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◀特集▶ 日本のビルマ研究—歴史・文化・宗教を中心に

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Editor's Note

NEMOTO Kei*

This volume of *The Journal of Sophia Asian Studies* consists of ten papers in all, eight in English and one each in Japanese and Arabic.

The eight English articles have been prepared as a special issue of Burma studies dealing with topics such as history, culture, and religion, and they constitute the fruit of efforts of Japanese scholars and doctoral students of a relatively younger generation (with the exception of the editor). Burma studies in Japan began in the 1950s, and since the 1980s they have witnessed rapid development. The range of their disciplines is wide, encompassing history, literature, linguistics, politics, economics, agriculture, anthropology, sociology, religion, music and others, and studies focusing on ethnic and religious minorities in particular have deepened during these past two decades. This special issue reveals a segment of those academic achievements, for all the authors have either already undertaken (or are still in the process of undertaking) long-term research in Burma. As for the name for the country, the authors were permitted by the editor to use either 'Burma' or 'Myanmar'.

The opening article, namely "The Anglo-Burmese in the 1940s: To become Burmese or not" by NEMOTO Kei, was the first attempt at a full-scale academic inquiry on the history of the Anglo-Burmese (or Anglo-Burmans) during the fluctuating period, when they were faced with the critical issue of deciding whether to become a Burmese nation. The

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analysis is based on official documents among the British records as well as interviews the author conducted with first generation overseas Anglo-Burmese, who had emigrated to Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom after WWII.

The second article entitled “The Formation of the Concept of Myanmar Muslims as Indigenous Citizens: Their History and Current Situation” is a work by SAITO Ayako, wherein she investigates the issue as to how the notion of Muslims as indigenous citizens of Myanmar emerged during the colonial period, and how it has evolved until the present. Regardless of the fact that research on Muslims in Myanmar is by no means difficult, the author, through her extensive utilization of primary and secondary sources both in English and Burmese, has dealt with the historical and current situation of the Bamar Muslims, a key Islamic community whose members had begun to express their awareness of being citizens of Myanmar since the 1930s. This article reveals an astute grasp of the backdrop of the present situation of religious conflicts, between the Buddhist majority and Muslim minority in the country.

The third article, that is, “Written and Oral Transmission of Burmese Classical Songs” by INOUE Sayuri, is indeed a unique contribution to Burma studies. It concerns Burmese classical songs, especially those associated with voice and harp, and the author has described not merely the role of written materials in transmission, but also how the music was orally relayed and the factors that enabled this oral transmission. The question as to how one needs to approach the standardization of Burmese classical songs is also mentioned, and all told the article reflects the author’s meticulous long-term research within the world of Burmese classical music.

The fourth article, namely “Showing Respect and Bowing Down to *Nats*: Spirit Worship and Gender in a Village in Upper Burma” by IIKUNI Yukako, is based on in-depth research concerning links between gender and religious practices. It focuses on spirit (*nat*) worship through considering cases from rural communities in Upper Burma, and probes the issue that gender-based differences that had been accentuated in past studies (such as the fact that “women are more concerned than men about the *nats*”), could be seen not in the inheritance of spirits but in the ways people interact with the spirits. The author indicates that such inclinations should be attributed not to gender issues but individual differences.

The fifth article entitled “Discovery of ‘Outsiders’: The Expulsion of Undesirable Chinese and Urban Governance of Colonial Rangoon, Burma, c. 1900-1920” is a historical work by OSADA Noriyuki focusing on the Chinese community in colonial Burma, particularly during the first twenty years of 20th century Rangoon. The author explored differences rather than similarities with the Chinese community dwelling in the Straits Settlements, which the colonial government of Burma had looked into when they constructed their policy regarding the local Chinese population. This article utilized unexamined documents stored at the India Office Records in London, and the National Archives Department in Yangon.

The sixth article, namely “Transnational “Myanmar”-Karenni Societies in the United States: Experiences of the Karenni Refugee Resettlement,” is the outcome of anthropological research by KUBO Tadayuki. Here, the ethnographic description of the resettlement process of the Karennis reveals how the refugees, by establishing a

transnational “Myanmar” community in the US, manifested a nationalism that was hitherto believed impossible. The article discusses the further transnational spread of the “Karenni” through the resettlement of refugees in a third country, and indicates that the experiences of refugees outside the country offer new and useful perspectives for discussions related to the possibilities of actual nation-building.

The seventh article, that is, “The Foreign Presence in Mandalay during the Konbaung Period - A Review of the Urban Area” by ISHIKAWA Kazumasa, grapples with the topic of foreigners in 19th century Mandalay, where existed the last royal capital of the Konbaung dynasty. The author, through utilizing valuable Burmese and English sources, indicates that Mandalay was an inland port city, and concludes that foreigners held a considerable portion of the city’s functions. Although Mandalay was a sort of an open society, the Kings did not divide residents by ethnicity or religion. Rather, personal relationship with the sovereignty was considered indispensable.

The final article, “A View of the Karen Baptists in Burma of the Mid-Nineteenth Century, from the Standpoint of the American Baptist Mission” by FUJIMURA Hitomi, deals with the question as to how the Karens were described by Baptist missionaries in Burma. Although the Karens have been known as “a Christian people” since the British colonial period, the majority have in fact been Buddhists. The author raises the critical question as to why such a distorted view of the Karens grew so dominant, and pursues the reason through inquiring into the interactions between the mission society in America and missionaries in Burma in the mid-nineteenth century. Primary sources from the American Baptist Mission in the 19th century were carefully utilized.

Apart from articles related to the special issue on Burma Studies, this volume contains a Japanese translation with explanatory notes on “*New Dawn: A Collection of Essays by Philippine Muslim Students in Cairo in the 1960s (Part 9)*”, which is a sequel to Part 8 of the same collection that appeared in an earlier volume of *The Journal of Sophia Asian Studies*. The translation here was the work of HORII Satoe and the explanatory notes were by KAWASHIMA Midori. This volume also includes an Arabic article by Foued KACIMI, having the English title “*The Rahmaniyya sufi order in Algeria*,” which is based on a speech delivered at the Seminar of Islamic Area Studies Program that was held in Sophia University on March 15, 2013.

In conclusion, the editor would like to extend his sincere gratitude to all who kindly contributed to this volume.

特集：日本のビルマ研究－歴史・文化・宗教を中心に
Burma Studies in Japan: History, Culture and Religion

The Anglo-Burmese in the 1940s: To become Burmese or not

NEMOTO Kei*

I . A people shadowed by Burmese nationalism

In most of the former colonies of the world, there were found communities consisting of people born of mixed parentage, namely with parents hailing from both the suzerain and indigenous groups. Members of such communities, which existed in the dividing line between the indigenous and non-indigenous people, usually tended to harbor complex bonds of resentment towards the suzerain states, and owing to this they sometimes even played dynamic roles in nationalist movements. For example, in the nineteenth century Spanish colonies of Latin America, one observes that those at the forefront of the independence movements were for the most part local Spanish and *mestizos*. In Southeast Asia too, the core of the local elite who took part in the Anti-Spanish struggle in the late 19th century in the Philippines were *mestizos*. Also, it is interesting to note that the first political group established in 1912 in Dutch East India (Indonesia), and which insisted on independence, consisted of Eurasians (the East India Party).

On the other hand however, the case of those Anglo-Burmese who lived in Burma during the British colonial period was an exception. Those who had been classified as ‘Eurasians’ or ‘Anglo-Burmans’ in a legal sense never played a salient role in the political arena. On the contrary, they were swept away into the peripheral sections of society, due to

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the rise of a strong mood of anti-British Burmese nationalism that arose both during the 1920s and later. Inquiring into the history of the Anglo Burmese therefore will not be a task oriented to investigating their role in the independence movement, but rather, to consider a people who were shadowed by the intense light of anti-colonial nationalism.

The Anglo-Burmese in the colonial days were psychologically possessed of a strong attachment to Britain. However, due to the fact that they harbored feelings of superiority towards the indigenous Burmese (who were Buddhists and Burmese speaking), once Burmese nationalism surfaced as a powerful political movement, they began to be viewed with distrust by the Burmese majority. After independence many of the Anglo-Burmese chose to leave Burma and settle abroad the rest of their lives, since the newly independent state urged them to use Burmese as a national language, and even pressured them to change their names to ‘Burmese’. Moreover, the political and economic situation after independence was too unstable for them to pursue their daily lives in peaceful manner.

This article is concerned with the manner in which the Anglo-Burmese identified themselves in the 1940s, through their perception of both the people of the suzerain nation and those of the native Burmese (Burmans), with whom they had to share the same type of livelihood. It also on the other hand concerns the issue as to how the two communities realized the features of the Anglo-Burmese. The 1940s in Burma included the period of the Japanese military occupation (1942-45), which for the Anglo-Burmese community was a traumatic experience.

This article seeks to make clear the fact that the community of Anglo-Burmese not only fortified their own identity, but also experienced an increase in their hatred for the native Burmese. This was due to their having experienced the Japanese military administration, since they suffered under the pressure of the Burmese nationalists who had cooperated with Japan. It also seeks to clarify the fact of their dissatisfaction with the post-war British reaction towards Burmese nationalists, since from their own point of view the reaction was too conciliatory. Judging from their perspective, the fact that the post-war British Government had decided to grant full independence to Burma by compromising with the Burmese nationalists represented by Aung San and other pre-war anti-British activists, was something unwelcome. In the final section of this article, some indications will be presented as to how the ordinary Anglo-Burmese now living abroad recall their experiences of the Japanese occupation period and after. This will enable us to clarify their historical understanding of World War II and the independence of Burma.

Since we find only a few preceding studies concerning this topic, the author has concentrated on primary sources available in the collection of the India Office Records at the British Library and Foreign Office Records at the National Archives (ex-Public Records Office) in London, as well as oral surveys that were conducted between 2006 and 2008 in Perth (Australia), Auckland (New Zealand), and London as well as Exeter (UK), where many Anglo-Burmese emigrated after independence.

II. Who are the Anglo-Burmese?

2.1. Legal definition

The Anglo-Burmese people were legally named ‘Anglo-Burmans’ in the late 1930s, and the lawful definition of the community was described in Clause 13 (1) of the Third Schedule to the Government of Burma Act 1935. It defined an Anglo-Burman as “A person whose father or any of whose other male progenitors in the male line is or was of European descent, but who is a native of India or Burma”.⁽¹⁾

According to this definition, only the male line was given consideration, and the female line was neglected. For example, a person who was born of a Burmese father and European mother was not classified as Anglo-Burman. Moreover, the male line did not need to include persons of British blood, but rather, persons of any “European descent”. This was the reason why there were found not just British or Irish, but rather German, French, Greek or other European surnames within the Anglo-Burmese community. One could also be “a native of India or Burma”, which meant the community included both Anglo-Indians and Anglo-Burmans. In other words, this community could be defined more accurately as a group comprising of people of European descent in the male line, who had been Anglicized before the beginning of the 20th century.

2.2. Population

The population of the Anglo-Burmese community as revealed by the census was very low. The last comprehensive census of 1931 disclosed a figure of 19,200 (with 9,884 males and 9,316 females). The name ‘Eurasian’ was used in this census, since Burma was a province of the Empire of British India up to April 1937. This figure however was no more than 0.13% of the entire population of Burma. They exceeded in numbers the European community (0.08%), but were lesser than the Indians (6.95%) and Chinese (1.32%). After the 1931 census, the latest census in the colonial period was that of 1941, but the figures here were not made available due to the Japanese military invasion. However, tentative figures placed the number of Anglo-Burmese at 22,080, with nearly half residing in Rangoon.⁽²⁾

Under the Government of Burma Act of 1935 (which came into force in April 1937), the Anglo-Burmese people were granted a measure of security by being allotted three reserved seats in the colonial legislature: two in the Lower House (House of Representatives) and one in the Upper House (Senate). The percentage of allotted seats in the Lower House was 1.5% of the total number while in the Upper House it was 2.8%, with both percentages far exceeding their corresponding values in the 1931 census (which as mentioned above was 0.13%).

2.3. Vocational distribution and cultural features

According to the 1931 census, 23.4% of the Anglo-Burmese worked in the fields of transportation, customs and communication, 20.7% served as school teachers or nurses, 15.6% were employed as government servants (including the Indian Civil Service) and technical employees such as train drivers, 11.9% worked in the field of commerce and

industry and 5.0% served in independent professions. This presents a clear contrast when their vocational distribution is compared with that of the Burmese community, where 70% of the people worked in the field of agriculture. Only 1% of the Anglo-Burmese were peasants, and this gives us a clear image of their community as urban dwellers.

As for their cultural features, there is a typical description by G. Kirkham entitled “A Memorandum of the Anglo-Burman case”. Kirkham was a representative of the Anglo-Burmese community in India during the Japanese occupation period of Burma. Under a situation where nearly half the community had escaped from Burma and taken refuge in India, he had to negotiate the future of his community with the Government of Burma, which had shifted from Rangoon to Simla (India) in May 1942. In this memorandum, which was submitted to the Government of Burma, Kirkham indicated five cultural features of their community⁽³⁾:

- (1) Though they use both Burmese and English, their *lingua franca* is English.
- (2) They are entirely Christians.
- (3) They are all literate.
- (4) Their customs, ideals and mode of living are British.
- (5) They are people who survive between an inherited European standard of living and an imposed eastern scale of wages.

Of these five features, the first three are indeed objective indications, but the remaining two are rather abstract and subjective. In saying, “Their customs, ideals and mode of living are British,” he meant that although they had to spend their daily lives in a Burmese fashion, yet they never thought it desirable, since they believed the British or European way of life to be better than that of the Burmese. The statement, “(They) survive between an inherited European standard of living and an imposed eastern scale of wages,” reflected their dissatisfaction with regard to the fact that they could not become as rich as the British, even though they were endowed with a consciousness that was psychologically identical to theirs.

III. The Anglo-Burmese during the Japanese occupation period (1942-45)

3.1. Evacuation from Burma to India

The Japanese armed forces began their full-scale invasion of Burma on January 1942, with the cooperation of the Burma Independence Army (BIA) that had been organized by a Japanese secret organization called the *Minami Kikan*. After the fall of Rangoon in March, Mandalay was also occupied by the Japanese troops in May, and the Japanese military administration was declared in June. The British and Indian Army had to withdraw to India, and the Government of Burma was also forced to shift to Simla, a famous hill station in northwest India, after announcing the cessation of official duties to all the Burmese government servants. Simultaneously however, a large number of Indians and tens of thousands of Anglo-Burmese fled from Burma to various parts of India, but approximately half the number of Anglo-Burmese continued to remain in Burma under Japanese control.

Those Anglo-Burmese people who remained in Burma during the war were dealt with

as citizens of an enemy nation by the Japanese authorities, and besides Dr. Ba Maw's Government also viewed them with distrust, since here Aung San and other pre-war anti-British nationalists cooperated with Japan. They had to survive daily with danger attending their lives, and besides they were faced with forced labor and various forms of harassment, which were sometimes even followed by violence⁽⁴⁾. Such experiences served as traumas for them, and when they came to realize the post-war political trend where the British Government pondered an early transfer of power to Aung San and other Burmese nationalists, many of them experienced fear and antipathy. However, those Anglo-Burmese who had withdrawn to India were faced with a lesser degree of danger than those who had remained behind in Burma, since physically at least they were in safe circumstances, and they were still able to convey their demands to the Government of Burma in Simla through their leaders.

From August 1942, the Government in Simla initiated a plan for the post-war rehabilitation of Burma, with the approval of the home government in London. The biggest issue they were faced with here concerned the type of status to be accorded to Burma after the war. Discussions between Simla and London continued for nearly two and a half years, until their conclusions were finally presented in the *White Paper on Burma* in May 1945. However, the process was by no means an easy one, especially since they were faced with hurdles regarding the question of the length, namely the amount of time they had to allot as preparation for the granting of a Dominion (self-government) status to Burma after the war. The British Government had already decided in November 1939 to grant a Dominion status to Burma, at an unspecified date in the future.⁽⁵⁾ Yet the authorities realized that they had to slow down the pace of power transfer, since they were keenly concerned over the fact that it would take a long time for post-war Burma to restore its devastated infrastructure, which had experienced heavy damage owing to the Japanese occupation.

In this situation, Kirkham who had been serving as Councilor for the Anglo-Burman Union for twenty years in Burma, and who had now become the President-in Chief of the Anglo-Burman Community in India, started activities oriented towards negotiating a better status for his community in the future Burma, with the Government in Simla. The minds of the then Anglo-Burmese community members in India were filled with resentment against the Burmese nationalists, whose activities had resulted in the crisis of the Japanese invasion. They also harbored feelings of dissatisfaction regarding the way in which the British had dealt with their community.

Kirkham's memorandum was written in such a situation. His aim was to explain the situation of the Anglo-Burmese in detail to the Government of Burma in Simla. It was typewritten and consisted of 26 pages (with 65 lines a page on an average), and his main assertion was that the Anglo-Burmese community needed much stronger constitutional protection in post-war Burma. After presenting some basic information regarding his community, he presented the reasons why the community needed constitutional protection and how it should be strengthened.⁽⁶⁾

The community's distrust of the Burmese people (by which Kirkham meant the Burmans), was mentioned as the strongest reason. He writes, "A Burman is by nature friendly and hospitable and altogether a likable fellow. But he is of uncertain temper and

can hardly be considered civilized, so long as he continues to commit on an average of 3.5 murders a day. His country remains the most criminal part of the British Empire.” We have no way of knowing from which document Kirkham obtained the information concerned in this accusation. Yet his statement cannot be judged as a total falsehood, since there are statistics indicating that 1514 cases of murder occurred in British Burma in the year of 1939-40, which works out to 4.15 cases a day.⁽⁷⁾ Needless to say, however, we should bear in mind the fact that those murder cases could well have been committed not just by the Burmese (Burmans), but equally by Indians, Chinese, or any other groups of people who inhabited the nation of Burma in those days. Nevertheless, we have other statistics mentioning the fact that the murder ratio per 10,000 people in the Province of Burma in 1935 reached 0.689, which constituted the highest figure among all the provinces of India.⁽⁸⁾ Moreover, the increasing rate of murders during the period spanning 1910 and 1935 in Burma hit the second highest point within the Indian Empire (the figure being 1.87, in contrast to 1.88, which was the point reached in the Province of Punjab and which turned out to be the highest).⁽⁹⁾ Hence, if we limit our comparison to the areas encompassed solely by India, the fact is that Kirkham’s description emphasizing Burma as “the most criminal part” appears not to be so very erroneous. However, his accusations and criticism of the Burmese people eventually escalated to an emotional level, as revealed by the following description.

“His (a Burman’s) equilibrium is easily disturbed as he is quick of temper. He may be upset as a result of depressed economic conditions, brought on mostly by his own self-indulgence. He will then use his *dah* (Burmese traditional sword) on the undefended non-Burmans around him, whom he considers to be interlopers and the cause of his economic misery. The Indo-Burmese and the Chino-Burmese riots of the years 1930-31 are instances of violence against the Indian and Chinese population, which had acquired affluence by industry, thrift and diligence. The Burman is also a race-proud individual and reacts violently to any incident, which he feels is an affront to him or to his national institutions. In this connection, the case of the Burmese-Muslim riots of the year 1938 (the original contained the incorrect figure of 1937) is worth recording. The chief victims of these riots were the Zerabadis, natives of Burma and of mixed Indian and Burmese descent, and followers of the Muslim faith. ----The Zerabadis were a trustful people or rather had leaders who were complacently trustful of the Burmese majority. ----They dressed as the Burmese did, lived in Burmese huts in the midst of Burmese neighbors, spoke Burmese as their mother tongue, intermarried freely with the Burmese people, ---and in every visible way lived and behaved as the native Burmese did. In one and only one respect was there a difference and this was in religious beliefs. When a pamphlet was published from a Muslim source in Rangoon, which the Burman Buddhists considered to be an affront to their religion, there were dreadful repercussions on the outnumbered Zerabadis scattered among the Burmese population. ---- (the official report of the Government) is there to convince any one of the almost inhuman nature of enraged Burmese mobs. The closest parallel in European history is the massacre of the Huguenots (St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre which occurred in August 1572). With a sensitive and unreliable temperament such as the Burmese possess and which can make them hideously unreasonable in their dealings with other races,

Anglo-Burmans can hardly expect fair treatment without constitutional safeguards.”⁽¹⁰⁾

Every riot that Kirkham indicates here did indeed occur in Burma. These were the anti-Indian riots of 1930, the anti-Chinese riots of 1931, and the anti-Muslim of 1938 (which as a matter of fact was actually anti-Indian, since many Hindus were victims too). It is historically accurate to state that a few thousand Burmese Buddhists attacked Indians and Chinese in a brutal manner, and stimulated counter attacks on their part. Nonetheless however, we may perhaps assert that Kirkham was being a little over-emotional and unfair on this issue, since it is too subjective to generalize regarding the nature of the Burmese people through merely emphasizing such negative incidents. Needless to say riots did occur, but the number of the rioters was limited, and the majority of the Burmese people were unrelated to those riots.

In addition to the demand for continued constitutional protection, Kirkham’s memorandum indicated 29 other requests with reference to Simla and London. The entire body of requests may be classified under three issues, namely language (9 items), education (7 items), and others (13 items). With regard to language, the main request was to lighten the burden of the Burmese language for the Anglo-Burmese in their public lives, and to grant greater precedence to English in matters relating to executive, legislature, judiciary and educational issues. He even described Burmese as “a cottage language” and not a world language gifted with a literature of its own except for its scriptural writings, and insisted that no attraction could be gauged for it with reference to either a world price or intrinsic value⁽¹¹⁾. He requested that English become the national language in Burma, and that Burmese not be assigned as a subject for any civil-service examination. Among the requests related to education he strongly demanded that Anglo-Burmese students be provided with a much more enriched educational milieu than that allotted to Burmese students, and among his other requests he included a rather surprising demand, wherein he asked for the adoption of British civil law for the Anglo-Burmese community.⁽¹²⁾

On reading these demands of Kirkham, it becomes clear that the Anglo-Burmese harbored deep feelings of affection towards Britain, the English, and European culture, while simultaneously looking down upon the Burmese people and their culture (chiefly their language), under the impetus of prejudice. They believed moreover that the security granted them by Britain was insufficient, and that the community deserved more.

The Government of Burma in Simla, which had already initiated work planned towards post-war reconstruction, adopted an indifferent attitude towards Kirkham’s memorandum. A minute penned by an official in Simla with reference to his memorandum (dated 19th February 1943) states, “The problem is an amazingly difficult one. The situation with many of these people is that they attempt to be Europeans on a lower level rather than being content to be Burmans on a high level. I am not one of those who would deny the Anglo-Burman community the right to retain the ideals of civilization and life inherited from their fathers, but I do feel that it is going to be an almost impossible task to assist them to retain that style of civilization and life in the changed conditions in Burma----.”⁽¹³⁾

In this description we perceive a degree of ridicule adopted by the government officials, with regard to the Anglo-Burmese nature of harboring strong feelings of affection for the British and European way of life. They rejected Kirkham’s demands as a matter of

course, viewing them as issues impossible to realize when Burma attained a Dominion status in the not too distant future. Both Simla and London did not believe that Burma would be maintained forever as a pre-war style colony under the British Empire, after the war had ended.

There was another Anglo-Burmese leader, namely C. H. Campagnac, who had served as a member of the Senate in Burma and who became a representative among the evacuees in Bangalore (India). He too wrote a memorial that was submitted to Simla, where he described his dissatisfaction over the treatment afforded to his community by the British. Campagnac was discontented over the fact that a lesser number of decorations were granted to the Anglo-Burmese when compared to the British, even though they had served the British with devotion during the hard days of the evacuation. The reaction of government officials towards this memorial too was halfhearted, and an official minute attached to his memorial described Campagnac's dissatisfaction as reflecting the inferiority complex of their community.⁽¹⁴⁾

3.2. The Anglo-Burman Conference in Simla⁽¹⁵⁾

Both Kirkham and Campagnac continued conveying their community's demands to the government officials in Simla, but they finally realized that it was impossible to change the basic attitude of London, which was to grant a Dominion status to Burma in the future. After undergoing agonies they finally changed their stance and decided to hold an official conference in Simla by inviting leading members of their community, and their aim here was to discuss the matter of the Anglo-Burmese attitude after their return to Burma, along the lines of Simla and London. The conference was accordingly undertaken at the instance of the Reconstruction Department of Simla, and it was held under the auspices of the Governor of Burma (R. Dorman-Smith) from 27th January to 4th February 1944, the official name being the Anglo-Burman Conference.

Twelve Anglo-Burmese were invited as the key participants to the conference. These included three officials of the Indian Civil Service, a member each of the Senate and Lower House, a former lecturer of the Government Technical Institute, a former Deputy Registrar of the High Court, and others. The conference itself was divided into two meetings: an unofficial closed session where the participants comprised the above-mentioned twelve participants, and an official meeting consisting of 150 participants including ordinary Anglo-Burmese evacuees. At the official meeting, three guests who were not Anglo-Burmese were also invited. These were U Tin Tut, a Burmese ICS who served as Reconstruction advisor under the Governor, U Htoon Aung Gyaw, a Burmese member of the Lower House who had served as the Minister of Finance in pre-war Burma, and F. B. Arnold, a British ICS official. Although U Tin Tut and U Htoon Aung Gyaw were Burmese, both enjoyed the unstinted confidence of Governor Dorman-Smith. This reveals the strong support the Government of Burma offered this conference.

At the unofficial session held on 27th January, the future political stance the Anglo-Burmese community needed to adopt was discussed. Three choices were presented as possible counterparts, namely people with whom they needed to cooperate with closely in post-war Burma, and these were: (a) The European community (b) The Burmese community

(c) The British Government. Their choice (c) meant the continuation of the pre-war style of being protected by the constitution. As far as Kirkham's memorandum was concerned, it must have been natural for them to choose either (a) or (c). However, they concluded in an about-face that they would regard themselves as a people of Burma, and that they wished to continue as such. This meant they clearly chose the Burmese community as their counterparts in post-war Burma, and it goes without saying that this was contradictory to Kirkham's memorandum.

Prior to looking into the reasons why they reached such a conclusion, it would be instructive to probe first the atmosphere that pervaded the official meeting that followed the day after the unofficial session. At the start of the meeting on 28th January, the Governor delivered his welcome address, and later U Tin Tut, a Burmese ICS, made the following speech.

"If the decision of the Anglo-Burman community should be in the direction of desiring no special privileges and safe-guards, of reliance on their ability to hold their own with others and of putting their trust in the good sense of the Burmese people, the decision is one which Burmans will welcome and to which, I am sure, they will respond in a like spirit of generosity and trust. We are all confident that the might of the United Nations will soon release our dear country from the enemy and it cannot be long before Burma achieves her due position as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations. ---- Let us pull together as a united nation and not as a collection of communities. ---- Our separation is unthinkable because we are too deeply inter-winded by the ties of blood and of common interests. Join us as equals and as brothers. Share our common heritage, enrich us with what you have inherited from both Europe and Asia and take your places in the very front line of a new and combined Burmese Nation."

We may view this simply as a welcome speech by a Burmese high official to the community of Anglo-Burmese, but at the same time, however, we may view it as a speech implicitly urging the Anglo-Burmese to come over to Burmese side and cooperate with them, since the road map to grant a Dominion status to Burma had already been drawn by the British government, and there was no possibility that Burma would return to a pre-war style colony. Hence, he indicated that it would be wise on their part to cooperate with the Burmese. Since a Burmese high official who had been deeply trusted by the Governor had delivered the speech, its contents must have reflected the government's policy. It was impossible for Simla and London to make an exception in dealing with the Anglo-Burmese community in the face of the firm principle of granting a Dominion status to Burma in the future, and so they were eager to see the community members withdraw their demands for constitutional protection. Reflecting on this context, Campagnac gave the following response to U Tin Tut's speech:

"Burma is our motherland. Many of us have Burmese blood in our veins and nearly all of us have Burmese relatives. We are as much attached to Burma as any Burman is and we are all equally looking forward to the day when we shall return to our native country."

Campagnac emphasized the importance of their Burmese blood and displayed his understanding of Burma as the motherland of the Anglo-Burmese, and this pro-Burmese response must have sounded like a desirable reaction to U Tin Tut and the Government of

Burma. Since he and other leading Anglo-Burmese participants had already declared that they would regard themselves as people of Burma, his speech was delivered as a prearranged statement. Consequently, the following two points were declared in the official meeting, and were dealt with as conclusions of the conference.

- (a) The community members consider themselves people of Burma.
- (b) The community abandons all claims to special privileges and regards as its best security the confidence and friendship of the Burmese people.

This clearly meant the Anglo-Burman Conference in Simla decided to abandon all claims to special privileges related to the constitutional protection of their community, and officially adopted the attitude of deepening their trust in the Burmese and promoting friendship with them. Furthermore, they viewed themselves as being a part of the Burmese nation.

3.3. The reason why they changed their anti-Burmese attitude⁽¹⁶⁾

More than 150 Anglo-Burmese in India attended the Simla conference, but those numbers were just a few compared to the ten thousand residing in India. Inevitably, various criticisms and questions concerning the decision of the conference were delivered to Kirkham and Campagnac. Here, in order to understand the reasons why they drastically changed their strong anti-Burmese stance and allowed the Anglo-Burman conference to declare a pro-Burmese spirit, the core of the answers whereby Kirkham responded to those complaints and queries will be examined.

On 27th June 1944, Kirkham wrote a letter to each representative of five Anglo-Burmese refugee bodies that existed in India, in order to explain his response concerning the many criticisms and questions that had reached him. The main portion of his response consisted of the following words.

“Burma is our home and I have yet to meet a member of the Community who does not desire to return to Burma. --- Now we cannot say that prior to 1942 our relationship with the Burmese people was on a satisfactory basis. I, personally, was not satisfied with the outlook and attitude of my Burmese neighbors towards Anglo-Burmans. Most of us felt we were not receiving a square deal from the Burmans and we naturally felt raw on the subject. We did not stop to reflect whether the Burmese people had cause or reason for their own feelings and conduct towards us. At the same time I could see no escape from the unfortunate situation that the Community had found itself in, except by forcible intervention in its favor by the Parliament. I knew at the same time that the beneficial effects of such intervention even if it could have been invoked, could only be fleeting. It would be distasteful to the Burmese and it could not mend, still less be a permanent cure of the relationship between the communities. Moreover, it would only breed a deeper resentment between the two groups.--- A broader and a statesmanlike approach was called for. It seemed necessary to be Burmese not only in definition but in spirit.--- I know, and we all know, that constitutional safeguards given to minority interests act as an irritant on the majority and are ineffective in practice.--- Why not then contribute towards a new relationship by taking the initiative in showing a new spirit, - by foregoing special privileges? --- U Tin Tut assures us that our decision to give up special privileges would be,

“one which Burmans will welcome and ---I am sure, they will respond in a like spirit of generosity and trust.” I do not think that these are idle words spoken in a moment of irresponsible exuberance. --- Anglo-Burmese wish to serve Burma, “unselfishly and well” in the same way as an Englishman would desire to serve England. --- Let us remove from our Community all the things we dislike in other communities. By doing so, we are thinking not so much of what we deserve but of what our contribution can be. I am aware that many of us still harbor doubts, and fears, and anxieties for the future. --- I confess that I also am sometimes subject to them. But members of the Conference were told, “you know too, that behind you are the inexhaustible resources of a Father who never fails his children.” For an entirely Christian Community these words should inspire and strengthen and calm our fears.---”

This explanation of Kirkham involves two contradictory understandings. One is based on his realistic comprehension that it was unavoidable for the community to not just cooperate with the Burmese but to become Burmese, not just in definition but in spirit as well. He therefore accepted the fact that every request for special privileges in postwar Burma should be given up. Another was his honest feeling that he still could not rid the minds of his people of doubts and fears regarding the Burmese (or Burmans in his own words), which he had already described in his 1942 memorandum. However, he tried to overcome these contradictory feelings through making himself think in terms of modeling the Anglo-Burmese on the Englishmen who served England “unselfishly and well,” assuming that his own community too could serve Burma in a similar manner. Moreover, in order to persuade his community members, he even made reference to Christianity, which was their own religion, and emphasized the fact that God would “never fail his children”.

Kirkham’s response indicates that the Simla declaration did not reveal an alteration in his community’s genuine feelings from anti-Burmese to pro-Burmese, but it did reflect their realistic thinking that they had to react in accordance with the change in the mainstream political situation. The Simla declaration itself, however, was accepted as an official political decision on the part of the Anglo-Burmese community by both Simla and London, and it developed a life of its own beyond the community’s real feeling.

IV. Uneasiness in the days before and after independence

4.1. *Beyond expectation*

The Japanese occupation of Burma had weakened since their defeat in the Imphal Campaign in July 1944. In March 1945, Mandalay was recaptured by the British Forces, and at the end of the month the Burma National Army led by Aung San took up arms against Japan after their secret preparation since August 1944. In May 1945, Rangoon was retaken by the British, which followed Japan’s surrender in August. The Government of Burma returned from Simla in October and took the place of British military administration that had been led by Lord Mountbatten for five months. The Anglo-Burmese in India soon returned to Burma. The returnees were reunited with their relatives and friends who had remained behind during the period of Japanese occupation, and learned of their harsh

experiences during the war. This evoked strong feelings of uneasiness in their minds concerning the fact that although Japan had been defeated, the British government had started negotiations over Burma's independence with Burmese nationalists such as Aung San, who had cooperated with Japan.

The British government made public in May 1945 their post-war policy on Burma through the *White Paper on Burma*, which declared the Governor's three-year direct rule and rehabilitation of the social and economic infrastructure as having the top priority. The pre-war 1935 constitution (the Government of Burma Act) was to be re-enforced after that, and later preparations for the nation's Dominion status were scheduled to start. Viewed from the Burmese nationalist perspective, however, this appeared to be a backward-looking policy, which was intended to slow down the pace towards granting full independence. Moreover, they were dissatisfied with Dominion status itself as the goal of colonial Burma.

Inevitably, confrontation between the nationalists and government arose soon after the Governor's return. Aung San who led the biggest Burmese political party (the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, AFPFL) assumed leadership and developed a non-violent wide public struggle against the Governor. The British Government after ten months hesitation finally changed their attitude as a sign of appeasement towards the AFPFL, since they perceived a rapid transformation in the international situation, such as the quick progress of the Cold War and intensification of the independence issue in India. They hence decided to speed up the road map that they had presented in the *White Paper on Burma*, and finally determined to withdraw it.

In January 1947, the Aung San-Attlee Agreement was concluded in London, which admitted the fact that Burma was to attain either complete independence or a Dominion status, whichever they choose. Since Aung San and his colleagues chose the former, the road map towards early independence was confirmed at this point. This was only a year and eight months after the *White Paper on Burma* was made public.

From the Anglo-Burmese point of view Aung San and the AFPFL were targets of distrust, since they viewed them as ringleaders who had driven the Anglo-Burmese away into a miserable situation during the war by cooperating with Japan. Simultaneously, however, an attitude of distrust towards the British Government also arose, owing to their rapid alteration of posture that admitted the transition of power to Aung San and his colleagues within two years. For the Anglo-Burmese, the granting of a Dominion status to Burma step by step was something they had accepted as an inevitable outcome, but the granting of independence all at once (without the experience of a Dominion status), and especially the transition of power to Aung San and his colleagues who had actively supported the Japanese invasion of Burma, was something they had least expected.

Strong feelings of uneasiness arose within their minds, and consequently the Anglo-Burmese community held their first public conference in Rangoon on 21st July 1946, in order to organize their political body. Campagnac served as leader of this conference, wherein 300 people gathered. Twelve members were elected to form a new political body that was designated the 'Anglo-Burmese Council' and it was expected to function as a single Anglo-Burmese party. The Council made public their three political aims, namely: (1) To ascertain the political feelings of the Anglo-Burmans throughout Burma. (2) To keep

in touch with the Burmese political opinion. (3) To advise Anglo-Burmans from time to time on the changing political situation in the country.⁽¹⁷⁾ They also reconfirmed the fact that they would go along the lines of the Simla declaration, and claimed equal rights and opportunities as citizens of Burma. On 25th September, the Council resolved the statement which said, “In our march towards complete independence we pass through the stage of Dominion Status; this, in view of the present world situation and the economic rehabilitation, Burma is urgently in need of.”⁽¹⁸⁾ They firmly believed that the experience of Dominion status was indispensable to Burma before the attainment of full independence, and they also emphasized the fact that they needed to co-operate with all parties and not affiliate with any political party. This meant, however, that they had decided to negotiate with Aung San and his party the AFPFL as well.

4.2. Mrs. Buchanan’s petition to Prime Minister Attlee

However, intense opposition by certain of their community members greeted these moderate and compromising reactions of the Anglo-Burmese leaders, and the strongest opposition was brought forth by Mrs. Buchanan, a seventy years old widow who lived in Insein (a town in the north of Rangoon). She was an evacuee to India during the war, but since the Japanese burned her house, she had to live in poor circumstances after her return to Burma. She was disgusted with the appeasing attitude of the British towards Aung San and his colleagues. In a mood of strong resentment she sent directly a petition to the British Prime Minister Attlee on 28th October 1946, which included some harshly critical remarks about the Burmese people and the total rejection of independence. It was sent a month after Aung San and other AFPFL leaders had been designated as members of the Executive Council, which was an advisory body for the Governor (but it became a body equivalent to the Cabinet later in January 1947). The principal section of her letter comprised the following passage.

“How is it that the Japs are being tried and sentenced, while disloyal and treacherous and brutally cruel Burmese are being so protected by His Majesty’s Government that not a single instance of their atrocities has been printed? --- All of us want British Rule alone, only the arrogant Burmese politicians --- are shouting slogans for so-called Independence! ---- The present Premier’s (Aung San’s) trained men – trained to hate and kill every non-Burmese and non-Buddhist. They cut down women and children, hacking all pregnant women in half across the body, leaving them with the unborn infants in halves, lying on the village streets. ---- the Burmese did nothing for the war and they have done nothing for the country at any time – it is all British, Indian and foreign money and efforts which built up Burma all round. If Britain really puts the Indians and Burmese in power over all, she will be betraying the sacred responsibility God has entrusted to her. ---- Neither India nor Burma will ever be able to administer a country.”⁽¹⁹⁾

This excessively pro-British letter, filled with false and discriminatory statements against the Burmese people, appears to be a case reflecting the genuine feelings that dominated the minds of the ordinary Anglo-Burmese people, who experienced a deep uneasiness over the manner in which their leaders were steering their community beyond the lines of the Simla declaration. Although Mrs. Buchanan did not criticize any of the

community leaders (such as Kirkham or Campagnac), it would be no exaggeration on our part to say that her petition clearly pinpointed the people's dislike of their leaders due to their compromising attitude towards British policy, which had been accelerating the transition of power to Aung San and their colleagues.

The Anglo-Burmese Council, however, disregarded Mrs. Buchanan's letter, since the Council leaders sought to seal all anti-Burmese voices within their community. They aimed at soft landing along the lines of the Simla declaration, which emphasized the Anglo-Burmese community's merger with the Burmese majority. Yet, at the same time, however, they demanded of the authorities that any Anglo-Burmese wishing to emigrate to Britain be granted the necessary benefits to do so by the British government, since many of their community members had suffered from the unexpected change in the political situation in post-war Burma.

On the other hand, however, the British government maintained its official stance that the Anglo-Burmese question had already been resolved by the 1944 Simla declaration. They considered the declaration an accomplished fact, with no exception. They also disregarded as a matter of course Mrs. Buchanan's petition and the demand of the Anglo-Burman Council for "Dominion status before independence," and offered merely a vague response to their added request for special consideration, for those who desired emigration to Britain.

Deeply resentful of this situation, Mrs. Buchanan, with a desire to fight to the finish, sent an open letter to the *Times*, a famous British conservative quality paper, the content of which was almost identical to her petition sent to Prime Minister Attlee, and this letter appeared in the paper on November 5th when the Burma Independence Bill had just reached its second reading at Parliament. At this point, some MPs from the Conservative Party (which then constituted the Opposition) who had already been contacted by Mrs. Buchanan, took advantage of this situation to attack the Labour cabinet and strengthen their objections against granting independence to Burma. However, Attlee was unaffected, and the Bill was passed in the House of Commons with 288 in favor and 114 against. In Burma too Governor H. Rance dealt with Mrs. Buchanan as a person "slightly unbalanced," and turned a blind eye to her petition.⁽²⁰⁾

V. The Burmese nationalists' view of the Anglo-Burmese

5.1. Aung San's speech to the Anglo-Burmese community

We shall now turn our eyes towards the Burmese nationalist view of the Anglo-Burmese community, for since they represented the indigenous majority in Burma, one needs to know how they viewed and comprehended the Anglo-Burmese people. A typical example of this may be observed in a speech by Aung San, an active leader of the pre-war Thakin Party (*Dobama Asiayoun*), which had developed into a radical anti-British movement outside the colonial House in the 1930s. After the war, as leader of the nationwide political body the AFPFL, Aung San stood at the forefront of negotiations with the British government for independence. His discourse on the Anglo-Burmese was deeply linked to that of the pre-war Thakin Party, which in 1930 presented its views on Eurasians

as follows. (This was found written on a political pamphlet of theirs entitled *Nainngan-pyu Sasu ahma' thi* or “Writings on State Reformation No.1”, and published at the very beginning of their activities. [Translation by the author].)

