University of Mandalay

MYANMAR COSTUME THROUGH AGES (A.D 1044-1752)

Aye Aye Than

Mandalay, Myanmar
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ABSTRACT

This work on Myanmar costume through ages is an attempt to highlight one of the aspects of Myanmar culture that has existed since time immemorial. Of the basic necessities of mankind, viz. food, clothing and shelter, clothing comes in importance next to food. Clothing is here meant not only for protection of the user from weathers, insect bites and from mean and shameful human dignity, but also for creating varieties of costumes in conformity with the development of a socio-economic life. Changes in style of costumes through different dynastic periods are discussed with mural illustrations. Changes usually take place to suit the status, sex and personality of a person. In discussing the changes of costume style, evidences are gleaned and sifted from the Bagan and post-Bagan lithic and ink inscriptions, from some literary works of poets and learned scholars and from mural paintings of the periods concerned. The social status of weavers and dress-makers are also considered in this work. As the evidence shows, cotton and silk used in weaving are home products whereas printed cloths are the imported items. As the alien cultures had seeped into through trading, their impact on cloth-making and design patterns had become more apparent in Myanmar culture. Changes in pattern and style as well of the upper and lower garments of the social classes are shown in this study with illustrations photographs and diagrams so that a reader can assess the author's attempt in dealing with this subject matter.
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Glossary

Tailor
the Minister Tailor
Female Dancer
Clerk
with stripe cloth woven with mechanize loom, bearing-stripes at the rims
free man
officer of common folks
attendant of the royal apartment
with black stripe
with red stripe
cotton, silver of carded cotton
royal spinner
basket with lid holding cotton silver loom
would –be man selected from Byetaik service group
drum player
clerk
grown with stripes worn by military personnel
cotton thread
winding the cotton of the reel
stretching the cotton on a frame
inserting the cotton
a shield
Indian loincloth
the second position
a kind of official frock coat
upper garment / shirt / coat / jacket
Big- sleeved jacket
a kind of song
the fifth position
stitch female loincloth
royal boatmen
the Great council of state
a shield, oblong and convex
sisal hemp cotton thread
one who earned by preparing hairdo of others
veterinary surgeon
in charge of one thousand soldiers
hellsman
finial
mason
feoffee of a lake
the fourth position
lace
amber-coloured
shield of any style
dancer
girding one's loincloth
administrative chief of a village
woolen rug
a type of cotton cloth
velvet
body guard
men's nether garments
lower garment / gridle cloth
cotton gridle cloth
trumpet player
fine calico / a kind of very thin fine cloth
spinner
spinner
fine cloth
kyun
sacred robe woven from lotus fibre
Indian
lit, Indian monastery
body tight
a broad single piece of cloth that could cover the whole body
woven in kye chi cotton
feoffee of a village tract
mercenary
a coat designated for warriors
controller of the Giefts chamber
the cotton tree
open air balcony
chequered pattern loincloth
carpenter
spear
spear
black velvet
coarse pit fabric / blue woven headgear
a type of satin with both sides having the same texture made in China
Indigo cotton thread
women
jacket
a type of patterned fabrics
coarse pit fabrics
coarse pit fabrics
green cotton fabrics
the warder of the palace or seneschal
feoffee of a fief holder
Captain of Horse
veterinary surgeon
Governor of a city
a coat designated for heroes
royal architect
the royal residential area
bright coloured silk cloth
ode to the spirit
a cloth weaving intertwined with silver thread
silver cotton thread
canopy placed on a bier
red fabric, madder
silver lace
white cloth
plain cloth
artist
black - smith
sculptor / wood carver
wood turner
a Chinese who professes Islam
a kind of cloth with a floral design
person skilful in dying
musician
stone sculptors
gold / silver smith
metal / bronze casting
art of making decorative relief
Lacquerware
lower garments or loincloth for men
foreign lowergarment
lowergarment to wrap round the waist
robe decorated with rubies
canvas
woruld-be monk
satin
cotton cloth
architect
silk cloth
cotton fabric
Brahmins, Indians who professes Hinduism
poem of epic proportions
lyrical ode on the seasons, love, etc
a kind of imported fine cloth
golden lace
alderman or thugyi of the city
lit, gold robe
village headman
a type of silk fabric
felt
a kind of fine cotton cloth
official administrating a village circle
monastic robe
a cloth meant to be used for making robe
guilt a Buddha image pagoda
double, layered vestment of a Buddhist monk
Indian female wear
with stripe cloth woven with mechanize loom,
bearing-stripe at the rims
would-be novice
would-be man selected from *Bala* service groups
would-be man selected from *ywei* service groups
tinsel
a cloth weaving intertwined with gold thread
cloth woven with golden thread

*sikkè*
leader of the forces
ordination hall
a performed *paso*
men of wealth
floral designed foreign *paso*
encircling wall
praying hall
toll station collector
Chinese *paso*
double length men's *longyi*
the first position
performer
rust-coloured cotton
various types of fabrics
gunner
leather jacket
printed cotton
a smock
retinue
ceremonial robe worn by princes and ministers
company commander
opening the Throne Room
gardener
tailor
cotton plant
cotton thread
tax from cotton
grinding and cleaning newly picked cotton
group of the royal weavers
robe
weaver
men
loom stretching threads on a frame to prepare the warp
group of the royal weavers
foreign paso
strapless bodice worn under a chemise
PREFACE

This dissertation is submitted for providing a source that deals with the Myanmar costumes from Bagan Period to Nyaunyan Period—the periods of the feudal system of Myanmar—any dissertation on this topic not yet being prepared. The scope of my research seems to be broad; it is because of the scarcity of literary sources. It is to rely mainly on inscriptions and wall paintings of the periods concerned. There are literary works of the poets and scholars in the Inn wa and Nyaunyan periods, from which we can glean some information relating to Myanmar traditional costume. As for area of study, it is confined to Bagan, Inn wa, Sagaing and some other areas where there still exist classical wall paintings that reveal the different costume of the social strata in different periods. My dissertation consists of four chapters. Chapter One presents an account of the tradition of wearing clothes, as well as the origin of clothing— the clothing including both the local cotton cloth and imported fabrics.

Chapter Two discusses about the costumes of people of the feudal system through successive periods. It highlights the differences in style of costumes of the successive periods with reference to the costumes of the upper class such as king, royal family and men in royal service and to the styles of dresses of the common people. Chapter Three presents the changes and progress in the skill of tailoring. While red silk cotton called Let-pan, was formerly used as raw materials for making fabric, when people began to learn to use cotton thread, cotton was principally grown. A detailed account is given on how cotton thread was prepared and how cotton skein was used for waving garments. Chapter Four focuses on the influences of the Indian and Chinese costumes on the styles of Myanmar
costume— highlighting the impact of Indian and Chinese cultures on Myanmar traditional costumes. This chapter also points out that three lived the Asians and the Westerners in Myanmar through foreign trading. However, the local people mostly dealt with the neighbouring countries India and China, and a discussion is made on how the Indian costumes had made an influence on the Myanmar costumes of Bagan – Period, and the Chinese cultures and costumes, on the Myanmar costumes of the post-Bagan period, pinpointing the fact that the Myanmar people had adapted and adopted those foreign cultures and costumes, establishing unique styles of their own.

This work is dedicated to my parents U Than Hlaing (Retired Inspector) and Daw Aye Khaing. I want to express my gratitude to all those who had supported my dissertation first of all, I also acknowledge my sincere thanks to Doctor Toe Hla (Supervisor, Retired Director General of the Universities Historical Research Centre) who guided me with care and interest through my studies. I am also grateful Dr. Ba Maung (Director General of Universities Historical Research Centre) and U Sai Nor Khay (Professor, Head of Department, Department of History, Mandalay University) for their encouragement. I am also thankful to my teachers, family, friends and all those who had supported my work.

I have done this work by using the primary source materials which contains stone inscription, Photos, contemporary records. I had gone several research – tour to collect the records and published and unpublished material have been gathered from Yangon University Central Library, the Mandalay University Library, the Mandalay Archaeology Department Library, the Yangon Archaeology Department Library, the Bagan Archaeology Department, the Universities Historical Research Center Library, the Mandalay Cultural Museum Library, the Mandalay History Department Library and U Aye Myint (Myanmar Art, Researcher, Designer) Amarapura.
A system of transliteration has been employed in this dissertation in quoting the words of Myanmar and Pali. Ruler for spelling, prescribed by the Myanmar Language Commission, have been followed. Inscriptions, mural paintings, Pyo – literature, and contemporary sources have been referred to as concrete evidences in repairing this dissertation. It would be the responsibility of the researcher only had there existed any shortcomings, weaknesses and irrelevancies that may have found way in this dissertation.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The First Myanmar Empire founded by King Anawrahta was centred at Bagan. The boundaries of Myanmar in the Bagan period, as given in the Mahārājawayauktāra, were:

- Patikkarā: the land of the kulā: (Indians) in the west
- Katū: Nagā:krā: Yedwa:mī: (the tract where fire burns on water) on the northwest
- Gandhālarāj, China, on the north
- the country of pan:se: on the northeast
- the country of Paṅkā on the east
- the country of the Gywan: on the southeast.¹

The boundaries of Myanmar, according to an inscription dated AD 1197 were: Sāmlwān (Thanlwin) River on the east, Thaway (Davoy) on the south, Macchagiri on the west, and Tako:n and Na Chon Khyaṃ on the north;² or Koṅ Caṅ on the north and Taluiṅsare (Tanintharyi) and Thaway on the south.³

The people who inhabited Bagan-period Myanmar were Kulā, Kantū, Krwam,

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³ Dr. Than Tun, Athit Myin Bamar Thamaing, (A new version of Myanmar History), Mandalay, Myankantha, 1975, p.199, (Henceforth: Than Tun, 1975)
Khyañ, Cakraw, Tarut, Toñsū, Poñloñ, Pyū, Mranmā, Yaw, Rakhuīñ, Rmeñ (Mon or Talaing), Lawa, Saw, Sak and Shyañ. Besides these ethnic peoples, there were Pasī, Pansiy and Ponmā. Myanmar being a melting pot, the social economic life of the people seemed to the developing in those days. Although the types of clothes these peoples wore are not known for certain, there are many references to (phyin) (cotton cloth) in the Bagan period inscriptions.

Humans began to wear clothes with the dawning of civilization. The people wore clothing primarily for covering the body, i.e. to protect the body from the environment. However, after religions were introduced, modesty also became a reason for wearing clothes.

The Pyus, who had a highly developed urban culture and who inhabited Myanmar, wore clothing. Clothes may be categorized roughly into upper and nether garments. Later, they were categorized into underclothes (for the upper and lower parts of the body) and outer garments (for the upper and lower parts of the body). This probably was to cover the genitals and women's breasts better and protect the body from the environment. The clothing of the Pyus was seemingly similar to that of the Indians, and that of the peoples of early Bagan period was the same.

The clothing of early Myanmars can be learnt from inscriptions, mural paintings and sculptures in relief or in the round. The Myanmar words for cloth (or fabric) and clothing (or clothes) are athañ and awat respectively. Concerning cloth, there are references to in the inscriptions. was of several types:

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5 Aung Win, Bagan Khit Cipware (Economic of Bagan period), M.A.thesis, History Department, Mandalay University, 1974, p.85
(red cotton cloth)\textsuperscript{7}

(white cotton cloth)\textsuperscript{8}

\textsuperscript{6} Nyein Maung, \textit{1972}, 295, 147, 246, 301, 308, 313

Rājasūra and wife's inscription dated AD 1182, 2 faces (double faces) reverse face, line 11

Rhwekwakhyā Pagoda inscription dated AD 1223, 4 faces, reverse, line 29

Inscription No.7 of Le:Myak Nhā Pagoda Inscription Shed, dated AD 1233, 4 faces, east face, line 23

The inscription of Minister Asawat Dhammās wife, dated AD 1236, 2 faces (double faces) reverse, line 21

Minister Ēraṇapicaṇi's inscription, dated AD 1237, 2 faces (double face) west face, line 42

Takākṛi:Mi and Takākṛi:inscription, dated AD 1238,2 faces, reverse, line 15


The inscription of Un Sañ and others, dated AD 1249, 2 faces, observe, line 7


The inscription at the monastery near Rhañ Mahākassapa's pagoda, dated AD 1252, 2 faces, reverse, line 13

Skhīñ Rājasū and Amibhwā: Saw's inscription, dated AD 1278, 2 faces, reverse, lines 21, 22.

Na Rok Sañ and wife's inscription, AD 1296, line 14

Commander-in-Chief Süpharac's inscription, dated AD 1296, lines 6,14,15.

(Henceforth: Nyein 19)

\textsuperscript{7} Nyein Maung, \textit{1972}, 147, line 29

\textsuperscript{8} Nyein Maung, \textit{1972}, 245, line 22

\textit{Bagan Kyauk Sarmya} (Stone Inscriptions of Bagan), Caw Lha Wan: Pagoda Inscription, dated AD 1236, lines 15

Copied from Department of Myanmar Literature, Mandalay University, 1955, p.15

(Henceforth Bagan Kyauk Sar, \textit{1955})

Nyein Maung \textit{1972}, 301, line 28
(black cotton cloth)\textsuperscript{9}

\textit{khasī pway} (cotton cloth for sarong)\textsuperscript{10}

and \textit{mun} (fine cotton cloth).\textsuperscript{11}

Thus, it seems that was the most commonly used textile material among the people of Bagan-period Myanmar.

clothes were used as upper garments, and \textit{pukhrañ} was mainly used for nether garments (\textit{paso}: or \textit{khachī}:). The word \textit{pukhrañ} is mentioned in an inscription dated AD 1236,\textsuperscript{12} and \textit{pukhrañ khachī} (sarong made of \textit{pukhrañ}) is referred to the inscription which, belonging to the same date, was set up by Minister \textit{Asawat Dhammā}'s wife.\textsuperscript{13} As there is no reference to cotton cultivation in the Bagan period inscriptions, it has been generally assumed that was produced from a tree called \textit{lakpan} (the cotton tree / Salmalia malabarica). However, \textit{pukhrañ} was cotton fabric,\textsuperscript{14} and a painting on

\textsuperscript{9} Nyein Maung, 1972, 147, line 29

Bagan Kyauk Sar, 1995, 15

Nyein Maung 1972, 301, line 8

Nyein Maung, 1983, 316, line 15

Commander-in-Chief Sūpharac's inscription, dated Ad 1296, line 15

\textsuperscript{10} Nyein Maung 1972, p.308, lines 42-43

\textsuperscript{11} Nyein Maung, 1983, 269, line 14

\textsuperscript{12} Bagan Kyauk Sar, 1955, lines 6,14, 15

Nyein Maung 1972, 301, lines 18,19,20,21

Nyein Maung, 1983, 268, line 10

\textsuperscript{13} Nyein Maung, 1972, 301, lines 18,19,20,21

\textsuperscript{14} U Myat Kyaw, \textit{Bagan Khit Myanmar Kyauksar Abeikdan} (Dictionary of the Myanmar Inscription of Bagan), Sarpaybeikman, 2001, p.134 (Henceforth: Myat Kyaw, 2001)
cotton cloth belonging to the early Bagan period has been discovered.\textsuperscript{15} Moreover, the Pyus had been wearing cotton clothes even before the Bagan period. It is stated that the Pyu women wore blue sarongs made of cotton.\textsuperscript{16} Bagan period inscriptions also refer to $nî$, a cotton fabric. Therefore, it can be concluded that there were cotton plants in Myanmar in the Bagan period, even though there are no references to cotton cultivation in the Bagan period inscriptions.

With regard to Myanmar traditional costumes, cotton fabrics—such as $pukhrañ$, $nî$, $mañ$, etc.—were woven since the Bagan period, and cotton fabrics are still in use now. The Myanmar word is a generic term, and there are references to $phlû$, probably produced by bleaching, $mañ$ and $nî$ undoubtedly produced by dyeing. Thus, the Myanmars had learnt the art of dyeing since the Bagan period. The references to $koñ$ (fine cotton cloth) and $mun$ indicate that was a cotton cloth of plain weave,\textsuperscript{17} the colour of which was off-white or slightly brownish white, and $koñ$ and $mun$ were fine cotton fabrics. The word $nî$ is only mentioned once, and $phlû$ and $mañ$ are referred to only four times each in the Bagan period inscriptions, suggesting that the art of dyeing was not well-developed. It can be assumed that every citizen of Bagan mainly wore clothes.

\textsuperscript{15} Donald M.Stadtner, "Fragmentary Cloth Paintings from Early Bagan and their Relations with Indo-Tibetan Traditions for Art of Burma New Studies", Mumbai: J.J. Bhabha For Marg Publications, 1999, p.80

\textsuperscript{16} Luce, G.H, "Ancient Pyu", JBRS, Vol. XXVII, part . iii, December 1937, p.251, (Henceforth: Luce, 1937)


It can be learnt from the mural paintings belonging to the Bagan period that imported clothing and cloth—such as silk, satin, velvet, patterned fabrics, etc.—were also used.\(^\text{18}\) The articles used in the ceremony of enshrining relics in the Mingalar Zedi during the reign King Narathihapate included those made of phai (satin), mauyau (a type of satin with both sides having the same texture made in China)\(^\text{19}\) and velvet, etc.\(^\text{20}\) These imported fabrics and clothes were only used by the King, queens, and members of the upper social strata. These imported fabrics and clothes, however, were used only the members of the royalty and those of the upper social strata. Thus, the people of Bagan period used not only local made cotton fabrics, but also imported fabrics to keep up with the times.

Myanmar traditional clothing was handed down from the Bagan period Myanmars to later generations. In the post-Bagan periods–during the Pin-ya, Sagaing, Inn-wa and Nyaung-yan period–too, \(\text{tha}\text{n}\) (cotton fabrics) remained the commonest material used for clothing.\(^\text{21}\) Imported clothes and fabrics were also used. The articles presented to King Uzana by the servicemen of Palai Cavalry at the beginning and end of the Buddhist lent in 1340 included \(\text{niwe}\)

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\(^{18}\) Photo (1) (2) (3)

\(^{19}\) Thein Hlaing, \(\text{Khithaung Myanmar Thamai Thutethana abeik-dan}\) (Dictionary of historical terminology) Yangon, Tetkatho press, 2002, p.128 (Henceforth: Thein Hlaing, 2002)

\(^{20}\) Kala 1960 a, 297


Nyein Maung, 1998 a, 2
The inscription at Jeyyāwamsa Khyoñ, dated AD 1311, 2 faces, lines 6,7,8
Nyein Maung, 1983, 258, 279
Inscription at Kuiramsükri:Monastery, dated AD 1313, 2 faces, lines 6,7,8
Inscription dated 1319 Loka Rwebhumsā Pagoda, 2 faces, obverse, line 21
Nyein Maung, 1998 a , 14, 3,53,33,84,88
Inscription of Mañ;mat Udin's Monastery, dated AD 1329, 2 faces, reverse, lines 13, 19
Le:kyawan:khyamsā Pagoda Inscription, dated AD 1338, lines 10, 3
Samancatā Pagoda Inscription, dated AD 1340, 2 faces, reverse, lines 16,32
Inscription of Sakrhañ Sañ and others, dated AD 1340, 2 faces, obverse, reverse, line 15
Rhewpin:krī:Pagoda Inscription, dated AD 1345, line 6,8
Kālahattи's Inscription, dated AD 1351, lines 3, 12, 13, 20
and \textit{rhwe} – either interwoven with gold and silver threads.\textsuperscript{22} Similarly, the tributes given to Ngazishin at the beginning and end of Buddhist lent after he ascended to the throne in 1345 by the hereditary chiefs from the Shan states included \textit{ńwe} and \textit{rhwe}.\textsuperscript{23} Thus, although \textit{ńwe} remained the most widely used fabric in the post-Bagan period, the words \textit{ńwe} and \textit{rhwe} indicates that weaving techniques had been developed. That the vassals of the post-Bagan kings had to present the kings with \textit{ńwe} and \textit{rhwe} shows the role played by clothing and fabrics in the relationship that took place between the centre and the periphery or the king and tributary state. These fabrics probably were cotton fabrics either interwoven with gold and silver threads or decorated with gold and silver plates.

Furthermore, the inscriptions belonging to 1350s refer to \textit{kon}\textsuperscript{24} and \textit{khoñ arhañ} (a strip of fine cotton cloth).\textsuperscript{25} As a single inscription (dated AD 1355) mentions three best \textit{khoñ} and twenty-eight \textit{kon}, of various qualities were used. This also reflects the wealth of the donor. In addition, a fabric called \textit{cañ} is first mentioned in an inscription dated AD 1300.\textsuperscript{26} The mention of 100 pieces of \textit{cañ} in an inscription dated 1379\textsuperscript{27} indicates that

\textsuperscript{22} Shehaung Sarpe Thutethi Ta Oo, \textit{She-khit Myanmar Naingngan Myo-ywa Naipaithamai} (History of Towns and villages of Ancient Myanmar), Sarpayban, n.d., p.24 (Henceforth: Thutethi, Myo-ywa Naipaithamai)
\textsuperscript{23} Than Tun, U, \textit{The Royal Orders of Burma}, AD 1598-1885, pt.11. AD 1648-1750, Kyoto, The Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1985, p.216 (Henceforth: Than Tun, 1985)
\textsuperscript{24} Nyein Maung, 1998 a, 86
Commander-in-Chief Lokanat's inscription, dated 1351, lines 11,12
\textsuperscript{25} Nyein Maung, 1998 a, 103, lines 16-21,23,24
\textsuperscript{26} Nyein Maung, 1998 a, 186, line 31
\textsuperscript{27} Nyein Maung, 1998 a, 176
Inscription of Phwâ:Caw's Monastery and the monastery of Lhe Asyañ and wife, 2 faces, reverse, line 25
Bagan produced large quantities of this type of fabric. It is necessary to know whether _cañ_ means "cloth woven with stripes" or "a bolt cloth which comes from a single loom." The phrase "a single loom" formerly meant "a man weaving on a single loom." It is stated in an inscription dated AD 1402 that King Mingaung of Inn-wa presented _Sham:krï_: an award of _lip sum lup_ (three bolts of cloth).\(^{28}\) No instance in which more than three bolts of cotton were given as presents have been found. Therefore, it seems unlikely that _cañ_ 100 stands for "100 bolts of cloth". _cañ_ must have been "cloth woven with stripes." This is also supported by the fact that cloth woven with horizontal or vertical stripes appeared in the post-Bagan periods.

The words _tankai_ (probably cotton cloth to be used as the backdrop of a throne or as a slipcover) and _prok_ (perhaps cotton cloth with polka dots) are also found in the inscriptions.\(^{29}\) An inscription dated AD 1405 refers to _ui_ (brown cotton cloth),\(^{30}\) and other inscription, dated AD 1407, mentions _rhwe_.\(^{31}\) An inscription recorded the donation of 400 pieces of _rhwe_ and 53 _phlu_ (53 pieces of white cotton fabric)\(^{32}\) to nine _pitakas_. Therefore, it seems that the production of _rhwe_ cloth rose and that the art of dyeing became more advanced in the post-Bagan period. It also seems that more people were engaged in weaving industry.

How the queen of the southern palace received _rhwe_ as a present is mentioned in the inscription recording the construction of a monastery by Turañ

\(^{28}\) Myaketu, _NanDhale Mhattam_, (Account of Court life), Yangon, Hnalonhla, 1966, p.103 (Henceforth: Myaketu, 1966)

\(^{29}\) Nyein Maung, 1998 _a_, 266

\(^{30}\) Nyein Maung, 1998 _a_, 218, line 21

\(^{31}\) Nyein Maung, 1998 _a_, 227, line 57

\(^{32}\) Nyein Maung, 1998 _a_, 227, line 21
Therefore, it seems that *rhwe* was only given to highly respected persons. In other words, *rhwe* probably was used only by the members of the royal household and ministers. The inscription dated AD. 1445 recording the construction of *Mra Putha* and *Uddissa Stupa* mentions 34. According, to a royal order issued by King Nyaung Yan Min in AD 1603, the gifts the hereditary chiefs of the 57 *kharuiñs* of Zañmay (Chiengmai) had to present the king annually—one at the Myanmar New Year, once at the beginning of Buddhist lent, and once at the end of Buddhist Lent—included *rhew*. 35 The *cañ*: which had to be used in the pagoda festivals is mentioned in the ink glosses written by the preceptor of King Anaukphethun in AD 1619 in the Dhammarajika Pagoda, Bagan. 36 Moreover, a royal order issued by King Thalun in AD 1635 and an inscription dated AD 1649 refer to . All these suggest that was widely used fabric locally produced in the Bagan and post-Bagan periods.

