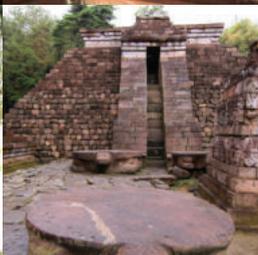
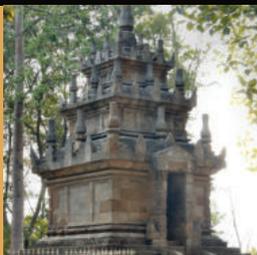
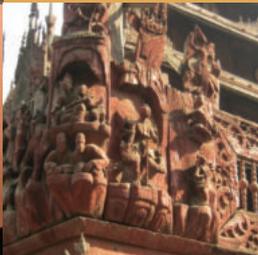


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Re-examining on Ascending the Throne of King Thibaw and Its Effects

Aye Mon Kyi*

I. Introduction

King Thibaw who was the most junior prince ascended the throne on 1 October 1878 though there were many senior princes in royal family during Yadanapon Period. Many royal conflicts occurred during the reign of King Thibaw especially mass killing of royal princes took place on 12-18 February 1878 that was four months after King Thibaw ascended the throne. King Thibaw faced its reflection and he lost trust from his subjects. It was said that King Thibaw was not involved in the affairs of the palace as he had spent most of his time in the monkhood. King Thibaw therefore did not know worldly affair, religious affair and royal affairs so that King Thibaw could not afford to govern the country to be stabilized and he was deported to Yadanagiri by the British. Similarly, it was assumed that ruling enable King governed the country was one of the root cause of the downfall of Konbaung dynasty. In fact King Thibaw faced threaten by the British soon after ascending the throne. Especially the rival princes, Prince Myingun and Nyaung Yan under the protection of the foreign powers tried to make efforts to seize the throne as King Thibaw had feared and

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these affairs even caused for the stability of in the governance of the King Thibaw. In this way King Thibaw could not handle his position very long and he was deported to Yadanagiri soon after ascending the throne within seven years.

II. Literature review and Methodology

Konbaung Dynasty downfall during the reign of King Thibaw and it was prominent/significant event in Myanmar History. Especially the impact of deportation of King Thibaw to Yadanagiri in India was the great changing not only in Myanmar politic but also in society among nationalities and its effect was still suffering in Myanmar. There were many research papers and M.A thesis from History Department in Yangon University and Mandalay University which related with downfall of Konbaung Dynasty. It was found that the scholars, not only local but also outsiders discussed about ascending the throne of King Thibaw and mass killing of royal prince in their research papers and they concluded that KinwunMingyi and Hsinphyumashin were key players of choosing Crown Prince to Thibaw. The outsider called J Paul Bennett expressed the tactics of Hsinphyumashin and KinwunMingyi in Conference under Tamarind tree essay in Burmese History as follows:

Queen Hsinphyumashin wished to be sovereign Queen and the king should be under her influence. She had no surviving sons and only three daughters. She liked to have one of her daughters to be married to the next king... Hsinphyumashin's logical tactics was to elevate a young unmarried prince to throne and arrange his marriage to one of her daughters (Bennett 1971: 70-71).

Similarly the following expression can be seen about KinwunMingyi's logical tactics.

KinwunMingyi wanted a young and pliable king. KinwunMingyi considered that if the able prince would have succeeded the throne, they would not follow the wise counselors because of their backbones... Prince Thibaw had spent many years in monastery and he was soft-minded. KinwunMingyi therefore thought that he could steer the prince who was simple, educated and young in ruling the country. He had a plan for sweeping government reorganization and saw the accession of a youthful new king as the logical time for implementing it (Bennett 1971: 70-71).

Many scholars agreed to conclude that Prince Thibaw became a king with the supporting of Queen Hsinphyumashin and Kinwun Mingyi and Prince Thibaw did not involve the royal affairs to choose crown prince because he had spent his youth life as monkhood as well as he did not know about royal affairs, worldly affairs and religious affairs. Moreover, the scholars including local and outsiders pointed out King Thibaw's weakness in comparing with King Mindon. It was found comprehensive research papers related with downfall of Konbaung Dynasty, particularly the research papers entitled "Imperialist stratagem and Myanmar Heir Apparent" and Triangulation Relation by Daw Ni Ni Myint linked some missing event. However it is necessary to re-examining the truth event and re-considering related with King Thibaw dignity and Kinwun Mingyi who played key role at the Hultlaw. About mass killing, Daw Ohn Kyi said in her paper entitled "King Thibaw's Effort in Administrative Reform" that King Thibaw was anxious his position because he became a king although there were abler princes in royal family and the mass killing of royal prince was a characteristic of feudalism system. It might be true but it was not enough to accept it whilst to study chronology events in historical

record. It was found that King Thibaw tried to handle his position as much as he can but he had faced external threat as well as internal weakness so that he could not govern effectively.

Micro research methodology would be used to re-examining the ascending the throne of King Thibaw and its effect under these criterion:

Why Prince Thibaw was supported by KinwunMingyi and Hsinphyumashin and What would be a true of ascending the throne of King Thibaw?

What would be internal weakness and external strength to fail handles his position after ascending the throne of King Thibaw?

III. Why Prince Thibaw was supported by Queen Hsinphyumashin and Kinwun Mingyi?

It was the tradition of the Myanmar feudal kings to have a lot of queen, lesser queens and female attendants. Though there may be a great number of queens, there was only one person for the Chief Queen. The son of Chief Queen had the right to inherit the throne. The Chief Queen would not fall from her position if she got favour from the King. King Mindon had twelve queens and forty- four lessor queens. The Chief Queen was Princess Setkyadevi, the daughter of King Thayawaddy and Chief Queen Thiri Pawara Tilawka Maha Yadana Paduma Dewi (Prince Kya Pin). She was awarded the title of Thiri Pawara Maha Yazeindadipati Yadanadewai. Some well known queens of King Mindon were Khunhnywa Taiksa, Queen HsinPhyumashin, Tataishay, Queen Taung Saung Taw (Southern Palace Queen) and Queen Laungshey. King Mindon and Chief Queen had no royal sons and daughters but she had not fallen from the position of the Chief Queen. She had been given a lot of favour by King Mindon. Chief

Queen Setkyadewi was well beloved and respected by other queens. As she was much beloved and got favour from the King, other queen also took advice from the Chief Queen when they had problems. The Chief Queen was a respectable Queen. She was much respected by the King Mindon. And she passed away on 12 November 1876 (Maung Maung Tin 2004: 287).

Queen HsinPhyumashin was Queen of the central Palace and she was very eager to become a Chief Queen. When Setkyadewi passed away she tried her best to become the Chief Queen. She was the daughter of King Bagyidaw (Sagaing Min) and Chief Queen Nanmadaw MaeNu. HsinPhyumashin also had no royal son and so there was nobody to inherit the throne. So she tried to find ways to become influential. But King Mindon and Setkyadewi had appointed Princess Salin Supaya, daughter of Queen That Pan Mibaya as Tabibdaing Minthamee (Chief Queen designate) and so the wish of HsinPhyumashin to become influential inside the palace was far from reach. Therefore she tried to form groups within the palace to become influential. She also requested King Mindon to appoint her as Chief Queen when Setkyadewi passed away. King Mindon knew her nature and other Queen did not want her became Chief Queen one hand. He was afraid of increasing internal conflict because of Hsin Phyumashin if she had a right of Chief Queen so he hesitated to promote her status as Chief Queen. She made all sort of approaches so she was given the white elephant presented to the king from the Dawei and was awarded the title of Thiripawara Tilawka Mahayazadewi on 25 November 1877 (Nyo Mya 1997: 350). Therefore she became famous as Hsin Phyumashin. When King Mindon became ill she grasped this opportunity and tried her best to be influential inside the palace.

The Lekaing Myosa Wungyi who was known as Kinwun Mingyi was one of potential resource person at Hluttaw during Yadanapon period. His childhood named was Maung Chinn and this named was

changed to Maung Kaung when he began to serve under King Mindon. When Mindon ascended the throne Maung Kaung was appointed as the Register of Royal Treasury (ShweTaik Soe). At the time of the uprising of Prince Myingun and Myingon Daing in 1866, the palace tower where King Mindon resided was attacked by the rebels and so Taung Dawe Bo and U Kaung had to resist these rebels. U Kaung together with Pakhan Mingyi supervised to suppress the rebellion. U Kaung also supervised to suppress the uprising of Prince Badaine. So U Kaung was appointed as a Junior Minister (Wundauk) and was awarded the title of *Mingyi Maha Sithu* (Maung Tuta 1962: 479).

He was given the duties to supervise the riverine outposts of Kyauktalone, Mingun, Sampanago and the land out posts of Mrauk U, Balatha, Pyinhteik,, Nathteik, Shaungtaphway and so he was appointed as Kinwun. Later he was famous as Kinwunmin (Maung Tuta 1962: 587-588). He was appointed as minister with the title of *Agga Maha Thenapathi* on 15 January 1872 (Maung Maung Tin 2004: 265) and he headed the Embassy to the Queen of England on 22 February 1872. He was sent again to France in 1873 as a diplomat. He made effort to make treaties with European countries such as France and Italy. On his return via France and Italy in 1873, he was promoted to the rank to Thado, thus becoming *ThadoMingyi Maha Minhla Sithu* (Maung Maung Tin 2004: 267). He was again sent to France for the ratification of a commercial treaty concluded by him on his previous visit (Maung Maung Tin 2004: 268). The next year he was made Thenat Wungyi (Maung Maung Tin 2004: 269). This implies the special command of the armed forces at the capital and in the following year he was given Lakaing Kinwun Mingyi or Thenat Wungyi. Above mention his efficient work, he got certain authority at Hluttaw and he was one of reliable ministers of King Mindon. As he having foreign exposure, Kinwun Mingyi became farsighted and wanted to change the administrative system. He therefore informed constitutional Monarchy

to King Mindon. However Kinwun Mingyi was clever minister and he did not urge King Mindon because Kin Mindon paid less interest in it.

As King Mindon had not chosen a successor, there were problems inside the palace as regards to the succession of the throne when King Mindon fell ill and was in his final days. At the court of Mandalay there was also confusion as regards to who should be chosen as the successor to the king among the three most-trusted sons of the king and who were also popular among the ministers and counselors and around the palace. Prince Mekhara was a very capable prince who continued to manage the industrial projects after Crown Prince Kanaung was assassinated. Prince Thonze was well known for his valour and abilities. Prince Nyaung Yan was noted for his wisdom and piety and he was much respected. Besides these princes there was also the young prince who was well admired by King Mindon for passing the highest examination in Buddhist scriptures. King Mindon was unable to choose a successor by himself as he was terminally ill. In accordance with the palace tradition, when a King was terminally ill and was in his final days, the most senior Queen in the absence of the Chief Queen had to lead the ministers and counselors in the meetings and discussions to choose a new king (Tin 1970: 203).

The Hluttaw ministers including KinwunMingyi and Queen Hsinphyumashin firmly grasped this opportunity and they compete with each other. Hsinphyumashin wished to give the throne to Prince Thibaw. Yenanchaung Myosa Mingyi U Soe made an advice that his grandson Prince Pyinmana should become a king. Yaw Ahtwinwun and Myotha Wundauk wished to give the throne to Prince Mekhara. Kinwun Mingyi at first assumed that the relationship with the British would become better if Prince Nyaung Yan ascended the throne. He therefore wished to give the throne to the Prince Nyaung Yan and he was well known among the westerners as a person of wide knowledge (Htin Aung 1967: 252). The main purpose of Kinwun Mingyi was to

change the administrative system into constitutional monarchy. He could not implement his aim during the reign of King Mindon because the King was not agreeable with his idea. Therefore it was the time of opportunity for Kinwun Mingyi to choose young prince as Crown Prince who would likely to accept the desire of his idea. Therefore it was found that the Chief Queen and Hluttaw ministers led by KinwunMingyi made a discussion under the tamarind tree and they selected Thibaw from the list of candidates. After a short discussion, they returned to the meeting room and they all marked Thibaw's name on the Parabike which was taken to King Mindon (Htin Aung 1967: 71). The Chief Queen and Kinwun Mingyi announced that King Mindon's silence meant that he had approval of Prince Thibaw as his successor (Keeton 1947: 20).

On 12 September, a royal order was proclaimed that the twenty-four sons of King and several dozen lesser princes would report to beside of their father. However this order was a forgery on entering the palace all the princes were arrested by Kinwun Mingyi's troop and they were put in jail (Mandalay Diary 20). After that they proclaimed the appointment of Crown Prince to Prince Thibaw on 19 September, 1878. After conferring Crown Prince to Thibaw, the queens such as Linpan, Thet Pan, Khunhnitywasa came to pay respect to King Mindon in his illness. They reported the King that all the royal sons were under arrest. The King let them free from their arrest and all of there were called to attend before him. King Mindon instructed to divided up his kingdom into three parts and ordered that the Taungdwingyi area southeast of Mandalay to be under the under the rule of Prince Mekhara, the Chindwin river valley north of Mandalay to be under the rule of Prince Thonze and Ayeyawaddy River area south of Mandalay to be under the rule of Prince Nyaung Yan (Keeton 1947: 20). However Kinwun Mingyi and Queen Hsinphyumashin decided to ignore the order of King Mindon and Kinwun Minggyi ordered the

inner palace guards to rearrest the prince (Thein 1923: 230). It was obviously seen that why KinwunMingyi and Hsinphyumashin selected Prince Thibaw as a Crown Prince.

It can be said that King Thibaw ascended the throne at the time of confusion and turmoil inside the palace. In fact it can be said that Prince Thibaw achieved the throne while there were other senior princes who were abler than him and who had better qualifications than Thibaw was the result of the Hluttaw officers who had great passion for power and their personal benefit. Therefore Sladen and Kinwun Mingyi were mentioned as traitors of King Mindon in the historical documents (Htin Aung 1967: 253). Were Kinwun Mingyi be loyal to King Mindon, the fate of the country might up in some other way and it can be expected that King Thiibaw might not be remembered in the history as a cruel and bad king.

3.1. What would be a true for ascending the throne of King Thibaw?

It is necessary to consider about Prince Thibaw that there were many people who believed that Prince Thibaw inherited the throne with the support of Kinwun Mingyi and Hsinphyumashin. These people thought that Prince Thibaw was not involved in the affairs of the palace as he had spent most of his time in the monkhood. But in fact it can be assumed that Prince Thibaw himself had made some efforts to have a chance to inherit the throne. Prince Thibaw was a son of Queen Laung Shay and King Mindon. King Mindon suspected his mother with a monk so she had to move out the palace and stay outside palace. Thibaw was grown up in the palace in the quite an inferior mood because of the King Mindon's anger upon his mother Laung Shay. Therefore it was found that a prophecy (Tabaung) spread among the people which said that "tahle de see, takhayi de thwa" (we are in

the same boat) and it means "the son of nymphomaniac" soon after Prince Thibaw ascended the throne. According to that prophecy it can be assumed that the palace communities as well as the citizens were doubtful as to whether Prince Thibaw was the real son of King Mindon. As regards to this, there was evidence which should be taken into consideration. Princess Salin had been awarded the title of Chief Queen designate by King Mindon.. Therefore King Thibaw considered Princess Salin to be appointed as Chief Queen. At that time Princess Salin had already entered the nun-hood. Therefore Queen Hsinphyumashin and King Thibaw felt anger towards Princess Salin and they gave punishments to the supporters of Princess Salin who helped her to cut off all her hair to enter the nun hood (Mya Kay Tu 107).

The reason behind the refusal of Princess Salin might be connected with lineage of Prince Thibaw. Moreover, Prince Thibaw was not favorable person inside the palace. On the other hand, when King Mindon made examination of the horoscopes of his sons for the inheritance of the throne, Prince Thibaw was taken into consideration together with Prince Thonze, Prince Mekhara, and Prince Nyaung Yan. From this point of view, it can be assumed that it was not possible that King Mindon felt anger upon Prince Thibaw. But King Mindon came to recognize Prince Thibaw because the prince passed the Pahtamapyan examination (an examination held to test one's knowledge of Buddhist Scriptures) outstanding for three times. Therefore it can be assumed that Prince Thibaw had made efforts to inherit the throne by giving priority to religion. King Mindon was a great supporter of the religion. There were many occasions where King Mindon appointed the persons who were outstanding in the religious studies at the appropriate posts inside the palace (Win Maung 1979).

Therefore it might be assumed that Prince Thibaw tried very hard in his religious studies to get recognized by his father. Similar events and instances can be seen in feudal Buddhist countries, King Mongut

of Thailand could be said to be a similar event. During the reign of King Rama III, he spent his life in the monkhood, studied Buddhist scriptures and Buddhist teachings very hard and passed the religious examinations outstanding (Kyat 1948: 176). For these religious successes he got the support of the counselors and citizens when he was chosen as a king. Kinwun Mingyi also seriously considered about King Mongkut of Thailand who had been a monk before he ascended the throne and so he finally accepted the nominees of Queen Hsinphyumashin (Htin Aung 1965: 69). The fact that Prince Thibaw was in love with Supyalat, daughter of Queen Hsinphyumashin should also be taken into consideration as to why Hsinphyumashin had chosen Prince Thibaw as Crown Prince. Moreover there were some legend and folk-tale about the relationship between Prince Thibaw and Hsainphyumashin. As mentioned above LaungShay, mother of Prince was punished by King Mindon and Prince had been under looking after of Hsinphyumashin's brother (Shan Ahmat, likely counselor) who lived in Naungwain village near Naung Cho Township in Shan State. Therefore it might be assumed that King Thibaw inherited the throne not only with the support of KinwunMingyi and Queen Hsinphyumashin but also with his own efforts.

It was assumed that King Thibaw did not know worldly affair, religious affairs and royal affairs because he had spent most of his time in the monkhood. But it is not totally right and it can be seen his stratagem when he solve about mass killing of royal prince. There were many controversial facts as regards to the murder of royal princes. In the documents written by foreign scholars as well as domestic scholars, it was mentioned that King Thibaw was not involved in the murder of royal princes and that the arrangement to kill the royal princes was made by Supyalat and Ya Naung Maung Toke. It was also mentioned that King Thibaw was fully enjoying the comforts and luxury of being a King at the time of the murder of the royal princes As regards to the

murder of the princes, King Thibaw made a press conference on 29 November 1885. Referring to words of King Thibaw as told the reported from the London Times at the press conference most people believed that King Thibaw was not responsible for the mass killing of the royal princes. But the words of King Thibaw as told in the press conference and the facts mentioned in the "Great Chronicle of Konbaung Dynasty" were not compatible. The words of King Thibaw mentioned in the London Times as follows:

I gave an order not to kill the royal princes. They were put in prison upon my orders so as to avoid bloodshed and turmoil inside the country. When the counselors gave out the order to kill the prince, I was sleeping in my bed (Ko Lay 1969: 89).

In the "Great Chronicle of Konbaung Dynasty", it was written as follows:

The King became aware of the fact that the royal princes were no longer alive only on 18 February 1879... An order was issued which forbade the Lethonedaws (the King's trusted servants) to handle the affairs of the country without prior knowledge of the ministers and interior ministers in the future. Therefore the power and authority of the Lethonedaws gradually declined (Maung Maung Tin 2004: 340-341).

According to the report mentioned in the London Times, it can be assumed that the royal princes were killed upon the order of the ministers. But according to the fact mentioned in the "Great Chronicle of Konbaung Dynasty" it can be assumed that the killing of the royal princes was arranged by Lethonedaws without the knowledge and consent of the ministers. Here a possibility was that the Lethonedaws made their own arrangements to solve a problem of King Thibaw,

which was the anxiety for the safety of his throne. According to old traditions, it was a well known fact for the Lethonedaws that this way of solving the problem had no adverse effects, there would be only be beneficial effects. It was cleverness on the part of the trusted servants that the handled the problem in their own way. Therefore it can be said that the controversy as regards to the fact that King Thibaw did not have any prior knowledge of the execution of the royal princes was just a royal deception on the part of King Thibaw. So it can be assumed that it was not possible that the monkhood was unaware of the royal affairs, worldly affairs and religious affairs. It can be concluded that it was also not possible that he ascended the throne only with the support of Kinwun Mingyi and Hsinphyumashin, Prince Thibaw might have his own ideas and intention to inherit the throne in rivalry with his elder brothers.

3.2. What would be the internal weakness and external strength during the reign of King Thibaw?

King Thibaw remembered as cruel and bad King in Myanmar History because there was mass killing of royal prince in his reign. Moreover it was said that King Thibaw gave favour to the persons who relied on physical strength and it paved the way to deteriorate his governance. In fact King Thibaw would be able to handle his position until his final day if the trust building could concrete between King and his ministers like as Kinwun Mingyi and Yaw Ahtwin Wun. It was found that King Thibaw tried to build trust his ministers and to change administrative system with the supporting of his ministers. But his rival potential prince escaped from the capital to the British territory with the helping of Kinwun Mingyi and he started to lose the trust on his ministers.

<Table 1> Chronology of events

10 October 1878	Ascended the throne
12 October 1878	issued the order to draw and promulgate Laws and Orders for a more orderly governance of the country
16 October 1878	sent the order to call back Prince Nyaung Yan and his brother
November 1878	made a plan to visit London in accordance with KinwunMingyi
14 November 1878	Nyaung Yan and his brother left to Calcutta with taking help from KinwunMingyi and ministers
23 November 1878	dismissed the their post Wundauk Myothit Myosa, Magway Wungyi and Yenanchaung Myosa Wungyi
24 November 1879	KinwunMingyi sent informing letter to the Yangon Commissioner that to take care for the granddaughter of Crown Prince
27 December 1878	issued the order to build a prison compound with brick walls
12-18 February 1879	mass killing of royal prince

It was found that mass killing of royal princes took place on 12-18 February 1879 and that was four months after King Thibaw ascended the throne. It was said in research article "King Thibaw's Effort in Administrative Reform" by Daw Ohn Kyi that it was a characteristic of feudalism that made killing rival princes. It was argued that King lost trust upon some of his ministers and counselors and it was main cause for mass killing. It was found that King Thibaw had not made any plans to kill the royal princes. Likewise it can be seen that he was following the ideas and wishes of the counselors. He accepted the advice of the counselors who put forward the idea to build a house for every prince under arrest so that they could live with their family and that these princes should be kept under house arrest closely watched by guards. Therefore King Thibaw gave an order to build a prison compound with brick walls at the west of the palace inside Shwe Latwe Kwet (at the western moat) on 27 December 1878 (Maung Maung Tin 2004: 334).

In fact King Thibaw tried to build trust upon his ministers that was found that Kinwun Mingyi advised King Thibaw to make friendly visit to European countries to witness the developments of the western countries. King Thibaw who wish to make changes for the country accepted this idea because he in the month of November 1878 he started to make plans to visit London by summoning the person who had previously visited London to his side and made constitution with them. This plan started to materialize in the month of February 1879 and a mission was organized (Tin 1970: 252). Therefore it could be said that King Thibaw was a person who looked forward for the benefit of the country. King Thibaw wished to discuss with ministers and counselors to draw and promulgate Laws and Orders for a more orderly governance of the country. It was found that the Royal Order which was issued eleven days after King Thibaw ascended the throne; it can be seen as follows:

Laws will be drawn up only after the king and the assembled counselors have made discussions and coordination at the meeting. The King together with the counselors must follow these laws. These laws shall still be in practice up to the time of the royal descents that is royal sons, grandsons, great grandsons and all their descents. The internal affairs will be decided only after discussions and coordination at the meeting. The meeting place will be the palace within the south garden and meeting will be held daily (Maung Maung Tin 2004: 319).

