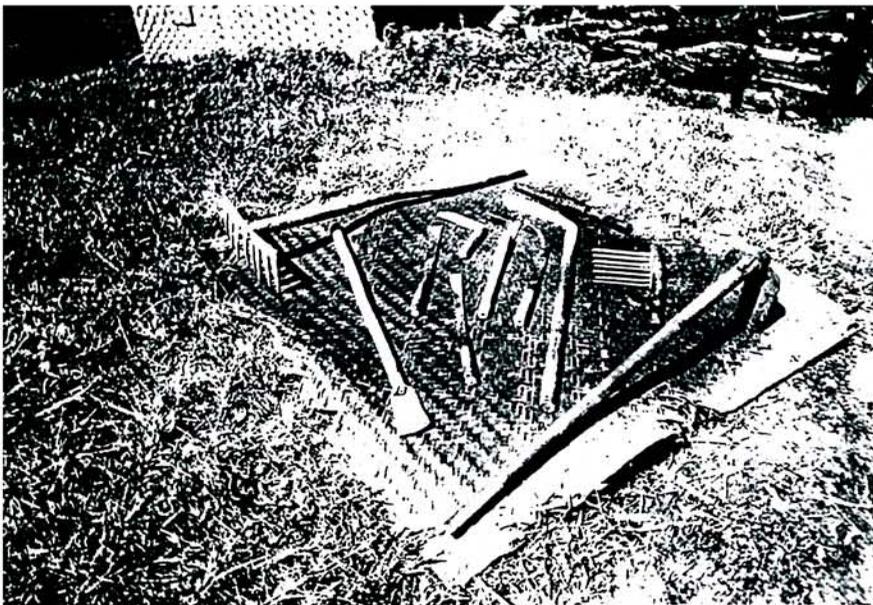
To dye a white fabric to become black-coloured, the leaves of the plant called "mehne-pin" were put in an earthen pot to be left for four to five days until all of them became rotten. Then these leaves were mixed with lime and



Blacksmith forge



Pa-O old man weaving flat bamboo basket with bamboo



Agricultural appliances



Traditional bamboo baskets with slings

stirred until white bubbles appeared . When the clear liquid of the surface was removed, only the thick liquid was left . Then leaves called "mon-ywe" in Pa-o language (with furs on it) were mixed with ash and kept in water for three days and three nights. After three days, the leaves were squeezed to get the liquid which was again mixed with the thick liquid got from the solution of "nehneywet", This mixture was again mixed with water and left for three days. After that, the mixture was stirred until the colour of the liquid turned to yellow and the bubbles became blue. If there were no bubbles, the solution could not be used for dyeing . When bubbles appeared, it could be used in dyeing the woven white cotton fabric and washed it with water. After each time of dyeing, the fabric must be washed and put in the sun to get dry. In this way, it must be dyed for four days at two times a day.

Then the bark of a tree called "swe-pin" was boiled with water and that boiled solution was kept until it was cold. The dyed cotton fabric was immersed in the solution of "swe-pin" which was a mordant. Then the dyed fabric was steamed and kept in the sun to get dry. When it got dry, it was dyed again with the "mehme" solution for three times. After each time of dyeing, the fabric was kept in the sun to get dry. Only after this long process of dyeing, the fabric got the brilliant black colour. They made dresses with these pieces of dyed fabric. But this is how they dyed the white coloured fabric in olden days. Nowadays, as they can buy woollen cloths in the markets as they like, they no longer bother themselves to dye the fabrics they have woven.

There are some goldsmiths and silversmiths in the village who make several items in gold and silver. The items they have betel-box silver lime-box, gold string, gold bracelet, gold hairpin etc. And these items are found to be articles of good workmanship.

In former times, the head of a Pa-O family used to carry a sword as ornament. There were three blacksmith's forges. These blacksmiths could make farming appliances such as sword, pointed iron rods, chopping hoe, mattock

etc. As the main business of Pa-O national is growing sebesten trees, producing sebesten leaves and tea leaves, the hired labourers are used for these purposes only. These labourers are hired labourers have to begin their by a family which has no enough hands for the family business. The hired labourers have to befin their works at six o' clock in the morning . The cultivation sits are generally for away and they have to walk for one to two hours to get there. So when they get to the farm, they have to take rest for a while before beginning to work. At about noon, all the workers shop their work of plucking leaves for breakfast. They continue the work at one o' clock in the afternoon and return to the village at five o' clock in the evening. That carry out the duty of plucking in group or at least there are three of them. The tea leaves plucked are put in the bags and are carried in bamboo baskets with slings to the village. The owners of the business do the job of roasting and making the leaves to get dry themselves. The daily wages are given to the labourers every day after work.

(d) Division and organization of labour

There is no class differentiation in social life of these Pa-O national. There is only respect for the coders. So there is no privileged class or persons in their community. Men do the works of building a house, clearing trees and bushes at the place where they are going to cultivate, collecting woods, collecting fire-wood going to the towns to sell sebesten leaves, cutting sebesten leaves, selling tea leaves in the markets of the towns etc. Which need hard labour. Pa-O women carry out the duties of housewives such as cooking, carrying water, plucking tea leaves, making dry tea leaves, looking after babies etc. But nowadays, as the main business of the family is growing tea plants and making tea leave, men also contribute their labour to such works as clearing trees and bushes in the garden, plucking tea-leaves, making dry tea leaves. Likewise, women also work hand in hand with men in roasting and plucking tea leaves. Pa-O men help their wives with their household works such as cooking and

looking after babies. Every Pa-o man is found to be skilled in corking. When they have to go into the forests for collecting woods, or sleep in the gardens of tea plants or roast the tea leaves day and night, they have to cook rice and curries themselves. As the elderly members of the Pa-O families cannot help their youngers with works of hard labour, they look after the babies, weave bamboo baskets and trays, keep tea leaves in the sun to get dry, classify the tea leaves into good and inferior qualities, etc. while the rest are in the garden.

A lovely custom of the Pa-O community is "the contribution" of labour on reciprocal basis" which they call "Let-sar-cho" and "Let sar-sat". "Let -sar-cho" means contribution of labour by friends and neighbours when someone is in need of help in building a house or digging a well or growing plants or reaping and threshing of paddy crops etc. 'Let-sar-sat' means giving help to the ones who have helped him when they need help in the same works. This "lot-sar-cho" and "let-sar-sat" is said to be practised sometimes between the two village on such occasions as building a pagoda, constructing a road, constructing a monastery, holding seasonal festivals, ordaining as a monk for the second time, ordaining as a monk in ordination hall etc. This custom of "let-sar-cho" and "let-sar-sat" really helps their community to get unity and brother hood spirit, and it can make them easily accomplish any task that needs great labour. Generally, Pa-O national are found to be very help-ful

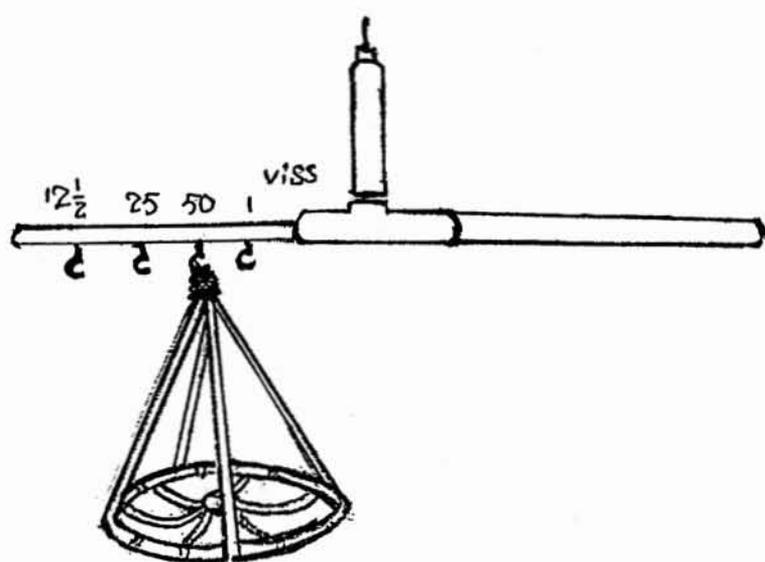
(e) Trade

In souther Shan State, as the communication between villages and towns is very difficult, there is a custom of opening a market for all the peoples around the place one time in every five days. At these five- day markets, they sell their products of tea leaves and sebesten leaves by carrying these in bamboo baskets to the market place, in Pinlaung or in Yinmhi village. Now Htitali villagers mainly rely on the production of tea leaves and they no longer extend the plantation of sebesten leaves which was begun many years before. Though

buyers come to Htitali to buy their products, as the prices fixed by them are very low, they generally sell their products at these five-day markets. But sebesten leaves are generally found to be sold in the markets of Pinlaung, Aungpan, Taungyi. They produce dry tea leaves for the market and pickled tea leaves for own consumption. In carrying dry tea leaves, they use "penang-bags" which are again put into plastic bags, and in carrying sebesten leaves, they use bamboo baskets woven with wide interstices and the bamboo slats. In rainy season, they carry these bags of tea leaves and sebesten leaves in bullock-carts while in summer, they use trailer-car to get to Pinlaung first and then Hiluxcars to go straight to Taunggyi or Aungpan markets. On market days, they sell their products of their farms and own gardens such as dry tea leaves, lemons, ptatos" chillies etc. Some do not go to the market place on those market-days themselves but entrust their products with their friends or neighbours to be sold and to buy things for them with those money. In such asking them to sell their products, no fee is needed to be given to them; on the fee for carrying the things must be given.

There is no market in Htitali and villages have to rely mostly on the peddlers. On the marketday or on the day just before the sabbath-day, after they have sold their products, they buy such things for them as household appliances, dresses, groceries, meat, oil, salt and other things. There are now four to five residencecum shops in the village where groceries can be bought.

The weights the Pa-O national have used in weighing things are the same with those used by Myanmars and Shans. When they weigh sebesten leaves, tea leaves, lemons etc. they use a kind of scales called "Li" which can weigh the weight of up to 45 "visses". In trading paddy and rice, they use the kinds of scales called "ta-pe" and "lan-khwet" which can be used in weighing the weight of up to one "sa-le" (unit of grain measure equivalent to 0.0175 of a bushel) and up to one bag respectively. But the term one "tin" (unit of measure for grain i.e a basket which holds 16 "Pyis" of grain in approximately a bushel)



Pa-O's wooden handle sales

used by Myanmar is quite different from one "tin" of the Pa-O community. Which usually holds 24 "pyis" of hrain. But the scales used in measuring the weights of gold and jewellery by Pa-o national is the same with that of the Myanmar. They call this scales "ywe" in Pa-O language . In weighing gold and jewellery, they use the same weights such as "ywe-sae" the seed used as jeweller's weight Abrus precatorious, the weights of one "pe" (one sixteenth of tical), one "mat" (four sixteenths of tical) , four "mats" (eight sixteenths of tical), one "kyat" (one tical) . The weighing apparatus with only one scale woven with bamboo is called "khwe" and it is known as the Pa-O scales. It has a beam with hooks each representing the weights of one "viss" "half-viss", "one eighth viss" ect. There hooks are on the opposite side of the seale and the weight-blocks have to be hung on them.

CHAPTER (6)

RELIGION

(a) Worship

It is said that the Pa-O national have professed Buddhism since the time of the reign of King Thuria Sandar in Thuwunna-bumi (Thaton) Among all the Pa-O kings, Thuria Sandar was the most famous one and he was born in seventh century (B.C). According to the legend, he was born on the full-moon day of Dabaung, 13 years preceding the Buddhist Era. This king was also known as Pa-O's Maha Duttabaung and he was the descendant of the "sun". When he had attained the age of 14, he was married with a princess named Nan-thu-badda. When he was 24 years old, his father king Yaza-thekka passed away and he ascended the throne. He had owned 36 white elephants. The legend goes that at his age of 67, the prince sidatta was born in central India.