The people not only wore clothes, but also weaved robes for monks. There are many references to the donation of robes in the inscriptions. Sometimes, up to a thousand robes were donated on a single occasion. Therefore, weaving robes seems to have been very important. How large quantities of robes were donated in the early day is recorded in the contemporary inscriptions. See the following table:

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33 Nyein Maung, 1998a, 227, line 10
34 Nyein Maung, 1998b, 227, line 8
37 Shehaung Sarpe Thutethi Ta Oo, Nyaung Yan Khit Amint tawmya 1 (The Royal Orders of Nyaungyan), Seinpan Myaing, n.d. (Henceforth: Thutethi, Amint taw 1)
38 Nyein Maung, 1998b, 157, line 49
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of robes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1190</td>
<td>120&lt;sup&gt;39&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1198</td>
<td>17&lt;sup&gt;40&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1198</td>
<td>5&lt;sup&gt;41&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1198</td>
<td>1,000&lt;sup&gt;42&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1223</td>
<td>236&lt;sup&gt;43&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1375</td>
<td>1,000&lt;sup&gt;44&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1441</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1441</td>
<td>400&lt;sup&gt;45&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The words used in referring to robes were *saṅkankup*<sup>46</sup> and *saṅkanlkana lyā*<sup>47</sup>. *Saṅkankup* probably was the same as *dukuṭ* (double, layered vestment of a Buddhist monk), and *saṅkanlkana lyā* certainly was a cloth meant to be used for making (a) robe.<sup>48</sup> Just like nowadays, some donors in those days mentioned how many robes they were donating in their inscriptions, while others made no mention of the number of robes they were donating.

Furthermore, in 1638, in the reign of King Thalun of Nyaung Yan period, a thousand robes were donated on an occasion of offering rice to Buddhist monks.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Nyein Maung, 1972, 50, line 13
<sup>40</sup> Nyein Maung, 1972, 63, line 3,5,9
<sup>41</sup> Nyein Maung, 1972, 70, line 16
<sup>42</sup> Nyein Maung, 1972, 67, line 28
<sup>43</sup> Nyein Maung, 1972, 146, line 16,25
<sup>44</sup> *Bagan, Pinya, Inwa, Kyauksamya*, lines 3,4 Yangon, 1893, p.27 (Henceforth: *Pu,Pin,In*)
<sup>45</sup> Nyein Maung, 1998b, 12, lines 12,21
<sup>46</sup> Nyein Maung, 1972, 144, line 25
<sup>47</sup> Nyein Maung, 1998 b, 12, line 21
<sup>48</sup> *Myanmar Abeikdan*, 1991, 380
Thus, the donations were made to a thousand monks. The types of robes referred to in the inscriptions also included *krā saṅkan* (sacred robe woven from lotus fibre),\(^{50}\) *pattamrā: saṅkan* robe decorated with rubies\(^{51}\) and *rhwe saṅkan* (lit. "gold robe"),\(^{52}\) which could have been robes specially made for the Buddha and the most venerated monks. These references illustrate the religious belief of the people of Bagan and post-Bagan periods.

As was used on auspicious occasions, it was also used on inauspicious occasions (was not used only on auspicious occasions, but also on inauspicious occasions). was used in the exequies of the people from all walks of life: the king and royal relatives as well as common citizens and monks\(^{53}\). The quantity of used in the funeral rites of a deceased person reveals his/her social status. When the spirits were propitiated in accordance with Myanmar custom when the kingdom was affected by drought in 1638, in King Thalun's reign, *cañ*: and *lip* (bolts of cotton cloth) were used,\(^{54}\) thus, was important also in Myanmar's religious belief. Additionally, with regard to Myanmar's foreign relations, the gifts presented by the Chinese King *Utañbihwā*: to King Hanthawatipa Min of Myanmar in AD 1749 included *rhwe* ,\(^{55}\) and among the gifts presented by the Myanmar king, queens and ministers to the Chinese envoys depending on their ranks included and


\(^{51}\) Kala, *1961*, 291

\(^{52}\) Shehaung Sape Thutethi Ta Oo, Let Wei Nawrahtar ei Nyaung Yan Khat hnit lei-zei yazawun, (Fourty year Chronicle of Nyaunghan by Letweinawrahta), (Thakayit 1073 Mha 1113), Myanmahmu Beikman Sarpayban, n.d. (Henceforth:Thutethi, hnit lei zei razawun)

\(^{53}\) Than Tun, *The Royal Orders of Burma*, A.D. 1598-1885, part 1, AD 1598-1648, pp.376,389, 405,412, Kyoto, The Centre for Southeast Asia Studies, Kyoto University, 1983 (Henceforth: Than Tun, 1983)


\(^{54}\) Shehaung Sarpe Thutethi Ta Oo, Nyaungyan Khit Thwin sarmya, Yangon, Seinpan Myaing, n.d, p.19 (Henceforth: Thutethi, Thwin-sarmya)


\(^{55}\) Thutethi, hnit Lei ze razawun, 30
Moreover, that the articles submitted by local administrative officials to the king of Awa as revenues included *thañ myui:* (various types of fabrics), *up myui:* and *rhwe* indicates how played an important role in social affairs.

Furthermore, and *khyo* (fine cotton cloth) were generally included among the gifts presented to the king by the royal officials soon after his ascension to the throne—when he took formal possession of his palace, when he entered the throne room for the first time and when he took formal possession of the Hluttaw, or at the occasion of hoisting a *hti* (finial) on top of a stupa, and among those presented to the crown prince by the Sawbwa, clerks and servicemen at the former’s house-warming ceremony and at the annual ceremonies of paying tributes—at the Myanmar New Year and at the beginning and end of Buddhist lent. Therefore, it is evident that , which was a local fabric, was an indispensable fabric used in Myanmar clothing and was one of the most important communities.

Weaving industry developed in the post-Bagan periods, and *nham* is first mentioned in an inscription set up in AD 1382, during the reign of King Swasawke. The word is repeatedly referred to in the inscriptions from AD 1382 onwards, and, later, *nham koñ:* is also mentioned suggesting that weaving...
industry was developing. However, we do not know for certain whether

*nhamp* was a type of fabric or a special design or pattern with which a fabric was

woven.

There were instances in which *nhamp* was used as a medium of exchange. In buying land and paddy fields to make donations to the religion in the Bagan period—to construct pagodas, monasteries, open hall, encircling walls, in digging tanks, etc., the donors either paid in cash or in kind—clothes, fabrics, *paso* (men's neither garments), etc. Sometimes, clothes or fabrics were given to labourers as wages.

In buying land, clothes, fabrics and *puchui* were given to the surveyors, witnesses, administrative officers, and land revenue collector. In addition, in constructing monasteries and digging tanks for making donations to the Religion, fabrics were given to the surveyors, masons, carpenters, and the labourers working on land either as presents or as wages. The inscription of *Kassapa* records that the donor bought a farm land for four cows and seven pieces an gave a piece of fabric to each witness. As the buyers paid the sellers with

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63 Nyein Maung, 1983, 268, line 10
Nyein Maung, 1983, 269, lines 13,14
Nyein Maung, 1983a,266, line 34
Nyein Maung, 1983a, 184, line 14
Nyein Maung, 1983, 212, lines 4,5
Nyein Maung, 1983, 258, line 19
Nyein Maung, 1998a, 84, lines 3,12,13,20
Nyein Maung, 1998a, 103,104 lines 17,18,19,20,21,23,24
Nyein Maung, 1998a, 253, line 24,25,28,29
Pu Pin In: 1955, 350, lines 1,2,3,4,5
Nyein Maung, 1998 b, 18, line 20
Than Tun, 1975, 300
Than Tun, 1969, 277
Than Tun, 1975, 299
Than Tun 1969, 226

64 Nyein Maung, 1983, 117, line 40
Nyein Maung, 1983, 184, line 14
Nyein Maung, 1998a, 3, line 10
Nyein Maung, 1998 a, 9, line 24
Nyein Maung, 1998 a, 34, lines 12, 13
Nyein Maung, 1998a, 84, lines 3,10,13,20
Nyein Maung, 1998a, 56, line 14
Pu Pan:An: 26, line 28, 27, line 2

65 Nyein Maung, 1983, 212, lines 4,5
cows and fabrics in buying land, it is clear that was regarded as a medium of exchange. It is recorded in the inscription of Thakrhañ Sañ and others dated AD 1341 that the buyer paid the land owner and his/her son with in buying a plot of land.66 Hence, it seems that giving fabrics as presents was a Myanmar custom. Moreover, according to an inscription dated AD 1351, when the seller of a plot of land demanded the purchaser to pay up as the latter had not paid in full for the land he had purchased, the purchaser gave the buyer some .67 Although it is not known whether the givers were purchasers or sellers, the custom of giving presents was followed. An inscription dated AD. 1355 records that when Tûkoñ: Na Phun-ra Sañ's son gave khoñ arhañ (a strip of fine cotton cloth) to Min Asinghā in constructing a kulā kyoñ (lit. "Indian monastery"), a lesāchoñ (open-air balcony), sīmā (ordination hall), tancho (praying hall) and tanmtuin (encircling wall) and renovating a stupa, gave koñ or as presents to the asañ (free men), kalan (administrative chief of a village), sampyañ (official administering a village circle), rwā-sūkri: (village headman), etc: depending on their ranks.68 It is recorded in the inscription of the monastery of Mañ:mat Anantha Khrañ se’ and wife dated AD 1364 that the donors gave , koñ and in addition to cash to the landowner for buying his land.69 An inscription dated AD 1431 records that nham, nham koñ and were given to chañthin: (mahouts), asañ and surveyors in paddy land was purchased.70 As the quality of fabrics give as present varied with the rank of the recipient, different qualities of fabrics were made. Giving fabrics as presents was a common practice between AD 1238 and 1441.

Different types of were woven, and the types mentioned in the inscriptions are:

\[ khyañ \] 71
\[ ñwe \] 72

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66 Nyein Maung, 1998 a, 33, lines 11,12
67 Nyein Maung, 1998 a,86, line 13
68 Nyein Maung, 1998a, 103,104 lines 16,17,18,19,20,21,23,24
69 Nyein Maung, 1998a, 148, lines 26,27,28
70 Nyein Maung, 1998a, 253, lines 24,25,28,29
72 Zeya thinkkaya,Shwe-bon Nidan, Mandalay, Pitakataw Pyantpwaye, 1957, p.54, (Henceforth: Zeya Thinkkaya, 1957)
thū (thick cotton cloth),

nī,

rhwe , and

pui: (? cotton cloth interwoven with silk threads/printed muslin).

As regards , pukhrañ , , koñ:, nī,

phrū, and mai were produced in the Bagan period. The art of weaving

73 Than Tun, 1985, 216
Wungyi Padethayaza, Thuzarpyo, Yangon, Hanthawady press, 1961, stanza-290-245
(Henceforth: Padethayaza, 1961)
Shin Maha, Thilawuntha, Su Taung Khan Pyo, Yangon, Myanmar Naingngan Buddha
Sasana Council, 1969 (Henceforth: Thilawuntha, 1969)
Nawaday, U Ba Yin (ed), Manawhayi Pyo, Mandalay, Hanthawady, 1929, p.3
(Henceforth: Nawaday, 1929)
Shin Aggathamadi, Suwanashan Thitsar-khan pyo, Yangon, Hanthawady, 1901 stanza-1
(Henceforth: Aggasamadi, 1901a)
Shin Ohn Nyo, Gada-chauk se pyo, Yangon, Hanthawady, 1965, stanza-70,
(Henceforth: Ohn Nyo, 1965)
Shin Thuye, Thakhin htwe E-gyin, Yangon, Hanthawady, 1965, stanza-40,46
(Henceforth: Thuye, 1965)
Zeya Thinhkaya, 1957, stanza-52
Thiri Uzana, 2001, 369
Tin, 1983, 9,62
Aw, 1961, 44
Shehaung Sarpe Thutethi Ta Oo, Sarpay Gita hnin wungyi padetharaza, Yangon,
Seinpan Myaing, 1974, pp.60-199, (Henceforth: Thutethi, 1974)
U Aung Gyi, Inwa Myo bwe set hnit ra thi luta, Yangon, Hanthawady, 1965, p.12,
(Henceforth: Aung Gyi, 1965)
74 Padethayaza, 1961, stanza-290
75 Myan sar Nyunt, 1952, 3
76 Thuye, 1965, stanza-26

Myan Sar Nyunt, 1992)

Than Tun, 1985, 216
Thutethi, 1974, 199
Twinthin Taik-wun Mahasithu U Tun Nyo, Maharazawunthit (Nyaungyan Zet) Vol:
III, Yangon, Kattiya, 1997, p.81 (Henceforth: Tun Nyo, 1997)
77 Tin, 1983, 98
progressed gradually, and *khoṅ* (fine cotton cloth), *khyaṅ phran, ūwe*,
*khyo, caṅ, caṅ:, ūui, nhaṅ, phyaṅ nhaṅ koṅ:, prok, phṛū koṅ: rhwe* and *pui:* are referred to the
in the post-Bagan inscriptions. Thus, the arts of dyeing and designing had
progressed considerably by this time. In the successive periods, only the members
of the royalty and high-ranked royal officials like ministers could wear *ūwe, rhwe*
and *pui:* ; the common citizens could not. Moreover, as the phrase *athaktan;*
*kya to’ duyaṅ, auktan: kyah lyan* (Duyan was for the upper class and
was for the lower class”),

the common citizens could only wear low-quality fabrics.

In the post-Bagan period, apart from weaving different types of fabrics, the
people also used imported textile materials:

\[
\begin{align*}
kacū up, & \\
kattīpā (velvet), & \\
kattīpā cim: (green velvet), & \\
\end{align*}
\]

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78 Shwegaingtha, Hsin yin Htone phwemu (Style of Costumes and Hairdo), Mandalay, Kyibwaye, 1951, p.14 (Henceforth: Shwegaingtha, 1951)
79 Thutethi, hnit lei ze razawun, 31
80 U Shun, Maha Thutathoma pyo, Yangon, Hanthawady, 1928, p.91 (Henceforth: Shun 1928)
Padethayaza, 1961, stanza 58
Zanbudipa, 1960, p.35
Tutethi, Amint taw 1, 24
Tutethi, 1974, 185
81 Than Tun, 1985, 121
Tun Nyo, 1968, 264
Thhiri Uzana, 2001, 315, 316, 338, 468
Kala, 1961, 242
kattīpī nī (red velvet),\textsuperscript{82}  
kattīpā aprā (blue velvet),\textsuperscript{83}  
kattīpā aprok (velvet with polka dots),\textsuperscript{84}  
kambalā (woollen rug),\textsuperscript{85}  
kambalā nī (red kambalā),\textsuperscript{86}  
kayap (men's nether garments),\textsuperscript{87}  and  
karakat (a type of cotton cloth).\textsuperscript{88}

Khāsā (fine calico / a kind of very thin fine cloth imported from India), was an article among the gifts presented by the rhweprañcui: (aldermen or thugyi of the cities), tañcā: (toll station collector), pwaicā: (brokers), and sūthe:sūkrway (men of wealth) to the king when he took formal possession of the palace as soon as he ascended to the throne, among those presented by the royal officials to the king on the occasion of ukintau phwai' (Opening the Thorne Room), and when the king took formal possession of the palace,\textsuperscript{89} among those given by the king to his royal officials at the Myanmar New Year,\textsuperscript{90} and among these presented to the Myanmar king by the Siamese envoys in 1646.\textsuperscript{91} Moreover, khāsā was also included among the gifts presented to a prince when he was nominated as the

\textsuperscript{82} Than Tun, 1985, 121  
Thiri Uzana, 2001, 339, 371, 368  
Kala, 1961, 242
\textsuperscript{83} Tun Nyo, 1968, 264
\textsuperscript{84} Than Tun, 1985, 121  
Kala, 1961, 242
\textsuperscript{85} Nyein Maung, 1998b, 151, line 49  
Shin Tezawthara, Byardiharkhan pyo, Yangon, Hanthawady, 1929, stanza-11 (Henceforth: Tezawthara, 1929)
\textsuperscript{86} Zeya Thinhkaya, 1957 stanza 44  
Kala, 1961, 216,234
\textsuperscript{87} Zeya Thinhkaya, 1957; stanza 30  
Aw, 1961, 142  
Tun Nyo, 1968, 225,232,255,264
\textsuperscript{88} Than Tun, 1983, 469
\textsuperscript{89} Thiri Uzana, 2001, 135,135,137,141,221,229,243,244
\textsuperscript{90} Than Tun, 1983, 162
\textsuperscript{91} Thutethi, hnit lei zei razawun, 23
crown prince, among those presented to the crown prince by the royal officials at the Myanmar New Year and at the beginning and end of the Buddhist lent, among those the crown prince presented to the persons who were present when he was chosen as the crown prince, among the awards given to royal officials when the crown prince took formal possession of the palace, among those given to envoys, among the offering made to spirits, and among the awards given to the royal officials on the occasion of administering an oath of loyalty.92

Khāsā pit was also included among the articles the lakchoṇyūtaikcui: (Controller of the Gifts Chamber) and his clerks permitted the people to trade after seeking permission from the asaṅ wun (Officer of Common Folks),93 among the presents given (to officials) at lawsuits,94 and among the offertories presented to the monks who were present at the ceremony of hoisting a golden hti (finial) studded with precious gems on top of the koṅ: mhutau pagoda in 1649.95 Moreover, khāsā was used as commonly as at the obsequies of the king, members of the royal household, monks or common citizens.96 It is mentioned in the pyui' (poem of epic proportions), ratu (lyrical ode on the seasons, love, etc),

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92 Thiri Uzana, 2001, 20,28,33,34,39
Thutethi, thwin sarmya, 16,19
Thutethi, hnit lei ze razawun, 10, 11,13
Tun Nyo, 1997, 75
93 Than Tun, 1983, 179
Thutethi, Amint taw 1, 34
94 Thutethi, Amint taw 2, 62
95 Nyein Maung, 1998 b, 157, line 49
Kala, 1961, 199, 192
96 Thiri Uzana, 2001, 267,370,379
Than Tun, 1983, 376,405,412
Thutethi, Amint taw 2, 68,73,80,84
Thutethi, Shehaung hmat sar, 33
Thutethi, thwin sarmya, 19
ekhyaṅ: (a kind of song) and natsam (ode to the spirit) that khāsā was a fabric locally produced and was a fabric affordable to the people from all walks of life. There were different types of khāsā: khāsā koṅ: (fine khāsā), khāsā ūui (brown khāsā) and khāsā thū (thick khāsā).

It is learnt that the use of jā (lace)—jā payaṅ: (amber-coloured lace), phok jā (needle point lace), ūwe jā (lace interwoven with silver threads) and rhwe jā (lace interwoven with gold threads)—became common in the post-Bagan periods. Lace also was an important material.

The cloth referred to as nīpā: (red fabric) became popular in the post-Bagan period. This word occurs in the lists of presents the crown prince gave to the grieving relatives when a king or a Sawbwa: passed away and in those the Sawbwas of Kyuiṅ: Ruṃ: and Sin:wī gave to a prince when he, having been chosen as crown prince, moved into crown prince's residence. Nīpā: was not only used for making clothes, but also for making sheaths for muskets, lham ma and lham

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97 Kala, 1961, 160, 199, 259
Tin, 1965, 160
Zeya Thinhkaya, 1957, stanza-49
Padethayaza, 1961, stanza 290
Aw, 1961, 42
Myan sar Nyunt, 1992, 10

98 Kala, 1961, 133

99 Aw, 1961, 62

100 Thiri Uzana, 2001, 248

101 Zambudipa, 1960, 35
Than Tun, 1985, 216
Kala, 1961, 242

102 Padethayaza, 1961, stanza 246

103 Zeya Thinhkaya, 1957, stanza 11

104 Thutethi, Amint taw 2, 84
Than Tun, 1983, 412
Thiri Uzana, 2001, 267

105 Thiri Uzana, 2001, 31
rhañ (spears) used by the servicemen of achoñ nī, and for making covers of palanquins, and nhakkhye:kham tanchon: (canopy placed on a bier).106

Different types of pit (cotton) fabrics were also used:

- *pit* (cotton fabric)107
- *pit khyo* (fine cotton fabric),108
- *pit nī* (red cotton fabric),109
- *pit pā*: (thin cotton fabric),110
- *pit phlā* (white cotton fabric),111
- *pit lhap* (fine thin cloth),112 and
- *paccū* (white cloth).113

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106 Thiri Uzana, 2001, 333, 334, 368, 369
107 Thilawuntha, 1969, stanza 81
Ohn Nyo, 1965, stanza 70
Padethayaza, 1961, stanza-73
Than Tun, 1983, 439
Tutethi, *hnit lei ze razawun*, 31
Thutethi, *Amint taw 2*, 62
*Kala*, 1961, 157
108 Shin Thuye, 1965, stanza, 44,49
Thutethi, *Shehaunghmatsar*, 26
109 Shun, 1928, stanza-164
*Myan sar Nyunt*, 1992, 11
Aggathamadi, 1901a, stanza-153
Thutethi, *Shehaunghmatsar*, 33
*Kala*, 1961, 216, 234
110 Myan sar Nyunt, 1952, 41
Ohn Nyo, 1965, stanza, 68, 70
Aggathamadi, 1957, stanza 4
*Myan Sar Nyunt*, 1952, 33
*Myan sar Nyunt*, 1992, 53
The word *paccū* is derived a Hindi word\(^{114}\) meaning "white garment" or "white cloth"\(^{115}\) *Pit* was a generic name. Although various types of *pit* were used (are referred to in the contemporary documents), they could not have been used by the common citizens. The *ponṇā*: (Brahmins / Indians who professes Hinduism)\(^{116}\) and spirit-mediums\(^{117}\) wore *pit phlū* clothes at the royal ceremonies such as *Ukhaṃṣa* (the occasion of a king entering the throne room for the first time), in announcing a propitious time for an important activity, and in propitiating spirits. When spirits were propitiated customarily, the figures of spirits were clothed in *pit phlū* or *pit pā*: garments.\(^{118}\) *Tuṃsarī* *pit up* (Bolts of tuṃsarī pit fabric) (Tuṃsarī pit) imported from India\(^{119}\) was among the presents—given by the king, queens and monks to Chinese envoys; the quantity of these presents depended on the ranks of the recipients.\(^{120}\) It probably was a high-quality *pit* (cotton fabric). In addition, *pit* up (bolts up cotton fabrics) were among the presents given to royal officials by the contestants in lawsuits.\(^{121}\) The royal relatives including the chief queen and men of wealth had to wear *pit* clothes at funerals.\(^{122}\) Therefore, it seems that *pit* clothes were only to be worn by the king, his relatives and nobles.

114 *Myanmar Abeikdan, 1991, 222*
115 Thein Hlaing, 2002, 96
116 *Myan Sar Nyunt, 1952, 154*
117 Thutethi, *thwin sarmya*, 16
118 *Myan Sar Nyunt, 1952, 154*
119 Kala, 1961, 313
120 Thutethi, *hniit lei ze razawun*, 31
121 Thutethi, *Amint taw 2*, 62
122 Thuteghi, *Shehaungmatsar*, 33
earliest inscription that mentions pit clothes belonged to AD 1476, and pit became popular in the post-Bagan periods. Thick fabrics called pattū (canvas)\textsuperscript{123} and pattū nī (red pattū)\textsuperscript{124} were among the presents given by the king to envoys, among those given by Yazadhirit to Mingyiswa, among those given to officials on the occasion of administering an oath of fealty, and among the offertories donated to monks.\textsuperscript{125} These fabrics also were imported from India. Moreover, pa ca up and bha gal : up were mentioned among the list of gifts presented by the Myanmar king to his Chinese counterpart Utañbhwā in AD 1749,\textsuperscript{126} and among those presented by a Siamese king to the Myanmar king.\textsuperscript{127} Although it is not known what types of fabrics the pañcañ up and bhaṅgalā: up were, they must have been fabrics produced in Bengal. As they were imported fabrics, they must have been used only by the members of the upper class.