The administrative power was shared among the ministers and counselors. Therefore the rise or fall of a country's governance and economy came to depend upon the honesty and ability of the officials who took part in the duties administration. Therefore it was sure that King Thibaw wanted to reform the administrative system and he built trust upon his ministers and counselors soon after ascending the throne.

Similarly, the role of ministers and counselors was very important in King Thibaw's administration. Firstly it was necessary to consider that why King Thibaw indirectly involved killing of royal princes and what would be an internal weakness. As mentioned above, King Thibaw did not have a plan to kill royal princes but Prince Nyaung Yan and his brother, Nyaung Oak escaped from the capital to British territory with taking help of Mr. Shaw (Colbeck 1892: 4-7). On 16 October, 1878, King Thibaw sent Myohta Wundauk to the British Residency with a letter to Prince Nyaung Yan in which it was said that Prince Nyaung Yan should come back to the palace. King Thibaw also asked for a reply letter as regards to the wishes and intentions of Prince Nyaung Yan and his brother (Mandalay Diary 111). In the royal order it was mentioned as follows:

The two brothers will be served well as we are very fond of each other since the old days. The wishes and intentions of these brothers should be asked by the counselors and their reply should be submitted to me personally (Catalogue of Hluttaw Records 1970: 285).

But Prince Nyaung Yan refused to accept the offer made by King Thibaw. He made a reply saying that he wished to stay inside the British territory (Mandalay Diary 160). A rival prince staying inside the British territory might cause much anxiety for King Thibaw for the stability of his throne. Another internal weakness was found that Yan Aung Myin Myosa Wundauk made a plan to arrest the two princes by using force but Kinwun Mingyi did not give his consent and so the plan to seize the two brothers could not be carried out (Tin 1970: 259-260). Moreover the two Princes Nyaung Yan and his brothers together with their families and retinue left Capital city and then made their journey to Calcutta on 14 November 1878. The two Princes were

escorted by four High-Myanmar Officials: Wundauk Pathtanago Myosa Mingyi Maha Minhtin Yaza, Sayaygyi Minhla Thiri Kyaw Khaung, Khanpatwunhaung Maha Min Kyaw Tansaung, Tatsayayhaung Minhtin Yaza Kyaw Khaung together with Taung Marabin Thenat Bo, Thenat sayay and a guard of two hundred. It was said that the arrangement for escorting the two princes was made by Kinwun Mingyi (Tin 1970: 259-260). Moreover King Thibaw got information that some Hluttaw officers were making efforts to threaten his throne. For example, a number of people were arrested with the accusation that they were making plans to dethrone King Thibaw so that Prince Nyaung Yan to be made a king. It was also found in the documents that ex-Yangon Mayor (Myo Wunhaung) U Oak who was an uncle of Prince Nyaung Yan was arrested (Mandalay Diary 111). Similarly there were historical documents in which it was mentioned that King Thibaw felt anger upon Wundauk Myothit Myosa, Magway Wungyi and Yenanchaung Myosa Wungyi and they were dismissed from their officials post (Maung Maung Tin 2004: 337) because they were planning to enthrone Prince Mekkhara (Keeton 1947: 27).

Moreover King Thibaw knew that he had ascended the throne not with unanimous support of Hluttaw officers. Therefore it might be more reasonable to assume that mass killing of royal princes took place because of internal weakness rather than the feudalism that make killing all the rivals. It was found that the mass killing of the royal princes took place on 12-18 February 1879 and that was four months after King Thibaw ascended the throne. It can be concluded that King Thibaw's governance could not be stability because rival prince came under the British territory as an asylum. Especially King Thibaw knew that he did not get supporting to throne from the ministers and Kinwun Mingyi was one of the persons who helped King Thibaw ascend the throne. There was no simplicity on the part of Kinwun Mingyi he was involved in the arrangements made for Prince Nyaung Yan for his

escape. Therefore King Thibaw indirectly involved mass killing of royal prince but King Thibaw was not entirely responsible person for this bloodshed. The root cause was that trust building became lost between King and a knowledgeable minister that was very dangerous for the country. King Thibaw lost his trust upon Kinwun Mingyi so Kinwun Mingyi became less influential in Hluttaw. Kinwun Mingyi who held the post of the Minister of Land Force (Thay Nat Wun) was transferred to the post of Legislative officer and the post the minister of Land Force was given to Taing Tar Mingyi. The post of Land Force was usually given to the most trusted person of the King. Kinwun Mingyi should made trust building firmly with King Thibaw.

Another internal weakness was found in 1883-84 that there were no solidarity among the counselors in the Hluttaw and the officers were divided in many groups so the governance of King Thibaw started weaken. Taing Tar Mingyi became powerful in the Hluttaw. It was said that he became powerful in the Hluttaw because he followed the wishes of the King and Queen especially in case of the murder of the royal princes and the social problem of the Mi Khin Gyi and Ya Naung Toke. He became very trusted officer of the King and Queen. In other words, Taing Tar Mingyi, by carrying out the King's orders and following the King's wishes concerning the social affairs became a trusted person of the King and also became influential in the Hluttaw. From the other point of view it can be said that the dignity of King Thibaw started to lose because of unreasonable and irrational performance of Taing Tar Mingyi in the political and social affairs of the palace. In fact it was true that Kinwun Mingyi and Yaw Ahtwinwun UPho Hlaing who wished to make reformations in the governance and the group led by Taing Tar Mingyi who was handling the affairs of the palace following the feudal customs were opposed to each other. Therefore the palace officers were divided into Kinwun group who wishes for reformation, Taing Tar group.

In fact solidarity was very important for the Kingdom and the King could not govern alone and the role of Hluttaw ministers indeed important for the development of country as well as peaceful country. As these counselors were not good terms they were no longer interested in the affairs of country and there was no coordination and cooperation among them in the palace meeting. Nobody tried to put forward a good and rational advice and none of them tried to make any efforts for the good of the country. Therefore in the special notes which made a record of what had been said by King Thibaw it can be found as follows:

Not only a good king but also the counselors are necessary for peace and development of the country. The country will surely be peaceful and developed when there is cooperation between the king and his counselors. The King always seriously considers the advice and plans of the counselors up to the present moment. But there were still many cases of theft and robbery inside the country. The country was not peaceful because the counselors who attended the palace meetings were not very active and they just seem to say things in a perfunctory manner and they do not cooperate with each other. They do not make enough efforts for the good of the country. They also are jealous of each other. Whatever it is their duty, they must keep in mind that they are serving the duties of the king and should help each other. Though having said these words for a number of times, the counselors seem to ignore my words (Own Kyi 1969: 95).

According to the above words of King Thibaw, it can be said that King Thibaw did not get effective assistance from the Hluttaw officers in governing the country. So it can also be guessed why King Thibaw's trust in his ministers and counselors was declining and why Supyalat became more influential in the administrative affairs of the country.

Moreover evidence related with the in-simplicity of Kinwun

Mingyi's political strategy which was found that Kinwun Mingyi tried to get in touch with Prince Nyaung Yan. The person who helped Kinwun Mingyi to get in touch with Prince Nyaung Yan was Taungtha Bo from Yangon. Kinwun Mingyi sent a letter together with money, gold and jewelleries to Prince Nyaung Yan through Taungtha Bo (Pho Kyar 1969: 62). In addition it was found that plans and arrangements had been made at Simla to enthrone Prince Nyaung Yan. This plan include to form a government led by Kinwun Mingyi, to appoint Kyauk Myaung Atwinwun to a post to handle the internal affairs of the country jointly with the British Embassy and to terminate all the Franco-Myanmar and Italian-Myanmar relation (Pho Kyar 1969: 62). Near the end of 1884, Prince Nyaung Yan met with Governor-General Lord Dufferin and they made discussions. Lord Dufferin told the Prince that the British would help him to achieve the throne if the Prince accepted the proposals of the British which are mentioned as follows:

1. Upper Myanmar will become a protectorate of the British
2. The Prince must refuse to accept the Franco-Myanmar treaties signed in Paris
3. The British will handle all the foreign relation
4. All the important government department should be under the supervision of the British officers and salaries for these officers should be paid by Myanmar government (Ni Ni Myint 184).

This plan to enthrone Prince Nyaung Yan and to recognize Myanmar as a protectorate was not successful because Prince Nyaung Yan passed away in Calcutta on 26 June 1885.

Similarly, Queen Hsinphyumashin also intended to let her younger daughter to marry Prince Myingun and then enthrone Prince Myingun. Therefore she secretly sent 50,000 kyats in cash together with diamonds to Prince Myingun to be used in the arrangements to seize

the throne (Ni Ni Myint 2004: 182). Similarly it was found that Myingun received many jewelleries and requesting letter from ministers, Myowun, Myothygyi, and monks to seize the throne due to the political situation of Myanmar (Than Swe 2004: 166). It was found another the external strength for the France that Prince Myingun made the following proposals to the French. The prince said that if the French helped him to ascend the throne-

1. A treaty would be drawn in preparation and the confirmation of the treaty will be made as soon as he ascended the throne.
2. Upper Myanmar will become a member of the Federation of the Indochina countries which was under the influence of the French (Ni Ni Myint 2004: 183).

There were no sufficient reasons for the British to take over Upper Myanmar up to the time of March 1885. But the British made exaggeration of Bombay-Burma Teak Company's problem and sent ultimatum to the Myanmar government on 22 October 1885 demanding five points which might never be complied by Myanmar. They also asked for reply from the Myanmar not later than 10 November 1885. The main cause is that the Franco-Myanmar treaty was made on 15 January 1885 and it became really necessary for the British to take over Upper Myanmar (Aye Mon Kyi 2010: 126-127). In fact it can be said that the Franco-Myanmar treaty was "Couping Strategy" by King Thibaw for his survival. Because King Thibaw got a hint of the movements KinwunMingyi and the political activities of Prince Myingun and also because he wished to promote the relation with French and also with the purpose to deter the threat of the British, he sent a Myanmar delegation led by Ahtwinwun Myothit Myosa Mingyi Maha Zeya Thingyan to France on 30 May 1883 (Khin Mya Kyu 1979: 136). The French always tried to avoid situations which might lead to

direct confrontation with British. But it was found that a mission from France led by French diplomat Deloncle arrived at Mandalay Nay Pyitaw on 12 May 1884. The King together with his palace counselors made negotiations with Deloncle for nine days (Khin Mya Kyu 1979: 138-139).

The Myanmar government made a proposal to take away Prince Myingun to Paris and that a yearly grant of 50,000 Francs would be given by Myanmar government. But on the next day King Thibaw made another proposal to the French in which he asked the help of the French to encourage Prince Myingun to return to Mandalay and if he were to return he would be given a high position in the palace. But Deloncle said that the matter of political asylum will only be considered at the time of making treaty. An announcement was made in which it was said that Jules Ferry and Myothit Myosa Mingyi Maha Zeya Thingyan and signed an agreement on 1 June 1884 for the treaty which had been made in 1873 when France and Myanmar became allied countries (Ni Ni Myint 2004: 145; Maung Maung Tin 2004: 426). Therefore it can be said that French were making use of the affair of prince Myingun to exploit in commercial business from the Myanmar government. In other words the French took opportunity of the Myanmar palace intrigue for their benefit.

As the French were getting such opportunities, the British government was under pressure to take over Upper Myanmar with the reason that Upper Myanmar under the governance of the incompetent King Thibaw. It can be seen the political poverty during the reign of King Thibaw because of internal weakness as well as external strength due to have potential trump cards in their hand. The French tried to grasp the opportunity in the Myanmar political crisis by making good use of Prince Myingun. On 12 November 1885 the French Foreign Minister Freycinet informed to British Ambassador Lord Salisbury as regards to the matter of Prince Myingun. The British were informed that Prince

Myingun was trying to get over to a region close to Myanmar, that the personal freedom of the prince must be recognized, that the French authorities at Pondicherry might not be able to prevent him from travelling that it was possible to make incitements to overthrow King Thibaw and then enthrone Prince Myingun and that if the British agreed to this plan, the French would urge the prince to leave Pondicherry and make his way to Yangon as quick as possible (Correspondence 1885: 10).

It can be seen that the French authorities were trying to make efforts to enthrone Prince Myingun so as to defend their interests and their opportunities up to the final moments. On 24 November 1885, the French urged Prince Myingun to send telegrams to London, Paris, Berlin and Rome in which he was to say that he, Prince Myingun as the King of Myanmar had accepted the demands of the British sent to King Thibaw, and also that he would recognize all the existing treaties which Myanmar had made with the European countries. Prince Myingun made a reply with a telegram on 26 November saying that he would accept the advice of the French (Ni Ni Myint 2004: 188). However they were not able to deter the plan of the British to take over Myanmar.

It can be seen that the British did not use military power but also stratagem to take hold of Upper Myanmar. Likewise it can be seen that Kinwun Mingyi for his influence and power had betrayed King Thibaw as an accomplice of the British up to the last moment. An ideological warfare was made in which said that the annexation of Myanmar was to save the people from the hands of an incompetent King. Moreover they had made prior arrangements to enthrone one of the princes who was under foreign protection in place of King Thibaw. They had made plan for Myanmar to become a protectorate of the British. The British were already aware of the efforts of Queen Hsinphyumashin and Kinwun Mingyi who were trying to get in touch with Prince Myingun

and Nyaung yan who were in foreign lands and to enthrone any of the two princes in place of King Thibaw and so the British made a deception on the palace officers as well as the people. Therefore to deceive the people who were very much expecting for a change of monarch, the British had a man with them on the steamer who was dressed like Prince Nyaung Yan. Then posing as Prince Nyaung Yan, they let him stay at the bow of the steamer in view of the people. KinwunMingyi had the knowledge of the passing away of Prince Nyaung Yan but did not make any interference in this deception of the British (Keeton 1947: 172-278). Moreover he gave orders to fortresses along the Ayeyawaddy river not to take make any resistance efforts. Therefore the British were able to take over Upper Myanmar without any difficulty.

<Table 2> Chronology of events

1883	Prince Myingun left to French territory
July 1883	Myanmar delegation arrived at Paris with the purpose for sending back Prince Myingun to Myanmar proper
August 1883	French informed Prince Myingun's activity to British
12 May 1884	French diplomat Deloncle arrived at NayPyitaw and King Thibaw request to handover Prince Myingun or take care under their protection
1 June 1884	Myanmar signed an agreement (trade)
12 September 1884	Prince Myingun made agreement with French to help for ascending the throne
24 September 1884	uprising in Jail and Political situation became deteriorated.
November 1884	the delegation comprised of two English men (Meckerton, Banking Business) and 14 Myanmar arrived in Pondicherry to make negotiate with Prince Myingun as regards to seize the throne of Mandalay
End of 1884	Nyaung Yan made discussion with Lord Dufferin to achieve the throne.
15 January 1885	French and Myanmar made treaty not only trade but also allied nation.
22 October 1885	Myanmar government and Bombay-Burma Teak Company became clashed and British sent ultimatum to the Myanmar government

IV. Conclusion

There were many abler senior princes to succeed the King Mindon's successor in royal family. However Prince Thibaw, KinwunMingyi and Hsinphyumashin had their own plan to succeed the throne. It can be said that these three people were "tahle de see, takhayi de thwa" (in the same boat) so that they need to have concrete trust building each other. At first King Thibaw expressed that he was reformist and accepted the advice of his ministers. The King issued the order for the administration sectors. However Kinwun Mingyi helped Prince Nyaung Yan and his family to escape from the capital and it can be said that the trust building between Kinwun Mingyi and King Thibaw and his Queen started to break.

On the other hand if King Thibaw was real innocent and did not involve the palace affair he could pay trust to his ministers because he got supporting to become a king from these ministers. However he himself had effort to succeed the throne. In this way Kinwun Mingyi could not steer King Thibaw as he expected and King Thibaw also did not accept all of Kinwun Mingyi's advice as well as wise ministers. The Hluttaw ministers and counselors gave reason that King Thibaw's governance did not effective and made secret arrangement enthrone Prince Nyaung yan who was under the protection of British. It was the great opportunity for the British and France. In fact the relationship between Britain and France were balance power and they used Myanmar Heir apparent as political victim for their benefit. In this way King Thibaw could not afford to handle his throne until his final days like King Mindon.

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<Abstract>

Re-examining on Ascending the Throne of King Thibaw and Its Effects

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This paper is attempted to clarify the controversial event King Thibaw ascending the throne. Moreover it was presented with the purpose of how important "Trust Building" is in politic. After ascending the throne, King Thibaw faced external threat as well as internal weakness. The Hluttaw ministers and counselors did not support effectively and King Thibaw lost trust his ministers and counselors. Therefore mass killing of royal prince took place after the ascending the throne and it made discredit to King Thibaw. Senior minister like Kinwun Mingyi and Hsinphyumashin secretly contact with Prince Nyaung Yan whom was staying under the protection of British. On the other hand Prince Myingun took refuge under protection of the French and was trying to seize the power with the supporters from lower Myanmar as well as taking the financial help from Hsinphyu Mashin. They were external strength for the British and French. In this way King Thibaw's administration became deteriorated and finally the British anxious about Franco-Myanmar treaty so they exaggerated the Bombay-Burma Teak company's problem. In this way King Thibaw was taken away by the British due to the internal weakness and external strength.

Key words : King Thibaw, Minister KinwunMingyi, Queen Hsinphyu Mashin, Ascending the throne and Mass killing of royal blood

Study of A Rakhine Manuscript Deposited in the British Library

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I. Introduction

For over a thousand year, the region, which now forms as the Rakhine State in the Union of the Republic of Myanmar, flourished the thriving civilization of its own, which possesses a long and rich history and a unique culture. Since the early colonial period, the western scholars such as Sir Arthur P. Phayre, Maurice Collis and the native intellectual San Shwe Bu have long studied this long and rich history of Rakhine based on the traditional historic records. Though the traditional historic records need to testify its historic authenticity, it is true that the traditional historiography of a region or country gives us a record of events of the past and how space of one's own history was defined. Unlike the Myanmar historical materials, the Rakhine historical materials were fairly available datable to the end of the 18th and the early 19th centuries.

The Rakhine historical records which are now available are located in Myanmar, particularly in the National Library¹⁾, the Universities'

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¹⁾ Three palm-leaf manuscripts concerning Rakhine historiography are found in the National Library: Sithu Gamani Thingyan. 1887, *Rakhine Razawin* (Palm-leaf manuscript number 2297), *Rakhine razawan kho Min Razagri sadam* (Chronicle Rakhine called Min Razagri sadam) (No date) AMs. (Palm leaf manuscript number

Central Library in Yangon²⁾ and some of them are preserved in private possession³⁾. Apart from these, outside the country, some of the Rakhine historical records are well- preserved in libraries, such the Oriental and India Office Collection of the British Library in London and the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Kolkata. Like many Myanmar texts, Rakhine historical records seemed to have been carried away as trophies by the British soldiers and officers, but were later donated to the colonial libraries. Moreover, the British colonial officials who were interested in the histories of Myanmar managed to obtain the historical records of Myanmar for their studies, and later these records made ways into the libraries when they had passed away. As an attempt to investigate on the regional historical records of Myanmar, which are now placed outside Myanmar, this paper will focus on OR 3465 A or Nga Mi Chronicle deposited in the British library in London.

The data required for this paper have been mainly obtained from OR 3465 A deposited in the British library. The External Criticism and Internal Criticism of the examination of manuscript will be used as the methods to investigate this manuscript. For the External Criticism, the authorship of the manuscript: For instance, the questions like when did the manuscript write? For what purpose did the author of this manuscript write? What was the motive? Under what conditions did this manuscript write? ...are discussed. For the Internal Criticism, the contents of this manuscript is generally overviewed and discuss one of the problematic confusions described in OR 3465 A in order to

2093) and *Rakhine Razawin* (No date) AMs. (Palm-leaf manuscript number 1483).

²⁾ *Rakhine Razawin Akauk Shyauk htoon* 1848. AMs. (Palm-leaf manuscript number 96336 (kha)), *Rakhine Ayepon* 1849. AMs. (Palm-leaf manuscript number 49887 (tabasa)), *Razawingyi* 1851. AMs. (Palm-leaf manuscript number 9837 (tabasa)) and *Dannyawady Arei:to pon hnin Maha razawan* (No date), AMs. (Palm-leaf manuscript number 5302) are deposited in the Universities' Central Library in Yangon.

³⁾ Lack of information, we could not trace properly about the Rakhine historical documents owned by the private possession. Thus, one private possession by U Tun Yi (Researcher on Myanmar Literature): *Rakhine razawan, Rakhapura*, 1870, AMs. (Palm-leaf manuscript) is mentioned in this paper.

highlight how the treatments of the sources is essentially important for the authenticity of the historical documents.

II. Nga Mi Rakhine Razawin

The manuscript, the accession number OR 3465 A, is deposited today in Oriental and India Office Collection of the British Library. It is a manuscript on Rakhine history. There is no information about the name of the title, the authorship of the text and the date of composition in this manuscript. This text is in the form of paper manuscript and has 283 pages with 27 lines to each of a page.

Patricia Herbert, Retired Curator of Oriental and India Office Collections, British Library, confirmed that this manuscript, the accession number OR 3465 A of Oriental and India Office Collection of the British Library, is one of the collections of Sir Arthur P. Phayre and this manuscript is the original text of Nga Mi's compilation (Herbert 1975: 63).

Sir Arthur P. Phayre was one of the early-distinguished British administrators in Myanmar and the first Chief Commissioner of the British-Burmah (Burma). Phayre served in several posts in Myanmar. He was appointed Senior Assistant to the Commissioner of Rakhine in 1837 and served as District Officer at Akyab (Sittwe), Kyaukphyu and Sandoway (Thandwe) until he has been transferred to Tenintharyi as Principle Assistant to the commissioner in 1846. He relinquished his last post as a Chief Commissioner of Myanmar in 1867 (Tinker 1961: 267-278). As the nature of the British administrators, Phayre, during his long service in Myanmar, was inspired himself in the study of Myanmar history and collected the manuscripts for his studies. Phayre who served as District Officer from 1837 to 1846 sought out the early Rakhine chronicles. He had observed that many copies of Rakhine

Razawin (chronicles) were to be found among the Rakhines, differing from each other in details. He thus commissioned Nga Mi, one of the most learned literati of Rakhine, to make a compilation of Rakhine history from the various local chronicles (Phayre 1844: 23). The manuscript that Nga Mi provided became known as the “Nga Mi Chronicle” or “Nga Mi Rakhine Razawin”. In 1886, one year after Sir Arthur Phayre’s death, the British Museum acquired his collections. Among his collections , this manuscript is also included. This manuscript is completed with Sir Arthur Phayre’s personal notes in the margin.