At his age 113 (which was 114 Maha Era), on the first waning day



Htitali monastery



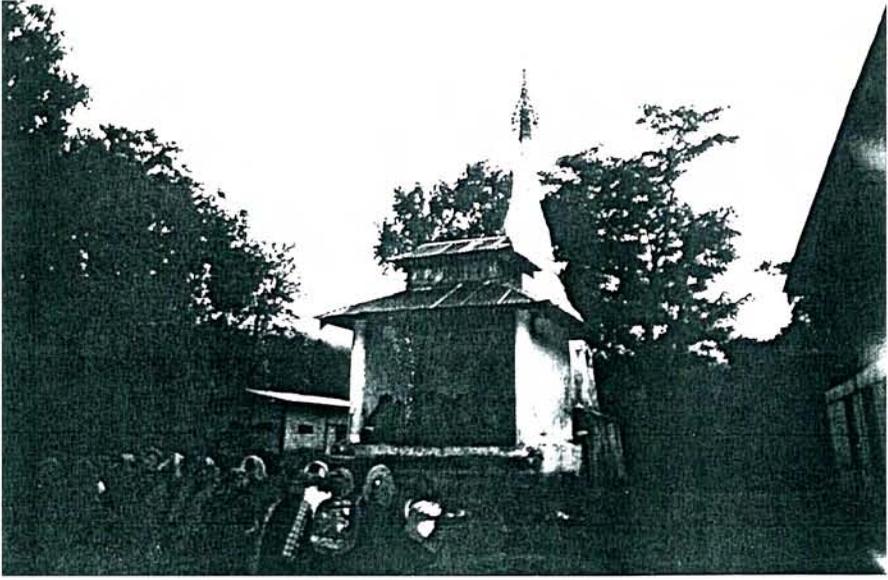
The shrine for the guardian "nat" of sasana at Htitali



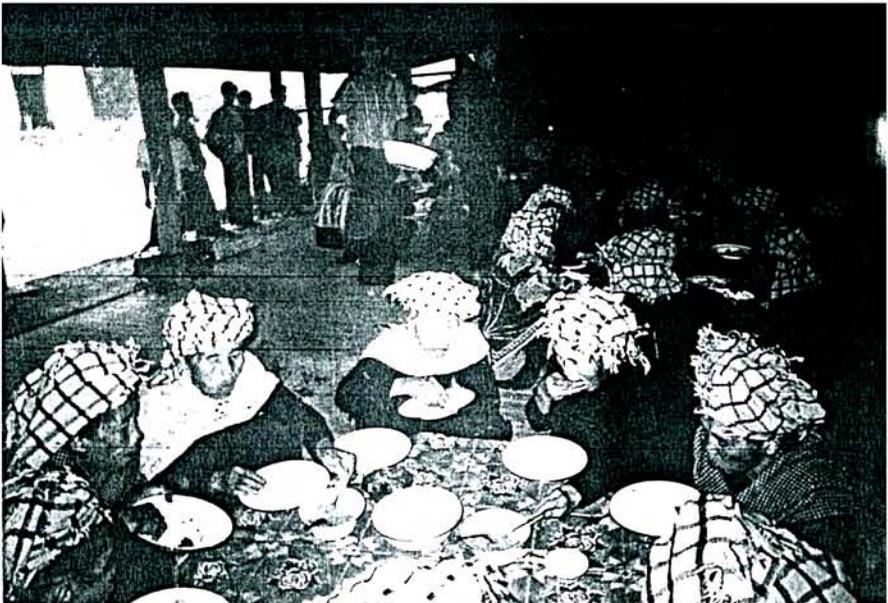
The ceremony of hoisting the ornamental "umbrella" on Bawdi-su-mon



Pa-O men and women preparing offertories for the Buddha



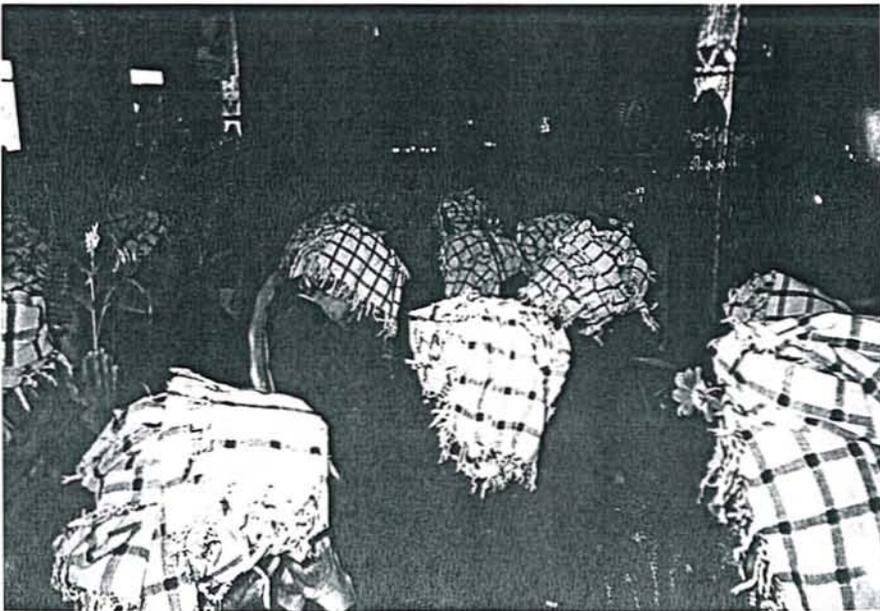
Offering meals to the Buddha



The ones who are keeping precepts having morning meal



The procession of kahtein ceremony at Phaung-daw-oo Pagoda



Listening to Sermon

of Thidingyut, the Buddha came to the capital city of Thuwunna-bummi, accompanied by this four hundred thousand disciple monks riding chambers with tiered roofs in the air. The Buddha gave the king his holy hairs and one tooth. But it is said that the Buddha's teeth became instantly full again even after taking out of this one tooth. On the first waning day of Thidingyut, Saturday, 118 Maha Era, the Buddha came to the capital of Thuwunna-bumi second time. At that time the Buddha's Buddhahood had attained 15 years and the Buddha himself had got the age of 50 years. And at the same time, the king Thuria Sandar was 117 years old. Again on the eight waxing day of Pyatho, Wednesday, 129 Maha Era, the Buddha came to Thuwunna-bumi for the third time. During that time the king was 128 year old and was dying. The Buddha came there due to the request of the Arhat Thudhamma who was the son of the king. The famous pagoda Shwe-saryan was said to have built by King Thuria Sanda. As the king had the privilege of paying obeisance to the Buddha for three times in his life, the Pa-O national of that time also had the chance to learn the teachings of the Theravada Buddhism. From that time onward, they had become the followers of the religion with serious belief.

The king Thuria Sanda passed away on the full-moon day of Dabaung, Saturday, 129 Maha Era. The kings who ruled the land after him also professed the Buddhism and propagated it from generation to generation. The Pa-O national of southern Shan State and lower Myanmar have professed the Theravada Buddhism throughout the generations. As they all have strong belief that they have come from Thuwunna-bumi where Buddhism had greatly flourished, the Pa-O national are the great followers of the religion.

Being Buddhists, they pay great respect to the five great benefactors of life, the Buddha, the Dhamma, the Sangha, parents and teachers, and they all are very helpful to one another.

Their general traits in character are honesty, sincerity, openness, loving peaceful and independent life, contentment, tolerance. The Pa-O national do not

work on sabbath days. They contribute money to the building of religious buildings generously as a meritorious deed, when they address a person who has made such a meritorious deed of donating money to build pagoda or monastery, they use a term just before his or her name like "Donor of pagoda", "Donor of monastery", "Donor of rest-house" and so on to honour the person. Being staunch Buddhists, we can see many brilliant pagodas and monasteries in this land. During the festival of new-year, the lent, and on religiously auspicious days, they keep precepts. They respectfully listen to the sermons of the monks about "suttas", "vipassana" and "ahbi-dhamma". They hold novitiation ceremonies grandly. As they have belief that a meritorious deed of donation can make them attain "nirvana", they offer things and meals to the monks and laymen generally. So even there is a saying that who can compete the Pa-O national who donates every "anna" (sixteenth part of a rupee) out of two "annas" they have got"

Every Pa-O house has a shrine for the Buddha which is kept neatly and tidily in the sitting room. The Pa-O housewives always keep these shrines ever luxuriant with flowers and fresh drinking water. They believe that only then the whole family will be lucky and free of danger. Every visitation can see a beautiful stupa of the Buddha with flowers around on every shrine in their house. Five to ten households collectively prepare cooked rice and several curries for the monasteries in the village everyday, and offer these carrying by themselves to the monasteries.

The Pa-O men and women respectfully listen to the sermons given by the monks and they also do sundary works for them. But they do not have belief in such persons who are said to have powers and called "Bo-daw". They just revere the Triple Gem, the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha. They have strong belief in Theravada Buddhism and they never accept any defiant views of the religion they have professed. All the festivals which are held after reaping season are also religious ones. The Pa-O monasteries are not only the places where religious ceremonies are held; these are also the centre of social and

religious affairs and they hold meetings for such matters there. At the monasteries, the novices and the new monks are taught how to recite the "suttas", rules of conduct for novices, Buddhists instructions in ethics, the "sutta" named "Thein-ga-law-ka-wada" etc. The life history of the Buddha, Dhammapada, the Buddhas' 550 birth stories are preached by Pa-O monks in their language. The narrators of the classical stories also explain the right religious concepts and give knowledge to the people.

The Pa-O national have no traditional worship of "nats". The serpent dragon is only used as their national emblem. But they offer foods and things to the guardian "nat" of the village and other good celestial beings. They usually offer flowers, lights and fragrance to them. But this offering making is not for personal benefit, it is for the welfare of the whole community. The shrine for the guardian "nat" of the village and good celestial beings is usually kept outside the village or near the entrance to the village, under a big tree. They regularly offer foods to these "nats" on every full-moon day, new-moon day and sabbath days.

The Pa-O men and women go to the monasteries on full-moon day, new-moon day and sabbath days to keep precepts and to listen to the religious sermons. In the morning of a sabbath day, they offer meals to the monks and before doing so, they invite the guardian "nat" of the village and other good celestial beings to come with them to the monastery to listen to the religious sermons, by offering them the foods prepared with only vegetables and without meat. This inviting is usually made by an elderly man who has always kept the precepts. Not only these Pa-o national have no traditional worship of "nat" but also there are no religious gangs such as "Tatra gang", "mantra gang" and so on. They believe that as they are ever paying obeisance to the three objects of veneration such as the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha, they need not to pay obeisance to the "nat". But after doing a meritorious deed, they express their wish that all "nat" may also acquire the benefit from their meritorious deed.

equally. By so doing , they have a belief that "nat" are quite pleased and ready to give them protection from all kinds of danger. It is learnt that Pa-o elderly persons remind the younger ones not to forget this act.

But they are found to be afraid of doing any disrespectful deed at the shrine for the "nats" and the cemetery, They are also afraid to destroy old pagodas. They believe that "nats" can see what a man has done and so they never steal or destroy fruits and crops of other people. They believe that "nats" give punishment to a man for his mischievous deeds. They avoid using abusive language whenever they get to woods , streams and lakes with such are the places of "nats" who will take action for any misconduct. So we can say that though they have no traditional worship of "nats", they are much afraid of them and never treat them disrespectfully.

There are three old pagodas near the southern entrance to the village. These are Bawdi-sumon Pagoda, Zinat-man-aung Pagoda and Aung-theik-di Pagoda. The elderly persons of the village guess that these pagodas must have existed since 100 years or so ago. There is a big shrine for the guardian "nats" of the sasana near the entrance to the village and it is learnt to have been built by the villagers under the leadership of U Zaw Win (Shin Phor Ti) and other five persons on the 10th waning day of Dabaung of Myanmar calendar year 1363. There is a big monastery on the southern side of the village and there are two pagodas, one dining hall and one big rest house in its compound. The monastery is a two-storeyed building with legs of big logs. The foundation of the building being made of bricks and the body with wood, the roofing is made of galvanized ironsheets. In the hall of the monastery, there are several umbrellas, fans, flag-staffe, paper streamers, pictures of pagoda drawn on woven fabric dedicated for the deceased person and other offertories. And there are many stupas of the Buddha in the room where the monks pay obeisance to the Buddha. There are three levels of floor in the main hall of the monastery. The pavement of the highest level is for Sanghas and there is a throne for the

presiding monk. There are many stupas of the Buddha behind it. The second level is for novices and men and the third or the floor level is for women. After doing the meritorious deeds as building or monastery or a roads or pagoda or monastery, they collectively hold the ceremony of pouring water symbolically and expressing wish so that other may also require the benefit from their meritorious deed equally , in this monastery.

Though the monastery in Htitali today is a large one, in farmer days, it was just one- storeyed wooden building with iron sheet roofing. Now at the place of the old one, a large two-storeyed dining hall made of bricks has been built. The new monastery was built at the centre of the compound under the guidance of the former presiding monk, U Ainda and then it was presided by Sayadaw U Nandiya. The present presiding monk, Sayadaw U Aind thermi is now 36 years old and his monkhood has now attained 16 years. It is found that during the lent the monks and novices from other monasteries come to this monastery in Htitali to spend the three-month time here. Monks and novices from this Htitali monastery are now studying Buddhist literature in Yangon of lower Myanmar, in Mandalay of upper Myanmar and the cities of Southern Shan State. They are studying at the monasteries where Buddhist seriptures are taught to monks and novices. As the economy of the community has improved there has been changes in the religious buildings of the villages.

During the lent and sometimes in other months also, the Pa-O men and women go to the monastery in their own village and in other villages to offer things and foods. Likewise, monks and novices of lesser years in monkhood and novicehood go to senior monks of other villages to pay obeisance, during the lent. These monks and novices who have come to the monastery of a village are offered meals and things by the villagers. When the ceremony of Kahtein (offering of yellow robes to the members of the Buddhist order for a special purpose, between the first waning day of Thidingyut and full-moon day of Thazaungmon) is held, the villagers invite the presiding monks from four to five

neighbouring villages also.

In Htitali, on every full-moon day, new-moon day and sabbath days, the villagers, young and old alike, go to the monasteries to offer things which are the products of their own gardens to the monks. On these days, the elderly persons keep precepts, staying in the rest-houses of the monastery compound. As the economy of the villagers has improved, religious festival and ceremonies are more and more grandly held in the traditional way. The young persons in the village gather together at the house of the head-man of the village or the leader of bachelors on the eve of every sabbath day, to prepare foods for offering meals to the monks and the villagers who are keeping precepts in the rest-houses on the sabbath day. While cooking foods, the young men play traditional musical instruments such as drums, gongs, pipe etc. But elderly persons in the village go to the monastery in the village every morning to offer meal, flowers, lights to the monks and to keep precepts.

In late afternoons of the sabbath day, the young people in the village carry bed rolls of their grandparents to the monastery where these elderly people are keeping precepts. A bed roll consists of a small pillow, a thin cotton blanket and a mat, and these are put in the traditional Pa-O bag to be carried on the shoulder. Though weather is very cold, they are found to be eager to do meritorious deeds and keep precepts on sabbath days. On every sabbath day, they never work but attend to only religious matters.