“You, who behave like non-Burmese people and neglect us Burmese like foreigners, ---you cannot call yourselves Burmese, since the Burmese have not gotten enough power yet in Burma. However, before long, time will come for you to call yourselves the fellows of Burmese with confidence.”⁽²¹⁾

Here, Eurasians or Anglo-Burmese are criticized because they refused to become Burmese people, and because they always turned their faces towards the British. The Thakin Party viewed them as a people between the border of the British and the Burmese, but yet at the same time they believed that they should stand with “us” (the Burmese) in the future, though they had been standing with “them” (the British) until the present. The Party’s attitude of demanding that they declare their Burmese-ness can be clearly seen in their phrase, “time will come for you to call yourselves the fellows of Burmese with confidence”. The Anglo-Burmese were expected by the Party to declare their Burmese-ness through an active declaration, and Aung San, too held the same understanding. When invited by the aforesaid Anglo-Burman Council to speak to the Anglo-Burmese community at the Rangoon City Hall on 8th December 1946, he spoke as follows:

“Let me be perfectly frank with you – your community in the past didn’t happen to identify yourself with national activities; on the other hand, you were even frequently on the other side. Now you have to prove that you want to live and to be with the people of this country not by words but by deeds. So far as I am concerned, I am perfectly prepared to embrace you as my own brothers and sisters.”⁽²²⁾

Needless to say, this statement of Aung San shares the same context as the Thakin Party’s discourse in 1930. Aung San believed the time was now ripe for the Anglo-Burmese to declare themselves people of Burma. He emphasized the fact that the people “who behave(d) like non-Burmese people and neglect(ed) us Burmese like foreigners” should now rectify their past behavior, and they “have to prove” it “not by words but by deeds”. His words also remind us of U Tin Tut’s welcome speech at the Simla Conference in 1944. As already discussed in Chapter 3.2., U Tin Tut insisted that the Burmese people would welcome the Anglo-Burmese community’s choice in abandoning all special privileges, and making clear the fact that they were putting their trust in the good sense of the Burmese people. Both his and Aung San’s speech had the same context.

5.2. Determination of Burmese nationality

The AFPFL won a landslide victory in the elections for the constituent assembly in April 1947, and grappled with the establishment of a Constitution from June onwards. Although the tragic assassination of Aung San and his colleagues occurred on 19th July, deliberations concerning the Constitution were finalized, and the Constitution was approved on 25th September. Through this Constitution, four Anglo-Burmese members who were elected from the constituency allotted for their community attended the proceedings.

During the deliberation process, the British Government and the Government of Burma were both concerned as to how the determination of Burmese nationality would be defined

by the assembly. Governor Rance sent his official letters to the Burma Office in London explaining the deliberation process point by point, and at the same time he exchanged information with other officials within the Burma Office as to how British and European people in Burma would be treated after independence.⁽²³⁾ On the other hand, the Anglo-Burmese community was keenly interested in knowing whether they could maintain their British nationality after independence. Since Burma was a British colony, people born there were treated as the British subjects.⁽²⁴⁾ The ‘spirit’ of the Simla declaration in 1944 had nothing to do with them. They merely wished to know whether independent Burma would permit them to hold a dual nationality rather than how the new state would determine Burmese nationality, and many questions were sent to the Government officials concerning this topic. Under these circumstances the British Government decided to permit Anglo-Burmese to automatically receive British nationality, as long as their fathers or grandfathers were British subjects. Independent Burma too accepted their dual nationality, though they were obliged to choose one of their two nationalities after two years of independence.

The finalized determination of Burmese Nationality appeared in the Union Citizenship Act (1948), which was enacted along with Article 11 of the Constitution. The Act determined that any person whose parents or one of whose grandparents was an indigenous person of Burma, would automatically be granted Burmese nationality.⁽²⁵⁾ This meant that the newly independent state applied the principle of both *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli* accumulatively, as the criterion for determining Burmese nationality. Consequently indigenous ethnic groups such as the Burmese (Burmans), Shans, Karens, Arakans, Kachins, Chins, Mons and Karennees (Kayas) were granted Burmese nationality without any problem. They were viewed as Burmese natives who had lived in the country prior to the beginning of the First Anglo-Burmese War (1824-26). However, the Anglo-Burmese were placed in a questionable situation, since they were not accepted as a people who had been dwelling in Burma since then. Moreover, since the legal definition of Anglo-Burmese in pre-war days included persons of European descent who were born in India or Burma, and whose parents or grandparents had no indigenous Burmese blood, they would have been omitted from the list of Burmese nationals after independence. For such cases the Union Citizenship Act stipulated that any person born within Britain, the British Commonwealth, or British Colonies, and who had lived in Burma for more than eight years continuously since before January 4th 1948 (the day of independence), or in the period spanning January 1st 1932 and January 1st 1942 (the pre-Japanese invasion period), could obtain Burmese nationality through application.

According to this stipulation, most of the Anglo-Burmese who had evacuated to India during the Japanese occupation period could apply for Burmese nationality even if their parents or grandparents did not have any indigenous Burmese blood. However, they had to apply for Burmese nationality by themselves, and they were forced to give up their other nationalities. This meant they had to give up their British passports. In other words, this was an attempt by the newly independent state to make the Anglo-Burmese people manifest a clear intention to become people of Burma, “not by words but by deeds,” through the visible act of applying for Burmese nationality.

5.3. *Growing uneasiness*

On 4th January 1948, Burma attained independence from Britain and became a republic outside the British Commonwealth. All four seats allotted for the Anglo-Burmese community in the Lower House disappeared after the first general election (1951-52), and the name “Anglo-Burmese” itself was excluded from the government list of ethnic classifications. English was still used in the government as a second language, but Burmese was recognized as the national language and given top priority. On the surface, it appeared as though ‘Burmanization’ of the Anglo-Burmese was barely successful.

However, the reality differed. Even before independence some Anglo-Burmese sought to leave Burma for England, and many did so after 1948, since the new state suffered from domestic wars with the Burma Communist Party (BCP) and the Karen National Union (KNU). British passport holders among the Anglo-Burmese people who experienced some disquiet regarding their future left Burma, not just for England, but for Australia and New Zealand as well.⁽²⁶⁾ Although it is difficult to evaluate those numbers accurately, more than 5,000 Anglo-Burmese who had lived in Rangoon left Burma by the first half of 1949.⁽²⁷⁾ The number of passports the embassy issued rose to 2,400, according to a minute noted by a staff member of the British Embassy in Rangoon dated 29th March 1949.⁽²⁸⁾ The same trend was observed in the census taken in 1949 by the Anglo-Burmese Council in Rangoon. It indicated that only 3257 (53%) of a total of 6193 Anglo-Burmese people in Rangoon held Burmese nationality. On the other hand, of those who were yet to apply for Burmese nationality, only 12% were thinking of applying in the future, 42% had no intention to do so, and the remaining 46% were undecided.⁽²⁹⁾

The exodus of Anglo-Burmese from Burma continued and did not see the end. For convenience sake we may classify it into four periods, namely, the confused days before and after independence as the first period (from 1947 to around 1955), the deteriorating days of parliamentary democracy as the second period (from the late 1950s to early 60s), the days of the ‘Burmese way to socialism’ where the Burmese military and a single party (the Burma Socialist Programme Party) ruled the state as the third period (from 1962 to 1988), and the days after the national uprising for democracy as the fourth period (from 1988 to 2011, which were days of direct military rule).

As stated earlier, in the first period more than 5,000 Anglo-Burmese left Burma, because of their feelings of anxiety concerning the future. In the second period many still left Burma, since the political and economic situations failed to attain stability and they were also dissatisfied with the pressure of Burmanization by the state that slowly though steadily continued. For example, the Anglo-Burmese who worked in government services and for the military, encountered pressure to change their names into Burmese. In the third period, when the state adopted a policy of seclusion, the exodus appeared in succession because of the declining economic situation throughout the period, and the fortifying of Burmanization policies that aimed to exclude “un-Burmanized” Anglo-Burmese from public offices and the military. In the fourth period, which was a period of direct military rule, the government’s lack of zeal for democracy produced a mood of dissatisfaction among the people. Yet at the same time it became easier to leave Burma, since the military government loosened their emigration policy. Hence many Anglo-Burmese who had

remained in Burma up to the 1990s started going abroad, drawn by relatives or family members who had earlier emigrated overseas.

The Anglo-Burmese who quit Burma emigrated mostly to England and Australia. In particular, Perth, the capital of Western Australia, was for them a popular new dwelling place. Perth was the nearest major English-speaking city from Burma, and it was a place where many Caucasians who had emigrated from Britain resided. Since the climate was mild and it was not too cold in winter, it appeared the best place for them to think of emigrating to. In reality, however, emigration to Perth essentially got into stride after 1962. Although the Anglo-Burmese were Caucasians of mixed blood, emigration to Australia was not easy, since the state had adopted a “White Australia” policy until the beginning of the 1970s. Viewed through the eyes of the Australian government the Anglo-Burmese were primarily “Asians” and hence only Perth, a city that incessantly suffered from a lack of laborers accepted them. The people of Perth had little reluctance in employing them as workers in factories and shops, since the Anglo-Burmese were in any case Christians and native speakers of English. Some Anglo-Burmese people with specific qualifications were also hired as engineers and accountants, and their community in Perth has steadily increased since the late 1960s. The activities of the Burma Friends Association of Western Australia enabled them to successfully forge strong relations between their community and the Australian government, and consequently it is estimated that the population of their community in Perth grew to well over 10,000 by the end of 20th century. This did not include second and third generations members who were born in the country.

VI. How the Overseas Anglo-Burmese reminisce about their experiences of the 1940s

The first generation members of the overseas Anglo-Burmese community continue to sustain strong personal memories of WWII, and the exodus that followed the war. Here, in this last chapter, the question of their memories of the 1940s will be dealt with. The author conducted interviews with 24 Anglo-Burmese people (14 men and 10 women) between 2006 and 2008 in Australia (Perth), United Kingdom (London and Exeter), and New Zealand (Auckland), all first generation Anglo-Burmese immigrants to those countries.⁽³⁰⁾ Of those 24 individuals, two were above 20 years of age at the beginning of the Japanese occupation period (1942), three were between 15 and 19, ten were between 10 and 14, six were under 9, and the remaining three had not yet been born. The oldest was born in 1916 and the youngest in 1950. Owing to limitations of space, only the general features of their memories will be discussed here, while detailed personal discourses will be introduced on another occasion.

6.1. Occupations prior to leaving Burma

Their occupations prior to leaving Burma are as presented below. They reflect the pre-war Anglo-Burmese vocational features that were already described in Chapter 2.3..

- Company employee

· Housewife	5
· Public servant (general position)	2
· Public servant (technical position)	2
· School teacher	1
· Academic researcher	1
· Army officer	1
· Student	3

6.2. *The Period of their emigration and their reasons for leaving Burma*

The period of their emigration from Burma and their reasons for doing so may be classified as follows.

<Period of emigration from Burma>

· From a year before independence to the end of U Nu's regime (1947-62)	12
· During the period of the 'Burmese way to socialism' (1962-88)	9
· After the military coup (1988-)	3

<Reasons for leaving Burma> *multiple responses

· An aversion to living under the pressure of 'Burmanization'	11
· The instability of post-independence Burma	10
· Parents' decision	3
· Anxiety over their children's future	2
· An aversion to living under the military regime after 1988	2
· Persuasion by emigrant family members or relatives	3
· Marriage to a British man	1

6.3. *Memories of the Japanese occupation period*

Of the entire group of 24 persons, 21 had experience of the Japanese occupation, and while 8 of these had been evacuated to India, the remaining 13 had continued in Burma. The recollections of those who had remained behind in Burma were mostly painful. Various distressing incidents were mentioned during the interviews, while joyful episodes were limited (Please see below).

<Basic recollections concerning the Japanese occupation period>

· Painful	7
· Basically painful but also a few good memories	4
· No special recollections	2

<Examples of painful experiences during the period> *multiple responses

· Torture inflicted on family members and/or friends by the Japanese military	6
· Lack of foods and clothing	5
· Experience of assaults by Japanese soldiers	4
· Witnessed or heard of rapes by the Japanese soldiers	3
· Detention by the Japanese military	3
· Deprived of food and property by the Japanese military	2
· Experience of forced labor by the Japanese military	1
· Forced to witness the execution of American POWs by the Japanese military	1

<Instances of good experiences during the period> *4 responses only

- There was a Japanese civilian who treated my family with kindness 2
- There was a Japanese officer who rescued us from violent soldiers 1
- A few Japanese soldiers treated me (a child) with affection 1

6.4. Estimation of Burmese nationalism

Their estimation of Burmese nationalism is strongly colored by negative images, due to the harsh experiences they underwent during the Japanese occupation and later. The answers may be classified as follows.

- The independence of Burma was premature 6
- A dislike more for Burmese nationalists rather than the Japanese army, since they brought the Japanese army into Burma 2
- Tortures were inflicted by Burmese who had been hired by the Japanese military 2
- Burmese people were thinking of revenge against us during the Japanese occupation period 2
- Though the Japanese military police were cruel, Burmese who served as Japanese informants were much worse 1
- Though Aung San contributed to Burma's independence, his assassination cannot be assessed as a serious political loss to Burma 1

Although diverse negative views are revealed here, yet there were exceptions. One Anglo-Burmese woman did not mention any negative aspect of Burmese nationalism, and she responded to the author's interview by saying that she had never experienced prejudice in post-war Burmese society. Serving as a career official in the National Bank in Burma she was finally promoted to director, and she had little desire to emigrate from Burma until 1990. However, due to her daughter and son-in-law's strong insistence, she finally decided to leave Rangoon (Yangon) for Perth along with them. If they had not been approached her she would probably have continued in Burma.

6.5. Impressions of Mrs. Buchanan's petition

In the context of their many negative views of Burmese nationalism, the author enquired about their impressions (comments) concerning Mrs. Buchanan's petition to Prime Minister Attlee, which reflected a strong anti-Burmese tenor (Please see Chapter 4.2.), and since none of them knew about her or her petition, the author read out to them the main portion of the petition and enquired once more about their impressions. All told 12 persons replied with the following answers.

- Have no idea 5
- The contents reflect general feelings of the Anglo-Burmese community of those days 3
- The contents reflect feelings of the senior Anglo-Burmese of those days 2
- The contents are too extreme and emotional (I cannot agree with them) 2

Less than half of them viewed the petition positively, while others had no idea or disagreed with its contents. This suggests the likelihood that as over 60 years had elapsed after independence, strong anti-Burmese feelings such as those described in Mrs. Buchanan's petition have declined among the community.

6.6. Recognition of their homeland

The author's final question at each interview was, "Which country do you think is your homeland?" To this all the 24 individuals responded as classified below.

- I consider Burma as my homeland 11
- I consider Britain as my homeland 3
- I consider my present country of residence (Australia or New Zealand) as my homeland 5
- I consider no country as my homeland 5

As stated earlier, negative views concerning Burmese nationalism are strong among the interviewees, but 46% of them (11 out of 24) answered that they regard Burma as their homeland. Only 13% (3 out of 24) replied that they preferred Britain as a homeland. Those who considered Britain as their homeland had left Burma during the nation's most unstable period, both before and after independence (1947-50). It appears as though the earlier they emigrated the stronger was their feeling of intimacy towards Britain. However, even those who chose Burma as their homeland had no desire to return permanently to the country. At the most they dreamt of making a trip to Burma in the future (which became quite easy after March 2011, when the military regime in Burma ended).

We also need to ponder over the fact that 21% of them (that is, 5 out of 24 persons) considered their current nation of residence (that is, Australia or New Zealand) as their homeland. It is a phenomenon generally noticed that the later generation of immigrants tend to identify themselves with the nations of their residence, but the individuals the author interviewed all belonged to the first generation of overseas Anglo-Burmese communities. One may accordingly state that even in the first generation there may be people who to an extent have altered their national identity, in order to relate to the nations of their current residence. On the other hand, however, 21% of the interviewees (namely, 5 out of 24 persons) answered that they recognized no country as their homeland. Such individuals do not possess any familiar links to any nation. Their chief value lay in being radically Anglo-Burmese, irrespective of the part of the world in which they lived. Taking this into consideration, one may perhaps declare that among the overseas first generation Anglo-Burmese, the urge to sustain their identity (or the Anglo-Burmese-ness), is still strong.

Thus we see that the interviewees had a diversity of views as to which nation they considered their homeland. This can be viewed as a reflection of their historical experience since the 1940s, when they were forced to live 'between' a suzerain state (namely Britain) and a colony (namely Burma) during their most difficult days in Burma, and were buffeted by the turbulent seas of the time. They are people who had to wrestle with the choice as to whether to become Burmese or not, and hence it perhaps would not be incorrect to say that this experience gave rise to such a variety in their recognition of their homeland, as they possess at present.

Since research within Burma has not yet been conducted, the situation of the Anglo-Burmese community currently in Burma is unknown. However, it is evident that their overseas communities may disappear (or at least experience a weakening of their union) in the future, owing to the rapid fading away of the first generation of each community. For example, the Australian Anglo-Burmese Society in Perth was dissolved by 2014, due to the

ageing of its members. This means they did not succeed in getting a new generation to take over. The second and later generations, however, tend to identify primarily with the nation of their dwelling rather than with the Anglo-Burmese. Sustaining and prolonging the Anglo-Burmese character and temperament (or at least the memories) that their parents and grandparents held on to throughout their lives is difficult, and precisely for this reason, the history, experience, and reminiscences of the first generation of overseas Anglo-Burmese, need to be researched and recorded more.

Notes

- (1) Ganga Sing (compiled), *Burma Parliamentary Companion*, British Burma Press, 1940, p.134.
- (2) *Census of India, 1931*, Volume XI: Burma, Part II, Imperial Table, Part B, see also M/4/1410 “Position of Anglo-Burmans in Burma”, 1942-47, British Library Oriental and India Office Collection (OIOC), London.
- (3) M/4/1410 “Position of Anglo-Burmans in Burma”, 1942-47, OIOC.
- (4) R/8/40 “Censorship submissions on intercepted mail and miscellaneous intelligence reports concerning Burma”, 21 November 1941-28/August 1945, OIOC.
- (5) M/3/370 “Constitutional Reforms in Burma: Attitudes of Burma to War Effort”, 1940, OIOC.
- (6) M/4/1410 “Position of Anglo-Burmans in Burma”, 1942-47, OIOC.
- (7) M/3/419 “Burma Crime Statistics”, 1898-1938, OIOC.
- (8) *ibid.* Calculation by the author.
- (9) *ibid.* Calculation by the author.
- (10) M/4/1410 “Position of Anglo-Burmans in Burma”, 1942-47, OIOC. Bracketed parts are added by the author.
- (11) *ibid.*
- (12) *ibid.*
- (13) *ibid.*
- (14) *ibid.*
- (15) The all information of Chapter 3. 2. is based on M/4/1410 “Position of Anglo-Burmans in Burma”, 1942-47, OIOC.
- (16) The all information of Chapter 3. 3. is based on M/4/1410 “Position of Anglo-Burmans in Burma”, 1942-47, OIOC.
- (17) *New Times of Burma*, dated 6th October, 1946, included in M/4/1410 “Position of Anglo-Burmans in Burma”, 1942-47, OIOC.
- (18) *ibid.*
- (19) M/4/1410 “Position of Anglo-Burmans in Burma”, 1942-47, OIOC. Bracketed parts are added by the author.
- (20) *ibid.*

- (21) Dobama Asiayoun, *Nain-ngan-pyu Sasu ahma' thi'*, Yangon, 1930.
- (22) M/4/1410 "Position of Anglo-Burmans in Burma", 1942-47, OIOC.
- (23) M/4/2693 "Government of Burma: Constituent Assembly, Reports of Proceedings", 1947, OIOC. and M/4/2694 "Nationality: Determination of Burmese Nationality after achievement of Self-Government", 1947, OIOC.
- (24) *ibid.*
- (25) Office of Constitutional Assembly, Burma, 1947, *Constitution of the Union of Burma*, Government Printing and Stationery, Rangoon, and M/4/2694, 1947, OIOC.
- (26) Koop, John C., *The Eurasian Population in Burma*, Cultural Reports 6, Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1960, pp. 22-23.
- (27) *ibid.*, pp. 22-23.
- (28) FO643/140 "Future of Anglo-Burmans", The National Archives (TNA), London, 1947-49.
- (29) Koop, John C., *The Eurasian Population in Burma*, Cultural Reports 6, Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1960, p. 60.
- (30) Names of the 24 interviewees are as follows. Bracketed parts mention dates and places of the interviews.
 Jeremy Fowler (6th March, 2006, London, UK)
 Gloria Ballard (6th March, 2006, and 27th February, 2008, London, UK)
 Constance V. Allmark (22nd and 24th November, 2006, Perth, Australia)
 Keith W. Allmark (22nd and 24th November, 2006, Perth, Australia)
 Marina J. Fontyne (22nd November, 2006, Perth, Australia)
 Terence Geiles (23rd November, 2006, Perth, Australia)
 Robert M. Peters (23rd and 25th November, 2006, Perth, Australia)
 Colin C. Johnson (26th November, 2006, Perth, Australia)
 Patrick M. Bird (28th November, 2006, Perth, Australia)
 Peggy L. Bird (28th November, 2006, and 21st August, 2007, Perth, Australia)
 Allan C. Long (20th August, 2007, Perth, Australia)
 Allan Aukim (20th August, 2007, Perth, Australia)
 George N. King (22nd August, 2007, Perth, Australia)
 George A. Jacob (22nd August, 2007, Perth, Australia)
 Constance P. Linton (23rd August 2007, Perth, Australia)
 Barbara Pal (Khin Kyi Kyi) (24th August, 2007, Perth, Australia)
 Denzil Fowler (27th February, 2008, London, UK)
 Neville R. Windsor (28th February, 2008, London, UK)
 Noreen P. Clark (3rd March, 2008, Exeter, UK)
 Colleen Waugh (23rd September, 2008, Auckland, New Zealand)
 Terence L'Estrange (26th September, 2008, Auckland, New Zealand)
 Priscilla Dawson (Khin Than Hla) (26th September, 2008, Auckland, New Zealand)
 Molly A. Willett (28th September, 2008, Auckland, New Zealand)
 Michael C. Kirkham (28th September, 2008, Auckland, New Zealand)

The Formation of the Concept of Myanmar Muslims as Indigenous Citizens: Their History and Current Situation

SAITO Ayako*

Introduction

This study explores the awareness of Myanmar's Muslims as indigenous citizens, with a focus on those who identify as Bamar Muslims. Here I use "Myanmar" to refer to a nation state, and the word "Bamar" to signify the Burmese ethnic group or citizens of Myanmar; these terms will be described in detail later. Bamar Muslims began to actively express their awareness of being Bamar Muslims as indigenous citizens around the 1930s, almost at the same time that Burmese nationalism was on the rise. Bamar Muslims continued to raise their voices during the last military regime, yet most Buddhist Burmese did not recognize them as native. Using documents and interviews, this study will explore how the idea of Muslims as indigenous citizens emerged during the colonial period, and how it evolved up through the present time.

Research on Muslims in Myanmar is very limited. As for previous research related to this study, Moshe Yegar's historical investigation⁽¹⁾ on Muslims in Burmese society is among the most prominent scholarship in the field. Yegar examined the presence of the Muslim community in Burma from the eleventh century through 1962, tracking its changes with a particular focus on major organizational activities during and after the colonial period. He described the entire Muslim community while almost disregarding relations

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between Buddhist Burmese and Muslims, and the circumstances of Muslims in Burmese society. In another paper from 1982, he carries out an analysis using almost exactly the same methods as in his earlier work.⁽²⁾ In a paper published in 2002 about the history and current situation of the Rohingya people, he restructures secondary materials to uncover refugee issues and human rights violations. However, he makes no mention whatsoever of the policies or intentions of the Myanmar government, which he holds responsible for causing the problems he discusses.⁽³⁾

J.A. Berlie's recent research⁽⁴⁾ analyzes the "Burmanization" of Muslims. He states that with the exception of Arakan Muslims (Rohingyas), Muslims in Myanmar are legally citizens. Many of them speak Burmese, and their children attend public schools where they become accustomed to Burmese culture via Buddhist ethics taught at school. However, Berlie neither discuss the relationship between Burmanization and a policy of national integration / assimilation, nor does he describe Muslims' current situation in which they face many difficulties despite Burmanization.

In response to the aforementioned studies, the author is interested in the process by which Bamar Muslims identify as indigenous people. While they have officially integrated into the nation state as citizens, most of society considers them to be foreigners and they have faced various challenges. In this reason the claim that they are indigenous Muslims accepted Myanmar culture has not been changed since the self-styled term "Bamar Muslim" emerged during colonial period.

The first part of this paper will provide a broad overview of Muslims in Myanmar and the characteristics of the Bamar Muslim community. The second part will explore how the concept of Bamar Muslims as indigenous citizens evolved by examining the self-written histories of Bamar Muslims. This part also shows the importance of historical education to the new generations. The third section will shed light on how Bamar Muslim organizations explain their strong consciousness of being indigenous people, as well as how they appeal their existence to the Myanmar society. Finally, this paper will review how the concept of Bamar Muslims formed, and how Myanmar society recognizes them.

Before delving further, it will be useful to describe the terms used in this study, namely "Myanmar" and "Bamar" in Burmese, and in English, "Myanmar/Burma" and "Burmese." In the Burmese language, Myanmar and Bamar mean both "ethnic Burmese" in the narrow sense and also "citizens," which includes ethnic Burmese, the majority of the country's population. In most cases, the term Myanmar was used for written form and the term Bamar for spoken form. In the references cited here, both terms have no difference in meaning. The question of which interpretation is more suitable – "ethnic Burmese" or "citizens" – depends on the context when using Myanmar and Bamar. However, in reality, it is not possible to distinguish in many cases.

Then in 1989, the military regime officially changed the English name of the country to Myanmar, and defined "Bamar" as ethnic Burmese, and "Myanmar" as including citizens of all indigenous groups. However, activist groups pushing for democracy, as well as Western countries that support democratic movements, did not accept the arbitrary new name assigned by the government, and continued to use "Burma" and "Burmese." Bamar Muslims interviewed for this study consciously referred to the country as "Myanmar" and

identified as both Bamar Muslims and Myanmar Muslims. The original meaning of Myanmar/Bamar is hard to pin down as signifying ethnic Burmese or all citizens; under the military regime, these terms were defined according to the new meaning, and over time came to indicate one's political opinion.

As explained above, when describing colonial period, this study will use "ethnic Burmese" in the narrow sense, with "Burma" signifying the territory of British Burma. "Burmese" will also be used as Burmese citizens and in the case when it is not possible to distinguish between ethnic Burmese and Burmese citizens. When describing contemporary issues, the author will use the term "Myanmar" signifying a nation-state, "Myanmar citizens" as the people living there, "ethnic Burmese" in the narrow sense. In all sentences "Bamar" will be used when describing "Bamar Muslims", when the word Bamar is included in the name of organizations, and when "Bamar" refers to both ethnicity and religion.

I . Muslims in Myanmar and Bamar Muslims

As mentioned before, Bamar Muslim is a self-defined term, and also indicates indigenous people who practice Islam while respecting Myanmar traditions and customs. They started to identify as Bamar Muslims in the late colonial period. Even today, they call themselves Bamar Muslims (or Myanmar Muslims) in conversation, while they usually use other terms in their publications, such as "indigenous Muslim" (*Tainyindha Issalam Badha Win*) or "indigenous Muslim citizen" (*Tainyindha Nainngandha Issalam Badha Win*).⁽⁵⁾

Approximately 89% of the country's population is Buddhist, and Buddhists comprise 98% of all ethnic Burmese.⁽⁶⁾ Instances exist where Bamar only means the Burmese ethnic group, and there are also many situations where it signifies belief in Buddhism as well as the ethnic group. Similarly, Myanmar culture, which Bamar Muslims respect, is based on the Buddhist and ethnic Burmese cultures. Many Myanmar people believe that Muslims practice foreign customs due to their religion and ethnic origins, even if they claim to be indigenous; furthermore, their lifestyle is considered to be incompatible with Myanmar culture, namely based on Burmese and Buddhist culture. This can cause numerous difficulties in Muslims' everyday lives, even though most of them are legal citizens of Myanmar, integrated into the nation state.

According to the 1983 census, 3.9% (approximately 1,300,000 people) of the country's population was Muslim at the time.⁽⁷⁾ A separate government publication in 1993 revealed that same figure as 3.79% (1,620,233 people).⁽⁸⁾ However, when talking about the Muslim population in Myanmar, it is difficult to say whether government statistics and actual numbers correspond. When considering interviews with Muslims and those who used to be connected to Myanmar's junta, along with factors such as Muslim almanacs published by the Regional Islamic Da'wah Council of Southeast Asia & the Pacific (RISEAP),⁽⁹⁾ the country's Muslim population is 10% at the very least. The latest census was held at the end of March 2014, but the results are not yet available.

Many Muslims descend from Indian migrants who arrived in Burma during the colonial period and people born from marriages between Muslims and Burmese Buddhists

(or Buddhists of other ethnic groups). Some descend from Muslims who settled in the country as merchants, or were taken as captives during the era of Burmese dynasties. According to an Islamic association,⁽¹⁰⁾ there are roughly four groups of Muslims in Myanmar:

- (1) The first is the Rohingyas and the Kamans. While Rohingyas claim that they are one of the indigenous ethnic groups in the country, Myanmar government doesn't use the term "Rohingya" but "Bengali" and states that many Bengalis are illegal immigrants from Bangladesh. Kamans are included in the officially recognized 135 indigenous groups. Due to their religion, which they share with the Rohingyas, they have been facing many challenges since the riots in Rakhine state in June 2012.
- (2) The second group is the Panthays, who came from China.
- (3) The third group is the Pashu, who descend from Malaysian Muslims.
- (4) The fourth group is "other" Muslims, many of whom descend from Indians and have mixed heritage; they comprise over half of all Muslims in Myanmar and live throughout the country.

Most Rohingyas and Kamans live in Rakhine State. Over time, the first and last groups came to represent over 90% of all Muslims in Myanmar. Panthays and Pashus are quite small minorities. Most Muslims in Myanmar follow the Sunni branch of Islam, and the relationship between the faith's two major denominations (Sunni and Shia) is strong and healthy.

The Bamar Muslims belong to the last group. As described in the first part of this chapter, Bamar Muslims self-identify as such, accept Myanmar/Bamar culture, and share all characteristics with Burmese except religion. Bamar Muslims are not concerned about the time period when their ancestors migrated to Myanmar, or about having mixed heritage with ethnic Burmese or other indigenous groups.

The Bamar Muslims are a minority in the last group. The ancestors of those who used to be called "Indian Muslims" arrived in Burma during the colonial period and maintained Indian languages, cultures, and customs. They became more dominant than the Bamar Muslims, who have lived in the country since the time of the Burmese dynasties and became indigenous. Today, in addition to wide cultural differences, both groups interpret and practice Islam in distinct ways, which can be seen in their clothing and religious worship at mosques, while their identity can change according to their surroundings. The majority keep their Indian culture but were born in Myanmar and speak Burmese. Most are legally citizens in Myanmar, just like Bamar Muslims.

II. The History of the Bamar Muslims and Their Claim of Indigenousness

2.1. Two History Books – The Origins of the Bamar Muslims' Claim

Bamar Muslims' claim of being indigenous stems from history books written in the 1930s by Bamar Muslims themselves. The historical materials on Bamar Muslims that the author obtained include the following two books written during the colonial period. The first is the "Old Biography of the Bamar Muslims," written in 1939 by Hbo Chey⁽¹¹⁾. The

second is the “Summary of the History of the Bamar Muslims,”⁽¹²⁾ which Hbo Chey references in his book, and which the author estimate was written in the 1930s by Mya, based on its contents.⁽¹³⁾ By observing the titles of these books, one can assume that “Bamar Muslim” was already in use at the time they were written. Both books contain arguments as to why Bamar Muslims refer to themselves as such.

Mya explains that Bamar Muslims identify as Burmese because they have lived among Burmese Buddhists for a long time, and because successive generations of Burmese kings conferred rights upon Bamar Muslims that were equal to those granted to Burmese Buddhists.⁽¹⁴⁾ Both Mya and Hbo Chey paint a similar portrait of the interactions with Burmese kings. Both authors present quotes from other sources, such as Burmese dynastic histories and accounts of Burma by non-Burmese (mostly by Europeans), which demonstrate contact between Muslims and the various Burmese dynasties, and show how Muslims adopted Burmese culture. Both Mya and Hbo Chey are at pains to point out that the relationship between Muslims and the kings of Burma is not simply a fabricated story. In addition, Mya explains:

[The colonial government] spread the one-sided notion that only Buddhist Burmese ethnic groups were considered Burmese. Regardless of how much Bamar Muslims — who are born in Burma, live in Burma, dress in Burmese fashion, speak Burmese languages and spend their entire lives in Burma — claim to be Burmese, they are called *Padi*, *Kalar*, *Zei* (*Zerbadi*) and [people with] mixed blood. But all of these labels are completely mistaken.⁽¹⁵⁾

Notwithstanding whether or not the colonial government actually tried to disseminate the notion of otherness, as Mya attests, these ways of thinking became widespread by the 1930s. Because of this, it is thought that Bamar Muslims ended up identifying not only as Bamar, but more precisely as Bamar “who happened to be Muslim.” Furthermore, the claim of being Bamar shows an attempt by Bamar Muslims to distinguish themselves from foreign (almost exclusively Indian) Muslims living in Burma, who had refused to adopt Burmese customs. Bamar Muslims often referred on their history books that they did not prefer to be called *Kalar or Zerbadi*, which were the terms used to describe the mixed blood children of the foreign Muslims and Burmese.

It is clear that Bamar Muslims were directing their claims at the colonial authorities as well as Burmese society; they wanted society to regard them as Bamar Muslims who — apart from their Islamic faith — lived just as other Burmese Buddhists. Their assertions also mark the beginning of an effort to set themselves apart from Indian Muslims who had not adopted Burmese customs. This had a particularly profound impact upon the study of Urdu as a part of Islamic education. Unlike the educational organizations established by Indian Muslims, Bamar Muslims had set up the All Burma Burmese Muslim Educational Organization as early as 1927.⁽¹⁶⁾ Bamar Muslims felt greatly threatened by the obligation to learn Urdu, used by many Muslims who came from India. Communicating in Urdu would cause Burmese society to view Bamar Muslims as Indian.

Hbo Chey explores Muslim education in his “Old Biography of the Bamar Muslims.”

Hbo Chey does not have anything in particular to say on the subject of movements in Indian Muslim education. However, his opinions on education are the same as Mya's in that he does not list Urdu as one of the subjects considered important for Bamar Muslims to study. Regarding proper education for Bamar Muslims, Hbo Chey writes that because Bamar Muslims have little schooling, they lack both political and economic power; they must therefore work to improve education.⁽¹⁷⁾ Even though Hbo Chey does not directly touch upon Islamic education administered by Indian Muslims, he keenly felt a need for the Bamar Muslims to achieve at least the same level of accomplishments as Indian Muslims, especially in education.

Hbo Chey approaches the term “Bamar Muslim” from a different angle than the example Mya gave above. Hbo Chey maintains that while Muslims are, and have been, called a wide variety of names depending upon location and historical epoch, all of these names – Islam, Muslim, Mohammedan, *Padi*, *Zerbadi*, *Kalar*, and *Kalar Thein* – are either “undesirable” or “unsuitable.”⁽¹⁸⁾

Hbo Chey is not claiming that it is a mistake to group Indian Muslims together with Bamar Muslims. Rather, he emphasizes that none of the names used for Muslims — be they *Padi*, *Zerbadi*, *Kalar* or any other term — are suitable for referring to Bamar Muslims. Hbo Chey goes on to give the following reason for why Bamar Muslims refer to themselves as such:

Just as Muslims born and raised in Arabia are known as Arab Muslims, and Muslims born and raised in Egypt are known as Egyptian Muslims [the rest of the clause is omitted], could there be any plausible reason why we Muslims, who were born in Burma and who are rooted in Burmese soil, should not be called either Myanmar Muslims or Bamar Muslims? [The rest of the paragraph is omitted.]

We must remember that religion and ethnicity are separate matters. [Portions of the paragraph are omitted.] We must always remember that, even though we are different religions, we must come together as an ethnic group and form a united front as one nation in order to bring prosperity to our native land of Burma.⁽¹⁹⁾

In addition to his explanations on the appropriateness of the term “Bamar Muslims,” we can also see Hbo Chey's thoughts on ethnicity and religion. While Mya wrote that “[The colonial authorities] are disseminating the one-sided notion that only Buddhist Burmese are true Burmese,” it appears that Hbo Chey was also aware of the vague distinction made between religion and ethnicity in Burmese society at that time, and that folk groupings parading as ethnic groups also included elements of religion.

While Mya makes no particular reference to the political situation in Burma when he wrote his book, Hbo Chey comments on the election of ethnic representatives to the legislature then in session. He says that an application submitted to guarantee an electoral quota for Bamar Muslims was not successful because their population was unknown.⁽²⁰⁾ There was a movement to petition for a separate “Burma Moslem” category in the 1921 census report.⁽²¹⁾ However, this classification was not recognized on the grounds that a child born from an Indian Muslim father and a Burmese Buddhist mother would subsequently fall

under the category of *Zerbadi*, even if that child grew up to become a Buddhist or a Christian.

In the subsequent census report from 1931, it is again written that *Zerbadis* cannot be called Burma Moslems because *Zerbadi* includes Christians and Buddhists, in addition to adherents of the Muslim faith.⁽²²⁾ Thus the number of Bamar Muslims remained unknown. The census report contains no details as to whether those who sought a “Burma Moslem” category desired to cross out *Zerbadi* and write in “Burma Moslem,” or if they desired a new category in addition to *Zerbadi*, namely, “Burma Moslem.” According to Hbo Chey, the result was that no data on Burma Moslems existed for the 1931 census. However, he said it would be greatly appreciated if an effort could be made to “include a population list in the 1941 census exclusively for Bamar Muslims.”⁽²³⁾ Hbo Chey estimates that Bamar Muslims numbered around 600,000 at the time, and predicts they could have obtained at least five or six representative election rights.⁽²⁴⁾ It is very possible that Bamar Muslims wanted to confirm their own place in society by acquiring representative rights as an officially recognized ethnic group.

As mentioned previously, the Bamar Muslims’ claims of being indigenous first appeared around the 1930s. History books show that Bamar Muslims had adopted Burmese culture and identified as Bamar. They argued that *Kalar*, *Zerbadi*, and other terms were inappropriate to describe them, and that Bamar Muslim is suitable for Muslims born and brought up in Burma.

2.2. History Classes in Islamic Courses: Education for a New Generation

This section focuses on the history classes given by Bamar Muslim organizations. The characteristics of education for a new generation of Bamar Muslims will be explored, in addition to their position in Myanmar based on the points emphasized in history classes, and historical contact between Myanmar community and the Bamar Muslims. The organizations mentioned here will be described in the next chapter.

The Islamic Religious Affairs Council (IRAC), the Myanmar Muslim National Affairs Organization (MMNAO), and the Islamic Centre of Myanmar use their own textbooks in their respective Islamic courses to teach history. They have common idea that because Muslims cannot state their views freely in Myanmar, it is necessary to study history in order to determine the community’s future goals.

The MMNAO’s textbook starts with the history of Myanmar for the reason that “It is impossible to know about the development of Islam without learning about the history of the Islamic world. In the same way, by understanding the history of Islam in Myanmar, for the first time we can consider how contemporary indigenous Muslims live and what they should aspire to in the future.”⁽²⁵⁾

The IRAC’s textbook states that the Koran obligates Muslims to learn about, consider, and critique past events, to behave correctly so that they can live wholesome lives, and covers the history of indigenous Muslims currently living in Myanmar.⁽²⁶⁾ The need for education about the Bamar Muslim community’s history is stated as follows: “We must be both proper Muslims and proper indigenous peoples. [Omission.] If we do not know about our own history, then it is not easy for us to become good indigenous peoples.”⁽²⁷⁾ Not only

do they have to become “proper Muslims” but also “proper indigenous peoples,” which clearly shows a strong awareness of living in Myanmar as Bamar Muslims.

The history of Myanmar’s dynasties in textbooks largely consists of the same content. Some sections of the history books that Bamar Muslims wrote in the 1930s (mentioned previously) are also found in the classroom.

The conditions under which Islam entered Myanmar are more or less as follows:
 (1) Some Persian or Arab ships became shipwrecked and the people on board came to live in Burma; (2) Persian or Arab merchants opened a mercantile establishment and settled in Burma for trade; (3) Muslims from abroad came to Burma, which was a paradise on earth to them. They did not intend to spread Islam as missionary organizations.

In Myanmar’s royal period, Muslims supported the kings through appointments as ministers, lieutenants, infantry officers and messengers. Myanmar’s Kings trusted Muslims, officially appointed them as guards at palace and went out under their escort. When there was a need to wage war, those skilled in the art of warfare came to work as brave troops. Successive kings built mosques or gifted land for mosques. King Mindon had built accommodation facilities for those making a pilgrimage to Mecca called Daung Zayat.⁽²⁸⁾

Bamar Muslims often say that kings and Muslims were on friendly terms during the royal period due to the gift of accommodation facilities for those making a pilgrimage to Mecca. Moreover textbooks mention a number of mosques were built by the kings in the country during the royal period, and show that successive monarchs respected other religions as well as Buddhism.