III. External Criticism

Concerning the date of compilation, it is to assume that this manuscript was available before Sir Arthur Phayre contributed his article “On the History of Arakan (Rakhine)” in 1844 because Phayre noted that he proceeded to furnish an epitome of the contents of the historical compilation by Nga Mi in writing his article. Therefore, it is to suppose that this manuscript seem to have compiled during the intermediate period between 1837 and 1844.

Nga Mi Chronicle may be divided into five parts based on its subject matter:

1. Cosmology (emergence of the world and its beings), account of King Mahasammata (the first Great Elected King) and the succeeding dynasties, a short account of Buddha’s life, Majjimesa (India) and its cities, moral principle of kings and court officials, and about the India kings from Bimbisara to Asoka.
2. Rakhine pre-Buddhist historic period describing a genealogy of kings from Vasudewa of Dwarawati (Thandwe⁴) to the

founder of Dannyawadi city, Marayu, and besides to the kings of Tagaung dynasty starting King Abiraza and his decedent Kanrazagyi.

3. Journey of Lord Buddha to Rakhine and about the kingdoms of Dannyawadi, Vesali and Laungret.
4. Rakhine history in Mrauk U period from 1430 to 1785.
5. The period of Myanmar administration (1785-1824) and a brief description of condition of Rakhine after the British annexation in 1826.

Nga Mi Rakhine Razawin is a merely compilation drawn from various Rakhine chronicles and there is no mention about the names of the chronicles which Nga Mi was based on. Thus, we cannot say exactly that which parts were faithfully copied verbatim or which parts were ignored from these chronicles when Nga Mi compiled this manuscript.

IV. Internal Criticism

After Sir Arthur Phayre commissioned Nga Mi to compile this manuscript, Phayre wrote his article “On the History of Arakan” in 1844. In his article, he confessed that that he proceeded to furnish an epitome of the contents of the historical compilation by Nga Mi in writing his article. Moreover, Phayre also wrote his book, “History of Burma”, in 1883. The chapters relating to Rakhine in his “History of Burma” are to a large extent a summary of Nga Mi Rakhine Razawin or OR 3465 A. This shows that Phayre wanted a chronicle account with an outline of the royal dynasties that he commissioned Nga Mi to compile. Without analysing the mythical, supernatural and improbable elements in Nga Mi Rakhine Razawin, Phayre contributed his account

⁴⁾ The town is situated in the southernmost part of the present Rakhine State.

of Rakhine history credibility in his book. Phayre did not problematize any historical issue. One of the outstanding examples is the legend of King Min Saw Mon, the founder of Mrauk U capital, who is said to have re-conquered his kingdom with the help of Muslim troops from Bengal Sultan (Majumdar et, al Syed Murtaza 1967: 333)⁵⁾. These traditional stories about the founding of Mrauk U are not confirmed by the other sources; especially the involvement of the Bengal sultanate cannot be confirmed by Bengali history (Hussain 2003: 111-113; Galen 2008: 34). The history of Bengal during the time of Jalal Ud-Din provides no clues to all to his involvement in the creation of Min Saw Mon's new kingdom of Mrauk U (Galen 2008: 34). As Arthur Phayre took this account from Nga Mi Chronicle and framed the story into a convincing narrative in his "History of Burma" that the most respectable writers on Myanmar history such as Maurice Collis(1925) and G. E Harvey(1967) have continued to present the legend of Min Saw Mon as a historical fact. In fact, it is a missing link in Rakhine history, which needs to be investigated carefully. Such confused account is happened essentially due to a superficial and uncritical internal criticism treatment of the sources.

As it has been stated earlier, the External Criticism of this manuscript shows that it is a manuscript which was commissioned Nga Mi to compile by Sir Arthur P. Phayre by making references of the existing Rakhine chronicles in the early colonial period as Phayre wanted a historical account with an outline of the royal dynasties. The

⁵⁾ No Name is given for the kings of Bengal in Rakhine Chronicles and the Phayre's works. Instead of the names of the kings, it was used as "*Thura-tan* (Sultan). However, Aye Chan, in his M.A Thesis of *Mrauk U Khit Asaw Paing Rakhine Thaming* (1430-1666) [History of Rakhine in the Early Mrauk U Period, 1430-1666], submitted to Department of History, Yangon University, 1980 and Jacques P. Leider, "These Buddhist Kings With Muslim Names ...A discussion of Muslim influence in Mrauk U Period, P. Pichard and F. Robinne ed., *Etudes Birmanes en Hommage á Denise Bernot*, Paris: École française d' Extrême-Orient, 1998, mentioned the name of the king of Bengal who helped Min Saw Mon to raise the throne Rakhine might have been Jalal Ud-Din by making references to *An Advanced History of India* written by Majumdar, R.C. Chaudry, Ray and Dutta, K. (Macmillan. 1963: 345).

Internal Criticism reveals that the compiler Nga Mi did not invent the writing of his own but drawn the sources from various Rakhine chronicles in compiling his work. Moreover, Sir Arthur Phayre who used this Nga Mi Chronicle or OR 3465 A as the chief source in writing Rakhine history did not analyse the mythical, supernatural and improbable elements in Nga Mi Rakhine Razawin. Phayre did not problematicize any historical issue from Nga Mi Chronicle. One of the outstanding examples of the legend of King Min Saw Mon is discussed in this paper. As Arthur Phayre took this account from Nga Mi Chronicle and framed the story into a convincing narrative in his “History of Burma”, the scholars after Phayre have continued to present the legend as a historical fact. This gives us a hint that the history of Rakhine should be re-constructed by the available historical sources. In other words, it would be very hard to know about the Rakhine history before 19th century, using the contemporary source materials.

V. Conclusion

The history of a country has been continuously occurring from ancient to modern and then to contemporary. Accordingly, the ancient, modern and contemporary history of a country placed consecutively without interruption. However, Myanmar was happened to be colonized by the British, the invaluable Myanmar’s manuscripts in the form of parabaik (folded paper writings) and pe-sa (manuscript written on dried palm-leaf) were being damaged by the British occupation of Mandalay in 1885, and some were scattered. For that reason, the old manuscripts inscribed by the Myanmar people which are scattered in the whole Myanmar and abroad need to be traced, collected and preserved energetically, and studied them for the understanding of the

country and its people of Myanmar and the mythical, supernatural and improbable elements in these old manuscripts should be treated carefully. In this sense, the Rakhine historical document, which I have presented in this paper also, need further detail study of its contents, its contradictions and similarities with the other available Rakhine historical documents and the cotemporary primary sources of other nations for the better understanding of Rakhine historiography which will partly contribute to the knowledge for the study of Myanmar historiography.

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<Abstract>

Study of A Rakhine Manuscript Deposited in the British Library

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This paper deals with the study of a manuscript on Rakhine history which is deposited today in Oriental and India Office Collection of the British Library as the accession number OR 3465 A. The External Criticism of this manuscript shows that it is a manuscript, which was commissioned Nga Mi to compile by Sir Arthur P. Phayre by making references of the existing Rakhine chronicles in the early colonial period, as Phayre wanted a historical account with an outline of the royal dynasties. The Internal Criticism reveals that the compiler Nga Mi did not invent the writing of his own but drawn the sources from various Rakhine chronicles in compiling his work. And Sir Arthur Phayre who used this Nga Mi Chronicle or OR 3465 A as the chief source in writing Rakhine history. He did not analyse the mythical, supernatural and improbable elements in Nga Mi Rakhine Razawin. Phayre did not problematicize any historical issue from Nga Mi Chronicle. One of the outstanding examples of the legend of King Min Saw Mon is discussed in this paper. As Arthur Phayre took this account from Nga Mi Chronicle and framed the story into a convincing narrative in his "History of Burma", the scholars after Phayre have continued to present the legend as a historical fact.

Key words : historiography, OR 3465 A, Sir Arthur P. Phayre, External and Internal Criticism

On *Rupcumkyon*
**: Monasteries with Sculptures at Sale, Salin,
Legaing and Saku in Magway Region, Myanmar**

Khin Thidar*

I. Introduction

Rupcumkyon: means Monastery with sculptures. It is decorated with beautiful wood-carvings. There are many *Rupcumkyon*: - Monasteries with sculptures in Magway Region. But some were ruined and some are preserved and maintained still today. Most of the monasteries were built in Radanapon Period. But some are constructed in early Colonial Period. Nobilities and wealthy persons donated these monasteries to their learned Sayadaws. This paper studies on *Rupcumkyon*: at Sale, Salin, Legaing and Sagu in Magway Region.

II. *Rupcumkyon*: at Sale

Sale is situated on the eastern bank of the Ayeyawady and included in Chauk Township, Magway Region. Sale *Rupcumkyon*: lies on the right side of entrance road of town. This monastery was built in 1882 and the donors were U Bo Kyi and his wife Daw Shwe Thet (Maung

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Maung Latt 1997: 3). They dedicated to give this monastery to *Suddhamma* Gainghtauk Sayadaw U Guna who presided in turn at Gainghtauk Kan Forest Monastery in Htaukchekan Village, 6 miles from southeast of Sale and Kosaung Monastery in Sale (Maung Maung Latt 1997: 3). To bear the building year in mind easily, there is a verse that “aungkyawhla win¹⁾ yoke sonekhinn – sculptures were decorated in 1244 ME”.



Figure 1 Sale Rupcumkyon

Sale *Rupcumkyon*: is also called as *Aimtoaupumkyon*: because it looks like the house of Crown Prince.²⁾ It has four stairways. In Konbaung Period, monasteries were allowed to construct with the permission of kings and the style and form of monasteries was restricted. It seems that Sale *Rupcumkyon*: as built like *Aimtoau* under the king’s permission because it is supporting for Gainghtauk Sayadaw and the donor was wealthy person. It was built in 1882 and completed in 1892. The time of construction lasted for ten years because of the

¹⁾ Myanmar alphabets have own numbers. Ah represents 1; ka, kha, ga, gha, nga represent 2; ca, cha, ja, jha, nya represent 3; ya, ra, la, wa represent 4; pa, pha, ba, bha, ma represent 5; sa (tha), ha represent 6 and ta, tha (hta), da, dha, na represent 7. Thus Aung means 1, kyaw means 2, hla and win means 4. So aungkyawhla win means 1244.

²⁾ Crown Prince’s House is called *Aimtoau* in Myanmar word.

deposing of King Theebaw.

When U Bo Kyi submitted to King Theebaw that he would build to donate *Rupcumkyon*., the King allowed him to extract teak logs from forest without tax. By Royal Order, U Bo Kyi sent wood cutters to cut down the teak at the edge of Rakhine Yoma. Then he asked to build carpenters and architects from Tanyaung Village³⁾ who were skilful in building wood monastery (Tin Chone et.al: 1-2).

Sale *Rupcumkyon*: is 152 feet in length and 76 feet in width. The architects used 154 pillars in construction. Each pillar has a circumference of about 5 feet. Among the nails which used in building monastery, the longest nail is thirteen inches in length and the shortest nail is one and half inches in length. Sale *Rupcumkyon*: is comprised of seven rooms. They are a shrine room – pyathat-saung, sanu-saung – intermediate room, saung-pu, saung-hla,⁴⁾ saung-ma⁵⁾ – main room, khone-saung and anaunk-saung – west room. In addition to these rooms, there is bhoga-saung – store room which is formed into compartment at the west of main room. There are corridors and roofless balcony around the rooms (Mg Mg Latt 1997: 4-5). Sandstone caps protect the veranda posts from the vagaries of the weather. These sandstone caps were carved as the sculptures of prince, zawgyi – the alchemist who possesses supernatural powers, gambi and kainnayi-mythical bird with human head and torso and so on. These reliefs show skilful art in stone sculpture. The ceiling was also decorated with floral arabesque.

³⁾ This village is included in Sale Township at that time.

⁴⁾ It is also called Jetawan Saung .Boxes for storing palm-leaf manuscripts and *parabaiks* are placed in this room.

⁵⁾ It is also called Yuan Saung.



Figure 2 Zawgyi



Figure 3 Nayas

Sale *Rupcumkyon*: has four stairways, two on the north side and two on the south. Handrail was decorated in the form of a pair of naya – mythical animal.

Nayas of north side opened their mouth and those of the south closed their mouth. It seems that these figures are made to distinguish from up to down of stairways. Sculptures were put on balustrades of northern side of monastery. Moreover, at the entrance, leaves of a door are also decorated with sculptures. These are illustrations of extract from 550 *Jataka* stories and *Dhammapada*.

The illustrations are:

1. *Anatapin* rich man and guardian spirit of door (*Dhammapada – Papa Vagga*),
2. *RahanUpaka* and Ma *Sapa's* family (*Dhammapada – Tanha Vagga*),
3. Corner shop in Radanapon Period,
4. Buddha staying at the stone cave of *Gijjagut* Mountain,
5. Prince and *Nagama* - Female Serpent (*BuridatJataka – 550 MahaNipatta* No. 543),
6. killing the princesses (*CulapadumaJataka – 550 DukaNipatta* No. 193),
7. Merchant and Naga King (*PakinnakaNipatta, Mahavanija Jataka* No. 493),

8. *Sivi King and Ummadanti* (550 *Pannasa Nipatta*, No. 527),
9. *Mahadhana Richman* (*Peta Vatthu*),
10. *Vidhura* (550 *Maha Niapatta* No. 546),
11. *Seducing to AshinSundarasamudda* (*Dhammapada – Brahmana Vagga*),
12. *Khadat tree - crataevareligiosa and lazy man* (550 *EkaNipatta, Varuna Jataka* No. 71),
13. *Kinnaradevi and Nga Swan – dumb man* (550 *AsitiNipatta, MahakunalaJataka* No. 536),
14. *Kilesa Cage – Cage of Passion and Evil Desire*,
15. *Upatissa and Kolita* participating in *Taunghteik Festival* (*Dhammapada – YamanaJataka*),
16. *Ma Pata and Ko Dasa* (*Dhammapada – SahassaVagga*),
17. *Jotika and Atulakayi* (*Dhammapada – BrahmanaVagga*),
18. *Wiseman and Ex-monk*,
19. *Return of Ashin Revata* after wedding ceremony (*Dhammapada – Rahanda Vagga*),
20. *Censure of committing sensuality.*



Figure 4 Anatapin



Figure 5 Rahan Upaka



Figure 6 Corner shop in Radanapon Period



Figure 7 Buddha staying at the stone cave of *Gijjaqut* Mountain



Figure 8 Prince and Nagama



Figure 9 killing the princesses



Figure 10 Merchant and Naga King



Figure 11 Sivi King and Ummadanti



Figure 12 Mahadhana Richman



Figure 13 Vidhura



Figure 14 Seducing to Ashin Sundarasamudda



Figure 15 Khadat tree



Figure 16 Kinnaradevi
and Nga Swan



Figure 17 Kilesa Cage



Figure 18 Upatissa and Lolita



Figure 19 Ma Pata and Ko Dasa



Figure 20 Jotika and Atulakayi



Figure 21 Wiseman and Ex-monk



Figure 22 Return of Ashin Revata after wedding ceremony

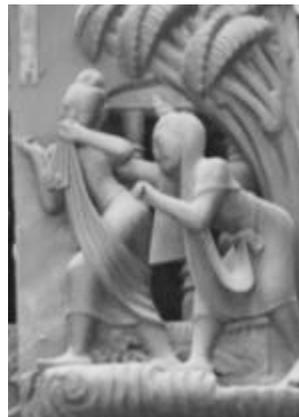


Figure 23 Censure of committing sensuality

These illustrations give the knowledge on moral and religious precepts. Moreover, there are the figurines of Prince on Lotus Pedestal, Myanmar Loom and An Ape and Princess but it is difficult to identify them which *Jatakas* are referred. These sculptures depict the art of sculpture, costume and adornment, and socio-economy of Radanapon Period.



Figure 24
Myanmar Loom



Figure 25
Sale Rupcumkyon at Salin

III. *Rupcumkyon*: at Salin

Salin is situated at the right side of Salin creek and distant about six miles from Ayeyawady River. Nobilities built to donate religious monuments at Salin and surrounding area. Natives said that there are twelve *Rupcumkyon*: in Salin but only one had left at present. It is called *Mroklesan Rupcumkyon*:. This monastery is located at the east of Shangone Village, Salin (Candima 2007: 82, 90-91). Daw Pu who descended from nobility built it to donate in 1868 (Nay Lin 2007: 12). *Rupcumkyon*: has lasted for 145 years.



Figure 26 Naga

Salin *Rupcumkyon*: has three rooms, viz. Pyattat Saung, Sanu Saung and Jetawun Saung. It also looked like Pakhan Kyaungtawgyi which was donated by Kyiwun U Toke in 1868. In construction, 245 pillars are used; 80 pillars in Jetawun Saung, 25 pillars in Pyattat Saung, 14 pillars in Sanu Saung and 126 pillars of balustrade. Because of weather and natural disaster, 30 pillars had ruined and 215 pillars still remain (Field Survey on 16 February 2013). The circumference of the biggest pillar is four feet ten inches and the smallest is two feet ten inches. The pillars around the bottom of monastery are decorated with naga figures. Each of the corners has two figures and there are altogether 54 figures. *Rupcumkyon*: is 178 feet in length from east to west and 90 feet in width from north to south. Pyattat Saung is 125 feet in height up to diamond bulb and 59 feet in width. Sanu Saung is 30 feet and Jetawun Saung is 60 feet in height. As Pyattat Saung is a shrine room, a Buddha image is placed in it. The style and posture of

image is sitting cross leg posture, *Bhumiphassa Mudra* and *Jana Asana*. The Buddha image including pedestal and ornamental backdrop are carved out of a single teak log. Unlike Sale *Rupcumkyon*., *Mrokle:san Rupcumkyon*: has six stairways and three at the north and the other three at the south. They are made of brick and have seventeen treads in each. Each of the stairways is sixteen feet and six inches in length.

At Pyattat Saung, the doors are on the north, south and east and they are five feet nine inches in height and two feet seven inches in width. The windows have the measurement of 15x11½ inches in each. There are six windows in this monastery. Moreover, there is *kela*: -door which is hinged at the top in Sanu Saung and Jetawun Saung except Pyattat Saung. *Kela*: is eight feet four inches high and six feet eight inches long.

There are 111 sculptures in Salin *Rupcumkyon* 30 on the north, 27 on the south, 7 on the east, 15 on the west and 32 at the tier upon tier of Pyattat Saung. Among them, some cannot be clearly examined to see what stories they tell. But it can be assumed that these sculptures depict the Life of the Buddha and the scenes from extracts of 550 *Jataka*.



Figure 27 The scenes from extracting of 55 Jataka

IV. *Rupcumkyon:* at Legaing

Under surveying, *Rupcumkyon:s* existed in different parts of Magway Region. There is also a *Rupcumkyon:* in Legaing Village near Sagu. The monastery was built in 1890 by Myo Ok U An Taw and Daw Taw. It is also called *Tonū: Kyon:*. The monastery was built at a cost of 17.5 baskets of sliver (Nyo Nyo Lay 1977: 27; Ant Kyi Hein, 3).⁶⁾ Food and accommodation for workers were also provided by the donor. The headman of Ka-ni, who was a relative of U An Taw, provided a team of elephants free of charge to transport the 214 teak logs for pillars from the forests of Upper Myanmar from the river to the construction site. The donor desired the best sculptors available for this monastery, so he hired the services of the Myanmar master architect Hsaya Hmangyi of Mandalay who brought with him twenty artisans familiar with Myanmar court sculpture. These artisans were granted the fees requested and were given accommodation while the monastery was under construction. The building took nearly ten years to complete (Nyo Nyo Lay 1977: 27).

Legaing *Rupcumkyon:* has Pyattat Saung, Sanu Saung, Saung Magyi and Bhoga Saung. This monastery also has surrounding veranda and eight stairways, one each on the east and west sides and three each on the north and south sides. Unfortunately, intermediate room and the main hall are currently habitable. The Pyattat and Bhoga Saung have collapsed, so it is difficult to accurately gauge the size of the monastery (Field Survey on 16 February 2013 and 23 June 2013). There is also a small pavilion on the north-west side.

⁶⁾ The cost of monastery is different, some describe as 30 baskets of sliver and other describe as 45 baskets. (Taikkatho Nyo Nyo Lay described the cost as 30 baskets of sliver in his article and Ant Kyi Hein also wrote the cost as 45 baskets in his "Brief History of Legaing *Rhupcumkyon:*". Under field surveying, I interviewed many persons who had known about this monastery, they said that the cost is no more than 20 baskets of sliver.)



Figure 28 Rupcumkyon at Legaing

Much of the balustrade structure is still intact. Sections of the balustrade at the western end support segments of the original carving depicting a quarter to peacocks at the centre surrounded by exquisitely open-work vegetal scrolling finished by a band of hmaw-dan floral motifs on all sides. This panel is set within a wide band of floral scrolling set with spade-shaped lin-no-daung ornaments at the mitred corners. Just below the balustrade tenoned⁷⁾ to the corner supporting pillars are small effigies of rearing *naga* forms. Suspended from the balustrade at regular intervals are approximately thirty five tableaux of boldly carved figures both in the round and in high relief depicting a phalanx of imaginatively conceived scenes pertaining to the Life of Buddha from Conception to Enlightenment. Scene identification was originally carved in Myanmar on palm-leaf shaped markers placed below the carvings. Unfortunately, many have become detached, making identification difficult to some cases.

⁷⁾ to cut or fit for insertion in a mortise



Figure 29 Naga

The Conception series begin at the north corner with King *Suddhodana* and Queen *Maya* staying at the Palace. Then it depicted that *Maya* was praying to *Rukkhaciu*: - spirit of Banyan tree for birth of child. On that night, while she was sleeping, she dreamt that a white elephant pierces her side. On awakening, she recounted the dream to her husband King *Suddhodana*.



Figure 30
King Suddhadana and
Queen Maya staying
at the Palace



Figure 31 Maya praying to spirit of Banyan tree



Figure 32 Dreaming of Maya



Figure 33 Telling the dream

In the Nativity series, it was depicted that Maya told the King that she wished to travel to see her parents. On the way, she gave birth to the Buddha at Lumbini Grove. A quartet of *Brahmas* received the new born in a golden net. The infant Buddha took his first seven steps, proclaiming himself to the universe. Moreover, the scene from his infancy to youth were also illustrated: taking care of his step mother *Pajapati Gotami*, ploughing ceremony of King *Suddhodana*, sleeping under the *Jambu* tree, watching King *Suddhodana* exhibition of skill in archery and showing his skill in archery.



Figure 34 Maya telling her wish to the King



Figure 35 Receiving the infant Buddha by Four Brahman



Figure 36 Taking first seven steps and proclaiming to the universe Figure 37 Ploughing ceremony of King Suddhodana

On the southern side, the Great Renunciation series include, seeing the four omens, bidding farewell to his sleeping wife and child, escaping the city and being accosted by the evil Mara, divesting himself of his princely raiment, bidding farewell to his horse and groom, severing his hair, and receiving a monk robe.