The Pa-O men and women ever keep five precepts and four cardinal virtues or sublime states of mind, loving kindness, sympathy, rejoicing at somebody's success and indifference. Most of the elderly persons are vegetarians. All of them are obedient to their elders. When they find a monk on the way, they move to the road-side, and putting down the heavy loads, they pay obeisance with hands clasped. Only when the monk has passed them, they continue the journey. Even the educated young Pa-O never hesitate to pay obeisance to the monks and respect to the elderly persons when they meet them on the way.

It is also a lovely custom of the Pa-O national , to pay obeisance to the parents when someone is about to set on a journey or when someone gets back from some far-off place. They believe that by paying obeisance to the benefactors before going somewhere away from their place, they will be free from dangers and likewise, paying obeisance just after return trip will bring them blessing of the parents.

(b) Traditional festivals

Being pious, the Pa-O national regularly hold traditional festivals where all the villagers, young and old alike, participate with great rejoicing. In some festivals, even villagers from other neighbouring as well as distant villages come to take part.

Pa-O also have new-year water festival just like Myanmar. On the eve of this water festival, the whole village go to the pagodas and the Buddha images to wash these with clean, fragrant water. Making such traditional snacks as fried sweet pancakes made from glutinous rice, glutinous since daugh , stuffed with sugar and coconut shreds, packed in leaves and steamed, packet of dinsh of fish etc, they deliver these to each and every house of the village. Beginning from the first day of the water festival to the new year day, they go to the houses of the elderly persons to offer them offertories with coconut and bananas. They also wash heads of these elderly persons with traditional shampoo, cut their nails, donate water to take bath during this period. Within first five days of the new year, they organize a group, at least one from each household, to got to the monastery of the village, accompanied by music troupe, to offer things and foods, They are also treated with snacks by the monks in return.

In Tagu which is called "Gyin-her-lar" in Pa-o language, as water is very scarce in Htitali, they cannot hold water-throwing festival extensively; only the youngsters throw water on one another as a taken. In the evening of the first new to recite the "suttas" at the junction of roads. The whole place of this

recitation with lattice fence and within this small compound the villagers keep sprigs of Eugenia, Burmese grass, leaves of guava tree, bamboo tubes with water, bamboo trays with sand, balls of thread etc. The monks must be invited in the morning of the day. When recitation is finished, they take back the things they have kept in the lattice fence and spread these in the compound of their houses to drive away the evil spirits that may be staying there. On the first day of new year, a festival called "Tar-tet Pwe" is held. In olden days, the festival of fishing rockets in the form of contest was also held on this day and it is called "Pwe-lu-fine" in Pa-O language.

In kason (May) which is called "Gyin-rote-lar" in Pa-O Language, they hold such ceremonies as novitiation ceremony, the ceremony of pouring water symbolically and ordaining monks for the second or third or the fourth times.

During the lent, they hold special ceremony of offering meals to the persons who have kept precepts on sabbath days. This ceremony is called in Pa-O language "Thun-sa-ga". This meal is given on the next day of the sabbath day. To prepare foods for this, the young people in the village go round from house to house for such things as rice, oil, salt and others which are given to them as donation. In the evening of the sabbath day, with musical instruments playing, they prepare foods with great rejoicing.

The next morning, they offer the foods that they had prepared the whole night to the Buddha and the monks and then the persons who had kept eight precepts the day before. After that, they all listen to the sermon given by the presiding monk. The Pa-O national never hold a wedding ceremony during the lent.

In Thidingyut which is called "Tin-gyut" in Pa-O language they hold a festival of lights dedicating to the lord Buddha who had descended from the celestial abode called Tawadeintha on the full-moon day of this month. This festival is called in Pa-O language "Pwe-may-bo", This is offering lights to the

Buddha at the pagodas on the 14th and 18th waxing days of Thidingyt (October). On this full-moon day, after offering things and foods to the monks, elderly persons in the village, monks from other monasteries, they make platforms, which they call "Tin-pote-sin", with bamboo and decorate these with colourful papers. At four corners of the platforms, they set up banana and cane plants. Then a chamber with a Buddha image is put on the rack and below the image, variety of fruits are hung, dedicating to the lord Buddha. On the 14th waxing day of Thidingyt, they offer flowers, lights, drinking water and fragrance to the Buddha image. These fruits hung from the platforms just below the image must be discarded only on the 4th waning day of the month together with the chamber of the image. In the evening of the first waning day of Thidingyt, the Pa-O women offer lights with pine wood or candle or oil-lamp at such places as the door of the house, the foot of the ladder, the entrance, fire-place, well, pot where rice grains are stored, box of cloths, the shrine for the guardian "nat" of the village etc. In this month also, the young men and women of the village repair the road to monastery. These activities of the Pa-O national show not only their social life but also their deep concept of their religion.

On the new-moon day of Thidingyt, they also hold a festival called "Phaung-daw-oo-pwe" (Ngwe Phaung-daw-oo) along side with the Kahtein festival. This famous Phaung-daw-oo Festival has been held yearly for 30 years consecutively and villagers from neighbouring villages also take part in it. They offer meals to the monks in the monastery and they are also given meals by the host villagers in return. They make tree-shaped stands where various articles of offering are hung and carrying these go round the village with musical troupes. Then they offer these to the monasteries. The first Phaung-daw-oo festival was held on the new-moon day of Thidingyt, 1334 of Myanmar calendar year, and the last just held was the 30th time of it. On the new-moon day of Thidingyt, in the evening, they shoot up hot air balloons into the sky as an act of offering light to the lord Buddha. In the evening of the first waxing day of Tanzaungmon,

to celebrate the victory, they hold a campfire festivity in the monastery compound, playing music.

The Kahtein festival is regularly held on the seventh waxing day of Tanzaungmon to the firsty waning day of it in a grand seale. This festival is called "Pwe-ka-htein" in Pa-O language. Kahtein yellow robes are offered to the monks in the monastery. The villagers of the neighbouring villages also come to participate in this. There villages are Yinhmi, Tin-htet and Warli. Along with yellow robes, the articles they hang from the treeshaped stand to be offered are umbrella, slipper, fan, money, shawl etc. Eahtin yellow robs are offered not only to the monks of their own village but also the ones from other villages. The guests to the festival are treated with traditional foods and snacks on that day.

In Nattaw (December), they gold the cermonces of reaping crops and pounding glutinous rice called "Khaw-pote". This festival of pounding glutinous rice is held in the morning or the evening. They pound the first crop of the glutinous rice produced by their land. After pounding, these are made into pieces flat and round and ten spread with sesame seeds. These "Khaw-potes" are first donated to the monastery and then to the elderly persons of the village. After reaping paddy crops, threshing is collectively done by the owner and his neighbours and friends. After carrying paddy grains into their houses or compounds, to celebrate the victory, the owner of the paddy crops treat the ones who have contributed their labour with cooked rice, curries and "Khaung-ye".

In Pyatho (January)m they hold the traditional festival of "rice parridge" (saw-ya-gu). Ebery house boils glutinous rice and mixes it with the solution brown slabsugar before putting in a tray. When the stuff gets hard the roasted chick peas are pressed into it. But some pound these chick peas to became powder before spreading into it. Then it is cut into pieces to be offered to monks and delivered to the people.

In Dabodwe (February) the villagers go into the woods to collect firewood and it is done in the form of a ceremony. Logs and barks of the trees

they have collected are offered to the monks of the monastery. In that month, they offer lights to the Buddha with big torches called "che". It is also done in the form of festival in the evening of the full-moon day of Dabodwe. This "che" or the big torch is made of stems of reed (*Arundo donax*) which are tied to the core of the dark, glossy bamboo in the form of a cone. This torch is supported by four green bamboo poles from four corners. The length of the torch is usually about 10 to 15 feet, and the circle form of the bottom has one foot to one and half feet of radius. These torches are set up in the holes dug around the pagoda and lighted. The stem of a kind of reed called "kalaw" looks like a straw. To produce sounds when it is set to fire, the green bamboo poles are tied to it. Wearing their national costume, the villagers dance around the big torch called "che-mwu", which the young men play musical instruments until the torches are all burnt out. During this festival time, the people are treated with rice porridge. The elderly people and the bachelors of the village offer meals to the Buddha the next day early in the morning.

In Dabaung (Gyin-thi-lar), they hold the festivals for the a stupa of sand formed round a wicker -framework, and other pagodas. The full-moon day of Dabaung (Gyen-thi-lar-bwayni) being the most auspicious day for Pa-O national, they hold the festival of Pa-O national day grandly every year.

Pa-O National Day (Gyin-thi-lar-Dway-ni)

National day is an auspicious day for an ethnic group. The reason for holding this Pa-O National Day is for thriving patriotism, for making the union spirit flourish, for preserving traditional literature, musics and musical instruments etc. National day is an occasion on which the national people concerned must study, about themselves in which sectors they have disadvantages and so on.

In accordance with their tradition, the Pa-O national hold the ceremony, of their National day on the full-moon day of Dabaung. Here I would like to present the background history as to why they have held this National Day

ceremony on this full-moon day of Dabaung. The Pa-O national are great believers of Buddhism and they pay great respect to their ancestors. So the Pa-O National Day is an occasion of remembrance of the good deeds of their ancestors.

Before the time of Christ, during 11 century A.D, the state of Thuwunna-bumi existed. The state became more and more famous during the reign of King Thuria Sander. The King was born on one Saturday morning while the sun and the moon were both visible in the sky. That day was the full-moon day of Dabaung, the first year of Maha Era, during seventh century B.C. So the king got the title of King Thuria Sandar (king of Sun and Moon). On this full-moon day of Dabaung, the Pa-O national have held their ceremony of National Day since the times of their ancestors because the King Thauria Sandar had glorified the Pa-O national people and made the age of the Pa-O national people brilliant. He built the pagoda Shwe-sar-yan at Thaton. In remembrance of the king's brilliant deeds, they have held the ceremony of Pa-O National Day on this full-moon day of Dabaung since the time of their great grandfathers.

The Pa-O National Day is yearly held in Southern Shan State, lower Myanmar, Mandalay and Yangon University, Mandalay University and Taunggyi University where there are many Pa-O students studying, in accordance with their traditions. During this ceremony, they also hold debate, public lecture on literature, making offerings to teachers etc. This ceremony is most grandly held in Taunggyi of southern Shan State. There are several programmes in this ceremony and these are as follows:

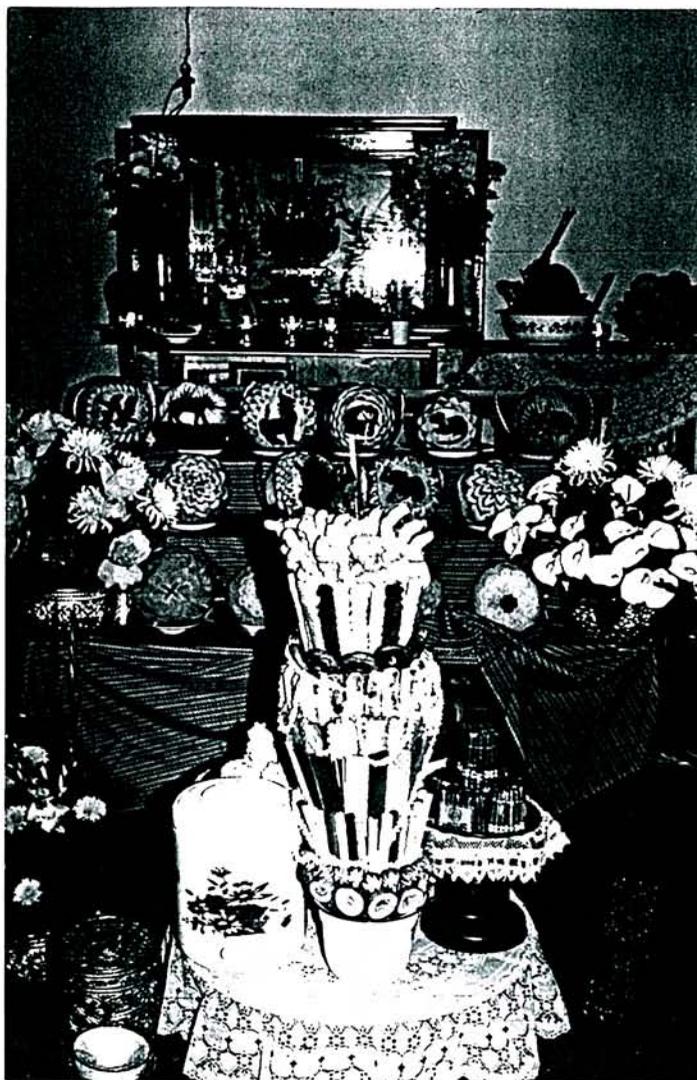
- (1) Giving awards to the Pa-O monks who have passed the examinations of the Buddhist scriptures sponsored by the government;
- (2) Honouring the monks on whom have been conferred various religious titles by the government.
- (3) The contests of traditional as well as modern songs, music, dance, fashion and beauty, video films etc where the winners of the first prize, second prize and third prize are awarded.

These programmes of social and religious nature have been included since 12 years ago, beginning from the Myanmar year 1348. So we can find that there had been 325 Pa-O monks who had been honoured because of their titles and degrees from the government, within the Myanmar calendar years 1349 and 1361. Before the year 1349 also, there were many Pa-O monks who had passed the examinations of "Pa-hta-ma-pyan", "Dhammar-sariya", "Tipidaka"-thathana-linga-ru", "Thakya-thiha", "Zedi-yingana". To hold this National Day Ceremony grandly in Taunggyi, three Pa-O associations are formed: (1) Pa-O "nikaya" association, (2) The Association of Propagation of Pa-O Literature, (3) Pa-O Literature and Culture Association (central). These three associations are combined together to form the main committee "The committee of Honouring Pa-O Language and Religion". It is learnt that for the prizes given to the winners in all the contests the Pa-O businessmen, the owners of brokers' sales centres, merchants and the villagers from countryside have contributed to the fund.