In terms of contemporary history after colonization ended, each classroom textbook uses citations from the publications on Myanmar’s history, in addition to newspaper and magazine articles which were published during and after the colonial period. The historical matters from the colonial period to independence are written in textbooks as follows:

- In 1909, the Burma Moslem Society was established, which was modelled on the Young Men’s Buddhist Association established in 1906 as the first nationalistic association.
- In 1915, Indian Muslims established the Muslim Educational Conference and made Urdu compulsory at *madrasahs*. Bamar Muslims who opposed this set up a separate educational conference and discussed on Islamic study in Burmese.
- Patriotic Bamar Muslims participated in the 1920 and 1936 university student strikes.
- An Anti-Indian riot (an anti-Muslim riot in fact) occurred in 1938. The riot was caused by a book in which a Muslim defamed Buddhism.
- Starting in the 1930s, Bamar Muslims were involved in the patriotic activities of the *Dobama Asiayone* (We Burmans Association). Many of them also participated in the Muslim Awakening Organization⁽²⁹⁾ established in 1938 in order to let Burmese people recognize them as Bamar Muslims and to make sure of their population.
- The following historical figures and many other Bamar Muslims are portrayed as

having taken part in the nationalist political organizations of that time period: U Razak (assassinated along with General Aung San), U Khin Maung Lat (who became a minister in the 1950s), U Pe Khin (who successively held the ambassador's posts), and Daw Saw Shwe (president of a Bamar Muslim women's organization).

Bamar Muslims seem to intend to share those historical matters as their own history; their claims of being indigenous and being Bamar Muslims, and active participation in the struggle for independence. This history is the foundation for their assertion that they are the same citizens like any other people of Myanmar.

Regarding conditions from 1940s to 1960s, including the independence from British in 1948, few historical accounts were found in their textbooks. After independence, Bamar Muslims seem not to be involved in the country's history or political issues. Their history in the textbooks stopped in the 1940s.

This chapter investigated in detail the content of history classes given by Bamar Muslim organizations, all of which believe it is necessary to study history in order to determine the community's future aspirations. By demonstrating the friendly relations between kings and Bamar Muslims up through the royal period, the community has positioned itself as part of Burmese society. By showing that many Bamar Muslims participated as nationalists in the struggle for independence during the colonial period, the community is placed in the great political movements of Myanmar history.

III. Contemporary Bamar Muslim Consciousness as Indigenous Citizens

Bamar Muslims in the colonial period asserted that they were the same as other Burmese in every way except for religion; this awareness has persisted in modern times. Three Bamar Muslim organizations, which were also mentioned in the previous chapter, were interviewed for this chapter: the Islamic Religious Affairs Council (IRAC) established in 1956 (after the dissolution of the Burma Muslim Congress which was the largest organization of Bamar Muslims), the Myanmar Muslim National Affairs Organization (MMNAO) established in 1988, and the Islamic Centre of Myanmar established in 1964. In addition, this chapter will examine how Bamar Muslims express their identity based on interviews in Yangon and internal documents published by various groups.

By looking at IRAC's Basic Principles, it is clear that this organization sees its members as "indigenous Muslim citizens who believe in Islam."⁽³⁰⁾ This statement shows a strong sense of citizenship and being indigenous — which encompasses the indigenous peoples recognized by the government. Although Bamar Muslims haven't been officially recognized as indigenous, they identify as native people who have accepted Burmese culture.

IRAC's principles also promote mutual understanding and friendship between fellow indigenous groups that follow religions other than Islam.⁽³¹⁾ When solving problems relating to Islam, IRAC not only emphasizes Islamic teachings, but also considers the country's situation and traditional culture.⁽³²⁾ Thus, IRAC expresses a positive intention for the community it represents to live in Myanmar as Bamar Muslims while interacting with non-

Muslims and promoting mutual understanding.

MMNAO stressed that it aims to carry out both religious and non-religious activities. The organization's founding objectives include strengthening a sense of patriotism and citizenship among Bamar Muslims, and friendship between the country's various ethnic groups and religions.⁽³³⁾ MMNAO shares the aim same as IRAC: to build bonds with non-Muslim citizens and foster a sense of being citizens in Myanmar. MMNAO also intends to encourage respect for Bamar Muslims among the people in Myanmar by carrying out social activities and volunteering.

In the Burmese language, the name of MMNAO, "Myanmar Muslim National Affairs Organization" refers to the community it represents as "Myanmar Muslims." The word "Myanmar" refers to all citizens residing in the Union of Myanmar as the same as the interpretation of military government in 1989, and "Myanmar Muslim" signifies "those who practice Islam out of all Myanmar's citizens, including the various ethnic groups."⁽³⁴⁾ Like IRAC, MMNAO does not represent itself as only Muslim.

The Islamic Centre of Myanmar was founded on the basis of "learning Islam in Burmese rather than Urdu."⁽³⁵⁾ Some Muslims could not understand the Urdu used in Friday prayers; thus the Islamic Centre aimed to have Burmese Muslims learn in their own language. It has given high priority for Bamar Muslims to use Burmese (and not Urdu) in Islamic education since the time of the colonial period. It is important to note that the Islamic Centre discourages the style of worship usually found in mosques where people simply listen to sermons; rather, the Islamic Centre promotes creating a place where both men and women can freely ask questions and debate on their religious teaching and practice. IRAC and MMNAO also advocate for all Muslims, regardless of gender, to be able to participate in Islamic courses in the same place (but often separate, for example, men on the right and women on the left).

The Islamic Centre also holds summer seminars for Islamic education. A textbook of summer seminar says that one of the aims of those classes is to develop students' ability in order to explain Islam to the country's non-Muslim peoples.⁽³⁶⁾ The seminar surely intends Bamar Muslims to acquire such skills for living in a country that has very little understanding of religions besides Buddhism. In that textbook you can also find their idea that the students attending the course will be able to add as a supplement to wide ideology of religion, to understand Islam from the basic, and to have ability to answer the criticism against Islam. This "wide ideology of religion" also shows their strategy that they will teach both Islam and modern subjects and bring up the impartial Muslims.

It is clear from these organizations' activities that (1) they are deeply aware that Bamar Muslims, in addition to following Islam, are the citizens and indigenous to Myanmar; and (2) the people in Myanmar does not recognize them, regardless of whether they identify as Burmese or indigenous. Under the last military regime, it was difficult for them to freely express their identity as Bamar Muslims to the majority of Buddhist Burmese. Despite this challenge, they made efforts to raise public awareness of their existence, for example by publishing newspaper articles.

Islamic organizations have not had a strong relationship with the government except by officially registering and applying for permission to run activities, such as classes and

ceremonies. However, there were instances where members of the government — especially the Minister of Religious Affairs — were invited to events, such as religious celebrations, and delivered congratulatory speeches. Along with inviting the Minister of Religious Affairs (attended by the department head in some cases) to ceremonies to mark the birth of the prophet Mohammed, associations that serve Bamar Muslims engaged in publicity activities by announcing events in state-run newspapers and a weekly private newspaper such as the *Myanmar Times*. Here is an actual example of a newspaper article:

Headline: “Prime Minister Gives Congratulatory Speech at Ceremony to Mark the Birth of the Prophet Mohammed”

Prime Minister General Khin Nyunt spoke to Muslims living in Myanmar in his congratulatory speech at a recent ceremony to mark the birth of the prophet Mohammed. He urged cooperation in order to build a successful seven-step road map to civilian rule.

Brig. General Thura Myint Maung, the Minister of Religious Affairs and representative for Prime Minister General Khin Nyunt, read the speech. He stated that people of all religions in Myanmar have been able to practice their faiths freely since historical times, and are accustomed to living together in harmony. He expressed his wish that Muslims will also be able to follow the teachings of their own religion, benefitting the nation through spreading loving kindness. [The rest of the article is omitted.]⁽³⁷⁾

Such speeches by government officials show that Bamar Muslims’ activities are being officially accepted. The article includes a statement from a Bamar Muslim:

Some Muslims say they are part of a Muslim ethnic group (*Muslim Lumyo* in Burmese), which only complicates ethnic problems. While those who follow Islam are called Muslims, there is no Muslim ethnic group. These kinds of statements harm the solidarity of Myanmar’s indigenous peoples. The prophet Mohammed states that all human beings are members of a worldwide family, and destroying indigenous peoples’ solidarity goes against his teachings.⁽³⁸⁾

These publicity activities were part of an endeavour to teach as many people in Myanmar as possible about Bamar Muslims. This kind of activities still continues but they have to face much more difficulties because of the widespread anti-Islam or anti-Muslim feelings which were raised after a rape case and followed riots between Rakhine Buddhists and Rohingya (Bengali) Muslims in 2012.

Conclusion

Two history books written in the 1930s were used for this study, and describe the Bamar Muslims' claims of citizenship in the late colonial period. This study also relied on some references and interviews with contemporary Bamar Muslim organizations to shed light on how the community appeals its existence to Myanmar.

Burmese society was already aware of "Bamar" ethnicity during the colonial period, but this concept of ethnicity differed from how the Bamar Muslims viewed themselves. In Burmese society, "Bamar" means ethnic Burmese, Burmese culture, and Buddhism. However, the Bamar Muslim community's concept of "Bamar" does not include the element of religion, based on their explanation that they are "followers of Islam, yet Burmese." Thus, Bamar Muslims base their claim of being Bamar on the fact that they have adopted Burmese culture. Scholars believe this difference in the notion of ethnicity exists because the concept of citizens in the nation state after independence contains religion, which does not appear in laws or public documents.

By examining at the documents, materials, and classroom textbooks published by Bamar Muslim organizations, it is clear that Bamar Muslims are actively choosing to live in Myanmar as citizens. They often describe themselves with terms such as Muslims who are "indigenous peoples" or "indigenous citizens." The founding objectives of Bamar Muslim organizations not only emphasize matters relating to Islam, but also friendship with non-Muslim citizens.

Bamar Muslims recognize that by studying the past, they can consider their present situation and determine their future goals. By demonstrating an interest in the politics, society and culture of Myanmar in the context of their ancestors, they have placed themselves in the flow of Burmese history. They realized that they could teach their community how to live wholesome lives as both Muslims and indigenous citizens by examining history.

Although contemporary Bamar Muslims are officially citizens in Myanmar and have a strong identity as indigenous people, they are extremely marginalized. Based on the observations of Bamar Muslim organizations, it is clear that despite hardship, Bamar Muslims are striving for Myanmar society to recognize their existence, and are actively positioning themselves as native citizens.

In addition to these analyses, the current situation of Muslims in Myanmar society requires careful attention. After the transition from military rule to a democratic government, Bamar Muslims expected that they would be guaranteed human rights and would not experience discrimination because of their faith. However, a year after democracy began, riots erupted between the Rakhine people and Rohingyas (Bengali Muslims) from June-July 2012, and an anti-Muslim movement emerged after the riots. The Muslim community often feels that present circumstances are much worse than they were under the military regime. They feel a sense of crisis, and believe that democracy and freedom of speech were allowed in Myanmar to attack Muslims. While anti-Muslim sentiment has spread in Myanmar, research must be continued to understand how Bamar Muslims carry out their activities and appeal their existence as indigenous people to the people in Myanmar.

Notes

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- (2) Yegar, Moshe, "The Muslims of Burma," in R. Israeli (ed.), *The Crescent in the East: Islam in Asia Major*, London: Curzon Press, 1982, pp.102-139.
- (3) Yegar, Moshe, "Part One: The Muslims of Arakan," *Between Integration and Secession: The Muslim Communities of the Southern Philippines, Southern Thailand, and Western Burma/Myanmar*, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2002, pp.17-70.
- (4) Berlie, J. A., *The Burmanization of Myanmar's Muslims*, Bangkok: White Lotus, 2008.
- (5) Some arguments emerged in the 2014 census on the ethnic designation for Bamar Muslims. Some recommend choosing "other" for race and to fill in the blank with *Pathi*. Some preferred "Bamar Muslim" and others recommend "Bamar" for race. The researchers also found arguments on ethnic designation for some other indigenous groups in the 2014 census.
- (6) Immigration and Manpower Department, *Burma 1983 Population Census*, Rangoon: The Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma, Ministry of Home and Religious Affairs, 1986, part two, pp. 55-58.
- (7) *ibid.*, pp. 55-58.
- (8) Kakweyei Wungyihtana, *Thathana Yaunwa Htunzebo [Golden Light of Religion]*, Yangon, 1997, p. 68.
- (9) The Regional Islamic Da'wah Council of Southeast Asia and the Pacific, *Muslim Almanac: Asia and Pacific*, Kuala Lumpur: Berita Publishing Sdn. Bhd., 1996.
- (10) Islamic Religious Affairs Council HQ, interviewed on 22 December 2003.
- (11) Hbo Chey, Hsaya, *Bama Mutsalin do i Sheihaun Atoukpati* [the Old Biography of Bamar Muslims], Sagain Myo: Mya Than Sa Pounhneiktaik, 1939.
- (12) Mya (1), Asoya Sheinei U, *Bama Mutsalin Thamain Akyinchouk* [The Old Biography of Bamar Muslims], Mandalay, n.d.
- (13) The book obtained by the author is a reprinted version, with a forward written by Mya's daughter. In the forward, she describes the period from 1929 until 1936 as such: "The Summary on the History of Bamar Muslims was written and distributed for free." It is not clear in which year it was reprinted.
- (14) Mya (1), *op. cit.*, p. 84.
- (15) *ibid.*, p. 90.
- (16) *ibid.*, pp. 88-89.
- (17) Hbo Chey, *op. cit.*, p.102.
- (18) *ibid.*, p.10.
- (19) *ibid.*, pp.13-15.
- (20) *ibid.*, p.106.
- (21) Grantham, S. G., *Census of India 1921*, Vol.10, Burma, Part I – Report, Part II – Tables, Rangoon: Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, 1923, p. 212.
- (22) Benninon, J. J., *Census of India 1931*, Vol.10, Burma, Part I – Report, Part II – Tables, Part III – Administrative volume, Rangoon: Office of the Superintendent, Government

Printing and Stationery, 1933, p. 231.

- (23) Hbo Chey, *op. cit.*, p.106.
- (24) *ibid.*, p.107.
- (25) Chey, Hsaya, *Myanma Thamain Acheikhan Hnin Myanma Mutsalin Thamain Acheikhan Shinlin Tinpyachet* [The Commentary on Basic Myanmar History and Myanmar Muslim History], Yangon: Pyidaungsu Myanma Naingngandaw Myanma Mutsalin Amyotha Yeiya Aphwechouk, 1995, p. 2.
- (26) Ko Ko Lay, Pathi U, *Iksalam Bahuthuta Pyinnya Pe Thindan* [Islam Knowledge Course], [Yangon], n.d., p.1.
- (27) Ko Ko Lay, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
- (28) *ibid.*, Chey, *op. cit.*, and Min Naing, Wakema Maung, “Myanma Nainngan Hnin Iksalam Thathana [Myanmar and Islam],” in Iksalam Damma Beikman (ed.), *Nwe Yathi Iksalam Yeya Pochahmu Asiasin, Ahtettanhsin Iksalam Thinkhansa* [Islamic Course in Summer, Higher Education Level Textbook] 2, Yangon, 2003.
- (29) Chey, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44., Ko Ko Lay, *op. cit.*, pp.12-13., and Min Naing, *op.cit.*, pp. 241-245.
- (30) Islamic Religious Affairs Council, *Phwesipon Acheikhan Ubadei Hnin Ni Ubadei* [Basic Principles and Rules of Islamic Religious Affairs Council], [Yangon: Islamic Religious Affairs Council], n.d., p. 2.
- (31) *ibid.*, pp. 2-3.
- (32) *ibid.*, pp. 2-3.
- (33) Myanma Mutsalin Amyotha Yeiya Aphwechouk, *15 hnitmyauk Ma A Pha Hnitpatlene Atheinahmat* [15th Anniversary of Myanmar Muslim National Affairs Organization], 2003, p. 3.
- (34) Myanma Mutsalin Amyotha Yeiya Aphwechouk, *Pyi Arman* [Power of the Country], 1998, p. 6.
- (35) The descriptions about the Islamic Centre are based on my research interview to the Convenor on 20 April 2004 and 22 November 2005.
- (36) Iksalam Damma Beikman, *Nwe Yathi Iksalam Yeya Pochahmu Asiasin. Ahtettanhsin Iksalam Thinkhansa* [Islamic Course in Summer, Higher Education Level Textbook] 1, Yangon, 2003, p. (Forward)
- (37) *The Myanmar Times* (Burmese Edition) 9 (167), p.1, 4.
- (38) *ibid.*, p. 4.

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Written and Oral Transmission of Burmese Classical Songs

INOUE Sayuri*

Introduction

This article details the written and oral transmission of Burmese classical songs or *thachingyi* (great song),⁽¹⁾ specifically those for voice and harp (*saung gauk*).

Over one thousand songs have been listed under the category of *thachingyi*. Their song texts have been transcribed, but their melodies and instrumentation have been transmitted orally. As the melodies of several of these songs have been lost, less than half continue to be played today. The musician reputed to have the largest repertoire can play approximately 400 songs.⁽²⁾ The majority of other musicians play a selection from the 169 songs featured in *Naingandaw mu maha gita* (The national version of *maha gita*, hereafter *NAIN*), the national compilation of song texts.⁽³⁾ There have been attempts to transcribe this music, however, none of these has been effective, apart from the notations of the distinguished instrumentalist, U Myint Maung (1937–2001).

In this article, I will begin by examining the role of written materials in transmission. I will then describe how the music is relayed orally and discuss the factors that enable oral

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transmission. Finally, I will discuss how to approach the standardization of Burmese classical songs.

The data for this article were obtained from palm-leaf manuscripts (*pe*) of songs that I collected from the National Library of Myanmar, the Universities' Central Library, and the Universities Historical Research Centre. I have also utilized published song anthologies.

This article is also based on my participant observation. I studied *thachingyi* singing and harp at Yangon University of Culture (now called the National University of Arts and Culture, Yangon, hereafter YUC) for two years, from 1999–2001. Since 2007, I have been studying the harp with U Myint Maung's wife, Daw Khin May, for approximately one month per year. At YUC, I was trained orally; Daw Khin May also teaches me orally, but she occasionally uses notations that were written by U Myint Maung to remind herself of the music.

I . Written Transmission

1.1. Song anthologies

Canonicity of song texts

Up to the early 20th century, song texts were recorded on palm-leaf manuscripts and paper manuscripts (*parabaik*).⁽⁴⁾ From the end of the 19th century, 12 different anthologies were published which extended to several editions.⁽⁵⁾ The prefaces written for these anthologies explain how and why they were compiled. Based on this information, it appears that the purposes for which song texts are transcribed are: (1) to preserve song texts, (2) to create an authority for learning and memorization, and (3) to standardize song variants.⁽⁶⁾ We can recognize that song texts are strongly normative in song transmission.

It is reputed that the oldest song anthology available today is *Monywe hsayadaw shei ti-gyek than zu* (Monywe Hsayadaw's old songs, hereafter *MONYWE*),⁽⁷⁾ which was edited by Monywa Hsayadaw (1766–1834) circa 1788.⁽⁸⁾ It comprised 166 sets of song texts. The preface of this manuscript describes Yandameik Kyaw Zwa, who was a finance officer for the crown prince, asked Monywa Hsayadaw to collect songs such as *kyo* genre.⁽⁹⁾ He wished to study these songs in order to be capable of answering the crown prince's questions.⁽¹⁰⁾ Monywa Hsayadaw told him that he would collect such songs in his spare time, but would not be able to gather all of them, however, he would write down all of the songs that he could collect.⁽¹¹⁾ We can see from this case that song texts are the authority for song study.

Myawadi Mingyi U Sa (1766–1853; hereafter U Sa) edited his anthology⁽¹²⁾ in 1849. In the preface of this manuscript, crown prince Mindon, who was king from 1852–78, ordered U Sa to record his literary works, which he composed between 25 and 83 years of age, as Mindon desired to hear them.

Thachin gaunzin pouk-yei hmat-su daw (A list of the number of song titles, hereafter *TITLES*)⁽¹³⁾ is the first historical source to organize songs by their genres. Its preface explains that it was edited on the orders of King Mindon on May 23, 1870.⁽¹⁴⁾ He wished to transcribe songs that were transmitted from generation to generation, in order to maintain their form and ensure that they would not disappear. In this manuscript, the titles, or the first

lines of the song texts of 1062 songs are listed under 27 genres. All the songs without specific genre descriptions, which include the songs in *U Sa's Anthology*, are categorized within certain genres.

Maha gita meidani kyan (The earth of *maha gita*)⁽¹⁵⁾ is the oldest published anthology that was published in 1881.⁽¹⁶⁾ The palm-leaf manuscript of this anthology⁽¹⁷⁾ does not have a preface; however, its published version does include one. The preface explains that, because there were errors and ambiguous meanings in these song texts, they were edited by an advocate U Yauk in Pyi City. The preface states that this was to improve conformance with the song manuscripts that were owned by supporters of Buddhist temples.⁽¹⁸⁾

Thabba gitekkama pakatani kyan (Anthology of all the songs, hereafter *THABBA*)⁽¹⁹⁾ is the latest and largest song anthology on palm-leaf manuscript. Wekmasut Wundauk (1845–1940)⁽²⁰⁾ edited this collection under the orders of Thibaw, the local lord (*sobwa*). There are no records of the original editing date as only the manuscript date, 1917, is mentioned.⁽²¹⁾ The preface to this volume mentions that songs and poems composed by past intellectuals now contain erroneous descriptions and mismatches between each verse or each song. This, the preface states, has destroyed the composers' intended meaning Therefore, Wekmasut Wundauk transcribed songs with an effort not to include errors⁽²²⁾ We can see from this preface that this manuscript was also compiled in order to standardize song text variations. It includes 946 songs.

Gita wi thaw dhani kyan (Anthology of purified songs)⁽²³⁾ and *Maha gita paung gyauk ci* (Anthology of *maha gita*)⁽²⁴⁾ are also representative published anthologies. U Htun Yee, a researcher of old manuscripts, stated that these anthologies were compiled, not from palm-leaf and paper manuscripts, but from oral sources.⁽²⁵⁾ We can therefore assume that the song texts had been transmitted orally in some locations.

From 1954–61, the Ministry of Culture published three volumes of *NAIN*, which standardizes various song texts. In the preface to the first volume, it is mentioned that the song texts and playing style of *thachingyi* vary, so the *NAIN* editors' intention was to unify them.⁽²⁶⁾ At this point, 169 songs' texts were standardized in this anthology, which is used in performing arts schools, at the YUC, and by musicians. We can still see various performing styles for the same song today, despite this standardization of song texts.

As mentioned above, song texts have been transcribed in the interests of preservation, for study purpose, and variant standardization. Song texts increase their level of canonicity through documentation, which controls not only the manner in which they are sung, but also the way in which they are played using instruments.

Functions of genre classification

As previously noted, since 1870, song anthologies have been compiled by categorizing songs by genre. There are five aspects that constitute a genre: (1) tuning systems, (2) rhythmic patterns, (3) melodies frequently used in a certain genre, (4) a prelude that is fixed according to a certain genre and, in some cases, (5) a postlude. Some genres are defined by the content of their song texts, but otherwise genre definition is not perfectly clear, and many songs exist that are exceptions to their genres.

Many songs have been categorized into different genres in different anthologies. For

example, the song “*Lei pyi laun dhi hnin*” in *U Sa’s Anthology* (1849)⁽²⁷⁾ is described as follows: “The harpist, Maung Hkwe, asked [U Sa] to [write the song] so Mingyi [U Sa] wrote it at Oukkalapa.”⁽²⁸⁾ In that anthology there are no genre definitions for this song. In contrast, this song is categorized as *yodaya* in *TITLES*⁽²⁹⁾ and as *patpyo* in *THABBA*.⁽³⁰⁾ There are many such differences amongst song anthologies. These differences decrease with successive publications but they are not completely eliminated.

Even in *NAIN*, some songs are classified into two genres. For example, three songs entitled “*Wut taw youn*” are classified as both *kyo* and *bwe* genres⁽³¹⁾ and can be played as either. The texts and melodies of these songs are identical, but the preludes and rhythmic patterns differ according to genre.

Genre definitions and the genre classification of songs are less certain. It would be more appropriate to say that genre classification is an interpretation of playing style. Deiwaeinda U Maung Maung Gyi (1855–1933) was the last court harpist to believe that *thachingan* genre should not be played slowly or at a leisurely pace.⁽³²⁾ The famous singer Daw So Mya Aye Kyi (1891–1967) stated that teachers in past decades claimed that *thachingan* is hovering, *patpyo* is sweet, and *mon* and *yodaya* are lengthened.⁽³³⁾ All of these factors make it clear that genre is an interpretation of playing style.⁽³⁴⁾

It follows from the above discussion that song anthologies have conveyed information regarding playing style by indicating the genre classification of certain songs. There are exceptions to this rule, but genre classification can roughly indicate a song’s tuning system, prelude, rhythmic pattern, and playing style, and can potentially standardize the playing style of songs that have an unsettled style. Therefore, song anthologies, which transcribe only song texts, inform us not only of these texts, but also of their playing styles.

1.2. Musical notations

Attempts at creating notations

Singing and instrumental playing-styles have traditionally been transmitted orally, but there have been attempts to transcribe the music. The notations that I have collected were written between 1938 and 2005.

A Burmese classical song has two parts: the vocal and the instrumental parts. Most notations only transcribe the instrumental part, using a numbering method for each tone along with staff notation. In 1952, *Classical Burmese Music*,⁽³⁵⁾ which includes three *kyo* song notations, was published. Its preface states: “This is the preliminary attempt made by the Ministry of Union Culture to record and publish Classical Burmese Music in staff notation.... It is the intention of the Ministry to cover in this way the whole range of the Burmese Classical Music trod by the traditional players.”⁽³⁶⁾ These notations are intended for the piano, supervised by U Hpo Lat, and transcribed by Estonian Buddhist High Priest, Frederick W. A. Lustig.

In 1960, the Ministry of Union Culture published three books of harp notations.⁽³⁷⁾ In its preface, it stated:

The aim and object of the Ministry of Union Culture is to explore every possible avenue for the preservation of archaic or traditional Burmese Songs in their original

essence both in tune and style and to standardize them as authenticated Burmese Classical Songs for the interest and benefit of the general public The notation of tunes for the aforesaid thirteen (Kyo) songs is not explicitly meant for the piano but as a source of foundation to facilitate the manipulation of Burmese Musical Instruments

The Ministry of Union Culture is endeavoring its level best to continue to publish all Burmese Classical Songs standardized under its authority and record them in the archives of the Union Government.”⁽³⁸⁾

These notations were transcribed by U Bha Thant (1912–1987), a distinguished instrumentalist who taught musical transcription to U Myint Maung.

In 2004, 13 basic *kyo* song notations were published, again by the Ministry of Union Culture.⁽³⁹⁾ These notations were transcribed by musicologist U Than Aye and harpist U Hlaing Win Maung, both of whom were teaching at YUC at that time. Shoon Myain published notations from 2001–2005, these included 61 *thachingyi* songs.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Interestingly, he attempted to transcribe not only the instrumental parts, but also the vocal melodies, although he only transcribed these melodies for certain songs.

When I studied at YUC, notation was not used for instrumental instruction, however, teachers occasionally found notations useful because they can be presented as visual aids. There are several students who use notation to remember songs, however, the notations they use are for simple songs only, so most musicians are capable of memorizing them. I have encountered experienced musicians who use these notations for research, but apart from the notations of U Myint Maung, not for transmission. For musicians, oral transmission is more effective than using notation.

U Myint Maung's notations

U Myint Maung created a number of notations of *thachingyi*. These notations are used, especially by his wife, Daw Khin May, and their pupils, to effectively transmit and memorize songs. Daw Khin May said that U Myint Maung became interested in notation after he met American ethnomusicologist Judith Becker. After studying musical transcription with U Bha Thant for the year of 1962, U Myint Maung began to transcribe voraciously. He created several hundred notations that are not distributed and are only used by his wife and pupils. U Myint Maung was an influential teacher and musician, and some of his pupils have also become famous musicians, such as Daw Yi Yi Thant, who is a distinguished singer and harpist. Therefore, the musicians who use his notations are worthy of note.

After U Myint Maung passed away, Daw Khin May began to teach the harp as she had studied at the Mandalay State School of Music and Drama with her husband. She also refers to U Myint Maung's notations whenever she forgets some phrases. She teaches without notation to children or beginners, however, she uses notation if her pupil is already capable of reading it or if they are unable to come to her house frequently. She especially uses notation with her advanced pupils. Some of these pupils study songs independently with notation and then come to her house to be examined. We can see that, amongst U Myint

Maung and Daw Khin May's pupils, notation is used effectively, but the pupils are encouraged to eventually memorize the songs. Daw Khin May usually teach her pupils by oral, referring notations only to check her memory or to adopt U Myint Maung's arrangements.

Does using notation lead to a standardization of song variants? If the 13 basic *kyo* songs are taught without notations, we can only see certain variants. This is because these songs are simple and their recordings are popular. Yet, even in these *kyo* songs, there are variations of the same melodies. Numerous melodies are common to many songs but the instrumental styles of them are different. Thus, even for beginners who have studied a number of songs, it is difficult to consistently play one song in the same style.

U Myint Maung also created different notations each time he transcribed a song. Daw Khin May said that U Myint Maung created different notations for different pupils depending on their skill. I acquired the copy of his notations and found that it contained many variations of the same songs. Moreover, he wrote different notations for harp than for bamboo xylophone (*pattala*) or other instruments. His pupils did not consistently play completely in accordance with his transcriptions. Indeed, Daw Khin May unintentionally taught me two different versions of the "*Hman ya wei*" *patpyo* in 2008 and 2009. U Than Oo, my harp teacher at YUC, was a pupil of U Myint Maung. Therefore, he is capable of reading notation and has many notations written by U Myint Maung. However, he did not use notations to teach me, only referring to them to check his memory. In *thachingyi*, there are many melodies that have numerous instrumental variations so, in performance, these variations may appear at random. Thus, the variants of a song are not standardized immediately.

II. Oral Transmission

2.1. Transmission of singing

Ordinarily, the use of notation is unpopular; even if teachers or musicians use notations, the major style of transmission is oral. Song texts are referred when study or sing songs, however their melodies and singing styles are transmitted orally.

Singing is transmitted through a student's imitation of a teacher. After the teacher sings one phrase, the student imitates it. Singing is accompanied by a *si* (*cymbal*) in the right hand and a *wa* (*castanet*) in the left hand. Complicated intonations can be mastered with the rhythms of the *si* and *wa*. When I learned singing from my teacher at YUC, she taught me to write the signs for *si* (∨) and *wa* (×) above the song texts in *NAIN*. However, an experienced player is capable of recognizing immediately when a certain phrase begins with *si* or *wa* without looking at such symbols. Certain musicians occasionally criticize this method because it is not traditional, and because they can generally recall melodies simply by seeing song texts. In other words, the student should be able to sing and memorize melodies so that they can recall them only through the song texts.

There are fewer variants of vocal melodies than instrumental parts, but intonations do differ slightly depending on the individual singer.⁽⁴¹⁾ In addition, teachers teach according to

the student's skill level. If a student cannot sing sufficiently high for a certain phrase, the teacher may have him or her sing a song an octave lower for that phrase. If a student cannot sing complicated intonations, the teacher will teach him or her a simple intonation. Therefore, we can see that singing style is flexible and adaptable to a singer's ability.

2.2. Transmission of instrumental parts

Instrumental parts are transmitted in the same fashion as singing, through imitation of the teacher. For example, in the case of the harp, the teacher instructs the student how to play on the same or opposite side of the harp that is held by the student. The student then imitates the movement of the teacher's fingers. After the student manages to play and memorize one phrase, the teacher moves on to the next phrase. Students imitate by hearing and by seeing the fingering. This method is called "*lek that thin de*," or "teach by laying hand on hand." When students are accustomed to this method, they can begin to imitate by hearing the sounds only. The harp is played mostly with two fingers, the right forefinger and the thumb, so students should learn to distinguish which sounds are played with which finger.

Instrumentalists are also required to be capable of singing. When I studied at YUC, I was required to master the vocal part of a certain song before I learned the harp accompaniment. If I forgot the instrumental part, my teachers instructed me to remember it by singing. Vocal melodies are not always identical to the instrumental parts, but musicians should play in order to accompany singing, as song melodies are the foundation for the parts played by the instruments.

Recording, which can be secondary to orality, is also used. YUC created several recordings and provided me with them to allow me to learn at home. Before the annual performing arts contest begins, cassettes containing the compulsory songs are sold. Most musicians learn with a teacher, but they use the cassettes to memorize or recall their music. At present, it does not seem that recording will immediately lead to standardization. Recordings for students are usually created by their teachers, and store-bought cassettes are not used very frequently for study. I have encountered certain amateur singers who have studied with cassettes only, but this is not the most popular way to study. I have noticed in the past two years, from 2013–2014, some pupils of Daw Khin May record songs using their smartphones, which are currently easily obtainable, and use these recordings to help them remember their studied music.

Oral learning requires considerable time on the part of both the teacher and the student. Students study at teachers' homes, staying there for an unlimited time while the teacher instructs them. The students also practice independently. Thus, recordings can be used effectively but are not the only option.

2.3. What enables oral transmission?

Why has transmission been pursued using an apparently insecure method? There are four factors that enable oral transmission: the presence of song texts, *alaik* or melody patterns, *bazat-hsaing* or mouth-music, and physical memorization. As I have mentioned before, song texts, their melodies, and singing style dictate instrumental style. Here, I will

consider the three remaining points mentioned above, namely, *alaik*, *bazat-hsaing*, and physical memorization.

***Alaik*: Common melodies**

Thachingyi songs are composed using many common melodies, which are called *alaik*. Students should memorize all melodies when they begin to study a song; after they have mastered one song, it is easier for them to study the next song because it may include the same melodies. Although another song may include new melodies, those melodies will also be used in other songs, which, again, makes it easier for the students to study those songs. Of course, songs become progressively difficult as the student continues to study, but the segments that they have already mastered make it easier for them to acquire new songs. In this way, students accumulate knowledge of, and techniques for, the melodies that are used in *thachingyi*.

When we study *thachingyi* singing and instrumental style, we are frequently said by teachers “this phrase is the same as A’s *alaik*.” “A” indicates a part of the song text of another song. After we have mastered that song, we can recall the melodies and instrumental part just by referring to its song text. A teacher is not required to play that phrase in order to teach it. Instead, a teacher only needs to say, “this phrase is A’s *alaik*.” This means that that phrase can be sung using the melody that has previously been studied.

In addition, there are numerous songs with titles including the word *alaik*. For example, the song title “*Bazin taun than alaik kyo chin* (“Sound of dragonflies’ wings” *alaik kyo* song)” implies that this song uses the “*Bazin taun than*” song’s whole melodies. I have discovered approximately 111 *alaik* songs in the *kyo* genre which, in itself, contains approximately 513 songs. These songs’ titles can convey the full melodic information without any notation. A new song is indicated by its relationship with other songs, and this is one of the elements that enables oral transmission.

For instruments, there are a number of patterns for one melody. After we learn one pattern for melody “X” in song “A,” we usually learn another pattern for melody “X” in song “B.” After we have learned several patterns for melody “X,” it becomes rather difficult for us to continually play the same instrumental pattern for this melody. There is room for further investigation, but it may be true that this is the foundation of improvisation in Burmese music. I, myself, found it difficult to play a fixed pattern for one song after I had studied many songs, as my fingers unintentionally played various patterns for certain melodies. The standardization of playing styles as expected by those who use notations and recordings has not been completely achieved. *Thachingyi* has many common melodies and various instrumental patterns for each of them, so it may appear to be random, even if the musician does not intend it to be.

***Bazat-hsaing*: Mouth-music**

The manner of transmitting instrumental parts into words is called *bazat-hsaing*, or mouth-music. *Bazat-hsaing* indicates the tone, chord, and rhythm of a song by its relationship with the tonic. For example, on the harp, the tonic is called *tya*, one upper string is called *tei*, and the other upper string is called *tyo*. The string one octave below the

tonic is called *shin*. *Bazat-hsaing* is similar to solmization for western music.

Teachers teach instruments with *bazat-hsaing* even if the student is unfamiliar with this method so, therefore, the student is introduced to this system gradually. It is possible to use *bazat-hsaing* to teach from remote areas. When students forget or make mistakes while practicing independently, the teacher can teach using *bazat-hsaing* while she does other work. *Bazat-hsaing* is also common between instruments, so *pattala* players can teach certain songs to harp players using *bazat-hsaing*.

Bazat-hsaing is quite common, but there are some variations amongst musicians. My teacher, Daw Khin May, used *bazat-hsaing* in our lessons and commented that her *bazat-hsaing* may be somewhat different from that of other musicians, because she sings as she pleases. She said her pupils understand her method, so it is not a problem. *Bazat-hsaing* is an extremely convenient teaching method as it allows her to teach while doing her housekeeping, without using notation.

When I studied at YUC, if I forgot some phrases while practicing the harp by myself, any teacher who was in the vicinity could teach me by singing *bazat-hsaing*. They did not need to use any references such as notation. Moreover, they were not required to play an instrument to show certain phrases to me. Occasionally, my singing teacher, who cannot play any instrument, taught me harp using *bazat-hsaing*. She said she remembered the *bazat-hsaing* phrases because she had heard them frequently.

Bazat-hsaing is not written down for the purpose of study, but we can observe its text in some songs. For example, the first song for *thachingyi* learners, “*Htan tya tei shin*” *kyo* song, includes *bazat-hsaing* text in its first and last sections. Two manuscripts include considerable *bazat-hsaing* text namely, *MONEYWE* and *TITLES*. There are 55 *bazat-hsaing* texts in *MONEYWE*.

For example, *MONEYWE* includes three songs entitled (1) “‘Lion king enters golden cave’ *achin-yo* (traditional song)”;⁽⁴²⁾ (2) “‘Lion king enters golden cave’ *achin-yo* (traditional song)”;⁽⁴³⁾ and (3) “‘Lion king enters golden cave’ *achin laik* (song’s *alaik*).”⁽⁴⁴⁾ The entire text of (1) is in *bazat-hsaing* form; it indicates only the musical patterns of the instrument. The title of (2) is the same as that of (1), but (2) has song text. It is likely that (1) and (2) have the same melody, as there is no reason to record *bazat-hsaing* texts except to transmit the song music. The word *laik* in (3) is identical to *alaik*. This implies that this song uses the melody of the song “Lion king enters golden cave.” I have not yet reconstructed music from this *bazat-hsaing* text of (1), but it may convey the music of (2) and (3). There are 25 such combinations in this manuscript.

There remain 29 *bazat-hsaing* texts without such combinations. For example, there are two songs, “The sound of a female *nat*’s panpipe,”⁽⁴⁵⁾ and “Jambos fruits falling’ song,”⁽⁴⁶⁾ but there are no songs with song texts that have the same title. We can be reasonably certain that songs with these titles existed, however, their song texts were not recorded or they were lost.

As previously explained, *TITLES* is a list of song titles. *Thachingyi* songs are usually referred to by the first lines of their song texts instead of their titles, because many songs have no titles originally. In this section of the *kyo* song list, there are 28 *bazat-hsaing* styles of the first lines of the songs and there are 26 cases in which the song is continued by the

phrase “*its alaik*.” For example, the list includes the titles of songs: (1) “Sound of banyan tree’s leaves, [it begins with the phrase] *htei hta lei*.”⁽⁴⁷⁾ Under that title, a description follows: (2) “*Its alaik*. When cold season comes, [it begins with the phrase] *htwei ta ra*.”⁽⁴⁸⁾ Another example is the song that is described as (3) “Giant tigress lapping water, [it begins with the phrase] *du htei htan tya*,”⁽⁴⁹⁾ while the next song is described as: (4) “*Its alaik*. The time cold season comes.”⁽⁵⁰⁾

In song (1)’s title, the phrase “*htei hta lei*” is *bazat-hsaing* form. In song (3)’s title, “*du htei htan tya*” also indicates *bazat-hsaing*. The presence of the phrase “*its alaik*” in (2) and (4)’s titles implies that these are the *alaik* of their respective songs, (1) and (3). Furthermore, they feature song texts. In this manuscript, there are 26 such combinations. Therefore, we can observe that *bazat-hsaing* texts are recorded in order to convey music. There remain six *bazat-hsaing* texts without such combinations. As previously mentioned in regard to *MONYWE*, songs with particular titles would exist whose song texts either were not recorded or were lost.

The *bazat-hsaing* that I have mentioned above is for *kyo* songs. Also, note that *bazat-hsaing* only indicates the instrumental part. *Kyo* songs are simpler than other genres and their melodies and instrumental parts mostly coincide. Thus, we can see that these *bazat-hsaing* texts convey their melodies and instrumental styles. We may say that *bazat-hsaing* texts in *MONYWE* and *TITLES* were transcribed to record songs’ music as today’s notations. *Bazat-hsaing* is not written down today to record music, so musicians remember it by ear and it is used to teach instrumental parts orally.