Figure 38 Building farewell to Yasodhara and Rahula Figure 39 Seeing Four Omens Figure 40 Offering robe and breaking heart of Khannika

The series concludes on the north-eastern and south-eastern sides with episodes leading to the Enlightenment. They include meeting the five *panccavaggi*, practicing various austerities, receiving milk from *Sujata*, grass from *Sotthiva*, meditating, attacks from the hosts of Mara, temptations of the daughters of Mara, and the appearance of *Vasundhara* – the earth goddess.



Figure 41 Meeting five panccavaggi Figure 42 The Enlightenment

Most of the carvings on the doors had already been stolen and the abbot of monastery told that the pilfering of carvings had been a problem and it is needed to support for preserving and long lasting of these carving.

V. *Tumthap Rupcumkyon*: at Saku

At present, two *Rupcumkyon*: are still left at Saku: *Tumthapkyon*: and *Mhankan: kyon*:. *Tumthapkyon*: was built by Myo Ok U Thaik and his wife Daw Yoe (Hmu 2009: 39). It is located within the compound of *Maha Dhammika Rama Pariyatti Sarthin Teik* at Saku. Unfortunately, when this monastery was constructed, who sculptured the wood carvings and who built this monastery were unknown. According to field study, this monastery has three rooms, viz., a shrine

room, an intermediate room and a main hall. It has four stairways in former time but now only two were left. 172 pillars were used under construction. At present, the brick wall is built around the pillars at the bottom for long-lasting. The blusters are decorated with floral design and the art of turnery. The figures of Devas are carved on the doors.



Figure 43
Tumthap Rupcumkyon at Saku



Figure 44 The art of turnery



Figure 45 The figure of Deva

The 44 scenes of sculptures are still left and there can be studied and examined. A scene represents the figures of *Deva*, *Kainnara*, *Kainnari*, King, Queen, Child and Nobles. Others are also illustrated with the figure of *Deva*, *Naga*, *Garuna*, drummer and etc. Moreover, the presiding Sayadaw showed the figures which were maintained at

shrine room. They include the figures of *Deva*, *Garuna*, *Kainnara*, *Kainnari*, *Naga*, Horse, Nobel, Prince, Princess and *Rakkha*.



Figure 46 The Scene represents the various figures



Figure 47 Garuna

Figure 48 Rakkha

It is difficult to identify what sculptor meant about the scenes of wood carvings. It could be the sculptor's imaginations related with *Jatakas* or *Dhammapada*. Nevertheless, these sculptures show the high standard of traditional arts and crafts.

VI. *Mhankan:Rupcumkyon:* at Saku



Figure 49
Mhankan Rucumkyon
at Saku

Wun Min U Saing and his wife Daw Ngwe built this monastery to donate in 1881 (Anauk Takhahmu Mg Hmu 2009: 39). *Mhankan:Rupcumkyon:* is supported by 136 pillars resting on concrete blocks, and comprises a shrine room in the east followed by an intermediate area and main room. Flanking the Sanu Saung on either side, are two separate right and left side apartments we-saung and ya-saung which seemed to be used mainly for storage. Access to the surrounding veranda is by way of three masonry staircases, two on the north side and one on the south. The staircases on the north side incorporate



Figure 50 Kinnari



Figure 51 Carrying princes by
Rakkha



Figure 52 Suvannasama
Jataka

differing stucco-decorated motifs in the form of pair of reptilian *naya* on one staircase and curling vegetal volutes on the other, which is unusual. Sandstone caps carved like pumpkin protect the veranda posts from the vagaries of the weather. The three sets of pivot doors that open onto the monastery are flanked by the usual *Kinnari*.

The figure of *Rakkha* who carries a prince on his shoulder is carved on the front door. Moreover, the panels and lower jamb areas on some of the doors are depicted with the scenes from some of the *Jataka*⁸⁾ and legends.

The episodes extracted from Nat Stories and *Jataka* are also depicted on the surrounding balustrades. Among these episodes, it can be evaluated that some episodes describe the story of *Utena Nat*, *Shwe Phyin Gyi Nat*, *Shwe Phyin Lay Nat* and *Sulapaduma Jataka* (No. 193). There are other sculptures but could not be evaluated what particular story they represent but surely they are somehow related with Nat stories.



Figure 53 Utena Nat



Figure 54 Shwe Phyin Gyi Nat, Shwe Phyin Lay Nat



Figure 56 Sulapaduma Jataka

⁸⁾ I can evaluate some scenes such as *Suvannasama Jataka* (No. 540).

Sr.	Name	Location	Building Year	Name of Donors	Ranks of Donors	Used Pillars	Stairways	Rooms
1	<i>Aimtoaupmkyon:</i>	Sale	1882	U Bo Kyi, Daw Shwe Thet	Rich Man & Merchant	154	4	7
2	<i>Mrokle:sankyon:</i>	Salin	1868	Daw Pu	Spinster (nobility)	245	6	3
3	Tonū: Kyon:	Legaing	1890	U An Taw, Daw Taw	Myo Ok	214	8	4
4	<i>Tumthapkyon:</i>	Saku	?	U Theik, Daw Yoe	Myo Ok	172	4	3
5	<i>Mhankan:kyon:</i>	Saku	1881	U Saing, Daw Ngwe	Wun Min	136	4	5

From the study, it was observed that Salin *Rupcumkyon:* was built earlier than others and used more pillars in construction. Legaing *Rupcumkyon:* was constructed during the early period after the annexation of Upper Myanmar. Moreover, it has eight stairways. If Pyattat Saung and Bhoga Saung of this monastery were not collapsed, it seemed that it would be more splendid and glorious than others.

VII. Conclusion

Under surveying, the tradition of the construction of *Rupcumkyon:* had flourished in Magway Region in *Radanapon* Period and early Colonial Period. Monasteries were built with timber and wood but stairways were made of brick. According to the rank of Sayadaws and donors, the grand of monasteries are different but the style and appearance are similar. If the donor was richer, he or she hired skilful architects, sculptors and built the monastery magnificently and decorated with many sculptures and wood-carvings than others. The architect used a lot of logs in construction. Some monasteries have six or eight stairways but other has four stairways. At these monasteries,

sculptures were put on blusters. These were illustrations of extract from 547 *Jataka* stories and *Dhammapada*. Illustrations give the people the knowledge on the Life of the Buddha and attract to become a good Buddhist. Moreover, they admonish the people not to do excessive craving and passion. These sculptures depict the art of sculpture, costume and adornment, and socio-economy of that Period under survey. At present, most of the *Rupcumkyon*: were ruined and destroyed because of physical and natural disasters. A few *Rupcumkyon*: are still remain in Magway Region. Sale and Salin *Rupcumkyon*: are under the preservation of Archaeology Department and others are preserved and maintained by Presiding Sayadaws. It is needed to support finance and other supplies to protect from ruining and stealing wood-carvings. Anyway, by studying these *Rupcumkyon*:s, the arts and crafts of Radanapon period and early Colonial Period can be guessed and the charity and merit of the people to preserve and perpetuate the Buddha Sāsana can be evaluated.

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Interviewees

- U *Sunanda*, Presiding Sayadaw, *Tonū: Rupcumkyon.*, Legaing
- U *Uttara*, Presiding Sayadaw, *Maha Dhammika Rama Pahtama Pariyatti Sarthin Teik*, Saku
- U *Sandavamsa*, *TumthapRupcumkyon.*, Saku
- U Than Tun (Rtd. SAT), State High School, Saku
- U Soe Tint, Author, Salin
- U Than Tun, Author, Saku

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<Abstract>

On *Rupcumkyon*. Monasteries with Sculptures at Sale, Salin, Legaing and Saku in Magway Region, Myanmar

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There are many *Rupcumkyon*: - Monasteries with sculptures in Magway Region. But some were ruined and some are preserved and maintained still today. Most of the monasteries are built in Radanapon Period. But some are built in early Colonial Period. Nobilities and wealthy persons donated these monasteries to their learned Sayadaws. The architect used a lot of log in construction. Some monasteries have six stairways but other has four stairways. At these monasteries, sculptures were put on blusters. These were illustrations of extract from 547 *Jataka* stories and *Dhammapada*. Illustrations admonish the people not to do excessive craving and passion. These sculptures depict the art of sculpture, costume and adornment, and socio-economy of that Period under survey. This paper is to reveal and to explore the significant features in building monasteries and to compare each of the monasteries with sculptures at Sale, Salin, Legaing and Sagu in Magway Region.

Key words : *Rupcumkyon*, monasteries, sculptures, illustrations, Jataka

Myanmar Traditional View on Civil Society

Mo Mo Thant*

I. Introduction

In pre-colonial period, no trace of civil society in our modern sense was ever witnessed in Myanmar history. All people were subjects of a ruling monarch. They all referred to themselves as *kyun-taw* or *Kyun-taw-ma*—meaning his majesty’s slave (male or female), which simply means ‘I’ in English if they were servicemen or servicewomen. If otherwise, *kyun-noak*—meaning his majesty’s inferior slave or non-servicemen is commonly used to refer to oneself as one’s personal pronoun for “I”. Except regimental-like social status groups organized by some kings for administrative and military purposes, there had been no civil society up to the fall of Kon-baung Dynasty.

It will be wise to think of the monastic order as a part of civil society. Indeed, it is a supra mundane society. Buddhist monks lived in groups in their respective monastery complexes, either teaching or learning Buddhist scriptures or practicing meditation. In central and lower Myanmar, almost all villages had, at least, one monastery where young monks, novices and boys could learn an elementary education of reading, writing and arithmetic. According to monastic discipline

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(laws) monks are nothing to do for mundane affairs, but they sometimes helped solve the grievances of the people taking place due to maladministration.

Monks composed epistles addressing to the king, expressing in them tax-burdens imposed on the people and asking for their relief. . Such evidences are not rare in Myanmar history. Monks used to take part of the duties of civil societies. They often took a mediating role in times of social chaotic conditions between the ruler and the ruled. And some monks led the people for their freedom. Anthropologists used to brand it as millenarian movement.

Myanmar kings never allowed people to organize a society for any purpose. People, on the other hand, did not know their rights nor forming an organization. They were forbidden to speak of *minzaga* and *sozaga* —meaning political matters and administrative matters. Those talking about such political and administrative matters were severely punished. One can see such events in King Badon's edicts.

To be frank, civil societies appeared only in the colonial period. All of their movements are found based on Buddhist thoughts and Buddhist monks as their backbone. People organized societies for propagation and perpetuation of Buddha Sasana so that they could withstand the penetration of other missionaries.

II. Myanmar

Myanmar society has developed, mainly based on Buddhist culture and tradition. Since the society has grown with the preaching of the Buddha, it becomes habitual by Buddhist tradition for Myanmar to help others especially those who are in need of help. Hence providing assistance to others is common in Myanmar society.

In Myanmar society there may be social problems or less. To solve

such problems social service activities come to exist. In countries all over the world social service activities can be divided into three categories- government, non-governmental and combination of the two. The said three categories are conducted in Myanmar society.

Nowadays Myanmar civil society, some local NGO's based on Buddhist Culture are emerged as providing the Myanmar people needs of help in education, health and social area. The civil society operating in the educational sector as the Buddhist Monastic School and conducting activities in social sector are Home for the aged and free funeral service society and hospital and Water Donation Project.

III. Buddhist monastic education

In the history of Myanmar society Buddhism played the important role. Buddhism as follow by almost all Myanmar is the foundation and limelight for Myanmar. On that foundation arose Myanmar national culture and the Buddhist monasteries served as centers for propagating Buddhist culture and education.

The learning centers of Myanmar in the past were monasteries in various places in all over the country. Monks have been both the spiritual teachers of the people and responsible for the basic literacy of laypersons. The primary school children of Myanmar attend the Buddhist monasteries to acquire literacy as well as knowledge of the Buddha's teachings. Thus, the schools provide not only curriculum education but also ethics and moral foundation for the children's. Therefore The monastic education tradition has been an integral part of Myanmar culture in order that gained patriotic spirit admired Buddhism and appreciated Buddha Sasana.

When Myanmar became a British Colony and from that time onward, Myanmar national culture based on Buddhism being gradually

belittled the majority of Myanmar who gradually losing touch with Buddhist culture. Therefore majority of young Myanmar did not get enough knowledge of Buddhist culture. Under such situation it is quite essential that the young school children learning at primary and middle school are to be taught Buddhist culture systematically with other formal subjects in monasteries where monastic education is installed with the view to produce good citizens of high morality. In this sense, many monasteries were existed as a center of education as well as religion in many rural regions of Myanmar.

Unfortunately in 1962 monastic education was abolished by Myanmar's socialist government. Generally the monastic schools assist in providing basic educational needs of the country especially for children from needy families and orphans - filling the significant gap within the education system. Monastic education returned in 1993 when the government began recognized monastic schools that followed the guidelines of the Ministry of Education (Zoellner 2007).

Monastic education centers have been the most important civil-society institutions bridging the accessibility gap in the state-run education system in government-controlled areas, while public schooling is not available. Monastic schools today especially target orphans or children from poor families, who can ill-afford to pursue formal education. Some well-funded monastic schools also provide students with free food and accommodation while many others are just normal day schools.

Monastic education system in Myanmar is a free education system. Myanmar Buddhist monasteries are always ready to provide education on free of charge basis to anyone who wants to learn. In addition, learners at the school are given food and shelter too. It is in fact the traditional practice since Buddhist culture started to exist in the society (Than Byin 1972: 100) On that cultural basis and with the aim to provide all children rich or poor with basic education at very nominal

cost and to mould them into those who understand Myanmar culture and tradition and observe and safeguard Buddhism and its teaching with high morality, monastic education school are nowadays opened across the country. 241 monastic schools in forty townships of Yangon division came into existence in 1994.

Currently, monastic education system and its schools are taking a very important role in Myanmar educational sphere. Some famous monastic schools are running the school both for Sasana and educational matters. The main objective of running the school is to provide education to poor children, straying children, orphans, young kids from hilly region in order to upgrade their future lives. It is quite appreciable to find that there were some fund-raising activities for the all-round welfare for the boarding students done by the school itself for making of altruistic functions. The common objectives of monastic education are to develop and propagate Buddha Sasana to teach Buddhist scripture and culture to the children (Myat Myat Moe 2011: 28).

IV. Home for Aged

Myanmar society has developed, mainly based on Buddhist culture and tradition. Since the society has grown with the noble preaching of the Buddha, it becomes habitual by Buddhist tradition for Myanmar to help others especially those who are in need of help. Hence providing assistance to others is common in Myanmar society. Apart from social or community based that serve for public health in Myanmar there has been a number of religious organizations serving for the same.

Buddhist monasteries, nuns homes, religious voluntary social organizations usually initiate to create homes for aged, orphanages, care centers for women to help the needy. Due to those initiatives, civil

societies, non - profit and nongovernmental organizations come into Myanmar. Some of the mostly known are home for Aged, and free Funeral Service Society in Mandalay and Yangon.

It is very interesting how Home for the aged was established by Buddhist nuns Daw Oo Zun, first founder of the Home in Myanmar who set up altogether five Homes for the Aged as like Christian Home since in 1933. With the aim to systematically establish an organization to help the aged draft was approved in 1951 and opened in Yangon and Mandalay and other towns.

The main objective of the Home for the aged is to keep the aged poor and helpless from every corner of the country at the Home to provide them care and protection to develop their physical and mental health and help them for their better journey of the cycle of rebirth. The Home always treat and protect them for their food, clothing, shelter, health , medical treatment, meditation, convenient living in their aging time. When an aged expires, the Home will arrange his or her funeral in accordance with necessary religious practice and rites. While medi-care is fully served to the aged, the Home administrative authorities arrange occasional celebrations of social or religious concerned (The Aged Journal 37: 186).

This Home sometimes encountering with dangers and hardships sometimes with honors and pleasures and other times with aspirations and results. Anyhow, it is undeniable that the Home for the Aged had served those who are really poor, helpless and aged for seventy three years for their convenient living in their ending period. On the other way how much develop civil society in Myanmar.

V. The Free Funeral Service Society

In Yangon, Myanmar, there appeared an association to very

differently help those who need much urgent help. A civil society organization based on Yangon, founded by film director Thukha and is headed by many prominent persons in the entertainment industry, including actor Kyaw Thu, provides free funeral services for the poor in Yangon Region on 1 January 2001. The whole process of the function was totally voluntary. The society is ready to help any one or any family regardless of race, religion or social status in respect of funeral matters.

FFSS is civil society and stands on donation of well-wishers, extending its help to the rich as well as the poor. when it helps to rich, they may space donation to the society and that donation can be used to help the poor. Thus the society has been serving the people from all walks of life whenever they are in urgent need for funeral matters since its establishment (Than Myint Aung 2006: 40)

FFSS also help the families of those deceased whose cause of death is related to criminal concern such as drown, fire, suicide, murder, accident etc. Apart from lay persons' funeral matters those of Buddhist monks are carried out. The Free Funeral Service Society has helped fund more than 100,000 funerals since it first started. At its beginning, FFSS could service for round about twenty funerals per day.

Besides, FFSS members came to sense that they should assist the poor for their health too. The main objectives of the society are to console the grieve-stricken family and to provide medicines to the poor who are severely suffering from one illness or another. They at their annual general meeting, decided to form the Medical Aid Committee. The committee with the well wisher's donation fund, gave aid to the poor patients who needed emergency operations thus creating sometimes double merited deeds by taking responsibilities for the cost of operation for poor expectant mothers so as to save "two lives at one time" (www.wikimedia_freefuneralservicesocietyyangon.com). It is expressed striving to fulfill the need asked for funeral purposes by the

bereaved families or that requested by the poverty-ridden emergency patients for their medical charges.

In 2006, The Free Funeral Service Society opened a free health care clinic called Thukha. In 2009, its free clinic was ordered by a local court to be closed, after being forcibly relocated from Thingangyun Township to North Dagon Township in Yangon's outlying suburbs. In 2011, it opened another clinic in Bago Region's Pyay Township.

VI. The Sitagu Association

Another Civil Society organization in Myanmar is Sitagu Association. It is strange to other civil organization because the founder is famous monk in Myanmar. The Sitagu Association was founded by the Venerable Sayadaw, Dr. Ashin Nyanissara, in 1980. The Sitagu Association is based at Sitagu Monastery in the Sagaing Hills, Sagaing, Myanmar. Situated on the banks of the Ayeyarwady River, some fifteen miles south of Mandalay, the Sagaing Hills have for many centuries been an important centre of Theravada Buddhism and of Myanmar Buddhist culture and civilization (Ashin Nanissana 2012). The Sitagu Association was established with three main aims or objectives in mind:

1. To strive for personal welfare through self-development and the cultivation of knowledge (*attattha cariya*),
2. To strive for the welfare of kin, friends and associates (*natatthacariya*) and
3. To strive for the welfare of all people without regard to caste, race, nationality or creed (*lokattha-cariya*).

With this sense The Sitagu Association has undertaken four welfare projects since 1980: the Sitagu Water Donation Project, Sitagu

Ayudana Hospital, Sitagu International Buddhist Academy and Sitagu Buddhavihara. The first three projects are located in the Sagaing Hills, while the fourth has been established in Austin, Texas, in the United States. All four projects are supported entirely by funds raised through private donation.

VII. The Sitagu Water Donation Project

Sagaing is located in the dry zone of Myanmar, and for centuries, residents have had to rely on collected rain water to satisfy their daily needs. The Sitagu Water Donation Project was begun in 1982 to alleviate water shortages experienced by the monasteries and nunneries in the Sagaing Hills.

Over the past seventeen years, ten water reservoirs have been built which are supplied with water from the Ayeyarwady River . The water supply system covers an area of eight square miles, and supplies over 500,000 gallons of water per-day to more than 8000 monks, novices and nuns living in some 870 monasteries and nunneries. The Water Donation Project has yet to reach approximately fifty monasteries and nunneries in the area, but construction is nearly complete on an eleventh water reservoir and a new water-pump station. (**wikimedia. Sitagusayadaw**)

VIII. Sitagu Ayudana Hospital

Construction began on the Sitagu Ayudana Hospital in 1985, and the hospital opened in 1989. The hospital now has one hundred beds, including those in the VIP, eye patient, and infectious disease wards. The out-patient department (O.P.D) and in-patient wards are housed in

seven buildings. Besides these, the hospital boasts a modern laboratory, an X-ray hall, a general operation theatre, an eye operation theatre, an indigenous medicine clinic, a training centre, a museum, a library, a computer office, an administrative office, guest hostels which include a VIP section, staff quarters, and a Buddha-shrine hall. (www.wikimedia.Sitagusayadaw.org).

On average, the hospital treats sixty in-patients and two hundred and fifty out-patients per-day, and since its inception has provided health care to over 100,000 individuals. Over the last nine years, the hospital staff has grown to more than seventy persons, including doctors, nurses and general personnel. Medical specialists from Mandalay also kindly donate their services on a weekly basis in the areas of general medicine, surgery, urology, dentistry, orthopedics, and in the treatment of diabetes and heart disease.

The eye treatment department in particular is equipped with technically advanced instruments for both the surgical extraction of cataracts, and for their removal without surgery through use of laser equipment. In addition, for the past four years the hospital has organized a special medical program in the month of December during which time eye specialists from England and the United States are invited to perform cataract operations in which hundreds of patients are given intra-ocular-lenses. The special program has been expanded this year to include two sessions, the first being held in October and the second in December. It is planned that this very successful medical program will be continued on a yearly basis. with the ability of Sayadaw Dr Ashin Nyanissara and providing of internal and external donors all these activities have well implemented and succeeded.

IX. Conclusion

In studying the civil societies, the method of approach is purely historical point of view. How and when each of the civil societies originated, what their objectives were and how they have implemented them, how they have developed, what activities they have made in participating their respective sectors and what achievements they could make.

Social affairs in Myanmar are many and varied. Fulfillment of the social need of the Myanmar is to be performed with both long and short term plans by the civil society. While the government organizations are performing, a certain number of civil societies organized and led by the dutiful, good-hearted and able citizens has helped the civil society in implementing the plans or schemes set by the States. Some of them served locally while others did nation wide.

Since post-independence period, a rich civil society continued to develop in the cities and some towns, though not in the countryside in Myanmar because with the good experience in Colonial period. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, much of rural Myanmar was wracked by civil war, hindering the development of civil society. Civil society in Myanmar was quite controlled under military regime the sorts of steps but an expanded civil society is an increase in citizens. In striving to present the historical process of the civil society organization the following noticeable facts are found.

Some of the civil society organization have passed half a century and so been rich with both sweet or bitter experiences. The existence of such civil society organization shows the goodwill, persistence, courage, capability, and effort of their founders and successor who are Myanmar's and whose soul deserve high honor. Though those are younger, they too could due to their leadership's perseverance's, foresight, powerful altruisms, modernization, high qualification and

experience make remarkable achievements having strenuously participated in the respective sector.

All the organizations either old or middle or young, being civil society organization, they had to carry out their activities only within the limits as framed by the State's general policies. Despite the fact, civil society organization able to reach their goals in assisting public society in implementing the latter's projects or schemes in the respective fields. The basic principle of each and every organization being totally voluntary whether they are supported by international or internal donors whether the support are much or less are to be praised for their strenuous effort and considerable successes in implementing their objectives for the betterment and development of Myanmar people in the social sector.