The people also wore pui:thañ (silk clothes) imported from China.\textsuperscript{128} Silk fabrics woven with strands of cotton called kattīpā and pui: kattīpā also were

\textsuperscript{123} Myanmar Abeikdan, 1991, 22
Tun Nyo, 1997, chī
Thutethi, hnit lei ze razawun, 31
\textsuperscript{124} Tun Nyo, 1968, 224, 264, 255.
\textsuperscript{125} Myanmar Abeikdan, 1991, 22
\textsuperscript{126} Thutethi, hnit lei ze razawun, 30-31
\textsuperscript{127} Thutethi, hnit lei ze razwun, 23
\textsuperscript{128} Thilawuntha, 1969, stanza 81
Padethayaza, 1960, stanza-28
Tezawthara, 1929, stanza-11
Padethayaza, 1961, stanza-145
Tin, 1965, 122
Myan Sar Nyunt, 1952, 7
Thutethi, Amintaw 2, 62
imported. In addition to *pui* (silk), *phai* (satin)—*phai cim*: (green *phai*),
*phai nī* (red *phai*), *phai nak* (black *phai*), *phai wā* (yellow *phai*), etc.—also
were imported from China. Crepe pit fabrics called *mātarābhak* and
*mārabhak*, blue woven headgear, coarse pit fabrics referred to as
*māsarabhak*, *murichtak* and *mārī*, a type of patterned fabrics called

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129 Tin, 1976, 123
130 Padethayaza, 1961, stanza-1
   Aw, 1961, 5
   Zanbudipa, 1960, 35
   Myaketu, 1966, 105
   Thutethi, *Amint taw* 2, 60
   Tin, 1965, 122
   Tin, 1976, 122-23
   Tun Nyo, 1968, chī,jā
   Tun Nyo, 1997, 267
131 Than Tun, 1983, 304, 324
   Kala, 1961a, 286
   Thutethi, *Myo Ywa Nai Pai Thamai*, 47, 57
132 Thutethi, *Myo Ywa Nai Pai Thamai*, 43
133 Aw, 1961, 24
134 Thein Hlaing, 2002, 124
   Padethayaza, 1961, stanza 73
   Thutethi, *hnit lei ze razawun*, 31
135 Aw, 1961, 24
136 Thein Hlaing, 2002, 124
   Tin, 1976, 107
137 Nyein Maung, 1998b, 157, line 49
138 Kala, 1960 a, 416
   Kala, 1961, 192, 199
mhuiñ:luñ,₁³⁹ Mauyau, a type of satin with both sides having the same texture made in China,₁⁴₀ phak khan', a type of satin fabrics with different textures on different sides,₁⁴¹ kattīpā with flower patterns, and maṅsarī (black velvet), black katt p₁⁴² were also used. The words kattīpā₁⁴³ and maṅsarī₁⁴⁴ derived from Arabic words, and these fabrics were also referred to as pui: phai than₁⁴⁵ and pui:kattīpā.₁⁴⁶

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₁³⁹ Thein Hlaing, 2002, 142
Zanbudipa, 1960, 35
Maung Maung Tin, 1975, 261
Tun Nyo, 1968, 267
Kala, 1961, 242

₁⁴₀ Thein Hlaing, 2002, 128
Zanbudipa, 1960, 35
Maung Maung Tin, 1975, 261
Tun Nyo, 1968, 267

₁⁴¹ Kala, 1960 a, 416

₁⁴² Thein Hlaing, 2002, 133
Kala, 1961, 242, 347
Thiri Uzana, 2001, 337
U Hla Tin (Hla Thamein), Sheisarsotawmya ei sethnitrathi-bwe-paung-choke, (Verses on Twelve month Seasons), Yangon, Hanthawady, 1962, pp.30-31 (Henceforth: Hla Thamein, 1962)

₁⁴₃ Thein Hlaing, 2002, 10


₁⁴₅ Po Latt, 1963, 186

₁⁴₆ Kala, 1960 a, 416
Rathañ: swathing cloth used by women as upper garment,\(^{147}\) and ramathî, a kind of fine cloth,\(^ {148}\) were also used. *Pit phlû, pit pā: pit lhap* and *pit khyo* must have been either rathañ. Rathañ: and ramathî were used in Myanmar from about AD 1417 onwards. In 1646, the envoy sent by the Siamese king presented the Myanmar king *ramathî* as a gift.\(^ {149}\) Therefore, *ramathî* must have been a type of fabric used by the upper classes. Although white *salañ: pit* was in use since the Inn-wa period,\(^ {150}\) it is not known whether it was used for clothing.

A silk fabric called *sahan* (a type of silk fabric) was also used in the post-Bagan periods.\(^ {151}\) The presents given by Yazadirit to Mingyiswa\(^ {152}\) and the articles

\(^{147}\) Thein Hlaing, 2002, p.128
Zeya Thinhkaya, 1957, stanza 63
Thuye, 1965, stanza 40, 46
Padethayaza, 1961, stanza-28
Agathamadi, 1957, stanza-26
(Henceforth: Shin Htwe Nyo, 1965)
Kandawminkyaung Saya, *Lawkathara Pyo*, Yangon, Pyigyimadaing, 1961, stanza 50
(Henceforth: Kandawminkyaung Saya, 1961)
*Myan Sar Nyunt*, 1992, 16

\(^{148}\) Thein Hlaing, 2002, 128
Nyein Maung, 1998b, 12, line 16; 157, line 49
Than Tun, 1983, 469
Kala, 1961, 199, 192
Aw, 1961, 56

\(^{149}\) Thutethi, *hnit lei-ze razawun*, 23

\(^{150}\) Thein Hlaing, 2002, 180
Aduminnyo, U Kyaw Yin, (ed), *Rakhine Minthami E-gyin*, Yangon, Yogi Press, 1938, p.27 (Henceforth, Aduminnyo, 1938)
Kantawminkyaung, 1992, 7

\(^{151}\) Thein Hlaing, 2002, 181

\(^{152}\) Tun Nyo, 1968, 224
donated to monks by King Yazadirit\textsuperscript{153} included sahan. In addition, sahan was one of the articles given as presents on the occasions of administering an oath of fealty after the wars.\textsuperscript{154} As it was a silk fabric, it was only used by the upper classes.

*Sālū* (a kind of fine cotton fabric), together with and *khāsā*, was one of the most popular kinds of cloth used for clothing in the post-Bagan periods. That the word *sālū* was a Hindi word indicates that it was imported from India.\textsuperscript{155} *Sālū* was a type of fabric with red-or pink-coloured flower patterns.\textsuperscript{156} It was one of the articles presented to the king by the royal officials at the *hti*-hoisting ceremonies, on the occasion of a king entering the throne room for the first time and on the occasion of the king's taking formal possession of the *hluttaw*, one of those given to the crown prince as presents, given to the crown prince as presents by royal officials, or when the latter paid respect to the crown prince at the beginning and end of Buddhist lent,\textsuperscript{157} and it was a kind of fabric sold by the *lakchoñy tuikcui*: after seeking a written permission from the *asañ wun*.\textsuperscript{158} *Sālū* was among the articles donated to monks at a *hti*-hoisting ceremony in AD 1649.\textsuperscript{159} Moreover, *Sālū* was also used in the funerals of the king and the members of the royalty as well as those of monks.\textsuperscript{160} *Sālū* clothes became popular in the

\textsuperscript{153} Tun Nyo, 1968, 255
\textsuperscript{154} Tun Nyo, 1968, 264
\textsuperscript{155} Thein Hlaing, 2002, 181
\textsuperscript{156} Thein Hlaing, 2002, 181
\textsuperscript{157} Nyein Maung, 1998b, 157, line 49
Thiri Uzana, 2001, 136, 137, 143, 221, 463, 20, 31, 57
\textsuperscript{158} Than Tun, 1983, 128
Thutethi, Amintaw 1, 34
\textsuperscript{159} Than Tun, 1985, 128
\textsuperscript{160} Than Tun, 1983, 412
Thutethi, Amintaw 2, 80,84
post-Bagan periods.\textsuperscript{161} Therefore, apart from local fabrics, imported fabrics called \textit{khāsā} and \textit{sālū} seemed to have been the fabrics people of all classes could use for making clothes.

There is evidence that \textit{sakkalap} (felt) was used.\textsuperscript{162} There were various types of \textit{sakkalap}:

- \textit{sakkalap kram}: (coarse \textit{sakkalap})
- \textit{sakkalap khyo} (fine \textit{sakkalap})\textsuperscript{163}
- \textit{sakkalap cim}: (green \textit{sakkalap}) and
- \textit{sakkalap nī} (red \textit{sakkalap}).\textsuperscript{164}

\textit{Sakkalap} means "felt".\textsuperscript{165} Bolts of \textit{sakkalap} were given to monks at a \textit{hti}-hoisting ceremony in AD 1649,\textsuperscript{166} given by Myanmar king to \textit{Utañbkwar}, the king of China, in AD 1749,\textsuperscript{167} and to a queen when she gave birth to a son.\textsuperscript{168} It can therefore be assumed that \textit{sakkalap} was only used by the king and members of the royal family, royal officials and highly respected persons.

\textsuperscript{161} Padethayaza 1961, stanza-290
Thutethi, \textit{Amintaw} 2, 60
\textsuperscript{162} Nyein Maung, 1998b, 157, line 49
Than Tun, 1983, 469
Aw, 1961, 42
\textit{Zanbudipa}, 1960, 44
Tin, 1976, 122
Thiri Uzana, 2001, 137
\textsuperscript{163} Tin, 1976, 123
\textsuperscript{164} Thiri Uzana, 2001, 20
\textsuperscript{165} Thein Hlaing, 2002, 191
\textsuperscript{166} Nyein Maung, 1998b, 157, line 49
\textsuperscript{167} Thutethi, \textit{hnit lei-ze-razawun}, 31
\textsuperscript{168} Tun Nyo 1968, 132
As to Myanmar clothing, the fabrics used by the common citizens were khāsā and sālū, while kattīpā, jā, pui:, phai and sakkalap were only used by the king, queens, royal relatives, royal officials and members of the upper class. The most commonly used fabric in those periods and post-Bagan periods, however, was . That not many kinds of were used in the Bagan period was because that arts of dyeing and designing were not developed yet. In the post-Bagan periods, new colours and designs appeared. Thus, the clothing began to change. The fabrics produced in the Bagan and post-Bagan periods in Myanmar were pukhrañ, koñ: nī, phlū, mai, khyo, cañ:, ūni, nham and prok. In the post-Bagan periods, in addition to local textile products, imported fabrics—such as ūwe, pui:, rhwe, kattīpā, kambalā, kayap, karakat, khāsā, jā payañ:, phok jā, ūwe jā, rhwe jā, various types of pit, pui:, phai, mātarābhak, mārabhak, māsarabhak, murictak, mūrī, mhuin:luñ, mauyau, mañsarī, rathañ: ramathī, sahan, sālū, sakkalap, etc.—came into use. Thus, the level of Myanmar's culture changed. Thus, the level of Myanmar culture became higher with the development of the arts of weaving and dyeing. Thus, due to the development of dressing style there took place some changes in the society.
CHAPTER TWO

Clothes of Different Social Strata: Upper and Lower Garments

It was when we human beings came to be conscious about our physical features after our birth, that we began to cover our body for various reasons. First, leaves, and then a piece of animal hide or skin, were tied round our body. Later, jute and cotton were woven into clothing to wear. In Myanmar, the earliest form of clothing was woven with some kind of cotton, which is known as Phyañ clothing. It has been through ages that we Myanmar people have worn Phyañ mostly for our clothing. It was only when the transactions with other countries took place that exported fabrics came into our daily use for clothing. It has been through changing periods of history up to now that we Myanmar have worn Eingyi (Upper garment/shirt, coat, jacket). Paso and Htamein (lower garments for men and women). The terms "Ein-gyi", "Paso" and "Htamein" might evoke a controversy over their originality in the Myanmar terminology. However, the study of fresco paintings of Bagan period and Post-Bagan period, that there existed the custom of wearing different costumes according to different social strata of the royal families, the royal circle, the upper class and the common people.

In the history of Myanmar, the king monopolizes the absolute power and sovereignty of the kingdom. In the monarchial period, members of the royal family-king, queen, crown prince and royal brothers resided in the royal palace. The royal palace being the centre of the palace ground, some residential buildings
were built for the relatives of the royal family and people of various ranks in the royal service. Thus, the term "the royal residential area" ("Nan-twin") has come into existence. The term refers to the residential area for people related to the royal circle. The king being the chief administrator for local and foreign affairs, as well as the crown of the kingdom, the royal costume for His Majesty was distinguished from all the other costumes.

**Upper Garments of king, Princes and Ministers of Bagan period**

According to the mural paintings of the successive periods, a human figure wearing a headgear with a crown, or a crested headdress, a string of heads round his neck, bangles, crested cuffs, ear-drops and a stole represented a king, a member of the royal circle or a member of the upper class. A study of the mural paintings of the Bagan period reveals that kings of this period wore a crested head-dress and a long upper garment flowing for below the waist, called *wutlon* (robe).\(^1\) As in the mural painting of the Patothamya Temples, illustrating the Miracles of the Buddha, among the figures of the devotees were included monks and human figures wearing head-dresses and *wutlon* upper garments.\(^2\) Since all the human figures wore head-dresses, it is uncertain whether all those audiences represented kings or members of the royal family. However, according to the mural paintings of Bagan period found in the Myingaba-Gupyaugyi Temple, illustrating the First Buddhist Synod\(^3\), and the Second Buddhist Synod\(^4\), only the human figure wearing the crested head-dress and *wutlon* garment can be assumed to represent the king while the other figures wearing the *wutlon* garments might

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\(^2\) Photo 1

\(^3\) Photo 2

\(^4\) Photo 3
1. Kings in Their Kingly Attires

(Luce, Old Burma Early Bagan, 1970) Plate - 167 b
2. King and Ministers

(Courtesy of Archaeological Survey Department, Yangon)
3. King and Ministers

(Courtesy of Archaeological Survey Department, Yangon)
represent princes, thus distinguishing the king from the princes. Moreover, one significant point is found in the mural painting illustrating the Second Synad: some human figures wore wutlon garments while others wore no upper garments, but the crested cuffs, bangles and loin clothes. The mural painting depicts a religious ceremony. According to the different complexions of those figures wearing loin clothes, they might represent the Brahmins, or the Huyas, announcing the propitious time for the consecration. In the mural painting of the Patothamya Temple⁵, one noteworthy point about the human figure with clasped hands, wearing a wutlon garment is that the special flap of the upper garment round the neck might be the beginning of the design of the Round-the-Neck Flap ("lei-kweetaw"). It can, therefore, be assumed that, starting from the Bagan period, there already existed special costumes and regalia for king and the princes only. It is discernible that the costumes were to have been worn according to different social strata. This was one of the royal customs that had been adopted and followed through the successive periods.

Two types of wutlon garment have been discovered from the research: Wutton-to (short robe)⁶ and wutlon-she (long robe)⁷. A variety of designs were found in the wutlon garments of king of Bagan period.⁸ Since only cotton fabric, on was woven locally, those garments of pui, phai and thakkalap of floral, spot, chequered and line designs might have been exported. Besides these, plain wutlon garments, with no design, were also worn.⁹ Because people of the upper class wore these garments in ceremonies, the garments were not woven of cotton fabric, or local-made, but plain silk and Satin exported from other

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⁵ Photo 4
⁶ Photo 4
⁷ Photo 5
⁸ Figure (1) (2) (3)
⁹ Photo 1, 2
4. A Buddhist Devotee in Robe, Patothamya Cave Temple, Bagan

(Luce, Old Burma Early Bagan, 1970) Plate.166
5. A King, Patothamya Cave Temple,
(Than Tun, Khithaung Myanmar Yazawun, 2002) p.139
Textile Patterns

Figure (1)
Textile Patterns

(a)  
(b)  
(c)  
(d)  
(e)  
(f)  
(g)  
(h)  

Figure (2)
Textile Patterns

Figure (3)
countries. Since there existed special religious ceremonies in Bagan period, there may have existed in Post-Bagan period such ceremonies as the coronation, the Patronage-accepting ceremony, obeisance-paying ceremony, the laying of foundation for a new palace, the entertainments and burial services. However, no evidence has as yet been discovered, showing in what kind of ceremonies the wuttlon-to or wuttlon-she had to be worn. The mural paintings of Bagan period reveal that the former type, Wuttlon-to, was mostly worn.

In the mural painting of the Patothamya Temple of Bagan period, recorded as "the Donation of Min Lulin", a human figure wearing a wuttlon-she with floral design was depicted.\textsuperscript{10} The figure is of significance that, no matter it did not bear a title, it represented the figure of a king wearing a head-dress, ear-drop, lout-lon robes and crested cuff the wuttlon having some crests over the shoulders, probably representing the beginning of the flame-like epaulette, jacket for kings and princes to be worn in ceremonies. One inscription of the Gava Temple, of A.D 1058, carried an expression, "Duyin-ta-hte" ("one epaulette")\textsuperscript{11}, and Inscription of a Rok Sa and wife, dated in A.D 1296, bore an expression, "Duyin Thone-hte" (three epaulettes)\textsuperscript{12}. This suggests that epaulettes were already worn starting from the Bagan period. One record dating for back to the reign of king Narathu states that a Duyin garment, or epaulette, with a front opening was allowed to wear.\textsuperscript{13} Hence, kings of Bagan period worn two types of Duyin (a kind of official frock coat) a pullover and front-opening type. Since the word, "Duyin" dated back to A.D 1058, a new type different form wuttlon garment may have come into

\textsuperscript{10} Photo 5
\textsuperscript{11} Nyein Maung, 1972, 32, line 54
\textsuperscript{12} Nyein Maung, 1983, 184, line 14
existence for a special garment for king and people of the Upper class. It was only in the late Bagan Period that Duyin garments were mostly worn. In the reign of successive Myanmar kings, when the king himself went to war, he wore the short-and-long striped royal Duyin costume. The kings costume was distinguished from the costumes of others in quality fabric. It is noted that there were similarities in the designs of the costumes worn by the king and the princes. Although the differences are uncertain, the king's royal costume could be superior in fabric and quality. Colour of His Majesty's costume is one different factor.

The term "Ein-gyi" in Myanmar derived from the Hindi word Angiya. The term "In-gi" was first discovered on 2 faces of the inscription of A.D 1341. According to the mural paintings of Bagan period illustrating the figures of the Buddha, the Bodhisattva, monk and celestial being on guard, the king and people of the upper class wore loose, long-sleeved garments, loose robes, and short-sleeved, sleeveless vest or strait jackets. The designed cotton fabrics were worn in three-quarter sleeved vests. In the reign of king Hti-lai, when a new palace was founded in 11 November 1101, officers of high and low ranks attending the auspicious ceremony wore inner short garment and long jacket. The inner short garment refers to inner vest or strait jacket while the long jacket refers to the type of Thoyin (ceremonial

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14 Tin, 1976, 128
16 Nyein Maung, 1998 a, 34, line 12
17 Photo 6, Figure (13 a, b)
18 Photo 7
19 Photo 8
20 Dr. Than Tun, "Hti-Lai-min", (Hti-Lai II), Kalyar Magazine, No.151 September 1997, p.20 (Henceforth: Than Tun, Htilaimin, 1997)
6. Buddhist monks, Abeyatana

(Luce, Old Burma Early Bagan, 1970) Plate -234 e
Styles of Upper Garment

(a)

(b)

Figure (13).
7. Celestial Beings, Abeyatana

(Luce, Old Burma Early Bagan, 1970) Plate - 239 b
8. Celestial Beings, Abeyatana
(Luce, Old Burma Early Bagan, 1970) Plate - 239 a
robe worn by princes and ministers), loose, long-sleeved ceremonial robe flowing down below the waist.\textsuperscript{21} This suggests that the type of \textit{Thoyin} robe was worn by ministers even in Bagan period. Starting from the Bagan period, the costumes of king and people of the upper class included \textit{wuttlon, Duyin, Thoyin} and \textit{Eingyi}. One can assume that the sleeveless blouse and three quarter sleeved jackets were referred to as \textit{Eingyi} in Bagan period. It was in the later periods that all Upper garments were called \textit{Eingyi}.

\textbf{Lower Garments of king, Princes and persons in the Royal Service in Bagan period.}

As lower garments, the people of Bagan period, starting from the king to the common people, were \textit{khac} ("lower garment/ girdle cloth")\textsuperscript{22} and \textit{paso} ("lower garments for men")\textsuperscript{23} mostly. The inscriptions of Bagan period recorded the donations of \textit{Paso} as follows:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{Thoyin}, 2002, 189
\item \textit{Bagan Inscriptions}, Mandalay, Mandalay University, Department of Myanmar, Copy. 1955, p.15 (Henceforth, Bagan Inscriptions)
\item \textit{Nyein Maung}, 1972, 77, line 7
\item Dated in A.D-1205, Sa nh n t L sa Inscription, double face, observe
\item \textit{Nyein Maung}, 1972, 147, line 32
\item \textit{Nyein Maung}, 1972, 246, line 31
\item \textit{Nyein Maung}, 1982, 24
\item Dated in A.D. 1228, Inscription of Pra khu wife, princess, grandson, double face, observe
\item \textit{Nyein Maung}, 1982, 101, 102, line 34,40,42.44
\item Dated in A.D. 1228, Inscription at princess Acokrwam:'s
\item \textit{Nyein Maung}, 1983, 184, lines 16-17
\item \textit{Nyein Maung}, 1983, 280, line 15,1,17
\item Dated in A.D 1319, Loka-rhwe-bo -s temple inscription, double face, reverse
\item \textit{Nyein Maung}, 1998 a, 10, line 11,24,28
\item \textit{Nyein Maung}, 1998 a, 89, line 6,9
\item \textit{Nyein Maung}, 1998 a, 95, line 28
\item Dated in A.D 1353, Inn-pe pagoda hnit Nagayon Pagoda inscription, double face
\item \textit{Nyein Maung}, 1998 a, 125, line, 5,6,7,8
\end{itemize}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No of Paso</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AD 1248</td>
<td>238&lt;sup&gt;24&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD 1296</td>
<td>16&lt;sup&gt;25&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD 1319</td>
<td>5&lt;sup&gt;26&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD 1338</td>
<td>150&lt;sup&gt;27&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD 1351</td>
<td>8&lt;sup&gt;28&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD 1353</td>
<td>1530&lt;sup&gt;29&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD 1356</td>
<td>64&lt;sup&gt;30&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One can assume, according to the list mentioned above, that the principal lower garment for people of Bagan, ranging from the king to those of the Upper class, was *paso*. No exact evidence has yet been discovered, showing the derivative of its term, which first existed in Bagan period. Probably, the term *Paso* may have derived from *Pukhrañ*<sup>31</sup>, which often occurs in inscriptions.

There is a Myanmar expression, "men in the royal service wearing the twenty-cubit-long *paso*", referring to the lower garment worn by king, princes and men in royal service in the older days. It is uncertain when that expression was first used. However, the term suggests that the type of *Paso* worn by king and people of the upper class was not sewn, but wrapped round the waist. It was a kind of *Taungshe Paso* (double length men's longyi). Since the Indian men wears dhoti, probably because the costumes of the Bagan period were influenced by the Indian

<sup>24</sup> Nyein Maung, 1982, 101, lines 34, 40, 42, 44
<sup>25</sup> Nyein Maung, 1983, 184, lines 16,17
<sup>26</sup> Nyein Maung, 1983, 280, lines 15,16,17
<sup>27</sup> Nyein Maung, 1998<sup>a</sup>, 10, lines 11,12,28
<sup>28</sup> Nyein Maung, 1998<sup>a</sup>, 86, lines 6,9
<sup>29</sup> Nyein Maung, 1998<sup>a</sup>, 95, lines 28,29
<sup>30</sup> Nyein Maung, 1998<sup>a</sup>, 125, lines 5,6,7,8
<sup>31</sup> Nyein Maung, 1972, 245, line 22
costume style, the Myanmar people may have worn the paso, wrapping round their waist, as a dhoti is worn. The mural painting of the Ngamyet-hna pagodas illustrates the lower garment of the Bodhisattva seated in the temple as wearing a dhoti. As a saying goes, "The Loincloth of a king is solely woven with silk," the paso of His Majesty can be mostly silk paso. Although there is no exact date telling us about the existence of this saying, since there had been a strong relationship between China and Myanmar even in the Pyu period, it is obvious that kings of Bagan period wore silk paso. The princes of the paso were recorded on the obverse and 2 faces of Inscription near the Pagoda, dated AD 1319, reading "paso that cost fifteen kyats, paso that cost five kyats". These prices show the good and poor qualities of Paso on sale, the trading of which has, since then, been followed up to be the present.