Physical memorization of fingering

As regards harp, *bazat-hsaing* is connected with fingering. When we study the harp, the sound is always indicated by *bazat-hsaing* or locations of strings by our teacher, rather than pitch. Most Burmese instruments are played with two implements, or objects, such as the right forefinger and thumb in harp playing, or the right and left stick in *pattala* playing. Therefore, harp fingering can be substitute for two sticks of *pattala*. To the best of my knowledge, after U Myint Maung began to use other fingers, such as the right middle, fourth, and fifth, to play the harp, several other musicians also began to use these fingers. When I studied at YUC, they generally did not use the other three digits, but Daw Khin May instructed me to use these fingers with certain phrases. This usage is limited to specific phrases. Middle, fourth and fifth fingers are used instead of forefingers to play smoothly, so there are no playing style using more than three fingers of right hand simultaneously.

The limited fingering restricts possible instrumental patterns. In other words, there are regulations on fingering for harp players. Both in Yangon and Mandalay, I have been frequently instructed to memorize fingering. Teachers have consistently informed me that *thachingyi* should not be memorized intellectually, but by rote, through fingering. Musicians should practice until they are capable of playing automatically without thinking. The connection between physical memorization and transmission requires further consideration, but we can assert that diligent practice and physical memorization enable oral transmission.

Conclusion

Burmese classical songs, which is called *thachingyi*, have been transmitted through both oral and written materials. As written materials, song texts have been recorded in order to preserve song texts, to create an authority for learning and memorizing songs, and to standardize song variants. As I have indicated, song texts are strongly normative in song transmission. The latest standardization of song texts was completed for 169 songs in *NAIN* in 1961, albeit other song texts remain in various forms in various anthologies. Another function of song anthologies is genre definition which, while not always clear, conveys a certain amount of information regarding playing style.

From the 20th century onwards, there have been some attempts at transcribing music. However, with the exception of U Myint Maung's works, notation has not been used effectively to transmit music, as oral transmission is more effective and easier. U Myint Maung's notations are used effectively by his former pupils to learn and memorize music. However, the main method of transmission is oral also for them and notations are used secondarily to oral. U Myint Maung's notations are not distributed, so many of musicians have no access to it. Nonetheless, we must look more carefully at the future influence of this phenomenon, because many of U Myint Maung and Daw Khin May's pupils are now influential musicians and teachers. In fact, when I forget the harp parts and cannot reconstruct it from recordings, I can recall them using these notations.

Oral transmission has been accomplished through the imitation of teachers by students and by using *bazat-hsaing*. Common melodies and the confined fingering caused by instrument construction enable this transmission. Even if teachers or students use notation, these two methods are precede to notations. Oral transmission may seem inefficient, however, this learning style, which involves imitating teachers, connecting *bazat-hsaing* with fingering, and memorizing various melodic patterns, enables musicians to memorize music. This method also helps musicians play without any notation, as can often be seen. This subject is too extensive to be treated here in detail, but such memorization leads to improvisation during performance. Hard practice and memorization allow musicians to perform freely while playing music.

The compilation of song anthologies standardizes song texts so far, but performing styles have not been standardized entirely, as was anticipated with the advent of recordings and notations. At YUC, a standard version of music is taught, but it is only a portion of the vast *thachingyi* repertoire. At national competitions, several songs are played using the same versions to a certain extent, but they are not entirely identical. Therefore, we must more carefully examine whether the number of variants have decreased and standardization has truly occurred or not.

Notes

- (1) *Thachingyi* is also referred as *maha gita*. They indicates same category of songs. *Thachingyi* is Burmese and *maha gita* is a word borrowed from Pali. I discussed about these terms in detail in my book. Inoue, Sayuri, *The Formation of Genre in Burmese Classical Songs*, Osaka: Osaka University Press, 2014, pp. 17–21.
- (2) U Htun Khin, a part-time professor at the National University of Arts and Culture, states that the pianist U Oun Maung could play over 400 songs (personal communication, Yangon, September 17, 2013).
- (3) Ministry of Culture, *Naingandaw mu maha gita* [National version of *maha gita*], Yangon: Ministry of Culture, vol. 1 (1954), vol. 2 (1957), and vol. 3 (1961). The bound version of these three volumes was first published in 1969.
- (4) Inoue, *The Formation of Genre in Burmese Classical Songs*, pp. 21–27.
- (5) *Ibid.*, pp. 51–55.
- (6) I examined each palm-leaf manuscript preface. Inoue, *The Formation of Genre in Burmese Classical Songs*, pp. 28–50.
- (7) NL 3149, *Monywe hsayadaw shei ti-gyek than zu* [Monywe Hsayadaw's old songs]. U Myint Kyi states that Monywa Hsayadaw was the first person to compile a song anthology. Myint Kyi, *Myanma tei gita anu sapei thamain* [The history of Myanmar music literature], Yangon: Ministry of Education, 2001, p. 366.
- (8) Hla Htut, Sandaya, *Myanma gita yei-si-gyaun* [The stream of Myanmar songs], Yangon: Sa Chit Thu Sa-zin, 1996, p. 65. U Htun Yee, a scholar of old documents, claims that we can assume this palm-leaf manuscript was written circa Burmese year 1160–1170 (1798–1808), based on the career of Monywa Hsayadaw (personal communication, March 23, 2010).
- (9) Songs categorized as *thachingyi* are divided into several genres, such as *kyo*, *bwe*, *thachingan*, *patpyo*, *yodaya*, and *mon*. I discussed about genres as not being definite classification. Inoue, *The Formation of Genre in Burmese Classical Songs*.
- (10) NL 3149: dhe (w)–dhaw. (k).
- (11) *Ibid.*, dhaw (k)–dhaw. (w).
- (12) I examined three manuscripts that were transcribed in 1883 (UHRC pe465, Untitled), 1902 (UCL pe42332, *Myawadi Mingyi thachin luta yadu zat zaga zu* [Songs, *luta*, *yadu*, play composed by Myawadi Mingyi]), and n.d. (NL Kin351, *Myawadi Mingyi, min ahsehset yeitha hsethwin dhi sa-zu* [Myawadi Mingyi's works dedicated to kings]). The title are not identical, however the contents are almost the same. Therefore, I have grouped these manuscripts under the same title as *U Sa's Anthology*, in the interest of simplicity.
- (13) NL Barnard1076, *Thachin ghaunzin pouk-yei hmat-su-daw* [A list of the number of song titles].
- (14) *Ibid.*, ka (w)–kaa (w).
- (15) Yauk, Sheinei U, *Maha gita meidani kyan* [The earth of *maha gita*], Yangon: Myanma Pyi Alouk-thama-mya Pounhneik-taik, n.d.. The palm-leaf manuscript of this anthology is stored at Universities' Central Library. The call number is UCL pe11170.

- (16) Hla Shwe, Zagain, *Maha gita*, Yangon: Sapei Beiman, 1994, p. 10.
- (17) UCL pe11170. *Maha gita meidani gyan* [The earth of *maha gita*].
- (18) Yauk, *Maha gita meidani kyan*, p. 2.
- (19) NL 3149, *Thabba gitekkama pakathani gyan* [Anthology of all the songs].
- (20) Than Tun, ed., *Wekmasut Wundauk i neizin hmat tan, pahtama dwe 1886–1888* [Vol. 1 of The diary of Wekmasut Wundauk, 1886–1888], Yangon: Myanmar Historical Commission, 2005, p.1. Wekmasut Wundauk was a courtier who served King Mindon and King Thibaw (1878–1885).
- (21) Tin Naing Toe states that this anthology seems to have first appeared during the reign of King Bodaw (1781–1819), and other songs were then added to the original palm-leaf manuscript when edited by Wekmasut Wundauk. Tin Naing Toe, *Kyan hnyun 100* [The guidebook for one hundred literatures], Yangon: Thin Sapei. 2011, pp. 73–75.
- (22) NL 3149: ka (w)–kaa (k).
- (23) Maung Maung Lat, *Gita wi thaw dhani kyan* [Anthology of purified songs], edited by U Ba Cho, 6th ed., Yangon: Didouk Sapei-taik, 1967.
- (24) Pyone Cho, U, *Maha gita paun gyauk ci* [Anthology of *maha gita*], 6th ed., Yangon: Pinya Alin Pya Saouk-hsain, 1968.
- (25) Personal communication, March 23, 2010.
- (26) Ministry of Culture, *Naingandaw mu maha gita, pahtama dwe*, 1954, p. ka.
- (27) UHRC pe465: ngu (w).
- (28) Ibid., ngu (k).
- (29) NL Barnard1076: ka: (k).
- (30) NL 3149: zaa (w)–zi (k).
- (31) Ministry of Culture, *Naingandaw mu maha gita*, 1969, p. 7, 19.
- (32) San Myint, *Maha gita hswai-nwai-gyek* [The discussion on *maha gita*], Yangon: Myawadi Pounhneik-taik, 1990, p. 32.
- (33) Saw Mya Aye Kyi, Daw, *Gita hnin aka* [Music and dance], Yangon: Sapei Beiman, 1968, p. 42.
- (34) I had discussed about these characteristics of genre. Inoue, *The Formation of Genre in Burmese Classical Songs*, pp. 80–81.
- (35) Ministry of Culture, *Shei-yo myanma pantya: Classical Burmese Music*, Yangon: Ministry of Culture, 1952.
- (36) Ibid., p. 0.
- (37) Ministry of Culture, *Pantya mu-hman sanpya shei-yo myanma thachinyi-mya thinkeita saouk: Standardized Classical Burmese Music, 3 vols.*, Yangon: Ministry of Culture, 1960.
- (38) Ibid., vol. 1, Preface (no page numbering).
- (39) Ministry of Culture, *Naingandaw mu kyo thachin 13 pouk i gita thinkeita mya* [The notation for the national version of thirteen *kyo* songs], Yangon: Ministry of Culture, 2004.
- (40) Shoon Myaing, *Gaba gita thinkeita ni-pyinya hnin myanma maha gita myanma thachin: International Notation and Myanmar Classical Songs*, Yangon: Tain Lin Saouk-taik, 2001. *Myanma maha gita thachin mya: Mahagita Myanmar Classics*, Vol. 1, Yangon:

Younci-gyet Sapei, 2004, *Myanma maha gita thachin mya: Mahagita Myanmar Classics*, Vols. 2–3, Yangon: Cipwa-yei Saouk-taik, 2005.

- (41) In rare cases, the same song can be sung to different melodies when they are performed with *hsaing waing* (drum circle, or drum circle ensemble) accompaniment, rather than with harp.
- (42) NL 3149: nu (w).
- (43) Ibid., na: (k).
- (44) Ibid.
- (45) Ibid., ne (w).
- (46) Ibid., na (k).
- (47) NL Barnard1076: ku (k).
- (48) Ibid.
- (49) Ibid.
- (50) Ibid.

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(Abbreviations that appear before call numbers were added by the author. National Library (NL), Universities' Central Library (UCL), and Universities Historical Research Centre (UHRC).)

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Showing Respect and Bowing Down to *Nats*: Spirit Worship and Gender in a Village in Upper Burma

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Introduction

Buddhist *Bamah* living on the plains of the the Ayeyawadi River's middle reaches formed what can be called the "Burmasphere" through cultural exchanges with other ethnic or religious groups in the surrounding area. In the Burmasphere, people adhere to the absolute superiority of Theravada Buddhism and conduct a variety of religious practices such as spirit worship, Brahmanism, and witchcraft.

This paper considers the relationship between gender and religious practices, focusing on spirit worship in the Burmasphere and cases from rural communities in Upper Burma. Regarding spirit worship and gender, Brac de la Perrière showed how the feminine dimensions of spirit mediumship involve not only Burmese gender construction, but also the Burmese construction of difference and how it is encoded in the hierarchical system [Brac de la Perrière 2007].

This article will focus on the spirit ritual for the "Spirits of Tradition" (*mizain hpazain nat* or *miyohpala nat*) held in a village in Upper Burma, which is not necessarily needed a help of spirit mediums, as Spiro called a "simple and essentially private ritual" [Spiro 1967:108]. J. Nash and Spiro have carefully discussed the name of the Spirits of Tradition, its succession in their village and ritual occasion [J. Nash 1966:119-122; Spiro 1967:97-

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104,126-131]; however, the ritual itself has been dismissed. Furthermore, J. Nash contrasted men and women's religious involvement and attributed it to the religious difference, i.e. Buddhism and spirit worship, saying that "women are more concerned than men about the propitiation of the *nats*...men are more frequently serious Buddhist meditators" [J. Nash 1966:120]. However studies on rural area reveal that, in general, women constitute the majority in most religious gathering, being more preponderant in observing Sabbath and keener on participating in daily religious practice than men [Spiro 1982(1970):218; Kumada 2001:67-68]. How reverent Buddhist women concern spirit worship?

In this paper, After showing that most women in the village practice Buddhism piously throughout their lives, the succession and ritual of the Spirits of Tradition are analyzed. By examining these religious phenomena, gender-based inclinations manifest in the ways that people interact with the spirits, due to gendered innate Buddhist protective powers which human bodies have. Finally, it is shown that such gender-based tendencies on interacting with the spirits should be attributed not to gender categories but to individual differences.

I . Outline of the Setting

Thaya Village⁽¹⁾ is located in Thaya Village Tract in Shwebo District in the northern plain referred to as Upper Burma in Myanmar.⁽²⁾ Thaya Village is a rural, medium-sized village of about 160 households with a population of approximately 700, and almost all residents identify as *Bamah* and Buddhists. It is in a typical dry-zone, and nearly all households are involved in a rain-fed agriculture system based on irrigation ponds. Not only does Thaya Village have a long history with deep connections to the Kingship;⁽³⁾ it was also once a wealthy village inhabited by prosperous landowners. Even now, there are four monasteries which belong to *Shwekyin* Sect and 45 pagodas in the village.⁽⁴⁾ As a result, various organizations were created in Thaya Village to support the monks in the four monasteries and to assist with managing the numerous pagoda festivals.

The Pagoda Trustee Committee (*gawpaka ahpwe*),⁽⁵⁾ composed of seven men in their 50s and 60s who act as lay representatives, plays a leading role in all Buddhist ceremonies. Furthermore, there is the Four Ward Four Head Alms Giving Group (*leiyat leigaun hsunlaun ahpwe*),⁽⁶⁾ which acts as an auxiliary at the privately sponsored pagoda festivals⁽⁷⁾ by making breakfast for the monks when necessary. These organizations have male leaders and take part in supervising Buddhist ceremonies, primarily the pagoda festivals. In contrast, the Alms Giving Duty Group (*hsunhinhkwet ahpwe*) participates in preparing breakfast for the monks for daily, non-ceremonial occasions, and its members are female representatives from each household,⁽⁸⁾ In Thaya Village there were two *Dhammasekkya* Groups that read the *Dhammasekkya* sutra at Buddhist ceremonies such as *ahlu*, combination of initiation ceremony for young novices and ear-piercing ceremony for young girls. Both have unmarried women among their members.⁽⁹⁾ In addition to these groups for younger members, there is also a group for older members called the Vassa Intensive Retreat Group (*wagyisaun ahpwe*).⁽¹⁰⁾ This is a group of lay observers who spend the three months of *vassa* (*wa*) observing the Eight Precepts,⁽¹¹⁾ the greatest commandment for

laypeople. Over 90% of the group is female,⁽¹²⁾ and the leader is chosen not by gender, but according to how long he/she has observed the precepts.⁽¹³⁾

All religious organizations in Thaya Village take part in Buddhism, and people participate according to age and gender. Men's involvement in religious organizations is relatively infrequent and unusual.⁽¹⁴⁾ In contrast, starting in childhood and for the rest of their lives, women of all generations belong to some forms of religious organizations and accumulate merits (*kudout*) by doing activities such as reading sutras, making daily and occasional offerings, or observing the precepts.⁽¹⁵⁾ Most participants in Buddhist rituals held on Uposatha (*ubout nei*) are women, and are renowned for their enthusiastic participation in Buddhist activities outside the village. Women are decidedly committed to accumulating merits in contrast to men, who have relatively few opportunities to take part in religious acts. It is clear that women are indispensable for maintaining village Buddhism.

Besides the monasteries and pagodas, the village has shrines for spirits. Villagers divide spirits around the village into two categories: (1) spirits inside the village (*atwin nat*) and (2) spirits outside the village (*apyin nat*); normally, villages in Upper Burma are geographically separated from their outer boundaries by gates and fences. The shrine of Thaya Village's guardian spirit is called *Ywadowshin* (the Lord of Holy Village). It is located in the community's physical center and has a carved white wooden horse inside that symbolizes *Myinbyushin* (the Lord of the White Horse).⁽¹⁶⁾ In contrast, the shrine of *Nedawshin* (the Lord of Holy Land)⁽¹⁷⁾ and the shrine of *Myautpetshinma* (the Northern Female Lord)⁽¹⁸⁾ are outside the village to the east and the north (see Map 1).

Ywadowshin and *Nedawshin* are both called *Bobogyi* (the Big Grandfathers); the villagers recognize them in the form of old men wearing white clothing. Villagers said *Ywadowshin* protects the community's interior, while *Nedawshin* protects the whole eastern area of his shrine. *Myautpetshinma* has a permanent connection to all the residents, but especially protects the women.⁽¹⁹⁾ Thus, shrines are placed based on concepts of inside/outside, and villagers recognize spirits according to specific images. When villagers, particularly women, visit their shrines, they "show their respect" (*ayoahei pyade*) to the spirits by removing their sandals or bowing down (*gadaw*), just as they do when visiting a pagoda or monastery.

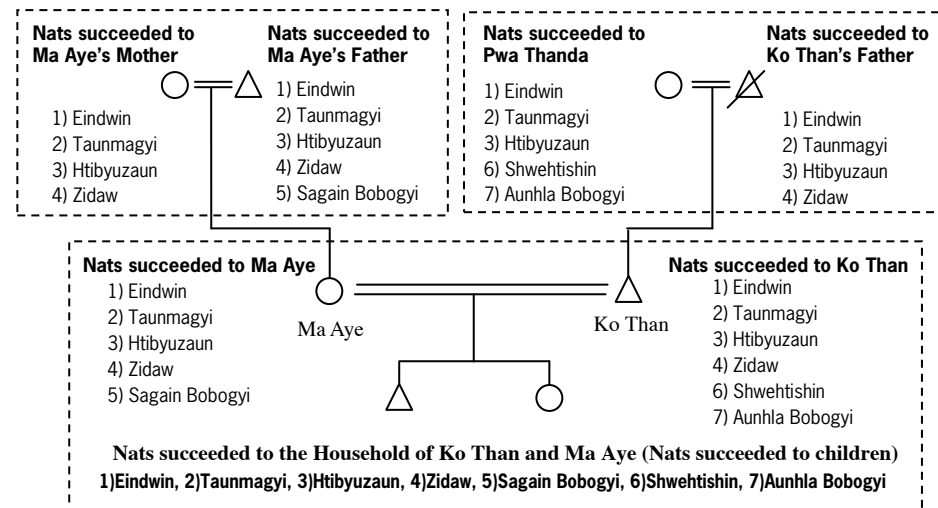
Furthermore, a number of places exist where spirits are said to dwell, despite not having a shrine in the area (see Map 1). Among places called *natkyide neiya* (place with a big spirit), two are especially important. One is a tamarind tree on the banks of Kandawgyi pond to the east of the village, inhabited by *Asheinidaw* (the Elder Brother of the East). The other is also a tamarind tree, located on the banks of Magyi pond to the south of the village, where residents believe two brother spirits live; they are called *Taunmagyi* (Big King of the South).⁽²⁰⁾ Of all the village spirits, *Taunmagyi* is the most formidable because the inhabitants must follow many detailed instructions during their rituals.⁽²¹⁾

II. The Spirits of Tradition and Its Succession

The religious institutions of Thaya Village have been introduced, next, the spirit

worship seen in Thaya Village will be explored. This religious observance can be divided into two different types, depending on the organization responsible for it. One is the ritual arranged and sponsored by the village called *ywabon nattin* (the whole village spirit worship) for the community's tutelary spirits.⁽²²⁾ The other is the ritual, called *shingyitin* (the big lord ritual) in this area, coordinated by each household to propitiate the Spirits of Tradition to which every household member transmitted individually.

In Burmese, the phrase *hsainde* describes a special bond between a particular spirit and a human being, as the Spirits of Tradition is called *mizain hpazain nat* (spirits related to mother and father). However who is connected to which spirit varies widely depending on the person and the region. Concerning the transmission of the Spirits of Tradition, J. Nash suggested that some say that women receive their *nat* obligations from their mother, men from their father, others say that they received their *nats* both parents, however if the parents' *nats* differ, the women's *nat* is the one likely to be inherited [J. Nash 1966:120]. On the other hand, Spiro reported the mode of inheritance seems patrilineal and it is only in very rare cases that the offspring of parents with different *mizain-hpazain nats* inherit the *nats* of both parents, because the vast majority have only one spirit, and no one has more than two [Spiro 1967:100-101].



Remarks : [] range of household

1) : the Household spirits concerning to every household, 2) and 3) : the spirits concerning to whole Thaya Villagers, 4) : the tutelary spirit of Zidaw village, 6) : the tutelary spirit of Shwehti Village, 7) : the tutelary spirit of Aunhla Village

Figure 1: Succession of the Traditional Nats : a case of same village marriage (case 1)

Figure 1 displays the succession of the Spirits of Tradition in Ko Than,⁽²³⁾ and Ma Aye's household both from Thaya Village. *Eindwin* is a spirit related to every household in the Burmasphere and symbolized by the coconut called *natsweoun*. *Taunmagyi* and *Htibyuzaun* (Guardian of the White Umbrella) are the spirits connected to all Thaya Village residents. Thus every Thaya Villager has these three spirits as his/her Spirits of Tradition. Ma Aye's Spirits of Tradition are 1) *Eindwin*, 2) *Taunmagyi*, 3) *Htibyuzaun*, 4) *Zidaw*⁽²⁴⁾ and 5) *Sagain Bobogyi* (the Big Grandfather of Sagain). Similarly, Ko Than's Spirits of Tradition are 1) *Eindwin*, 2) *Taunmagyi*, 3) *Htibyuzaun*, 4) *Zidaw*, 6) *Shwehtishin*, and 7) *Aunhla*

Bobogyi.⁽²⁵⁾ Case #1 shows that both parents pass on their Spirits of Tradition to their children. However, while the succession of spirits is restricted to individuals, the ritual is conducted by each household. Therefore, the Spirits of Tradition is sometimes mentioned by household unit and this household has 7 Spirits of Tradition.

Ko Than and Ma Aye have three spirits in common, since they are from same village. In case #2, U Zaw Ya from Hsinbyu Village (the neighboring community to the east of Thaya Village) migrated to Thaya Village after marrying Daw Thein Win from Thaya Village (see Figure 2). Daw Thein Win's Spirits of Tradition are 1)*Eindwin*, 2)*Taunmagyi*, 3)*Htibyzaun*, 4)*Aunhla Bobogyi*, 5)*Thalain*, 6)*Magyihpyu*, and 7)*Shwepwehla nat*. U Zaw Ya originally inherited 1) *Eindwin*, 8) *Mabyan Bobogyi* (the Big Grandfather of Mabyan), 9)*Zidaw*, 10)*Kanyi*⁽²⁶⁾ from his parents. Among them, *Eindwin* and *Mabyan Bobogyi* are the spirits connected to all Hsinbyu Village residents. It is after migration that he added *Taunmagyi* and *Htibyzaun* to his Spirits of Tradition. Their household has up to 10 Spirits of Tradition. Thus people around Thaya Village receive their *nats* from both parents without lack.

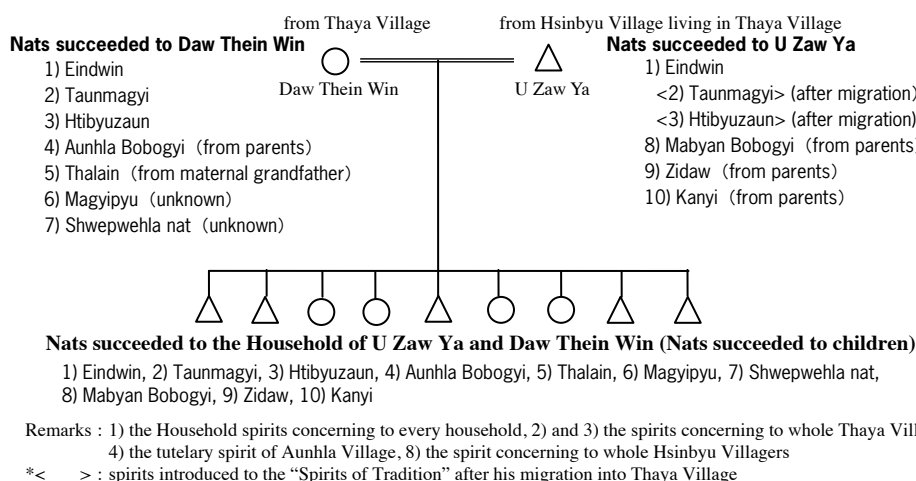


Figure 2: Succession of the Traditional Nats:
a case of migration into Thaya Village by marriage (case 2)

These cases suggest two important facts. First, case #2 indicated that once a "connection" is made with a certain spirit by living in a particular village, the spirit becomes a Spirit of Tradition, even if the resident did not inherit it from his/her parents. However, Spiro suggested that the basis for the propitiation of *mizain-hpazain nats* is descent rather than residence, as an immigrant continues to propitiate the *nat* associated with his region of origin, rather than the *nat* of the region to which he has migrated [Spiro 1967: 98]. On the other hand, case #2 showed that the propitiation of the Spirits of Tradition is both hereditary and territorial. The Spirits of Tradition represent the relationship between the land and the people, and the bonds are passed down through blood lines, as these spirits are the lord (*ashin*) of their own territories where the people and their ancestors live or once lived.

Second, most spirits counted as the Spirits of Tradition in the area around Thaya Village are tutelary spirits of particular villages or areas. In both cases, *Shwehtishin*, *Aunhla Bobogyi*, *Mabyan Bobogyi* and *Sagain Bobogyi* are the guardian spirits of Shwehti Village,

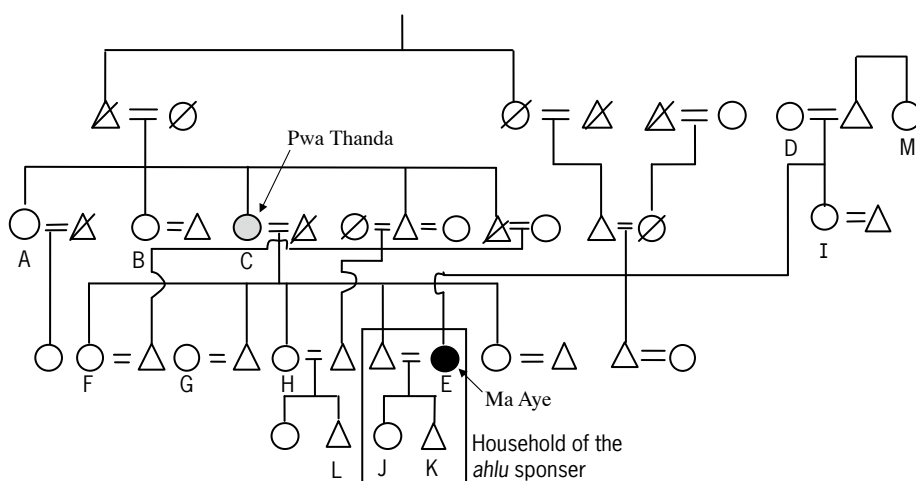
Aunhla Village, Hsinbyu Village and Sagain Town respectively,⁽²⁷⁾ while *Zidaw* and *Kanyi* protect fairly large domains as their own “territory”.⁽²⁸⁾ If a person knows the name of the area’s guardian spirit, he/she can deduce a rough history of the local people’s migration, as well as that of their ancestors. Furthermore, previous studies classify the Spirits of Tradition as exclusive category to house or household *nat*, village *nats*, regional *nats* [M. Nash 1965, 1966; J. Nash 1966; Spiro 1967]. However both cases suggested that the Spirits of Tradition are not exclusive category, including a household *nat*, village *nats* and regional *nats*.

The Spirits of Tradition guard places such as houses, villages, or larger territories, and are deeply connected to land usage. These spirits are passed on to individuals on a systematic basis in the Thaya Village area, regardless of gender. Next, the author shall examine the ritual for the Spirits of Tradition, called *shingyitin* (the Great Lord’s Ritual).

III. *Shingyitin*: Worshipping the Spirits of Tradition

Shingyitin is performed on two occasions. One is a regular ritual held once a year,⁽²⁹⁾ while the other occurs prior to specific ceremonies. The annual rite, which prays for the health, safety, and tranquility of the family, can be held at any time during the year except for *vassa*.⁽³⁰⁾ The other is held either for a rite of passage (birth, *ahlu*, *yahanhkan*, or marriage) or before large Buddhist rituals such as *kathina* etc.⁽³¹⁾ In Thaya Village, people, especially women, believe it is absolutely necessary to hold *shingyitin* before any ceremony to accumulate merits, and so that the spirits will not interfere it.⁽³²⁾

Let us consider the case of Ko Than and Ma Aye (Case #1), who held *shingyitin* prior to the *ahlu* ceremony for their child. The couple was to perform *ahlu* in mid-February 2003, so they performed *shingyitin* 10 days before *ahlu* to prevent the spirits from intervening in the ceremony and to pray for its success. The couple coordinated *ahlu*, but Ko Than’s mother Pwa Thanda was the main performer of *shingyitin*.



Remarks: A~L participants of the *shingyitin* ritual

* This is an extract of a part of relatives who attended the *shingyitin* ritual.

Figure 3: Participants of the *Shingyitin* Ritual

Figure 3 shows the family participants in the *shingyitin* ritual. It shows female relatives from both sides of the family joined; non-relatives do not participate usually. However, those skilled in performing spirit rituals, such as professional mediums called *natgadaw*, can take part at the organizers' request. Because there was no professional *natgadaw* in Thaya Village at the time, a "*natgadaw*" who lived nearby⁽³³⁾ and a distant relative who were able to perform the ritual well (called *tindattelu* or *nat ma naindelu*), were asked to assist.⁽³⁴⁾ Inviting non-relatives relates to the unique characteristics of the *ahlu* ceremony.⁽³⁵⁾ Only *ahlu shingyitin* requires worshiping not only the Spirits of Tradition but also the village guardian spirits, namely *Ywadowshin*, *Nedawshin*, *Myaupetshinma*, and *Ashei nidaw*. Time constraints necessitate extra help.⁽³⁶⁾

Table 1: The Process of the *Shingyitin* Ritual

Ritual Place (see map 1)	Time	Nats offered Large Offering	Nats offered Small Offering	Location and direction	Participants (see fig. 3)	Notes
☆1	6:30	worship Buddha alter and offer sacred rice to Buddha		(in)(*10) Toward alter of Pwa Thanda's house	Pwa Thanda(C), " <i>natgadaw</i> ", Ma Aye(E), D	
	7:00~ about 10 minutes	[1] (*1)Eindwin offering : <i>gadawbwe</i> A (*2), <i>pwegyi</i> (*3), a glass of water, sour soup, paste of <i>thanakha</i>	nil	(in) Toward a coconut hung on pillar near the Buddhist alter	" <i>natgadaw</i> ", <i>tindattelu</i> (*12) Pwa Thanda(C), Ma Aye(E), D, I	
☆2	7:15~ about 15 minutes	[2] Shwehtishin offering : <i>gadawbwe</i> A, <i>pwegyi</i> , a glass of water, sour soup	nil	(in)Toward small private shrine of the Lord of Shwehtishin.	" <i>natgadaw</i> ", Ma Aye(E), J, A, later B	
☆3	7:45~ about 20 minutes	[3] Zidaw offering: <i>gadawbwe</i> B (*4), <i>pwegyi</i> , a glass of water, sour soup, steamed glutinous rice	(N)(*6) gardian spirit of mountain (N) gardian spirit of forest	(out)(*11) At a field in the north of the village. Toward the palace of Zidaw Village	<i>tindattelu</i> , D, I, M, later " <i>natgadaw</i> ", Ma Aye(E)	
☆4	8:20~ about 10 minutes	[4] Aunhla Bobogyi offering: <i>gadawbwe</i> B, <i>pwegyi</i> , a glass of water, sour soup, (main offering is offered only for <i>ahlu</i>)	(F)(*7) Nattaunbaw (F) Ngahkedaw (F/P)(*8) Outkangyi (F/T)(*9) Pyun u magyibin	(out) At a field in the north of the village. Toward Aunhla Village	" <i>natgadaw</i> ", <i>tindattelu</i> , Ma Aye(E), D, M	
☆5	8:45~ about 10 minutes	[5] Myauthpet shinma offering: <i>gadawbwe</i> B, <i>pwegyi</i> , a glass of water, sour soup, steamed glutinous rice	nil	(out) At the shrine of the Northern Female Lord.	" <i>natgadaw</i> " <i>tindattelu</i> , Ma Aye(E), D, M	worshiped only for <i>ahlu</i> ritual
☆6,7,8	9:20~ about 10 minutes	[6] Htibyuzaun offering: <i>gadawbwe</i> B, <i>pwegyi</i> , a glass of water, sour soup, a special offering made of white paper umbrella with yellow cloth stucked into basket filled with sand	nil	(out) At the left bank of Magyi pond in the south of the village. Toward the west	Pwa Thanda(C), F, G, H, later " <i>natgadaw</i> ", Ma Aye(E), D, M, J, <i>tindattelu</i>	
	9:30~ about 5 minutes	[7] Sagain Bobogyi offering: <i>gadawbwe</i> B, <i>pwegyi</i> , a glass of water, sour soup,	nil	(out) Same place as above. Toward Sagain town in the south of the village	" <i>natgadaw</i> ", Ma Aye(E), <i>tindattelu</i> , D, M, J, Pwa Thanda(C),	

Ritual Place (see map 1)	Time	Nats offered Large Offering	Nats offered Small Offering	Location and direction	Perticipants (see fig. 3)	Notes
☆6,7,8	9:40～ about 30 minutes	[8] Taunmagyi offering: <i>gadawbwe C</i> (*5), two sets of <i>pwegyi</i> , two glasses of water, two cups of sour soup, two dishes of dried beef,two glasses of palm wine * <i>gadawbwe C</i> may be substitutes by <i>gadawbwe</i> A, but not <i>gadawbwe B</i> .	(F/P) Hsinmigan	(out) Same place as above. Toward the south.	Pwa Thanda(C), F, G, H, " <i>natgadaw</i> ", Ma Aye(E), D, M, J, <i>tindattelu</i> B, I, F, two boys (K, L)	
			(F) Nyaunbinwundaw			
			(F) Gwehindaw Bobogyi			
			(F/P) Tamagyigan Bobogyi			
			(F/P) Thayetkan Bobogyi			
			(F/P) Zitkan Bobogyi			
			(F) Natgyigon Bobogyi			
			[12] Kanyi	Toward the west		
			[13] Inle Mibaya (offered for the Four Big Mother. Guardian spirit of the pond of neighbouring Nyaunbin Village)			
			(F/P) Thegan Bobogyi		Toward the east	
			(F) Leinmyin Bobogyi			
(F) Myethnakyin Bobogyi	Toward the west					
the Thirty-Seven Lords (means other unspecified <i>nats</i>)						
[14] Nyaungyi O Bobogyi	Toward the west					
☆9	10:20～ about 5 minutes	< <i>ywahkya</i> > offer leftovers of offering to a witchcraft (<i>soun or kawei</i>) called <i>ywathami</i>	nil	(in) At the compound of Pwa Thanda's house		
☆10	10:30～ about 10 minutes	[9] Ywadaushin offering: <i>gadawbwe B</i> , <i>pwegyi</i> , a glass of water, sour soup,	nil	(in) At the shrine of the Lord of Holy Village	" <i>natgadaw</i> ", Pwa Thanda(C), D	worshiped only for <i>ahlu</i> ritual
☆11	10:50～ about 10 minutes	[10] Nedawshin offering: <i>gadawbwe B</i> , <i>pwegyi</i> , a glass of water, sour soup,	(P) Kandawgyi [11] Elder Brother of East	(out) At the shrine of the Lord of Holy Land	" <i>natgadaw</i> ", <i>tindattelu</i> Pwa Thanda(C), D	worshiped only for <i>ahlu</i> ritual
☆12	later day	[11] Asheinidaw offering: <i>gadawbwe B</i> , <i>pwegyi</i> , a glass of water, sour soup, a dish of whole fish	unknown [10] Lord of Holy Land	(out)At the left bank of Kandawgyi pond in the east of the village. Toward the east.	unknown	worshiped only for <i>ahlu</i> ritual

Notes: (*1) [1]~[11] *Nats* offered the main offering.

(*2) *gadawbwe A* : one coconut, two bunches of banana, two cigarettes, two packets of betel, fermented tea (*lahpet*).

(*3) *pwegyi* : seven sets of rice, with two kinds of fried pastries (*monni* and *monhpyu*) and fried fish on the each top of the rice.

(*4) *gadawbwe B* : two bunches of banana, two cigarettes, one packet of betel, fermented tea (*lahpet*).

(*5) *gadawbwe C* : three bunches of banana, two cigarettes, two packets of betel, fermented tea (*lahpet*).

(*6) (N): gardian spirits of natural objects such as mountains or forests.

(*7) (F): gardian spirits of farm carrying the name of the farm.

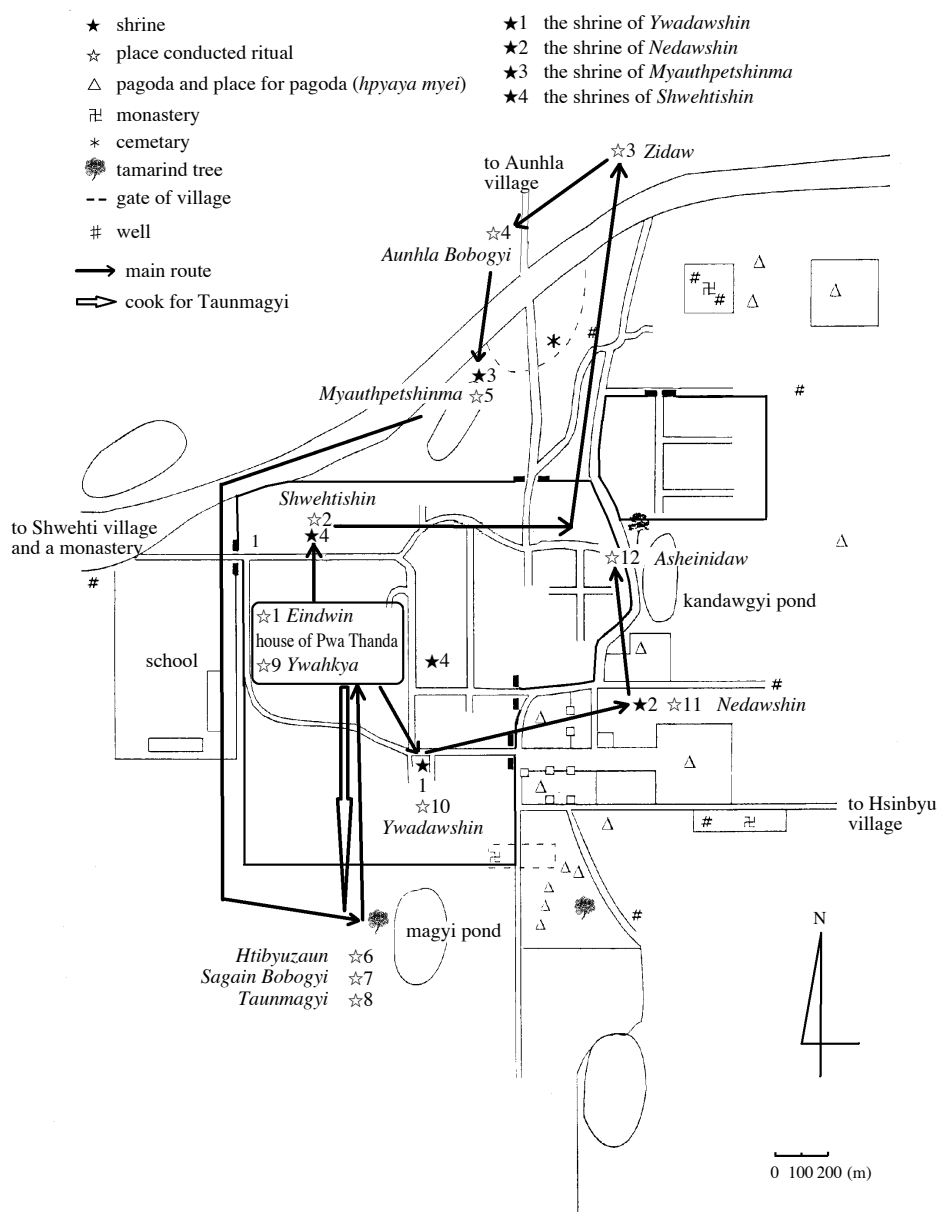
(*8) (P): gardian spirits of pond carrying the name of the pond of farm.

(*9) (T): gardian spirits of tree carrying the name of the farm land.

(*10) (in): inside the village.

(*11) (out): outside the village.

(*12) *tindattelu* : a person who knows *shingyitin* well.