But the contestants in the contests of singing, playing music and beauty must wear only the Pa-O national costumes. It is said that the famous, veteran Pa-O singers and performance groups also take part in this Pa-O National Day Ceremony.

(i) Novitiation Ceremony

Being pious Buddhist, novitiation ceremony is one of the religious ceremonies they have held in great esteem. When Pa-O family has got a son, the family members try to work hard more and save money to initiate the boy into the Buddhist order when he has attained the proper age. After reaping season when they are free from hard work, with the initial outlay of the well-to-do persons and the contribution of the parents concerned, they hold this novitiation ceremony collectively. It is learnt that sometimes there are about 50 to 500 novices and monks collectively initiated into the Buddhist order. If a family has no son of their own to be novitiated, they take the son of other



Laying the table with offertories for novitiation ceremony

Wearing princely costumes of would-be novices



Novitiation procession in monastery compound



Would be novices towards the shrine of "nat"



Novitiation procession



An elderly Pa-O woman blessing after dressing the would be novices
with cotton strings



Giving presents to would-be novices



Would-be novices dancing around in the pavilion



Would -be novices begging for yellow robes



Would be novices wearing yellow robes



Pa-O would be novice

persons to be initiated into the order. So they can hold such a ceremony only after three to five years or sometimes seven years.

Novitiation ceremony is called in Pa-O "Pwe-pan". The ceremony which is usually held in Dalbaung (March) and Tagu (April) lasts a week time. When there is such a ceremony in one village, other villages far and near also contribute money or in kind to support them. The invitation cards are sent to all relations and friends of distant villages, and all the villages within the area of 30 miles. So the host-village has to make preparations in advance to feed the guests during the ceremony time.

The inviting of guests is made in several ways; but most of the times, invitation cards with Pa-O embossed letters of gold or silver colour on the cover as well as on the inner paper are used. The text of the invitation is written in Pa-O verse form with shymes. So the villagers read an invitation text aloud with modulated style of delivery. In former times, invitation on such occasion was made by delivering packets of wet tea leaves to all the ones they would like to come. Nowadays, along with the invitation card they give a packet of dry tea leaves to the one being invited. They usually write the name of the one who invites also the name invited on the envelope along with the time, date and place of the ceremony. If the whole group of relatives is to be invited, they write the words "ta-po-ta-li" which means the invitation is meant for all of them.

They usually build pavilions for the ceremony. There is always the centre pavilion, pavilions used as dining halls and the plain-tea hall. These pavilions are built in the compound of the monastery. The central pavilion is for the monks and novices, and for the presiding monk to give sermon. It is also used as the reception centre. The men from other villages help the villagers to look after the would-be novices while the women serve the guests with foods. There are also groups of young men and women who contribute their labour to do sundry works under the leadership of the leader of bachelors and chieftains of the village. These groups are asked by the sponsors of the ceremony and the

responsible persons of the pavilions to help them do the sundry works.

In the evening, the narrators of the classical stories called "Maws" are invited to the pavilion to narrate the background history of Pa-os, religious concepts, social concepts, are treated with meals and foods day and night beginning from the day the ceremony has started. The plain tea is served in separate pavilion.

The maidens to serve the guests in the pavilions and the bachelors to look after the would-be novices are usually invited from four nearby villages. The Pa-O maidens help the would be novices wear their princely dresses and beautify their faces with make-up. But it is learnt that the maidens and bachelors that the maidens and bachelors are invited from different villages to do these jobs. The reason for doing so is said to be meant for getting close and friendly relationship among the different villages. The villagers of the village where this novitiation ceremony is held take their duty at the central pavilion.

In going round the village with would be novices, mostly horses and bicycles are used. In towns and cities, horses and cars are used to go round in procession. Among the horses used, the first, leading horse is fully caparisoned and it is called "the horse of the celestials. But one peculiar custom is there is a small mirror attached to the forehead of that horse. There is also a packet of pop-corn wrapped with a shawl which is tied to a small stick. To attend to this horse, they need six persons. two to handle the horse by holding its reins, two bachelors to hold a golden umbarella over the horse and another two maidens to spread pop-corn over the horse.

As this horse is specially meant for the celestials only, it is believed to have supernatural powers. They believe that by keeping this powerful horse at the head of the procession, it can prevent other horses from getting frightened and running away because of the loud noises of men and drums. They also believe that the celestials on that caparisoned horse prevent the would be novices from falling to the ground from horse's backs.

The things need for one would be novice are: two golden umbrellas, one pot with water, one betel box, one big mirror, three carpets and one horse. For every would be novice, they need 13 persons to attend to it two men to hold the reins of the horse, two men to hold the the would be novice who are also good singers, one on each side of the horse to hold golden umbrella over it, one man to hold the betel box, one man to hold the water pot, four women to spread pop-corns over the would be novice, two bachelors to hold mirror to make reflection over the dresses of the would be novice. The peculiar custom is three to four days before the ceremony, the would be novices are dressed with their ceremonial costumes and taken to the houses of the relatives and other villages, from house to house, to pay obeisance to them. The would be novices are accompanied by relatives as well as their parents, and when they are taken to the houses, the hosts donate some money to the parents of the would be novices. All the people present there praise the good deed.

Beginning from round about seven o' clock, the ones who have looked after the would be novice and the maidens who have served the guests dance together while others are playing musical instruments. The would be novice must dance at the centre of the ceiele formed by the guardians of the would be novices. At that time, one of the guardians of the would be novices must sing a song insinuating towards the maiden and other guardians must chant a chorus "Hway, hway" in response to him. In the evening of the eve of the novitiation day, the would be novices their guardians, the maidens to serve the guests gather together at the central pavilion. Then according to the serial number fixed by the committee of the ceremony, the would-be novices have to stand in line and the men must dance while the women must sit down on the ground at the centre of the circle. The would be dance raising their hands. They dance up to 11 to 12 o' clock at night and after that they go back to their pavilions.

On the day to be novitiated, the would-be novices are dressed with their costumes and placed at the centre of the central pavilion. Then the monks

are given meals and the guests are treated with foods. After that, the parents and relatives of the would be novices, their guardians, their grandparents must give the would be novices presents, by singing songs and verses. Then the would be novices are kept on horse back and bringing the offerings for the monastery with them, the procession marches to the presiding monk accompanied by music troupes. Starting from one o' clock in the afternoon, the procession goes round the village area and the compound with the programmes they have drawn. The procession is formed by groups with triangular brass gong, the group carrying yellow robes for novices and monks, the group carrying tree shaped stands where variety of articles are hung, the group playing traditional musical instruments, the caparisoned horse, the horse for the would be novices. The procession goes round the monastery building for three to five rounds and then go into the monastery to pay obeisance to the presiding monk. Then the would be novices are shaved, dressed with yellow robes to be initiated into the Buddhist order as novices.

After listening to the sermon given by the presiding monk, the people who have underwritten this charitable cause pour water symbolically for the meritorious deed they have now just done and also for the meritorious deeds they had formerly done such as building monastery ordination hall, rest house, well pond etc. In donation of these buildings, the villagers have contributed money or in kind as the financial situation of each family permits, to buy such things as galvanized iron sheet, bricks, rocks, sand, cement etc. The donors and the guardians of the would be novices, the receptionist maidens and the ones who have helped the donors during the ceremony. reciprocally express wish that other may also acquire equally the benefit from their meritorious deeds for three times, Then the guardians of the would be novices and the receptionist maidens give back the pavilions and the houses to where they have carried out their duties to the donors.

In some villages, there is a custom of stealing the would be novices

at night by horses after dressing them with fine dresses. But only the guardians can do this stealing. Not only the would be novice but also the ones who are to be ordained as monks are stolen by these guardians. This custom of stealing would be novices and the ones to be ordained as monks is only found in Pinlaung Township. To let them steal like this the parents of the would be novices have to stay in the pavilions or monastery, listening to the narrators. When they steal these boys and the young men, they must not take them away quietly; they must sing sentimental Pa-O oversee and songs for longing by playing traditional music. By doing so, they make the listeners feel heart rending sorrow. Once the parents are informed that their sons have been stolen, they go to the guardians to pay some money to get back the would be novices as an act of redeeming them. But this money is saved by the guardians to offer this to the parents of the would be novices after the ceremony.

This custom is followed in the form of the Prince Sidatta, the embryo-Buddha, renouncing the worldly life going into the forest and this is called in Pa-O language "Th-hte-taw-htwet-khan".

There is also a custom for the young men of the village to called money as rewards from each house of the parents of the would be novices just after the ceremony, in the evening. This custom is called in their language "mi-hsu-khan" or "taung". The essence of this customary practice is to celebrate the victory of the ceremony. When such groups of young men arrived, the hosts must welcome them with an offering consisting of coconut and bananas decoratively arranged in a bowl. If such warm welcoming is not made, the young men have no right to enter the house. The groups of these young men play musical instruments when they go round to these houses. While the music is played as an entertainment, young men and women are formed into two separate groups to hold a debate, in the form of a contest, by chanting Pa-O verses with rhymes. The money given for the contest, by the parents of the novices are saved as fund for the welfare movements of the village.

(ii) The Tradition of Launching (Pwe-lu-phine) rockets

Just like Myanmar, the Pa-o national have the tradition of launching rockets. Especially, the Pa-os living in lower Myanmar and Shan State are fond of this custom and they are skilled in it.

This tradition is said to have originated at the region called "Tase-panar" where the lu national of the valley of the Linzin River lived. This region "Lu-tase-panar" is the whole 12 regions of Lu national. The area is 25,000 square kilometres and the population is 620,000. Thirty percent of this population is Tai national who throw water on one another to celebrate their victory over the evil ones. On the first day, they hold the festival of boat-race and shooting of the rockets. They launch rockets in competition where the highest and the longest in distance of a rocket is awarded.

In Shan State, there is no record showing when this tradition had begun. Perhaps, it had begun from the time when the people began to know how to use the saltpetre. According to the oral records of the elderly people, the tradition has begun since 300 years ago. This festival called "Pwe-lu-phine" in Pa-O language is said to be meant for good weather, good yield of crops, freedom from danger of insects.

Rockets are made of corn pipes in which mixture of pounded saltpetre and charcoal is put. There is a detonator at one end. The rocket is launched from a platform in the field outside the village. Painting the head of the rocket towards the direction they aim to shoot, the detonator is set to fire. The fire passes from the detonator to the saltpetre and it is burst to form the driving force of the rocket. Some rockets are said to have reached the place as far as three miles away. This festival lasts two days, and as it is dangerous for the houses, it is held in the large open field. The Pa-O national are very proud of themselves for having been able to launch the highest rockets and the furthest ones.

Other nationalities living in Shan State call this festival (Lu-phine)

"Mishi-pwe" or "Mi-kyi-pwe) or "Mi- pwe", or "Done-hlut-pwe". As it is very popular among them, many people from various places come to watch this, so it has also become an occasion for them to meet friends and relatives of distant places. And at this meeting, they can have the chance to table about their cultivation and economy and also social problems. This rocket launching festival is held alongside with other pagoda festivals. They usually begin this festival only after offering meals to the monks and listening to their sermons. Even if there is no acquaintance at the place where this rocket launching festival is going to be held, one rango to any house introducing oneself. Everyone is ever ready to welcome a guest who is eager to watch the launching of the rockets. In some delivering packets of rice and curries to the guests who pace come to watch this.

(d) Traditional Music and Dance

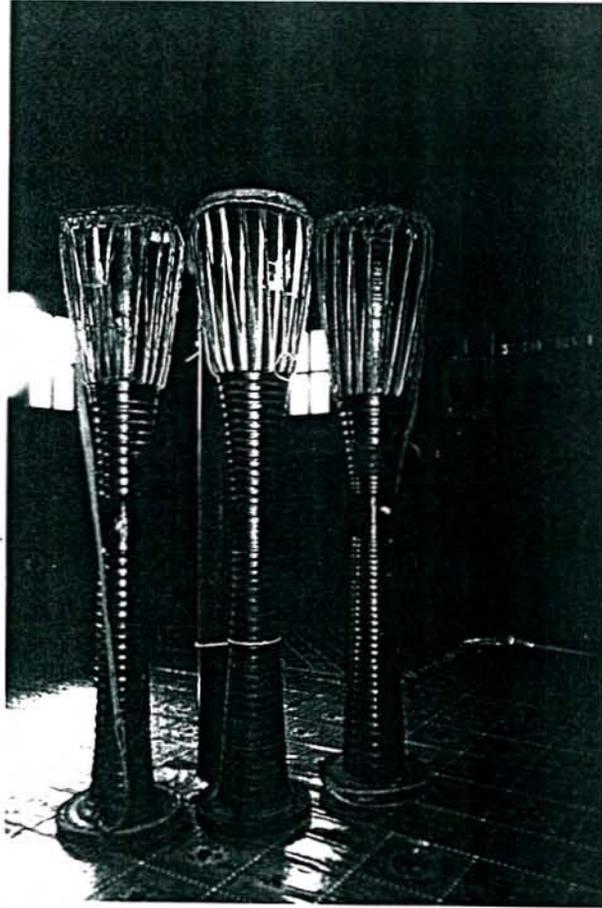
There are four categories of traditional musical instruments such as drums and gongs, wind instrument, string instrument and accordion.

The Pa-O traditional orchestra consists of gongs and drums which are altogether four in number.