When the king and princes wore short wutlon, they wore khac or waist cloth, as an inner lower garment. They also wore one when dressing themselves in long wutlon robe. One mural painting found inside the Phaya-Thone-su Pagoda illustrates the Bodhisattva wearing a short dhoti as lower garment and a thin cloth to cover the body. These garment having floral designs. Since people of the Bagan period had learned the art of embroidery, the pasos bore floral designs of gold embroidery. Valuable pasos of high quality were to be worn by the king and the people of the upper class. In AD, 1101, in the reign of king Hti-lai, officers of high and low ranks engaged in the service of constructing a new palace, wore white pasos—the white colour implying the meaning of auspiciousness. It can be assumed, that the king and the people of the upper class mostly wore the gold-embroidered, white cotton fabric.

32 Photo 9
33 Nyein Maung, 1983, 280, line 15, 16, 17
34 Photo 10
35 Photo 11
36 Than Tun, 1997, 20
9. Buddhist-Sattva, Ngamyet-hna Pagoda, Bagan

(Courtesy of Archaeological Survey Department, Yangon)
10. A Buddhist Devotee and His Garments, Patothamya Cave Temple, Bagan
(Luce, Old Burma Early Bagan, 1970) Plate. 166
11. Bodhist-Sattva and Retinues, Phaya-Thone-Su, Bagan
(Shei Yo Pachi, 1966) p.37
Upper Garments for the Queen and Ladies of the Upper Class of Bagan Period

In the early Bagan period, the queen and ladies of the upper class wore *yin-si* (strapless bodice worn under a chemise).\(^{37}\) The bodice had spotted designs, as well as striped designs.\(^{38}\) The designed bodice refers to that of the queen. The term "*Eingyi* " had come into use in the late Bagan period, and the mural paintings of this period illustrate the three-quartered sleeve blouse and short-sleeved, strait jackets.\(^{39}\) Some costumes had designs, while others were just plain.\(^{40}\) Some upper garments had gold embroidery. In the reign of king Narathu, the countries, as well as dramatic art performers, wore open-fronted *Duyin Eingyis*.\(^{41}\) While women wore pullover in the early Bagan period, open-fronted jackets gained popularity in the late Bagan period. Women of those days might also have worn loose, long-sleeved *Eingyi*, like men.

Lower Garments for the Queen and ladies of the Upper Class of the Bagan Period

All men and women of the Bagan period wore *dhoti* and *Sari*\(^{42}\) mostly, and so girdles of various designs were worn round the waist. Besides, some women figures tied scarves hanging down from the shoulder. Women wore not only *Sari* but also long skirt\(^{43}\) and trousers.\(^{44}\) Women wore trousers with a thin cloth over it, like a long skirt. The term "*Hta-mein*" (woman's skirt) came into use, starting from

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\(^{37}\) Photo 12, 13  
\(^{38}\) Photo 13  
\(^{39}\) Photo 14  
\(^{40}\) Photo 8  
\(^{41}\) Saw Mon Nyin, *1989*, 24  
\(^{42}\) Photo 12  
\(^{43}\) Photo 15  
\(^{44}\) Photo 15
12. Women and Their dress style, Loka Hteik Pan Bagan
(Countesy of Archaeological Survey Department, Yangon)
13. Queen Yathodaya, Loka Hteik Pan, Bagan
(Luce, Old Burma Early Bagan, 1970) Plate - 353 c
14. Queen and Maids of Honour Abeyatana, Bagan
(Luce, Old Burma Early Bagan, 1970) Plate - 217 d
15. A group of Women in Procession, Nadamanya Pagoda, Bagan (Shei Yo Pachi, 1966)) p.38
A.D 1288\textsuperscript{45}. As in the expression "Taphikanlon 2 Hte"\textsuperscript{46}, which might be interpreted as the lower garment or lon-gwin, that women wear. Moreover, there existed the type of lower garment for women, called Htamein-Nan-gwe, a type of Htamein to be wrapped round the waist, in Bagan period. It appeared that the long Sari had been adapted to what was called "Thone tone-wut) three-cubit-long) Htamein according to Myanmar culture and Myanmar women's unique style. Today Myanmar women wear lower garment or sewn Htamein of four cubits in length, or six inches short of four cubits in length. Among the types of Htamein worn by women of Bagan period, one type was Tanbima (dark-coloured Htamein), Tanbibumon.\textsuperscript{47} Therefore, white and dark-coloured lower garments were mostly worn. The term Tanbibumon might refer to good quality Htamein to be worn by ladies of the upper class. Those white Htameins had been woven in gold embroidery. Women of the Bagan period wore sari, long skirt, pat-Htamein (skirt to be wrapped round the body), Gwin Htamein (stitch htamein female loincloth) and trousers. The ladies of the upper class wore not only the designs of spot, double-layered triangler, colour spot between two horizontal lines, circular spots, various designs inside the circles, and big wavy pattern called kyogyi-cheik and wavy pattern, but also modern wavy designs.\textsuperscript{48} The term "cheik" was not used to refer to the costume of the Bagan period, but the wavy pattern had already existed in that period. The mural painting of Mahayan-gang inside the Apeyadana Temple illustrate the Htamein worn by Taradevi Goddess, which had the kyogyi-cheik design\textsuperscript{49} while the Htamein of kalidevi also had wavy patterns of chief.\textsuperscript{50}

\textsuperscript{45} Nyein Maung, 1998 a, line 14
\textsuperscript{46} Nyein Maung, 1998 a, 273 , line 10
\textsuperscript{47} Nyein Maung, 1998 a, 273, line 10,
\textsuperscript{48} Figure (4), (5)
\textsuperscript{49} Photo 16
\textsuperscript{50} Photo 17
Textile Patterns

(a)  
(b)  
(c)  
(d)  
(e)  
(f)  
(g)  
(h)  

Figure (4)
16. Hindu Goddess

(Luce, Old Burma Early Bagan, 1970) Plate - 231 i
17. A Hindu Goddess

(Luce, Old Burma Early Bagan, 1970) Plate - 232 j
Moreover, the mural painting depicting the scene in which people paid obeisance to the Royal Hermit, the Bodhisattava, found in the Pathothamya Pagoda, the costumes worn by the queens had wavy cheik designs.\textsuperscript{51} It was on those designs that a variety of cheik designs had been created. Naturally, in the post-Bagan period, the term "Chiek" had gained popularity as the cheik designed lower garments had become popular.

**Upper Garments of king, princes and Ministers of the Post-Bagan period**

In Inwa period, which followed as the post-Bagan period, the costume of kings included the upper garments, which are *Wutlon*\textsuperscript{52}, *Duyin*\textsuperscript{53}, *Thindai*\textsuperscript{54}.

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\textsuperscript{51} Photo 18

\textsuperscript{52} Than Tun, 1983, 162  
Than Kho, 1967, stanza-18  
Aggathamadi, 1957, stanza-125  
Than Tun, 1985, 87  
Aggathamadi, 1901a, stanza-41  
Thiri-U-Zana, 2001, 468  
Tin, 1983, 62

\textsuperscript{53} Padetharaza, 1961, stanza-76  
Nawaday, 1929, 147  
Ohn Nyo, 1965, stanza-70  
Than Kho, 1967, stanza-20  
U Hla Tin (Hla Thamein), *Thukhawahanda Pyo*, Yangon, Ancient Literature and culture section, 1960, stanza 31 (Henceforth: Hla Thamein, 1960)  
Tin, 1983, 62  
Tin, 1976, 106  
Thiri-U Zana, 2001, 372
18. King Suddhodana and Royal Hermit, Patothamya Cave Temple, Bagan
(Luce, Old Burma Early Bagan, 1970) Plate - 167 a
(a smock)\textsuperscript{54} and \textit{Thoyin} \textsuperscript{55}. The \textit{wutlon} of the post-Bagan period probably did not resemble the pullover type of \textit{wutlon} worn in the Bagan period, but was referred to the upper garment as \textit{wutlon}. There were a variety of \textit{wutlons}:

\textit{Velvet wutlon}\textsuperscript{56}

\textit{Ja \ wutlon}\textsuperscript{57}

\textit{Tagyun wutlon}\textsuperscript{58}

\textit{Green phai wutlon}\textsuperscript{59}

\textsuperscript{54} Aggathamadi, 1901\textit{a}, stanza-1
Thilawuntha, 1965, stanza-63
Nyein Maung, 1998 \textit{a}, 252, line
Inscription of Thaccim' min, Tura Sin: sa : monastery, double face, observe
Aw, 1961, 44
Aung Gyi, 1965, 29
Thiri-U-Zana, 2001, 393
Tin, 1983, 62
\textsuperscript{55} Padetharaza, 1961, stanza-132
Shun, 1928, 124
Zeya Thinkhaya, 1957, 75
Maung Maung Tin, 1975, 22
\textsuperscript{56} Aung Gyi, 1965, 29
Aw, 1961, 9
\textsuperscript{57} Thiri-U-Zana, 2001, 248
\textsuperscript{58} Thiri-U-Zana, 2001, 468
\textsuperscript{59} Thiri-U-Zana, 2001, 356,
Tin, 1976, 128
The Gold *wuttlon* and the Gold cotton *wuttlon* were solely to be worn by the king, the whole of which was woven in gold embroidery. On the other hand, the gold cotton *wuttlon* was worn not only by the king, but also by the *pazin-laungs* (would-be monk) and the *Shin-laungs* (would-be novice). Therefore, the gold embroidered costumes were meant only for the king and those entering the Holy Orders. The *Tagyun Wuttlon* and the *Bilut wuttlon* were exported ones. Since the *Arni Wuttlon* was a pearl embroidered one, only the king and those whom the king had bestowed it upon as a reward were entitled to wearing it. The
king wore not only the Gold *wuttlon*, but also the velvet, silk, satin or felt *wuttlon*, as His Majesty liked.

One mural painting in Tilokaguru cave depicts a scene in which the Guardian spirit of the persimmon tree made his appearance and gave exhortations to the king who had failed to follow the ten precepts incumbent on a king. This painting illustrates the royal costume of the king, which could be assumed to refer to the type of *Duyin Eingyi*. The arm-pit of the costume had a wrapping, with a crested end of the sleeves. It had a front opening, different from the *Duyin* of the Bagan period. This probably marks a shift of design in the costumes of Myanmar culture, serving as a beginning of the *Duyin Eingyi* of the later period. Another noteworthy point is that the Guardian spirit of the persimmon tree was wearing a *Duyin Eingyi*, with adornments hanging over the bosom. Therefore, it can be assumed that the practice of the king wearing bosom adornments had commenced in the post-Bagan period.

A term "*The-gya Tuyin Eingyi*" had been used in Myanmar literature: the word may have been coined out of the artistic imagination to refer to how the celestial beings' costumes might look like. A famous line from *pyui* reads: *Duyin-lat-wa-kyauk-son-pa-ko*. This suggests that the yellow-hued cotton fabric was bejewelled with precious stones to make a *Duyin* costume. A line from another *pyui*: reads "*Duyin of one lakh worth in price*" suggesting that that *Duyin* was bejewelled. There had been annual ceremonies of obeisance paying to the kings during the lent season, during the Inwa period. On such ceremonies, the king

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71 Photo 19  
72 Aung Gyi, *1965*, 21  
73 Padetharaza, *1961*, stanza-76  
19. Spirit and King, A Scene from Tiloka-guru, Sagaing
(Photo by the Author, 7 October 2004)
wearing the Seindamani Magaiktaw Duyin\textsuperscript{75} and Thegya Duyin Eingyi \textsuperscript{76} received obeisance from his subjects. Therefore, the "Duyin of one lakh worth in prince" might refer to the Seindamani Duyintaw and the Thegya Duyintaw. Such Duyin Eingyi were entitled only to the king, the crown of the kingdom.

The men of the post-Bagan period wore loose-sleeved, long robes hanging down below the waist, called Thoyin\textsuperscript{77} for upper garment. As illustrated in the mural paintings on the southern and northern walls inside the Mi-pauk-gyi pagoda of Sagaing\textsuperscript{78} the figures wearing loose-sleeved, long-sleeved costumes hanging below the waist represented the ministered and men in royal service. Men of post-Bagan period wore not only Thoyin costumes, but also Thin-dai costumes, which was a kind of short-sleeved, loose pullover\textsuperscript{79} Some lines from a pyui: depicting the Archery scene, describe the Thindai costume as the short-sleeved robe loose in the waist\textsuperscript{80}. The Thindai costume is often compared to the traditional costume of the karens today. However, no evidence has yet been discovered in the mural paintings of the kings of the post-Bagan period, which show the custom of wearing such costumes. The mural paintings inside the Tilokaguru cave depict men of post-Bagan period wearing short-sleeved, three-quarter sleeve, waist long pullover covering the body down to the knees\textsuperscript{81} Some costumes had designs, while others were just plain\textsuperscript{82}. Such costumes may be called the Thindai. Probably from these kinds of costumes may have derived the short-sleeve, the long-sleeve,

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{75} Hla Thamein, \textit{Myanmar Minkhantaw} (Myanmar Royal Regalia), Culture Magazine, 1997, pp.60-61 (Henceforth: Hla Thamein, 1997)
\item \textsuperscript{76} Aung Gyi, 1965,21
\item \textsuperscript{77} Abeikdan-Akyin-choke, 1980, 205
\item \textsuperscript{78} Photo 20
\item \textsuperscript{79} Abeikdan, Akyin-choke, 1980,164
\item \textsuperscript{80} Aggathamadi, 1901 b, stanza-58
\item \textsuperscript{81} Photo 21
\item \textsuperscript{82} Figure 6
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
20. Ministers, A Scene from Mi-Pauk-gyi, Sagaing
(Photo by the Author, 7 October 2004)
21. King and Followers, A Scene from Tiloka-guru, Sagaing

(Photo by the Author, 7 October 2004)
Textile Patterns

(a)  
(b)  
(c)  
(d)  
(e)  
(f)  
(g)  
(h)  

Figure (6)
the waist-long, and the front-opening costumes. It is noteworthy that the king also were the *Thoyin* and the *Thindaik* kind of costumes found in the post-Bagan periods.

In the post-Bagan periods, different kinds of costumes were distinguished not only for the king, but also for princes and men in royal service. Princes and royal grandchildren had to wear the velvet *wuttlon* on the coronation ceremony, and the Gold embroidered *wuttlon* on the parades ceremony of cavalry of Horses and Royal Elephants while the ministers and the interior ministers wore the velvet *wuttlon* and those entitled to wearing a sash, *Tawnayyar* positioned in obeisance in the first of the five blocks of seats, wore the velvet *wuttlon* on the coronation ceremony. On the parades ceremony, those positioned in obeisance according to ranks had to wear the gold-embroidered velvet *wuttlon*. Princes and the royal grandchildren had to wear red and green velvet *wuttlon* while those positioned according to ranks had to wear spotted velvet *wuttlon*. Thus, the royal family were distinguished from the men in royal service.

The ministers and the interior ministers who were not entitled to wearing the sash, those positioned in obeisance in the first of the five blocks of seats called *Tawnay* and kneeling in the second blocks of seats in obeisance called *Dunay* (*Tawnay* and *Dunay*) who were not entitled to wearing the sash, had to wear *mhui : lum wuttlon* while those positioned in the *Interior Bawaw* (the fourth position) and *Exterior Bawaw* (the fifth position) and in *Saninay* (the third

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83 Thiri-U-Zana, 2001, 136
84 Than Tun, 1985, 169
85 Thiri-U-Zana, 2001, 136
86 Thiri-U-Zana, 2001, 136
87 Than Tun, 1985, 169
88 Than Tun, 1985, 121
89 Than Tun, 1985, 155
position) had to ear j paya. Those entitled to wearing the
mhui :lum wuttlon, positioned in the four blocks of seats, were permitted to wear
red and yellow spotted mhui :lum wuttlon. The ministers positioned in the
respective five blocks of seats and in the positions of the Interior and Exterior
Bawaws, were all distinguished from one another according to respective ranks.
The Saw-bwas of the Shan State, the Myo-wuns (Governor of a city), who
were senior princes, and the Kaung- han-hmus were allowed to wear felt wuttlon.
Also Thwe-thauk-gyi (Company commander) khaung ("In-charge/chief") and
Htaung-hmu ("In charge of one thousand soldiers") were allowed to wear felt wuttlon.
According to the study of the various types of wuttlon, those wearing
velvet wuttlon were higher in ranks. When attending the Hluttaw (the Great
Council of State), princes, royal grandchildren, ministers, senior and junior, had to
wear Eingyi- letkyi ("Big-sleeved costume"). It was a kind of Tho- yin costume,
and only the white one had to be worn. The princes, generals, ministers in the
retinue had to wear pan-sai costume, the design of which is not exactly known.
One might assume that it referred not to a plain white costume, but a dyed one.

90 Thiri-U-Zana, 2001, 136-137
91 Than Tun, 1985, 169
92 Thutethi, Hnit-Leize Razawun, 10
93 Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 93
94 Thutethi, Myo-ywa-nai-pai-thamai, 43
95 Than Tun, 1985, 44
96 Than Tun, 1983, 162
97 Thiri-U-Zana, 2001, 218
98 Mya kay tu, Nan da le hmat tan (Account of court life), Yangon, Hnalonhla sarpay,
1966, p.238 (Henceforth: Mya kay tu, 1966)
99 Than Tun, 1983, 369
At the Hni-khua nay positions, other men in royal service, who were those entitled as the Intelligentsia, the Craftsman, the Architect, and Minister, had to wear the *Eingyi Letkyi*,\(^{100}\) while those positioned at the unoccupied seats\(^{101}\) and the Shan Sawbwas had to wear strait-jacketed-type.\(^{102}\) Thus costumes of various types were worn to distinguish the various ranks. The upper garments, or *Eingyi* s, of the majority of gentlemen of post-Bagan period were *Thoyin* and *Thindai* - The hems and adornments of these *Eingyis* were found in Satin-hemmed felt *wuttlon*.\(^{103}\) According to the mural paintings of the Tiloka-Guru cave, the neck, edge, beginning and waist line worn by the majority of gentlemen were woven with hems.\(^{104}\) Which were mostly read in colour. The satin were green, red, yellow and blue, so green, yellow and blue hems were also sewn. The mural painting of the Mi-pauk-gyi pagoda depict the costumes of men in royal service as front-opening costumes.\(^{105}\) The edge, the neck, the front opening and the lower edge were woven beautifully with hems, sometimes adorned with designs. Not only the Satin-hemmed costumes, but also the folded felt *wuttlon*.\(^{106}\) However, such costume types have not yet been discovered on mural paintings. The waist-line was folded to make *Kha-thein Eingyi* type. There was a change of the culture of Myanmar costumes in the Inwa period.

The upper garments on *Eingyis*, of gentlemen of the post-Bagan periods were as follows:

velvet *Eingyi*\(^{107}\)

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\(^{100}\) Thiri-U-Zana, 2001, 137

\(^{101}\) Thiri-U-Zana, 2001, 137

\(^{102}\) Thiri-U-Zana, 2001, 137

\(^{103}\) Than Tun, 1985, 94

\(^{104}\) Photo 21

\(^{105}\) Photo 20

\(^{106}\) Than Tun, 1983, 162

\(^{107}\) Nyein Maung , 1998 b, 18-19
**Upper Garments of the Queen and Ladies of the Upper class of the post-Bagan period**

In the post-Bagan period, in obeisance-paying ceremonies, the senior Queen, dressed in *Mahalatta*, or *Ganamatta* robe, received obeisance from her subject.\(^{113}\) Her *Mahalatta* robe was bejewelled with precious stones.\(^{114}\) In 28 December 1600, on her hair-doing and ear-poring ceremony, princess *pan-htwar* wore the *Thoyin* costume bejewelled with nine kinds of jewels.\(^{115}\) Her, we can note the ceremonial costumes of the queen and princess. In the coronation ceremony,

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8\(^{108}\) Thiri-U-Zana, *2001*, 173  
9\(^{109}\) Myan-Sar-Nyunt, *1992*, 70  
11\(^{111}\) Thiri-U-Zana, *2001*, 274  
12\(^{112}\) Thiri-U-Zana, *2001*, 173  
13\(^{113}\) Aung Gyi, *1965*, 21  
14\(^{114}\) Padetharaza, *1961*, stanza 169  
15\(^{115}\) Than Tun, *1983*, 162
the princess and Her Excellencies had to wear Thoyin costumes\textsuperscript{116}, which would probably resemble to those of the male costumes. In the post-Bagan period, all ladies of the upper class wore the Thoyin costume. However, ranks were identified by the quality of fabric. From the Inwa period onwards, there existed a new design of upper garments for women. It was a sleeveless bodice, covering from the bosom to the kneel, which was known as the Thindai.\textsuperscript{117} The Thindai costume was worn, with a shawl put over the shoulder-as a form of adornment, or style. In the post-Bagan period, the Thindai costume design worn by men was suited to be worn both by men and women. However, the Thindai design worn by women was not fitted to be the costume men could wear, because it was a special design, a longer costume of the chemise type of Bagan period. The reverse of the Inscription of a Kōran Sa, the thagyi of Parimma, and wife, dated A.D 1344 bore a line reading "one Thindai-yinkhat worth of 30 (kyats).\textsuperscript{118} Moreover, the one face of the inscription of the Rhwepin:kri pagoda, inscribed in A.D 1345, bore a line reading "Thindai-mon-ta-hte" ("one good quality Thindai").\textsuperscript{119} There were two types of Thinda-good quality and poor quality. Good quality Thinda of great value was entitled to the queens, which were all of gold embroidery. Less quality Thinda was meant for the rest of the women of the upper class. The Thindais were woven as plain, spotted and floral designs.\textsuperscript{120} The designed Thindais were meant for the upper class ladies, which were hemmed. Ladies of the post-Bagan period did not wear only one design of Thindai. The kind of Kh's

\textsuperscript{116} Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 156
\textsuperscript{117} Padetharaza, 1960, stanza, 125
Tun Nyo, 1968, 13
\textsuperscript{118} Nyein Maung, 1998 a, 57, line 18
\textsuperscript{119} Nyein, 1998 a, 88, line 7
\textsuperscript{120} Figure (7) (8)
Textile Patterns

Figure (7)
Eingyi was interwoven with lace. Therefore, ladies of those days wore velvet Eingyi, Kh s Eingyi, silk Eingyi, cotton Eingyi, gold-embroidered Eingyi and the printed cotton Eingyi, etc. They also wore blouse-type, short-sleeved, three-quarter sleeve Eingyi wore as in the Bagan period. Ladies of the Nyaung Yan period also wore sleeveless bodices mostly, like women of the Inwa period, but in the late Nyaung Yan period, they wore short-sleeved Eingyi’s hanging down below the waist, with a collar. This design can be observed in the mural painting of the cave wall of the Po Win Hill pagoda, depicting figures of women beautifying themselves. The lady of the upper class looking herself into the mirror and beautifying herself wore a Thindai. Two ladies-in-waiting wore short-sleeved pullovers hanging down below the waist. One noteworthy point is that the neck line had a wrapping as in the collars of their Eingyis. This probably marks the beginning of wearing Eingyi with collars, which resemble today's costume style.