As a conclusion for Myanmar to develop for civil society must be increased and the capacity of people to develop a strong civil society enhanced. At the same time, it is essential that independent organisations that do exist or new ones that emerge be based on principles of tolerance and democratic practice.

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<Abstract>

Myanmar Traditional View on Civil Society

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A widely shared view identifies civil society with the set of nonprofit or nongovernmental organizations. This tradition reflects a long history of social theory viewed in institutional terms. Myanmar society has developed, mainly based on Buddhist culture and tradition. Buddhist practice necessitates public validation within an economy of merit in which moral action earns future rewards. Myanmar private voluntary associations have, since ancient times, played a vital role in achieving social purposes. Buddhist monasteries were the main education institutions in Myanmar. Until today, monastic schools, or monastic education centers as they are often called, have been the most important civil-society institutions bridging the accessibility gap in the state-run education system in government-controlled areas. Apart from social or community based that serve for public health in Myanmar there has been a number of religious organizations serving for the same. Moreover there appeared an association to very differently help those who need much urgent help. Since military coup in 1962, however, successive regimes have sought to stamp out civil society and permit only state-controlled organizations. Civil society re-emerged during the nation-wide pro-democracy demonstrations in 1988. After 1988 civil societies are allowed as like a political party to form. Now a day some civil societies have worked to start small-scale projects addressing local problems, but they must stay clear of politics.

Key words : Buddhism, Civil society, monastic education, social need, Myanmar

Masculinization of Femininity: A Gender-Based Reading of *Đoạn tuyệt* [Breaking Off] by Nhất Linh

TRẦN VĂN TOÀN*

I. Introduction

Đoạn tuyệt was first serialized in *Phong Hóa* in 1934, then was published in the book form with the complementary words for “young males and females who suffered strictness of conflicts of the new and the old. The main character of the novel is Loan – an intellectual female who is deeply aware of the meaning of life. Loan quietly loves Dũng – a young man who is also ideological. Dũng loves Loan but because of his involvement in a revolution, he leaves Loan. Following her mother’s order, Loan gets married with Thân – the son of Phán Lợi coming from a rich family. Although she puts a lot of efforts, Loan is unable to harmony with her husband’s family. Thân is superficial, thus, unable to share with her about emotions of a couple life. Phán Lợi – her mother-in-law is a harsh woman, conservative; she frequently maltreats her daughter in law. The family tragedy reaches the highest point when Loan’s son died due to the superstition of her husband family and she lost her productive ability. Her mother in law helps her husband get married with Tuất. Thân, since then, ignores Loan. One

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day, while beating Loan, Thân slips his leg falling down onto one paper knife which is held by Loan. He got thrush by the knife. He died and Loan was brought into a court with the sentence of killing her husband. However, at the court, a lawyer indicates her innocence. Freeing from the prison, Loan has freedom. Dũng wrote a letter to Loan expressing his love for her. Loan happily thinks of being his lover and his comrade in future. She has completely abandoned herself from the ties of feudal family to live a freedom life.

Since its inception, *Đoạn tuyệt* has had much public attention. Trương Tửu considered *Đoạn Tuyệt* as “a marvelous wreath put on the issue of individualism. The author of the novel explicitly received the progression; he is excited with future believes. Trương Tửu added, “the novel is brilliant work, without being a professional writer, he would have been unable to write the novel(Trương Tửu 2007).” Moreover, the novel also create a public conflict in which the most active participant was Nguyễn Công Hoan. He issued not only responsive articles on newspapers but also a reactive novel named *Cô giáo Minh* [The Teacher Minh]¹⁾ Separate trends in ideas on the novel show that it became the center point of social and cultural life of Vietnam in which the most prominent content was the conflict of traditional and enovation. Time passed but the position of the novel is stable. In 1943, *Việt Nam văn học sử yếu* [A Brief History of Vietnamese Literature] – a work that laid the foundation for history surveys on literature in Vietnam - by Dương Quảng Hàm argued that *Đoạn tuyệt* was the representative of not only Nhất Linh’s literary life but also the contemporary romantic prose(Dương Quảng Hàm 1951: 438). Since then, position of this novel is always available in collections of the histories of Vietnamese literatures and research on Tự lực văn đoàn

¹⁾ Nguyễn Công Hoan, “From *Đoạn tuyệt* to *Cô giáo Minh*”, *Tiểu thuyết thứ bảy*, volume 92 (29-2-1936), cited by Thanh Lăng.1995, *Mười ba năm tranh luận văn học (1932-1945)* [Thirty Years of Discussions on Literature, 1932-1945]. Hà Nội: Văn học – Hội nghiên cứu và giảng dạy văn học thành phố Hồ Chí Minh, p.73-5

[Self-Help Literary Group]. It is very interesting that the people who was the most uncomfortable about Nhất Linh and Tự lực văn đoàn had high opinions on *Đoạn tuyệt*. Hoàng Dung looked at the content of anti-feudal rituals in *Đoạn tuyệt* (Lý 1978). Phan Cự Đệ also considered *Đoạn tuyệt* as “a romantic and progressive work because it fought against ties of feudal conventions to construct a better and more humanist life.” (Đệ 1974). All *Đoạn tuyệt*'s contributions are emphasized in the following aspects: 1) critique of the feudal family model, 2) an advocate of female and individual liberation, 3) nationalistic content, though rather vague. Based on analysis of gender power relations in the masculinization of femininity exemplified in the character Loan of the novel, this paper addresses the following questions:

- What is the real limitation of female liberation in *Đoạn tuyệt*? Is the female liberation in *Đoạn tuyệt* the struggle to establish new female values?

- Is the nationalism in *Đoạn tuyệt* vague? Is there any connection between the discourses of feminism and nationalism? If so, how is nationalism represented in the female protagonist?

II. Masculinization of Femininity and National Discourse

2.1 Masculinization of Femininity and the Image of New Women

The history of the reception of *Đoạn tuyệt* shows that *Đoạn tuyệt* is basically the story of Loan. Visibly, the title of the novel is seemingly a reference to Loan. However, the essence of Loan, if nothing else, is the desire to *become Dũng, to have Dũng's qualities, and to live Dũng's life*. Such aspirations are evident in Loan's actions, conversations and most innermost expressions. The conflicts between Loan and Thân or

the cruel mother-in-law do not arise until the middle part of the story, but Loan's desire to live the life of Dũng is shown in the very first line of the novel when Nhứt Linh describes Loan's inner thoughts:

Loan looks at Dũng, staring at his determination and sturdiness (emphasized by TVT) and quietly thinking: 'My education is no less than Dũng's, why can't I *be like him, living an independent and strong life* (emphasized by TVT), why do I bind myself within family boundaries living *a dependent and obedient life* (stressed by TVT)(Nhứt Linh 1999)?

More extensively, throughout the entire novel, Dũng's various qualities are narrowed down to only one attribute in Loan's imagination: the beauty of a free and unrestrained life. It seems as if Loan does not long for Dũng but Dũng's life as her true love. Loan's love for Dũng is evident not only in her longing for seeing Dũng, living with Dũng but also in her wanting to live like Dũng. While living with Thân in materialistic fulfillments, Loan still feels the pain knowing that her life is the complete opposite of Dũng's. Conversely, after being acquitted and released from prison, Loan is in great bliss despite having to face many difficulties to make ends meet because this is when she can live the life of Dũng:

Loan feels great happiness inside as she realizes that she was not mistaken; the long-standing desire to live a free life is what the soul truly needs. Having lived like this, she now clearly feels the dull emptiness of the previous life dependent on others and bounded by revolving family rituals. Only having lived like this, she can now taste the joy of working and struggle, and truly realize the value of an extensive independent life(Ibid: 125-126).

In the above paragraph, there is no direct mention of Dũng. Instead,

they are only Loan's new emotions and experiences in her new life, which echo those of Dũng. *It appears that Dũng's presence here is no longer necessary as Loan completely identified with Dũng.* The novel closes with an image of Loan in her friend Thảo's description:

There is now a happy person. She is walking in freedom, ignoring cold winds and rains(Ibid: 134).

It can be seen in the novel that the distant cold wind and rain is the space exclusive for Dũng. Such space now belongs to Loan as she and Dũng have become one. In other words, the logic of Loan's personal development flows from her initial dream of becoming Dũng to her finally being able to completely identify with him.

Following this supposition, this paper focuses especially on Loan's inability to bear children after the birth of her first son, who later died of disease because of superstitious treatment from her husband's family. Previous studies of *Đoạn tuyệt* have mentioned this detail in varying extent but not yet given it a satisfactory analysis from a gender perspective. It is a fact that Vietnam, similar to other East Asian countries, is influenced by the following Confucian view of family and sexuality:

The jia (lineage unit, family) was the primary site for the production of gender: marriage and sexuality were to serve the lineage by producing the next generation of lineage members; personal love and pleasure were secondary to this goal (Brownell 2002).

Accordingly, the female identity and value lie in her ability to have children, especially boys. Only by giving birth to boys does a woman complete her womanly duties as a wife and a mother. Therefore, Loan's subsequent reproductive inability and the loss of her first son

mean that she no longer carries the typical feminine roles according to traditional order. Only such mishap can result in the severely troubled relations between Loan and her family – in – law and in the forced marriage of Thân and Tuyết; all following tragedies are merely inevitable consequences. ‘Tragedy’ is obviously the right word to describe the situation, yet it apparently is not Nhất Linh’s foremost concern. Some have commented that he did not pay enough attention to Loan’s pain of losing of her son(Bào 2002). In our opinion, it is because Nhất Linh sees the abandoning of the traditional gender roles as the primary and most important premise for Loan to “break off” all ties with her husband’s family. In other words, before being acquitted of murder charges, Loan can only live Dũng’s life if she frees herself from the gender roles prescribed by the traditional family framework. This event further highlights Loan’s identification with Dũng, even biologically speaking.

Altogether, in *Đoạn tuyết*, Loan is the embodiment of the thoroughly masculinized femininity. The masculinization of Loan is manifested in not only knowledge, lifestyle, thoughts but also human biology. This is symbolically a crisis of femininity and the female character is therefore in search of new gender qualities by moving towards and identifying herself with the paradigms and postures of masculinity.

Remarkably, the trend of masculinized femininity was once recognized by Nguyễn Thị Kiêm²⁾ - a contemporary activist of feminism – as a prominent feature of Vietnam at the time: “recently there has been a remarkable revolution among female writers; that is masculinization (la masculinization), which means that women wish to transform into men”. According to Nguyễn Thị Kiêm, women in the

²⁾ Nguyễn Thị Kiêm (1914-?): a female journalist, poet, social activist, who had considerable influences on Vietnamese spiritual life in 1930s. As an active contributor of *Phụ Nữ Tân Văn*, under the penname Nguyễn Thị Mạnh Mạnh, Nguyễn Thị Kiêm had important contributions to the contemporary feminism and the New Poetry Movement.

new era “want to be equal to men in every aspects of life such as thoughts, education, knowledge, and action for social justice”(Kiêm 1932, 1995). Perhaps the most vivid evidence of this “masculinization” tendency is Loan’s love for Dũng in *Đoạn tuyệt*. In addition to the theme of female liberation from the grip of the feudal family as previous scholars have already pointed out, it is necessary to add in another aspect: *women were eager to liberate themselves from the feudal rites not to construct new identities but to identify with masculine ones.*

2.2 The Image of New Woman and National Discourses

A question then arises here: why was the woman image so vehemently masculinized in this period? To answer the question, it seems appropriate to first return to the emergence of women issue itself as well as the feminist movement in the early twentieth century in Vietnam.

In a research on the history of China’s women issues, Tani Barlow shows that: in traditional China, there is no general term conceptualizing women, only words denoting the gender roles carried by women in various stages of life: a *girl* when living with the family – a *wife* when married - a *mother* after having babies(Brownell 2002). It is not difficult to see here the profound influences of Confucianism where the aforementioned gender roles of women completely correspond to the principles of *tam tong* [three submissions]³⁾. The situation is similar in Vietnam, at least since the tenth century, and has become increasingly intense under the prolonged Confucian influence throughout history, though there are obviously cultural differences. Ethnographers and cultural anthropologists such as L. Cadiere, Đào Duy Anh, and later Tạ

³⁾ The woman must be obedient to her father when unmarried and still living at home (*tai gia tong phu*), to her husband when married (*xuat gia tong phu*) and to her eldest son if widowed (*phu tu tong tu*).

Văn Tài(Cadiere 1997; Anh 1951; Tài 1984), all indicate that Vietnamese women have not been as mistreated as those in China were. On the contrary, they are an active part of the labor force and play an important role in family life. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that the role of Vietnamese women has mostly been framed in the family context and lineage to a certain extent; they have indeed never been considered legitimate representatives in the national or social space.

There was a turning point in Vietnamese society during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century when Western culture permeated into Vietnam. This first contact with the West brought Vietnam out of the China-centered zone and into a new and global world order. It was also the first time Vietnam came to an in-depth and bitter understanding about its relatively inferior position on the world map. National pride about traditional civilization and long history was not sufficient to mask the truth about the poor education level, backwardness and inferiority of the nation. This psychological self-realization was the premise for Vietnam to construct its new nation discourses by learning from the West. In comparison with the West, contemporary Vietnamese intellectuals found out that one of the reasons behind the backwardness of the country was that women in Vietnam, different from those in the West, were subordinate to men and completely disregarded from national discourses. To renovate the nation was to broaden people's knowledge and the definition of "citizen" to include not only men but also women. Feudal mandarins, French-educated intellectuals, and communist leaders all shared the same calling for enhancing the female role and paying special attention to women in the national project. In this regard, we fully agree with David Marr when he pointed out:

A new generation of Vietnamese literati emerged in the first decade of the twentieth century, determined to work for national

independence and to modernize Vietnamese society. At first dimly, later more coherently, some of them came to understand that any serious cultural revolt required an attack on the subordination of women, just as any serious national struggle had a far better chance of succeeding if women were actively involved (Marr 1984).

Thus, the national spirit and ambition for national modernization were the backdrop against which women issue and feminist movement emerged in the early twentieth century. From that point onwards, Vietnamese women started to be included in discourses of nationalism. Their roles were no longer confined in the family context and instead, they were recognized in a close relationship with society and the people. Since 1907, the authors of the *Đông Kinh Nghĩa Thục* (Tonkin Free School) had delivered these messages to the common people:

Trong trời đất âm dương nhất lý
 Chớ bảo rằng nhi nữ vô tri/ (...)
 Người giúp của kẻ giúp công
 Làm cho rõ mặt nữ trung anh hào.⁴⁾
 [This world comes into an agreement
 Please do not think that women are ignorant
 Some contributes their properties; some contributes their labor forces.
 To indicate the female heroism]

More than twenty years later, *Phụ nữ Tân Văn* continued to affirm the *Đông Kinh Nghĩa Thục*'s ideas:

The situation of women in our country nowadays is unlike before, when their domestic lives were hell and when nationalist issues were kept from women.

⁴⁾ "Quốc văn tập đọc" [Reading National Writings] in *Văn thơ Đông Kinh Nghĩa Thục* [Writings by Đông Kinh Nghĩa Thục], Đỗ Văn Hỷ ed., Archives, École française d'Extrême-Orient, Culture Publishing House. P.119

Being aware of the role of women in the future fate of the nation, Phan Bội Châu encouraged them:

Competing [with men] in any skill in schools; we [women] are determined to fly and run to catch up with men. (...) We can do anything that is so tough and great that men could not do (Châu 1929).

It can be seen here that *woman* (with her new position and conceptions of feminism) and *national modernization* were two closely tied themes, reflecting and transforming each other. From this perspective, Loan is *the symbol of not only new girls thirsty for freedom but also a nation in the process of freeing itself from traditional constraints for new fortunes*. Later communist criticisms on Tự Lực Văn Đoàn [Self-Strength Literary Group] mostly came from the artificial separation between the liberation of women and national issue. As we have seen from above, however, the novel was born in a cultural context in which the discourse on women liberation and nationalism constituted each other. In other words, a new discourse on femininity was built based on the new discourse on nation.

Yet, the foundation of rising nationalism neither gave Vietnamese femininity a distinct cachet nor guaranteed a woman's independent existence. Even in relation to nationalism, the man was still the official and sole representative, as Tamar Mayer had concluded:

Despite its rhetoric of equality for all who partake in the “national project,” *nation* remains, like other feminized entities—emphatically, historically and globally—the property of men... [Thus], what the nation is, its “ego,” becomes imbedded in what men are and what women are assigned to be (Mayer 2007).

In other words, only men had a direct relationship with the people

and were able to take on national projects. Whichever roles carried by women in the nation project were assigned by men. Huỳnh Thúc Kháng reaffirmed this mindset when he publicly discussed women issue on *Phụ Nữ Tân Văn*:

In the world, now and then, East or West, even in the most civilized country, men always take prominent roles in their civilization and women follow. (…). There is no case that men are ignorant and women get higher position (Kháng 1929).

Under the context of such a solid order of “men first, women following”, *masculinization of femininity is the only way for modern women to affirm their roles and identities*.

Understanding this principle would help explain why the nation is only described in direct relationship with men in novels by Tữ Lục Văn Đoàn in general and by Nhất Linh in particular, as only men are legitimized to voice their aspirations and attach their lives to the national space. For example, even male characters such as Ngọc in *Hồn bướm mơ tiên* and Lộc in *Nửa chừng xuân* (whose main storylines seem to revolve around love affairs) still speak out passionately about humanity and society. These statements, once considered vague and unconvincing for not closely aligning with character development, actually already lie within the predetermined gender framework.

Indeed, in *Đoạn tuyệt*, all passionate, heartfelt and touching reflections about the people and nation come from Dũng (Nhất Linh 1999). In comparison with other female characters in Khải Hưng’s novels, Loan has gone much further. Different from Mai’s love for Lộc in *Nửa Chừng Xuân*, Loan’s love for Dũng is not about traditional family obligations, but about a break from the constraints of typical gender roles and towards a free and independent life. As seen before, Nhất Linh never lets Loan directly address the national issue; instead,

it is reflected in her love and identification with Dũng.

Altogether, national modernization is the mainstream discourse of the early twentieth century Vietnam, which is evident in the move of female roles from the traditional family to national development. *Yet, national modernization were initiated and led by men*; only by moving forward and identifying with men can women find their true feminine values. This fully corresponds to the plot of *Đoạn tuyệt*: Loan refuses to stay Thân's woman (a man within a rigid family frame) to instead become Dũng's, who belongs to a vast space and carries great ambitions about the nation and the people. In such a relationship with the discourse on national modernization, the masculinization of Loan's femininity is bound to happen.

III. Masculinization of Femininity – the Crisis of Vietnamese Masculinity in the Context of Colonialism

There are also other reasons explaining the masculinization of femininity in *Đoạn tuyệt*.

According to T. Mayer, the interaction of masculinity-nationalism and femininity is as follows:

the nation is virtually always feminized and characterized as in need of protection; women are figured as the biological and cultural reproducers of the nation and as “pure” and “modest,” and men defend the national image and protect the nation's territory, women's “purity” and “modesty,” and the “moral code.” Thus women are represented as the nation's social and biological womb and the men as its protectors(Mayer 2002).

Naturally, such model cannot be applied to every culture in every

period but still useful as a umbrella category to evaluate the variants.

In Vietnam in the 1930s, the role of men as protectors of the nation was severely challenged. From the anti-French movement in Cochinchina, to Cần Vương [Aid the King] movement, to Đông du [Eastern Study] movement, to the Yên Bái uprising (which was closet in time to the birth of *Đoạn tuyệt*), from the traditional macho figures sacrificing their lives for the nation such as Nguyễn Trung Trực, Thủ Khoa Huân and Hoàng Diệu, to wartime heroes such as Phan Bội Châu and bourgeois-oriented revolutionists like Nguyễn Thái Học, all had tragically failed. Phan Bội Châu's bitter encapsulation "Alas! What is my history for! It is one of only failures"(Châu 2000) and Nguyễn Thái Học's statement of "though it [the revolution] is not successful [in saving the nation], it will be successful in maintaining the dignity of people" both reflect the inferiority complex of the men's inability to act and protect the nation. Here there is a profound crisis of traditional masculinity in the face of historical challenges to the fate of the nation.

In such situation, *the masculinization of femininity allows the man to establish his masculine identity*. One should not forget the fact that most of the new female identities seen in newspaper and novels in this period were largely created by male revolutionists, journalists and writers including Phan Bội Châu, Nguyễn Văn Vĩnh, Phạm Quỳnh, Phan Khôi, and Nhất Linh(Chi 2008). Through masculinization, men projected their own images and expectations into the female characters. In *Đoạn tuyệt*, Loan mirrors Dững's desires and life ambitions. Her triumph over traditional entanglements and customs also symbolizes the desire for changes which Dững best exemplifies. It is through Loan that Dững's qualities become clearer and better-rounded. It is therefore understandable why Nhất Linh does not describe Dững's love of Loan because of his attraction to her physical appearance or elegant inner world. *Dững loves Loan because he sees himself and his own ambition in her*. The career that he is pursuing, though only vaguely described in

the novel, is solidified by Loan's victory. Moreover, her moving forward to identify with him makes Dững the perfect man. In the love of Loan, Dững (the symbol of Vietnamese masculinity) finds his position as the ideological leader and ideal role model for women to aim for. *This way, men reclaimed their leading and guiding roles in the struggles for both women liberation and national modernization.* Those are perhaps the belief and message that Nhất Linh – a writer and a social activist – was trying to convey in his novel.

The creation of masculinity through woman images can also be explained by *the inferiority of the Vietnamese men in relation to the colonizers*, whose discourses on national modernization, as analyzed above, considers the West the stronger side by default. In the relation between the colonizers and the colonized, “the positions of colonizers are generally set to be men(Mills 2004)”, which emasculated and feminized the masculinity of the colonized nations. According to K. Louie, many scientific studies reinforce the following view of Edward Said:

Discourses pertaining to the Orient emasculate it to such an extent that it “is penetrated, silenced, and possessed” (Said 1978: 207). Even though Said's Orient refers to the Middle East, the portrayal of Chinese and Japanese men seems to confirm his assertion that under the Western gaze Asian men are feminized(Louie 2005).

From this perspective, *the masculinization of femininity*, the process of projecting male identities into the creation of femininity (as seen in the relationship between Dững and Loan), is an evidence of feminised masculine in the colonial context. Males – once the legitimate representatives of the nation – were no longer confident enough to present themselves and instead had to hide behind the transformation of femininity.

IV. Conclusion

From this analysis we can draw two conclusions:

First, *Đoạn tuyệt* by Nhất Linh introduces a new “version” of Vietnamese women. For the first time in the history of literature, women escaped from the family scope to appear in the social and national space. Yet, this did not mean that they had acquired an independent subjectivity. Loan, for example, has neither her own experiences nor her own view of life. Instead, women in *Đoạn tuyệt* are merely the men’s creation, instrumental characters through which male writers express their views and social ideologies. This was not new, as the strategic use of female image to convey men’s experience and outlook on the world had become a common practice in the works of male writers: Kiều in *The Tale of Kiều* by Nguyễn Du, the imperial maid in *Cung oán ngâm khúc* [*The Song of the Imperial Maid*] by Nguyễn Gia Thiều and the soldier’s wife in *Chinh phụ ngâm* [*The Song of Soldier’s Wife*] by Phan Huy Ích. In these cases, women exist as “empty” categories subject to constant recreation by male writers. In other words, the woman is simply the signifier without an identity. This interesting theoretical issue will hopefully be further discussed in a separate paper later.