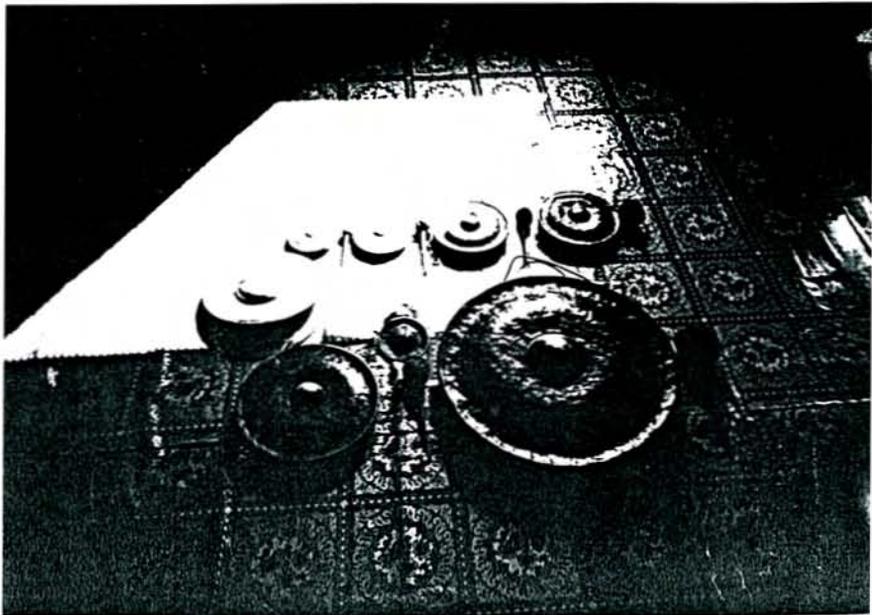
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|-------------------------|----------------|
| (1) Big gong | (Maung -hmu) |
| (2) Gong of middle size | (Maung-laung) |
| (3) Long drum | (Hton-may-swa) |
| (4) Short drum | (Hton-htoy) |

(1) Maung-hmu (Big gong)

It is a big gong and in Pa-O language called "Maung -hmu" or "Maung-sine". The biggest size of this category has the radius of two feet and two inches, and the circumference of seven feet and two inches. The smallest size of this category has the radius of six inches. There are altogether seven in number; each one is serially bigger than the other.



Pa-O long drum



"Pa-O" Maung-mwu" and musical instruments



Old time shawl of Pa-O woman and traditional dressing



Pa-O men and women dancing



Pa-O Women dancing



മുട്ടി ഘരിൽ (T. G. I.)

The instruments that are included in the traditional Pa-O orchestra are:

- (1) Seven gongs
- (2) Cymbals (one pair)
- (3) A big drum
- (4) Timing bells

This orchestra which they call "Maung-hmu; Maung-sine" is played at least by ten persons, and it is usually used on such festive occasions as building a pagoda, pouring water symbolically for the meritorious deed of donating a monastery, kahtein festival, Tanzaung doing festival, Pa-O national day ceremony, "Kason" water throwing festival, new year festival etc.

The tune produced by this orchestra is the one of serenity and it has to be played slowly and regularly.

(2) Maung-laung (Gong of middle size)

When the biggest one and the smallest one are taken out of the seven gongs of "Maung-hmu; Maung-sine", it becomes "Maung-laung". The following are the ones that comprise a "Maung-laung"

- (1) Five gongs
- (2) Cymbals (one pair)
- (3) Timing bells

(3) Hton-may-swa (Long drum)

The instruments that are included in "Hton-may-swa" are:

- (1) One long drum
- (2) Five or Seven gongs
- (3) Cymbals (one pair)
- (4) Timing bells (one pair)

This Hton-may-swa needs eight persons to play. The long drum can

be of any length. If someone wants it to be great and spectacular, it can be made with a great length. When playing, two persons must lift the head part of the drum while one person is to hold it at the tail.

The "Hton-may-swa" or chester is mainly used on religious and social occasions. It is also learnt that other ethnic groups are using this kind of orchestra. But the tunes differ from one another as they have different traditions and different tastes. Yet each one has its own pleasant tune. This orchestra can be played slowly or fast, depending on the taste the players like to give to the listeners such as jubilation, rejoicing etc.

(4) Hton-htoy (short drum)

Hton-htoy comprises the following musical instruments.

- (1) One short drum
- (2) Cymbals (one pair)
- (3) Gongs (three numbers)
- (4) Clapper (one)

Hton-htoy is easier to play than others. Only five players are needed for this. It can also be played two ways; slowly or fast. The elderly ones like it to be played slowly while the young ones like it to be fast.

Drum sound is fundamental in Hton-may-swa and Hton-htoy. So the tune of the orchestra depends on the expertise of the player of the drum, his creativity and timing, and his manners in playing make the watchers interesting and pleased.

(2) Wind instruments

Wind instruments comprise the following :

- (1) Taung-lit
- (2) Pi, Pi-ta-khon, Pi-htwe, Pi-tut, Pi-talwi, Pi-patone
- (3) Kwa (bamboo)
- (4) Kwa (Pa-si)

Taung-lit is made of bamboo with only one joint and to one end a dry gourd is attached. In the same way. Pi, Pi-takhon, Pi-htwe, Pi-tut are also made of bamboo and dry gourd. Pi-talwin and Pi-patone alone are made of bamboo only. Kwa (bamboo) is made of bamboo while kwa (Pa-si) is made of bent iron sheet and soppier plate . Though Pi-talwi looks like Myanmar pipe, the sound produced is quite different from that of the Myanmar pipe. But as Taung-lit can produce variety of sound more than Pi-talwi, it can make a listener more pleased. Men play these wind instruments more than women. Men use these during the leisure hours after work, during the time looking after the cattle, during the time they are paying court to the women. But women only use kwa (bamboo) and kwa (Pa-si). It is learnt that these two instruments generally used by ladies can produce variety of sound, short and long, depending on the movements of the lips of the player. But these instruments are now rare used by Pa-Os.

(3) String instruments

Pa-Os string instruments comprise the following ones:

- (1) Violin
- (2) Banjo
- (3) Mandolin

Pa-O violin looks like the Myanmar violin and it has four to five strings. Pa-O banjo also is the same with Myanmar banjo though there is difference in the tactics of playing. Mandolin is called in Pa-O language "Tein", and it is made of carved wood with three strings. These string instruments are used by Pa-o bachelors when they go to maidens to pay court.

(4) Accordion

Pa-O national have used accordion, one of the musical instruments invented by the west, since long time ago. It is called in Pa-O language "kh-yer". When they sing their traditional song "Ngaung-lte" and when they go to women to pay court, they play this instrument.

Traditional dances

There are six forms of dance still performed by Pa-Os to this day.

- (1) The dance with the music of Maung-hmu-Maung-sine;
- (2) The dance with the music of Hton-may-swa;
- (3) The dance with the music of Hton-htoy
- (4) Ti-yee-yee-gyaw dance;
- (5) Sein-lar-khan-vi dance;
- (6) The dance of plucking tea leaves;

Maung - hmu-Maung-sine dance is the dance form used by the elderly people and the ones of age 40 to 50. While dancing to musical findings, the dancers have to shout, "Wha, Pher, Hoo" in chorus.

Hton-may-swa dance is one of the popular dance forms among them. They use this dance form on religious occasions, new-year festival and the ceremony of offering meals to the ones who have kept precepts, during the lent. The traditional Pa-O dance called "Nyaung-ke-tae" can be harmoniously combined with this Hton-may-saw dance and marshal-arts dance. It can be performed in group or alone, male and female alike, young or old.

Hton-htoy (short drum) dance is performed not slowly or not fast in movement. The Pa-os use this dance form with the shouting of chorus "Whay, Nee, Whay", on religious occasions, ceremony of donation and traditional festivals.

Ti-yee-yee-gyaw song is the inevitable item in a novitiation ceremony. It was composed by the leader of Pa-O modern music band Khun Tha Dun (Department of animal husbandry)

The text of the song is this initiation ceremony is an activity for seeking "kuso" for attaining "nirvana"; though parent love their well-bred son, he is initiated into the Buddhist order for the sake of getting "Kuso". The ones who have done sundry works for the accomplishment of this deed are asking for the benefit to be bestowed equally on them by the parents of the would-be

novice; the ones who have underwritten this charitable cause will be abundantly rich so that they can spend money as they like and donate these to their hearts content; during this ceremony, not only the players of musical instruments but also the would-be novices take part in dancing; we also invite the spectators from nearly as well as distant places to dance with us and so on.

"Sein-lar-khan-vi" means goals sebesten leaves. The business of producing sebesten leaves is one of the professions of these Pa-O national and it demands hard labour. They have created a dance form depicting the work of plucking sebesten leaves, called "Sein-lar-khan-vi". This dance is performed by Pa-O national on religious occasions and traditional festivals.

The dance form which depicts the work of plucking tea leaves is performed by chanting chorus "Nee-whay-whay"

The Pa-O young men and women not only play their traditional music but also the modern stereo music and sing stereo songs. In 1971, Khun "Tha Dun led the campaign of producing Pa-o stereo songs. In so doing, Myanmar Radio and Television Department helped them record all these Pa-O songs. From that time onwards, there have been production of such songs but mostly sponsored by groups. From 1971 to 2000, within 29 years, there have been 180 Pa-O stereo groups and only 63 private singers.

The Pa-O video films began in the year 1985. The first in the year 1985. The first producer of these films were Mickey Mouse Video Production in Taunggyi. The other producer is the Association of Pa-O Literature and culture (cental). Now there are altogether five Pa-O video directors, and there are also ten popular actors and actresses in the Pa-O community. It is also learnt that new actors and actresses are being trained by the experienced ones. The total expense for production of one video-film (in the year 2000) is about 40,000 kyats to 60,000 kyats. The groups which have produced Pa-O video films got the encouragement from the Pa-O public. On the full-moon day of Dabaung, which is the Pa-O National Day, there are contests of singing songs, playing musical instruments and dancing.

And along with that, there is also the contest of Pa-O video films and the winners of the first, second and third prizes are given awards of respectable value. Now, we can see even Pa-O V.C.D productions in their community.

(d) Traditional Proverbs and Stories

Traditional Pa-O proverbs are composed with rhymes.

- (1) What it really takes a long time is an aeon, what it is really long is samsara (the cycle of rebirths)
- (2) The thing mostly fond of is one's life ; the thing mostly afraid of is mind
- (3) When three is a mountain there is a pagoda where there is a village there is a monastery; where there is a national group there is literature.
- (4) Being unlucky is because one is lazy; being without "Kuso" is because one has not done a meritorious deed.
- (5) Exclusive begging for help makes the one to be hated; excessive giving makes the one lost.
- (6) The industrious one always overtakes the lazy one.
- (7) Industry can defeat intelligence ; intelligence can defeat power
- (8) Never keep these pairs close, gunpowder and fire; bachelor and maiden.
- (9) Though there are many containers of water, there is only one stream of water.
- (10) A high mountain is a match for pagoda; a good dish is a match for novitiation ceremony; monk is a match for literature.
- (11) Luck is nothing but work.
- (12) A straight word is not pleasant to the ear; a straight tree is hard to climb.
- (13) Wherever you go never forget about the five benefactors.
- (14) Code of conducts for monks not properly learnt, never try to be a presiding monk.

(15) Cow can tolerate heat, buffalocan tolerate cold; lazy person can tolerate criticism.

(16) Literature is for men eye as well as friends.

We can see that Pa-o proverbs contain a lot of knowledge about life. They use not only proverbs but also set riddles when talking . Setting riddles is called in their language "ngaung-tet-lo-wam" and "riddle" alone is called "ngaung-tet". The riddles are mostly used by the youngsters; the adults use these only when they want to test the intelligence level of a youngster. The following are their traditional riddles.

- (1) What is that tree the trunk of which is wood, the bark of which is scales of fish , the leaf of which is needle. (pine tree)
- (2) What is that plant the trunk is sword, the leaf is bamboo.(Sugar cane plant)
- (3) Dressed when young, naked when grown-up (bamboo)
- (4) Leaves are abundant, fruit is only one (pineapple)
- (5) When hit on the head, the sound comes off from anus. (drum)
- (6) The one who can row a boat on the mountain. (an Arhat).
- (7) Body is throne, pairs of leg are scissors. (crab)
- (8) At the bottom , water; at the top, fire. (fire-lamp)
- (9) The trunk is bamboo; the fruit is gold. (paddy plant).
- (10) The more it is fed; the tinner it becomes. (chopping block)
- (11) Though it is high, it is impossible to get. (Shadaw)
- (12) A piece of "khaw-pote" steamed and pounded glutinous rice dressed with roasted sesame seeds can never consume it all.
(honing stone)
- (13) Though it is quite near, it can see the distant. (eyes)
- (14) The more you try to see, the more it becomes away from you. (ear)
- (15) The grandfather from lower part of the country with a wollen blanket over him. (Malar-phu-aromatic flowering herb used as a vegetable)

(16) When one cup is consumed, there still is one left. a dish of molluse)

Beside these proverbs and riddles, they have fables among which "A "zawgyi" (a man with supernatural powers) and a serpent dragon is the most famous. The origin of the story is.

The Pa-O national are much fond of the picture of "zawgyi" and serpent dragon, and they regionalize these as their national symbol. The reason is they regarded a "zawgyi" a "weik-za" who is a versatile man. It is found that the Pa-O word "weik-za" has the same meaning with the Pa-li word "weik-za". It means: be skilled and well versed in something. It also has the meaning of being active and precise. They believe that there were many technicians in this Pa-O community. And they keep these pictures for having such skilled and well versed persons in the future in their community.