Lower Garments for king, princes and Ministers of the post-Bagan period

Not only in Bagan period, but also in the post-Bagan periods, men, beginning from the king to the common people, wore paso. Kings, princes and men of the upper class wore Chinese paso, paso-set, kambal paso, pui: paso, phai paso, etc., all paso of great value being woven in gold embroidery. In the post-Bagan periods, there existed a kind of Htaung-tan paso ("lower garment

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121 Myan-Sar-Nyunt, 1992, 180
122 Photo 22
123 Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 19
124 Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 85
125 Aggathamadi, 1940, stanza-79
126 Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 139
worth of a thousand coins”). This kind of *paso* was meant only for the king, princes and people of noble class, and such *paso* was woven not only in gold embroidery, but also be studded with precious stones. Thus, the *Shwe paso* and the *Ngwe Paso* could be referred to as the gold-embroidered *paso*, golden and silver-hued *paso*. The gold and silver embroidered *pasos* went to young princes, royal sons of the queen and the lesser wives of the king. Thus, the gold and silver embroidered *pasos* were eligible only for the royal family circle and people of the upper class. In the post-Bagan periods, the royal lower garment, or *paso*, had wavy-pattern design, gold-embroidered in a pleasant mixture of green and brown in hue. The increasing popularity of the *cheik* costumes was recorded in the lines of a *pyui*: as "Shwe-che-chi-be-let-cheik-yet", "Shwe-chi-kat-kwet, Let-Cheik-yet-thir" and "Let-cheik-lon-yan-E-kanan". Also in the post-Bagan periods, the *A-Cheik Paso* was meant to be a garment to be worn by the gentleman, of the upper class. There were various types of *A-cheik* designs, in a pile of horizontal waves, in red, green, yellow and white in colour. These designs have still existed in our *pasos*-even today. Kings wore mostly of designed *cheik paso* white, yellow, silver deep orange and gold deep orange.

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127 Rahtathara, 1970, stanza -115
128 Padetahraza, 1961, stanza - 272
Aggathamadi, 1901b, stanza -72
129 Padetharaza, 1961, stanza-247
130 Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 349, 232
Thutethi, nan-thone yin asin tansar, 1
131 Padetharaza, 1961, stanza - 106
132 Padetharaza, 1961, stanza -83,97
133 Padetharaza, 1961, stanza - 106
134 Hanthawaddy par min tayar hnin Hanthawady Hshinpyu shin mintaya ei Thardaw Ngasudarakar min taya to ahmartaw pon, Yangon, Mataw Myanmar Aw-bar press, 1905, p.2 (Henceforth: Hanthawaddy par min ahmartaw pon, 1905)
Throughout the successive reigns of Myanmar kings, men's *pasos* were the *Taung-she paso*, or double-length nether garment, only. In the Nyaung-yan period, men's *paso* was a sixteen cubits long and five Htwas (one Htwa is equal to nine inches) wide. The common saying "Man is royal service wears the *paso* of twenty cubits in length" may have been changed in the Nyaung-yan period. Another assumption is that only the king was entitled to wear the twenty-cubit-long *paso* while princes and men of the upper class were to wear the sixteen-cubit-long *paso*. Moreover, another record shows that the *paso* of the king and the gentlemen of the upper class was twenty feet long while the *paso* of an ordinary man was only ten feet long. This might make us assume that the *paso* of the king and the wealthy men was only twelve cubits, one *Htwar* (nine inches) and one *Meik* (4½ inches) long, while the *paso* of the ordinary man was only six cubits and one *Htwar* (nine inches). This decrease of the size of the *paso* made it more comfortable to wear. Moreover, it might have been accepted as a fact that the decrease of the size of the *paso* caused low cost and saved time. The king was entitled to wear the *Htaung-tan paso*, of great value, as well as various kinds of *paso* of marvellous designs.

In the list of presents awarded to the crown prince on the occasion of being bestowed upon the title of the Crown Prince, it was recorded as follows: *Set-paso, Tagyun-me-thay, Tagyun-yet-ni, Paso, Pala Paso, Thoke paso* and *paso*. If that list was meant to refer to the insignia of the crown prince, those *pasos* mentioned above may have been the garments of the Crown Prince's insignia. Princes had to wear *Paso*, felt *paso*, Satin woven velvet *paso*. When going to pagodas and monasteries, the adult princes had to wear

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135 Padetharaza, *1961*, stanza-195
136 Shwe-kai-Tha, *1951*, 31
137 Thiri-U-Zana, *2001*, 20
138 Than Tun, *1983*, 155
Pan-hnit paso, paso and Phai-sat (satin-woven) paso.\textsuperscript{139} The pan-hnit paso might refer to a kind of paso with a floral design, or a paso glued with a floral pattern, or a pink paso. paso was referred to as a perfumed paso.\textsuperscript{140}

Tawnay had to wear paso with sewn lining, Pan-hnit paso, Phai Paso, paso\textsuperscript{141}, paso-pan-chat, Ta-hte lone pan-so, phai-sat (satin-mixed) Paso and Pan-kwet-phai-sat (floral, satin-mixed) Paso.\textsuperscript{142} On the occasions of the lent-season obeisance paying ceremony, or as members of the king's retinue and on the occasion of attending the council of Ministers, they had to wear paso with sewn lining, and line-drawn paso, or set-ana-hse-ye paso\textsuperscript{143} Those ministers positioned in the Dunay second block of seats, sani, interior and exterior Bamaw positions had to wear the A-set-Ana-pa (machine make cloth) paso.\textsuperscript{144} the would-be novice and the Shin-laung had to wear Ana-pa paso (paso with a lining).\textsuperscript{145}

Throughout the periods, on the occasions of the occupying of the Golden kingdom, Ascending to the Throne, and the Coronation, there were presents submitted to the king by princes, royal grand children, ministers, Incharge of the cavalry, chief of the cavalry, Great chief, (Clerk), Kye-sa- ywa-sa (feoffee of a village tract), In-sa (feoffee of a lake), Mye-sa (feoffee of a fiefholder), , and Te-sa. Among those presents were included paso and (white paso).\textsuperscript{146} Those

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{139} Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 351-234
\item \textsuperscript{140} Thein Hlaing, 2002, 84
\item \textsuperscript{141} Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001,357
\item \textsuperscript{142} Than Tun, 1983, 155
\item \textsuperscript{143} Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 87
\item \textsuperscript{144} Thutethi, Thwin – sar –mya,2
\item \textsuperscript{145} Than Tun, 1985, 87
\item \textsuperscript{146} Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 143, 129, 243, 244
\end{itemize}
pasos submitted to the king were of most superior quality, insignia of His Majesty. On those occasions, the presents the king awarded to his subject included a variety to paso. Those pasos might have been awarded to his subject included a variety of Paso. Those pasos might have been awarded to his subjects according to their respective ranks. According to the list, the Exterior General, Amar-Saye (clerk), the Interior Minister, the Shwe-taik-Wun, Mye-Nan-Wun (the warden of the palace of seneschal) and the Nan-Kan-Kway (royal architect) were presented the paso with outskirt lining. 147 The Hluttaw Wun Gyi, Wun-dauk responsible for reading out the list of presents148 and the Shan Sawbwas, the Tat-paung sa, who was entitled to the revenue of nine towns, Myo-wun, Myo-wuns of Myinmu, Zinme (Siamese), Mottama (Mattaban), Hanthawaddy, Thalyin (Syriam), Taungoo, Salin and Minkun, if the senior ones, 149 were allowed to wear the set-paso (machine make cloth) and pala paso (plain). According to the region the revenue of which they were entitled to, the Shan Sawbwas were presented the set-ana-pa paso (with stripe cloth woven with mechanize loom, bearing-stripes at the rims), pala paso, Tagyun-yet Ni paso and pit paso, 150 which they were allowed to wear. Moreover, the Shan Sawbwas had to wear the purple paso, or the purple trousers 151 in attending the obeisance paying ceremony of the lent season and the New year occasion. These purple paso and trousers were particularly entitled to the Shan sawbwas. The sikkè (leader of the forces) had to wear the set-paso, 152 the Shwe Thugyi, the Tagywn paso; 153 the Amu-gyi saye, the Tagywun-yet-ni paso. 154

147 Than Tun, 1983,162
148 Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 33-34
149 Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001,63
150 Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 248
151 Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 58-59
152 Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001,93
153 Than Tun, 1983, 165
154 Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 93
and the Mein-ma-soe-yet-ni-paso\textsuperscript{155} while the Asaung-taw-myé, (attendant of the royal apartment), Myin-khaung (Captain of Horse) kye-sa and ywa-sa had to wear the pala paso\textsuperscript{156} The men in royal service such as khaung, Htaung-kè (hellsman) and Thwe-thauk-gyi were allowed to wear the paso-me-kyaug (black stripe) woven in Inwa,\textsuperscript{157} while Sa-kyi was allowed to wear paso-ni-kyaug (red stripe)\textsuperscript{158} and the Sachi and Nge-tha were allowed to wear Inwa-woven Paso-me-kyaug;\textsuperscript{159} the Talai warriors and se-ngá-pe soldiers were presented the Me-san paso of Inwa;\textsuperscript{160} and the royal palanquin carriers were presented the paso-kwet-kye\textsuperscript{161} (chequered pattern loincloth). The Kalan, and the Architects had to wear (white lower garment).\textsuperscript{162} The Brahmins had to wear white paso and paso with lining.\textsuperscript{163}

The kinds of paso, men of post-Bagan period mostly wore were as follows:

\textit{Chi-paso-sein} (Green cotton lower garment)\textsuperscript{164}  
\textit{Chi-pyu-paso} (White cotton lower garment)\textsuperscript{165}  
\textit{Set-tagyun paso}\textsuperscript{166} (Foreign cloth)

\textsuperscript{155} Than Tun, 1983, 186  
\textsuperscript{156} Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 93  
\textsuperscript{157} Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 94  
\textsuperscript{158} Than Tun, 1983, 162  
\textsuperscript{159} Than Tun, 1983, 186  
\textsuperscript{160} Thutethi, Hnit-lei-ze razawun, 10-11  
\textsuperscript{161} Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 94  
\textsuperscript{162} Thutethi, Hnit-lei-ze razawun, 11  
\textsuperscript{163} Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 248  
\textsuperscript{164} Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 131  
\textsuperscript{165} U Po Lat, "Ataikyinkyehmuthutethana" (Research the culture of past) , Cultural Journal, Vol.III, No.8, July, 1960  
\textsuperscript{166} Kala, 1961, 180
Tagyun-ka-la-tho pan paso\textsuperscript{167} (Floral-designed foreign cloth)

Tagyun-Ana-pa paso\textsuperscript{168}

Tayoke paso\textsuperscript{169} (Chinese lower garment)

Nat paso\textsuperscript{170} (bright coloured silk cloth)

Paso-set-Ana-pa\textsuperscript{171}

Paso-san-kyun\textsuperscript{172}

Paso-pan-Nit\textsuperscript{173}

\textsuperscript{174} (white lower garment)

Pui:paso\textsuperscript{175} (silk lower garment)

\textsuperscript{176} (cotton paso)

Yun paso\textsuperscript{177}

Thinbawpa-Tagyun pasoni\textsuperscript{178}

Thoke-paso\textsuperscript{179}

\textsuperscript{167} Myan Sa Nyunt, 1992, 181


\textsuperscript{169} Aggathamadi, 1940, stanza-20

\textsuperscript{170} Myan-sa-Nyunt, 1992, 179

\textsuperscript{171} Than Kho, 1967, stanza-18

\textsuperscript{172} Thutethi, thwin-sa-mya, 16-19

\textsuperscript{173} Padetahraza, 1974, 154

Myan-sar-nyunt, 1992, 180

\textsuperscript{174} Myan-sar-nyunt, 1992, 181

\textsuperscript{175} Aw, 1961, 21

\textsuperscript{176} Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 459

\textsuperscript{177} Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 463


\textsuperscript{179} Aw, 1961, 47
The Tayoke (Chinese) *paso*, the *Tagyun paso, yun-paso, Thinbaw paso* and *paso-san-kyun* came from abroad. The *pan-paso* of *Tagyun* was of golden deep orange in hue.\(^{180}\) The *Nat-Paso* was bright coloured silk cloth, and was gold and silver embroidered, and jewels. It could be a priceless one. Moreover, *Ko-twin-pye paso*\(^{181}\), the *Shwe-ye paso*\(^{182}\) with gold floral patterns woven on white cotton, and the *Shwe-myek paso*\(^{183}\) were also worn. The *Ko-twin pye-E-ka-nan paso* (a broad single piece of cloth that could cover the whole body) was referred to the exported *ko-lon-paso* with one flank,\(^{184}\) or the *paso* with one flank, some design and solid colour.\(^{185}\) The *pala paso*, the *Anyo pala paso*\(^{186}\) (Brown plain cloth), *paso-sei-yei* (line drawing lower garment), *Theyet-hte paso*\(^{187}\) (printed cotton), *paso-me-thei* (small size, black, woven lower garment)\(^{188}\) *paso-yet-ni-thei* (small size, red, woven, lower garment)\(^{189}\) were also worn. Those *pasos* were worn by the king and people of the upper class. The various kinds of *paso* in various designs were found on the mural painting on the wall of the Tilawka Guru cave and the Po win Hill pagoda\(^{190}\).

\(^{180}\) Myan-sar-nyunt, 1992, 181
\(^{181}\) Thutethi, Hnit-lei-ze razawun, 23
\(^{182}\) Thutethi, Hnit-lei-ze razawun, 25
\(^{183}\) Thutethi, Hnit-lei-ze razawun, 31
\(^{184}\) Kala, 1960 b, 27
\(^{186}\) Thutethi, Hnit-LEi-ze razawun, 33
\(^{187}\) Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 173
\(^{188}\) Thutethi, Hnit-LEi-ze razawun, 9
\(^{189}\) Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 86
\(^{190}\) Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 64
\(^{190}\) Figure (8) (9) (10)
Textile Patterns

Figure (8)
Textile Patterns

(a)  
(b)  
(c)  
(d)  
(e)  
(f)  
(g)  
(h)  

Figure (9)
Textile Patterns

(a)  
(b)  
(c)  
(d)  
(e)  
(f)  
(g)  

Figure (10)
Lower Garments for the Queen and Ladies of the Upper Class of the Post-Bagan period

Starting from the Bagan period up to now, Myanmar women have worn pat-Htamein and Gwin-Htamein. The lower garment of the post-Bagan period did not resemble that of the Bagan period. Women wore Htamein under the long Thindai hanging down. The Htamein with a front opening was long, reaching above the lateral maleolus.\(^{191}\) It was a kind of pat-Htamein about three cubits long, which was worn by every woman of those days. According to the Ananda-Thuriya inscription dated AD 1438, the senior Queen of the Inwa-period wore the Shwe Htamein (a cloth weaving intertwined with gold thread)\(^{192}\), The Pan-Htwar princess wore the Shwe-tha-Htamein\(^{193}\) (gold embroidered on the occasion of the Hair-doing and Ear-poring ceremony. So there could be a difference between the Shwe Htamein and the Shwe-tha-Htamein. The former referred to the Htamein bestudded with ruby, pearl, coral, sapphire, etc.\(^{194}\) On the other hand, the latter, the Shwe-tha Htamein referred to the gold-embroidered Htamein or the Htamein embroidered with gold leaves, which were first worn in Bagan period. The pu Htamein (silk cloth)\(^{195}\), the set Htamein-Ana (with stripe cloth woven with mechanize loom, bearing-stripes at the rims)\(^{196}\), the gold and silver embroidered Tagyun Htamein with lining.\(^{197}\) The last kind of Htamen was worn by princess and

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191 Photo 23
193 Than Tun, 1983,168
194 Ohn Kyi, Sagaing-Maha Thiha Thura Kyaung Kyauk-Sa, p.113, Journal of Myanmar Historical Research, No.9, June.2002
195 Myan-sar-nyunt, 1952, 19
196 Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001,156
197 Myan-sar-nyunt, 1952, 19
23. A Scene from Ummadanti Jataka, Tiloka-guru, Sagaing
(Courtesy of Archaeological Survey Department, Mandalay)
wives of ministers. So the *Shwe Htamein*, *Ngwe Htamein* (a cloth weaving intertwined with silver thread), *Pui Htamein* and foreign *Htamein* were reserved for the queen and ladies of the upper class. The mural paintings depict various designs of *Htamein*. Although no evidences have yet been found about the terms, most of the designs were lines round the garment, spots and circles, square-shaped, and floral designs. Mostly on the dark circular lines were spots; on the green were white spots; on the red, green and black spots. *Pala Htameins* were also worn. The *Phai Htamein*, *Htamein*, *Ana-pa Htamein*, *Thayet-htele Htamein* cotton *Htamein* and coarse cotton *Htamein* etc, were worn. Among the lower garments worn in the post-Bagan period were found not only those in red, dark and white, worn in the Bagan period, but also those in green, brown, yellow, pale blue and dark blue, gold deep orange, and silver deep orange. The mural paintings did not show any design of *cheik* in the women's lower garments. However, since the *cheik* designs were very popular in the post-Bagan periods, women wore *cheik Htameins*. Although no much variety of designs was found as in the *paso* of men, it can be assumed that women of those days were designs that went through time and change.

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198 Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 156
199 Figure (11) (12)
200 Photo 23
201 Aggathamadi, 1940, stanza-7
202 Padetharaza, 1961, stanza-195
203 Thutethi, Hmit-Lei-ze razawin, 23
Textile Patterns

(a) 
(b) 
(c) 
(d) 
(e) 
(f) 
(g) 
(h) 

Figure (11)
Textile Patterns

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

(e)

(f)

(g)

(h)

Figure (12)
Upper Garments and Lower Garments for the Retinue and Men in Royal Service Through Ages

The soldiers were Mein-Nyo 204 (jacket), Naga-kye 205, The-ye Eingyi (Leather Jacket) 206, Kye-thei 207, and Chat-wutlon-kyaueng-sin (gown with stripes worn by military personnel) 208. The Kye-The was a coat designated for warriors. 209 The Naga-kye was a coat designated for heroes. 210 The Naga-kye was made with the Dragon skin, for the tearing of which was paid one thousand coins, and the making of the coat cost another one thousand coins. 211 Therefore, the hero who was allowed to wear the Naga-kye was not an ordinary fighter, but was the hero of the highest order, a man of great prowess, who was skilled in the military tactics. The soldiers wore the wutlon with a sleeve stretching to the elbow and hanging down to the thigh. 212 The armed personnel, who were those in service of artillery, fireguns, Hlwa (a shield, oblong and convex) holders, Dai (a shield)-holders, ka (shield of any style)-holders, 213 members of the force of lance, 214 kaung-han 215, members of the Body Guard, 216 and a man in charge of the flank of the war

205 Zeya-Thinkhaya, 1957, stanza-5
206 Aw, 1961, 135
207 Aw, 1961, 99
208 Aw, 1961, 41
209 Aw, 1961, 99
210 Zeya-Thinkhaya, 1957, stanza-51
211 Shwe-kai-tha, 1951, 2
212 Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 79
213 Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 111
214 Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 116
215 Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 112
216 Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 121
elephant had to wear war uniforms. The armed personnel "The-nat Lulin" (gunner), the Body Guard Force and the Kaung-Han had to wear the Eingyi -Net ("Black uniform"). Those in charge of the war Elephant ("Hsin-the") had to wear the coat of mail. Those in charge of the cavalry ("Myin-thi-taw") had to wear the Eingyi ("Cotton costume"). The Shin-taw-ywei-su-tha (would-be man selected from ywei service groups), the Shin-taw-bala-su-tha (would-be man selected from service groups), the Bye- Shin-taw-su-tha (would-be man selected from Byedaik service groups) had to wear Nay-yaung (probably, very thin garment). Although the arms personnel had to wear their respective uniforms during the duty hours, it could be assumed that at duty-off hours, they wore short-sleeve, three-quarter sleeve, strait jacket and loose garments.

The lower garments of the army personnel of the young Indian force wore trousers. On the other hand, the Myanmar soldiers wore loin cloth which hang down to the knee. The other members of the army personnel may have mostly worn loin cloths. Some may have worn uniforms, too. During the reign of king Alaung Si-Thu of the Bagan period, the royal boatmen ("Hle-thin-tha") wore the red paso. Also in the post-Bagan period, the royal boatmen wore the red paso. Throughout the post-Bagan period, starting from the Bagan period, every

217 Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 111
218 Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 112
219 Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 32
220 Aung Gyi, 1965, 24
221 Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 116
222 Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 117
224 Zeya-thinkhaya, 1957, stanza-91
225 Aung Gyi, 1965, 17
Aw, 1961, 246
royal boatman was to wear the red *paso*, the custom of which had faithfully been practised. There might be some differences in the quality of the fabric, making and the materials according to time and charge.

Except the king, only the costumes that His Majesty had kindly condescended to bestow upon them were worn by the queen, prince, princess, royal grandchildren, ministers, interior ministers, *wun-dauk, Myo-wun, sikkê, win-hmu, Htaung-hmu* and other high-ranking officials, as well as by the Shan Sawbwas, *Myosa, Ywasa, Kalan* and *wun-dauk, Myo-wun, sikkê, win-hmu, Htaung-hmu* and other high-ranking officials, as well as by the Shan Sawbwas, *Myosa, Ywasa, Kalan* and *wun-dauk, Myo-wun, sikkê, win-hmu, Htaung-hmu* and other high-ranking officials, as well as by the Shan Sawbwas, *Myosa, Ywasa, Kalan* and *wun-dauk, Myo-wun, sikkê, win-hmu, Htaung-hmu* and other high-ranking officials, as well as by the Shan Sawbwas, *Myosa, Ywasa, Kalan* and *wun-dauk, Myo-wun, sikkê, win-hmu, Htaung-hmu* and other high-ranking officials, as well as by the Shan Sawbwas, *Myosa, Ywasa, Kalan* and *wun-dauk, Myo-wun, sikkê, win-hmu, Htaung-hmu* and other high-ranking officials, as well as by the Shan Sawbwas, *Myosa, Ywasa, Kalan* and *wun-dauk, Myo-wun, sikkê, win-hmu, Htaung-hmu* and other high-ranking officials, as well as by the Shan Sawbwas, *Myosa, Ywasa, Kalan* and *wun-dauk, Myo-wun, sikkê, win-hmu, Htaung-hmu* and other high-ranking officials, as well as by the Shan Sawbwas, *Myosa, Ywasa, Kalan* and *wun-dauk, Myo-wun, sikkê, win-hmu, Htaung-hmu* and other high-ranking officials, as well as by the Shan Sawbwas, *Myosa, Ywasa, Kalan* and *wun-dauk, Myo-wun, sikkê, win-hmu, Htaung-hmu* and other high-ranking officials, as well as by the Shan Sawbwas, *Myosa, Ywasa, Kalan* and *wun-dauk, Myo-wun, sikkê, win-hmu, Htaung-hmu* and other high-ranking officials, as well as by the Shan Sawbwas, *Myosa, Ywasa, Kalan* and *wun-dauk, Myo-wun, sikkê, win-hmu, Htaung-hmu* and other high-ranking officials, as well as by the Shan Sawbwas, *Myosa, Ywasa, Kalan* and *wun-dauk, Myo-wun, sikkê, win-hmu, Htaung-hmu* and other high-ranking officials, as well as by the Shan Sawbwas, *Myosa, Ywasa, Kalan* and officials in charge of remote areas of the kingdom. Thus, none of the king's subject had the right to wear any kind of the royal costume without the permission of His Majesty. This point has been recorded as follows: on 3 January 1650, a Royal Order was issued in the reign of King Pintale, stating that princes, royal grand children, ministers, princes and wives of ministers must note the list of insignia concerning the royal costumes, and must not go beyond the list, that princes and royal grand-children were to wear red and green velvet costume, that those positions at the first block of seats, or Taw-nays, were to wear the *prok* costume. Moreover, in the Royal order issued in 1650, it was stated that no minister, *Thin-hmu, kye-sa* were to wear *pan-nit paso* and *pan-sai Eingyi*. Although men in royal service were ordered to wear costumes according to respective ranks, the well-to-do people tended to forget their ranks. That was only such order was issued to prevent the proud, wealthy people from wearing costumes not fitted to their ranks. The ranks were controlled and determined by the type of costumes.

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226 Than Tun, 1985, 121
227 Than Tun, 1985, 121
Upper Garments and Lower Garments for the Common people of the Bagan-period

According to the mural paintings of Bagan period, the majority of the common people did not wear any upper garment. The depicting of such scene does not suggest that the common people were the poor to buy the local-make coarse cotton for upper garment. The Brahmins also did not wear any upper garment-with a naked upper part of the body.\textsuperscript{228} Also the musicians,\textsuperscript{229} artisans and the dancers\textsuperscript{230} did not wear any upper garment. Even some ladies of the upper class did not wear any upper garment but just a shawl hung over the shoulders.\textsuperscript{231} It belonged to the early period and probably there existed great influences of the Indian culture. Another factor was the climate-the warm climatic conditions of the region. In the late Bagan-period, the common people may have worn the \textit{yin-si}, like bodies of the upper class. Being ordinary poor people, they may have been local-make rough (coarse) cotton garments.