Map 1: Ritual Places of a *Shingyitin* for *ahlu*

Table 1 illustrates the process of *shingyitin*, and Map 1 shows the places where *shingyitin* was conducted. Table 1 shows that a vast number of spirits are worshipped during *shingyitin* along with the Spirits of Tradition, and participants carefully arrange all offerings according to the spirits' preferences.⁽³⁷⁾ However, the offerings prove that the Spirits of Tradition are the main subjects of *shingyitin*. Since offerings are roughly divided into "large offerings" (*pwegyi*)⁽³⁸⁾ and "small offerings" (*pwethei*),⁽³⁹⁾ only the Spirits of Tradition and the village guardian spirits receive the large ones.

Small offerings are given to impersonal, abstract guardian spirits who watch over the mountains and forests, in addition to the guardian spirits that possess the specific name of a

location, such as a field, a pond that provides the field with water or a tree becoming the mark of a field. Such guardian spirits of fields include those of the fields cultivated by the family's ancestors, as well as fields currently being tilled. Participants choose the nearest place where the spirits dwell for the ceremony and turn in that direction; they call the spirits by name and make offerings one by one, carefully ensuring that none are forgotten.

Thus, the places that support the household's livelihood, such as fields and ponds, are remembered in detail, along with the land where family and ancestors live or once lived during *shingyitin*. By performing *shingyitin*, participants reaffirm their relationship to the land and pass on their knowledge to the next generation. *Shingyitin* is especially important since the participants are farmers who bond deeply with the land, and rain-fed farming depends on the weather, which humans cannot control.

In the succession of the Spirits of Tradition in the Thaya Village region, both sides of the family pass spirits down to individuals, no matter what their gender. Simultaneously, the *shingyitin* ritual for propitiating the Spirits of Tradition performed in the household reaffirms the ties between household members, their ancestors, and the land; it has nothing to do with gender alone, however, the only bilateral female relatives participate. Why do men not take part in rites, despite inheriting the Spirits of Tradition? In the next section, the relationship between gender and spirit worship will be analyzed while also showing the wide variation in people's perceptions of spirits.

IV. Gender and Interacting With Spirits

There are various negative opinions about spirit worship, but criticism from a Buddhist standpoint is particularly frequent.

Example 1 (U Than Zin, a 42-year-old man): "Spirits are those who wander the world after they die without being reincarnated, right? And sure, they died a violent death (*aseinthei*), like being killed or burned to death, but isn't that because they did something in a past life to deserve it? Why should we bow down to them? *Ko Gyi Kyaw* is a gambler and a drinker. He's nothing special."

Ko Gyi Kyaw is one of the most famous spirits in Myanmar, and gambling and drinking he loves violates the Five Precepts.⁽⁴⁰⁾ According to mythology, many spirits of the Thirty-Seven Lords threatened the kingship or the Buddhist order due to their supernatural powers when they were alive, and were put to death by royal decree. Karmic justice is a fundamental tenet of Buddhism, but to become a *nat* by dying an unnatural death means to wander without being reincarnated. In other words, the supernatural and ambivalent power of *nats* derives from the deviation from order or norm created by kings or Buddhism. U Than Zin quoted above is saying that there is no need to worship those who disobeyed the Buddha's teachings and died horrible deaths.

Buddhism acknowledges the existence of spirits. For example, the most well-known division of spirits in the Burmasphere is the distinction between *ahet nat* (higher spirits)⁽⁴¹⁾

and *aut nat* (lower spirits);⁽⁴²⁾ From the Buddhist perspective, spirits are caught in the cycle of reincarnation and, like living people, aim to have a better future life by accumulating merits that they cannot obtain on their own.

Next, the standpoint of a Buddhist monk shall be examined.

Example 2 (U Zawtika, a monk who is preaching during a pagoda festival in the village): “Do not worship spirits. It seems that there are many spirits, such as *Ko Gyi Kyaw* and *Ma Ma Ne*, for whom rituals are held...[Before sharing merits.] We will send loving kindness (*myitta pode*) and transmit the merit (*ahmya weide*) to the tutelary spirit of the pagoda (*payasaun nat*), the ancestors who built the pagoda, and the ancestors who are connected to the pagoda.”

The monk is preaching in the first half of the quote and tells his audience, mostly women, to stop worshipping spirits. Yet in the second half, he states that loving kindness and accumulated merits from the audience should be transmitted to the pagoda’s guardian spirit and the ancestors who helped build it. In other words, the monk regards the approach for dealing with spirits as a problem, rather than their mere existence. He believes that the deceased and spirits should not be worshipped, but rather should be treated in a “Buddhist approach” with loving-kindness and transmitting merit so that they can receive them. The monk is not the only one with this attitude; most men think this way as well.

Example 3 (U Bha Thein, 72-year-old man and former member of a *gawpaka ahpwe*): “There isn’t any need to do anything special for the spirits or to prepare coconuts [etc.]. Men don’t participate in spirit worship because women say they want to do it anyway. Women do it on their own; it has nothing to do with us. Like the Buddha says, you don’t have to do anything special for spirits; just treat them with loving kindness.”

Like the monk in example #2, U Bha Thein sees a problem in how people deal with the spirits, not the spirits themselves. However, his view differs slightly from the monk’s in regard to rituals. Unlike the monk who forbade spirit worship, U Bha Thein tacitly consents to it, half-heartedly criticizing women by stating that women “say they want to do it anyway.” Furthermore, he categorizes spirit worship as a gender-based issue when he says it has “nothing to do with” men, and that everyone should take a “Buddhist approach” to spirits.

These examples view spirit worship in a critical light and consider the real issue to be how the spirits are treated, not the existence of it. However, individual interpretations vary, as shown by the aforementioned quotes.⁽⁴³⁾ How do women who conduct spirit rituals see their practice? Three women’s opinions will now be analyzed.

Example 4 (Daw Nyun, a 57-year-old woman, from a conversation during *shingyitin*):

Daw Nyun: “When we observe the Eight Precepts during *vassa*, we show our respect (*ayoathei pyade*) to the spirits at their shrines, but we do not bow down

(*gadaw*) before them. We don't have to. It's not just the men. The monks, and of course nuns (*thilashin*) don't have to either."

Author: "Why don't the men have to bow down?"

Daw Nyun: "Men have strong *hpoun kan* (cumulative result of past meritorious deeds) from the time they are born, so they don't have to bow down. If we follow the Eight Precepts, we don't have to either."

Author: "Even if men break the Five Precepts by drinking alcohol or something else, they don't have to bow down to pray?"

Daw Nyun: "No. Because men have strong *hpoun kan* from birth."

Example 5 (Ma Khin Aye, a 37-year-old woman, from a conversation during *shingyitin*): "If we don't hold *shingyitin*, who knows what would happen? It's not bowing down (*gadaw*) to the spirits. It's just showing them our respect (*ayoahei pyade*)."

Example 6 (Pwa Mya Sein, a 61-year-old woman, from a conversation about her Spirits of Tradition): "Honestly, I don't want to hold *shingyitin*. It's not cheap. You have to buy a lot of bananas, betel, tobaccos and fried foods. You need coconuts and even snacks for *Taunmagyi* too. And you have to go a palm farm to buy palm wine for them. That's why we get permission from the spirits to do it every three years, even though you're supposed to do it once a year.

But you have to hold the ritual. It can't be helped. The men don't do it, so the women have to. Because women have less *hpoun*."

These examples make some essential points. First, not all women involved in rituals are willing to perform them. However, they think they have to because men don't participate. Secondly, Daw Nyun and Ma Khin Aye distinguish showing respect to spirits from bowing down to them. Not only do men not have to bow down to spirits because they have a large amount of *hpoun kan*, but both male and female Buddhist renunciants don't have to either. It is only lay women who must bow down, however there are exceptions. As long as they follow the Eight Precepts, they don't have to bow down, however they must show the spirits respect. Thus, Buddhist powers such as *hpoun kan* dictate whether people must bow down to spirits or not. Why do the Eight Precepts allow women to not bow down? And why do women differentiate bowing down from showing respect?

To answer former question, we should explore how spirits are recognized in the Burmasphere. Spirits are said to provide protection if properly approached; however, spirits can also cause misfortune, disease or calamity when treated incorrectly. By offering food that symbolizes sacrifice, rituals serve to make spirits protect people. Such manipulation is especially important for women and children, who are said to be susceptible to spirits due to their souls' inherent "smallness" (*leikpya ngede*) and "softness" (*leikpya nude*), and have few powers, such as *hpoun kan*. Here, *hpoun* (power, glory, virtue, influence) and *kan* (karma, luck) are recognized as a kind of protective power found primarily in male bodies.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Hpoun in particular is contrary to female reproductive power, symbolized by menstrual blood,⁽⁴⁵⁾ which diminishes the strength of *hpoun*.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Because of insufficient innate protective

power and holding reproductive power which diminishes the strength of *hpoun* that women bodies have, women need strategy to resist spiritual attacks. One is a way of spirit worship, such as showing respect, bowing down to spirits or performing rituals, the other is a Buddhist approach to observing the Eight Precepts, as *hpoun* can be increased through Buddhist asceticism.⁽⁴⁷⁾

For increasing innate protective power, why women must keep the Eight Precept not the Five Precepts which lay people recommended to observe? The difference between these codes of conduct is especially significant. The Eight Precepts include the Five Precepts, but the each prohibition differs slightly. The Five Precepts prohibit adultery, but do not forbid sexual intercourse.⁽⁴⁸⁾ However, the Eight Precepts forbid it even for married couples.⁽⁴⁹⁾ This means that women can gain Buddhist protective power only by controlling their sensuality and reproductive power by asceticism, while men's sensuality regarded to be natural and nothing to do with their protective power. Thus, it is not the Five Precepts but the Eight Precepts which allow women not to bow down to spirits.

V. Gender and Power in Buddhism and Spirit Worship

Regarding another question why do women differentiate bowing down from showing respect, it is necessary to consider the differences in Buddhist constructs of power, how it is used, and spirit worship more precisely. Some may approximate the Buddha's paramount and absolute power through ascetic practices. It is at the point of the ultimate salvation, *nibbana* (nirvana), that Buddhist supernatural power reaches its climax, however, ultimate salvation causes a termination of their existence with attained supernatural power [Tamura 1984: 163-164]. If people have sacred power such as *dago*, they try to refrain from exercising it as much as possible and let others be obedient by the prestige of the possession of power [Tamura 1991: 181]. Thus, power in Buddhism is paradoxical; it becomes absolute when it disappears with a person who stops being reincarnated, and the mere existence of power or a symbol of it matters most, not using it.

In contrast, unlike the absolute power of Buddhism, the power of spirits is arbitrary and ambivalent with both protective and destructive aspects; it can also be used violently and dictatorially like kings. The source of power lies in their marginality, because spirits are not fully included in Buddhist norms or the central royal authority. Their power has meaning when it is utilized; that is why people manipulate spirits by conducting a ritual and "negotiating" with them. Unlike in Buddhism, the power of spirits is considered secular (*lawki*) [Tamura 1987: 50].

Both kinds of power differ completely in terms of their nature and how they are used. The power of spirits is low on the hierarchy of Buddhist values. For those who criticize worshipping spirits, attempting to utilize their power through rituals or pilgrimages can violate Buddhist norms, which restrict the exercise of power.

How does the power of spirits relate to the supernatural forces of the gendered body? The Burmasphere has the concept of mind-body dualism in which humans are composed of the body (*yout*) and the soul (*nam*). In the Buddhist faith, the soul will still exist even if

someone dies and reincarnates according to the merits accumulated over that person's lifetime. There is also a local discourse on the soul called *leikpya*⁽⁵⁰⁾ or *winnyin*. Women are said to be more vulnerable to spirits' attack and easily possessed by them than men, since their souls are inherently "small" (*leikpya ngede*) and "soft" (*leikpya nude*), which means their souls are less firmly attached to their bodies. Especially the soul is prominent in spirit medium cult, as the key ritual to becoming a professional medium is called *leikpya theit* in which the souls of the human and the spirit connect [cf. Spiro 1967:213-217; Rodrigue 1992:52-55, Iikuni 2013]. Thus spirits are recognized as an external force that can affect the human soul.⁽⁵¹⁾

Gendered human bodies have two kinds of innate power; one is Buddhist protective power *hpoun* which men have much, the other is women's ability to procreate treated as a dangerous and unclean force that can reduce *hpoun*. It is the Buddhist protective power that can block extrinsic attack from spirits, and people need to internalize it, no matter what their gender. Women can counter the effect of reproductive capacity of their body by observing the precepts which control sensuality.

Treating the spirits with loving-kindness and transmitting merit to them are seen as a good deed in the Buddhist context, and it is encouraged regardless of gender. Men who are considered to have a lot of protective power in their bodies need only to do this. In contrast, women are thought to have little inherent protective power in their bodies and need to perform countermeasures against external attacks from spirits; women can do so by observing the precepts or worshipping spirits. However, the process of accumulating Buddhist protective power within an individual body by observing the precepts cannot be used to protect an entire family. Hence, women participate in rituals as representatives of their households.

On the other hand, when women conduct *shingyitin* for their family, it means not only they utilize the supernatural power of spirits but also submit themselves to the Spirits of Tradition whose power deviate from Buddhist norms. Because the practice of *gadaw*, which is conducted not only in *shingyitin* but also in Buddhist ritual frequently, means subordination; that is, kneeling on the ground, clasping one's hands, and touching the head to the ground.⁽⁵²⁾ This is why Ma Khin Aye distinguished showing respects from bowing down to spirits. She intended that if she conducted *gadaw* in *shingyitin*, it meant not subordinating to spirits but just showing respect (*ayoahei pyade*). By interpreting the practice of bowing down as showing respect, this means that women are just submitting to the Triple Gems; Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha. Some conduct *shingyitin* not because they genuinely want to, but because they have internalized male-centered Buddhist values which ranked women subordinate in terms of innate power.

Such half-hearted involvement with the spirits can be viewed as respecting them, but also keeping them at bay in order to prevent disasters and pray for safety. Some women are willing to worship spirits, but there are also women who criticize deliberately approach to spirits to request things by attending large festivals such as *Taunbyon*. However even the latter allow holding *shingyitin*, recognizing them as "tradition" which they have already inherited from their parents. In any case, women are forced to submit to the two different powers found in spirits and Buddhism, but are admonished not to actively use the

supernatural powers of spirits as pious female Buddhists.

Conclusion

I have considered the relationship between religious practice and gender in a village in Upper Burma. Relationships between spirits and humans can be roughly divided into three types: 1) related via a place/locality, 2) related through lineage and 3) related through a connection to the soul. Among these types, examples of the Spirits of Tradition in Thaya Village show that land-based relationships are gradually incorporated into people's lineages. In addition, people have various ways of interacting with the spirits, from men who avoid getting involved with them due to the inherent Buddhist protective power in their bodies, to the half-hearted attitude of women, who conduct the ritual and show their respect, but try to keep away from spirits as much as possible as pious female Buddhists.

In practice, the relationship between people and spirits in Thaya Village reveals some gender-based tendencies, but the diversity of the findings should be attributed to individual differences rather than gender categories, as body's innate power to repelling the spiritual attack vary in individuals. Previous studies have shown that Buddhism marginalizes women and regards them as spiritually inferior. However, this view of women is not merely based on Buddhist ideology, but also concerns social inequalities based on gendered perceptions of the body, which have a great impact on people's everyday lives.

In Thaya Village, women worshiped spirits as their role because of societal beliefs about their bodies. On the other hand, they have agency not to bow down to spirits by accumulating Buddhist protective power in their bodies, or apply a different term "showing respect" to the act of bowing down instead. While perceptions of the gendered body serve as the foundation of the existing social order, there is also the potential to influence this hierarchy through practices. It is because anti-spirits tendency is accelerated especially in urban areas, where many people not only stop worshipping the Spirits of Tradition, including *Eindwin* (household *nat*), but also forget the name of them, regardless of gender. Since the gendered body is the nodal point which mediates pluralistic and multilayered social relationship, we need to be careful social authorities or forces in which the body placed.

Notes

- (1) Villages and Village Tract names in this article are listed according to their pseudonyms.
- (2) Village data is based on fieldwork conducted intermittently around the Thaya Village area from early November 2001 through the end of March 2003, and supplementary fieldwork carried out in August 2008 and February 2015. This work was supported by

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- (3) For example, during the Konbaun period, the village had the role of supplying salt and firewood to the palace and was also counted as a “cavalry village”. A monk from Thaya Village served as the teacher (*yazaguru*) of King Mindon and Thibaw.
- (4) Other villages in the same Village Tract such as Shwehti Village, Nyaunbin Village and Hkinhnin Village have only one monastery and two pagodas each.
- (5) The committee’s main activities are 1) mediating between monks and laypeople; 2) managing the village pagoda festivals, which are held four times a year, by collecting money for charity, holding a lottery, and keeping vigil over the offerings; 3) gathering participants for the rituals; and 4) taking care of the monks during Buddhist rituals.
- (6) The village is divided into quarters, with each taking turns to assist with the privately sponsored pagoda festivals.
- (7) Of the 45 pagodas, the village sponsored just four pagoda festivals, while the rest are privately sponsored. The whole village takes responsibility for food and offerings for the monks and pagodas. These festivals are quite large, with people invited from the neighboring villages. However, for the private festivals, villagers, mostly women, usually only provide the offering for the pagoda and participate in the ceremony.
- (8) In Thaya Village, households were divided into nine sections, and each took turns preparing breakfast for the monks.
- (9) The two groups were distinguished by age. One was a group for girls in primary and middle school, while the other was for unmarried women who have left school. Now, two groups were unified by one.
- (10) Activities during *vassa* are as follows: 1) In the early morning, all members weed the grounds of monasteries or pagodas. 2) Breakfast and lunch are eaten in members’ own homes. 3) Members gather at the pagodas in the evenings, count beads, or read sutras. 4) After sunset, members return to their homes and fast for the evening.
- (11) 1) Refrain from destroying living creatures. 2) Refrain from taking that which is not given. 3) Refrain from sexual activity. 4) Refrain from incorrect speech. 5) Refrain from intoxicating drinks and drugs which lead to carelessness. 6) Refrain from eating at the forbidden time (i.e. after noon). 7) Refrain from dancing, singing, music, going to see entertainments, wearing garlands, using perfumes, and beautifying the body with cosmetics, 8) Refrain from lying on a high or luxurious sleeping place.
- (12) In the *vassa* of 2002, 45 out of 50 observers were women, while in 2008, 67 out of 70 were female.
- (13) In 2002, the leader was a woman in her 60s who had observed *vassa* over 20 years.
- (14) Only a handful of elderly men in the village can become members of the most respected organizations, *gawpaka ahpwe*. For the rest, the only chance to assist with ceremonies is during the four village pagoda festivals and the *ahlu*. Other than assisting in these ceremonies, men rarely participate in daily religious activities unless they become a novice in childhood, dedicate their own son as a Buddhist novice, or meditate during *vassa*, especially if they are pious in old age.

- (15) Women who cannot join religious organizations due to agricultural duties usually join the labor organization called *kautsaitma ahpwe*. This group creates opportunities for members to accumulate merits. For details, see [Iikuni 2011: 76-79].
- (16) It is common for villages in Upper Burma to worship *Myinbyushin* as the village's guardian spirit. For more details, see [Spiro 1967:85,95-6,107].
- (17) This spirit is also called *Neleyin* (the Lord of the Central Land) or *Nehleyin* (the Lord of Rotating the Land). This paper will refer to it as *Nedawshin*.
- (18) This spirit is worshiped not only during annual village festivals and the *shingyitin* ritual for *ahlu*, but also during the birth ceremony; it is held seven days after a baby is born and *Medawgyingaba* (the Five Big Mothers), that is *Ameigyan*, *Ameiyeyin*, *Myautpetshinma*, *Hsegadaw* and *Kongadaw*, are worshipped along with the Spirits of Tradition in Thaya Village.
- (19) In addition to this, two personal shrines are built within individual homes, and both honor a spirit called *Shwehtishin* (the Lord of *Shwehti*). *Shwehtishin* is the guardian spirit of neighboring Shwehti Village. In both cases, a previous owner of the house had a personal connection to *Shwehtishin* and built a shrine for him.
- (20) As the names of two brother spirits are *Maun Nyo* and *Maun Hpyu*, *Taunmagyi* could be the *nat* in the list of the Thirty-Seven Lords. However, villagers are not only aware of it but also distinguish *Taunmagyi* from the Thirty-Seven Lords. In *shingyitin*, while a big offering is arranged for *Taunmagyi*, a small offering is arranged separately for the Thirty-Seven Lords which is for all the spirits that villagers cannot remember by their names.
- (21) *Taunmagyi* never accepts offerings prepared at home, since they must be prepared at the spirits' own dwelling place, where people bring kitchen utensils and foodstuffs. Not only are extremely luxurious *gadawbwe* and offerings for the two brother spirits arranged, but these spirits also require alcohol, dried meat. Two men also must attend to make the spirits appear by riding on horses made out of palm leaves (see Table 1).
- (22) The village guardian spirit ceremony (*ywabon nattin*), organized by Thaya Village, was performed by a spirit medium as follows: 1) The *Eindwin* ritual occurs at the headman's house. 2) The ritual for *Ywadowshin* is held at his shrine (also to propitiate two famous spirits *Ko Gyi Kyaw* and *Poutpa Medaw*). 3) The ritual for *Nedawshin* is held at his shrine. 4) The ritual for *Asheinidaw* is held at Kandawgyi pond. 5) The ritual for *Myautpetshinma* is held at her shrine (also to propitiate *Ameigyan*). 6) Fortune-telling, using shells, occurs at the headman's house. 7) A tug of war (men versus women) is held in an open space. This sequence of 7 steps was carried out in 2002, and conducted not only for periodic ritual, but also to bring rain. When the ritual is performed only for periodic ritual, the 7th steps do not take place. For further details, see [Iikuni 2011: 221-256].
- (23) All personal names in this paper are pseudonyms.
- (24) *Zidaw*, a spirit known throughout the country, was originally the guardian spirit of Zidaw Village in Shwebo District, and might become further widespread by becoming one of the king's Spirits of Tradition. For more information, see [Khin Maung Than 2001(1998):101-102].

- (25) *Shwehtishin* and *Aunhla Bobogyi* are pseudonyms, since they have the name of villages in them.
- (26) *Kanyi* is not well known nationally, but is a prominent local spirit; it is passed down as a Spirit of Tradition in many of the region's villages. According to the *nandein* (custodian of a shrine), *Kanyi* is *Myinbyushin*, who was given territory by a king. Those who inherit this spirit must participate in the ritual on the fifth waning day of the *Nayon* month.
- (27) *Taunmagyi* and *Htibyuzaun* could be seen as the guardians of Thaya Village, because they are linked to all its residents. However, the villagers recognize the village guardian spirit as *Ywadaushin*, not as *Taunmagyi* and *Htibyuzaun*. Not only are these two spirits in the list of the Thirty-Seven Lords, but they are also treated as the most formidable and awesome spirits in the *shingyitin* ritual. Considering the historically close connections with the Konbaung Dynasty, it is possible that these two central spirits were accorded more respect than the village's guardian spirit. Concerning the confrontation between the local and the national ritual, see [Brac de la Perrière 2005].
- (28) Spirits that protect relatively large territories have their own shrine called a "palace" (*nan*). At the "palace", at least one day of rituals will be held per year and people who are connected to the spirits attend the ceremonies obligatory.
- (29) The ritual should normally be held once a year, but many households hold it once every three years since it is expensive to conduct; they request forgiveness from the spirits during the ceremony. The cost of *shingyitin* varies depending on the number of spirits and the quality of the offerings, but is said to range from 2000 to 5000 kyats. In comparison, the cost of hiring the *kautsaima ahpwe* to weed or mow a lawn is 400 kyats per day, and to plant rice it is approximately 470 kyats at that time.
- (30) However, Wednesdays are avoided, and people say the spirits prefer rituals held during the months of *Nadaw* and *Tabaung*. When *shingyitin* must be held during *vassa* (for example a ritual for childbirth), the offerings are changed to vegetarian, and carbonated drinks are offered instead of alcohol in order to follow the Five Precepts as much as possible.
- (31) This type of *shingyitin* is sometimes called by another name: *mingalahsaun nattin* or *yahanhkan mingadaw nattin*. If this type *shingyitin* is held, the annual ritual can be skipped.
- (32) However, there is no need to perform *shingyitin* for the pagoda festivals.
- (33) This woman, who was in her 60s at the time, is not an official *natgadaw* since she didn't undergo the proper ritual (*yeizin thaut* and *sanhkan win*) to become a professional medium. However, the villagers called her a *natgadaw* because spirits possessed her and were able to deliver a revelation to her during rituals, due to the beauty of her soul (*leikpya hlade*).
- (34) While *natgadaw* can communicate directly with spirits through possession, *tindattelu* cannot. However, *tindattelu* who have much experience and knowledge of *shingyitin* can sense the spirits' intent from the relative physical weight of the offering. They sense spirits' will by lifting the *gadawbwe* with both hands and judging its weight, while saying "If you are satisfied, become as light as a flower!" or "If you are satisfied,

become as heavy as a stone!”

- (35) For the *ahlu* ceremony, special attention is paid to the village guardian spirits, since they are worshiped twice. In addition to *shingyitin*, people visit each monastery and spirit shrines in the village to pray for divine protection during the *ahlu* ritual, which is called *kyaun gadaw nat pya* in Thaya Village; similarly, children in urban areas are always taken to spirits’ shrines during *ahlu*.
- (36) Spirit rituals must generally conclude by mid-morning. However the ritual for *Anaut medaw*, the spirit believed to preside over childbirth, must be held in the evening at the time when she died, according to myth.
- (37) For example, two cups of palm wine and dried beef snacks are prepared, and two boys need to bring the spirits using implement of horses made of *nipa* for the *Taungmagyi* brothers. Meanwhile, the spirit *Htibyuzaun*, who is said to be half monk and half spirit, is offered a white paper umbrella, tied with a yellow cloth symbolizing a monk’s outfit, and stuck in a basket of sand.
- (38) Intrinsically, a *pwegyi* is composed of seven sets of rice, with two kinds of fried pastries (*monni* and *monhpyu*) and fried fish on top of the each rice. A set of offering made of *pwegyi*, *gadawbwe* (composed of a coconut and bananas), water and soup is also called *pwegyi* inclusively. This set of offering will be referred “large offering” in this paper.
- (39) *Pwethei* is made of just one set of rice, with two kinds of fried pastries (*monni* and *monhpyu*) and fried fish on top.
- (40) 1) Refrain from killing. 2) Refrain from taking what is not given. 3) Avoid sexual misconduct. 4) Refrain from false speech. 5) Refrain from fermented drink that causes heedlessness.
- (41) This refers to gods from the Hindu tradition such as *Sakka*, *Brahmā*, or the Four Heavenly Kings, introduced to Buddhism as guardian gods.
- (42) This category includes spirits who protect localities, villages, and natural geographical features such as mountains and forests, including the Thirty-Seven *Nats*.
- (43) While there are men actively involved in spirit worship, in Thaya Village it is not proper for a man, as a male Buddhist, to do so in public. For details, see [Iikuni 2011:193-200, 221-256].
- (44) However men innately have a large amount of *hpoun*, because of their good karma from a previous existence, women also have *hpoun* but less than men. Brac de la Perrière shows that *hpoun* locates in women’s hair, while that of men is supposed to be in their right shoulders [Brac de la Perrière 2007:226].
- (45) *Hpoun* and female reproductive power affect everyday life as well as the spiritual realm. Many prohibitions relating to menstrual blood surround the handling of women’s loincloth (*htamein*). Not even new female loincloth can be mixed with the rest of the laundry. Women’s loincloth hangs lower than other laundry so that men do not inadvertently pass under it, and at the back of the house where people do not usually go. However when a woman die, her loincloth can be made into a curtain and donated to monks after sanctified so that she can accumulate merits. Thus female reproductive power is limited within women’s living bodies.

- (46) Since *hpoun* is said to exist in the upper and right sides of men's bodies, when a couple sleeps together, the woman should not sleep on the right side. It is forbidden for a woman to step over a man's head. Just as with *hpoun*, women are also forbidden to come close to a *dagogyi* pagoda or Buddha image, because their reproductive power is seen as dangerous and polluted.
- (47) Although men have a large amount of *hpoun* innately, it can be maximized by renouncing the world, as monks are called "a great virtue" (*hpoungyi*). Monks' *hpoun* are regarded quite large, since some say that spirits may be extinct, if they just touch garbs of monks.
- (48) See footnote 40.
- (49) See footnote 11.
- (50) In Burmese, *leikpya* also means butterfly. Complete separation of the *leikpya* from the body signifies death, but dreams are seen as activities undertaken by the soul when it temporarily separates from the body during sleep. Thus, souls are believed to flutter about like butterflies while people are living.
- (51) Children are given a string or necklace called a *payeit hkyi* in order to strengthen their soul and protect them. When a mother with a young child or a child with siblings dies, a *leitpya khwe* ceremony is held so that the deceased does not take the son, daughter, or sibling along to the next realm.
- (52) Spirit rituals contain subordination to spirits, as Tanabe has shown how the women participating in the *Phi Meng* ritual in northern Thailand submit to their ancestors [Tanabe 1991].

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Discovery of “Outsiders”: The Expulsion of Undesirable Chinese and Urban Governance of Colonial Rangoon, Burma, c. 1900–1920⁽¹⁾

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Introduction

Colonial Rangoon society embraced vast floating populations, constantly entering and leaving the territory of Burma, a province of British India until 1937. This situation made it difficult for the authorities to undertake police activities in the capital city of the province. Dealing with undesirable “outsiders” in Rangoon was an issue related to both the governance of the city and the border control of the province. By the 1910s, the Government of Burma and Rangoon Town Police discovered that expulsion of undesirable “outsiders” was helpful for preventing crime in the city. At first, this policy targeted Chinese riot ringleaders, but, during the 1920s, its scope was dramatically widened and the policy changed qualitatively. This paper deals with the early phase of this process.

From the late 19th century to the early 20th century, overseas Chinese were present in large numbers in the South China Sea region. For the emerging modern states in that region, it was common to utilize the economic resources of the Chinese network as well as to incorporate autonomous local Chinese communities into one unified, ruling state. As previous studies correctly point out, the government of Burma constructed its policy regarding the local Chinese population, especially in Rangoon, by referring to the early experiences of the Straits Settlements.⁽²⁾ However, the similarity between the two colonies

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should not be overemphasized. Despite frequent cross-references, each emerging state developed a different system of governing the Chinese to meet its own needs and conditions. Because of a lack of primary sources, previous studies have not explained concretely how the policy was introduced and practiced in Burma. As a result, the chronology and the characteristics of the process remain obscure. Therefore, this paper aims to clarify these by analyzing previously unexamined documents and to locate the process in the wider context of urban governance in colonial Rangoon.⁽³⁾

I . Disturbances in Rangoon Chinatown

After the annexation of Upper Burma into British India in 1886, British India, in its northeast of the newly acquired territory, shared a border with Yunnan, part of Qing China. The border issue became a diplomatic concern for the two powers. The policy on Chinese affairs in Burma began as a reaction to this border issue from the British side. In 1891, the special office of the Advisor on Chinese Affairs was created under the government of Burma, and a high-ranking official from the Chinese Consulate Service, W. Warry, assumed the post.⁽⁴⁾ However, as the British Consulate in Yunnan came to play a larger role in the border issue, the importance of the Advisor on Chinese Affairs in Burma gradually diminished. Finally, the post was abolished in 1904. Afterward, such a high-ranking office for Chinese affairs was never established in colonial Burma.⁽⁵⁾ It was at this point in time that governmental concerns for Rangoon Chinatown emerged almost simultaneously. During the 1900s, the government of Burma's general concerns for Chinese affairs decreased relatively, but its priority shifted southward from the northeastern borderlands to the port capital of Rangoon.

In terms of demography, the number of Chinese in Burma at the turn of the 20th century was about 60,000, only 0.6 percent of the whole provincial population. These 60,000 Chinese were concentrated in two specific areas. One was the area along the overland trade route in the north where Yunnanese were traditionally active, and the other was the Irrawaddy delta in the south where Cantonese and Fukienese entered after British colonization. In the latter area, about 10,000 Chinese lived in Rangoon when the total population of the city was 234,881. Rangoon at that time was an Indian town. More than half the population was Indian from the eastern coast of the Indian subcontinent. The Chinese were still a minority group even in the cosmopolitan city, but they assembled in Chinatown, which was called Taroktan in Burmese and constituted a culturally distinct ward.⁽⁶⁾

Chinatown was notorious for its criminality and attracted attention from the authority. The Rangoon Town Police (RTP), established in 1899, published criminal case statistics by police station jurisdiction in their annual reports from 1902 to 1906. According to the statistics, roughly a quarter of all criminal cases in Rangoon occurred in Chinatown.⁽⁷⁾ The RTP quantified and visualized their concern on Chinese criminality probably in order to persuade the government to take some measures. In December 1904, when the RTP raided a Chinese gambling club and some police officers were attacked and injured by a mob of

local Chinese residents, the authority was alarmed by the lawlessness.⁽⁸⁾

The RTP considered the most serious problem to be the rule of “secret societies” over the residents, and it required reforms to control them, as had been done in the Straits Settlements. After prolonged discussion within the administration under the newly appointed Lieutenant-Governor, Herbert Thirkell White, the government of Burma decided to borrow an expert officer from the Straits Settlements for a year in order to conduct research on this issue. Both the central government of India and the Straits Settlements agreed to this suggestion.⁽⁹⁾

II. Reference to the Straits Settlements

2.1. *Peacock Report*

As a result, an officer named Walter Peacock came to Rangoon in 1907. The 31-year-old Cambridge graduate had been employed for eight years in the Chinese Protectorate of the Straits Settlements before visiting Burma. He was a specialist in Cantonese, could also understand Fukienese, and had a sound knowledge of the Chinese written language.⁽¹⁰⁾

Peacock conducted extensive research in Rangoon and other cities in Burma and submitted a report to the local government in 1908. His report listed and classified 139 Chinese associations in the province of Burma. Among them, he focused on three powerful “secret societies”: Yi Hing Society (義興公司), Hoseng Society (和勝公司), and Kienteik Society (建德公司). Each had about 10,000 members and broad influence in the Chinese communities in the delta area. Yi Hing and Hoseng Societies made use of the same ritual in their initiations as the Triad Society (三合会) in China. Kienteik Society was established in Penang and was not related to the Triad Society directly but had a similar organization. All three in Burma were originally branches of the same societies in the Strait Settlements. After the suppression of the parent societies in the Straits Settlements, Rangoon branches began to rule other Burma branches. They were joined by people speaking different dialects of Chinese, but there was a tendency for the Cantonese to join Yi Hing Society and for the Fukienese to join Hoseng or Kienteik Societies.⁽¹¹⁾

The serious and direct threat to order was the strife between Hoseng Society and Kienteik Society. The antagonism between these mainly Fukienese societies had intensified since around 1905, and violent disputes were frequent in Rangoon and the surrounding delta areas. In upcountry disturbances, it was often that a gang of ruffians was sent from each headquarters in Rangoon, and when they were arrested, court fees were paid by the society. Regarding Cantonese, though the majority of them belonged to Yi Hing Society, they often also belonged to guild-like associations called “hongs.” Among those “hongs,” Lee Sheng Hong (利城行) and Lo Sheng Hong (魯城行), which had a few thousand members each, had regularly confronted each other since the end of the 19th century.⁽¹²⁾ What socioeconomic interests existed behind these conflicts between such similar associations is not clear. At the present stage of research, it can be only inferred that these conflicts occurred within a rather closed ethnic community, either Fukienese or Cantonese, which is a segment of the plural society in the Burma delta.

Hitherto the government of Burma had not interfered with these conflicts and put their solution into the hands of the Chinese themselves. However, as the Hoseng-Kienteik strife began to affect a wider area, the possibility increased that it would threaten the whole colonial society beyond narrow segments. Peacock criticized the previous attitude of the government and proposed reforms based on the Straits Settlements' experiences since the 1870s.

The principal object of the proposed reforms was to strengthen direct control over Chinese "secret societies." First, its linchpin was reestablishment of the Advisor on Chinese Affairs. Like the Chinese Protectorate in the Straits Settlements, such a special office led by a high-ranking British officer who could understand Chinese languages was considered necessary for collecting information from the Chinese population directly and scrutinizing it effectively. Second, it was expected that this special office imposed compulsory registration on all Chinese associations. This could give the government power to ban or abolish defiant associations. Third, this power could be exercised under threat of expulsion. Because in cases on Chinese "secret societies" it was difficult to induce reliable witnesses to come forward to give evidence before a court, the government needed executive proceedings for deciding expulsion, which was different from regular judicial proceedings. Targets of expulsion were not only the headmen of defiant associations but also habitual criminals. Fourth, the Chinese Advisory Board would consist of influential Chinese in Rangoon. It was supposed to mediate between the administration and the Chinese residents. Previously, the government of Burma had appointed four influential Chinese as honorary magistrates in Rangoon. Peacock proposed to enlarge this by establishing the Advisory Board and to hold regular meetings under the special office for Chinese affairs.⁽¹³⁾

2.2. Establishment of the Chinese Advisory Board

The government of Burma did not accept all of Peacock's proposals. The government rejected measures that required new legislation and additional costs on the ground that "in Rangoon the Chinese are a small fraction of the population of the town and not enough to be a menace to the public safety."⁽¹⁴⁾ In the end, the government of Burma adopted two measures within the existing legal framework: expulsion and the Chinese Advisory Board.

Expulsion policy was introduced in order to resolve the strife between Hoseng and Kienteik. The policy utilized an existing Indian law, the Foreigners Act of 1864. This act gave the central and local governments power to deport non-British-subjects from the territory of British India.⁽¹⁵⁾ Most Chinese in Burma were born in China and were completely foreign "outsiders." Following Peacock's report, in October 1908, the government of Burma ordered the Commissioner of the RTP to choose persons who should be deported by the Foreigners Act. After consulting with both Tan Chong Yen (陳昌淵?), the headman of Hoseng, and Tan Soon Chye (陳順在?), the headman of Kienteik, on the basis of Peacock's investigation, the RTP chose four Chinese who were considered inciters of disturbances and were involved in unlawful activities such as the illicit sale of drugs and gambling.⁽¹⁶⁾ Although their deportation was not immediately executed, as serious disturbances occurred again in 1909, the government of Burma issued expulsion orders for the first time for the three of them on October 17, 1909, after the remaining one had already gone abroad.

Immediately after the first expulsion orders, on October 20, 1909, the government of Burma established the Chinese Advisory Board (CAB), appointing 16 influential Chinese in Rangoon as its members. Because the special office for Chinese affairs was not established, the CAB was put under the Commissioner of the RTP. Members' terms were usually two years. Of the original 16 members, there were eight Fukienese, seven Cantonese, and one Hakka, and this included both headmen of two antagonistic societies, Hoseng and Kienteik. The CAB was organized to reflect various interests in the Rangoon Chinese communities.⁽¹⁷⁾

The CAB played an important role in the expulsion policy during the 1910s. While the first selection of deportees was based on Peacock's investigation, after the establishment of the CAB, the following procedure became normal. First, the CAB would meet and choose people to be deported. Then, the RTP and the local government would almost automatically confirm the choice and issue expulsion orders to deportees.⁽¹⁸⁾ Without its own department for investigating Chinese communities effectively, the government of Burma did not choose deportees by themselves and delegated the power to the CAB. Although the government of Burma referred to the Straits Settlements, where strong direct rule had been established since the 1870s, the system created in Burma was that of indirect rule in nature. This system gave Chinese members of the CAB considerable agency.

III. Practices of Expulsion in the 1910s

3.1. Returners, Absconders, and the Politics of Expulsion

From 1909 to 1921, a total of 34 deportation orders were issued on the basis of CAB proposals.⁽¹⁹⁾ 31 individuals were actually deported, as three orders were later withdrawn.⁽²⁰⁾ In the first two years, targets of deportation were riot ringleaders in the Hoseng-Kienteik conflicts in the late 1900s. The RTP's 1910 annual report evaluated the effect of this measure by writing that "the turbulent Hooseng [sic] and Kienteik societies have been made to 'toe to line' by the application of the Foreigners Act."⁽²¹⁾ After 1911, deportees were people such as those who did not have a proper livelihood, stayed in gambling houses or brothels, or habitually engaged in blackmailing or violence. The CAB and the authority designated these trouble-prone people as "bad characters" and aimed to maintain order by excluding them preventively. In Chinatown, large-scale disturbances such as those in the 1900s were never reported during the 1910s and 1920s. Expulsion was an effective deterrent.

However, the practice of expulsion was not simply a representation of the government's will. First, there were probably a considerable number of returners. Among the 31 people who were deported by 1921, at least seven returned to Burma without permission and were arrested and deported again. One even returned again after re-expulsion.⁽²²⁾ These cases were recorded on colonial documents through detection, but it is possible that there were more cases undetected.

Second, the broad discretion of the CAB in choosing deportees seemed to cause a power struggle among the Chinese. Let us take a look at several cases. The first is that of a returned deportee who was a member of the Kienteik Society.⁽²³⁾ In 1910, after being

arrested, he made the following statement:

All the members of the "Kien Teik" Society have to pay Tan Soon Chye Rs. 12 yearly, otherwise they are denounced to the authorities as bad characters.⁽²⁴⁾

Tan Soon Chye was the headman of the Kienteik Society and a member of the CAB. Being denounced to the authorities as bad characters doubtlessly meant being chosen as deportees. This deportee attempted to emphasize the illegitimacy of the CAB's decision making, but he failed to persuade the authority and was finally deported again. It remains unclear whether his statement was true or not. But power assigned to the CAB probably enhanced its members' personal authority over their followers.