Dragons are powerful and brave, and patriotic also with this belief, they keep these pictures of dragon to become powerful, brave and patriotic themselves. So, in accordance with the saying "the mystic power of a woman rests on her coil hair", Pa-O woman wears coil hair on top of her head in which a pointed hair-pin which looks like the crest of a dragon and a circular hair-pin which looks like the eye of a dragon are put.

It is learnt that after many years of thus keeping the pictures of "zawgyi" and "dragon" and "dragon" there began a concept that "the Pa-O national are the descendants of dragon. This concept led to the belief that this father was "zawgyi" and their mother was "dragob". This version has been handed down orally from gradation to generation by elderly persons to this day.

The famous story of "zaw-gyi" and dragon" is as follows:

Before the time of Gautama Buddha, there were "arhats" (perhaps hermits) at the foot of Mya-tha-peik Taung. There was a great pond near that mountain to which "dragons" came and had a wonderful time. One day the daughter of the king of "dragons" asked her father to give her the permission

to pay visit to the human abode as she wanted to pay obeisance to the "arhats" at the foot of that Myathapeik Taung. At first the king was reluctant to do that but he was at last badgered into giving the permission. The daughter "dragon" paid a visit to the "arhats" and on her way back, she met a young "weik-za" and fell in love with him. She got pregnant and gave birth to two eggs. She incrustrated the eggs with a hermit and returned home. In due course, a baby boy and a baby girl were born of those two eggs. When they became grown up, they founded a dynasty at Thaton where their descendants had ruled the land for many years.

But there are different versions regarding these two young ones born of these two eggs. Some said that the father "weik-za" came to the boy to teach him the art of ruling a state while the mother "dragon" taught her daughter all the arts a woman should know. Some said that the descendants of the Pa-O national while the descendants of another became the PO-kayin national. Some also said that both the boy and the girl were born of the same egg. Whatever, they seem to have common belief that their parents were "weik-za" and "dragon". So they have frequently used the phrase "mother dragon, father-weik-za" whenever they talk about their origin.

The story named "If you want to eat mango, try to learn the Pa-O dance" is as follows:

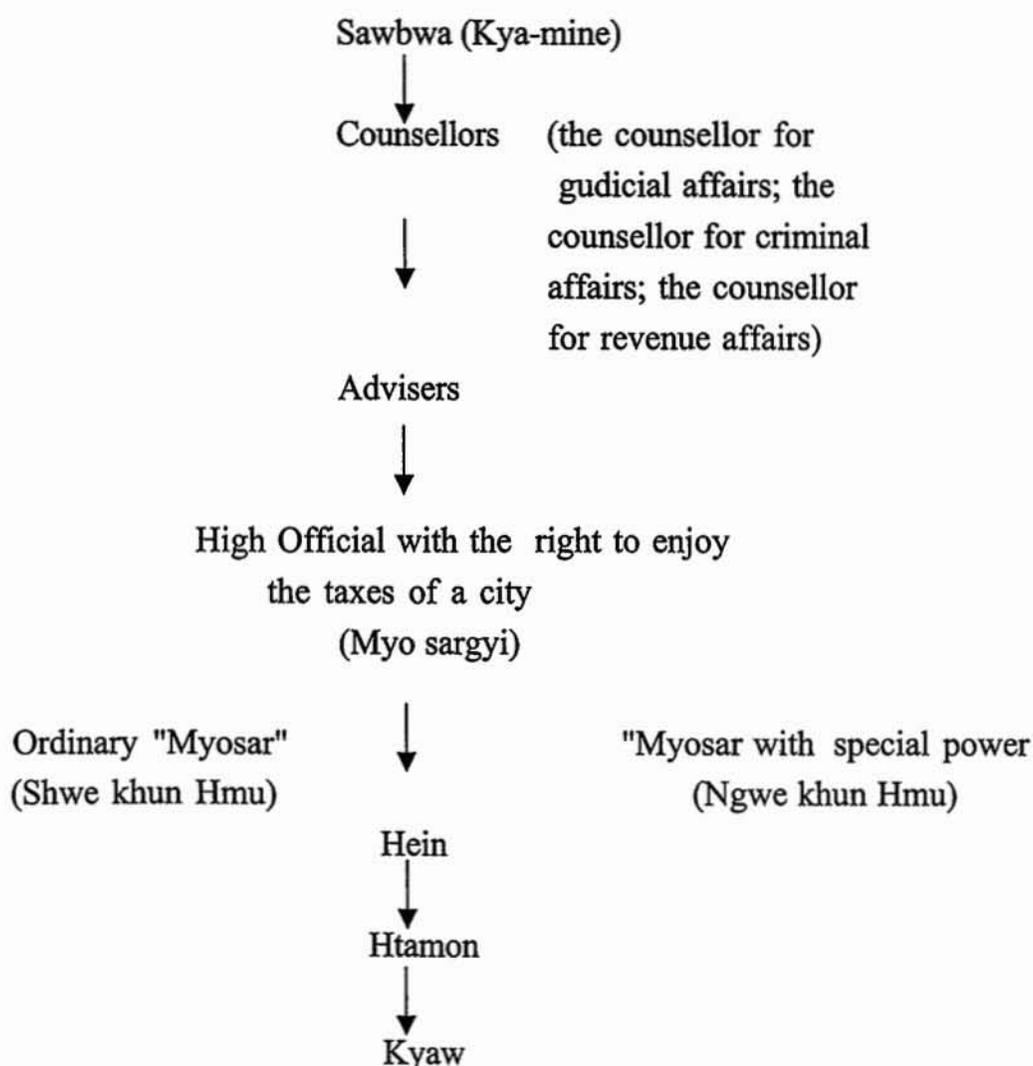
One a group of Pa-os were dancing under a tree in front of a Pa-o house. It was the mango season, and the tree was buseuriant with mango fruits. The tree was not so high and these were fruits which could be easily reached by a man. When the dancing group got away after spending sometime there were no mango fruits on the tree which could be reached by a man, because the dancers had plucked these while dancing and taken away with them.

CHAPTER 7

ADMINISTRATION AND JUDICIAL SYSTEM

Administration**(a) Old time administration**

In olden days, Shan State was ruled by "sawbwas" (Shan chieftains) most of them being Shan national. Only in Hopone and Sesaing regions, there were Pa-O "sawbwas". The administrative hierarchical structure during the time of "sawbwas" is as follows:



"Myosar" means of high official appointed by the court of "Sawbwa" who had the right to enjoy the taxes of a town or a city. There were two kinds of this "Myosargyi" and the first one was a "Myoar" chosen from among the ordinary people for his superior intelligence and qualifications, while the second one was a "Myosar" with special power because he was one of the relatives of the sawbwa. Though these two kinds of "Myosar" enjoyed the same status of power, they had different insignia of office.

In those days, the ones who could exercise power over the people were "Hein" and the above ranks, up to "sawbwa". They were feudal lords with financial, administrative and Judicial power. In deciding a case, a "sawbwa" takes into account the findings of the officials of from Hein to just below the "sawbwa". The judicial system was based on the traditional practice and there were no rulings. And the customary laws were not recorded.

"Myosar" and "Ngwe-kun-hmu" were the feudal lords of lesser ranks. "Myosars" had the power to make judgement for the cases, and to levy taxes.

The word "hein" means "one thousand". So "Hein" was an official who was responsible for mobilizing one thousand troops for the "sawbwa". "Hein" can be regarded as "the one above the head-man of the village with greater power". "Htamon" was the head man of the village and "kyaw" was the one responsible for ten-house unit in administration affairs. All of them were appointed by "sawbwa" and they had to act in accordance with the instructions of the "sawbwas". These Hein, Htamon and kyaw were the officials appointed by "sawbwa" who were mostly influential in countryside.

The responsible officials for the village administration were Htamon and Kyaw. Htamon who was the head man of the village was the subordinate of "Hein" and he had the administrative and judicial power. Kyaw who was responsible for the ten house unit was the subordinate of Htamon. He had the power to decide the civil cases of the villagers but he did not have the power to make judgement for the criminal cases. Mostly, Htamons were the relatives

of "myosar" or the trusted persons of "sawbwa" or "myosar". "Hein" was the liaison official between Htamon and kyaw who were responsible for the countryside affairs and the officials of higher status such as "Shwe-khun-hmu", "Ngwe-khun-hmu" and "sawbwa". The peoples of the region had to regard all the officials from Hein to "sawbwa" as their autoeratic feudal lords.

When the Revolutionary council assumed the stage power in 1962, the government liquidated the power of the feudal lords of Shan State as the system was not appropriate with the modern time. The "sawbwas" also agreed to relinquish their power for the benefit of the state as well as Shan State. On 27 April, 1959, all the 33 "sawbwas" of that time affixed their signatures to the document which declared that they all were willing to relinquish their power. Afterwards, in accordance with this agreement, the feudal system had come to the end in Shan State.

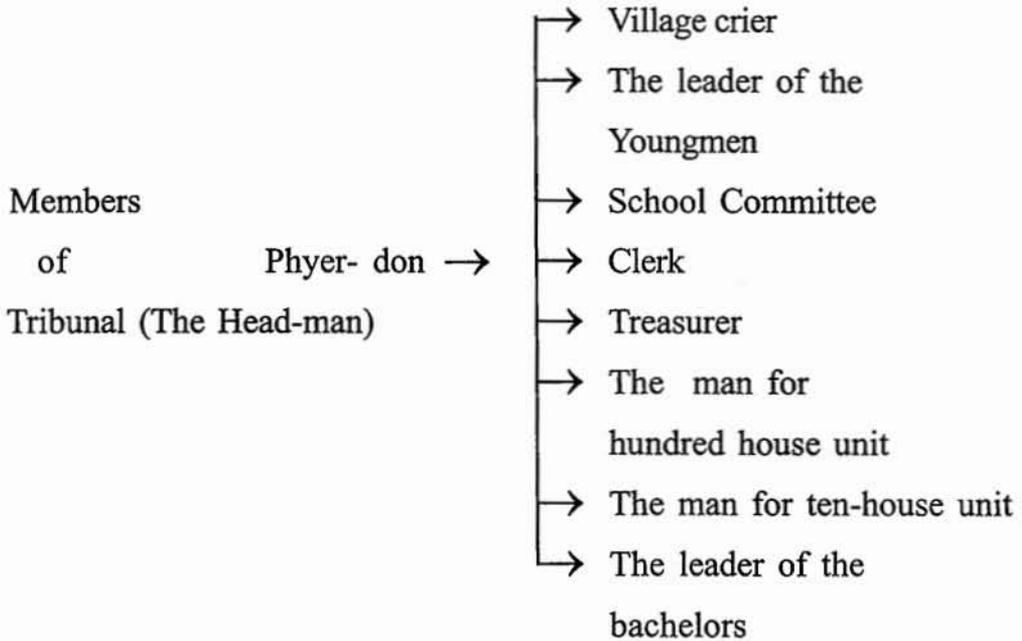
(b) Present time administration

In former days, in countryside, there were "Hein" who was the head-man of the whole administrative unit and "May-tai" who was the head-man of the village. "May-tai" was also called "Kyaw" or "Phyer-don". This "Phyor-dob" was responsible for the village administration. He had the power to decide the social problems and to exercise the judicial power. There was a "Phyer-don" for every village. "Hein" had the duty to supervise the head-men of the villages.

Due to change of the situation of the state under the leadership of the government, the Pa-O national have chosen the members of tribunal who are the knowledgeable and respected persons of the village. These members choose the head-man "Phyer-don" from among them. In some areas, these members of tribunal act as "Pher-don" in turn. This "Phyer-don" takes the advice from these members for all the social, religious, judicial affairs of the village. Under this head man, there are "Ywa-saw" the village river, the leader of the young men, school administration committee, clear treasurer, the man responsible for one- hundred-

hose unit, the man responsible for ten-house unit, the leader of bachelors.

The Administrative Structure of Hitali



The village river has the duty to cry in the village when an occasion of joy of gratify arises. The school committee has the duty to supervise the administration of the school while the man responsible for hundred house unit has the duty to supervise the man responsible for ten-house unit who in turn has the duty to take the administrative responsibility for the houses he is in charge of . The leader of the young men is responsible for all under the age of 45. The head -man of the village has the duty to lead all the men of above age 45 who are not the members of the tribunal of the village. The leader of the bachelors has to lead all the bachelors and maidens fo the village. The clerk must note down every thing that is concerned with the village affairs. The treasurer has the duty to keep all the fund of the village. The headman of the village and the members of the tribunal take advice from these responsible persons whenever there is a problem to solve.

(c) Traditional Judiciary

The judicial system of the Pa-O national is found to be still in line with their traditional judicial system. Whenever there is a dispute to be decided, "Phyer-don" and the most-respected elderly persons of the village together put the case on trial. The place for the trial is not fixed ; it is mostly held in the sitting room of the house of the headman of the village.

Before the trial is begun, the accused, the plaintiff and the witnesses have to intone the pledge of allegiance to the truth. When the accused is found to be guilty, but if it is the very first reproof and life, he is just reproofed and administered. For the second and third time of his misconduct, he is forced to do hard work in repairing road and other village works. For the theft case, the thing stolen must be returned or if it is impossible to do so the accused must or in kind to the plaintiff as compensation. If the number of times of such misconduct becomes more than two to three times, the roof of the house of the accused is partly destroyed as punishment. Another way of giving punishment is driving out of the accused from society. No one must talk to him, pay a visit to his house, invite him on occasions of joy or grief. If this punishment is found to be still not enough to give him the lesson he is forced to leave the village for ever.

In most cases, the troopers are killed. If there is a murder case due to a quarrel, the accused is fined to pay compensation or he is transferred to the police station to take action. If a dispute occurs in dividing the heritage, divorce selling and pawning of land and properties, both parties follow the advice or the decision of the head man of the village and the elders. But the dispute over apportioning of heritage is very nearly found in their community.