In the Bagan period, all ordinary men and women were waist cloth, \textit{Khachî} as lower garments. According to the Indian customs, only those of high caste were to wear long \textit{dohti} while those of low caste wear to wear short \textit{dohti}.\textsuperscript{232} Also in Myanmar, during the Bagan period, only the king and men in royal service and those of the upper class were to wear the \textit{Taung-she paso} like the long \textit{dohti}. Belonging to the upper class, they had a right to wear short or long \textit{paso}. However, the ordinary people had to wear only the waist cloth or \textit{khachî}, and not the \textit{Taung-she}. Ordinary women also did not have a right to wear the \textit{Pat-Htamein

\textsuperscript{228} Photo 3
\textsuperscript{229} Photo 24
\textsuperscript{230} Photo 25
\textsuperscript{231} Photo 15
\textsuperscript{232} Interview with the Indian monk, 24.5.2004
24. A Drum Player

(Courtesy of Archaeological Survey Department, Mandalay)
25. A Female dancer, Patothamya Cave Temple, Bagan
(Luce, Old Burma Early Bagan, 1970) Plate - 166 d
which resembled the *Sari*. According to the custom that the low caste was to wear the short garment, ordinary women of the Bagan period may have worn the waist cloth, or *Khachì*, as lower garment. However, there may have existed the custom of wearing long skirts, like the dancers. And their garments may have been woven with local-make white cotton or dark cotton.

**Upper Garments and Lower Garments for the Ordinary People of the Post-Bagan period**

The mural paintings of the Post-Bagan period also did not illustrate the figures of men as wearing any upper garments. However, in the donation ceremony held in the *Thingyan* festival of the kings of the Post-Bagan period, the list of donations that the king condescended to provide males beggars included "*Eingyi*". If the beggars had worn *Eingyi*, then those ordinary men and women, who were of higher class than beggars, would have worn *Eingyi*. The kinds of *Eingyi* that the ordinary poor people wore was as follows: "*Short - sleeve Eingyi*". While men wore the male-design *Thindai*, women wore the kind of *Thindai* covering the bosom and hanging down below the knee, as the ladies of the upper class did. However, these upper garments were not of good quality, with no floral, spotted design, but of poor-quality cotton local make.

In the Post-Bagan period, the majority of the ordinary men did not wear the waist-cloth any more, but the girding one’s loincloth. There existed a saying of the post-Bagan period:"Every time one came,one wore a blue-black *Longyi*". This saying suggests the dress of the poor people,as well as their poverty. The *paso* they wore were *Awa-yet-me-kyau ng*,and *Awa-yet-ni-kyuang*, which were woven in

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233 Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 131
234 Aggathmadi, 1957, stanza-70
235 Photo 26
236 Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 131
26. A Richman and The Poors, Hpowintaung, Myonwa
(Ye Myint, 1986) bt: 65-66
Inwa. They also wore chequered pattern *paso*, or *lei-dauk-kwet-paso*.\(^{237}\) The ordinary people also wore the local-made rough (coarse) cotton *paso*, woven with sisal hemp, which was known as "*paso-Hna-hnat*".\(^{238}\) The ordinary women of the post-Bagan period also wore *Htamein*, like ladies. They wore *Pat-Htamein* round their waist. As the saying goes, "Attain the Tavateinsa (the Celestial Adobe) though wearing the blue cotton *Htamein*", ordinary women wore the blue cotton *Htamein*-indigo-coloured. Since female beggars wore black *Htamein* woven in Inwa ("Awa-yet-me-Htamein")\(^{239}\), the majority of ordinary women wore black *Htamein*. The *Htamein* may have been plain, circular lines or chequered.

Throughout the successive reigns of the Myanmar kings, the king and princes wore *wuttlon*, *Duyin* and *Tho-yin* as upper garments. In the Bagan period, the *Wuttlon*, with a hole in the neck, resembling an umbrella type, was mostly worn. In the post-Bagan periods, all men of the upper class wore mostly of *Thoyin* and Thin tai. In the Bagan-period, they wore as lower garments khaciî, waist cloth, short *dohti* and long *dohti* mostly. Then, in the post-Bagan periods, they began to wear the *Taung-she-paso* reflecting the unique design of Myanmar costume style. In the early monarchial periods, the queen and ladies of the upper class wore the strapless bodies as upper garments, and then in the later periods, they were Thin-tai, strait-jacket type and loose body garments, reflecting the high phases of the culture. Women began to wear long garments resembling *sari*, *Pat-Htamein Gwin-Htamein* short skirt and long skirt and trousers. The men in royal service were awarded garments, which was probably meant to remind them of their respective ranks. Moreover, such an act of awarding the garments also suggests how the governing body, or His Majesty, showed great kindness and compassion to his subject. Such an act had been accepted and practised as an age-old custom. In the

\(^{237}\) Photo 27
\(^{238}\) Aw, 1961,41
\(^{239}\) Thiri-U-Zanar, 2001, 131
27. A King enjoying a Court life, Tiloka-guru, Sagaing

(Photo by the Author, 7 October 2004)
Bagan-period, the royal costumes of the king, the royal family circle, people of the upper class and men in royal service were distinguished according to the gold and silver embroidery. In the post-Bagan periods, the costumes of different ranks were distinguished not only by the gold and silver embroidery, but also by the costume style of being bestudded with jewels. The costumes of good quality, variety of colours and floral design belonged only to the king and the people of the upper class. Starting from the Bagan period to the post-Bagan periods, the garments that the ordinary people wore were only local-made, rough (coarse) cotton garments. They did not have the right to wear fine garments-like those of the upper class. Nor could they afford to do so. The costumes of those of the upper class were merely conjectures. It is discernible that those lacking positions or ranks had been of low class throughout the periods of the monarchial system.
Although the area of Myanmar is not large, physical features and climate differed from one locality to another, and hence crops cultivated in one locality differed from those raised in another. As there were many rivers and streams and as the rainfall was heavy, the condition of agriculture is good and agricultural production is high in Lower Myanmar. The plains in central Myanmar, however, fall within the dry zone, and hence the people had to depend on irrigation since the ancient times. As the areas in Upper Myanmar were hilly and as rainfall was sufficient there, the farmers mainly practised hill cultivation.

As both Bagan and Post-Bagan periods were feudal periods, the people engaged mainly in agriculture. Agriculture was the chief occupation of the inhabitants of Myanmar. As Myanmar's home was the "eleven villages" in Kyaukse area which fell within the dry zone, irrigation canals had to be dug for agriculture. The waters of Samon, Panlaung, Zawgyi and Myitnge were utilised for irrigation by means canals. Although it is generally assumed that irrigation system in Kyaukse was established only in King Aniruddha's reign, it is leant that the system was in existence long before the reign of this king. The Mons began the irrigation system in this area before the Myanmars entered the area. Concerning the irrigation canals in this area, it is stated as follows"
The canal now called Zidaw which could be regarded as the main canal, the Myo kri, Myo chum, Sa tway and Ca m existed since the Bagan period. It could have been included Tamut Canal. There also would have been the important dam of Klok village. The area was too small as it was only 560 square miles. However, the entire area was cultivated.¹

Moreover, as the waters of Salin, Mon and Man streams were diverted for cultivation in the six kharuis of Minbu,² agricultural production was high in these areas, and agriculture increased the country's income. It was a lush green area.

The crops cultivated in Myanmar from the Bagan period onwards were:
- chick pea
- garlic
- sugarcane
- ash pumpkin
- betel
- aubergine
- ginger
- pepper
- plantain
- grapes
- camunkr : black cumin
- paddy
- Italian millet

¹ Than Tun, 2002, 189
² Than Tun, 2002, 189
toddy
sesame
lablab bean
cowpea
long pepper
cardamom
barley
mustard
common millet
cucumber
lemons
papaya, and
coconut.\textsuperscript{3}

Land under cultivation was divided into \textit{uya}, \textit{kui}, \textit{ry}, and \textit{mura} and \textit{san les}.\textsuperscript{4} The farms in dry areas were referred to as \textit{ry}, and common millet, Italian millet; maize, barley and sesame were raised in these farms.\textsuperscript{5} \textit{Ry} cultivation was mainly practised in the central plains in the dry zone. Sesame was cultivated for producing both edible oil and oil for lighting.\textsuperscript{6}

\textsuperscript{3} Than Tun, 2002, 192-194
\textsuperscript{4} Than Tun, 2002, 195
\textsuperscript{5} Than Tun, 2002, 195
\textsuperscript{6} Than Tun, 2002, 195
For the raw materials to produce textiles, *lakpan* and *w* (cotton plant) were raised. *Lakpan* is referred to the Bagan and post-Bagan period inscriptions. The earliest inscription in which the word *lakpan* occurs is the inscription of *Gawa kyo*: belonging to AD 1058. However, there is no reference to *w* cultivation in the Pagan-period inscriptions. Therefore, it is stated that *w* was

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7 Nyein Maung Maung, 1972, 321, line 13
Nyein Maung, 1972, 310, line 17
Nyein Maung, 1982, 1, line 7, 8
Nyein Maung, 1983, 128, lines 2, 3
Nyein Maung, 1983, 96, line 9
Nyein Maung, 1983, 256, line 6
Nyein Maung, 1983, 209, line 15
Nyein Maung, 1983, 225, line 5
Nyein Maung, 1983, 286, line 22
Nyein Maung, 1983, 363, line
Nyein Maung, 1998a, 8, line 7
Nyein Maung, 1998a, 73, line 5
Nyein Maung, 1998a, 124, line 10
Nyein Maung, 1998a, 129, line
Nyein Maung, 1998a, 146, line 10
Nyein Maung, 1998a, 251, line 38
Nyein Maung, 1998a, 223, lines 50, 51
Nyein Maung, 1998a, 256, lines 56
Nyein Maung, 1998a, 17, line 5
Shin Ariyarwantha Ardisayanthi, *N rada pyo*, Yangon, Hanthawady, 1929, stanza, 40 (Henceforth: Ardisayanthi, 1929)
Hla Tin, 1960, stanza, 52
Myan-sar-nyunt, 1952, 7
Aw, 1961, 14
8 Nyein Maung, 1972, 321, line 13
imported from India only after the end of the Bagan period, and cultivated only then. This means that \( w \) seems to have come from India in about the early 14th century. Although not native to Myanmar, the plants that were imported and cultivated in Myanmar were date palm, cotton and grapes. Although \( w \) is not mentioned in connection with agriculture, the words \( w \) and \( gwam \) occur in the Pagan-period inscriptions. In the Bagan period, peas and beans, sesame, maize, and \( w \) were cultivated in farm lands in the rainy season. \( Phya \) was used in the Bagan period. \( Phya \) was produced from a variety of cotton. Therefore, it can be assumed that \( w \) was cultivated in Myanmar since the Bagan period.

The word \( w \) occurs frequently in the records—inscriptions, pyui’s and other writings—of the post-Bagan periods. Therefore, it seems that \( w \)

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9 G.H Luce, "Economic Life of the Early Burmans," JBRS, XXX, i, 1940, p.333 (Henceforth: Luce,1940)
10 Than Tun, 2002, 195
12 Nyein Maung, 1983, 233, line 18
13 Nyein Maung, 1983, 303, line 3
15 Nyein Maung, 1972, 147, line 29
16 Inscription of Ca pu, Ma :kr : Rhwenan:shya 's son, obverse line?, Nyein Maung 1998a, 232
   Inscription of Ma :rai Kyaucw and wife, reverse, line 10, Nyein Maung 1998b, 18.
   Thutethi, Myo ywa Nai pai Thamai, 44
   Thutethi, Thwin sar mya, 18
   Thutethi, Myo ywa Nai pai Thamai, 44
   Thutethi, Thwin sar mya, 18
   Shin Aggathamadi, 1901 a, stanza -2
   Shin Aggathamadi, 1957, stanza -11
   Shun, 1928, stanza-112
   Myan-sar-nyunt, 1952, 61
   Myan-sar-nyunt, 1992, 326
   Tin, 1965, 121
   Tin ,1976, 292
cultivation expanded in the post-Bagan periods. The words *lai w*,\(^{17}\) *lai w gwam*,\(^{18}\) and *w gwam*:\(^{19}\) also are found in the inscriptions. *Lai w* and *lai w gwam*: were kinds of cotton wool produced from *lakpa* (the cotton tree). The reference to *gwam: nu*\(^{20}\) suggests that good varieties of *w* were cultivated in the post-Bagan periods. The mention of *w tan* and *w pu* in the donation of land recorded in the inscription of *Taknawaykyo* : monastery dated AD 1442 is strange.\(^{21}\) *W pu* seems to have been a variety of *w*, which probably was the same as that used for producing short staple cotton nowadays. *Tan* probably was long staple cotton. Then, *w* was a crop cultivated in the post-Bagan periods. These facts highlight the post-Bagan kings' support for agriculture and the experimental cultivation of new crops. The mention of *w* indicates the importance of *w* for lighting.\(^{22}\) It seems that sesame and *w* were cultivated together in the old days. There could have been the words *nham*: and *w* in the old days as there are nowadays.

\(^{17}\) Tezawthara, 1929, stanza - 10
Thutethi, Amintaw 1, 34, 36

\(^{18}\) Thilawuntha, 1969, stanza-117
Ardisayanthi, 1979, stanza- 57

\(^{19}\) Nyein Maung , 1998 b, 26-27, line 4
Tezawthara ,1965, stanza-27
Padetharaza, 1961, stanza - 32
Padetharaza ,1960, stanza - 121
Shun, 1928, stanza - 166
Thilawuntha, 1969, stanza - 106
Myan-sar-nyunt, 1992, 70
Aw, 1961, 18
Ardisayarthi, 1929, stanza - 39

\(^{20}\) Myan-sar-nyunt , 1952, 61

\(^{21}\) Nyein Maung,1998 b, 26 , line 15-19

\(^{22}\) Aggathamadi, 1901a, stanza - 24
Shun, 1928, stanza - 60
was cultivated in central and Upper Myanmar.\textsuperscript{23} It was cultivated not only for producing cloth for local use, but also for lucrative purposes, for selling cotton to Chinese, Dutch, British and French merchants.\textsuperscript{24} Marco Polo, an Italian traveller from Venice, mentions the Yunnan-Myanmar trade route in his journal. Jade and cotton were Myanmar's major exports to Yunnan.\textsuperscript{25} According to a royal order, \textit{was} among the crops exempted from taxation in the reign of King Mohnyin Mintaya.\textsuperscript{26} \textit{(tax from cotton) was included among the revenues that had to be submitted to the crown during the reign of King Nyaunghya Min.\textsuperscript{27} Therefore, \textit{was} a crop cultivated for lucrative purposes since the monarchical days. Then, as \textit{was} meant not only for producing cloth locally, but also for export, it was a high-priority crop the cultivation of which was extended.

There were people who earned their living by preparing cotton thread necessary for the making of clothes. It was recorded as "\textit{n}\textsuperscript{28} (spinner)

\begin{itemize}
\item D.G.E Hall, "The Dagregister and Batavia and Dutch Trade with Burma in the Seventh Century", JBRS, XXIX, ii, 1939 , p.114 (Henceforth: Hall, 1939)
\item Khin Maung Nyaung, 1979, 181
\item Than Tun, 1983, 298
\item Thutethi, Myo ywa Nai pai Thamai, 44
\item Thutethi, Myo ywa Nai pai Thamai, 38
\item Nyein Maung ,1972, 64, lines  9-10
\item Nyein Maung, 1998a, 190, lines 34-35
\item Pu , Pin, In, 1893, 307, line 28
\item Inscription of Pwa-saw Monastery and Hle-ashin Maung-Nan ("Couple owner of the Boat") Monastery, reverse (line 28)
\item Nyein Maung, 1998a, 186, line 28
\item G.H Luce. "Note on the peoples of Burma in the 12\textsuperscript{th} -13\textsuperscript{th} century AD", JBRS. XLII, 1, June, 1959, p.72 (Henceforth: Luce, 1959)
\end{itemize}
and " spinner). The record tells us about the cotton spinning livelihood, as stated in " (men) 2, min:ma (women) 6", thus implying that the business was taken up both by men and women; especially women mostly transacting the cotton business. Among those making a livelihood by cotton-spinning were included Indian men and women. Moreover, the following terms give us the detailed information about domestic cotton business of those days.

Bai ("cotton; silver of corded cotton")

Bai-ta-yet-kan ("cotton silvers loom")

Bai-wa-yet-kan

Yet-kan-Baita

Yet-kan-she ("loom stretching threads on a frame to prepare the warp")

Yet-kan-Bai-wa

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29 Nyein Maung, 1972, 64, lines 9-10
30 Nyein Maung, 1998a, 190, line
31 Luce, 1959, 72
32 Tezawthara, 1965, stanza - 104
33 Tezawthara, 1965, stanza - 69
34 Tezawthara, 1965, stanza - 69
36 Padetahraza, 1961, stanza-272
Shun, 1928, stanza-12
Tezawthara, 1965, stanza-71
Aggathamadi, 1940, stanza - 47
Than Tun, 1985,239
37 Thilawuntha, 1965, stanza - 78
Wa-kyeik wa-phan ("grinding and cleaning newly picked cotton")
Chi-cha ("winding the cotton off the reel")
Chi-sa-yu ("twisting skeins round and round to harden the thread")
Chi-she ("stretching the cotton on a frame")
Chi-Thut ("inserting the cotton")

These terms give us a detailed account of the then domestic textile industry.

First, the cotton boll is gathered. It is cleaned by separating from the pod and picking by the hand. It is then put in the basket. It is next pressed between two small wooden revolving rollers, worked by the hand. Thus, the cotton ball is separated from the seeds. The cotton is then wound about small sticks, and made into a cylinder with a small aperture. The small cylinders are converted into thread. A small piece of thread is attached to the roller, and loose end held to the cotton cylinder, which winds off in thread. The small balls of thread are cleaned by being thoroughly soaked in rice-water and pressed out on a flat board. Then the balls are placed in the sun to dry. The cotton thread is then wound on a frame of two horizontal bars, and combed. The skein is then wound on to a revolving circular frame, and on to hand-reels. After being prepared, the web is attached to the loom for weaving clothes. The process reveals the craftsmanship of weaving from the stage of picking the cotton from the cotton fields to that of weaving clothes at the loom.

The kinds of cotton used as raw materials for weaving clothes are recorded inscriptions and Pyui (verse).

*Kyewa-chi [41]

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[38] Aw, 1961, 22
Toe Hla, 1978, 32
[40] U Aung Gyi, 1965, 24
[41] Thutethi, Thwin-sa-mya, 21
Chi ("cotton thread")\textsuperscript{42}

Chi-sein, Mya-chi ("green cotton thread")\textsuperscript{43}

Chi-Ni ("red cotton thread")\textsuperscript{44}

Chi-phyu ("white cotton thread")\textsuperscript{45}

Chi-wa ("yellow cotton thread")\textsuperscript{46}

Ngwe-chi ("Silver cotton thread")\textsuperscript{47}

Hna-nat-chi ("Sisal hemp cotton thread")\textsuperscript{48}

Ni-pa-chi ("red cotton thread")

Me-chi ("Indigo cotton thread")\textsuperscript{49}

\textsuperscript{42} Nyein Maung, 1972,245, 246, Line-31
Nyein Maung, 1972, 243, line 12
Nyein Maung, 1998b,18, lines 16,20
Nyein Maung 1998b, 23,24 (lines-31,32,38)
Nyein Maung, 1998b, 47, lines-23
Maha Thiha Thura Kyaung Inscription, observe
Nyein Maung, 1998b, 117, lines, 5-6
Saw Hla Yint Thint Maw Kyaung Inscription.
Aw, 1961, 42
Thutethi, Amint taw1, 245, 246

\textsuperscript{43} Padetharaza, 1961, stanza-26

\textsuperscript{44} Tezawthara, 1929, stanza-41,91
Aw, 1961, 21
Myan-sar-nyunt, 1952, 3
Thutethi, 1974, 147

\textsuperscript{45} Thilawuntha, 1969, stanza-81
Thutethi, Thwin-sar-Mya, 21

\textsuperscript{46} Shin Kumara Kathapa, Dhamma Rathi Pyo, Yangon, Hanthawady, 1929, stanza-28
(Henceforth: Kumara Kathapa, 1929)

\textsuperscript{47} Padetharaza, 1961, stanza-123,245
Myan-sar-nyunt, 1992, 298

\textsuperscript{48} Aw, 1961, 41

\textsuperscript{49} Thutethi, Thwinsarmya, 21
Cotton is a general term. The kinds of cotton are called with reference to the kind of plant from which it is produced such as the and . The silk cotton, or Pui: chi, is so named because it is produced from silkworms. The Shwe-chi and Ngwe-chi are so named for their gold and silver-hued cotton, or tinsels. Presumably, the kye-wa chi and the Than chi are so named for having the hues of copper or rust. The different colours of the cotton imply that there existed people who earned living by dying.

In Myanmar there have grown natural growths and trees which could be used for dying the cotton since the olden times. Hues of white, red, black and yellow were used in Bagan period. However, it has not yet been discovered what kind of dyes were used for the purpose of dying the garments. Traditionally, a mixture of herbs, barks and roots that grow in Myanmar was used for dying. In the post-Bagan period, besides the colours used in Bagan period, the green and the blue were mostly used. The red, brown, orange and other colours were also used. The trees that were exactly known to be used for dying through the successive periods are as follows:

Te (species of persimmon)

50 Padetharaza, 1961, stanza-88, 107,134,145,191,245
51 Padetharaza, 1961, stanza-210,245
Tin, 1983, 59
52 Thilawuntha, 1969, stanza-82
Padetharaza, 1961, stanza-245
Rattathara, 1970, stanza-222
Rattathara, 1973, stanza-222, 167
53 Thutethin, Thwin sarmya, 21
Tein-nyet (Sappan wood)
Hta-naung (Acacia leucaphloea)
Hna-nwin (saffron)
Ni-pa (Morinda persiaefolia)
Pein-ne (jackfruit)
Me-kalay (younger Indigo)
Me-gyi (older Indigo)
Me-yai (wild Indigo)
Thi-tin (Annato).54

These trees are useful to supply roots, stem, bark, leaves, fruits and flowers to be used as materials for dyeing. The good colour of quality can be obtained from the root of Hna-nwin herb (saffron), stem of Pein-ne (jackfruit) and leaves of me (Indigo).55 The black dye is obtained from Me-leaves;56 the red, from Tein-Nyet ("Sappan wood), Ni pa (Morinda perisaefolia) and Tawthintin (wild Annato) trees; the yellow, from Na-nwin (saffron), pein-ne-khauk (bark of jack fruit) and Thi-tin powder;57 the saffron colour from the bark of jackfruit,58 and blue59 and dark

54 U Tha Myat, Thiripyanchi (ed), Seiwa hnin, athonwinthaw apinmya (Some medicinal and useful plants), Yangon, Department of Cultural Institute, 1970, p.2-61
55 Nan Nyunt Nwe, Pyint-Ma-hta-thint-tho-yet-kan-loka ("Traditional looms that should not be forgotten), Ludu Journal, No.15, July 1951, p.8 (Henceforth: Nan Nyunt Nwe, 1951)
57 Pyi-twin-htwet-pyissi, 7-17
58 Nan Nyunt Nwe, 1951, 7
59 Pyi-twin-htwet-pyissi,17
Blue\textsuperscript{60} form me-tree. The light and dark hues are obtained from a mixture of leaves, bark and fruits in two or three kinds.\textsuperscript{61}

The \textit{Hna-nat chi} (Sisal hempcotton) was first used in the days of the post-Bagan period. It was obtained from sisal hemp plants,\textsuperscript{62} which grow well mostly in the Dry Zone of Myanmar. The clothes woven of sisal hemp cotton were coarse cotton garments.

The inscription dated in AD 1223 records thus: "\textit{Kriy Khra Khak é}" ("woven in kye-chi-cotton")\textsuperscript{63}. Therefore, it seems that there existed the craftsmanship of filigree work of gold, silver, copper and iron strings.