Secondly, implied in the masculinization of femininity presented in *Đoạn tuyệt* are many types of power interrelations: males and females, national identities, the colonizer and the colonized. They are the interrelations between these powers that make the thesis novel (tiểu thuyết luận đề) lose its clarity and coherence to make room for the ambiguity and polyphonic layers of meaning. Theoretically then, is the polysemy of the work more determined by the discourse interaction and power relations than dependent on their sub-category labels and characters?

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<Abstract>

**Masculinization of Femininity –
A Gender-Based Reading of *Đoạn tuyệt*
[*Breaking Off*] by Nhất Linh**

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Đoạn tuyệt is the representative of not only Nhất Linh's literary life but also of the Tự Lực Văn Đoàn [Self-Strength Literary Group]. *Đoạn tuyệt's* contributions are emphasized in the following aspects: 1) critique of the feudal family model, 2) an advocate of female and individual liberation, 3) nationalistic content, though rather vague. Based on analysis of gender power relations in the masculinization of femininity exemplified in the character Loan of the novel, this paper addresses the following points:

- In *Đoạn tuyệt*, the woman is eager to free herself from feudalist ties not to construct her own identity but to identify her with men's identities.
- The construction of new feminine identities was conditioned in new rising discourses of Western modernity-based nationalisms in pre-revolutionary Vietnam.
- The feminization of masculinity echoes the crisis of Vietnamese masculine in facing colonial power.

Key words : Vietnamese literature, discourse, masculinity, femininity

인도네시아 자바 사원 연구

A Study of Temple on Java Island

가종수*

GA Jong Su

I. 힌두교와 불교

인도네시아의 대표적인 사원은 보로부두르와 찬디 로로 종그랑이다. 중부 자바 족자카르타 주변에 남아 있는 불교와 힌두교를 대표하는 유네스코 지정 세계문화유산이다. 세계 최고·최대의 불교 유적 보로부두르, 세계에서 가장 아름다운 힌두교 사원 찬디 로로 종그랑이라는 수식어가 붙는다.

자바 예술의 원류는 인도에서 기원하는 힌두교와 불교이다. 자바에 전래한 이들 2 종교는 때로는 서로 경합하지만, 시간이 지나면서 서로 융합하여 인도에서 볼 수 없는 독자적인 종교로 탈바꿈한다. 보로부두르 부조는 인도 불교의 영향을 부정할 수 없다. 하지만 불탑을 공양하는 부조에는 브라만 승려가 새겨져 있다. 이러한 현상을 힌두교와 불교의 ‘자바화’라고 부르며, 힌두교와 불교는 1,000년 가까이 자바의 사회, 문화, 예술에 큰 영향을 끼쳤다.

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<그림 1> 보로부두르



<그림 2> 찬디 로로 종그랑

힌두교는 인도의 브라만교에서 발전한 것으로 인도의 모든 종교 요소를 내포하고 있다. 기원전 7세기부터 기원전 5세기경에 성립한 브라만교는 다신교이다. 브라만교는 대자연의 구성 요소나 여러 현상을 신격화해서 숭배한다. 주요한 신은 스리아(태양신), 인드라(뇌신), 아구니(화신)이다. 그 후에 힌두교가 체계화되고 나서 비슈누가 천상계에서

태양을 표상하는 신이 된다. 또 공계(空界)에는 힌두교의 가장 중요한 시바 신이 되는 루드라(폭풍 신)가 있다.

이들 베다의 신들은 처음에는 서로 각각 찬양되어 서로 종교적인 연계를 없었다. 그러나 시간이 지나면서 여러 신이 하나의 철학적 사상으로 통일하면서 신 바로 그 자체보다도 이러한 신을 제사 지내는 제례가 중요시된다. 그에 따라서 제례를 담당하는 사제(브라만 승)의 힘이 강해지고 결국은 브라만 승을 최상층 계급으로 하는 엄격한 카스트 제도가 성립한다. 그것은 카스트 상호 간에 명료한 신분 계층을 형성한 획일적인 사회였다.

기원 전후 브라만교에서 발전한 힌두교는 다신교였지만, 많은 신의 배후에는 유일신이 존재한다는 관념이 잠재하고 있었다. 이러한 의미로 보면 힌두교는 일신교적인 요소도 있다. 신들의 관계는 하나의 신이 다른 측면의 권현(權現)이며 서로 배타적인 것이 아니었다. 그 때문에 많은 신이 구체적 형태로 존재한다.

이러한 관념은 절대 신이 우주에서 창조, 유지, 파괴의 3개로 통합되어 브라마, 비슈누, 시바가 탄생한다. 다양성 안에서의 통일은 힌두교 문화의 큰 특징이다. 3대 신 가운데 비슈누와 시바가 신자를 획득하여 각각 최고신으로 숭배된다. 역사적으로 자바와 발리에서는 시바교가 절대적인 우위를 차지했다. 즉 인도네시아의 힌두교는 시바교라고 할 수 있다. 그러나 비슈누를 주신으로 하는 사원도 있다.

힌두교 사회에서는 생사의 무한한 반복은 세습하는 최상층 브라만이 설득하는 일종의 철학적 관념이었다. 그러나 이러한 브라만 중심의 윤리관은 점차 붕괴하여 새로운 사상이 복잡한 양상으로 등장한다. 기원전 6세기에 브라만교 내부의 개혁파가 대두하여 탄생한 것이 불교이다.

불교는 역사적으로 실존한 석가모니에서 출발한다. 그는 수행으로 정각자인 석가가 된다. 카스트를 부정하고 사람은 누구나 석가가 될 수 있는 소질을 가져 수행에 따라서 성불할 수 있다고 설한다. 또 우주 만물의 존재를 다원적으로 보는 브라만교에 대하여 불교는 그것을 일원적으로 보고 모두 ‘인’과 ‘연’에 의하여 상호 의존하는 것으로 간주했다.

석가 입적 후 몇 세기가 지나면 불교는 아시아 전역에 전파한다. 그와 함께 불교의 원초적인 신앙 형태는 다양화하여 소승불교에서 ‘범불론적 세계관’을 사상으로 하는 대승불교가 대두한다. 이러한 대승불교에 신비 사상이 도입되어 힌두교와 밀접한 밀교가 탄생한다.

자바를 비롯해 인도 종교 문화의 영향을 받은 동남아시아 각지에서 처음으로 수용한 불교는 대승불교였다. 그 후 자바와 발리에서 불교는 힌두교와 융합하면서 독특한 민족 종교로 변신한다. 15세기가 되면서 자바는 이슬람교가 세력을 확장하고 16세기에는 자바의 힌두교 왕조 마자파히트 왕국이 패망하여 발리 섬으로 망명한다. 한편, 동남아시아 대륙부에서는 소승불교가 성행한다.



<그림 3> 불상(보로부두르)

아모가바주라(불공, 705~774년)가 718년에 자바를 순례한 기록이 남아 있다.

원래 힌두교와 불교는 경쟁적인 관계였다. 인간을 중심으로 하여 누구나 다 부처가 될 수 있다고 하는 불교와 신이 지배하는 세계를 신앙하는 힌두교에는 근본적인 성격 차이가 있다. 그럼에도 양자 간의 미묘한 교섭은 이미 기원전부터 시작되었다.

원래 힌두교의 신들은 자연신이다. 신이 자연과 인간을 지배한다는 신앙은 일찍부터 인도인을 강하게 지배하고 있었다. 따라서 이 신들을

8세기 중엽 중부 자바에 돌연히 출현한 대승불교가 얼마나 강력한 세력을 갖고 있었는지는 보로부두르와 현재 남아 있는 불교 사원이 그것을 명료하게 입증하고 있다. 보로부두르는 이 유적의 건립자가 대승불교였던 것을 나타내고 있다. 하지만 당시 불교 중심지였던 인도 나란다에서는 탄트라파가 융성함에 따라서 자바 불교도 밀교가 성행하게 된다. 중국 문헌에도 밀교의 교조 바주라보디(금강지, 670~741년)와

부정하는 새로운 종교인 불교를 포교하기는 쉽지 않았다. 이러한 이유로 불교는 석가의 설법에 의해 힌두교 신들이 교화되어 불법을 수호한다고 설한다. 교묘하게 힌두교 신을 불교 수호신으로 바꿔 놓고 있다. 특히 밀교는 그 신앙 형태가 불교의 무신론적 성격을 배제하여 힌두교와 융합한다.

원래 대승불교는 그 독특한 관대함 때문에 다른 종교와 혼합하기 쉬운 측면이 있었다. 불교 신앙 안에 힌두교가 융합하는 한편, 힌두교도 석가를 비슈누의 화신으로 숭배한다. 이렇게 인도네시아 불교는 힌두교와 통합하는 형태로 전개한다.

인도네시아에 전래 된 초기의 불교는 힌두교와의 융합(syncretism)이 현저하여, 사원과 종교 미술에서 이 2 종교를 이교로 구별하는 것은 불가능하다. 특히 힌두교와 불교 사원 대부분이 물론 예외는 있다고 해도 기본적으로 같은 형태이다. 중부 자바에 남아 있는 고대 사원 건축을 일반적으로 힌두교 사원과 불교 사원으로 분류한다. 하지만 이것은 불교와 힌두교라는 종교에 의한 분류법으로 양자의 건축은 매우 유사하다. 물론 자바 섬에서도 기반을 달리하는 힌두교와 불교의 ‘신상 불상’은 다르지만, 사원(Candi)의 건축 차이는 거의 없고, 인도의 영향을 받았다. 하지만 보로부두르는 인도 전래의 불교와 힌두교의 조형 건축과는 전혀 다른 독특한 건축 공간을 하고 있다.

자바에 전래한 힌두교와 불교는 서로 공존 관계에 있었다. 힌두교와 불교는 일반적으로 동남아시아의 민중에게 단일한 것으로 인도 문명의 2 측면에 지나지 않는다. 자바인에게는 힌두교든 불교든 조상 전래의 토착 종교라는 기본 틀 안에서 하나의 신앙 형태로 수용한다. 이러한 자



<그림 4> 브라만 승의 불탑을 공양(보로부두르, 제1회랑 주벽 하층)

바 풍토에서 힌두교와 불교는 서로 융합하여 ‘자바화’가 진행된다. 힌두교와 불교를 서로 다른 종교로 간주하고 있었던 것은 이러한 종교를 이용하여 권력을 강화하려 했던 지배층뿐이었을지도 모른다.

이렇게 해서 힌두교와 불교는 자바에서 공존하고 힌두·자바 예술을 낳는데, 시대가 지나면서 양자가 융합하는 현상은 점점 현저하게 나타난다. 동부 자바기가 되면 2 종교는 분별조차 곤란해져 결국 ‘시바 붓다’라고 하는 혼합 종교가 성행한다. 시바 신과 석가를 숭배하는 ‘자만 붓다’ 또는 ‘아가마 붓다’라고 하는 독특한 힌두교, 불교가 성립한다. 인도 문화를 수용했다는 의미로 ‘인도화’라는 표현이 사용되지만, 이러한 표현이 무색할 정도로 자바 민족의 주체성이 점차 강해진다.

인도의 광대한 지역 안에는 문화, 언어, 종교 등 많은 다양성이 존재하고 있다. 인도 여러 지역의 문화가 각각 오랜 시간에 걸쳐서 파상적으로 자바에 전래한다. 종교 미술사와 비문 연구로부터 인도 남부의 팔라바 왕조, 출라 왕조, 동부의 팔라 왕조, 서부의 구자랏 왕조, 그리고 스리랑카 등이 자바 힌두교, 불교의 기원지로 여겨지고 있다. 자바 초기 힌두교 사원은 6~7세기경 남인도 사원 형태와 유사하다.

자바에 여러 인도 왕국의 다양한 문화와 예술이 동시에 전래한다. 이러한 문화는 시간이 지나면서 다양한 양식이 조화하여 새로운 형식으로 재창조된다. 자바 문화의 재창조는 극히 일반적이고 자연스러운 현상이라고 할 수 있다. ‘힌두 자바기’의 건축이나 조각 등이 명확하게 인도 조형의 영향을 보이면서도 자바만의 특색과 아름다움이 있다.

인도 문화가 자바에 전래·수용하는 과정은 반드시 인도에서 일방적으로 전해진 것이 아니다. 이것은 우리 문화가 중국의 일방적인 영향과 수혜로 성립하지 않은 것과 같다. 인도의 여러 왕조도 동서 무역에서 자바 왕조와의 교류는 절대적으로 필요했다. 또한, 많은 자바인이 바다를 건너 인도에 가서 인도 문화를 자바에 전했던 점도 간과해서는 안 된다. 인도와 인도네시아 왕조는 상호 이익을 위해서 왕래가 있었고, 이러한 과정에서 자연스럽게 자바는 인도 문화를 수용한다.

II. 서부 자바기

동남아시아 고대사의 중심 무대는 자바 섬이다. 인도 문명을 원천으로 하는 인도네시아의 고대 문화를 ‘힌두 자바 예술’(불교), 혹은 인도네시아 고대사를 ‘힌두 자바기’로 부르는 것은 인도네시아에서 ‘힌두교와 자바’가 예부터 그 중심이었기 때문이다.

기원전 1세기 때부터 인도양을 건너서 인도 상인이 자바를 왕래하면서, 힌두교와 불교의 영향을 받은 자바 문화가 융성한다. 서부 자바의 가장 오래된 산스크리트어 비문이 자카르타, 반텐, 보고르에서 발견되었다. 이들 비문 중에 치아루톤 비문, 잠부 비문, 트구 비문에는 타르마누가라 왕국의 푸르나바르만이라는 왕국과 왕명이 기록되어 있다. 쿠본 코피 비문은 왕명이 기록되어 있지 않지만, 부라후미 글자체와 내용으로 보아 다른 3 비문과 유사점이 많아 이들 비문은 서로 관련하는 것으로 여겨진다.

치아루톤 비문은 보고르 북서 12km의 치아루톤 마을에 있다. 비문(지름 2m, 높이 160cm)은 흑갈색 화산암에 새겨져 있다. 비문은 4줄의 부라후미 문자 음각 문과 판독하기 어려운 한 줄의 문자, 음각한 사람 발자국, 알 수 없는 기호 2개가 새겨져 있다. 4줄의 문자는 ‘용감한 지상



<그림 5> 치아루톤 비문

의 수호자 푸르나바르만 타루마네가라 왕국 지배자의 비슈누와 같은 이의 양발'이라고 판독되고 있다. 이 4줄의 비문은 산스크리트어로 새겨져 있다.

비문에 등장하는 푸르나바르만(Purnavarman) 왕에 대해서 알 수 있는 구체적인 사료는 없다. 중국 사서에 동남아시아에 관한 기록이 나오는 것은 5세기 이후이다. 『송서』 열전 권 57 각파파달국(閻婆婆達國)조에 적혀 있는 사려파달도아라천마(師黎婆達陶阿羅踐摩)가 푸르나바르만 왕이라고 보는 설도 있다. 그러나 『송서』이외의 외국 관련 기록에 동남아시아 제국의 왕명에 바르만(踐摩)가 따라붙는 것을 보면 이 푸르나바르만의 왕명도 인도 문화의 영향을 받은 것이다.

푸르나바르만 왕은 비슈누 신으로 여겨지고 있다는 기록을 보면 왕이 힌두교를 신앙하고 있었던 것 같다. 자바에 관한 가장 오랜 기록은 414년에 스리랑카에서 출발해서 중국에 돌아가는 도중에 야파제국(耶婆提國, 현재의 자바)에 당도한 법현(法顯)의 기록이다. 법현은 자바 섬에 대해서 '그 나라는 브라만교가 융성하다.'고 기록(『불국기』乃到一國名耶婆提其國外道婆羅門興盛(佛法不足言)하고 있어, 5세기 초기 자바에 인도 문화의 영향이 미치고 있었던 것을 알 수 있다. 법현이 전하는 기록은 푸르나바르만의 비문 기록과 부합한다.

이 비문에 사용된 문자는 구란타 문자이다. 이 구란타 문자는 4세기 ~8세기 남인도 팔라바 왕조의 문자이다. 이들 자바 비문에 의해서 5세기에 힌두교가 전해진 것을 알 수 있다. 하지만 아직까지 자바에서 5세기경의 사원 유적은 발견되지 않았다.

수나라(589~618년)의 『수서』에 임읍(林邑), 파리(婆利) 등의 나라 이름과 '사람이 불법을 섬기고 브라만을 가장 소중히 여긴다'는 기록이 있다. 자바와 발리에 인도에서 내향한 브라만이 사회적으로 중요한 지위를 차지하고 있었던 것을 기록이 전하고 있다. 동시에 이러한 상황이 적어도 7세기까지 계속된다. 자바 섬(야파: 곡물의 섬을 의미)은 말레이 반도의 여러 나라에 곡물(쌀)을 수출하여 인도와 중국의 산물을 수입하고 있었다.

인도에서 전래한 다양한 문화는 자바의 기층문화와 융합하면서 점차 독자적인 문화를 형성한다. 7세기 후반부터 16세기 초기에 이르는

시기에 인도네시아에 번성한 종교 예술을 ‘힌두·자바 예술’이라 부른다. 힌두 자바 예술의 정확인 사원은 고대 자바어로 ‘찬디’(candi)라고 한다. 인도문화의 전래는 자바 섬보다는 수마트라 섬이 빠르고 중부보다 서부에서 먼저 시작한다. 하지만 수마트라와 서부 자바에는 중부 자바와 같이 화려한 사원이 남아 있지 않다. 그러나 초기의 인도 문화 흔적은 서부 자바 이외에서는 그다지 발견되지 않고 있다. 따라서 이 시대의 ‘힌두·자바 문화’를 ‘서부 자바기’라고 부른다.

서부 자바에서 초기 사원 유적이 발견되지 않는 것은 자바의 자연환경과 밀접한 관계가 있다. 자바는 인도네시아 중남부의 대 순다열도에 속하는 섬으로 동서(동서 약 1,000km, 남북 약 200km)로 가늘고 긴 섬이다. 이러한 지형으로 말미암아 같은 자바 안에서도 서부와 중부·동부의 자연환경이 매우 다르다. 서부는 수마트라, 말레이반도, 칼리만탄과 같은 열대우림 지대로 대부분 정글로 뒤덮여 있어 사람이 살 수 있는 적합한 토지가 적다. 하지만 중부와 동부는 열대몬순 기후로 강과 화산이 많다. 화산재는 비옥한 토지를 제공하고, 화산구는 산 밑에 풍부한 물을 제공하여, 자바 중부와 동부는 예부터 많은 사람이 살기에 적합한 지역이었다.

자바 섬 동서의 척량산맥에는 약 120개의 화산(20개의 활화산)이 있다. 중부·동부 자바의 화산은 대부분이 2,000m 이상이다. 중부 자바의 산맥 중에는 반둥 고원, 카루 고원, 디엥 고원, 말랑 고원과 같은 많은 분지가 산재한다. 층적 평야는 주로 중앙 산지의 북쪽에 전개하고, 이들 화산을 끼고 치다룸 강, 치마누쿠 강, 톱 강, 솔로 강, 부란타스 강 등의 큰 하천이 흐르고 있다. 그중에서도 중부 자바의 솔로 강은 자바 섬 최대의 하천으로 그 유역은 동부 자바의 부란타스 유역과 함께 자바의 곡창지대를 이루고 있다.

한편, 서부 자바는 수전 경작을 하며 사람이 살기에는 적합하지 않은 환경과 토지였다. 고대 서부 자바는 오래된 비문이 보고르를 중심으로 출토하는 것을 보면 물이 많은 고원 지대에 몇 개의 작은 수장국이 있었던 것으로 추정된다. 민족학이나 언어적으로 자바인은 순다인(서부), 자바인(중부·동부), 마두라인(마두라 섬)으로 분류한다. 자바의 선주민족은 순다인이다. 자바인(중부·동부)의 선조는 기원전 1500년

에 대륙에서 남하한 오스트로네시아어족이다. 그 후 기원전 5~6세기가 되면서 서(西)인도네시아어군의 집단이 도래한다. 해양 기술과 농업 기술이 능숙한 민족으로 인도네시아어파라고 한다. 이때 도래한 사람들은 자바에 정주하여 그들이 현재의 순다인과 자바인의 선조가 된다.



<그림 6> 찬디 창쿠앙

서부 자바의 순다인이 세운 수장국 중에 가루 왕국이 있었다. 풍부한 물과 고원지대라는 점은 보고르의 수장국 입지와 일치한다. 서부 자바에서 유일하게 원형을 남기고 있는 사원이 찬디 창쿠앙이다. 반둥 동남쪽에 가룟의 창쿠앙 호수 안에 사원이 있다. 1966년에 발견되어 기단만 남아 있었던 것을 1978년 인도네시아 고고학연구소에서 복원했다(기단 길이와

폭 4.5m, 높이 8.5m). 가루 왕국이 8세기 초에 세운 사원이다.

Ⅲ. 중부 자바기

8세기가 되면 폭발적인 종교 예술 활동이 중부 자바에서 시작된다. 이리하여 ‘힌두·자바 예술’ 전성기인 중부 자바기(7세기 후반~10세기 초)의 막이 오른다. 약 280년간 족자카르타를 중심으로 하는 중부 자바기의 역사는 남아 있는 사원과 유적과는 대조적으로 그다지 명확하게 알려지지 않았다.

자바 섬에서 7세기~15세기 비문이 1,000개 이상 발견되었다. 이러한 비문 연구로 5세기경부터 인도화한 몇 개의 수장국이 있었던 것이 밝혀졌다. 즉 사일렌드라 왕국 이전부터 몇 개의 소왕국이 존재했다. 당

시 자바에는 ‘라마’라고 하는 장로가 운영하는 자립적인 공동체 ‘와메나’(마을)가 있었다. 이 와메나가 모여서 ‘라카’(수장국)를 만든다. 시간이 지나면서 라카는 세력 싸움을 통해서 강대한 연합 왕국을 건설한다. 몇 개의 지역에서 활거 하는 강력한 라카의 수장들은 힌두교와 불교를 받아들여 왕권을 강화해간다. 중부 자바의 사일렌드라 왕국과 마타람 왕국도 라카에서 출발한다.

당나라(618~907년)의 문헌 사료에 태종 정관 14년(640년)부터 현종 원화 13년(818년)까지 ‘각파(閣婆), 파릉(波陵), 가릉(訶陵)’이라는 나라가 10회 정도 조공한 사실을 기록하고 있다. ‘가릉’은 중부 자바에 있었던 사일렌드라 왕조 혹은 마타람 왕조로 추정되고 있다.

중부 자바의 찬디 구농 우키르에서 732년 명이 있는 산스크리트어 비문이 발견되었다. 그 후 케두 분지에서 907년 명의 ‘카위어’(고대 자바어) 비문이 출토했다. 이 2 비문은 ‘산자나 및 산자야’라고 하는 부자를 시조라고 해서 시바교를 믿는 마타람 왕조(산자야 왕조)가 존재했던 것을 알 수 있다. 마타람 왕조 중심지는 케두 분지 안의 부미 마타람이다. 이 케두 분지에는 옥토가 많아 예부터 많은 사람이 살았다.