For the misconduct of pre-marital sexual relation, both of them are greatly despised and they have to ask for forgiveness from the head-man of the village and other bachelors and maidens. They must make a pledge not to misbehave again. Besides, they have to give 4,00 to 8,00 kyats as an act of

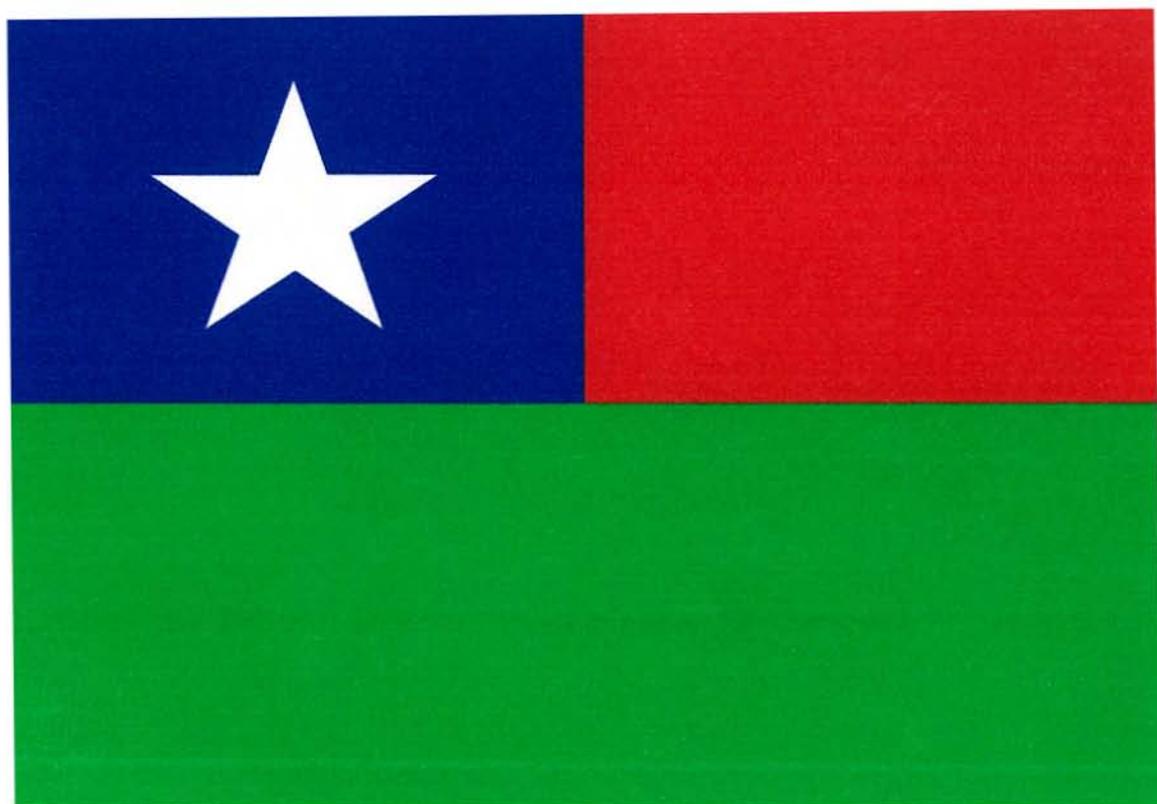
paying obeisance to the four cardinal points of the village. This money is kept as the fund for the village. They must also offer some amount of money to the head-man and the bachelors and maidens of the village also.

For a case of adultery, the man must give compensation to the husband of the wife with whom he has had the sexual relation. Then the husband can ask for a divorce from her. These two must also pay obeisance to the four cardinal points of the village with money. But such a case is very rarely to be found in their community.

The Pa-O national are found to be greatly conscious of their security, so whenever there is a stranger in the village and if they have suspicion, the visitor is called for to be examined. Making liquor and smoking opium is strictly prohibited in the village. If someone is found to be guilty of this, he is forced to do hard work in repairing old road or constructing a new one. Gambling is also not allowed by them.

All the Pa-O national in the village are found to be highly industrious and active; most of them are never lazy. If a person is lazy or quarrelsome or not energetic in religious movements, he is admonished by the head-man or persuaded by his friends to change his concept. If the person is a hard nut to crack, he is sent to the presiding monk. If the presiding monk himself has given up, he is never allowed to enter the monastery again or driven out of the village. All the Pa-o national have great respect for the presiding monk and they take instruction for social as well as religious matters from him. Being pious Buddhists, they have great respect for the elder and sympathy for the younger, they hate dispute. So even when there is a tendency to have a dispute, they are apt to say "Let bygone be bygone" (ta-yaung-way in their language) and tolerate it. So only a very few cases were transferred to the courts in the city for trial.

The essence of their punishment giving is found to be the one with intention to make the accused behave well in the future. Besides, they educate the others not to commit this kind of mistake. So we must say that they have respectable tradition in their age-old judicial system.



Pa o National Flag

(d) Pa-o National Flag

The Pa-O national have their own national flag, the length of which being five feet and the width three feet. Half of the flag below the horizontal centre line is green and the upper half is divided into two parts exactly with a vertical line, on one side of which being blue and the other red. On the half which is blue there is a white star.

The meanings of the colours on their national flag are:

(1) Blue

It represents honesty, straight forwardness, unity, influence and seriousness.

(2) White Star

It represents togetherness and unity.

(3) Red

It represents bravery, unity, the light of literature shining brilliantly.

(4) Green

It represent the evergreenness like forests and land.

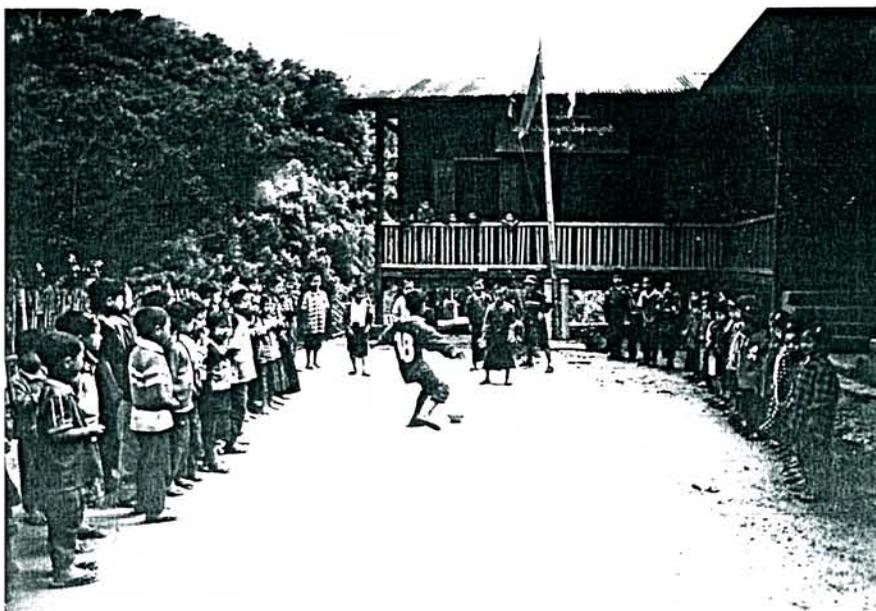
(e) Education

Under feudal system, the Pa-O national had no chance to educate themselves and their children also. So educated persons are very few among them. And they have to earn their living by cultivating crops, their children are also called for to work hand in hand with them when they grow up.

When they got free of this feudal system, under the leadership of their national league, they began to have the chance to educate their children. Later, due to the encouragement of the state and the education department, they became interested more and more in modern education. Nowadays, the Pa-O parents have come to understand that there will be great loss for their offspring if they have no modern education. So they themselves have encouraged their children to study well.



Primary school in Hitali



Hitali young boys playing

Being pious Buddhists, they encourage not only modern education but also the education of the Buddhist literature. So when a boy has attained the age of 5 to 6, he is sent to the monastery to learn the basic course of the Buddhist literature.

Though in former days the source of primary level education was only the monastery, now there is a state primary school for their children in the village. All of the Pa-O young boys and girls are sent to this primary school without fail. There are also two nursery schools in the village for the young ones of age three to four. After the nursery schools, a child of age four is sent to the primary school. As there is a primary school in the village, the children can complete the primary education in their own village. But some parents send their children to continue their study at the middle school in the village called Tin Htet, at the high school in the village called yinhmi or Pinlaung or Taunggyi. There are also some parents who have sent their children to Mandalay to continue their study.

The Basic Education Middle School was opened in 1979, in yinhmi. In 1983, the children in Htitali could continue their middle school level and high in Pinlaung but also in Naungtaya, Phekton, Loikaw, Taunggyi, Meikhtila, Hinthada, Ahphwauk, Myauk Chauk kon, Sagaing, Yangon and Mandalay. Some of them could complete their study and became graduates. Some of these graduates and other who have passed the matriculation examination are found to be working as teachers in the primary school of the village.

In this primary school, there are one headmistress two assistant primary teachers and one for general purposes. The total number of students in the school is 169.

**The table showing the number of students in the
primary school of Htitali in 2000-2003**

Standard	Students		Total
	Boys	Girls	
Kindergarden	20	17	37
First standard	15	21	36
Second standard	12	22	34
Third standard	11	10	21
Fourth standard	20	21	41
Total	78	91	169

In summer days, the Pa-O children are taught Pa-O literature. School supervisory committee is formed every year with one Patron, one chairman, one Deputy-Chairman, one Secretary one Treasurer, one Audit and ordinary members. Five monks and five novices from Htitali monastery are now studying at the learning centres of Buddhist literature in Yangon, Mandalay, Sagaing.

Now in Htitali, there are altogether 20 students who have already passed the matriculation examination and three graduates.

CONCLUSION

I have tried to make a research on the socioeconomic life (social life based on economy) of the Pa-o villagers of Htitali, in Pinlaung Township of Southern Shan State. Here I present my work in seven chapters.

All the ethnic peoples residing in Myanmar are the descendants of three main tribal groups. Mon-Khmer, Tibeto-Burman, and Tai-chinese. When the background history of Pa-O ethnic group is studied, it is found that they were the descendants of the Tibeto-Burman group.

Htitali is a village where only Pa-O national are living. As the village is situated on the Shan Yaoma, access to them is very hard. But I have found that the main road leading to the village is going to be repaired with rocks which are to be seen ready on the ground along the old road. Due to economic development of the place, though we can find that they are now using modern style of housing, there is still their traditional way of partitioning the rooms.

All of them are honest and frank. They are found to be pious Buddhists, and they pay respect to elders and follow their leadership faithfully. In studying their forms of family, we can find that they have the forms of Basic Family as well as Extended Family where parents, grandparents, married sons and daughters, unmarried sons and daughters are living together.

When their kinship system is studied, we may find that relatives from both paternal and maternal sides have the same status and all of them are friendly. On any social occasion, be it for one man or for the whole group, not only the relatives but also the neighbours come to help one another, bringing foods as well as presents.

In sharing inheritance, there is no such discrimination that a son or a daughter must get more; it is done on equal share basis. But one thing is that the youngest son or daughter who has looked after the parents for their whole life-time gets more than the others. The adopted ones are also found to be able to enjoy the equal share.

As Pa-o elderly people are very pious, they not only offer water, flowers, cooked rice, light etc. to the Buddha image at their own shrines at homes, they also offer their offerings to the Buddha image in the monastery compound, and take five precepts from it. On sabbath days, these elderly people spend their night at monasteries, discussing "dhamma" and meditating. This religious activity seems to have made their community more and more peaceful and united.

Though Pa-O puberty life is free, the relation between the maiden and the bachelor is friendly and decent. All of Pa-O women are found to be exceedingly shy and composed. As they are simple and honest, they are afraid to be criticised by others. In choosing marriage partner too, the young ones take advice from their parents and elders.

Their traditional marriage system does not allow parallel cousin marriage; it only allows cross cousin marriage. Traditionally as they have practised the system of monogamy, most of their family life is free from adultery cases and peaceful.

Pa-O pregnant women are found to be still following the traditional taboos and manas. Though in former days, they relied only on the madwife in the village now as there are assistant midwives appointed by the government, some take help from them in giving birth to a child. It is still found that when someone gets ill, they consult the astrologer to do something in astrological way to avert the danger.

Due to economic development of the villagers these days, education is found to become higher among the young ones. In those former days, the highest level of modern education was only the primary one but now there are even university student in the village. As their economic situation has more or less become better, they are ready to send their sons and daughters to cities for further study. Likewise, Pa-o monks and novices are sent to various cities where they can make higher level study of Buddhist scriptures.

The main business for economy of the villagers of Htitali is growing sebesten trees and tea plants. In cultivation, they help one another based on the traditional practice of "Contribution of labour on reciprocal basis". But sometimes, when there is still shortage of labour, other are hired with money or things. Nowadays, due to the shortage of firewood in the whole area, they do not grow sebesten trees extensively but grow tea plants more. It is learnt that pickled tea leaves and plain tea leaves have brought them more income and prosperity. Though there are many gardens of these trees and plants owned by each family, we cannot find any fence demarcating between any two of these. But no theft case has been found to have occurred so far. They regard one another as their own brothers and sisters and never give trouble to cause uneasiness. They are ever found ready only to help others. This shows their honesty and unity. In olden days, they wove fabrics with backstrap looms to make their own clothing.

But nowadays, they pay more attention to their business and as for clothing, they just buy in the markets of the city. This accordingly has caused the tradition of using backstrap looms faded day after day.