In Bagan period, along with the yarn-spinning and winding business, there were people who made living by loom in garment-weaving, as stated in \textquoteright\textquoteright\textsuperscript{64} and \textquoteright\textquoteright\textsuperscript{65}. Another inscription reads thus:

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{60} Myanmar Encyclopaedia, Vol. IX, Yangon, Sarpay Beikhman press, 1964, p.100 (Henceforth: Encyclopedia) \\
\textsuperscript{61} For further details about colour dyes, see U Kyaw Thaung and U Myint Thein: "Pyitwin-htwet-Pyissi-mya-phyint-A-hte-ko-Ayaung-so-Chin", part.i. \\
\textsuperscript{63} NyeinMaung, 1972, 152, line 12 \\
Maha Tenapati Anandathu Maung-Nan Inscription observe. \\
Bagan Inscriptions, p.10, line 12 \\
Mandalay University, 1955, Copy of Department of Myanmar. (Henceforth, Bagan Inscriptions) \\
Lay-htaun-kan Ayat-lemyetna Pagoda Inscription. \\
\textsuperscript{64} Nyein Maung, 1998a, 172 (or) 176, line 30 \\
\textsuperscript{65} Nyein Maung, 1982, 151, line 6 \\
Thein-kha pwa Gyi-Mye Soe Min Inscription, reverse \\
Nyein Maung, 1982, 65, line 18 \\
Thamananta Kontan wife Inscription, Single face \\
Nyein Maung, 1982, 202, line 49 \\
Nara Thiha pate-nint-Ayi-saw Inscription, observe \\
Nyein Maung, 1983, 31, line 33 \\
Theinga Thu's Daughter Inscription, observe \\
Sara Mon wife Inscription, 2 face, observe \\
Nyein Maung, 1998a, 37, line 2 \\
Nara Thiha pate-e-queen Ayi saw Inscription, reverse \\
Nyein Maung, 1998a, 189, lines 15,20 \\
Sutaungpye pagoda Inscription, reverse \\
Luce, 1959, 68-72
\end{flushright}
28. Sisal Hemp Plant, Sagaing
(Photo by the Author, 7 Oct; 2004)
It can be assumed, therefore, that the craftsmanship of weaving has played a significant role in the donation of yellow robe, yellow robe, yellow robe and robe to be offered at Pagodas and monasteries in the sector of weaving of garment from the Bagan period to the present day. The inscription dated in AD 1243 records among the donations made in dedication to the Buddha, the and the thus: ", 13". The record highlights not only the devotion of the people of the Bagan period but also the necessity of weaving looming craftsmanship for offering robes to the Buddha and the .

Except one inscription reading a large number of weavers as " 173," the remaining inscriptions do not number up to a hundred. These inscriptions do not distinguish the Myanmar from the Mon and the Indian . However, some inscriptions, notably, record thus; " 116, 34". Since the costumes of the Myanmar

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66 Nyein Maung, 1998a, 176, line 28
Pu- Pin-In: 1893, 307, lines 28, 29
Bagan Thamadi Inscription No.4, reverse
67 Nyein Maung, 1982,51, line 6
68 Nyein Maung, 1982,202, line-49
Bagan kyauk sar, 1955, 32, line 21
Princess Asaw-kywn Pagoda Inscription, reverse
Luce, 1959, 72
69 Nyein Maung, 1982, 100, line 21
Bagan kyauk sar, 1955, p.32, line 21
Princess Asaw-kywn Pagoda Inscription, reverse
Luce, 1959, 72
70 Nyein Maung, 1998a, 189, lines-15-20
Luce, 1959, 58
resemble those of the Indians throughout the Bagan period, it can be assumed that the craftsmanship of loom and weaving may have derived from the Indians.

Among the weavers were Kadu,\textsuperscript{71} Mon,\textsuperscript{72} Rakhine,\textsuperscript{73} Shan\textsuperscript{74} and the Indians.\textsuperscript{75} It is said that the Myanmar and the Mon were skilful weavers of garments.\textsuperscript{76} There are no records showing the inclusion of other nationalities. However, I assume that other nationalities living in Myanmar in those days might have woven traditional costumes of their own.

Two terms were discovered: " ; (Senior and Junior weavers),\textsuperscript{77} presumably referring to a skilful weaver or supervisor of one loom or one weaving industry or seniority age; and to apprentice in weaving, beginner or junior weaver. There may also have existed skilful weavers who set up his or her weaving industry.

With the changes and developments from one period to another, there existed changes from the costumes of the Bagan period to those of the Inwa period. This indicates the developments in craftsmanship of weaving. In the inscription of the Inwa period was found a term ", who wove local costumes. This highlights the significant role of weavers.

Even in the Bagan period, the weaving industry had been the family business or business belonging to a group of relatives, as recorded in 

\textsuperscript{71} Luce, 1959, 59
\textsuperscript{73} Luce, 1959, 60
\textsuperscript{74} Luce, 1959,68
\textsuperscript{75} Luce, 1959, 60,72
\textsuperscript{76} Luce, 1959, 53
\textsuperscript{77} Nyein Maung, 1983, 106
Nara Thiha Pate Min-e-Ayi-Queen Pwa-saw Inscription reverse
One inscription belonging to the Inwa period records thus: 

All the messages mean that all spouts of the weaver inherited the art of weaving. In other words, the craftsmanship of weaving being handed down from generations to generations, it has obviously existed as a principal livelihood in Myanmar society.

The craftsmanship of weaving is that of weaving warp and weft with a running shuttle through the cotton thread on a loom. The skein necessary for weaving are supplied by or spinners of cotton. As to the size of loom, only small looms were used in Bagan period. So only lower garments of small breadth were woven. Garments of large breadth were sewn of two garments of small breadth, which are still worn today. In the post-Bagan periods, Cheik-longys called "let-cheik lun-pyan E-kanan" were in vogue, which indicate the developments in weaving industry. Here, it does not need any more to run the shuttle over the warp and weft by hand, but it runs automatically back and forth. Moreover, the E-kanan longyi refers to a lower garment or longyi of wide breadth, with no sewing of two small ones. This, it can be assumed, may have paved the way to the existence of hand-driven looms of large size today.

Some Myanmar sayings go: "If a man is illiterate, he is like a blind man; and if a woman is unskilful in weaving, she is like a disable person;" "Bai-kaung kyauk-phi" "Quality cotton pressed neatly under a slab of stone; (fig) (ladies) with decorum." These sayings indicate the existence of weaving craftsmanship in Bagan period. They also imply that weaving and cotton spinning belonged to the

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78 Pu Pa :A : 1955, p.242  
Bagan Lay-hthaun-khan Inscription, No.14  
79 Nyein Maung, 1998a, 176  
81 Hanthawaddy par min ahmartaw pon, 1905, 2
business of women of those days. Since the skill of this kind belonged to the essential skill of women of those days, it can be regarded as a significant role in the social sector. Naturally, these businesses may have been handed down to women of successive generations.

Man wears clothes for the sake of modesty and protection from weather changes. So people began to wear garments woven at looms. Although no terms associated with the weaving of clothes have been discovered in records dating back to the Bagan period, Pyui-literature of Inwa period recorded the terms "Achok"\textsuperscript{82} and "up-choke"\textsuperscript{83}. However, the skill of weaving the garments had existed, not in Inwa period, but since in the olden times.

It was since in the stone Age, that man strung leaves and wore a covering to keep his or her modesty. As conscience grew in man, he began to wear the animal hide stitch with the use of the bone in order to protect himself from the cold and the heat. Wearing such clothing was the beginning of wearing skill. Since the records show the way clothing was neatly worn, it can be assumed that there already existed those who made living by stitching and weaving. Obviously, there existed no sewing machine in the Pyu period and the Bagan period, but the clothing was done by hand. From the observation of the style of clothing depicted on fresco paintings of Bagan period, it can be assumed that there existed a class of people who made their living by weaving in Bagan period. The way weaving was done in Bagan period and the post-Bagan period was not stylish as in the present day. It did not demand much skilful craftsmanship. The garments called "yin-si"

\textsuperscript{82} Hla Tin, \textit{1960}, 34
Aggathamadi, \textit{1901b}, stanza-58
Kumarakathapa, \textit{1929}, stanza-35, 85
Rahtathara, \textit{1970}, stanza-115
Thutethi, Thwin-sar-mya, 22
Toe Hla, \textit{1978}, 31

\textsuperscript{83} Shun, \textit{1928}, stanza-12
("strapless bodice worn under a chemise") and *khach* were mostly wrapped round the body. According to the Bagan mural paintings, the upper garments were *Wuttlon*, *yin-si* and *ko-kyat* ("body-tight"). The lower garments were short and long dhoti, which were called "*Khach*" clothing.

A *Wuttlon* garment was made by wrapping two folds of cloth which is 2 cubits (36 inches) in width and 3 cubits (54 inches) in length. The fold with shorter width was 18" long and the longer fold 27 inches long. There was a neck-hole through the folds to put on. The neck-hole was two inches wide at the back, three inches (3 inches) wide on each shoulder and five inches (54 inches) in length. The fold with shorter width was 18 inches long and the longer fold 27 inches long. There was a neck-hole through the folds to put on. The neck-hole was two inches wide at the back, three inches (3 inches) wide on each shoulder and five inches (5 inches) wide in the front. These were the measurements of a normal size. The width of the neck-hole was flexible according to the size of the neck. The lower end of the double fold was kept long down below the waist-level and was little cut out, curving to the upper fold. The measurement of the cloth cut out for weaving a *wuttlon* is shown in figure 14; and the cutting design of the folded cloth, in figure 15.

With the advanced design, both upper sides of the *wuttlon* garment were cut out for the hands to put on while the costume resembled a robe.\(^{84}\) One single lining was stitched on both sides. Some *wuttlon* designs had some little cutting of the side flaps to have a symmetrical design.\(^{85}\) The design may have been an output from thinking over the measurement of the cloth for a necessary design. There existed even in Bagan period a design of *wuttlon* for king, with flying cuffs on the

\(^{84}\) Photo 5
\(^{85}\) Photo 29
Figure (14)

How to make a Robe.
Figure (15)

Scale 1" = 0.3cm
How to make a robe.

Figure (18)

How to make a jacket
29. Kings wearing Robe from Patothamya Cave Temple, Bagan
(Luce, Old Burma Early Bagan, 1970) Plate - 166 b
shoulders.\textsuperscript{86} This can make us assume that the \textit{wutlons} of this design marked a development in weaving garments.

According to the mural painting at the \textit{Yathodaya} wore a \textit{yin-si}.\textsuperscript{87} The \textit{yin-si} was woven with about one cubit of cloth in width and about two cubits of cloth in length. Each of the upper and lower ends of the left and right pieces of cloth may have been stitched and tied with a string to put on the body.

As depicted in the mural painting at the \textit{Loka-hteik-pan Pagoda},\textsuperscript{88} the figures of women going down to fetch water at river-side wore no jacket but a \textit{Yin-si} which resembled a chemise. It could be assumed that is stitching such chemise of the Bagan period, two circular parts (covering the breasts) were cut and stitch and tied with a string at the back-the circular parts having no joints or angles as in those of the present day.

Even in the Bagan period, the wearing of a variety of \textit{Yin-si} was replaced by the body-tight garments.\textsuperscript{89} These garments were of two types: waist-level body-tight\textsuperscript{90} and above-waist level, revealing the navel.\textsuperscript{91} A piece of cloth of one cubit (18 inches) in width and length was folded twofold, with an opening at the top of the fold the neck-hole. A piece of cloth of one Cubit and one Htaw (twenty seven inches) in width and two Cubits (Thirty six inches) in length was folded two fold. The upper line of the fold was cut into a neck hole, two inches at the back, two inches on each shoulder and four inches in the front. The neck hole was cut out according to the necessary measurement of its width. The lower ends of the fold

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{86}Photo 5
\item \textsuperscript{87}Photo 13
\item \textsuperscript{88}Photo 12
\item \textsuperscript{89}Photo 8
\item \textsuperscript{90}Photo 14, Figure (16)
\item \textsuperscript{91}Photo 7, Figure (17)
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Styles of Upper Garment

Figure (16), Lady's Jacket

Figure (17), Lady's Jacket
were down to the waist, and were curved upward to the upper fold, farming the waist line and the holes for the hands to put on (see figure -18). Short and long sleeves were worn. One of the two folds was spread backward, and the sleeves were folded. Then the jacket was worn open-fronted or open at the back. The mural paintings of Bagan period show that the body tight upper garments could be only with the opening at the back. Some body-tight upper garments were a type of pull-over with a string to tie at the back.\(^92\) The upper garments of Bagan period had no lining on the shoulders. The style of garments today, having no lining on the shoulder, may have been handed down from generation to generation. Since the Myanmar style of dress in Bagan period was influenced by the Indian culture, the body tight jacket with an opening at the back was a kind of garment with a string to tie round the body. The body-tight garment down to the waist-level had at least five strings. Those above the waist-level revealing the navel probably had at least three strings. However, during the Pyu period, since a variety of beads were worn for beautification, it could be assumed that the beads were used for buttons in garments with the opening at the back. The study of body tight upper garments of Bagan period suggests that exact measurements were taken in weaving a garment, as in the present day.

In the post-Bagan period, waist-long, three quarter sleeve, short-sleeve upper garments were worn.\(^93\) Those garments in a variety of designs were worn.\(^94\) In weaving such a garment, a piece of cloth of two cubits (36 inches) in width and three cubits (54 inches) in length was folded two fold. When that double fold was folded again four pieces of cloth were thus prepared. Of the folds, the shorter piece of the fold was cut into the long sleeves; and the longer piece into the waist-long garment. The sleeve longer beyond the elbow was eighteen inches long and the

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\(^92\) Photo 8

\(^93\) Photo 30

\(^94\) Figure (19), (20), (21)
30. A Scene from Tiloka-guru, Sagaing

(Photo by the Author, 7 October 2004)
Styles of Upper Garment

Figure (19), Man's Coat
Styles of Upper Garment

Figure (20), Man’s Coat

Figure (21), Man’s shirt
waist-level was twenty. Seven inches long (See- Figure 22). The short sleeve
longer above the elbow was sixteen inches long while the waist-level was twenty
seven inches long. (See figure 23). Necessary measurements were made according
to the short or long waist-level.

In the post-Bagan periods, people wore another kind of garment called Tho-
yin,\textsuperscript{95} a robe hanging below the waist with long, wide sleeves.\textsuperscript{96} In making, such a
robe, a piece of cloth of two cubits (36 inches) in width and four cubits (72 inches)
in length was made two fold, thus having four pieces of cloth in folds. The shorter
fold was used to be made into long sleeves; the longer fold, into below waist-line
upper garment. The upper line of the fold was cut into a neck-hole, two inches at
the back, three inches on each shoulder and seven inches in the front. The neck-
hole was cut out according to the necessary measurement of its width. (See Figure
24). The upper end of the longer fold was cut from the neck-hole to the lower end.
It was the kind of upper garment called "shay-kwe", with an opening in the front.
In making such a garment, the front piece and the back piece were sometimes
separately cut and stitched. First, the two front pieces were curved, starting from
the neck-hole. Then the back piece, the front piece with a lining on the shoulder,
and the hand-piece were stitched together. The two curving front pieces were
stitched. Thus the robe resembled the Chinese costume, implying about the
influence of the Chinese culture. In the post-Bagan periods, it can be said that the
shay-kwe' garments, with an opening in the front, were getting popular.

In the post-Bagan periods, the women's Yin-si upper garment was mostly
worn by wrapping round from the bosom to the kneel with a piece of cloth of
about two cubits wide and about four cubits long. A single circular lining was
stitched to keep the ends of the cloth neat and tidy. Probably strings and buttons
may have been stitched on the sides and on the back. When ladies were out for a

\textsuperscript{95} Photo 20

\textsuperscript{96} Abeikdan A-kyin-choke, \textit{1980}, 164
Figure (24)

Scale 1" = 0.3cm
How to make a Tho-yin Coat.
rambling, a long shawl on the shoulder was worn in a style of beauty, covering the strings underneath.

In the Bagan period, the lower garment worn by the majority resembled the dohti and the sari of the Indians. The traditional Indian dohti was twenty cubits long without being stitched. As the saying goes, "kings and men wear lower garment of twenty cubits long," it seemed that the successive Myanmar kings might have followed the Indian tradition. So the lower garments were worn, by wrapping the cloth round the body. It seemed that the short khach garments were specially woven.

The lower garment of women in Bagan period resembled a sari. The traditional dohti and sari were worn, wrapping round the legs, unlike the current dressing style. A decorative girdle was worn so as to tighten the garment. So, as mural paintings of Bagan period show, both men and women wore girdles and strings round their waists. Moreover; they also wore skirt-like lower garments and trousers.

Also in the post-Bagan periods, as in the Bagan period, men continued to wear as lower garment the Taung-she Paso (double length men's longyi) and the ka-daung. Kyaik-hte (girding one's loincloth). The majority of women wore the Hta-mein (woman's skirt) only. These lower garments were mostly Pat-htamein (skirt to be wrapped round the body) while, assumably, they were stitched for wearing. Westerners who arrived in the post-Bagan periods wore trousers. Since

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97 Interview with an Indian monk
98 Photo 11,12,15
99 Photo 31
100 Photo 15
101 Photo 19
102 Photo 26
103 Photo 32
104 Photo 33
31. A Female Dancer
(Myanmar Two Millennium, 2000) p.73
32 Ladies for waiting, Tiloka-guru, Sagaing

(Photo by the Author, 7 October 2004)
33. A Princess and A Portuguess, Hpowintaung, Myonwa
(Ye Myint, 1986) bt: 34-35
there were mural paintings showing women of the Bagan period wearing trousers, no one may deny that men of Bagan period and Post-Bagan period were trousers. Then this will lead to the assumption that there existed developments in sewing and weaving in the post-Bagan periods. There will be differences in the use of materials and decorations in the development from one period to another.

There were not only tailors who stitched men's clothes, but also those who made and tailored the white umbrellas\textsuperscript{105} to be dedicated Pagodas, monasteries and the royal palace. These who performed the service of making clothes were organized as groups of personnel in service. The Bai-ta su ("Royal Spinner"), the win-thi taw su,\textsuperscript{106} and the yet-kan-taw-yet su\textsuperscript{107} ("group of the royal weavers") were included among the forty groups, or Asu, in charge of the A-nauk wun. A term "yet-kan saye" was found among the records.\textsuperscript{108} He or she was responsible for noting the daily quantity of weaving clothes and paying the salary of the weavers or submitting the social performances of the weavers. Appointing such a clerk was systematic administratively, resembling the tiered administration in today's business organization. A term "A-chok wun Saye" was found in the records of the Inwa period.\textsuperscript{109} It can be assumed that the A-chok wun saye or clerk may have been appointed for supervising the tailors in charge of religious and royal affairs.

\textsuperscript{105} Than Tun, 1983, 370

Thutethi, Sheilhaung hmat sar , 15

\textsuperscript{106} Than Tun, 1983, 232

Thutethi, Amint taw 1, 33

Maung Maung Tin, 1975, 161

\textsuperscript{107} Than Tun, 1983, 232

Thutethi, Amint taw 1, 33

\textsuperscript{108} Thutethi, hnit-lei-ze-razawun, 37

\textsuperscript{109} Thutethi, Amint taw 1, 46
As a saying goes, "A strong hem for a good basket; fine clothing for man to show his status," clothing is very important for every body. Pre-historic man started covering his body for modesty with leaves and animal hide, and then with the growth of conscience in him, man began to think of clothing. Plant fibre was produced from trees, and thread from the plant fibre, and through progressive stages, clothing from the thread. It is interesting to study, domestic industries. The skein is put on the loom and fabric is woven, and then the tailor stitch from wutlon and yin-si to body-tight, tight sleeves, loose sleeves, wide sleeves and waist-long garments, etc. This reveals man's innovative ability. The style of dressing revealing half of the upper part of the body belonging to the Bagan period was adopted in the post-Bagan periods, yet exact measurements and the covering of the whole body were considered. This has highlighted the development in sewing, or tailoring, as well as the progress in the civilization.
CHAPTER FOUR

The Impact of Indian and Chinese Cultures on Myanmar Traditional Costumes

It is Fresco paintings, sculptures, relief's and records of literature that could tell us about how our ancestors had dressed themselves. In records of literature are included both local and foreign literatures. In this chapter a discussion is made through a collection of contemporary research data and evidences available, and from a comparison with the historical evidences from the neighbouring countries.

Myanmar's borderline is close to her neighbouring countries such as China, India, Thailand and Laos. It was long before the Bagan period that Myanmar and her neighbouring countries had been in contact with each other in politics, economy, social affairs and religious affairs, etc. The Pyus, who had established the earliest kingdom in Myanmar, had transacted trading with Vietnam in the east, India in the west, China in the north and Malaysia and Indonesia in the south, as well as with the South-East Asian countries. In this kind of trading, among the goods for international transactions, were included not only fabric but also ready-made garments or clothes.

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Being located at the function of the two routes, namely the China-India Route and the Pyu-Khemar inland route, Beikthano, the famous capital of the Pyu period, had been an international trading centre.³ China had trade relations with Myanmar, and its main produce, which was silk was traded to western Asian countries, Middle Asian countries, Rome, the Mediterranean regions.⁴ Arab and Parisian regions.⁵ The brocade from Persia was traded to those trading countries,⁶ too. The phai-fabric worn by Myanmar people, may have come from Persia. The China-India inland trading route crossed the region of Beikthano. So the cotton of India may have been traded to China, and the silk of China to India. During the Pyu period, the white cotton fabric, spun and woven from kapok was a local produce,⁷ so none can deny that the cotton of Myanmar was included among the commodities traded in those days. The cotton of Myanmar may have also been traded for a variety of purposes. It may have spread not only to China and India but also to other countries. China, a neighbouring countries of Myanmar, had relations with Cambodia, Ceylon, India and Afghanistan for the purpose of the propagation of Buddhism.⁸ It can be assumed, therefore, that a great number of traders and missionaries were included in the relations between countries of those days. The way those traders and missionaries dressed themselves may have also made more or less influences on the native people of the trading countries. The more the trading relations took place, the stronger the cultures of the trading countries would have influenced one another. According to these relations, a group of Pyu embassy, or representatives of Myanmar visited China in A.D 802.

³ Yee Sein, 1979, 24
⁵ Kenneth Scott latourette, 1946, 272
⁶ Kenneth Scott latourette, 1946,160
⁷ Than Tun, 2002, 61
⁸ Kenneth Scott Latourette, 1946, 165
The Pyu entourage was accompanied by a music troupe.\textsuperscript{9} The performers were dressed in deep red costumes.\textsuperscript{10} Since no evidences dating back to the Bagan period show the existence of deep red costumes locally woven, the costumes of those performers were exported from a foreign country. The study of the dress of the performers shows that the musicians wore as lower garment a thin cotton fabric covering up to the knee.\textsuperscript{11} Because it resembled the dhoti of the Indians, the costume showed the influence of the Indian costumes. Since the music troupe represented the kingdom of its own, all the performers belonged to the upper class, dressing themselves in costumes of the fashion of the day, and this kind of style is supposed to have been followed even in the Pyu period. However, it might not lead us to the conclusion that this was the own unique style of Myanmar costume of the two countries, namely India and China, Myanmar may have had closer ties with India in the earlier periods since the Myanmar cultures had received influences from the Indian cultures.

The inscriptions of the Pyu resembled the handwriting adopted in the southern part of India in A.D 4\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{12} Similarly, the Mon handwriting, adopting the scripts of the southern India, had come into existence, starting from AD 7\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{13} The Indian writing system was also taken as a model. It was from dealing with the Hindi traders of India that the native people began to adopt Hinduism as the first religion, with the beliefs in Siva Goddess and Vishnu Deity while Buddhism was accepted as the second religion.\textsuperscript{14} Indian culture was taken as a model for religious beliefs. In the aspect of dressing style, in AD 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd}

\textsuperscript{9} Yee Sein, 1979, 39
\textsuperscript{10} Yee Sein, 1979, 51
\textsuperscript{11} Yee Sein, 1979, 51
\textsuperscript{12} Than Tun, 2004, 94
\textsuperscript{13} Than Tun, 2004, 78
\textsuperscript{14} Photo 34
34. A Hindu God

(Luce, Old Burma Early Bagan, 1970) Plate 345
centuries, the Indian women wore only Khach (short sari) or Sari for lower garment but with no upper garment. Only some Indian women wore a scarf over the shoulder. The long sari of the Indian women was of cotton fabric five or six yards long. Presumably, ancient Myanmar women may have worn such long cotton fabric garments. Although, in India of the earlier periods, the man wore no upper garments, time changed and style of dresses changed. The long sleeve, waist-long upper garments worn by the Indians had come into existence since in the earlier periods. Moreover, there existed the style of wearing trousers as lower garments in India, starting from about A.D 3rd century. A thin fabric was worn over the trousers. Such similar costume was worn in Myanmar of the Bagan period. Also in India, only the queen and the women of the upper class were entitled to wearing the gold and silver tinsel costumes while the civilians were to wear the black, or white plain costumes only. The caste system of India has made a strong class discrimination, but there has existed not caste system in the society of Myanmar. However, it can be assumed that there had existed a marked difference between the upper class and the common people in the style of costumes.