비문은 산자야 왕(732~760년), 라카이 파낭카란 왕(760~780년), 라카이 파농갈란 왕(780~800년), 라카이 와락 왕(800~819년), 라카이 가릉 왕(819~838년), 라카이 피카탄 왕(838~?), 라카이 카유왕이 왕(863?~882년), 라카이 와투후마라 왕(882~?), 라카이 와투쿠라 바리통 왕(?~910년) 등 9대째 왕명을 전하고 있다.

현재까지 연구된 비문을 종합하면 717년에 산자야 왕이 마타람 왕국을 건국한 것이 된다. 마타람 왕국을 창건한 산자야 왕은 시바 신을 최고신으로 하여 많은 사원을 건립하고 8세기 중반에 서거한다. 그 후 라카이 피카탄 왕 시대에 마타람 왕국은 전성기를 맞이하고, 10세기 초에 멸망한다. 그러나 16세기에 또다시 이슬람 왕조인 마타람 왕조가 등장한다. 그 때문에 8세기 마타람 왕국을 고 마타람 왕국이라고 불러 16세기 이후의 신 마타람 왕국과 구별하여 부른다.

중부 자바에 많은 불교 사원을 건립한 것은 사일렌드라 왕조이다. 사일렌드라의 Saila는 ‘산’, Indra는 ‘왕’이라는 의미이다. 사일렌드라는 ‘산의 왕’이라는 뜻이다. 사일렌드라의 이름이 최초로 등장하는 것

은 찬디 카라산에서 출토한 778년의 비문이다. 찬디 카라산 가까운 쿠루라크에서 782년의 비문이 출토했다. 이들 2 비문은 8세기 후반에 사일렌드라 왕조가 중부 자바를 지배했던 것을 입증하고 있다.



<그림 7> 찬디 카라산



<그림 8> 비슈누(찬디 바논)

또 다른 비문에는 사일렌드라 왕국이 탄생한 것은 742년이라는 기록이 있다. 비문을 통해서 마타람 왕국이 성립한 이후에 프람바난을 중심으로 사일렌드라 왕국이 성립한 것을 알 수 있다.

중부 자바기의 비문 연구는 다음과 같이 정리할 수 있다. 우선 7세기 후반부터 8세기 초기까지는 산자하 및 산자야 부자에 의해서 시바교를 신앙하는 마타람 왕조가 케두 분지를 중심으로 나라를 건국했다. 마타람 왕조가 발상지인 케두에 조영한 시바교의 중심적 사원이 찬디 바논이다. 찬디 바논 건립 시기는 770~

780년경, 즉 마타람 왕조 제2대 왕 라카이 파낭구카란(760~780년) 때로 추정되고 있다.

마타람 왕조는 케두 지역에서 발생했지만, 중부 자바 북쪽의 디엥이나 운가란의 산간부에 7세기 후반부터 힌두교 사원을 조영한다. 이러한 사원을 북방형 찬디라고 한다. 또한, 마타람 왕조는 남부의 프람바난에도 영향을 주고 있었던 것이 카라산 비문에 기록되어 있다. 비문에는 마타람 왕조 제2대 왕 파낭구카란의 이름이 보인다.



<그림 9> 북방형 찬디(그동 송고 3군)

한편, 마타람 왕국 성립 이후에 등장한 사일렌드라 왕국은 불교를 국교로 해서 단숨에 세력을 확장하여 힌두교 왕국 마타람을 지배한다. 더욱이 참파(베트남), 크메르(캄보디아)를 공격하여 동남아시아의 해양 무역을 장악한다.

중부 자바에서 융성했던(752년 푸룬푼간 비문) 대승불교의 사일렌드라 왕조는 인도의 팔라 왕조 문화를 도입하면서 처음에는 중부 자바의 프람바난에 정착하며 세력을 키워간다(778년 카라산 비문, 778년 라투 보코 비문, 782년 쿠루라크 비문). 찬디 카라산, 찬디 세우, 찬디 사리, 찬디 푸라오산 등의 많은 불교 사원을 프람바난 평야에 건립한다. 그와 동시에 북상해서 케두 분지에 진출하여 찬디 바논 가까운 곳에 찬디 므똣, 찬디 누가웬을 조영한다. 그 후 사일렌드라 왕국은 농업과 행

상무역을 통하여 대제국이 된다. 사일렌드라 왕조는 그 세력이 더욱 융성함에 따라서 찬디 문dots을 증축하고 케두 분지 한복판에 보로부두르를 건립한다. 케두 분지의 불교 사원은 사일렌드라 왕조가 일부러 마카람 왕조 본거지 가까운 곳에 세운 과시용의 기념물(영묘)이다.



<그림 10> 라투 보코



<그림 11> 찬디 누가웬

케두에 세력을 굳힌 사일렌드라 왕조는 보로부두르 착공한 후에도 프람바난 평야 지대에 찬디 푸라오산, 찬디 카라산, 찬디 세우의 증축

(792년) 등 불교 사원 조영에 주력했다. 하지만 사일렌드라 왕조는 마타람 왕조의 본거지로 여겨지는 케두 분지 북쪽 지방에는 진출하지 않는다. 한편, 마타람 왕조는 케두 분지에서 사일렌드라 왕조의 영향을 받으면서 점차 불교 세력에 밀려서 주로 케두 북쪽 지역의 통치에 집중한다. 케두에 남겨진 찬디 바논과 찬디 구농 우키르는 불교가 융성함에 따라 그 후 폐사되어 소멸한다.



<그림 12> 찬디 세우

비문 연구로 당시 사일렌드라 왕국을 통치하고 있었던 왕들의 이름은 다음과 같이 밝혀지고 있다. 752~775년의 바누 왕, 775~782년의 비슈누 왕(다루마통가 왕), 782~812년(824년 비문)의 인드라 왕(상라마난자야 왕), 812~832년(824년 비문)의 사마라통가 왕, 835~856년의 발라푸트라 데와 왕, 856년의 푸라모다바루다니 여왕 등 6명이다.

영토 확장을 열심히 했던 인드라 왕은 말라카 해협을 지배하에 둔다. 사마라통가 왕자를 스리위자야 왕국의 공주와 정략 결혼시켜서 왕권을 강화한다. 사마라통가 왕은 인드라 왕의 후계자로 그의 치세에 보로부두르 조영이 시작된다. 사마라통가 왕은 보로부두르 완성을 보지 못한 채 숨을 거두고 그의 후계자로 발라푸트라 데와 왕이 즉위한다. 그 후 발라푸트라 데와 왕은 누나인 푸라모다바루다니 여왕과 권력 싸움에 패하여 폐위되어 외가인 스리위자야 왕국으로 망명한다.

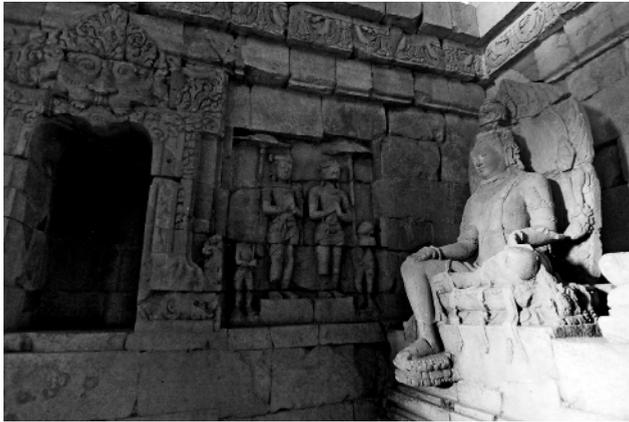
하지만 지금도 ‘사일렌드라 왕조를 세운 사람들은 어디에서 온 것일까?’라는 의문이 남아 있다. 8세기 당시 자바에는 힌두교가 일반적이었고 중부 자바에는 수장국(라카)이 연합하여 세운 마타람 왕국이 성립해 있었다. 그러나 사일렌드라 왕국은 대승불교를 믿었다. 마타람 왕국은 가까운 곳에 이교도 세력이 결집하여 세운 사일렌드라 왕국의 탄생을 그대로 보고만 있었던 것일까? 한나라 지배하에 고구려 건국이 얼마나 어려웠다는 것을 우리는 잘 알고 있다. 그래서 오랫동안 사일렌드라 왕조는 수마트라의 쉬리위자야 왕국(대승불교) 출신 설이 유력했다. 즉 사일렌드라 왕국은 쉬리위자야 왕족이 건국한 나라로 추정됐다. 그러나 그 후 사일렌드라 왕국이 쉬리위자야 왕국을 침략한 것을 보면 양 왕조 간의 혈연관계는 생각할 수 없다는 지적이 있다.

또 다른 가설은 캄보디아의 ‘부남국’(扶南國) 유래설이다. 부남은 사일렌드라와 같이 ‘산의 왕’을 의미한다. 또한, 부남국은 대승불교를 믿었다. 6세기 후반에 힌두교를 믿는 크메르인의 침략으로 7세기 전반에 부남국은 멸망한다. 그 부남국의 후예들이 바다를 건너 중부 자바에 정착하여 해상 무역을 통해 새로운 왕국을 건설했다는 것이 이 가설의 근거가 된다. 그 후 사일렌드라 왕국은 크메르 왕국을 집요하게 공격하여 지배한다. 이것 또한 부남국 시대의 원한 관계로 해석하는 연구자가 많다.

사일렌드라 왕조와 크메르 왕조는 서로 깊은 관계를 유지하고 있었던 것은 역사적인 사실이다. 크메르 왕국의 왕자들이 유년기를 사일렌드라 왕국에서 성장했다. 770년에 자바에서 귀국한 자야바르만 2세는 앙코르 왕조를 건설한다. 또 1명이 자야바르만 7세이다. 1199년에는 참파를 멸망시켜 앙코르 왕조 최성기를 만든 국왕이 자야바르만 7세이다. 자야바르만 7세도 자바에서 유년기를 보냈다. 찬디 푸라오산의 주실 안에 크메르 왕족으로 보이는 부조가 새겨져 있다. 이러한 사일렌드라 왕국과 크메르 왕국의 관계는 백제와 일본과의 관계를 이해하는데 시사하는 바가 많다.



<그림 13> 찬디 푸라오산



<그림 14> 찬디 푸라오산 로르(남쪽 사당 내부)



<그림 15>
크메르 왕조의 사신으로 보이는
인물상
(찬디 푸라오산 로르, 남쪽 사당)

한편, 9세기 중반이 되면 마타람 왕조의 라카이 피카탄 왕과 사일렌드라 왕조의 푸라모다바루다니 공주가 결혼하여 사실상 사일렌드라 왕국은 마타람 왕국에 합병 당한다. 이러한 왕권 교체에 의한 변화는 사일렌드라 왕국의 본거지인 프람바난 일대에서 현저하게 나타난다. 불교 사원인 찬디 푸라오산, 찬디 카라산, 찬디 세우의 인근에 대규모 힌두교 사원 찬디 로로 종그랑이 출현한다(856년 이후). 이제까지 라카이 피카탄 왕은 간접적으로 사일렌드라 왕가의 지배하에 있었다. 그 후 부인을 대신하여 권력을 잡으면서 그는 마타람 왕국을 부활시킨다. 사일렌드라 왕국으로부터 권력을 탈취한 라카이 피카탄 왕은 그 권위를 과시하듯이 프람바난에 찬디 로로 종그랑을 건설한다. 이후 자바 왕조는 힌두교가 중심이 되고 불교 왕조는 등장하지 않는다.

더욱이 세계사에도 유례를 볼 수 없는 석조 대 사원을 건립한 조영 에너지가 10세기 초기 갑자기 소멸해 가는 것도 알 수 없는 수수께끼이다. 이러한 원인에 대해서는 여러 가설이 제기되었다. 1966년 삼비사리의 지하 5m에서 화산재에 묻힌 사원이 발견되었다. 따라서 중부 자바 사원 건립의 쇠퇴 혹은 소멸은 화산 폭발이 직접적인 원인이었을 가능성이 크다. 또 하나의 이유는 찬디 로로 종그랑을 완성한 다쿠사 왕 이후 정권이 단명으로 끝난다. 마타람 왕조 라카이 와와 왕은 업푸 신독을 보좌역에 앉혀서 화산 폭발에 의한 위난을 수습한다. 하지만 라카이 와



<그림 16> 찬디 삼비사리

와 왕 사후에 왕위에 오른 신독은 스리위자야 왕국의 침략을 대비하여 수도를 동부 자바로 옮겨 무당 카무란 왕국을 건국한다. 이렇게 마타람 왕국은 중부 자바에서 막을 내린다.

IV. 동부 자바기

마타람 왕국 사람들을 자바 족이라고 부른다. 그들은 중부 자바를 버리고 동부로 이주한다. 중부 자바기의 종말에 이어지는 신독 왕 재위기인 10세기 전반부터 약 600년(929~1530년)간을 동부 자바기라고 부른다. 자바 역사 흐름에 따라서 동부 자바기는 ①10세기 신독 왕 재위기(929~948년)부터 1042년까지의 무당 카무란 왕조기, ②1042년부터 1222년의 크디리 왕조기, ③1222년에서 1292년까지가 싱고사리 왕조기, ④13세기 말부터 16세기 초기까지를 마자파힛 왕조기로 분류할 수 있다.

이 시대를 동부 자바기라고 부르지만 실제로는 지역적으로 더 넓은 지역을 가리키고 있다. 무당 카무란, 크디리, 싱고사리, 마자파힛의 4 왕조가 흥망성쇠를 했는데, 이들 왕국은 동부 자바를 벗어난 넓은 지역까지 지배했다. 지리적으로 인접한 발리 섬의 왕조가 동부 자바 왕조들



<그림 17> 찬디 파나타란

과 밀접한 교류를 하면서 힌두교 문화를 형성해 간다. 특히 마자파힛 왕조는 현재의 인도네시아 영토 전역을 지배하는 대 제국을 건설한다. 하지만 중부 자바기에서 볼 수 있었던 폭발적인 사원 조영 활동은 그다지 찾아볼 수 없다.

동부 자바기의 정치, 문화, 예술의 중심 무대는 부란타스 강 유역 일대였다. 동부 자바의 마하메루로 여기는 폐낭공간 산을 비롯한 화산이 있고, 이들 성산은 신들의 보금자리로 많은 사원 유적이 남아 있다. 부란타스 강 흐름에 따라서 동부 자바기의 수도였던 싱고사리, 크디리, 마자파힛, 와탕 마스가 있다. 부란타스 강과 신들의 보금자리가 어우러진 곳에서 자바 예술 제2의 황금기를 맞이하게 된다.

정치의 중심이 동부 자바에 이동한 것은 자연의 뜻하지 않은 재해와 외부 침략의 대비에 의한 것이었다고 한다면, 문화와 예술의 이동은 자연스럽게 진행했다. 다시 말해 동부 자바의 인도 문화 영향은 중부에서 동부로 정치적인 이동이 일어나기 전부터 이미 시작되었다. 말랑 서북의 디노요에서 출토한 760년 비문은 중부 자바 왕조가 동부 자바에 영향을 끼치고 있었던 것을 알려준다. 중부 자바 사원 양식이 동부 자바의 여기저기에 보이는 것으로 보아 문화의 전파가 서서히 진행했던 것을 알 수 있다.

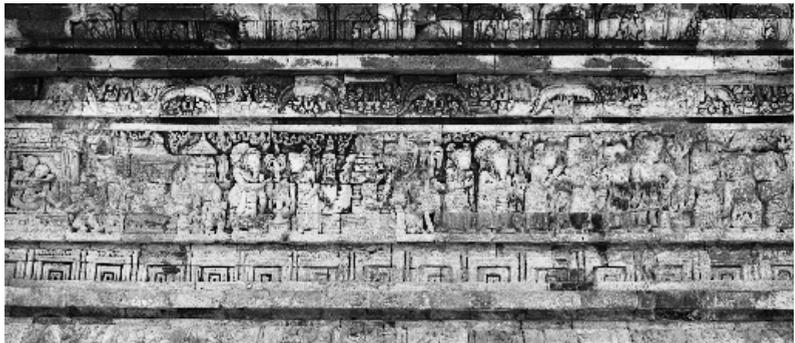
동부 자바기 600년간 인도네시아 문화 예술은 그 이전과 현저하게 다른 양상으로 변화해 간다. 중부 자바기의 사원과 조각은 인도 조형을



<그림 18> 아르주나 비바하(찬디 수라우노)

강하게 반영한 것이지만, 동부 자바기가 되면서 자바 고유문화가 부활한다. 자바 동부 내륙 지방이 정치·문화의 중심이 되면서 자바 독자색이 현저하게 나타난다. 이러한 변화는 신들에게 봉헌하는 비문을 산스크리트어에서 자바어를 사용하는 것으로 시작한다.

인도 서사시 라마야나 이야기는 찬디 로로 종그랑의 찬디 시바와 찬디 브라마 회랑에 부조되어 있다. 이들 회랑에 새겨진 부조는 인도 굽타 양식의 영향을 받은 것이다. 시간이 지나면서 이야기가 자바인에게 인기를 끌게 되자 인도의 서사시가 고대 자바어로 번역된다. 이러한 번역은 동부 자바기가 되면 인도의 원전에 따르지 않고 새롭게 자바 이야기로 각색된다. 예를 들면 인도의 풍경이 자바의 풍경으로, 혹은 라마야나의 라마와 시타, 마왕 라바나 등은 인도인이 아니라 자바인으로 탈바꿈한다.



<그림 19> 수다마라 이야기(찬디 티고완기)

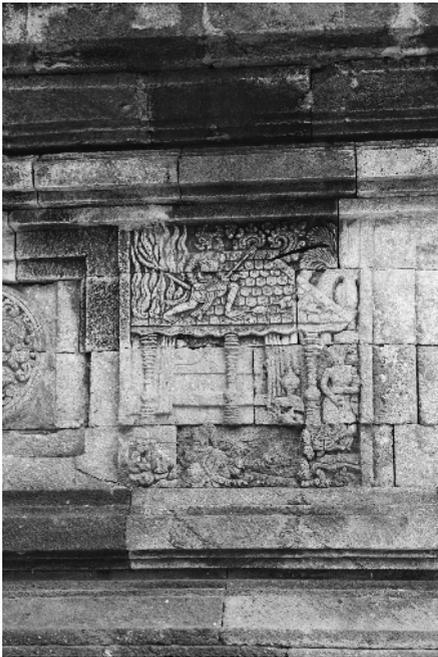
이러한 인도 문학은 힌두교를 학습하는데 사용되었는데 그것이 자바어로 번역되면서 여러 가지 변화가 생긴다. 이야기 배경, 인물은 물론 내용까지 완전히 자바 풍으로 모습을 바꾼다. 인도의 이야기가 자바 이야기로 바뀌면서 자바인이 이러한 작품에 열광하게 된다. 인도의 서사시는 그 후 동부 자바 왕조의 문학, 연극, 무용을 주제로 인기를 끌면서 사원을 장식하는 부조로 새겨진다.

와양 극에 사용하는 가죽제 꼭두각시 인형은 매우 독특한 형태로 양식화한 것이다. 동부 자바기의 사원을 장식하는 부조는 완전히 ‘자바화한 표현’(와양 양식)이 되고 있다. 인도 원작의 신화를 주제로 하고 있지

만, 등장인물은 독특한 와양 양식에 따라 새겨졌다. 동부 자바기의 찬디



<그림 20> 와양 극



<그림 21> 랑카 성에 불을 지르는 하누만(찬디 파나타란 라마야나 이야기)

파나타란 주당 기단을 장식한 라마야나 부조가 그 전형적인 예이다. 같은 라마야나를 주제로 하는 찬디 로로 종그랑 부조와 비교하면 자바 예술의 전기와 후기의 양식 차이를 확실하게 알 수 있다. 이러한 인도네시아 고유문화의 재창조야말로 동부 자바기 문화예술의 가장 현저한 특징이다.

동부 자바 문화와 예술은 인도의 영향에서 일탈한다. 그와 더불어 건축과 조각에서도 인도적인 요소를 배제하고 자바 고유문화를 부활시킨다.

중부 자바기 조형은 기념비적인 역동감을 느낄 수 있지만, 동부 자바기 조형은 민예(民藝)적인 친근감이 있다. 박장식 교수(2012)가 동남아시아 예술에서 지적하듯이 동부 자바기의 예술 자체도 민예와 공예를 확연히 구분할 수 없다.

15세기가 되면 이슬람교가 자바 섬에서 세력을 확장하는데, 한편

오지의 산악 지대에서는 선사시대 기층문화가 힌두교와 융합하여 매우 특이한 사원이 세워진다. 예를 들면 중부 자바의 찬디 수쿠와 찬디 체토와 같이 산 사면에 계단식으로 사역을 조성하여 가장 높은 곳에 석재로 피라미드 신전을 만들었다. 자바의 선사시대의 피라미드 신전 유적과 사원(보로부두르 등)은 크메르 왕조의 피라미드형 사원(바쿱, 프놈 바켅, 박세이 참끄롱, 뿌라삿 톰 등)은 인도의 영향이라기보다는 산악신앙, 조상숭배, 성기숭배, 성수숭배가 결합한 동남아시아 토착 문화에서 유래한다고 생각된다.



<그림 22> 찬디 수쿠



<그림 23> 찬디 체토

15세기 이후 자바 섬은 이슬람교가 성행한다. 라우 산의 피라미드 신전 유적은 힌두교 문화가 쇠퇴하는 것에 비례해서 고유문화가 다시 소생하는 동부 자바기 말기의 ‘힌두·자바 사원’ 종말기 상황을 전해주고 있다. 자바의 힌두교와 불교는 16세기 발리에서 또 다시 화려한 꽃을 피우게 된다.

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<Abstract>

A Study of the Temples on Java Island

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The place where models of Indonesian temples and sculpture remain in best condition is in central Java. Central Java was a center of culture from the 8th century to the 9th century. After the mid-10th century, a dynasty moved from central Java to eastern Java, because of frequent volcanic explosions and illness. Eastern Java became the center of politics and culture until the 16th century, when Islamic culture gained superiority. The classical temples of Indonesia before the rise of Islam are called 'Candi', which we can divide into the western Java period (?~8th century), the central Java period (8th~10th century), the eastern Java period (10th~16th century).

Key words : Indonesia, Java Island, Buddhism and Hinduism Temples

동남아지역원 연구윤리규정

The Research Ethics of ISEAS/BUFS

제정 2009년 02월 27일

개정 2010년 06월 07일

제1장 총 칙

제 1 조 (목적) 본 연구윤리규정(이하 윤리규정이라 칭함)은 동남아지역원(이하 지역 원이라 칭함) 관련자가 연구 활동과 교육 활동을 통해서 이러한 역할을 수행 하는 과정에서 지켜야 할 연구윤리의 원칙과 기준을 규정함을 목적으로 한다.

제 2 조 (적용대상) 이 규정은 지역원이 발행하는 학술지를 포함한 모든 출판물에 기고 하거나 지역원 주최의 학술대회에서 발표하는 연구자에게 적용한다.