The next case is that of an absconder.⁽²⁵⁾ The man was one of three who were first issued deportation orders on October 17, 1909. He absconded immediately after the issuance of the order, and the authority lost track of him, but one year later he was detected in Henzada. He appealed to the authority that he was not the kind of person who should be deported, and his petition was submitted with guarantee letters from his supporters. Among them, the company Eng Ben Hwet & Co. was included.⁽²⁶⁾ Eng Ben Hwet was a trading firm in Rangoon that had branches in Calcutta, Singapore, and Amoy, and its proprietor, Tan Kim Chye (陳金在?), was from one of the most influential Chinese families in Rangoon, and he himself was the vice president of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce there.⁽²⁷⁾ However, he was not a member of the CAB at that time, though he got the position a few years later.⁽²⁸⁾ The result was that the petition was not accepted by the authority and the absconder was deported.

Another case followed a different path.⁽²⁹⁾ At a CAB meeting in November 1913, all nine members present unanimously named one Kienteik member to be deported. After the deportation order was issued, the deportee also wrote a petition to the lieutenant-governor for withdrawal of the order. In the petition, he wrote:

Your memorialist believes that the Commissioner of Police, in recommending to Your Honour the application for the Foreigners Act, was influenced by the opinion of some of the members of the Chinese Advisory Committee, who were either wholly misinformed by the personal enemies of your memorialist, or who, in some cases, did not personally entertain any friendly feeling towards your memorialist.⁽³⁰⁾

This time, support came not only from his fellows in Rangoon but also from Tan Soon Chye, the headman of the Kienteik Society and a member of the CAB. In fact, Tan Soon Chye was absent from the meeting of the CAB when the petitioner was named as a deportee, so he objected to this decision and requested the government withdraw the deportation order. This resulted in the withdrawal of the deportation order.

These cases suggest that Chinese seeking help, whether a deportee petitioning the government or a maneuverer attempting to trap rivals, would look to an influential Chinese person with whom they had a personal connection. For the influential Chinese person to fulfill his followers' expectations, CAB membership seems to have been important. The

CAB itself was not monolithic at all. In deciding who should be deported, politics were at work within the CAB. The CAB, which reflected various interests in the Rangoon Chinese communities, was thus only barely achieving a delicate balance. However, we do not have enough administrative documents to understand the relationships among CAB members. This demonstrates that the colonial authority could not understand the internal affairs of the Chinese communities.

3.2. Deporting Revolutionary Newcomers: the Kuang-hua Case

In addition to expulsion by the usual procedure through the CAB, there was an exceptional case involving the expulsion of political undesirables. That was the *Kuang-hua* (光華日報) case in 1910, in which the government of Burma expelled the publisher and editor of the Chinese revolutionary newspaper in response to a request from Qing China.⁽³¹⁾ While this case developed in the same period in which the expulsion policy of the Foreigners Act commenced in Burma, it also overlapped with the period when revolutionary sentiments arose inside and outside the Chinese continent.

Among Chinese in Burma, sympathy with anti-Manchu revolutionary ideas began to spread beginning in the mid-1900s. In March 1908, the Tongmenghui (Chinese Alliance, 中国同盟会) established its Rangoon branch.⁽³²⁾ It published *Kuang-hua* in Rangoon as its organ. Of course, the tone of the newspaper was offensive to the imperial court of the Qing Dynasty. At the end of 1908, the Chinese government, through the governor-general of Yunnan and Kueichou (雲貴總督), requested that the British consul-general for Yunnan and Kueichou suppress the newspaper.⁽³³⁾ Then, the consul-general telegraphed the government of Burma about that. After consulting with the central government of India, the local government of Burma decided not to suppress the newspaper on the ground that the policy of the British government was one of non-intervention in regard to notices in the press. Afterward, the Qing government not only continued to appeal through the British consulates in China but also put direct pressure on the government of Burma through its consulate in Rangoon, newly established in January 1909.⁽³⁴⁾

The government of Burma changed its attitude gradually. In December 1909, Chief Secretary W. F. Rice proposed to Lieutenant-Governor H. T. White that the government should warn the manager of *Kuang-hua* to change its tone, and if he did not he should be deported. Rice continued that “such a warning, in view of recent events, would probably have a good effect.”⁽³⁵⁾ The “recent events” mentioned here were the first issuances of expulsion orders two months earlier. However, at this stage, Lieutenant-Governor White was reluctant to give such a warning.

In February 1910, the Chinese consul in Rangoon informed the government of Burma that *Kuang-hua* was established out of funds provided by “the anarchists, who are known in Burma under the guise of ‘Kaik Beng’ or Reformers” and that “the ‘Kaik Beng’ movement is spreading very rapidly in Burma, as the result of less than two years’ active propaganda, and shows a membership of about 1,000.”⁽³⁶⁾

This information likely concerned the government of Burma. After consulting the commissioner of the RTP, Rice confirmed that both two persons in charge of *Kuang-hua*, the publisher Chin Wan Peng and the editor Liu Kok Seng, were foreigners who recently

arrived in Burma about two years previously.⁽³⁷⁾ Rice proposed to White again to threaten them with expulsion. The reason Rice insisted so was that “these people are like Krishnavarma, who lives in Paris, and publishes a seditious paper about the British Government of India,” and “it is detrimental to the interests of the Province that the Chinese Government should think that we are voluntarily harbouring people of this sort.”⁽³⁸⁾ By emphasizing analogies between Indian revolutionaries to the British and Chinese revolutionaries to the Qing, Rice attempted to persuade his superior for the sake of the interests of the province of Burma. Despite having discretion to issue an expulsion order, White remained prudent and made Rice ask the opinion of the central government of India. The reply from the central government went beyond warning and claimed that the managers of *Kuang-hua* should be deported immediately. Only then were the expulsion orders to Chin Wan Peng and Liu Kok Seng issued on March 24, 1910.⁽³⁹⁾

Any non-British-subject could be expelled by the Foreigners Act of 1864. Therefore, the potential scope of expulsion was originally very large. As far as I have seen from colonial documents, it was not until 1909 that the power was exercised by the local government of Burma, but once the measure was put into practice, the range of targets was summarily enlarged from riot ringleaders to revolutionaries, from criminals to political offenders. In the case of political offenders, expulsion procedure was quite different from usual procedure in cases of criminals. That was, expulsion was decided directly by the European top officials without consulting the CAB. In the *Kuang-hua* case, the opinion of Chief Secretary Rice concerning the interests of the province was strongly reflected in the decision.

3.3. Chinese Merchants as Political Threats

The *Kuang-hua* case turned the local government's attention to the political activities of Chinese in Burma. Chief Secretary Rice ordered the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) of the provincial police to investigate the information offered by the Chinese consul in February 1910.⁽⁴⁰⁾ The CID reported that the revolutionary movement arose not only in mainland China but also in the Straits Settlements, and its organization had 4,000 members in Burma, of which 2,000 were in Rangoon. This organization seems to have been the Tongmenghui, but the contemporary British authority did not call it so. Taw Sein Ko, Examiner-of-Chinese of Burma, pointed out that this organization was called the “Kei Ming Tang” in Burma.⁽⁴¹⁾ Since then, the British authority in Burma called the organization Kei Ming Tang or Geh Min Dan, which might be phonetic transcription of “革命党,” the Revolutionary Party, but this has not yet been confirmed by Chinese sources.

In these circumstances, Cheng Gun Ann (莊銀安) emerged as a central figure in the Chinese revolutionary movements in Burma.⁽⁴²⁾ He was broadly known as the person whose opinions most strongly affected the tone of *Kuang-hua*. Although the government investigated him under consideration of expulsion, finally the expulsion order was not issued to him. This reason was not recorded in the file, but, considering the deportees in the *Kuang-hua* case were emphasized to be recent arrivals to Burma, it is possible that the government was more unwilling to expel a long-time-Rangoon-based merchant such as Cheng.

Even after the Xinhai Revolution, the Chinese political threat to the local government did not diminish. On June 29, 1912, the General Staff Officer in the Burma Division of the Indian Army sent the Chief Secretary to the government of Burma an extract from a report by an intelligence officer relating to Chinese intrigue in Burma. The report stated that the Chinese had in view the liberation of Burma from British rule.⁽⁴³⁾ Behind this there was increased tension between the British and China in the Yunnan-Burma border. On the grounds of a Chinese “invasion” of the disputed boundary area, Pienma (片馬), which was called Hpimaw in Burma, the British dispatched the military there at the end of 1910 and seized the region by late 1911.⁽⁴⁴⁾

The government of Burma collected the information not only in collaboration with the Indian Army but also through its own CID. After the investigation, it was found that around the same time of the border incident, four Chinese belonging to the Rangoon branch of “Geh Min Dan” went to main cities in Upper Burma to collect subscriptions and to carry out propaganda activities. These four included such prominent Chinese as Ko Ban Pan (高万邦), a member of the CAB, and Teoh Eng Hock (張永福), the president of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. The government attempted to investigate if they had British subjectship in consideration of expulsion, but again the expulsion orders for them were not issued.⁽⁴⁵⁾

By the end of 1913, it was found that the organization locally called “Kei Ming Tang” or “Geh Min Dan” had been reorganized after the Xinhai Revolution as the “Kuo Min Tan” (国民党) and that in Rangoon it promoted activities supporting Sun Yat-sen under the name of the “Kak Min Society” (覺民書報社).⁽⁴⁶⁾ During the same period, the Second Revolution against Yuan Shikai developed in mainland China. In 1914, Yuan’s government of the Republic of China began to request the government of Burma suppress the Kak Min Society. Suggesting that some members of the Kak Min Society in Rangoon participated in rebellions in China, the Chinese government, through its consul in Rangoon, described the society as “a serious menace to the peace and tranquility of Yunnan Province.”⁽⁴⁷⁾ The names of three merchants in Rangoon, Teoh Eng Hock, Tan Chow Chaw (陳朝初?), and Tan Soo Kim (陳守金?), were mentioned by the Chinese consul as leaders of the Kak Min Society.⁽⁴⁸⁾ This time, also, the government of Burma only investigated their British subjectship and took no other action.

Thus, during the early 1910s, the turbulent years in China, Yunnan next to Burma grew to be a strong power with a modernized army from its harsh experience of the revolution.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Burma was located on the route connecting land-locked Yunnan with the sea. At the node of the Chinese network, Rangoon-based Chinese merchants became increasingly involved in revolutionary movements. These circumstances prevented the Government of Burma from considering Rangoon and the border area separately. The government monitored Chinese with its police apparatus and the help of the army. Though the government of Burma rarely resorted to expulsion measures,⁽⁵⁰⁾ the relationships between the government and Chinese elites seemed to change to a certain extent. According to research by the RTP, Teoh Eng Hock was the son-in-law of Tan Seik Kwa, who was a member of the CAB.⁽⁵¹⁾ In April 1914, immediately after the Chinese consul mentioned the three leaders of the Kak Min Society, the commissioner of the RTP reshuffled the CAB and removed the above-mentioned Ko Ban Pan and Tan Seik Kwa on the grounds of advanced age and absence

from meetings, respectively.⁽⁵²⁾ It was possible that the government attempted to get rid of politically undesirable elements from the CAB.

IV. Exclusion or Inclusion?

4.1. *The Discourse of "Peaceful Penetration"*

In the late 1910s, another kind of discourse on Chinese threats emerged in the administration. Its early example was the report in 1917 written by Lieutenant-Colonel F. R. Nethersole, the deputy commissioner of Tarrawaddy District in Pegu Division. In analyzing the reason for the district's notoriously high criminality, Nethersole mentioned the existence of the illicit Chinese opium trade. Although this was not considered the main factor in the district's high criminality, he emphasized that "the Chinese are an unmixed curse to the moral well-being of the people and to the local administration."⁽⁵³⁾ At almost the same time, in Irrawaddy Division also, the commissioner sent a letter of inquiry to deputy commissioners about the increased Chinese presence in each district and their involvement in illicit alcohol and opium trade.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Now, neither violent disturbances nor revolutionary activities but banal Chinese activities were considered to negatively affect the whole of Burmese society.

In February 1918, during World War I, Reginald Craddock, who had been the home member of the Executive Council in the central government of India, was inaugurated as the new lieutenant-governor of Burma. Paying attention to the Nethersole report, the Craddock government stated that "the dangers of 'peaceful [Chinese] penetration' have been made clear," and "action to protect the indigenous population is necessary and it is desirable that a definite policy should be prescribed."⁽⁵⁵⁾ The Chinese population in Burma, especially in the delta, had increased.⁽⁵⁶⁾ As the rice industry developed in the delta, Chinese spread to a wider area and rooted deeper in the society. They could not be closed within segments of the plural society anymore. Under these circumstances, the government decided to strengthen direct control over the Chinese population, and restoration of the Advisor on Chinese Affairs, one of Peacock's proposals rejected 10 years earlier, was to be reconsidered.⁽⁵⁷⁾

On this attempted policy change, some problems of previous policy were acknowledged. First, the government showed its distrust of the CAB. In the letter to solicit approval of the government of India, the following words of the commissioner of the RTP were cited.

The Chinese Advisory Board has proved useful, but at the same time when presiding at the meetings I always feel very suspicious and doubtful of all proposals and recommendations put forward by the members. The members discuss all matters in Chinese and it is impossible to gain any indication from their impassive faces and restrained gestures.⁽⁵⁸⁾

This kind of suspicion seemed to be deepened by the fact that some members of the CAB

were reportedly involved in revolutionary activities during the 1910s.

Second, the previous expulsion policy was also criticized. The same letter wrote:

The rapidity with which the Chinese population in Burma has been increasing calls for considered action, but the progress of the Province would perhaps be seriously retarded by a policy of exclusion. The better-class Chinese who settle in Burma intermarry with Burmese women, and their offspring in the course of the second or third generation generally became Burmese and make good and respectable citizens.⁽⁵⁹⁾

A “policy of exclusion,” whether deportation or immigration restriction, was discouraged as an obstacle to economic development. Rather, importance was put on inclusion or assimilation into “good and respectable citizens.” While in the discourse of “peaceful penetration” Sinicization of Burmese was regarded as a threat of social deterioration, here Burmaization of Chinese was expected to stabilize the whole society. The direct and nuanced rule by the special office of the Advisor on Chinese Affairs was considered necessary to properly control this process.

The Government of Burma made a long-term plan to train its own Chinese-speaking officers while several times borrowing officers from the Straits Settlements on a five-year-basis. Although the government of India approved the plan, the Straits Settlements rejected it by reason of personnel shortage. This plan was deadlocked by the early 1920s.⁽⁶⁰⁾

4.2. Transforming Expulsion Policy

After the failure to reestablish the special office for Chinese affairs, the expulsion policy of the government of Burma changed in quality during the 1920s. Its scope was widened and the number of deportees increased drastically. While the total number of expulsion cases from 1909 to 1921 was 45,⁽⁶¹⁾ 1922 saw 10 deportees in one year, and after 1925 the number of deportees per year became over 100.⁽⁶²⁾

No colonial document exists to explain this policy change process in detail, but it can be inferred that expulsion became widely utilized as a preventive measure. Jails in Rangoon were extremely overcrowded at the time, and the criminal administration began to put much more importance on preventive measures than imprisonment. Most prison inmates were merely petty criminals, such as thieves, beggars, and vagrants.⁽⁶³⁾ The scope of targets in the expulsion policy appeared to enlarge radically by including this class of the urban poor. The annual report of the RTP for 1925, when the number of deportation first passed one hundred, said that the preventive measures, including these deportations, had “a very wholesome effect in reducing theft.”⁽⁶⁴⁾ This change in targets possibly entailed a simplification of procedures. Petty criminals could be deported directly and summarily by the police authority. Though the annual report still mentioned the assistance of the CAB, the role of the CAB seemed to become relatively small.

This expansion of scope also took place in terms of deportees’ legal status of belonging. In the 1920s, targets of expulsion under the Foreigners Act were still mainly Chinese, but sometimes other foreigners such as Japanese were expelled under the Act.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Moreover, an idea to expel “outsiders” was amplified to the point of including some British

subjects who could not be targeted by the Foreigners Act. This was realized by local legislation in the 1926 Expulsion of Offenders Act, which enabled expulsion of “non-Burman” criminals from the province of Burma.⁽⁶⁶⁾ By this logic, even Indians, who were the dominant majority in Rangoon society, were included in the scope of the expulsion policy. In the process, the category of Chinese perceived as culturally special diminished in meaning in the criminal administration. Instead, rough discrimination between categories of “non-Burman” and “Burman,” “outsiders” and “insiders,” or “foreign races” and “indigenous races” came to the fore.

Conclusion

In the early 20th century, in order to deal with high criminality in Rangoon Chinatown, the government of Burma introduced the new policy for governing Chinese by referring to the Straits Settlements. However, the systems created in both colonies were actually quite different.

In the Straits Settlements, since the 1870s, the government had taken measures interfering in Chinese society under the Chinese Protectorate led by Chinese-speaking British high officials. With the determination ready to expel prominent Chinese leaders, the policy of compulsory registration of, and later illegalization of, all Chinese associations was strongly promoted. The CAB there was created in this context as the political institution to substitute for “secret societies” and to incorporate Chinese society into one unifying state ruler.⁽⁶⁷⁾ This process constructed a governing system of direct rule based on a nuanced understanding of the culturally peculiar Chinese. However, Chinese in the Straits Settlements, especially in Singapore, attempted to secure their status in the consolidating colonial society by emphasizing their British subjectship at the turn of the 20th century.⁽⁶⁸⁾

In contrast, there was no special office for Chinese affairs in Burma after 1904. Associations were not registered. Targets of expulsion in the 1910s were limited to riot ringleaders and ruffians, and expulsion of influential merchants who had long lived in Burma was only passively considered and rarely executed. The government of Burma created a system of indirect rule that relied heavily on the CAB choosing deportees. This was partly because of the relatively small Chinese population in Rangoon, which was rather an Indian city. In the view of the Burma Province and British India, the presence of Chinese appeared even more trivial. Such a situation made it difficult for the British authority to draft new legislation and financial investment and maintained the low degree of interference.

Through the 1910s, the government of Burma increased a sense of distrust against Chinese elites, but all attempts to create the special office for Chinese affairs had failed by the early 1920s. However, the expulsion policy had transformed into more direct and summary measures to govern the urban poor in the 1920s. The scope of the expulsion policy was widened drastically. The categorization of “outsiders” and “insiders” assumed more importance than either culturally specific category of “Chinese” or British subjectship, though addressing this fully is beyond the scope of this paper. During the 1920s, while the

colonial state in Burma also consolidated its territorial governance, the politics of belonging was formally performed on the stage of the legislative council in the context of colonial decentralization. Chinese in Burma were to seek their identity in the categorization of “outsiders” and “insiders” imposed by both the colonial state and the nationalism of the majority.

Notes

- (1) The Japanese version of this paper was already published in *Kakyo Kajin Kenkyu* [華僑華人研究, *Journal of Chinese Overseas Studies*] 11, 2014, pp.18-37.
- (2) There are few previous studies on this topic. The rare exception is Yi Li's pioneering work. Li, Yi, “Local and Transnational Institutions in the Formation of Chinese Migrant Communities in Colonial Burma,” Ph.D. dissertation, SOAS, University of London, 2011, pp. 85-127.
- (3) I conducted archival research in the Asia, Pacific and Africa Collections, British Library, London, UK (the shelf marks started from IOR) and the National Archives Department, Yangon, Myanmar (NAD). In referring to unpublished archival documents, for reasons of space, this paper shows only the file number of the colonial administration, the year, and the shelf marks of the archives in blanket.
- (4) On the establishment and abolishment of the office, see File No. 2424 (1905) (IOR/L/PJ/6/731). See also Iu, Yan-Kit Nancy, “Anglo-Chinese Diplomacy regarding Burma, 1885-1897,” Ph.D. dissertation, SOAS, University of London, 1960, pp. 166-304 and Li, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-100. In 1892-1893, when Warry took a leave, E. H. Parker, also from the Chinese Consulate Service, temporarily officiated as the acting advisor.
- (5) After the abolishment of the Advisor on Chinese Affairs, Taw Sein Ko, a local-born “mixed” Chinese, succeeded a part of its duties as the Examiner-in-Chinese, but he hold the post of the Government Archaeologist concurrently, and his salary as the Examiner-in-Chinese (250 Rs.) was much smaller than that of the starting salary of the Advisor on Chinese Affairs (1200 Rs.). On the biography of Taw Sein Ko, see Edwards, Penny, “Relocating the Interlocutor: Taw Sein Ko (1864-1930) and the Itinerancy of Knowledge in British Burma,” *South East Asia Research* 12(3), 2004, pp. 277-335 and Taw, Sein Ko, *Burmese Sketches*, Rangoon: British Burma Press, 1913, pp. 143-145.
- (6) Webb, C. Morgan, *Burma* (Census of India, 1911, v. 9), Rangoon: Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1912.
- (7) For example, in 1902, the number of total criminal cases in all ten jurisdictions of the city was 1,869. Of them, 498 cases (27%) occurred in the jurisdiction of the Latter Street police station, which corresponded with Chinatown. In 1906, the total number of criminal cases increased to 2,652, and 637 cases (24%) occurred in the Chinatown. *Report on the Rangoon Town Police of Burma for the year 1902*, Rangoon: Office of Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1903, p. 3 (hereafter RRTP followed by

- the year); *RRTP for 1906*, p. 4.
- (8) File No. 10C-52 (1904) (IOR/P/6739).
 - (9) File Nos. 10C-44 (1905) (IOR/P/7502); 10C-52 (1906) (IOR/P/7502); 10C-45 (1907) (IOR/P/7504).
 - (10) File No. 10C-45 (1907) (IOR/P/7504).
 - (11) Peacock, Walter, *Report on Chinese Affairs in Burma*, Rangoon: Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, 1908, pp. 10-25. This report is included in File No. 10C-1 (1908) (IOR/P/7792).
 - (12) Peacock, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-63.
 - (13) *Ibid.*, pp. 50-57, 66-68. In 1904, four prominent Chinese, Lim Chin Tsong (林振宗), Tan Po Chaung, Lim Cheng Taik (林清德?), and Lee Ah Lam, were honorary magistrates in Rangoon. File No. 10C-44 (1905) (IOR/P/7502).
 - (14) Letter from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, October 23, 1909, in File No. 10C-37, Pt. 2 (1909) (IOR/P/8070).
 - (15) Section 3 of the Foreigners Act of 1864 reads, "The Governor-General of India in Council may, by writing, order any Foreigner to remove himself from British India, or to remove himself therefrom by a particular route to be specified in the order; and any local Government may, by writing, make the like order with reference to any Foreigner within the jurisdiction of such Government." See *A Collection of the Acts Passed by the Governor General of India in Council in the Year 1864*, Calcutta: O. T. Cutter, Military Orphan Press, 1865, p. 12. On the meaning of this act in the historical development of British India's policies for foreigners, see Banerjee, Paula, "Aliens in a Colonial World," in Ranabir Samaddar (ed.), *Refugees and the State: Practices of Asylum and Care in India, 1947-2000*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2003, pp. 69-105.
 - (16) On the circumstances up to the first issuance of the expulsion order, see File Nos. 10C-1, Pt. 2 (1908) (IOR/P/8070); 10C-37, Pt. 2 (IOR/P/8070). Tan Chong Yen (Tan Chong Yan) was born in Singapore in 1855 as a son of Tan Quay, a leading commercial man in the Straits Settlements, and after coming to Rangoon, he developed his own business in catch and licensed opium trade. Wright, Arnold, ed., *Twentieth Century Impressions of Burma: Its History, People, Commerce, Industries and Resources*, London: Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Co., 1910, p. 319.
 - (17) Notification of the Police Department, the Government of Burma, October 20, 1909, in File No. 10C-37, Pt. 2 (1909) (IOR/P/8070).
 - (18) For example, see the second case found in File No. 1M-13 (1910) (IOR/P/8348).
 - (19) This number is based on comprehensive research of the Police (Confidential) Proceedings of the Government of Burma (IOR/P/7502; IOR/P/7504; IOR/P/7792; IOR/P/8070; IOR/P/8348; IOR/P/8881; IOR/P/9126; IOR/P/9402; IOR/P/CONF/15; IOR/P/CONF/38; IOR/P/CONF/48; IOR/P/CONF/54). This number includes the first three orders in 1909 but excludes some cases of expulsion from Tavoy, re-expulsion cases, and the case of *Kuang-hua* newspaper, mentioned later.
 - (20) On cases of withdrawal, see File Nos. 1M-28 (1913) (IOR/P/9126); 1M-10, pt. 4

- (1916) (IOR/P/CONF/15); 1M-47 (1913) (IOR/P/9402).
- (21) *RRTP for 1910*, p. 3.
- (22) These seven re-expulsion cases are found in File Nos. 1M-13, Pt. 2 (1910) (IOR/P/8348); 1M-13, Pt. 4 (1910) (IOR/P/8348); 1M-20 (1912) (IOR/P/8881); 1M-45 (1913) (IOR/P/9126); 1M-10, Pt. 2 (1916) (IOR/P/ CONF/15); 1M-52 (1917) (IOR/P/ CONF/38); 1M-51 (1919) (IOR/P/CONF/48). On the case of return after re-expulsion, see File No. 1M-26 (1914) (IOR/P/9402).
- (23) File No. 1M-13, Pt. 2 (1910) (IOR/P/8348).
- (24) Statement of Kow Bway, May 30, 1910, in File No. 1M-13, Pt. 2 (1910) (IOR/P/8348).
- (25) File No. 1M-13, Pt. 3 (1910) (IOR/P/8348).
- (26) Memorial of Tan Tien of Henzada, Trader, October 1, 1910, in File No. 1M-13, Pt. 3 (1910) (IOR/P/8348).
- (27) Tan Kim Chye was born in Rangoon in 1869 as the eldest son of Tan Boon Tee (陳文鄭), who had immigrated to Burma from Amoy, and he took over the family business after his father's death in 1909. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 313 and Li, *op. cit.*, p. 279.
- (28) Tan Kim Chye was appointed in 1912 and 1914 as a member of the CAB. File Nos. 10C-55 (1912) (IOR/P/8881); 1M-20 (1914) (IOR/P/9402).
- (29) File No. 1M-47 (1913) (IOR/P/9402).
- (30) Memorial from Wee Nga Sang, December 11, 1913, in File No. 1M-47 (1913) (IOR/P/9402).
- (31) On the *Kuang-hua* case, see File Nos. 1C-61 (1908) (NAD/1/1B/6491); 1C-3 (1909) (NAD/1/1B/6590); 1C-16 (1910) (NAD/1/1B/6762); 1C-16, Pt. B (1910) (NAD/1/1A/3800); 1C-10 (1911) (NAD/1/1A/3854); 1C-40, Pt.1 (1912) (NAD/1/1B/6968); 1C-40, Pt. 2 (1912) (NAD/1/1B/6969). This incident is often mentioned by previous studies on Chinese politics in Burma during the Xinhai Revolution. For example, see Chén, Rúxìng (陳孺性, Chen, Yi-Sein), *Miāndiàn Huáqiáo Shǐlùè* [緬甸華僑史畧, *A Brief History of Overseas Chinese in Burma*], *Nányáng Wénzhāi* [南洋文摘, *South Seas Digest*] 5(2), 1964, p. 49., and Yú, Dìngbāng (余定邦), “Qīngcháozhèngfǔ zài Yǎngguāng Shèzhì Lǐngshì de Guòchéng” [清朝政府在仰光设置领事的过程, *The Process that the Qing Government Established the Consul in Rangoon*], *Zhōngshān Dàxué Xuébào, Shèhuì Kēxué Bǎn* [中山大学学报, 社会科学版, *Bulletin of Zhongshan University, Social Science Series*] 1990(1), 1990, pp. 64-65.
- (32) Chén, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.
- (33) File No. 1C-61 (1908) (NAD/1/1B/6491).
- (34) File No. 1C-3 (1909) (NAD/1/1B/6590). On the establishment of the Chinese consulate in Rangoon, see Yú, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-66.
- (35) Note by W. F. Rice, December 1, 1909, in File No. 1C-3 (1909) (NAD/1/1B/6590).
- (36) Letter from Consul for China at Rangoon to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma, February 23, 1910, in File No. 1C-16 (1910) (NAD/1/1B/6762).
- (37) File No. 1C-16 (1910) (NAD/1/1B/6762). By collating with previous studies written in Chinese, Chin Wan Peng was 陳漢平 and Liu Kok Seng was 居正 (居覺生). The latter was a famous revolutionary and politician. See, for example, Chén, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
- (38) Note by W. F. Rice, March 4, 1910, in File No. 1C-16 (1910) (NAD/1/1B/6762). The

- person mentioned here was Shamji Krishnavarma who established the center for overseas Indian revolutionaries, called “India House,” in London in 1905 and moved to Paris in 1908. On Krishnavarma, see Fischer-Tiné, Harald, “Indian Nationalism and the ‘World Forces’: Transnational and Diasporic Dimensions of the Indian Freedom Movement on the Eve of the First World War,” *Journal of Global History* 3, 2007, pp. 325-344.
- (39) File No. 1C-16 (1910) (NAD/1/1B/6762). These orders were withdrawn on December 24, 1912 in response to the request from the government of the Republic of China. File No. 1C-40, Pt. 1 (1912) (NAD/1/1B/6968); 1C-40, Pt. 2 (1912) (NAD/1/1B/6969).
- (40) The following two paragraphs are also based on File No. 1C-16 (1910) (NAD/1/1B/6762).
- (41) Demi-official letter from the Examiner-in-Chinese, Burma, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma, April 12, 1910, in File No. 1C-16 (1910) (NAD/1/1B/6762).
- (42) Cheng Gun Ann was born in the 1850s and immigrated to Burma when he was young, and he achieved commercial success in Rangoon. Zhāng, Zhēngfān (張正藩), “Zhuāng Yínān” [莊銀安, Cheng Gun Ann], in Zhù Xiùxiá (祝秀俠) (ed.), *Huáqiáo Míngrénzhuàn* [華僑名人傳, Biographies of Prominent Overseas Chinese], Táiběi (臺北, Taipei): Zhōngyāng Wénwù Gōngyìngshè (中央文物供應社), 1955, pp. 109-117.
- (43) File No. 1C-33 (1912) (NAD/1/1A/3878).
- (44) McGrath, Thomas E., “A Warlord Frontier: The Yunnan-Burma Border Dispute, 1910-1937,” *Ohio Academy of History Proceedings*, 2003, pp. 7-29.
- (45) File No. 1C-36 (1913) (NAD/1/1A/3896). Ko Ban Pan (Koh Ban Pan) was born in Amoy in 1852 and, after coming to Rangoon in 1872, carried out his business successfully. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 316. According to the naturalization records in NAD, both Ko Ban Pan and Teoh Eng Hock acquired British subjectship, in 1892 and in 1901 respectively. File Nos. 2N-2 (1892) (NAD/1/1A/3223); 2N-9 (1901) (NAD/1/1A/3492). However, the government of Burma had not noticed at least until 1914 that Teoh had become a British subject. File No. 1C-3 (1914) (NAD/1/1B/7086). This was likely because his application for naturalization was made under the name “Tiahu Eng Huat.”
- (46) This paragraph was based on File Nos. 1C-35 (1913) (NAD/1/1C/9246); 1C-36 (1913) (NAD/1/1A/3896); 1C-3 (1914) (NAD/1/1B/7086).
- (47) Letter from the consul for China, Rangoon, to the chief secretary to the government of Burma, March 13, 1914, in File No. 1C-3 (1914) (NAD/1/1B/7086).
- (48) Tan Soo Kim (Tan Sew Him) was the managing partner in the mercantile firm of Eng Bee and the rice mill of Eng Ban Whet. After his father, Tan Boon Ban, died in 1906, he partly succeeded the family business. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 326. He might have been a relative of Tan Kim Chye, mentioned in footnote 27.
- (49) Ishijima, Noriyuki (石島紀之), *Yunnan to Kindai Chuugoku: “Shuhen” no Shiten kara* [雲南と近代中国: “周辺” の視点から, *Yunnan and Modern China: from the Perspective of the “Periphery”*], Tokyo (東京): Aoki Shoten (青木書店), 2004, pp. 27-83.
- (50) Later, during the anti-Yuan Self-Strengthening Movement from 1915 to 1916, the revolutionaries in Yunnan and Tokyo demanded financial support from Chinese in

- Burma. The government of Burma caught this information and warned Chinese in the province not to be involved under the threat of expulsion. But the government had no intension of taking measures beyond warning. File Nos. 1C-46 (1915) (NAD/1/1A/4039); 1C-3 (1916) (NAD/1/1B/7282); 1C-3, Pt.2 (1916) (NAD/1/1A/4048).
- (51) File No. 1C-3 (1914) (NAD/1/1B/7086). Tan Seik Kwa had become a member of Chinese Advisory Board instead of Tan Po Chaung sometime between 1912 and 1914. File Nos. 10C-55 (1912) (IOR/P/8881); 1M-20 (1914) (IOR/P/9402).
- (52) File No. 1M-20 (1914) (IOR/P/9402).
- (53) Nethersole, F. R., "An Inquiry into the Cause of Crime in the Tharrawaddy District and a Search for Their Remedy: Report," unpublished, 1917, para. 54. This report is included in File No. 10C-46, Pt.1 (1917) (IOR/P/10153).
- (54) File No. 6M-4 (1918) (NAD/1/15E/4185).
- (55) Letter from the chief secretary to the Government of Burma, to the commissioners of divisions, October 11, 1918, in File No. 1M-44 (1918) (IOR/P/CONF/38). It should be noted that this kind of perception did not dominate the whole colonial bureaucracy at that time. See Commissioners' reaction to inquiry on this issue in File No. 1M-4 (1919) (IOR/P/CONF/48) and the opinion of J. S. Furnivall, then the deputy commissioner of Myaungmya District, in File No. 6M-4 (1918) (NAD/1/15E/4185) and Taw Sein Ko's dissent to the Nethersole report in Taw, Sein Ko, *Burmese Sketches* 2, Rangoon: British Burma Press, 1920, pp. 128-130.
- (56) By 1921, the Chinese population in Burma increased to about 150,000. Purcell, Victor, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia*, Second Edition, London; Kuala Lumpur; Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1965, p. 45.
- (57) File No. 1M-1 (1920) (IOR/P/CONF/54).
- (58) Letter from the chief secretary to the Government of Burma, to the secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, June 13, 1919, in File No. 1M-1 (1920) (IOR/P/CONF/54).
- (59) *Ibid.*
- (60) File Nos. 1C-26 (1920) (NAD/1/1B/7528); 3335 (1920) (IOR/PJ/6/1679). According to Yi Li, the government of Burma continued to attempt to realize this plan until around 1926 and failed. Li, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.
- (61) This number includes 31 persons in section 3-1, seven re-expulsion cases, two deportees in the *Kuang-hua* case, and five mining laborers from Tavoy in the case of File No. 1M-16 (1916) (IOR/P/CONF/15).
- (62) *RRTP* for each year.
- (63) On the prison administration in Burma at the time, see Brown, Ian, "A Commissioner Calls: Alexander Paterson and Colonial Burma's Prisons," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 38(2), 2007, pp. 293-308 and Brown, Ian, "South East Asia: Reform and the Colonial Prison," in F. Dikötter and I. Brown (eds.), *Cultures of Confinement: A History of the Prison in Africa, Asia and Latin America*, London: Hurst & Co., 2007, pp. 221-268.
- (64) *RRTP for 1925*, p. 14.
- (65) For example, see *RRTP for 1924*, p. 20.

- (66) I would like to discuss this development in the expulsion policy during the late 1920s on another occasion.
- (67) Shiraishi, Takashi (白石隆), “Kamin-goeisyo no Setsuritsu to Kaito: 19 seiki Shingaporu Kakyo Syakai no Seijiteki Henka” [華民護衛署の設立と会党: 19世紀シンガポール華僑社会の政治的变化, The Establishment of the Chinese Protectorate and the Secret Societies: Political Development in Singapore in the 19th Century], *Ajia Kenkyu* [アジア研究, *Asian Studies*] 22(2), 1975, pp. 75-102.
- (68) Shinozaki, Kaori (篠崎香織), “Shingaporu no Kaikyo Kajin to ‘Tsuiho-rei’: Syokuminnchi-Chitsujo no Kochiku to Genchi Komyuniti no Taio ni kansuru Ichi-Kosatsu” [シンガポールの海峡華人と「追放令」: 植民地秩序の構築と現地コミュニティの対応に関する一考察, Straits Chinese in Singapore and the Banishment Ordinance: The Reaction of Local Community against the Construction of the Colonial Order], *Tonan Ajia: Rekishi to Bunka* [東南アジア: 歴史と文化, *Southeast Asia: History and Culture*] 30, 2001, pp. 72-97.

Transnational “Myanmar”-Karenni Societies in United States: Experiences of Karenni Refugee Resettlement

KUBO Tadayuki*

Introduction

This paper examines the resettlement of refugees from Burma/Myanmar to the United States, by focusing on the refugee experience.⁽¹⁾ The ethnographic description of the resettlement process reveals how refugees, by establishing a transnational “Myanmar” community in the United States, manifested a nationalism that was hitherto believed to be impossible.

Building a nation-state in Burma/Myanmar has been a controversial issue since the nation’s independence from the British in 1948. Callahan argues that the process of state building in Burma has focused on warfare and violence by the state. After independence, the national army or Tatmadaw regarded citizens as potential enemies, and conducted various anti-insurgency campaigns.⁽²⁾ Her argument richly elucidates the state-building process in Burma/Myanmar. However, though the Nation and the State are inseparable, her arguments exclude the *nation*-building process.⁽³⁾ This paper explores one aspect of belonging to the nation of “Myanmar.”

While state building is one of the most important tasks for a country following ethnic conflict, it is often analyzed only within the context of resistance movements, such as “Burmanization” by the government or resistance movements against it. Hence, the

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possibilities for actual nation building have not yet been explored. The experiences of refugees outside the country offer a new and useful perspective for such a discussion. Refugees may no longer legally belong to their country of origin, yet their existence expresses the core essence of the nation they come from.

The case study dealt with in this paper focuses on Karenni refugees from the Kayah State, which is the smallest state in Burma. In the Kayah State, the Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP) has been resisting the Burmese ruling military junta for more than 60 years, seeking either autonomy or independence from the state. The KNPP strategically have used the word “Karenni” as an umbrella term that includes all ethnic groups in Kayah State, in order to resist the Burma-centric state. The ex-chairman of the KNPP, namely Khu Hte Bu Pe, invented a “Karenni” script for the sake of the core spirit of his nation. Two refugee camps in Thailand were centers of KNPP politics in order to construct the “Karenni”, and “Karenni” has been an anti-state term, with its use being prohibited inside Burma by the junta. The category of “Karenni” or “Karenni” identity was constructed as a refugee concept in Thailand.⁽⁴⁾ This paper discusses the further transnational spread of “Karenni” through the resettlement of refugees to a third country, while also considering the meaning of Burma and Myanmar for those resettled refugees.

I . Refugees and Resettlement

1.1. Burmese Refugees in Thailand Resettled to third Countries

Burma is one of the most refugee-producing countries in the world. More than 140,000 people are residing in refugee camps in Thailand. There are ten camps on the Thai side and four on the Burmese side of the border. The first refugee camp was set up in 1984, and the refugee situation has been protracted since then. The Thai government has never given nationality to refugees.⁽⁵⁾ Increasing numbers of refugees over decades have been a major concern along the border area, and yet as the political situation of Burma did not improve, there was no outlook for voluntary repatriation.

The Thai government therefore introduced a refugee resettlement program in 2005 in order to “solve” this refugee problem. This program involved resettling refugees in third countries. According to the statistics of the International Organization for Migration (IOM), major countries for resettlement are: the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the Czech Republic, Ireland, the Netherlands, and Japan. By the end of 2012, a total of 84,341 Burmese refugees had been resettled from Thailand, and the majority went to the United States. In 2012, the United States accepted 5,926 of the 6,668 Burmese refugees in Thailand, who were accepted for resettlement.

For refugees, resettlement to a third country is a final choice. By examining their camps, or their change of living environment, refugees made the necessary decisions. The major reason for refugees to choose resettlement was to improve their children’s future prospects, which constitutes a major concern in the camps. Some people are motivated by an expectant good income, others decide to use the chance of resettlement as a preparation

for future voluntary repatriation to their home village in Burma.

On the other hand, moving to a new social environment is stressful, especially for the elderly. Expectations about resettlement are different among family members. At the beginning of the process, some couples divorce, others rush to create new households in order to settle together in a new country. These choices reflect different household strategies for survival. For example, a son or daughter over eighteen years of age can apply alone and resettle first, and later bring in their parents from the camp after their new life has been stabilized.

1.2. Refugee Resettlement in the United States

Life in the United States

Resettled refugees receive various types of official assistance. In the beginning, a lump sum of 425 to 1,100 US dollars is paid to a refugee as temporary arrival assistance. The cash assistance differs from state to state. Food stamps, in the amount of 180 dollars per month are provided to each refugee, and they can be used to purchase food. Medical assistance is used for medical services. Refugee cash assistance of 250 dollars per month is provided for the first eight months after their arrival, and for low-income families, about 800 to 900 dollars is paid per household as temporary assistance to the needy. Based on this assistance, refugees are expected to be economically self-reliant within four to six months. Food stamps and other services decrease as income rises. A volunteer agency (VOLAG) funded by the government prepares housing and allocates caseworkers to refugees, and several umbrella organizations provide services to them.