In the reign of King Anawrahta, in Bagan period, Myanmar had relations, both inland and in water way, with Malay to the south, India to the west through

15 Photo 35
16 Photo 35
17 A.S. Altekar, The position of women in Hindu civilization from prehistoric times to the present day, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidose, 1973, p. 280 (Henceforth: A.S. Altekar, 1973)
18 A.S. Altekar, 1973, 294
19 A.S. Altekar, 1973, 294
20 A.S. Altekar, 1973, 295
35. An Indian Painting of India Women
(Padmini Sengupta, Everyday life in Ancient India, 1950) p.38
Arabia, China to the north and Funan (Kanbawza) to the east.\textsuperscript{22} As King Anawrahta was an able king who strove for the all-round developments in the kingdom of Myanmar, he had thus created circumstances favourable for own unique style of Myanmar, which many have received more or less the direct or indirect influences of the changes in the countries in trade relations. So starting from AD 11\textsuperscript{th} century, the Myanmar began to learn the Indian scripts under the Pyu and Mon teachers and write Myanmar scripts.\textsuperscript{23} When King Anawrahta conquered Thaton in AD 1057, Myanmar had come into contact with the India culture.\textsuperscript{24} During the reign of Anawrahta, through relations with the Mon, the Myanmar had for the first time made an access into the sea route, and came into direct contact with India and Ceylon.\textsuperscript{25} Moreover, through the oversea merchants, Myanmar made direct relations with India and Srilanka. It was from these relations with these countries that Myanmar had come to adopt the great teaching of Buddhism and Buddhist traditions and customs from the Pyu via the Mon.\textsuperscript{26} Being a king devoted to the prosperity of Buddhism, Anawrahta initiated more relations with India.

In the Myanmar-Ceylon relations, in A.D 1060, the Ceylon King Vizaja Bhahu I requested reinforcement from Myanmar through Anawrahta to wipe out the Ceylon Indian's attack, and Myanmar complied with the request. Since Buddhism, did not flourish in Myanmar, Myanmar monks were sent to Ceylon on a missionary basis.\textsuperscript{27} Thus there had existed friendship ties between Myanmar and Ceylon (Sri Lanka). In AD 12\textsuperscript{th} century, Myanmar occupied cape Salang, an

\textsuperscript{22} Than Tun, 2004, 144
\textsuperscript{23} Than Tun, 2002, 138
\textsuperscript{24} Than Tun, 2002, 138
\textsuperscript{25} Than Tun, 2002, 138
\textsuperscript{26} Than Tun, 2002, 147
\textsuperscript{27} Than Tun, 2002, 138
important jetty for east and west oversea trading route, and from them on, taxes were imposed increasingly on the exports of Sri Lanka. This also highlights the exporting of foreign goods. It can be assumed that influences on the making of garments were made also by the textile and fabric produced in Sri Lanka. Then a prince, who was a grandchild of Anawrahta, was married to the Princess of Sri Lanka. 

Even in the Bagan period, the Princess of Sri Lanka, who lived in the royal palace of Myanmar, may have dressed herself in the costume of her own, but no evidences have yet been found on how her costume looked like. However, Sri Lanka being a country of the Indians, her costume may have resembled to the Indian costume. Naturally, people of Myanmar may have imitated the style of the Sri-Lanka costume. As in the Bagan period, in the reign of king Bayint Naung, a royal marriage to a Sihalese lady was celebrated as a fruit of the ceylonese-Myanmar relation. When two or more countries came into contact with each other in the sectors of religion, economy and military affairs, there will be influences on the style of dresses on the people of both countries.

In Myanmar there have lived Rakhine, Bamar, Kyun, Chin, Seint (Chinese), Kala, Kadu, Kayin, Lawa, Mon, Pyu, Shan, Thet and Thaw nationalities. Kala earns their living as farmers and weavers; the Chinese, in trading; and the Kyun, as being in the service of the army. Among those who earnes living as ("dancer") (drum-player), (trumpet player), pantaya (musician), pa-bu (sculpture), Pan-chi (artist), pu-yan

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28 Than Tun, 2002, 138
29 Than Tun, 2002, 148
31 Than Tun, 2002, 139
32 Nyein Maung, 1972, 60, line 12
(mason)\textsuperscript{33} and (gardener)\textsuperscript{34} were included many Indians. The Indians also earned living as (cloth-weaver)\textsuperscript{35} and (spinner).\textsuperscript{36} Even among the people assigned to be in service at Pagodas were included many \textit{Kala kyuns}.\textsuperscript{37} The Brahmins who were chiefly responsible for calculating and predicting for the auspicious time for celebrating royal and religious affairs were the Indians. In the Myanmar society, next to the Myanmar, the number of the Indians was greater than other nationalities. In the aspect of religions beliefs, in Bagan period, since there existed the cult of the Hindu deity Vishnu called \textit{Maha Pein-ne} and Siva, the Hindi beliefs had mixed up with the religious beliefs of the Myanmar.\textsuperscript{38} During the reign of King Hti-Lai, a group of people was sent on board with necessary materials to maintain the ruined Maha Bodhi pagoda of Buddha-Gaya of Indian for the perpetuation of Buddhist Sasana.\textsuperscript{39} Since there took place more relations with India, the style of Myanmar dress and costume in Bagan period had resembled to that of the Indian. It was not only in Myanmar, but also in China, who had made relations with India through Myanmar, that in wei period (AD 366-500), the dress of the Chinese floating in the Air,\textsuperscript{40} as depicted in a mural painting, resembled to that of the Indian. Such influence may be detected as the result of relations in religious affairs, beliefs and trading. As the Indians were of the largest number among the foreign personnel in service, it is obvious that Myanmar had made relations mostly with Indian throughout the Bagan period. It was a kind of mutual relations between the two

\textsuperscript{33} Nyine Maung, 1972, 240, line 22  
\textsuperscript{34} Nyein Maung, 1972, 230, line 2  
\textsuperscript{35} Nyein Maung, 1982, 51, line 6  
\textsuperscript{36} Luce, 1959, 72  
\textsuperscript{37} Nyein Maung, 1972, 216, line 2  
\textsuperscript{38} Than Tun, 2002, 213  
\textsuperscript{39} Than Tun, 1997, 18  
\textsuperscript{40} Photo 36
36. A Chinese Scene floating in the Air
(Shwegating tha, Ludu Journal, February 1952) p.11
countries. So the costume of the Myanmar resembling to that of the Indian in the Bagan period, the Indian culture made strongest influence on the aspect of Myanmar costumes.

During the reign of King Anawrahta of Bagan period, there existed relations between Myanmar, and China on the basis of conveying the tooth-relic of the Buddha\textsuperscript{41}. Even in the earlier centuries, the Chinese merchants came to the north of Myanmar for trading\textsuperscript{42}. solely with the aim of extending the power domain, the Mongolians found fault with the case of gifts, and made an attack on Myanmar\textsuperscript{43}. Then in January 1284, the Chinese troops occupied the northern Myanmar and formed a new China state under the name of Kyen Mi In \textsuperscript{44}. In about Ca 1285-1286, in the form of peace-making, the Myanmar embassy visited Peking and the Chinese Imperial Embassy visited Myanmar. Even in Bagan period, some Chinese lived in Myanmar\textsuperscript{45}. Thus the Chinese came to live in Myanmar on the basis of politics and economy, yet they may still have worn their traditional costumes and kept their traditions. Therefore, it can be assumed that the style of the Chinese costumes did not make a stronger influence on the Myanmar costumes than the Indian costumes. This indicates the closer ties of friendship between India and Myanmar.

In AD 1394, in the reign of King Mingyi Swa-saw-ke of Inwa period, there existed the Sino-Myanmar relations. In these relations, the Chinese had concentrated on the excavation of the such minerals as ruby and jade\textsuperscript{46}. The

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{Tun Nyo, 1968, 87} Tun Nyo, 1968, 87
\bibitem{Tun Nyo, 1997, Sa} Tun Nyo, 1997, Sa
\bibitem{Than Tun, 2002, 152} Than Tun, 2002, 152
\bibitem{Chen Yi Sein, 1982, 9} Chen Yi Sein, 1982, 9
\bibitem{Chen Yi Sein, 1982, 11} Chen Yi Sein, 1982, 11
\end{thebibliography}
Chinese had taken up the business of excavation of rubies from that time to the 16th century\textsuperscript{47} and even today so. In trading, in the 16th century, the goods exported by the Chinese merchants to Myanmar were salt, tea, silk, tassels, etc\textsuperscript{48}. Moreover, raw silk was also exported principally for the looms of Myanmar\textsuperscript{49}. In the post-Bagan period, Myanmar weaving industry had improved in silks with the rising popularity of \textit{chiek-longyi}, and so it can be assumed that he exporting of the Chinese raw silk may have prospered.

A variety of textiles were also exported to Myanmar from China: variegated China cloth, thick plain cloth in various colours, embroidered cloth, and variegated silk cloths\textsuperscript{50}. The principal good that the Chinese importes to Myanmar was cotton\textsuperscript{51}. It is obvious that the Chinese, who had focused mainly on doing business in Myanmar, would have been settled here for a long period of time. The Chinese costumes had influenced the style of Myanmar dresses in the Post-Bagan periods: the garments with hem, and wide-sleeved, waist-long, loose garments were worn by the Chinese. The kind of garments with double front pieces came from the Chinese garments\textsuperscript{52}. It can be said, therefore, that the style of dresses worn by the Myanmar men of the post-Bagan period could be like the style of dresses worn by the Chinese men. However, in the case of lower garments, the Chinese men worn the loose trousers mostly\textsuperscript{53}, while Myanmar gentlemen wore the \textit{Taung-she paso} mostly. It can be assumed that Myanmar men had worn the \textit{Taung-she-paso tyo} have a unique style of dress distinguishing the Myanmar.

\textsuperscript{47} Chen Yi Sein, 1982, 11
\textsuperscript{48} Chen Yi Sein, 1982, 13
\textsuperscript{49} Chen Yi Sein, 1982, 13
\textsuperscript{50} Sylvia Fraser Lu, \textit{Burmese Crafts past and present}, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1994, p. 253 (Henceforth: Fraser Lu, 1994)
\textsuperscript{51} Chen Yi Sein, 1982, 11
\textsuperscript{52} Photo 37
\textsuperscript{53} Photo 37
37. Chinese in traditional Dress
(Speiser, Art of the World, 1960) p.104
nationality from others and to maintain the tradition of wearing the *paso* through generations. In the post-Bagan periods, the Myanmar people had focused or their traditional dresses to keep the modesty of their body and make a neat and tidy appearance. They also began to recognize the changes and developments in the style of dresses of the neighbouring countries, too. So the costumes of the post – Bagan period were totally different from those of the Bagan period: the influences of the Indian costumes had disappeared while the style of the Chinese costumes had come in.

In the reign of King Anawrahta, in Bagan period, Myanmar fought its rival the Mon and occupied Bago and the lower Myanmar, thus coming into contact with the Siamese (the Thai)\(^{54}\). It can be assumed through the relations with the Siamese, their style of dress had come into Myanmar. But there existed no traces about the influences of the Siamese costume upon the Myanmar costume in the Bagan period.

In Taungoo period, in the reign of King Tabin-Shwe-hti, occupied the jetty towns such as Mattaban (Mottama), Molumein (Mawlamyaing) and Tavoy (Dawei) had started the conflict between the Siamese and the Myanmar over the invasion of the territory\(^{55}\). In AD 1557-1558, in the reign of Hanthawaddy Hsin Pyu Shin, Zimme (Changmai) was occupied, and then the King of Zimme presented the Myanmar King his royal son, daughter, royal elephant and horses as the trophies\(^{56}\). Ministers, and *Thin-pin* (the retinue) were

\(^{54}\) Syme, 1955, xx


also brought along\textsuperscript{57}. Moreover, skillful craftsmen were also brought on the march back to Myanmar. These craftsmen were as follows:

(dancers)\textsuperscript{58}

*Hsa-htone-ya-kan-tat-thu* (one who earned by preparing hairdo of others)

*Hsin-Hsay Thama* (veterinary surgeon)

*Pi-thu-ka* (architect)

*Pan-chi* (artist)

*Pan-so-ne-nu-tat-thu* (person skilful in dying)

*Pan-tan-mawh* (stone sculptors)

*Pan –taya* (musician)

*Pan-to* (art of making decorative relief)

*Pan-ti* (metal bronze casting)

*Pan-dein* (gold / silver smith)

*Pan-pu* (sculptor/ wood cover)

*Pan-pe* (black - smith)

*Pan-put* (wood turner)

*Pan-yun*\textsuperscript{59} (lacquerware)

*Myin-Hsay Thama* (veterinary surgeon)

*Let-tha-ma* (carpenter)

*Thabin-The* (performer)\textsuperscript{60}

A – nyeint The (female dancer)

*In-ga-de Thama* (mason)\textsuperscript{61}


\textsuperscript{58} U-Tha-yaw, 2006, 83

\textsuperscript{59} Dr. Than Tun, "Letwa-pya-ka-ya-te-Naing-gan" (The Kingdom founded by Aniruddha), Kalyar Magazine, No.183, May 2000, p.21 (Henceforth: Than Tun, 2000)

\textsuperscript{60} Than Tun, 2000, 21

\textsuperscript{61} U-Tha-yaw, 2006, 83
These skillful artisans and craftsmen were brought along with their families to Hanthawaddy, and were allowed to settle themselves in special quarters. In the reign of Hanthawaddy Hsin-pyu-shin, among those in military service were included the following:

- Zimme Tha (men from Zimme)
- Yodoya Tha (the Siamese)
- Linzin Tha (men from Linzin)

Those personnel may have lived in Myanmar with their families. Those who were brought along to Myanmar were entitled to possess the compound for living and plot for growing from generation to generation. When they had been settled in Myanmar for a long period of time, they may also have changed their style of dress to the style of Myanmar, being in contact with the Myanmar culture. Similarly, the Myanmar people may have adapted and adopted the style of the dresses of those people.

There had taken place a change in the style of the Myanmar women's costumes, starting from the Taungoo period, one of the post-Bagan periods. In the Taungoo period, a Myanmar woman wore waist-long upper garments, wrapping a cloth of about three cubits long round below the waist and covering the front opening with the hand as she walked. That upper garment was the waist level body tight (or) above waist level, revealing the navel. The lower garment was a kind of pat-Htamein. That kind of costume resembled to that of the Siamese women. It is not certain whether the Siamese had imitated the Myanmar style of dresses or vice versa. However, the style clothing worn by men of the post-Bagan

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62 Than Tun, 2000, 21
63 U-Tha-yaw, 2006, 141
64 Tun Nyo, 1998, sar
65 Photo 38
38. Ladies of Taungngu period
(U Aye Myint Collection)
period resembled partially to that of the Chinese men. It is obvious that the style of dresses of the foreign countries had been adapted and adopted by the Myanmar.

In the relations in the aspect of politics, one of the gifts presented to king Hsin-phyu sin Min-tayagy by king of Zimme was a lower garment, or paso, from China, called *Tayoke paso*\(^{66}\). It was called *Tayoke paso* because it came from China. It was through the trade relations that the commodities or products of one country came into use in another. Since there might have been trade relations between China and the Siamese, the lower garments, of China called *Tayoke paso* had come into use in Zimme. As the king of Zimme had surrendered himself to the Myanmar king, among the gifts annually presented by him was included a *Tayoke-paso*. So the countries being neighbouring countries and also in trade relations, one's culture overlapped with another. Naturally, the costumes and style of dresses had been adapted and adopted in each other's country.

Another influential factor came from the traders of merchants who came to a foreign country for trading, and their dresses and costumes of the local people. The foreigners who first came to transact trading in Myanmar were the Chinese, the Arab and the Indian\(^{67}\). Then came the Europeans for trading, the export and oversea trading of the eastern countries had been exploited solely by the Hindus and the Arab merchants until the 15\(^{th}\) and 16\(^{th}\) centuries. The Portuguese, then, handed over the oversea trading of the eastern countries\(^{68}\). The Portuguese not only did exploring foreign lands and trading, but they served as *The-nat Thama*.

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\(^{66}\) U-Tha-yaw, 2006, 94


\(^{68}\) Dr. Khin Maung Nyunt, "17- yarsu Rakhine-pyi-pa yaungweiye" (Rakhine Foreign Trade in the 17\(^{th}\) century), Tekaltho Pyinnya Padetha Journal, Vol. IX, part.ii, 1974, p.91 (Henceforth, Khin Maung Nyunt, 1974)
(gunner) and Kye-sa Amu-htan (mercenary) in the reign of King Tabin Shwe Hti and King Bayint Naung. They also served in the Kingdom of the Rakhine to the west coast of Myanmar Nainggan. In the early Nyaung Yan period, one of the post-Bagan periods, the Southern coastline, oversea trading of Myanmar had been under the control of the Portuguese. So the merchants who had to pay taxes to the Portuguese at Myanmar jetties were Muslim merchants from Macca, Melacca and Sumatra. The commodities exported by these merchants were various kinds of cotton from Coro Mardel coast, canvas and velvet and scarlet garments from Macca and chinaware's and bronzewares from Malacca. In the seventeenth century, in the oversea trading, the Dutch came to compete with the Portuguese. So the seventeenth century Rakhine oversea trading had been largely influenced by the Dutch only. The commodities exported to Myanmar by the Dutch were India – make cotton, printed cotton or chintz, velvet, bastard sandalwood, perfume or scented water, spices, officinal material and, principally, the India – make, crimson and red cotton fabric, the favourite goods of the Myanmar of those days. Moreover, other exported commodities were red cotton skeins, silk and gunny of Madras, cotton fabric, sandalwood, rose water and mercury from Bangladesh. Among the foreign exports to Myanmar were , and their fabric from China. These fabric were meant only for the upper class, which the Myanmar wore in the style of the day.

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69 Hall, 1945, 4
70 Khin Maung Nyunt, 1974, 92
71 Tun Nyo, 1997, Ngaw
72 Tun Nyo, 1997, Ngaw
73 Khin Maung Nyunt, 1974, 91
74 Hall, 1939, 113
75 Tun Nyo, 1997, Ngaw
In the trading affairs of Myanmar, not only the Portuguese and the Dutch, but also the English merchants set up factories and launched trading. While the Dutch ran factories in Syriam (Than-lyin), Pegu (Bago) and Ava (Inwa), the English ran factories in Syriam, Ava and Bhamo. This can lead us to assume that these foreigners, the Dutch and the British may have settled themselves in Myanmar for a considerably long period of time. As a result, their style of costumes may have also made partial influences on the style of Myanmar costumes. Among the foreigners who had come to Myanmar for trade were included Achin (Achinian), Armenian, English, Indian, Dutch, the Portuguese, the French, Melacca, Macca, the Chinese and Arab merchants. Therefore, there lived not only the easterners but also the westerners in Myanmar. Thus, influences were made more or less on the eastern culture, as well as the western culture, as well as on the styles of costumes of their own.

In the post-Bagan periods, there existed nine groups of the royal entertainment called Thabintaw to given entertainment to the royal circle: the Myanmar music and dance, Shan music and dance, Rakhine music and dance, Yun music and dance, Danu music and dance, Chinese music and dance, Thet-kasai music and dance, and the Siamese music and dance, etc. The music troupes wore respective traditional costumes, revealing their traditions customs and cultures. From these dancers and musicians, the native Myanmar people may have imitated more or less of the styles of other dresses and costumes as they pleased. Presumably, there could have cultural influence from the dancer and musicians.

77 Tun Nyo, 1997, sa
78 Dr. Than Tun, "Thalon-Min-let-htet oke-choke-ye" (Administration during the reign of King Thalon") Myanmar Research Association, *JBR*, XLIX, I June, 1996, p. 64
79 Than Tun, 1985, 124
Since in the Ancient times, Myanmar had made relations with the neighbouring countries politically, economically, socially and in religious affairs. While maintaining unique culture of their own, the Myanmar may have received the influences of both eastern and western countries. However, Myanmar had established closer ties with the neighbouring countries. So it is obvious that the style of Myanmar costumes had received suitable adaptations of cultures and costumes of the Indian, the Chinese and the Siamese. Since there existed more relations with India in the Bagan period, the style of costumes resembled to those of the Indian. According to the mural painting of the post- Bagan periods, the style of Myanmar costumes had begun to make a fresh departure from those of the Indian. Men's upper garments were short-sleeved, loose, sleeved, waist – long, pullover and front opening styles. This could make us assume that the change of style had resulted from the influence of the Chinese costumes. As lower garment, the Taung-she Paso was worn, which was different from the long dohti, since it had a protruding flap hanging. Women wore as upper garments the Yin-si, strapless bodice covering from the bosom to above the knee. Thus, it did not resemble to the waist-short upper garment of a strapless bodice type, revealing the naval of the wearer. As lower garment, women did not wear and long sari, but mostly the Pat-Htamein. So the costumes of the Myanmar people in successive periods received the influences of the Indian, the Chinese and the Siamese only in the royal circle and among the people of the upper class. The Myanmar had accepted the developments in its neighbouring countries, and came up with the unique styles of costumes of their own.
CONCLUSION

The styles of Myanmar costumes are presented in two kinds, namely the costumes of Bagan period and those of the post-Bagan periods. Due to the dearth of literary sources belonging to the ancient period, focus has been made on mural paintings, throwing light on the history of Myanmar costumes. The cotton cloth worn by the people of Bagan period was simple, having white, red, black and yellow colours. No fantastic designs on the costumes of those days have been discovered. Designs were included only in imported costumes, of various colours. Those costumes, with a neck-hole, were worn as a pull-over or far wrapping round the body.

The Myanmar costumes of the successive periods were studied in both aspect of upper and lower garments. Myanmar men wore as upper garments the Wuttlon, Duyin, Thoyin, Thin-dai, Ko-kyat-the and Ko-pwe- the garments. On the other hands Myanmar women wore as their upper garments the Yinsi, Duyin, Thindai, Ko-kyat and Ko-pwe-hte garments. As lower garments, Myanmar women wore long skirt, Pat-htamein and Gwin-htamein. In Bagan and post – Bagan periods, it was noted, kings royal families and the Upper Class wore costumes of gold and silver embroidery, bestudded with jewels or gems. The kind of beautiful costumes of good quality and colourful designs belonged only to the Upper Class. The kind of costume worn by the poor, common people through the successive period, had been the woven of local – make cotton cloth.

A Myanmar saying goes: " A basket needs a god hem while man needs fine clothing'. If emphasizes the importance of clothing to man. It is interesting to study the domestic industries in which man engaged himself in thinking of acquiring clothing, going through the evolutions of production. Cotton skeins were put at looms to produce fabrics. It was noted that in the post – Bagan periods,
beautiful designs were woven. There also existed the business of dying by which people made their living. Fabrics were then made into clothing by tailors. Types of garments had changed from *Wuttlon* and *Yinsi* to *Ko-Kyat-hte, Let-kyat, Let-pwe, Let-Kyè*, and *Kha-shè*, etc. There had existed changes from wearing upper garments revealing the boson in Bagan period to wearing garments of exact measurements, covering the body and the limbs in post-Bagan periods. This highlights the development of skills in tailoring, as well as the high status of the Civilization.

Myanmar made trading relations with its neighbouring countries such as China, India, Thailand, Laos and others, as well as politically, economically, socially and in religious affairs. Those kinds of relations had existed long before the Bagan period. It was through the trading relations as an excuse that the Portuguese, the Arab, the Dutch, the British, the French and other foreigners had come to settle themselves in the land of Myanmar. Probably, the styles of their costumes may also have made influences on the costumes of the local people. However, the greatest influences came from the cultures of the countries that Myanmar had mostly dealt with. Since Myanmar had mostly, dealt with the neighbouring countries India and China, only the cultures of those countries had made the strongest impact on the style of Myanmar costumes.
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**List of Interviewee**

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