They all are found to have eagerness to preserve their traditions, language and culture, and so they are now trying to propagate their Pa-o language among them and others. The Pa-o young boys and girls use only their Pa-o language at homes and they speak Myanmar only at schools. This clearly shows how much they are fond of their own culture and tradition.

In studying the social organization and economic development of the villagers of Htitali of Pinlaung township in Southern Shan State, I have found that they are trying to preserve their traditions and cultures while at the same time trying to modify some of these concepts in accordance with the modern time. Their economy is also found to be developing more and more. Due to this economic development, their concepts regarding health, education and business conducting have also changed. Novitiation ceremony and other religious festivals. Novitiation are found to be more grandly held than former days. By looking at

how they have preserved their traditions while at the same time modifying their concepts, we can know how much these Pa-O national are fond of their own people and traditions.

“ကျမ်းကိုးစာရင်း”

၁။	ခွန်နွယ်၊ မောင် (အင်းလေး)	ပအိုဝ်း	၁၉၉၂ ခုနှစ်
၂။	ခွန်နွယ်၊မောင် (အင်းလေး)	စိမ်းမြညိုရွက်သနပ်ဖက် (စာပေဗိမာန်စာမူဆုရ)	၁၉၇၃ ခုနှစ်
၃။	ခွန်နွယ်၊မောင် (အင်းလေး)	ပအိုဝ်းသွေးချင်း ညီနောင်ရင်း (စာပေဗိမာန်စာမူဆုရ)	၁၉၈၀ ခုနှစ်
၄။	မောင်သောင်း၊ခွန်	ရှမ်းပြည်တောင်ပိုင်းပအိုဝ်း တိုင်းရင်းသားများ၏ လူမှုပထဝီ စာတမ်း	၁၉၇၃-၇၄ ခုနှစ်
၅။	ပအိုဝ်းအမျိုးသားအဖွဲ့ချုပ်	ပအိုဝ်းအမျိုးသားတို့၏ ဂုဏ်အင်္ဂါရပ်များ	၁၉၉၂-စက်တင်ဘာ
၆။	ဝဏ္ဏသောင်း၊ ဦး	ပအိုဝ်းလူမျိုးများခေတ်သမိုင်းစဉ်	
၇။	ဗညားဗုတ်၊ခွန်နှင့်ဝိဇ္ဇာနွယ်၊ခွန်	ပအိုဝ်းအမျိုးသားနေ့အထိမ်းအမှတ်	၁၉၉၁ခုနှစ်
၈။	ယဉ်ကျေးမှုဆပ်ကော်မတီ	ပအိုဝ်းတိုင်းရင်းသားစာပေနှင့်ပအိုဝ်း ယဉ်ကျေးမှုမဂ္ဂဇင်း	၁၉၇၂-၇၃ခုနှစ် ၁၉၇၃-၇၄ခုနှစ် ၁၉၇၇-၇၈ ခုနှစ်
၁၁။	တက္ကသိုလ်များ (မန္တလေး)	ပအိုဝ်းတိုင်းရင်းသားစာပေနှင့် ပအိုဝ်းမဂ္ဂဇင်း	၁၉၈၅ -ခုနှစ်
၁၂။	ပအိုဝ်းစာပေယဉ်ကျေးမှု(ရန်ကုန်)	ပအိုဝ်းတန်ဆောင်	၁၉၉၅- ခုနှစ်
၁၃။	ပအိုဝ်းသမိုင်းသုတေသန	ပအိုဝ်းလူမျိုး 'တို့၏ နောက်ခံ သမိုင်း'	
၁၄။	ရာမ၊ ခွန်	ပအိုဝ်းအမျိုးသားစာပေသမိုင်း (ပထမပိုင်း) ပအိုဝ်းအမျိုးသားစာပေသမိုင်း (ဒုတိယပိုင်း)	
၁၅။	မြင့်လွင်၊ (ကမ္ဘောဇ)	သီကောင်းဘွယ်ရာရှမ်းပြည်မှာ	

- ၁၆။ မြန်မာဆိုရှယ်လစ်လမ်းစဉ်ပါတီ တိုင်းရင်းသားယဉ်ကျေးမှုလေ့ထုံးစံများ(ရှမ်း)
- ၁၇။ မြန်မာဆိုရှယ်လစ်လမ်းစဉ်ပါတီ တိုင်းရင်းသားယဉ်ကျေးမှုလေ့ထုံးစံများ(ကရင်)
- ၁၈။ မင်းနိုင်၊ ဦး ဒို့သွေး၊ ဒို့သားတိုင်းရင်းဘွား
- ၁၉။ မင်းနိုင်၊ ဦး ဒို့တိုင်းရင်းဘွားပြည်ထောင်စုသား
- ၂၀။ စန္ဒာဝရ၊အရှင် ပအိုဝ်းတိုင်းရင်းသားတို့၏ဘာသာရေးနှင့်ယဉ်ကျေးမှုလေ့လာချက်စာတမ်း
နိုင်ငံတော်ပရိယတ္တိသာသနတက္ကသိုလ်(မန္တလေး)
- ၂၁။ ပအိုဝ်းဘာသာမဂ္ဂဇင်း တပေါင်းလက်ဆောင် ၁၃၅၆၊ ၁၃၅၇၊ ၁၃၆၁ ခုနှစ်
- ၂၂။ ပအိုဝ်းဘာသာ ပညာမျက်စိအလင်း
- ၂၃။ ပအိုဝ်းဘာသာ လူငယ်အင်အားစာစောင် ၁၃၅၉ ခုနှစ်
- ၂၄။ ဖေမောင်တင်၊ ဦး ဘာသာလောကကျမ်း
- ၂၅။ ပအိုဝ်းဘာသာ သုဝဏ္ဏပကာသနီကျမ်း
- ၂၆။ ဘသန်း၊ဦး ကျောင်းသုံးမြန်မာရာဇဝင်
- ၂၇။ တင်အောင် (ဗန်းမော်) ကိုလိုနီခေတ်မြန်မာနိုင်ငံသမိုင်း
- ၂၈။ သန်းထွန်း၊ဒေါက်တာ ခေတ်ဟောင်းမြန်မာရာဇဝင်
- ၂၉။ ငွေတာရီမဂ္ဂဇင်း မြန်မာ့လက်ဖက် ၁၉၇၈

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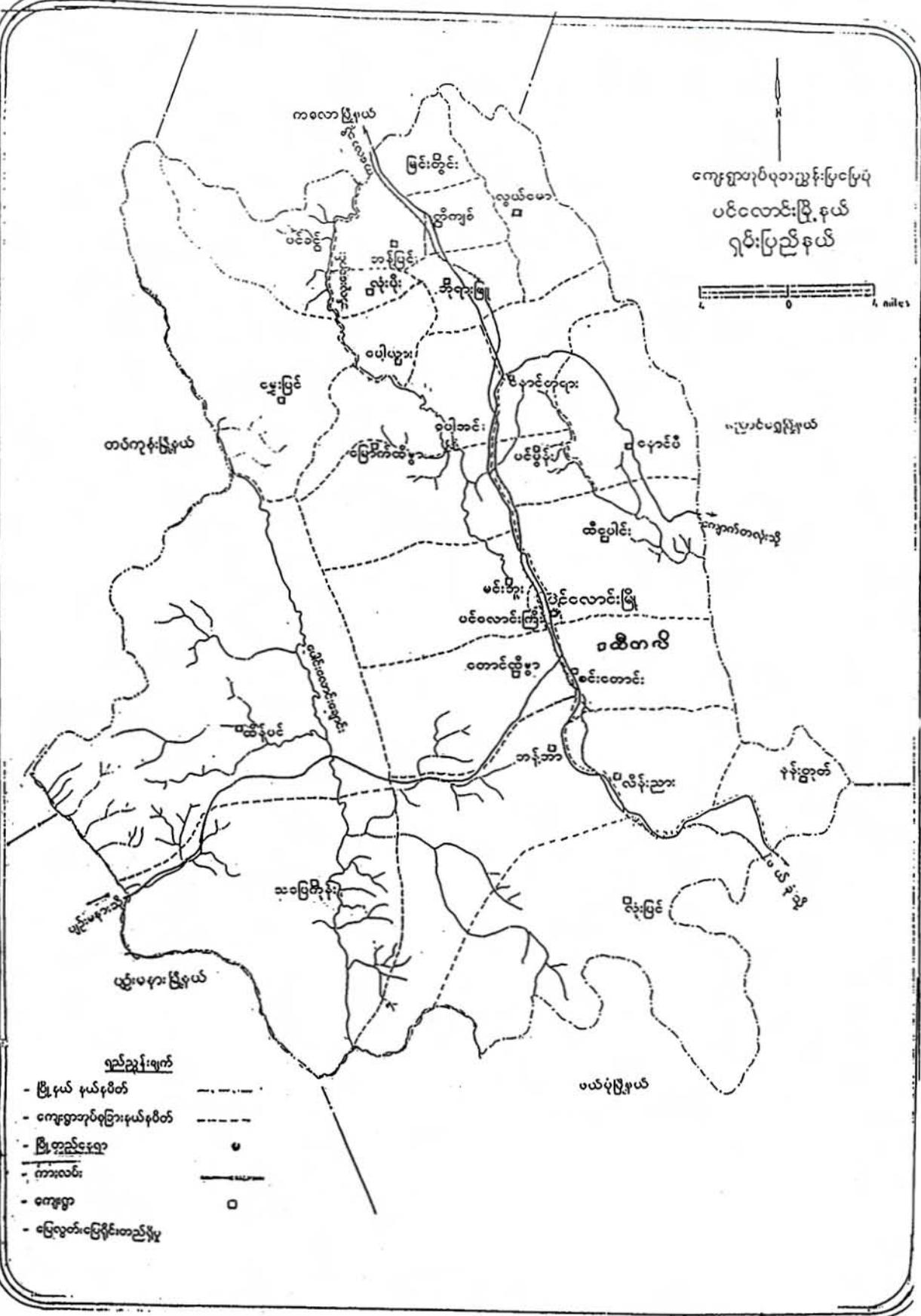
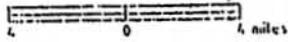
INFORMATIONS

No.	Name	Age	Occupation
1.	U Ainda-Thermi	36	Presiding monk
2.	U Khun Khan Hti	74	Donor of monastery, elder of the village
3.	U Khun Ti san	74	"
4.	U Khun Pyaw	72	"
5.	Shin Myo Pwe	68	"
6.	U War-ya	66	Elder of the village
7.	Mwo Phyar Tun	64	Donor of monastery, elder of the village
8.	Par Phyar Nyun	62	Elder of he village
9.	U Khun Mg Tote	60	joint Secretary. (Pa-O Literature and Culture office)
10.	U Khun Yarma	58	Research of Literature (Pa-O Literature and Culture Office)
11.	U Khun Tun Phu	58	Farmer
12.	U Khun Pan Aung	53	Practicitioner of traditional medicine
13.	U Khun Tun San	53	Farmer
14.	Saya Doe	52	Practicitioner of traditione medicine
15.	Saya Lan	52	"
16.	Saya Htwet Min	52	"
17.	Par Pyar kwar	52	Blacksmith , Farmer
18.	U Khun Mg Thaung	50	Retired magistrate, Pinlaung Township

No.	Name	Age	Occupation
19.	U Khun Pan Pe	45	Headman of the Chairman, School Supervisory Committee
20.	U Khun Ohn Pe	45	Farmer
21.	U Khun Ye Din	44	Health Assistant, Pinlaung Township
22.	U Khun Mg Ti	44	Chairman, Pagoda Trustee, Farmer
23.	Daw Nan Aye Sein	43	Farmer
24.	U Khun Mg Lay	43	Pa-o Literature and Culture Office
25.	U Khun Thar Oo	42	Farmer
26.	U Khun Ba Mg	45	Merchant
27.	Daw Nan Mya	40	Farmer
27.	Daw Nan Phu	43	Merchant
29.	U Khun Tun Shwe	40	The Leader of the bachelors of the village
30.	U Khun Mya Oo	39	Farmer
31.	Daw Nan Hla Kgin	39	"
32.	U Khun Kyaw Khin	39	"
33.	U Khun Than Hlaing	36	Chairman, Village Peace and Development Council (leader of the village)
34.	U Khun Ohn Ejine	38	Farmer, donor of monastery
35.	U Khun Than Hlaing	36	Leader of ten-house unit, farmer
36.	Daw Nan Hla Yone	36	Midwife
37.	Khun Kyaw Shwe	35	Merchant, farmer
38.	U Khun Aung Thein	34	Secretary of School Supervisory Committee

No.	Name	Age	Occupation
39.	Daw Nan Hla Yin	34	Headmistress (Primary)
40.	Khun Aung Thein	33	Leader of Bachelors
41.	Khun Thaung Pe	32	Farmer
42.	Na Than Tin	30	"
43.	Khun Khin Mg Than	27	"
44.	Mhu Khin Than Nu	27	"
45.	Khun Kyaw Lwin	28	"
46.	Mhu Phwar Khin	22	Farmer
47.	Khun San Aung	20	Student
48.	Mhu Nan Phyu		

ကျေးရွာအုပ်စုသစ်များပြင်ဆင်မှု
ပင်လောင်းမြို့နယ်
ရှမ်းပြည်နယ်



ရှည်ညွှန်းချက်

- မြို့နယ်နယ်နိမိတ်
- ကျေးရွာအုပ်စုခြားနယ်နိမိတ်
- မြို့တည်နေရာ
- ကားလမ်း
- ကျေးရွာ
- ပြေလွတ်/ပြေရိုင်းတည်ရှိမှု

အိတ်တိုက်မြို့ပြစတုရန်း