Karenni refugees start their new life by taking the following steps. A caseworker comes to the airport to assist the refugees and take them to their new place of residence, and the caseworker arranges a interpreter and provides English language classes for them. The worker is not always a person of Burmese origin. Lack of interpreter is a common difficulty, and it is not rare for people to interpret via long distance telephone calls.

Most of the Karenni refugees work in meatpacking factories. Other works for them include box packing or line-operation in perfume, deodorant, or cake factories, sushi-making in buffet restaurants, room cleaning in hotels, picking vegetables, drink-label checking work, and carrying tasks in frozen pizza factories, and those less skilled worker receive a low salary. Wages range from seven to nine dollars per hour, and the income is unstable because the workday is adjusted according to demand. Life for them is not easy, especially owing to language barriers, work style, and health care,⁽⁶⁾ and some declared that they had been refugees twice, the first time in Thailand and the second time in America.

Karenni refugees began to resettle in the United States in larger numbers beginning in 2008 and 2009, and by 2012, when I conducted this research, the majority of the people I spoke to were receiving food stamps for their survival. Economically, life in the United States was hard for them, and hence with a view to seek a better environment, refugees tend to move to better places of residence. This secondary migration and dwelling together are some of the strategies they use to live in their new environment.

Secondary Migration and Refugee Experiences

Secondary migration is commonly seen as a way of life. They seek better places to live in, and so they move to towns where adequate assistance for Burmese refugees is provided. A survey of Karen refugees in City W found that just three years after arrival eighteen of 25 families had already moved to a different location, and only seven families remained.⁽⁷⁾

Dwelling together eases daily life to a degree, being able to use their mother tongue helps to make life less stressful, and children can easily find friends to play with in the neighborhood.⁽⁸⁾ As they do not need to use English, some people adopt the lifestyle of dwelling together in the same apartment, as “here, we are living like refugees (*doukhadee lou nee dee*).” I shall analyze the significance of this phrase later.

As regards Asian countries, the United States has accepted tens of thousands of Hmong refugees from Laos, ever since the political changes occurred in the nations of Indochina. Although the Hmong and the refugees from Burma are both from camps in Thailand, their refugee experience is quite different. The main difference is the “quality” of refugee experience. Compared with Hmong refugees, the Burmese refugees stay in refugee camps for an average of more than ten years, and some even as long as 25 years. Protracted life as a refugee has many negative effects, especially as regards future prospects. One “positive” aspect of the prolonged refugee experience, particularly for youth, consists in the educational opportunities provided by non-governmental organizations. Indeed for some international NGOs, refugee camps in Thailand are a model case of providing educational aid to refugees. Education and the experience of working with international NGOs, contributes to re-establishing life and integrating into a third country.

Although many refugees come from rural mountainous areas, due to their time spent in the refugee camps, some can already communicate in English. Some “active refugees” set up committees or self-help groups in order to fulfill social welfare needs in the camps. Such refugees have gained various skills and are well versed in the methods and ideas used by aid providers. “General refugees,” or those who do not become involved in self-help activities, identify who they are vis-à-vis the norms of receiving assistance. One of the essential components of a protracted refugee experience is the recognition of the self as a beneficiary of aid, and this experience affects their resettlement in both positive and negative ways.

Simon Turner, who studied Hutu refugees from Tanzania, called educated refugees who act as intermediaries between refugees and aid agencies “liminal experts.”⁽⁹⁾ Liminal experts who have rich experiences working with foreigners in refugee camps can more smoothly integrate into new environments. They are good at communicating with English speakers and understand the policies of NGOs. They have been regarded as key persons to provide more efficient aid and promote refugee integration.

In Karenni society in the United States, Lii Reh is one of the key persons promoting refugee resettlement and solving problems for refugees in City S. Before the resettlement program was implemented, some institutions such as the Open Society Institute accepted refugees from Burma to provide educational and internship programs in the United States. Some educated refugees, including Lii Reh, had been living in the United States longer than resettled refugees, because of the internship. He was born in Burma but later moved to a

Karenni refugee camp in Thailand and studied there. As he lived in several refugee camps and Thai villages, he could speak Karenni, Burmese, Karen, Shan, Thai, and English.

The income of liminal experts is much better than that of “general” refugees. A professional translator can earn up to forty dollars per hour, and a driver delivering refugees to hospitals can earn 150 dollars per day. Various jobs are open to liminal experts. Lii Reh, for example, also gives advice by telephone to refugees in Thailand waiting to have interviews with the DHS (Department of Homeland Security), if needed. Through these works the liminal expert literally mediates lives between the refugee camps and the United States.

Depending on the quality of the refugee experience, circumstances after resettlement, including employment, income, and living arrangements, differ. However, the “high” status of liminal experts is based on the thousands of unskilled and illiterate refugees. It is worth considering the “gap” based on refugee experience and mutual interdependence between “two kinds” of refugees. Based on this framework, I shall describe processes and modes of incorporation and experiences of the first generation of resettled people in the next chapter.

II. Ethnography of Crossing the Border

2.1. From Refugee Camp to the United States

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), arrange the resettlement of refugees from Burma. After everything is prepared for leaving the camp, refugees take an eighteen-hour bus ride from Mae Hong Son province to Bangkok, the capital of Thailand. After just a two-hour sleep break in a hotel in Bangkok, they head for the airport. The IOM staff support them until they board the plane, but after leaving Thailand, they have to get to their new home on their own. This includes transiting in Japan or Korea and oftentimes transiting again within the United States.

Before leaving the camp, refugees take cultural orientation classes to learn about the United States, how to check-in, how to use the lavatory seat, and the fact that they should not eat betel nuts in the airplane or in the United States. Yet, some of them secretly put small cut betel nuts in their pockets and eat them like candy. Food and drinks that they carried from the camp are dumped before boarding the airplane, and during their long travel they cannot buy anything, because other than a few Thai Baht coins their purses are empty.

In the airplane, some have no idea how to order something to drink when they feel thirsty. One said his children really wanted water to drink, but he did not know how to order it, and so he had to pretend he was not thirsty at all in front of his children. The airplane food was also unpalatable for them, and as I shall discuss later, eating habits are very important for adaptation.

Besides this, each refugee had to pay back the cost of the flight within three years, as it was technically a loan. The cost is approximately 1000 U.S. dollars per person. Repayment is usually set up in monthly installments of about 30 U.S. dollars, but for a large family this is difficult, because monthly incomes, particularly with irregular employment, are not

adequate. Poor families apply for an extension (or grace period) for repayment. In these and other ways, resettlement in the United States can sometimes drive refugees into debt.

After Arrival

Upon arrival in the destination city, a caseworker comes to pick up the refugees, and takes them under his or her charge. The caseworker may not necessarily be a Karen, Burmese, or Karenni language speaker, in which case it becomes difficult to communicate. It depends on the caseworker if refugees can be settled smoothly. Some caseworkers do not come to the airport to pick up the refugees, and in other cases, even though they are not ready, a caseworker arranges for them to go to school just three days after arrival. Some refugees point out that “busy” caseworkers do not answer their calls.

Appropriate translation is also a barrier, particularly when interpreting concepts that may be different across cultures. For example, a young man suffering from mental illness would have benefited from a CT scan of his brain, but his mother was afraid to “cut” his brain to see inside and so refused to allow the scan of her son. Although such medically related mistranslations are well studied among Hmong refugee communities, those lessons are not utilized.⁽¹⁰⁾

Experience of Initial Resettlement

Although the following is a verifiable story, it seems implausible. A son had arrived before his family resettled and was living on the sixth floor of an apartment. A few months later, his mother arrived and lived on the first floor of the same apartment. His mother decided to resettle in the US because her son was already living there, but they did not know they lived in the same apartment for six weeks. One day, both of them visited the office of a support agency and met by chance. It was the first time they came to know that they were living in the same place.

Due to the language barrier, unusual troubles also occur. For example, a refugee family was escorted to their new house by a caseworker. The caseworker prepared foods, drinks and snacks for the children in order to welcome the refugees. The caseworker returned home, leaving the refugees in the new house, but the family did not know it was their own house since they thought it was someone else’s house where they were staying just for a night. Hence they waited for the owner to come back. The children told the parents that they wanted to drink some juice and they complained of hunger, but the parents answered, “We should not take other people’s food and drink as our own.” After waiting a long time, and since no one returned, they decided to sleep on the floor and not in the bedroom. Finally, however, they knew the place was their home, when the caseworker visited them again the following day.

The first episode indicates that on paper family members are arranged to stay close to each other, however, the information is not handed over to the field staff. In this case, the relatives saw each other only by chance. On the other hand, as seen in the second episode, various misunderstandings occur because of the communication problem.

What They Know in the United States: The Meaning of Registration

In their earlier lives as refugees, resettled people had no official registration except for a UNHCR designation as a “displaced person.” Now however, the refugees began to know the meaning of registration through life in America. Even their names and most basic details could be changed in accordance with the registration.

Karenni people do not have family names. In the case of a male, “Reh” is used at the end of a name, as for instance “Bo Reh.” For a female however, “Meh” is added, such as “Saw Meh.” Yet in America, this commonplace addition becomes an official surname. Such a lack of cultural understanding is common. The misspellings of names are also registered by mistake, as for example the name Htaw Reh was registered as Thaw Reh. One woman was registered with her father’s name, because her own name was just a single word, and staff decided that the latter part of her fathers’ name should be the family name. Even though they tried to correct the name it was difficult to prove that it was a mistake, because they did not have any documentation other than the original UN registration.

The refugees could not imagine so many different kinds of registrations. In refugee camps in Thailand, the “official” UN registration had no special meaning. Food and other rations were delivered based on population statistics collected by an NGO. Some parents registered their son or daughter’s name as a nickname, but now it had become their official name in America, and they had no way of modifying it. It was not rare for people born in mountainous areas not to know their exact birthday, and in such cases the birthdays allocated were December 24 or January 1.

Though many refugees expect to get a higher education after resettling, in some states, those over twenty years of age could not attend high school, and for this reason they had to go through a special program to attain a high school diploma. Visions of the future that they had before leaving their camps, often did not meet expectations.

Unintentional declarations during the registration process suddenly became “official records” that influenced the refugees in their new lives. Resettled people said they had no ID cards before their resettlement, but in the United States they had numerous cards, such as their green card, social security card, and food stamp card. Viewed from this standpoint the refugees had indeed integrated into the new nation-state politically, and yet, were they also integrated into the state socially? In the following sections, I shall discuss how social connections and lifestyles are constructed through the case study of City A in Minnesota and City B in Wisconsin.

2.2. Case Study (1): Minnesota

Minnesota has one of the largest populations of resettled refugees in the United States. According to a Karen self-help organization, more than 7,000 Karen refugees live mainly in the central part of City A. Due to secondary migration, the exact number of refugees is unclear, but when I researched City A in 2012, there were 89 Karenni households (409 individuals).

Churches are among of the most important social places for resettled Karenni people. Whatever the denomination, they gather every Sunday at the church. C Church in City A is located near the charter school where refugee children study, and a school bus service is

provided every Sunday for those who do not have transportation. At the church service, Karenni people sit together with local Christians singing hymns and attending communion services. Christians sit in the front rows while the other (non-Christian) Karenni sit at the back. A core member of the Karenni tradition and religious committee in the refugee camp also attends the set of church services, although she never attended church services when she lived in Thailand. She does not have a Christian name and is a member of the traditional religious group “*Elyu-Pu*,” which practices animism. Even so, in America, she comes to church to meet friends and exchange information.

The church service begins on 10:00 AM, and after finishing the service the refugees move to the gymnasium next to the church, to have lunch together. The lunch the day I attended consisted of fried Thai style noodles. In the hall of the gymnasium several round tables were set up, where the youth who can read and write English have consultations with other refugees. Since there was no other opportunity to talk about work, residence, or to confirm the bills and documents that are written in English, if those Karenni translators could not deal with certain issues, they could immediately ask the help of the Americans sitting around.

The church is a place of religion as well as a place for consultation, in order to reconstruct social relations and facilitate lives in a new and strange place. It is not rare to find a new residence and job through an opportunity that arises when people gather at church. Those who resettled alone tend to be lonely, while the church is an important place for social interaction.⁽¹¹⁾

It was in 2008 that Karenni refugees began to settle in City A, and since then the number of Karenni has been increasing. According to a Catholic priest working in the church, Karenni refugees began to come in just as he was going to close the church, because the number of local parishioners was declining. He declared that the number of Karenni participants attending church services was higher than that of original residents.

The priest was very cooperative with regard to the Karenni. Every September the Karenni traditional *Deeku* festival is now held in City A, and the priest provides the gymnasium and church site for the festival. He knows that the festival is based on animist practices, but he does not withhold his cooperation with regard to holding the event. The priest’s ancestors originally came from Germany and he emphasized the fact that the Karenni should build a sense of community in City A. He understands the event as a way to rebuild the community rather than as a religious one.

Refugees come to dwell together in City A because there are places for the Karenni to gather and interact with understanding Americans, and based on this cooperation, several “Karenni” traditional festivals that were reconstructed in refugee camps in Thailand, have now been reconstructed once again in the United States. That is to say, a “Karenni” concept that originated in the refugee camps has now spread to the United States.

In this church, donated items are given out free of charge to refugees once a month. This is called the “free store,” and it operates on a first-come-first-served basis. Clothing, vegetables and other groceries were disposed of immediately, but breads were not popular, since they remained until the end. As we shall consider in the next section, eating habits are an important aspect of re-adjusting to life in western countries.

Residence and Food Concerns in the United States

Typically a Karenni family consists of at least five people, but it is not rare to find seven or eight family members living in two bedrooms, and sometimes a house may be too narrow for the number of its inhabitants. Incongruities between the structure of the residence and the manner of living of the residents are common.

As refugees around the world have commonly experienced, the smell of cooking is a source of trouble. Within a house located in a refugee camp that is made of leaves and bamboo, there is no need to refresh the air. However, some apartments are fitted only for microwave cooking, the smell of fish paste and Asian seasoning is confined to the apartment. In Area E of City A, 32 households are living in two buildings of an apartment complex, and the smell that arose from Karenni homes as a result of their cooking evoked so much trouble with the neighbors, that the owner of the building had to take measures to move all the Karenni into a single building, while the other residents were dispatched to the remaining buildings in order to prevent complaints.

The custom of not using carpets does not fit their situation as well. In their earlier life in Thailand, a bamboo-made house was easy to keep clean. For example, if a child urinated on the floor, they could either clean the place with water or just ignore it. However, carpets absorb smells and dirt immediately, and leave a lasting problem. Karenni children eat on the floor, sitting on plastic mats. In the Karenni style of feeding, children eat while moving from place to place, and not by sitting at a table. Food particles fall down to the floor, and people tend to leave them as they are, and as a consequence the rooms tend to become messy. Some Karenni people pick up furniture from the garbage dump, and the spread of bedbugs from room to room and house to house is a source of headache.

Resettled people report that they were able to obtain in the USA all the ingredients they could obtain in Thailand, except jackfruit, and so they eat food that is similar to what they ate in Thailand. One of the major changes however is the fact that they use beef more often than pork, because it is cheaper. However, they share a common feeling that when compared to the refugee camp, where local products were consumed locally, food in the United States was not so delicious because everything was packed and put in refrigerator, or frozen for storage. During my fieldwork, one young woman who was seeking fresh food was feeding birds in order to cook them. In these and other ways, some continue to maintain elements of their earlier “mountainous” lifestyle in the central city. As they had earlier been living without a refrigerator, they tend not to preserve leftover food, and so similar to what they did in Thailand, they just throw out unwanted food from the dishes. The difference is that in Thailand the swill went to the hogs, but in the United States it went to the garbage can.

One liminal expert, Lii Reh, pointed out that the difference of habits was a source of trouble with Americans, and that it caused difficulties in adapting to life in a western country. On the other hand, for people dwelling together in the same apartment, there was no need for them to behave like Americans. Judging from the perspective of the local residents, refugees might be the “others” who do not integrate into mainstream society, but who continue to live in their own way. In the following sections, I shall examine the approach of the resettled people with regard to building a community and social inclusion.

Building a Community and Living like Refugees

Football is a popular sport in the refugee camps as well as in areas of resettlement, and almost every day after work, youth in City A gather and play football until dark. In City A the youth organized a team with the name “Karen United,” and this team plays against other Karen and Karen refugee teams from other states. Almost all the youth gather together in one place to play football.

Football communities work as social monitoring opportunities of youth who could easily fall into trouble. Lii Reh carefully watches the hairstyle, clothes, and attitude of youth coming to football games every evening, and concluded that some youth misunderstand the meaning of freedom and of being American. Some young males conclude that American youth should wear untidy clothes, have their hair dyed to a gold color, have many piercings, and visit discos at midnight. Lii Reh judges that these signs indicate potential sources of trouble, and he cautions the youth that if they do not behave and follow his counsels, they were likely to be ousted from the football team.

While playing football is an opportunity for social interaction, the football field is also a place for senior refugees to check the behavior of their youth. In this way, refugee communities are formed through sports and efforts of liminal experts.

Refugees dwelling together in a single apartment describe their conditions of residence as “living like a refugee (*Doukhadee lou nee dee*).” The word *Doukhadee* was originally Buddhist terminology, and in Burmese it indicates suffering and those in trouble. However it also refers to refugees. Unlike the English term “refugee” which originated from Latin and means “a person fleeing from oppression,” *doukhadee* has a connotation closer to the Japanese term that is used for refugees, namely *Nanmin*, which means a person facing difficulty.

However, in this context, “living like refugees (*doukhadee lou nee dee*)” does not mean experiencing suffering as a refugee. Rather, the use of the term conveys the fact that even now, after their resettlement, they continue to live as they had been doing in the refugee camps. While living in the camps, people often used the term *doukhadee* or its colloquialism “*doukhabee* (which means ‘trouble has come, it cannot be helped’)” to describe their experience, such as having no ID card to protect themselves, being limited in their freedom of movement and right to work, receiving discrimination from Thai people, and no future prospects.

In contrast, after resettlement the term refugee (*doukhadee*) is used with a relatively positive nuance, signifying that the *lifestyle* of the refugee camp continues, however without the sufferings linked to that experience. The term is used, for example, in the following situation. As in Thailand, they do not lock the doors of their apartments except when they sleep. In an apartment where many refugees live together, they freely visit the rooms of their friends and relatives. American style rooms are designed to have some private space, but they use their rooms for welcoming others who live in the same site. They do not use the doorbell to call the owner of the house, but just open the door and call him/her. Even when they have nothing special to talk about, they still visit each other. This way of interacting is similar to their way of life in Thailand and Burma. In this way, as I explain later in detail, a new social relationship is being created in the United States. They refer to

this way of life as “living like refugees.”

This term is also used in expressions such as “because we are living like refugees, please join us and let us have dinner together.” At first sight this sentence may seem strange. However, in this context, the term “refugees (*doukhadee*)” indicates that according to Karenni custom, travelers or guests are offered food and drink. Hence, the expression may be translated as “we are still living as Karenni, so please join us for dinner.” Karen and Karenni people traditionally believe that they should hospitable and provide foods and drinks to guests, as otherwise they believe they would lose “face” or social prestige. Hence, guests offered food must consume at least a bite, for refusal to do so would be judged as impolite.

The expression “living like refugees” is adopted positively in the new lives of the resettled people, as it indicates the transnational continuity of their living space and customs. Although most people need a mutual aid society, some use the term “living like refugees” with an alternate nuance.

2.3. Case Study (2): Wisconsin

As of 2012, 31 households had resettled in City B in Wisconsin, and sixteen of the 31 lived together in the same apartment site. They were all together resettled at the site from refugee camps, which means to say that the site was not chosen during secondary migration. As I stated earlier, the living sites of resettled people are important elements towards building a community of the same ethnic group, and yet this case reveals that such an interpretation is not always clear, since a “community” may be built around more than one ethnic group, namely the “Karenni”.

The First Resettled Refugee Family in City B

Klu Reh and his wife and two daughters were the first resettled family in City B, and they were the only Karenni family in the city. He could not speak English, as he had only finished Grade 4 in the refugee camp school. The agency in charge of the family was the Lutheran Church. Three days after their arrival their house was not yet ready to live in, so they resided with an American family on a homestay basis. The host family provided them with bread, pasta, canned food and some rice, but as everything was so unappetizing, that they could barely eat at all. Soon the host family took them to a Chinese market to prepare Asian foodstuffs for them. Now the family rents land from the church and raises vegetables such as pumpkin, chili, zucchini, and cucumber.

Klu Reh studied English for several months at the church, but classes were not held every day. Life was so tedious that he killed time travelling the whole day by bus, around the city. He tried to remember all the city bus routes, and this experience proved very useful after he had obtained a driver's license.

It is said that the area where the family lived was not safe, and so people living in the central part of the city tended to avoid that area. They said that ignoring traffic signals was a daily occurrence and that occasionally children were kidnapped, and for this reason adults always kept an eye on children when they played outside. This was in contrast to other sites where refugees lived together, and children played freely until dark. Klu Reh's wife was

very concerned about security, and so she locked all the doors when they slept or went out. She had heard about a Karenni refugee living in an area similar to hers in a different state, whose house had been raided at midnight.

Before long, Klu Reh obtained a job at a deodorant packing factory, working from (2:00 to 10:00) PM or (3:00 to 11:00) PM. Before obtaining a driver's license he used to go to the factory by riding a series of buses, and as he had to ride the buses quite late into the night he was scared to getting into trouble with “bad guys.” Hence he pretended to talk to someone by phone on his way home, in order to protect himself.

Connection with Refugee Camps

Three months after arrival, Klu Reh found out that some Karenni families were living in the same city, about a fifteen-minute drive from his house. He obtained this information not from the refugee agency, but from his wife's friend in the refugee camp who communicated the news to them by telephone. If a refugee's case is processed via a different agency, they have no way of knowing each other across the agencies. From that time onwards the social relations of the Klu Reh family with other Karenni people began. He told other refugees how to get a driver's license, and offered them tips on how to live in the city. He always said, “In America, the car is as important as the sandal is for the Karenni.”⁽¹²⁾ In 2011, the Karenni National Day was celebrated, and as in City A, resettled refugees reconstructed their ways of life in new places.

Even though the security situation of Klu Reh's living area was much worse than where other refugees lived, his family does not want to move from the apartment, because some difficulties might arise. At the apartment site people visit friends' rooms freely, house items go missing, rooms become dirty before long, and drunk people continually complain about the burden of their lives. The family describes this situation in the words, “we do not want to stay in the southern part, because they are living like refugees (*doukhadee lou nee lo*).” The term *doukhadee*, in this case, is used in a communal sense as shown above, but its connotation is negative.

The term “living like refugees” is the key to understanding the experience of resettled refugees in relationship to their earlier lives, but of course, terms like refugees, and Karenni, are not monolithic. The “Karenni” society in the United States may be termed a transnational community, but this analysis alone may be misleading, as it may not describe the actual conditions of the resettled refugee society. However another transnational refugee community beyond the “Karenni” is being constructed in City B, through an attempt to establish a charter school for “Myanmar” refugees in the city.

Establishing a “Myanmar” School in the United States

A charter school is a new kind of public school, that is established when parents, teachers, or a community-based organization applies to the board of education, and demonstrates its need for it. There are an estimated 3,000 refugees from Burma in City B. The largest group is Burman, then follow Karen, Rakhine, Chin, Mon, Shan, Kachin, and Karenni. In actual fact each ethnic group does not have many dealings with other groups, but now people of different ethnic backgrounds are planning to organize a charter school for

refugee children.

A Kachin man, named Zau La leads this project. Zau La obtained a scholarship to study in London when he was a student in Burma. One day at a Christmas party he met a professor from a famous university in the UK, and was able to study in a Ph.D. course under the supervision of this professor. When he was about to finish his course he decided that he would not return to his country, since he was afraid that his study on Christianity in Burma would be opposed by the junta, and he hence decided to move to the United States. He first settled with a student visa, as it was the easiest way for him, but later he sought asylum and obtained permanent resident status. Now he teaches several subjects at a public school as an assistant teacher for Burmese refugees. Even though he was eager to become a formal teacher, his degree from the UK was deemed insufficient, and so he said he would have to make a new start to acquire a teacher's license.

Having a license is most important both for him as well as for the refugee children whom he teaches. According to Zau La's observation, the basic academic ability of refugee children is quite low, particularly in science and math. In addition, in the house of uneducated parents, the environment is not suitable for study, as often the television is turned on the whole day and parents do not prepare a desk for their children's study. He affirmed that parents had to study at the same time as their children, and for that purpose he collects donations to establish a charter school for the children of refugees from Burma, through a consultant from the refugee agency. They were able to collect 5000 US dollars in a brief period of time, much more than they had expected, and in August 2012 they held an adult literacy class as a trial, the first step of the future charter school. He is of the opinion that it will take about ten years to stabilize the life of the Burmese refugees resettled in the United States.

A Lao refugee also supports the learning center. The headquarters of the project is in the Lao family leaning center, which is used for education and the daily consultations of refugees from Laos. The owner of the building, who was originally a Lao refugee, provides the space at a low price. If there were no church similar the one in City A, there would be no place for them to meet. The Lao family learning center, which was created more than thirty years ago, works as an assembly place for refugees from Burma.

The most important thing is that the core members of the project decided to use the name "Myanmar" for the new learning center. In Article 1, Section 1 of the constitution of the center, it was declared that "Myanmar" shall inclusively refer to all peoples from Burma. I was present at the meeting that decided upon this language in the constitution, and there, everyone agreed that if they used the word "Burma" it would signify only Burmans, but that "Myanmar" would be better as the name of the center, since it included all ethnic groups. The group decided that the name "Myanmar" is more of a neutral term, which referred to all people from the country.

The junta has used this explanation, and in 1989 the junta changed the English name of the country to the Union of Myanmar. Originally Burma and Myanmar had little difference, since the first was used in the spoken language and the latter in the written language. However, both terms refer to only to Burmans. As the junta took the decision to rename the country without regard for the will of the people, the pro-democratic groups rejected it.

Those people, including refugees who fled to neighboring countries and were resettled in western nations, continue to call the country Burma as an act of defiance of the junta. While originally the relationship between the two terms was Burma “and” Myanmar, it was converted into a dichotomy of Burma “or” Myanmar during the civil war.

Refugees, asylum seekers, and activists intentionally refer to the country as Burma, and not Myanmar. However, for the educational activities of the leaning center, “Myanmar” was a unifying force for refugees, even though it is the “Myanmar”-centric junta that is the cause of the protracted refugee situation.

Conclusion

In general, the resettlement of refugees is regarded as a one-way trip. If refugees have nothing to rely on, then aid for them must be substantial. Considering the unstable prospects the refugees are faced with, this is true. Yet, this is not an adequate explanation of the reality that the refugees face in their lives. As I stated, the contribution of liminal experts (namely former refugees who help those being resettled) for example, cannot be measured by an index of aid used by humanitarian agencies.

Rather, ethnographic research reveals certain common characteristics among resettled people, such as secondary migration and the lifestyle of “living like refugees.” The resettlement process is an extension of their previous lives. First, resettled refugees are being incorporated into American society by maintaining a “Karen” identity, as is visible in their reconstructing once again their traditional festivals, and organizing football communities and teams such as the “Karen United.” The constructed community of “Karen” that was created in the refugee camp thus spread to their new location.

In an anthropological framework, the movement and settlement of the refugee is analyzed as an analogy of a rite of passage, which progresses from separation (fleeing from the original place), transition (living in a refugee camp) and reintegration (reintegrating into another country).⁽¹³⁾ Yet this ethnographic study of the refugee resettlement process clearly demonstrates that refugee resettlement is not a straight-forward course towards integration, but rather a more complex process that includes various modes of incorporation into the new society. The modes of incorporation of refugees are not merely assimilation or integration. Rather, they are based on a transnational living space. As they consider themselves to be both “Karen” and “Myanmar” refugees, there are plural modes for entry into a new society.

Originally the term “Karen” indicated the political significance of being against Burma, or the Myanmar-centric junta. However the resettled people now identify themselves as “Karen”. Being “Karen” in the American context does not always mean to be politically against “Myanmar”. In City B, refugees who have been opposed to Burma’s military junta are constructing a social sphere of “Myanmar”. We must also discuss nationalism in Burma/Myanmar, because modern history after independence from the British is a history of civil war. Has the country ever achieved the status of a true nation-state since independence? As Hazel Lang declares, the main goal of the Burmese Army (the

Tatmadaw) in the ethnic regions was simply to depopulate them.⁽¹⁴⁾ The Tatmadaw viewed all citizens as potential enemies.⁽¹⁵⁾

Refugees displaced by the government never had a consciousness apart from that of their own “nation state”. For those stateless people, the term “Karenni” was accepted in their context of being refugees. In other words, it was through being refugees that the Karenni finally received an opportunity to view themselves from the perspective of the state. This experience of seeing themselves as part of a nation, contributed to creating a community based on the concept of “Myanmar” in their third country.

Callahan argues that the concept of the country is well characterized as a relationship of dichotomy between state and society. The state sees society as potential enemy. However, this framework, seeing society as an enemy, is too simple to analyze multi-ethnic nation. Considering that even refugees who fled the nation of Burman have been able to see themselves in terms of the nation of “Myanmar”, what is important is to examine how the concept of a nation as “Myanmar” can be built, after an oppressive regime has been established with such a name.

As the case study reveals, although their situation of being refugees, they are reconstructing a sense of belonging in the name of “Myanmar”. A more dynamic, transnational nation building process is developing. The “Myanmar” social sphere being built in City B indicates that a genuine national reconciliation is not brought by a simple problem-solving approach, such as dichotomy Burma or Myanmar. In earlier studies on ethnic issues in Burma, even though ethnicity was the key concept for sense of unity as a nation, focusing on it was partial. Its theoretical framework was oppression or resistance. In other words, only a politicized ethnicity was examined such as Burmanization or Karenni in the context of civil war.

However, the case of resettled refugees shows that even they no longer exist as refugees, as well as citizens of the country of origin, they reconstruct their ties with their origin as “Karenni” and form a sense of unity as “Myanmar”. The current nation-state then can be relativized through transnational existence of refugees. When questioning the form that nationalism will take, it is worth considering the perspective of emigrants, including refugees. The point of view of an outsider could make inner issues more visible. This paper discussed one manifestation of Myanmar nationalism, through a case study of the process of refugee resettlement in the United States.

Notes

- (1) Research was conducted in 2012 among communities of resettled Karenni refugees in California (1-4 August), Minnesota (6-19 August), Wisconsin (20-31 August) and North Carolina (1-13 September). All names are pseudonyms. I acknowledge all the Karenni people who warmly welcomed me in the United States.
- (2) Callahan, Mary P., *Making Enemies: War and State Building in Burma*, Ithaca and

London: Cornell University Press, 2003.

- (3) *Ibid.*, p.13.
- (4) As for “Karenni,” see also Dudley, Sandra, *Materialising Exile Material Culture and Embodied Experience among Karenni Refugees in Thailand*, New York • Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2012 and Kubo, Tadayuki, *Anthropology of Refugees: Movement and Settlement of Karenni Refugees on Thai-Burma Border*, Tokyo: Shimizu Kobundoshobou, 2014 (in Japanese).
- (5) Kubo, Tadayuki, “Thai Refugee Policy toward Burma,” *The Journal of Thai Study* 9, 2009, pp. 79-97 (in Japanese).
- (6) Mitschke, Diane B., Aaron E. Mitschke, Holli M. Slater and Consoler Teboh, “Uncovering Health and Wellness Needs of Recently Resettled Karen Refugees from Burma,” *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment* 21, 2011, pp. 490-501.
- (7) Kenny, Paul, “A Mixed Blessing: Karen Resettlement to the United States,” *Journal of Refugee Studies* 24(2), 2011, p.219.
- (8) Secondary migration is seen everywhere in the world. About Hmong refugees from Laos in the United States, see Vang, ChiaYouyee, *Hmong America Reconstructing Community in Diaspora*, Urbana, Chicago and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2010.
- (9) Turner, Simon, “New Opportunities: Angry Young Men in a Tanzanian Refugee Camp”, in Philomena Essed, Georg Frerks and Joke Schrijvers (eds.), *Refugees and the Transformation of Societies: Agency, Policies, Ethics and Politics*, New York • Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005, p.103.
- (10) Fadiman, Anne, *The Spirit Catches You and You Fall Down: A Hmong Child, Her American Doctors, and the Collision of Two Cultures*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997.
- (11) At the D church in Wisconsin, carols were sung in Spanish, Lao, Hmong, Karen and Karenni language.
- (12) A research on Nuer in Saint Pale, Minnesota pointed out that the Nuer people described the importance of cars as being similar to that of cows in their society in Sudan. The Nuer try to adopt the “strange” American culture by articulating it with their cultural value. Holtzman, Jon D., *Nuer Journeys, Nuer Lives: Sudanese Refugees in Minnesota*, Allyn & Bacon, 1999.
- (13) Malkki, Liisa H., *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995. Cf. Turner, Victor, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1967.
- (14) Lang, Hazel J., *Fear and Sanctuary: Burmese Refugees in Thailand*, Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications, 2002.
- (15) Callahan, *op.cit.*, pp. 223.

The Foreign Presence in Mandalay during the Konbaung Period: A Review of the Urban Area

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Introduction

Mandalay has many faces. As the last capital of the Konbaung Dynasty, Mandalay is considered the origin of the traditional Myanmar culture. A wide variety of handicrafts remain in practice today and are a focal point of the Buddhist practice. However, Mandalay cannot be discussed in only the narrow framework of Myanmar culture. Mosques, Hindu temples, and Chinese temples stood in a row along its streets, demonstrating the complex history of this city.

However, the study of Mandalay's diversity remains limited. The urban area of Mandalay lies around a square castle, and the towns are ordered as a grid. Such an extremely orderly city attracts attention from researchers, and arguments concentrate on interpretation of the design, the centricity and the cosmology of the city.⁽¹⁾ In addition, a viewpoint assuming Mandalay as a model of the traditional capital of continental Southeast Asia was dominant for a long time.

It is necessary to reconsider Mandalay as a hub in the regional trade network. Henry Yule, who visited the city during the Konbaung period records prosperous local trade activity. According to his account, various merchant groups including Chinese and Muslim possessed commercial quarter. The presence of a variety of religious buildings and

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communities in contemporary Mandalay is difficult to understand without paying attention to the commercial characteristics of the city.

Recently, the study of the commercial importance of Mandalay has gradually developed. For example, Thant Myint-U acknowledges the commercial importance of the urban area.⁽²⁾ From the viewpoint of economic history, Schendel explains in detail a variety of commercial activities of the merchant group based in Mandalay.⁽³⁾ However, still too few studies address how these various groups were placed in the spatial structure of Mandalay. This paper collects basic information and creates a rough sketch of the formation of Mandalay.

I suggest in advance that foreigners assume a considerable part of the city's functions occur in the urban area. In the western part of the city, the commercial space stood along the *Shwe ta* waterway. However, the military was concentrated in the eastern, northern, and southern parts of the moat. In military duty, people of various backgrounds provided services for the needs of the royal authority. However, the openness of the social structure did not divide dwellers by ethnicity or religion in the city in those days, and personal relationships with the sovereign were indispensable. Based on such characteristics, we review Mandalay as an inland port city.

I . The Process of Mandalay's Construction

1.1. Construction of the Capital

Features of Mandalay, such as the concentric city structure, town division by a grid pattern, and the commercial area along the bank of a river were established in Inwa and Amarapura, the location of the previous capital, and Mandalay inherited these. However, not all buildings were new: Mandalay subsumes older villages and areas from as long previous as 18 centuries. Old and new elements mix in the city's formation. In this chapter, we survey the process of Mandalay's construction.

Amarapura functioned for a long time as the capital, although the Konbaung Dynasty frequently moved the capital. Many elements of Amarapura were succeeded in Mandalay. Amarapura was founded during the reign of King Badon (1782 -1819), who succeeded the throne in 1782. The capital was built in between the northern coast of *Taung saman* Lake and Ayeyawaddy River, constructed on an orderly grid pattern that put the Buddhist monument near the palace area. The total length of the city wall is 2,000 *ta* (one *ta* is almost equivalent in 3.2 meter), and the length of one side of the square is 500 *ta*. The inside of the city wall contains 144 divisions, which remain the same in Mandalay.⁽⁴⁾

A commercial area formed in the southwestern part of the city, near the Ayeyawaddy River. Various groups lived in the space, according to an European account.⁽⁵⁾ Related place names and religious buildings remain today, showing us some of the old city structure. For example, near the *Phaya son-cu* (three pagodas), it is said that there was a village populated by captives from Ayutthaya. *Tarok tan* means Chinese street, and it is home to an old Chinese temple, which was erected in the early 18th century.

Inwa replaced - Amarapura as the capital during the reign of King Sagaing (1829 -37),

but it switched back soon afterward. In 1855, the British dispatched a diplomatic mission to Amarapura for negotiations. As a member of the mission, Henry Yule wrote a detailed record. The activities of merchants, including Chinese and Indian Muslims in the city, were also recorded, and the record indicates relations between foreign merchants and the king were stable in the capital.⁽⁶⁾

The fresco of *Kyauk taw-kri* Pagoda in Amarapura shows vivid urban landscape. It shows people in various costumes with piled up products, and thus we can have a glimpse of the form of trade conducted in Amarapura.⁽⁷⁾ In those days, Amarapura had some large markets that connected external commercial networks across the Shan Hills, the central plain along the Ayeyawaddy Valley, and the maritime world via the river. Mandalay and Amarapura functioned as commercial hubs for external trade, as Amarapura formed many years before Mandalay.

Why did King Mindon (1852 -1878) demand the construction of a new capital? This is a classic question, but it is difficult to answer due to the insufficiency of historical materials. It is possible that King Mindon meant to demonstrate his legitimacy by constructing the new capital because he had taken over the throne through a coup d'état against his brother, King Bagan (1846 -1852). From the military view-point, Amarapura was vulnerable to British attacks due to its close proximity to a river, so perhaps the new king chose land farther from the river.⁽⁸⁾

Konbhaung chet Maha raja wan taw kri (the Royal Chronicle of Konbaung Dynasty) records discussion regarding the rightness or wrongness of constructing a new capital.⁽⁹⁾ The main point of discussion is the validity based on old prediction. It was eventually confirmed that the ground under Mandalay was the land where Buddha foretold prosperity when he visited it once, and all Buddhist priests and persons of high rank supported the plan. King Mindon ordered the construction of the new capital in 1857, and supervised the design of the city himself. Building construction began that year.

A detailed record on the construction exists, when the design was drawn up in 1857, the leveling of the palace construction area and the arrangement of materials began. When construction of the palace was complete, the walls and moat were constructed. The full length of the city wall is 2,400 *ta*, for commemoration of the completion of Buddha era, 2,400 years. The city area was divided into a grid, similar to Amarapura, with 144 blocks in the inner castle. One side of the inner city divides into 12 *pra* (pronounced 'pya'), and one *pra* is equal to 50 *ta*. So, the size of one basic block is 50 *ta* square. Construction of the royal palace was completed in early 1858, and King Mindon held a ceremony inaugurating the new royal palace.

After 1859, construction of the city area surrounding the royal palace was pushed forward. In the city area, the base unit of the town was also a division of one side of 1 *pra*. Decisions regarding land use in the town were almost complete in the early 1860s, and land allotments for settlers from Amarapura were decided. Thus, the frame of the city was formed.

In this way, the structural method for Mandalay was similar to the previous capital of Amarapura. The practice of dividing the town into square blocks and allotting those blocks to various groups was succeeded in the new capital. Various human resources were allotted

in the orderly planned urban area. This was the basic pattern of the city during the late Konbaung period. However, all of Mandalay was not newly constructed: some city areas were older than the construction of the new capital.

1.2. Inclusion of Old Mandalay

The area included in the urban area of Mandalay did not appear in historical materials until after Mandalay's construction in the mid-19th century. Before the construction of Mandalay, this area was a base of river transportation and religious sites, with flourishing traffic. The commercial area of the bank of the Ayeyawaddy River prospered for a long time and continued un-affected the division of city area during Mandalay's construction. In this section, we review the "original Mandalay," which was along the riverside and was incorporated into the royal capital of Mandalay.

Mandalay Hill is the origin of the name of the city, and it was known for a long time as Mandalay. This hill, located at the northeastern side of the city, is a hillock less than 100 meters, but it is a remarkable landmark of the area. As the Mount Popa in Bagan functioned as a religious site, Mandalay Hill was also a sacred site of the Ayeyawaddy Valley. In the construction of the royal capital, the authority allotted land for many Buddhist monasteries around the hill.

However, the old harbor area ranges to the north and south along the Ayeyawaddy River. It is called the *Min-tai i-kin* district, spreading out to the south from *Nnaung kwai* village in Mandalay's northwest corner. This area is dotted with pagodas dating back to before the construction of the capital, and there are the old place names such as Merchant Street or Block near a renowned pagoda.