제 3 조 (윤리규정 서약)

- ① 지역원과 관련된 연구자는 본 윤리규정을 준수하기로 서약해야한다.
- ② 지역원의 제반 출판물의 원고모집 또는 학술발표대회 기획안을 공고할 때 윤리규정을 함께 공시하여야 하며, 이와 관련된 연구자는 원고를 투고한 시점에 이 규정을 준수하기로 서약한 것으로 본다.

제2장 연구관련 윤리규정

제1절 저자가 지켜야할 윤리규정

제 4 조(표절) 저자는 자신이 행하지 않은 연구나 주장의 일부분을 자신의 연구결과이거나 주장인 것처럼 논문이나 저술에 제시하지 않는다. 타인의 연구결과를 출처를 명시함과 더불어 여러 차례 참조할 수는 있을지라도, 그 일부분을 자신의 연구결과이거나 주장인 것처럼 제시하는 것은 표절이 된다.

제 5 조(출판업적)

- ① 저자는 자신이 실제로 행하거나 공헌한 연구에 대해서만 저자로서의 책임을 지며, 또한 업적으로 인정받는다.
- ② 논문이나 기타 출판업적의 저자(역자)나 저자의 순서는 상대적 지위에 관계없이 연구에 기여한 정도에 따라 정확하게 반영하여야 한다. 단순히 어떤 직책에 있다고 해서 저자가 되거나 제1저자로서의 업적을 인정받는 것은 정당화될 수 없다. 반면, 연구나 저술(번역)에 기여했음에도 공동저자(역자)나 공동연구자로 기록되지 않는 것 또한 정당화될 수 없다.

제 6 조(연구물의 중복 게재 혹은 이중출판) 저자는 국내외를 막론하고 이전에 출판된 자신의 연구물(게재 예정이거나 심사 중인 연구물 포함)을 새로운 연구물인 것처럼 출판(투고)하거나 출판을 시도하지 않는다.

제 7 조(인용 및 참고표시)

- ① 공개된 학술자료를 인용할 경우에는 정확하게 기술하도록 노력해야 하고, 상식에 속하는 자료가 아닌 한 반드시 그 출처를 명확히 밝혀야한다.
- ② 다른 사람의 글을 인용하거나 아이디어 또는 사진 자료를 차용(참고)할 경우에는 반드시 각주(후주)를 통해 인용 여부 및 참고여부를 밝혀야하며, 이러한 표기를 통해 어떤 부분이 선행연구의 결과이고 어떤 부분이 본인의 독창적인 생각·주장·해석인지를 독자가 알 수 있도록 해야 한다.

제 8 조(논문의 수정) 저자는 논문의 평가과정에서 제시된 편집위원과 심사위원의 의견을 가능한 한 수용하여 논문에 반영되도록 노력하여야 한다.

제2절 편집위원이 지켜야할 윤리규정

제 9 조(책임) 편집위원은 투고된 논문의 게재 여부를 결정하는 모든 책임을 지며, 저자의 인격과 학자로서의 독립성을 존중해야한다.

제10조(공평한 취급) 편집위원은 학술지 게재를 위해 투고된 논문을 저자의 성별, 나이, 소속기관은 물론이고 어떤 선입견이나 사적인 친분과도 무관하게 오로지 논문의 질적 수준과 투고 규정에 근거하여 공평하게 취급하여야한다.

제11조(공정한 심사의뢰) 편집위원은 투고된 논문의 평가를 해당분야의 전문적 지식과 공정한 판단능력을 지닌 심사위원에게 의뢰해야한다. 심사의뢰 시에는 저자와 지나치게 친분이 있거나 지나치게 적대적인 심사위원을 피함으로써 가능한 한 객관적인 평가가 이루어질 수 있도록 노력한다.

제12조(비밀유지) 편집위원은 투고된 논문의 게재가 결정될 때까지는 심사자 이외의 사람에게 저자에 대한 사항이나 논문의 내용을 공개하면 안 된다.

제3절 심사위원이 지켜야할 윤리규정

제13조(성실한 심사) 심사위원은 학술지의 편집위원(회)이 의뢰하는 논문을 심사규정이 정한 기간 내에 성실하게 평가하고 평가결과를 편집위원(회)에게 통보해주어야 한다. 만약 자신이 논문의 내용을 평가하기에 책임자가 아니라고 판단될 경우에는 편집위원(회)에게 지체 없이 그 사실을 통보한다.

제14조(공정한 심사) 심사위원은 논문을 개인적인 학술적 신념이나 저자와의 사적인 친분관계를 떠나 객관적 기준에 의해 공정하게 평가하여야한다. 충분한 근거를 명시하지 않은 채 논문을 탈락시키거나, 심사자 본인의 관점이나 해석과 상충된다는 이유로 논문을 탈락시켜서는 안 되며, 심사대상 논문을 제대로 읽지 않은 채 평가해서도 안 된다.

제15조(저자에 대한 존중) 심사위원은 전문지식인으로서의 저자의 인격과 독립성을 존중하여야한다. 평가의견서에는 논문에 대한 자신의 판단을 밝히되, 보완이 필요하다고 생각되는 부분에 대해서는 그 이유도 함께 상세하게 설명해야한다.

제16조(비밀유지) 심사위원은 심사대상 논문에 대한 비밀을 지켜야한다.

제3장 연구윤리위원회

제17조(연구윤리위원회의 구성과 의결)

- ① 연구윤리에 관한 사항을 심의하기 위하여 연구윤리위원회(이하 윤리위원회라 칭함)를 둔다.
- ② 윤리위원회는 지역원장, 편집위원장, 편집위원을 포함하여 5인 이내의 위원으로 구성한다.
- ③ 윤리위원회의 위원장은 편집위원장이 겸임하거나 윤리위원회에서 호선한다.
- ④ 윤리위원회는 재적위원 2/3의 찬성으로 의결한다.

제18조(윤리위원회의 권한)

- ① 윤리위원회는 윤리규정 위반으로 보고된 사안에 대하여 제보자, 피조사자, 증인, 참고인 및 증거자료 등을 통하여 조사를 실시하고, 그 결과를 지역원 운영위원회에 보고한다.
- ② 제14조 내지 제17조 위반이 사실로 판정된 경우에는 윤리위원장은 운영위원회에 적절한 제재조치를 건의할 수 있다.

제19조(윤리위원회의 조사 및 심의) 윤리규정 위반으로 보고된 관련자 또는 비관련자는 윤리위원회에서 행하는 조사에 협조해야한다. 이 조사에 협조하지 않는 것은 그 자체로 윤리규정 위반이 된다.

제20조(소명기회의 보장) 윤리위원회는 윤리규정 위반으로 보고된 해당 연구자에게 충분한 소명기회를 주어야한다.

제21조(조사 대상자에 대한 비밀보호) 윤리규정 위반에 대해 윤리위원회의 최종적인 결정이 내려질 때까지 윤리위원은 해당 연구자의 신원을 외부에 공개해서는 안 된다.

제22조(윤리규정 위반에 대한 제재의 절차 및 내용)

- ① 제18조의 규정에 따라 해당 연구자에 대한 윤리위원회의 보고나 제재 건의가 있을 경우, 지역원장은 운영위원회를 소집하여야 하고, 운영위원회는

제재 여부 및 제재의 내용 등 사후조치를 결정한다.

② 운영위원회가 제14조 내지 제17조를 위반한 해당 연구자를 제재하기로 결정한 경우에는 위반행위의 경중에 따라서 다음 각 호의 1에 해당하는 제재를 할 수 있다. 단, 이들 각 호의 제재는 병과할 수 있다.

1. 논문이 학술지에 게재되기 이전인 경우 또는 학술대회 발표 이전인 경우에는 당해 논문의 게재 또는 발표의 불허.
2. 논문이 학술지에 게재되었거나 학술대회에서 발표된 경우에는 당해 논문의 학술지 게재 또는 학술대회 발표의 소급적 무효화.
3. 향후 일정기간 지역원에서 발간하는 학술지 논문게재 또는 학술대회 논문 발표 및 토론금지.
4. 기타의 제재.

③ 운영위원회가 제2항 제2호의 제재를 결정한 경우에는 그 사실을 공식적 연구업적 관리기관에 통보하며, 기타 적절한 방법을 통하여 대외적으로 공표한다.

④ 운영위원회가 제재를 하지 않기로 결정한 경우에는 그 사실을 지체 없이 윤리위원회와 보고자 및 피보고자에게 통지하여야한다.

제4장 보 칙

제23조(윤리규정의 개정)

- ① 윤리규정은 운영위원회의 의결로 개정한다.
- ② 윤리규정이 개정될 경우, 기존의 규정을 준수하기로 서약한 관련자는 추가적인 서약 없이 새로운 규정을 준수하기로 서약한 것으로 본다.

부 칙

이 규정은 2009년 2월 27일부터 시행한다.

부 칙

이 개정규정은 2010년 6월 7일부터 시행한다.



『수완나부미』 원고집필 원칙 The Suwannabhumi Manual of Style

I. 원고 제출 및 게재

1.1. 제출 원고의 내용 및 성격

『수완나부미』에 제출하는 원고는 동남아시아 지역의 문화와 예술과 관련된 연구로 국한하며, 연구논문, 문화와 예술에 관한 에세이, 서평, 번역 등이어야 한다. 타 지역과 동남아시아 지역 간의 비교연구도 게재 가능하다.

본 학술지의 성격상 사진 자료를 포함하는 것을 권장하나, 사진은 저작권의 저촉을 받지 않는 것이어야 하며, 타인의 소유인 사진은 원고 제출자가 사전 사용허가를 득해야 한다. 사진을 제출할 경우에는 해상도는 반드시 300dpi 이상의 것이어야 한다.

제출 원고는 제출 시점에서 타 학술기관에 제출되거나 출판되지 않아야 하며, 제출 연구자는 본 연구소의 연구윤리규정을 준수해야 한다.

1.2. 학술지의 발간 시기

『수완나부미』는 매년 6월 30일과 12월 30일에 두 차례 발간한다. 원고는 연중 수시로 편집위원회에 제출될 수 있다. 매호의 원고는 출판일로부터 2개월 전에 접수된 것에 한한다. 원고 제출자는 논문게재신청서를 반드시 제출하여야 한다.

1.3. 제출 원고의 언어

『수완나부미』에 게재되는 원고는 원칙적으로 한국어 또는 영어로 작성되어야 하며, 한국어의 경우 영문초록, 영어 논문의 경우 한국어 초록을 첨부한다. 경우에 따라 동남아국가의 언어를 채택할 수 있으나 이 경우 영문초록을 첨부해야 한다.

1.4. 원고의 심사

제출된 원고는 소정의 비공개 심사를 거치며, 심사결과에 따라 게재 가, 수정 후 게재, 수정 후 재심사, 게재 불가로 판정된다.

1.5. 게재 판정의 연구자의 추가 제출사항

- 논문의 한글 및 영문 제목
- 저자의 한글 및 영문 이름
- 3~5 개의 한글 및 영문 주제어(key words)
- 한글 및 영문 저자소개문(소속, 직위, 연구경력, 이메일 주소 포함)

1.6. 원고 작성 원칙

원고는 이하의 원고작성 원칙에 따라 작성하여야 하고, 이 원칙에 따르지 않는 원고는 수정을 위해 저자에게 반환된다.

II. 원고작성의 일반적인 원칙

2.1. 원고 분량

기본적으로 본문, 각주, 참고문헌을 포함하여 200자 원고지 180매 이내로 한다.

2.2. 원고 제출시 준수 사항

심사시 필자의 익명성을 유지하기 위하여 본문과 주석에 필자의 신원을 짐작할 수 있는 여하한 언급도 피한다.

2.3. 원고의 본문 번호

장, 절, 항의 번호는 “I, 1.1., 1.1.1.”의 예에 따라 순차적으로 매긴다. 표와 그림의 번호는 “<표 1>”과 “<그림 1>”과 같은 형식으로 순서를 매겨 삽입한다.

2.4. 각주의 원칙

각주는 부차적인 설명이 꼭 필요한 경우에 한하여 사용하며, 가급적 짧게 한다.

2.5. 본문과 각주의 출전 표시

본문과 각주에서 출전을 표시할 때는 괄호를 이용해 약식으로 언급하고, 완전한 문헌정보는 논문 말미의 <참고문헌>에 포함시킨다. 출전표시와 참고문헌에 대한 상세한 사항은 다음 III, IV를 보라.

2.6. 감사 및 기타 표시 사항

감사의 말이나 연구비의 출처를 밝힐 필요가 있을 경우에는 출판확정 논문에 한하여 제목 우측 상단에 별도의 각주 표시로 기재할 수 있다.

2.7. 저자의 소속 표시

저자의 소속 및 직위는 저자명 우측 상단에 별표(*) 각주로 기재하되, 공저인 경우에는 대표저자를*, 제2공저자를 ** 순으로 표기한다. 필요한 경우, 대표저자의 이름을 별표 각주에 다시 명기할 수 있다.

Ⅲ. 본문 속의 출전표시

3.1. 본문 속의 출전표시의 기본

본문 및 각주의 해당 위치에 괄호를 사용하여 그 속에 저자의 성(한글로 표기된 한국인명과 중국인명은 성명), 출판년도, 필요한 경우 면수를 적어서 표시한다. 또한, 본문 속에 출전표시를 한 문헌은 반드시 본문 뒤의 <참고문헌>란에 기재해야 한다.

3.2. 구체적인 예

- 저자명이 글(본문과 각주)에 나와 있는 경우는 괄호하고 그 속에 출판년도를 표시한다. 외국어 문헌의 경우는 괄호 속에 외국어로 표기된 성과 출판년도를 함께 표기한다.

홍길동(2008)은..., 테일러(Taylor 2009)에 따르면

- 저자명이 본문의 글에 나와 있지 않은 경우는 성(한국어로 표기된 한국인명과 한자로 표기된 중국인과 일본인 등의 인명은 성명)과 출판년도를 괄호 속에 표기하여, 이것을 구두점 앞에 둔다.

(홍길동 2008), (Moore 2008), (洪吉童 1962)

- 면수는 출판년도 다음에 콜론을 하고 한 칸을 띄고 숫자만 표기한다.
(홍길동 2008: 12-14), (Evans 1997: 56)
- 저자가 2명 이상인 경우는 한 저자의 이름만 표기하고 한 칸을 띄운 다음 “외” (영문인 경우 “et al”)라는 말을 붙여 저자가 두 사람 이상임을 나타낸다.
(홍길동 외 1991: 35-38), (홍길동 · 김기동 1991), (Evans et al 2003)
- 한 번에 여러 문헌을 언급해야 하는 경우에는 한 괄호 안에서 세미콜론으로 나누어 언급한다.
(홍길동 1990: 18; Cuings 1981: 72; Weiner 1967: 99)
- 신문, 주간지, 월간지 등의 무기명 기사를 언급해야 하는 경우에는 지명, 발행 연연/월월/일일(월간지의 경우 발행 연연/월월), 면수를 괄호 안에 표기한다.
(중앙일보 08/04/09, 6), 혹은 (신동아 09/05, 297)
- 간행 예정인 원고는 ‘미간’이나 ‘forthcoming’을 사용한다. 미간행 원고는 집필 년도를 표시한다. 연도가 나타나 있지 않을 경우 그 자리에 ‘n.d.’를 쓴다.
Parker(forthcoming), 홍길동(미간), Taylor(n.d.)
- 기관 저자일 경우 식별이 가능한 정보를 제공한다.
(동남아시아연구소 2008)

IV. 참고문헌 작성

4.1. 작성 기본원칙

참고문헌은 본문과 각주에서 언급된 모든 문헌의 자세한 문헌정보를 논문 말미의 <참고문헌>에서 밝힌다. 본문과 각주에서 언급되지 않은 문헌은 포함시키지 않는다.

4.2. 언어별 배치 순서

각 문헌은 한글, 일본어, 중국어, 로마자로 표기되는 구미어 문헌 순으로 배치한다.

4.3. 저자명의 배열 순서

저자명은 한글, 일본어, 중국어는 성을 기준으로 하여 가나다순으로, 로마자 저자명은 성, 이름의 형식으로 적고 성은 알파벳순으로 배열한다.

4.4. 항목의 기본적 배치순서

저자명, 출판년도, 논문제목 또는 저서명, 출판지와 출판사의 순서로 기재하며, 각 항목 사이는 마침표로 구분하되, 출판지와 출판사 사이에는 콜론(:)을 사용한다. 단, 한글, 일본어, 중국어에 있어서 저서명에 사용하는 이중꺼쇠(『 』) 뒤에는 마침표를 생략한다.

4.5. 동일 저자의 문헌

동일 저자의 여러 문헌은 출판년도순으로 배치하며 같은 해에 발행된 문헌이 둘 이상일 경우에는 글에서 언급된 순서에 따라 발행 연도 뒤에 a, b, c를 첨가하여 구분한다.

- 홍길동. 1999. 『동남아시아의 소설』 부산: 동남아지역원.
 _____. 2001a. 『동남아시아의 예술』 부산: 동남아지역원.
 _____. 2001b. 『동남아시아의 문화』 부산: 동남아지역원.

4.6. 구체적인 실례

4.6.1. 공통 원칙

○저서는 한글, 일본어, 중국어, 한문인 경우는 이중꺼쇠(『 』)로, 구미어인 경우는 이탤릭체로 표시한다.

○기타 언어인 경우 반드시 영문자로 표기하고 제목은 중괄호([])를 사용하여 [사용언어, 해석]으로 기재해야 한다.

Kala, U. 1977. *Mahayazawingyi* [미얀마어, 대왕통사]. Yangon: Sarpay Beikman.

○각 문헌의 나머지 줄은 다섯 칸 들여 쓰며, 같은 저자가 두 번 이상 나올 경우 역시 다섯 칸의 밑줄을 사용한다. (4.5.를 참조)

4.6.2. 저서

○저자 1인의 경우

최병욱. 2008. 『동남아시아사: 전통시대』 서울: 대한교과서주식회사.
Jessup, Helen I. 2004. *Art & Architecture of Cambodia*. London: Thames & Hudson.

○저자 2인 이상인 경우: 본문과 각주에서는 “저자 외”로 표시하지만 참고문헌에 서는 공동저자 모두의 이름을 적어 준다. 단, 처음부터 책 표지나 안장에 “저자 외”라고 되어 있는 경우에는 그대로 표기한다. 영문에서는 “저자명 et al”로 표기한다.

소병국·조흥국. 2004. 『불교 군주와 술탄』 서울: 전통과현대.
박사명 외. 2000. 『동남아의 화인사회: 형성과 변화』 서울: 전통과현대.
Freeman, Michael and Claude Jacques. 1999. *Ancient Angkor*. Bangkok: Asia Books.

4.6.3. 편저인 경우

한글은 “편자명 편” 영문은 “편자명, ed(또는 편자가 2인 이상인 경우 eds)”로 표기한다.

오명석 편. 2004. 『동남아의 지역주의와 종족갈등』 서울: 오름.
Steinberg, David Joel, ed. 1987. *In Search of Southeast Asia: A Modern History*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

4.6.4. 편저 속의 글

○저자, 출판연도, 편저명, (편저자), 해당하는 페이지, 출판지, 출판사의 순서로 표시한다. 편저자가 없는 경우 생략할 수 있다.

김경학. 1977. 인도 농촌지역 연구의 실제. 『인류학과 지역연구』 최협 편. 161-182. 서울: 나남출판.
King, Victor T. 2006. Southeast Asia: Personal Reflections on a Region. *Southeast Asian Studies: Debates and New Directions*. Cynthia Chou and Vincent Houben, eds. 23-44. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

○같은 편저 내의 많은 글이 언급될 경우: 해당 편저의 완전한 문헌 정보를 제공한 후 저자의 글을 이에 관련지어 간략히 표시할 수 있다.

- Chou, Cynthia and Vincent Houben, eds. 2006. *Southeast Asian Studies: Debates and New Directions*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Hayami, Yoko. 2006. Towards Multi-Laterality in Southeast Asian Studies. Chou and Houben, eds. 65-85.
- King, Victor T. 2006. Southeast Asia: Personal Reflections on a Region. Chou and Houben, eds. 23-44.

4.6.5. 역서의 경우

원저자, 번역본 출판연도, 번역서명, 역자, 출판지, 출판사의 순으로 표시한다. 한글이 경우 역자명 역, 영문인 경우 역자명, trans로 표기한다.

- 크리스티, 클라이브. 2004. 『20세기 동남아시아의 역사』 노영순 역. 서울: 심산.
- Coed s, G. 1968. *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*, Susan B. Cowing, trans. Honolulu: An East-West Center Book, The University Press of Hawaii.

4.6.6. 학위 논문

- 홍길동. 1992. 『동남아시아 문화의 구조적 분석』 부산외국어대학교 박사학위 청구논문.
- Parker, John. 1988. *The Representation of Southeast Asian Art*. PhD Dissertation, Harvard University.

4.6.7. 학술지, 월간지, 계간지 등의 논문

저널의 권, 호는 각각 권(호)의 방식으로 처리하고, 논문이 해당되는 페이지를 반드시 표시해야 한다.

- 홍석준. 2002. 말레이 민족주의의 형성과 전개과정(1896-1941). 『동남아시아연구』 12(1): 81-108.
- Egreteau, Renaud. 2008. India's Ambitions in Burma. *Asian Survey*. 48(6): 936-957.

4.6.8. 일간지, 주간지의 기명 기사와 칼럼

- 박장식. 2009. 부산의 미래 비전과 해외지역 연구. 『부산일보』 12월 4일.
- Peterson, Thomas. 1993. The Economic Development of ASEAN. *Far Eastern Economic Review*. April 22: 23.

4.6.8. 인터넷 검색의 경우

○제작자, 제작연도, 주제명, 웹주소 (검색일: 연연연연.월월.일일, Accessed Month DD, YYYY)의 순으로 한다.

홍길동. 1996. 동남아시아의 현대 예술. <http://taejon.ac.kr/kidong/kk0101.html>. (검색일: 1998.11.20).

○인터넷에서 PDF파일과 같이 원문 그대로 수록된 논문이나 글이 아닌 html의 형식으로 다운로드한 경우에는 해당 페이지를 기재하지 않아도 된다. 다만, 인터넷 검색일은 반드시 표시해야 한다.

Hadar, Leon. 1998. U.S. Sanctions against Burma. *Trade Policy Analysis*. 1. <http://www.cato.org/pubs/trade/tpa-001.html>. (Accessed May 07, 2008).

<별표 1> 『수완나부미』 발간 일정

	게재신청마감	원고제출마감	학술지발간
각권 제1호	3월 20일	4월 20일	6월 30일
각권 제2호	9월 20일	10월 20일	12월 30일

<Table 1> Deadlines of the Journal, Suvannabhumi

	Application	Submission	Publication
Number 1	March 20	April 20	June 30
Number 2	September 20	October 20	December 30



제5권 제2호 (2013년 12월)

발행일 2013년 12월 31일

발행인 박장식

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위원 정연식(창원대학교 교수)

김민정(강원대학교 교수)

스티븐 켈(사자아메리칸대학교 교수)

미즈노 사야(가나자와미술공예대학교 교수)

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