Min-tai i-kin has been used as a name for Mandalay until today, but it is said that it was the old village name according to historical documents.⁽¹⁰⁾ In Monrwe Sayadaw's "*Raja wan Khyup*," edited in the 18th century, the *Min-tai i-kin* area was developed when the king stayed in the area during the construction of Mingun pagoda.⁽¹¹⁾ Prominent pagodas such as *Ratana miju*, *Khyam-sa kri*, and *Khyam-sa ra* form a line in the district. These pagodas attract many foreign merchants during festival time.⁽¹²⁾

Go wein Wharf was a main river port of Mandalay on the south side of *Min-tai i-kin*. Next to the wharf, is the oldest Chinese shrine in Mandalay. Its name is *Jin duo yan*, and it is meant for worship of the land god. According to the tradition of the shrine, it was founded in the early 17th century. Merchants came from the southwestern part of Yunnan to set up the base of the river trade on this land, and it is said that it prospered. It is said that it was a center of the river trade until the construction of the modern steamship wharf.⁽¹³⁾

The south side is called *De wan*. It is said that this is a place name that dates back before Mandalay. There is a place called *Sam lyet maw* that is an old wharf. It was old and appeared to be called *Sa-ret maw*. Traders and transporter, boatmen congregated in the waterside space between *Min-tai i-kin* and *Sam lyet maw*.⁽¹⁴⁾ The whole area from *Min-tai i-kin* to *De wan* functioned as an early trade center.

According to the records of the European such as Gouger and Crawford who came to the area in the early 19th century, the name "Myede" appears quite frequently as a place name for an area on the Ayeyawaddy River's left bank before Mandalay's construction. For

example, according to their records, it was a base of international trade, and a merchant came there regularly from Yunnan. After the rainy season, the trail beyond the mountainous district of Yunnan passes Bhamo and reaches this area.⁽¹⁵⁾ Myede, as written on those maps, and the *Min-tai i-kin* district refer to the same geographical area.

The business quarter along the river was linked to the inland area by a waterway. The *Shwe ta* waterway, which connects the Ayeyawaddy River to *Mattara*, is one of the main waterways. This waterway was created in the reigns of King Badon. There is agricultural land around *Mattara*, and people who maintain the waterway live there. It is said that *Sanga ja* waterway, located west of the *Shwe ta* waterway, was dug in the Inwa era.⁽¹⁶⁾

The commercial area along the river functioned as the hub of a trade network developed around the 17th century at the earliest. Because of the city's characteristics, this district may be referred to as "Original Mandalay". It is thought that original Mandalay established regionality based on its importance in the international commercial network, the religious importance of the *Taung pron* festival and Mandalay Hill, and its service as a base for construction work on the Mingun Pagoda during the reign of King Badon.

In this way, the whole area along the river functioned as a trade base attracting foreign merchants from about the 17th century. Its existence began to be known abroad. It had not only international commercial significance but also the significance to connect the plains of Myanmar and the mountainous district. The technique of city design from Amarapura was introduced into a place already presenting many important city characteristics as a commerce base, and the capital of Mandalay was formed.

1.3. The Administrative System of Mandalay

Few historical materials address the administrative system of Mandalay, and it is difficult to clarify many details, but we draw up an outline.

Mandalay has three concepts of the boundary. Early one is "*Shwe kro sat ne* (the land marked off by golden rope)" which introduced on 1857 at the same time with drawing the city plan. Under this concept, the boundary of Mandalay was established naturally into north, south, east, and west. Secondary, another concept called "*Chan khre phoun* (soldiers surround a battle elephant)" was introduced on 1863. This concept demarcates the boundary of Mandalay in detail and forbid to kill animals in the boundary. The city area was divided into north, south, east, and west, and each division was called *a-pran* (pronounced 'a pyin'), which means "outside the castle."

Each *a-pran* was divided into wards. The total number of wards was 54, with each name derived from the Pali language. It is unknown how the administration actually functioned, but there seemed to be some geographical unity.

The person in charge of the city administration was called *Mro wan* (pronounced Myo un). *Mro wan* was also the name for the administrator of local cities, and the Mandalay *Mro wan* functioned similarly to local *Mro wan*, keeping the peace and maintaining civil order. However, the Mandalay *Mro wan* position was split between several individuals. Under the reign of King Mindon, Mandalay had four *Mro wan*, and under the reign of King Thibaw (1874 -1885) it had three. They worked at the *Shwe roun* (Eastern Office), which also functioned as a criminal court in the east side of the royal palace.

The *Mro wan* has would have *Thaung hmu* (captains of 1,000 soldiers) as subordinates to combat crime. *Tara roun* (law court) dealt with civil affairs, and the criminal court dealt with criminal affairs. In 1869, the joint court was founded by both the Myanmar and the British authorities to settle civil affairs between merchants belonging to different nationalities.

For the foreign community, the authority chose and appointed prominent people from each community. In this case, socially and economically influential people were often chosen and given official posts and ranks so that they functioned as mediator to link the authority with foreigners. For example, *Kula wan* (pronounced ‘Kala un’) was the government official who managed foreigners from far west. In the early 1860s, an European traveler, Bastion, received support from the Portuguese *Kula wan*, Mr. Cemaratta, while staying in Mandalay. It seems that *Kula wan* was in charge of looking after newly arrived foreigners.⁽¹⁷⁾

The basic unit of the city was a grid-formed block (*pra kwet*). This block was called “*wan* (pronounced ‘win’, mean residential land)”. The city had a large street, according to *pra* on the royal castle. The size of a win was essentially 1 *pra* square. Stores stood along the road, and the center of a *wan* was often employed as a religious facility, if it was an open space, or as an assembly room. Because placement of professional groups was carried out according to the *wan* unit, we can study the allotment pattern for the foreign community by researching the history of each *wan*.

The town allotment of Mandalay was completed after the royal palace’s completion in 1863.⁽¹⁸⁾ The royal family and high ranking persons received the allotment of land inside the castle, and influential foreign merchants, military personnel, and craftspeople were assigned to the urban area outside the castle wall. Therefore, the place name is associated with each resident group. Most of such residents were forcibly immigrated from Amarapura.

In this way, Mandalay was established in form by both elements of the city, Amarapura’s method of city construction and the riverside area’s old commercial functions. Sovereignty combined both elements of the city. An administrative system based on personal relations with the sovereign was built, and various groups were moved to the orderly city blocks. Based on this understanding, the following chapter considers the placement of each group.

II. Commercial Community of Mandalay

2.1. Placement of the Business District and the Commercial Group

How were the commercial facilities of Mandalay and the foreigners with commercial functions placed within the city? The commercial area ranged along the river. However, after the construction of Mandalay, the commercial center moved inland alongside the *Shwe ta* waterway. In that area, Muslim inhabitants’ *wan* with a mosque demonstrates their prominent presence there.

The western and southwestern sides of the castle are a commercial quarter in Mandalay. Commercial quarter continue from *Su rai* market located on the northwest corner

of the moat to the northern outskirts of Maha muni great statue. Here, the existing water transportation network formed in the axis from Mandalay's past construction. It is thought that *Shwe ta* waterway and *Sanga ja* waterway controlled distribution as the main traffic lines.

Old markets exist in allotments in Mandalay, and six place names are known: *Malwan* market, *Rahaing* market, *Nnaung pan* market, *Jhe khyo* market, *Yodaya* market, *Nnwan paung* market.⁽¹⁹⁾ Those are formed along the *Shwe ta* waterway. The *Shwe ta* waterway became a drainage point in the colonial period, and it lost its water traffic function at that point, but, before then, the waterway was wide, and it is said that many people traveled it.⁽²⁰⁾

It was a custom to make a sand pagoda along the *Shwe ta* waterway. Thai captives who were taken in the Ayutthaya war at the end of the 18th century were made to settle at places such as *Monti cu* (near *Rahaing* market), and *Mintha cu* quarter for waterway management, and they brought their customs with them. Sand pagoda is typical of such customs.⁽²¹⁾

Along the *Shwe ta* waterway, the largest market was *Malwan* market, established around the ruins of the residence of the *Malwan* prince. The *Malwan* market has disappeared today, only place name and some wholesaler remains in formerly market area. These place names demonstrate old structure of the market area, divided by product such as rice, various vegetables, and precious metals.

The *Jhe khyo* market, the largest market in Mandalay, was established along the *Shwe ta* waterway. There is a market of the same name in Inwa, and it is said that the market moved to Mandalay via Amarapura. Much is unknown about the history of Mandalay's creation, but the relations with the Muslims of Surat origin in the last years of the Konbaung period are clear. Mullah Ismail had jurisdiction over tax collection in the market, and the influential merchant, whose family emigrated in the mid-19th century, served the King of each generation of Myanmar.⁽²²⁾ The Surati mosque, which Ismail erected to the north of the market, still exists.

The area across the *Shwe ta* waterway from the *Jhe khyo* market became the largest broker street in Mandalay.⁽²³⁾ The *Pwai ca* (broker) acted as the trade intermediary for inland producers and foreign merchants. A concentration of *Pwai ca* is seen at the site of the *Malwan* market, demonstrating their importance as intermediaries in the market at the time.

In addition, various handicraft industries accumulated around a commercial area. For example, Knife Street was to the north of the *Jhe khyo* market, and a Pot Craftsman Street was in the eastern part. The craftsman town of the *Ein daw-ra* umbrella formed, and, in the plot adjacent to the *Pwai ca* town, the traditional umbrella that priests used was made. According to Bastion, the paper used to make such an umbrella was brought from Yunnan.⁽²⁴⁾ In addition, there are many place names suggesting the existence of a jewel processing craftsman street, as jewels were an international trade product in this neighborhood. Rubies were exported to the west, and jade was primarily exported to China.

The market would have a management authority, including foreign merchants and tax collectors from the market. Because the existence of *Pwai ca* was indispensable for commercial activity, *Pwai ca*'s street was often adjacent. In addition, various professional handicraft groups were often also nearby. The number of known markets increased to more than Amarapura, reaching more than 20.⁽²⁵⁾ Commercial activity was likely responsible for

this prosperity.

In this way, the commercial area in Mandalay prospered, although it moved from the riverside to the inland. The permanent market constructed along the *Shwe ta* waterway became the main place of exchange, and industry accumulated in its outskirts. The prosperity was supported by foreign merchant activity. However, their activity was dependent on *Pwai ca*. They had a relationship of mutual dependence.

2.2. Residence Area of the Muslim Merchant

Notably, there is a concentration of *wan* with mosques in the central part of the commercial area. The neighboring *Jhe khyo* market at the southwestern side of the castle had a concentration of Muslims wards.

Muslim merchants residing in Mandalay did not newly arrive with the construction of the new capital. Some accounts show that there were many Muslims from Surat in the former capital of Amarapura from the early 19th century. Such merchants had relations with the king and were given titles such as royal merchant (*Kon-si tau*) and royal buyer (*A-we tau*), and they received special trade privileges. They were also sometimes appointed tax collectors.

Jhe khyo market provides an example of the relationship of Muslim merchants to the commercial activity in Mandalay. The family of Mullah Ibrahim, a merchant family from Surat, came to manage the tax collection in the *Jhe khyo* market at the end of the 19th century.⁽²⁶⁾ Ismail, son of Mullah Ibrahim, was active as a financial advisor to the king, and his importance for the kingdom's economy was great. It is said that Surat Muslim families emigrated to Amarapura in the middle of the 19th century.⁽²⁷⁾

The Surati mosque, which Ismail erected to the north of the *Jhe khyo* market, still exists, along with another mosque also erected by Muslim royal merchants around the *Jhe khyo* market. The *Suthe tan* mosque was established by the influential merchant, *U Maung Kyi*, who was awarded the title of *Suthe* (a man of wealth) from King Thibaw. The *Kyauk* mosque is a large mosque erected by royal jewel merchants.⁽²⁸⁾

The *Taung bhalu* mosque is in the south of the *Jhe khyo* market. *Taung bhalu* is the name of the Muslim ward in Inwa. It is said that the mosque's founders emigrated from Inwa at the time of Mandalay's construction. According to lineage of the family that erected the mosque, they had a common ancestor named U Nu who was an active merchant and writer under King Badon.⁽²⁹⁾ U Nu was often dispatched to India for trade and collection of Buddhist scriptures.

Most of these mosques are Sunni. The Shia mosque represented the minority in Mandalay, but it was the only mosque east of the *Jhe khyo* market. This Shia mosque was also erected by a merchant who was appointed tax collector (*A-khwan wan*).⁽³⁰⁾

Methods for studying the history of the Muslim merchants of Mandalay are extremely limited. There are very few historical materials from them, and the formal historical materials of the dynasty hardly refer to their activity. There used to be four historic Muslim graveyards in Mandalay.⁽³¹⁾ There are gravestones containing personal career details, but all graveyards were demolished during urban construction in the 1990s. Under the present conditions, Muslim merchants' careers are known from a small number of secondary

historical materials.

What kind of business did the royal merchant and royal buyer conduct? Their goods were jewels such as rubies, and silk fabrics. They made use of a network with merchants in Yangon and exported Myanmar articles such as farm products and imported rare textiles. Such trade may have contributed to the formation of the material culture of the royal court.

Although it is said that King Mindon was a very pious Buddhist, we cannot assume his religious policies. Mindon appointed talented individuals to positions of power irrespective of religion. Allotment of residence area was primarily based on religion, but royal intervention in religious practices in each *wan* was rare. The king used influenced foreign residents only indirectly through the *Kula wan*.

In this way, Mandalay's commercial community's presence was significant in the commercial area. Moreover, Muslim merchants had high social status, with personal relationships with the King. Specific personal abilities and natures were regarded as important for relationships with kingship, rather than religion or ethnicity.

2.3. Resident Area of the Chinese and European

In the commercial area of Mandalay, Chinese and European commercial activity was also prominent. In addition, Mandalay was dotted with markets built by immigrants from Ayutthaya. There are many place names connected with this group in the commercial area.

Mandalay has two Chinese immigrant groups. One is a group from Yunnan that engaged in trade via a land route. The other group is from Fujian, Guangdong, using the sea route via Yangon after the late 19th century. The Yunnan Chinese presence grew significantly in Mandalay, contributing to the naming of today's 80th Street, a main commerce street, as "the Chinese street" (*Tarok tan*), as well as to the building of Yunnan hall.

However, there were very few *wan* with China-like meeting facilities, whereas Muslim merchants had many *wan* around mosques. Why is the residence pattern so different in this case? Most Chinese streets in Mandalay were constructed by immigrants from Amarapura, as with Muslim areas. However, after Mandalay was completed, the majority of Chinese inhabitants did not agree to the relocation of the capital, and they did not emigrate immediately.⁽³²⁾ However, the land allotment for Muslims was decided almost at the same time that all Mandalay land allotments were decided. This delay in relocation may have influenced Chinese allotments.

In 1876, Yunnan Hall was built. Some facilities appear to have existed before this, but there is no clear record.⁽³³⁾ South of the Chinese street, there is a *Panse* mosque completed in 1868. This was a base for Yunnan Muslims established after the opening of the trade route in Mandalay when the Muslim government gained power in Yunnan. According to the tradition of the *Panse* mosque, religious riot erupted in those days. The residential area for Yunnan Chinese was in the neighboring area of the *Panse* mosque before 1868.

In addition to these, residences for Thai existed. The *Yodaya* market was to the west of the Chinese street. Three pagodas were built opposite the *Yodaya* market. Many bandsmen who sang and danced in the royal court resided in this area, and there was a shrine house worshipping Rama in the *Yodaya* market.

Rahaing market to the south of the *Shwe ta* waterway was a locus for emigrants from Ayutthaya. Manufacturers of the noodle dish *Monty*, handed down from Siam, were concentrated in the ward, and a sand pagoda is at the center of the ward.

As for the trace of European community, there is little contrast with the dense Asian monuments. European religious facilities and place names, considered markers of European residence in the Konbaung period, are to the west of the castle. There is an Armenian church that Armenians once attended. A school built by a British father named Marx during the reign of King Mindon is located west of the castle.

The Baptist church, Kelly's church located to the southwest of castle. This church erected by American Baptists in 1887, oldest Baptist church in Mandalay. The Xavier's church, a Roman Catholic Church located on the south of castle, and The Ernest West Memorial Church, a Methodist Church also located on there. These Church were founded during the colonial period.

European residence wards lacks markets for European merchants contrasted with Muslim, Chinese, and Thai residence wards adjoin their markets. However, lack of market did not mean less activity of Europe merchants. Some Europeans gained the king's favor, and there were many merchants who performed large-scale transactions. This should merely be understood as a difference in commercial form.

The commercial area of Mandalay unfolded in the north and south along the *Shwe ta* waterway. The king allotted land for influential people in the orderly divided city area; in particular, Muslim merchants excelled in currying the king's favor. A main market was set along the waterway, and the people who supported commercial activities such as *Pwai ca* or craftspeople tended to gather there. It is necessary to understand the actual situation to study the individual relations between the merchants and the king and royal family.

III. Professional Units of Mandalay

3.1. Military Units Placement in Mandalay

In the *wan* around the castle, various professional units such as craftspeople and military personnel (*A-hmu tham*) were allotted residence areas as well as merchants. Their backgrounds are diverse because origin of most groups was war captive who was taken from neighboring areas. Existing place name in the city demonstrate their original country. We study the placement of the Mandalay professional units based on such information.

At first, Mandalay was a military installation. The square-shaped castle had parapets set equidistantly, and it was surrounded by a moat. One explanation for the relocation of the capital from Amarapura is that it was necessary to move the castle away from the coast to avoid bombardment from British warships. Mandalay was a city under severe military strain while serving a significant commercial function.

A castle town is a city form built in all parts of the world beginning the middle ages. However, when international commerce developed drastically after the 18th and 19th centuries, the city wall become an obstacle shutting out the city space, and many cities removed the wall and reconstructed the city space for efficient commercial traffic. In

Bangkok, commercial activity was established outside of moats in multiple layers at first, but the moat and city wall were reduced by commercial development at the end of the 19th century. However, in Mandalay, the city space was still surrounded by a city wall in the 1870s.⁽³⁴⁾

Therefore, the royal court likely had to put considerable armaments around Mandalay. Foot soldiers, cavalry, sailors, and gunners made up the core of the armaments of the Konbaung Dynasty. The military power around Mandalay was made up of these combatants. It was called *A-hmu tham*, (servant). *A-hmu tham* has an obligation to obey King's edict for war or emergency, and in return for the obligation, they have a privilege to avoid peacetime taxation.

A-hmu tham units were posted to the north, east, and south of the castle, contrasted to merchants who concentrated in the west of the castle. There was much military *A-hmu tham* north of the castle, and *Su rai* fort was at the northwest corner of the castle. Adjacent to it, gun soldier *A-hmu tham* from Daway were concentrated. Daway *A-hmu tham* is a military unit referring to a household of troops in the royal palace. An assembly hall performing Buddhist events was established in the *wan* of Daway *A-hmu tham* because Muslims had mosques inside their *wan*.

Furthermore, the blacksmith ward was established following this.⁽³⁵⁾ A firearms factory and gunpowder craftspeople were also put there to introduce modern military technology.

There was a ward for *Lanjan* sailors there. *Lanjan* is a Myanmar-like dialect of Lan xang and is associated with the Lao Kingdom. The main force of the water corps was also concentrated in the district of the Ayeyawaddy River coast. A modern shipyard was established in *De wan* in southwestern Mandalay, and the military units of traditional water forces were collected in the neighborhood.

The *A-hmu tham* organization was organized in such a way that every professional ability and combatant and influential person of the groups commanded the whole as a leader. It resembled the segmental social formation seen in the city in early modern times in the Edo period in Japan. When a military unit was made up of foreigners, it might maintain each faith and custom inside or throw it away and assimilate to Myanmar.

As a whole, the fire arms corps was concentrated in the northern side and the firearms factory was established adjacent. To the west of the castle, sailors were concentrated in the land of the Ayeyawaddy River. A cavalry group and the gunner group were on the eastern and southern sides of the castle. Foreigner groups, such as the Muslims were more often incorporated as combatants.

It is thought that the placement of military duty *A-hmu tham* was carried out based on *wan*. Those *wan* are concentrated in the same place according to ability. In the next section, we review the foreign *A-hmu tham*.

3.2. Muslim *A-hmu tham*

A lot of *A-hmu tham* placed around the castle included Muslim members. Primary historical materials indicating much about *A-hmu tham* are rare, but we can study the history of the community, religious facilities, and the conditions that remain in each *wan*. At present, we can only show the reconstruction of the outline, but we want to arrange every

possible scenario.

Today, each *wan* of western of the city has a mosque at center of *wan* and inhabitants live around a mosque. The south of the castle included many Muslim *wan* like the western area. Seven mosques in total are concentrated there. It is called *Cakra nwe-cin* ward, and this name comes from the name of the gunner corps, and this district was granted by King Mindon.⁽³⁶⁾

Gunner corps employed in the district include *Cakra* artillery, the *Mingala* artillery, the *Chu le* artillery, and the *Boun-o* gunner.⁽³⁷⁾ The history of the artillery is old and dates back to the foundation of the Konbaung Dynasty. Many Portuguese employing mercenaries, called *Bharangyi*, were once employed in the Konbaung Dynasty artillery. A collection of *Bharangyi* village exists around Shwebo, the location of the first capital. However, members of the artillery seemed to include not only *Bharangyi* Christians but also a considerable number of Muslims.

The tradition of the artillery was introduced into the existing mosque, but more detailed information appears on a gravestone in the Muslim graveyard. According to the gravestone, the head of the artillery was granted land by the king, and it is indicated there that some mosques were completed with the support of the king.⁽³⁸⁾ There are fewer documents conveying the internal conditions of the community, but the manager of the mosque inherited his position from generation to generation. As for this, even the community will suggest that personal relationships were at the root of the human network.

The east of Mandalay is a district lined with Buddhist monasteries to the south from the foot of Mandalay Hill. The east side is the grain belt, which used the *Aung pin-le* pond. A concentration of Muslim *A-hmu tham* is seen in the middle area between the royal palace and the monastery group. There are the *Kan-sa Kula-pyaw* military unit, which defended checkpoints, and the cavalry.

The mosque called the *Wali Khan* mosque now exists in this district. It is said that it is named after the cavalry captain who erected the mosque. Wally Khan's father was Bain Sat, who served King Sagaing as a cavalry soldier *A-hmu tham* and achieved military gains in the First Anglo-Burmese War. In the Manipur cavalry division, nine corps were organized in total, and many cavalry divisions of Manipur origin were placed around the castle.⁽³⁹⁾

War captives from Manipur were given important posts as leading figures in the textile industrial arts and as member of the cavalry division in Mandalay. Myanmar called them *Akkapat*, and organized an *Akkapat* cavalry corps. A person of such a blood relationship might be appointed as a high-ranking government official. One *Mro wan* of Mandalay, who erected a mosque east of the royal palace, was of *Akkapat* lineage.⁽⁴⁰⁾

The presence of more military personnel is suggested by a gravestone left in the Muslim graveyard. Many Muslims were included in the *Swe sauk* corps, which was the king's guard,⁽⁴¹⁾ including the commanding officer. The military personnel of the Konbaung Dynasty were from a variety of lineages.

Therefore, there were many Muslim military officers in Mandalay. What then were their relations with Muslims engaged in commercial activity? Although a document giving a clear answer does not exist, a Muslim family tree suggests a relationship between them. It also shows that their ancestors extended to an older period, in Amarapura and beyond.

Southern gunner *A-hmu tham* and eastern cavalry *A-hmu tham* were gathered in this way, and military *A-hmu tham* of Mandalay were assigned. The relations with the kingship were strong, and they were given the land and construction permission for mosques in return for military duty.

3.3. Group of Hindu Origin

The *Punna* (court Brahman) was engaged in various services in Mandalay other than military duty. The *Punna* had significant knowledge of the Hindu Veda; some were Myanmar but many *Punna* emigrated from Manipur and India. Contemporary Mandalay traditional culture was formed by the interaction between such various professional and cultural groups.

The Manipur Kingdom, which was northwest of the Konbaung Dynasty, was a source of precious human resources. Since its founding, the Konbaung Dynasty carried out several expeditions, and considerable inhabitants were brought into the area around the capital. The professional ability of people named *Kassay* for the Cachar Kingdom, to the south of Manipur, diverges into many branches. In addition to the cavalry soldiers mentioned in the previous chapter, there were *Punna* and textile artisans.

Textile technology is a representative example of cultural exchange. Amarapura is the largest silk production center in this area even today; the traditional method of textile production developed there. Such technological transfer was realized during King Badon's Manipur expedition in the early 19th century, and the technique was inherited in Mandalay.

Next to *Wali Khan's* cavalry division's ward, textile industry accumulation is seen in the eastern district of Mandalay. Although the origin of the ward and of the textile industry is unknown, it seems to have been related to *Kassay* inhabitants. In addition, in Bastion's account, the state of the *Kassay* community at the foot of the Mandalay Hill is recorded. According to Bastion, many blacksmiths abandoned their original faith and assimilated into Myanmar culture.⁽⁴²⁾

The *Punna* had close relation with the king as the court astrologer or as the manager of a water clock in the royal palace.⁽⁴³⁾ King Mindon depended on knowledge from the *Punna* on the occasion of Mandalay's construction. Principal process of construction was strictly scheduled based on *Punna's* astrology although the king was often seen as a particularly devout Buddhist. The *Punna's* background was various, but some *Punna* followed a sacred book written in Bengali and participated in the teaching of the Bengalis in the community.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Three place names are known now, and *wan* that such *Punna* centered on maintain their original customs.

What kind of life would a foreigner live inside *wan*? Bastion stated that the *Punna's* house was built on the surface of the earth directly contrast to traditional Myanmar's above ground house-type.⁽⁴⁵⁾ As for the building construction standard, a limited ranked style was used under the dynasty system in those days. However, there was no movement to standardize the inhabitants' house-style. Despite an order limiting meat consumption in the city, equalization of living was not strictly performed in the capital.

The cultural elements brought in by various peoples matured as Mandalay culture. There are many elements from the plural origins of Mandalay's inhabitants mixed up in

Mandalay's handicrafts. The situation is similar for food culture. For example, inhabitants from Ayutthaya made foods such as *Monti* (rice noodles) and *Khailam*, thus establishing a confectionery tradition. The Chinese inhabitants brought the rice noodle, and the Indian Muslims contributed *Danpauk* (biryani).

Handicrafts are also important. A paper manufacturing technique and the gold leaf from China were introduced and became rooted in Mandalay. Buddhist buildings with sublime decorations were constructed in Mandalay based on this material culture.

In this way, Mandalay functionalized a considerable part of the human resources of foreigners. The lineages of the inhabitants who constituted the city were various, but a city system existed because the kingship functioned as a node for human organization. Even if religious and lingual differences existed, this did not become a decisive social fracture, and the individual relationship seemed to be basis of social structure. However, the pattern of this city is not characteristic of only Mandalay and is more likely a structure common to Southeast Asian port cities generally.

Conclusion

As mentioned earlier, Mandalay followed a construction pattern based on Amarapura. It carried out land allotment of city space in a grid pattern based on the *wan*, a method locating specific groups in specific *wan*. This technique was effective in the placement of the human resources received from neighboring countries.

However, such a city space was built to incorporate a previously existing commercial base; the preservation of old Mandalay was imperative in the construction. Along the waterway, which spanned inland from the commercial area along the river, the commercial center in later years formed. Muslims and Chinese were concentrated in this area, which grew as the new commercial center in the capital city of Mandalay.

By contrast, military personnel were placed in the eastern, southern, and northern parts of Mandalay. As before, foreigners were a considerable part of the population, and each person's religious practices were accepted and religious buildings were constructed. Trace remains exist still today.

On the basis of this characteristic of Mandalay, we note that Mandalay was a city developed within a broader pattern Southeast Asian city formation. We conclude that the city's inhabitants developed an original culture by gathering pieces of each present foreign culture and mixing these with Myanmar culture. These constructed what is now considered traditional Myanmar culture.

The study of Mandalay's social history is in an early stage, still accumulating only basic information. This local characteristic is essential for a future understanding of Mandalay in the context of "Southeast Asia" and "Myanmar" and a more detailed and in-depth study is now necessary.

Notes

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- (2) Thant Myint-U., *The Making of Modern Burma*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- (3) Schendel, Jörg, *The Mandalay Economy, Upper Burma's External Trade, c. 1850 - 90*, Ph.D. thesis for Heidelberg University, 2003.
- (4) *Mran ma she hkeit mro nan ti pon ca nit* 1.
- (5) For example, Symes, Michael, *An Account of an Embassy to The Kingdom of Ava, in the Year 1795*, Edinburgh: Constable & Co., 1827. Sangermano, Father Vincenzo, *The Burmese Empire a Hundred Years Ago*, Bangkok: White Lotus, 1995.
- (6) Yule, Henry, *A Narrative of the Mission Sent by the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava in 1855, with Notices of the Country, Government, and People*, London: Smith Elder and Co., 1858, pp.140- 53.
- (7) Khin Myint Swe, *Urban Society of Amarapura: The Immortal City (1785- 1858)*, Ph.D. thesis for University of Mandalay, 2007, pp.128- 34.
- (8) Natmauk Thwan Shein, *Wan twe nai tay khai si min ne pri*, Ran kun: Gango mrain ca pe, 2009, p. 38. Bastian, Adolf, *A Journey in Burma (1861- 1862)*, Bangkok: White Lotus, 2004.
- (9) *Konbhaung chet Maha raja wan taw kri* 3, Ran kun: Ra pri ca oup taik, 2004, pp.171- 76.
- (10) Natmauk Thwan Shein, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
- (11) Monrwe jetawan chara-taw, *Raja wan khyup*, Ran kun: Kankaw wat ri ca pe, 2010, pp. 139- 40.
- (12) Natmauk Thwan Shein, *op. cit.*, pp. 161, 179.
- (13) Wa Cheng Yunnan Tongsiang hui, *Miandian Mandele <Wa Cheng> Yunnan huiguan shi lue*, 2007. pp. 26- 30.
- (14) Natmauk Thwan Shein, *op. cit.*, p. 283.
- (15) Gouger, Henry, *Two Years Imprisonment in Burma (1824-26)*, Bangkok: White Lotus, 2003. Crawford, John, *Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava in the Year 1827*, London: Henry Colburn, 1829.
- (16) Natmauk Thwan Shein, *op. cit.*, p.62.
- (17) Bastian, Adolf, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
- (18) *Konbhaung chet Maha raja wan taw kri* 3, p.214.
- (19) U Maung Maung Tan, “Mantale rap kwet samaing,” *Naing ngan samaing sutesana ca caung* 2, 1978, pp. 101- 04.
- (20) Natmauk Thwan Shein, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
- (21) Tin Maung Kri, *Thai Descendants in Mandalay Around*, Mandalay: Pyinsagan Books House, 2013, pp.34- 5.

- (22) Gravestone at Sulati Mosque (confirmed on May 2013).
- (23) Schendel, Jörg, *op.cit.*, pp.293 -95.
- (24) Bastian, Adolf, *op.cit.*, p. 78.
- (25) U Maung Maung Tan, *op.cit.*, p.101.
- (26) Gravestone at Sulati Mosque (confirmed on May 2013).
- (27) Shwebho U Bha U., *Shwe man hnit titra pri Mranma Mwatcalan to e Atthuppatti*, 1959, pp.162- 72.
- (28) U Maung Maung Kri, *Early Mosques in Mandalay*, 2013, pp.97- 8.
- (29) *ibid.*, pp.75- 7.
- (30) *ibid.*, pp.85- 6.
- (31) *ibid.*, pp.109- 10.
- (32) Bastian, Adolf, *A Journey in Burma*, p. 72.
- (33) Wa Cheng Yunnan Tongsiang hui, *Miandian Mandele <Wa Cheng> Yunnan huiguan shi lue*, 2007, pp.65- 8.
- (34) *Konbhaung chet Maha raja wan taw kri 3*, *op. cit.* p.284.
- (35) Bastian, Adolf, *op. cit.*, p.95
- (36) Shwebho U Bha U., *op. cit.*, p.31.
- (37) U Maung Maung Kri, *op. cit.*, pp.44- 7, 64- 7.
- (38) Shwebho U Bha U., *op. cit.*, pp.182- 3.
- (39) Natmauk Thwan Shein, *op. cit.*, p.118.
- (40) U Maung Maung Kri, *op. cit.*, p.102.
- (41) Shwebho U Bha U., *op. cit.*, pp.186-7.
- (42) Bastian, Adolf, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
- (43) U Maung Maung Tan, *Shwe nan soun wohara abhidan*, Ran kun: Ra pri ca oup taik. 2005, p.187.
- (44) Bastian, Adolf, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
- (45) Bastian, Adolf, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

A View of the Karen Baptists in Burma of the Mid-Nineteenth Century, from the Standpoint of the American Baptist Mission⁽¹⁾

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Introduction

This article aims to shed light on the significance of the mission policy and interaction between the mission society in America and missionaries in Burma, in order to comprehend the manner in which the Karens of the 19th century were described. The Karens have been known as “a Christianized people,” and they have been described thus both by themselves and others for quite a period of time.⁽²⁾ While this is still generally the case, yet many point to the fact that such an understanding does not precisely reflect the reality of the situation. As a matter of fact, the Christians, two-thirds of which are Baptists constitute merely a minority of the entire Karen population, slightly over 10 percent of their total number,⁽³⁾ and the majority of those people have been and still are Buddhists. This situation indicates that the general view of the Karens being Christian is distorted. And if so, one cannot avoid asking why such a distorted view came to grow so dominant with reference to our understanding of those people. A closer look into the historical situation is the key to prove this issue.

In the historical process of accumulating knowledge concerning the Karens, the significance of the American Baptist missionary records cannot be ignored. Most of the earlier research refers to the American Baptist missionary journals, reports, and letters as

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primary source material, in order to trace the history of the Karens during the 19th century. Concerning the role the Baptist records played in compiling knowledge regarding the Karens, Ikeda Kazuto, a Japanese researcher specializing in the Burmese and Karen history points out that what was significant was not merely the quantity of the missionary records, but also the fact that those missionary records that focused mainly on the converted Baptist Karens, constituted the chief and most reliable source on the Karens at that time. This historically means that the rest of the Karens who were Buddhists, were relatively ignored in “Karen history”.⁽⁴⁾ While pointing out the limitations of this history that is centered on the Baptist Karens, Ikeda calls for more attention to be paid to Buddhist Karens as well. Thawngmung also points out that the general understanding about the Karens covers the diversity within the people. She says that the Karens have been understood as “anti-Burmese” or “violent secessionists,” and that the image people have of the Karens was mere artificial. In order to mend this disparity, she conducted interviews and research with reference to the “other” Karens in Burma, who are more likely hesitant to be identified as Karen nationalists and who live along with Buddhist Burmese in comfort.⁽⁵⁾ Both these arguments suggest the need for us to shift the focus of research to the Buddhist Karens, in order that we may fix the distorted general view and achieve a more holistic image of the Karen people.

While greater research on the Buddhist Karens is undoubtedly a necessity, a question that remains unsolved is this: How should we interpret then, the appearance of the Karen Baptists in the missionary records of the 19th century? Although the Karen Baptists did not constitute the majority of the Karen people in Burma at that time, this does not necessarily mean that their appearance in the missionary records and its historical significance should be belittled or minimized. This article aims to tackle this issue, and it intends to argue that the Karen Baptists in the 19th century should be viewed within the context of the American Baptist mission. More specifically, this article will examine the mission policy of the American Baptist mission, and see how it affected the manner of description of the Karens.

Since there are large quantities of Baptist mission records and it is beyond author’s capability to examine them all in one article, this paper will deal with just one Baptist document written by a missionary named Francis Mason (1799-1874) in the mid-19th century, and entitled: “*The Karen Apostle; or, Memoir of Ko Thah-Byu*”⁽⁶⁾, *the First Karen Convert, with Notices Concerning His Nation*” (hereafter *The Karen Apostle*).⁽⁷⁾ *The Karen Apostle* was written in 1843 as a biography of the first Karen Baptist, on his death in 1840. This book has been one of the most well-known documents concerning the early history of the Karen mission, and it is often referred to because of its subject, namely the first Karen Baptist, Thah Byu.⁽⁸⁾ The author, Francis Mason is also noteworthy, since he was the most prominent missionary of the Karen mission and a professional in those days, with regard to writing on the Karens. Even more details will be presented later, but Mason’s writings at that time played a major role as a reliable source to acquire an image of the Karens. Thus, it can be safely said that *the Karen Apostle* was the best example to show the typical manner of documenting Karens that was employed at that time by one of the most influential Karen experts. In addition to *The Karen Apostle*, Baptist missionary periodicals, magazines, and records were also used to understand the situation of the Baptist mission society, during the period spanning 1830s and 1840s.

I . American Baptist Missions in Burma: the Historical Background

First of all, the early history of the American Baptist Mission needs to be summarized. As shown below, tracing the early history of the Baptist mission society clarifies the fact that the missions in Burma, especially the Karen mission, had been the central and leading mission for the society since its foundation.

1.1. Establishment of the General Baptist Convention

The Baptist missionary convention was founded by the efforts of two missionaries, namely Adoniram Judson (1788-1850) and Luther Rice (1783-1836). They started their careers as foreign missionaries when their petition to launch the foreign missions in Asia was approved at the Congregationalist meeting in 1810. Although originally being a Congregationalist, on his sea route to India, Judson concluded that the Baptist understanding of the Christian doctrine was more precise, and so he decided to convert. He was baptized soon after he landed in Calcutta in 1812, as did Rice. After their conversion, they decided to found a missionary association in America consisting of Baptist churches. Rice decided to go back to America to establish the organization, while Judson remained in Asia to find a place to begin the mission.⁽⁹⁾

On his return to America, without any delay Rice established in 1814 the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist denomination in the United States of America (the Baptist Convention).⁽¹⁰⁾ The Baptist Convention, which consisted of local Baptist associations mainly in the eastern coastal area, was to hold a general meeting once every three years. Although in principle the Baptist Convention was the ultimate body to take all decisions, practical management was conducted by its board, namely the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions (hereafter the Baptist Board). The Baptist Board took charge of appointing missionaries, setting up the mission goals and policies, and even managing the convention's accounting.⁽¹¹⁾

1.2. The Beginning of the American Baptist Missionary Work: 1810s-1820s.

As the Baptists in America were ready to support foreign missions, some initial missions were launched in the late 1810s and 1820s. The very first foreign mission was of course, by Judson. Judson at first struggled to find a settlement for a mission in India, because the British East India Company ordered him to leave immediately. He finally got on board a vessel bound for Rangoon, namely the Georgiana, and landed there on July 1813. He and his wife Ann began actual missionary work around 1817 and acquired the first Burmese Baptist convert, Maung Sau in 1819. It was said that by 1820, approximately 10 persons had become Baptists.⁽¹²⁾ With the arrival of another missionary, Jonathan Wade (1798-1872), it seemed as though the mission in Burma in the 1820s was ready to develop.

Although it was first founded to support Judson and his mission in Asia, the Baptist Board also set its focus upon the domestic non-Christians, namely Native Americans. It was in 1817 that the mission for Native Americans was resolved at the first General Baptist convention meeting. It began with the tribes residing in the east of the Mississippi River

and around the great Lakes, such as the Cherokee, Ottawa, Miami, and Shanowah.⁽¹³⁾ The mission for the Native Americans was called ‘the Home Mission’ or ‘Indian Mission’ and the Home Mission was considered one of the most important missions of the Baptist Board, aside from the Burma mission.⁽¹⁴⁾

In the same period, the Baptist Board set up another mission in Africa as well. The American Colonization Society was established in 1819 and the first mission station was set up in Iberia in 1822, and new missionaries were continuously sent to the missions in Africa.⁽¹⁵⁾

1.3. The Rise of the Karen Mission in Contrast to Other Missions during the 1830s and 1840s.

In the next two decades, the missions in Burma saw a significant development. In particular, the beginning of the Karen mission and its rapid development are worthy of explanation in detail. After the first Anglo-Burmese War (1824-26),⁽¹⁶⁾ the Baptist missionaries decided to resettle in the Tenasserim region, with the hope of working without opposition from the local society, and so they launched their mission work again.⁽¹⁷⁾ A newly arrived missionary, namely George D. Boardman (1801-1831) who reached Maulmein in 1827 took charge of a new mission station in Tavoy. Wade was in charge of a station in Maulmein, and both missionaries were engaged in evangelizing the Karens. Those two stations later became the center of the early Karen mission, because the relatively high density of the Karen population in these regions allowed the missionaries to have contact with the Karens more often.

Boardman was the one who baptized the first Karen Baptist, Tha Byu on May 16th of 1828, soon after arriving in Tavoy. And with the help of Baptized Karens, he worked to spread the Gospel among them. He reported in his journals that there was a high possibility that the Gospels would be widely accepted by the Karens, but he passed away in 1831, before witnessing the actual growth of the mission. In the same year, Francis Mason was sent to Burma, to take over Boardman’s work after his death.

The increase in the number of converts was visible as early as the years 1830-31. Table 1 shows the number of converts among the Burmese and Karens during the 1830s,⁽¹⁸⁾ and throughout the decade the Karen converts never ceased to increase. The number grew to over 1200 converts in 1840, whereas the number of the Burmese converts remained relatively unchanged.

Table 1: Numbers of Converted Baptists and Schools.⁽¹⁹⁾

	Burmese	Karen	School in Burmese	School in Karen
1828-29	30	5	1	2
1829-30	56	10	1	2
1830-31	144	150	1	3
1833-34	92	252	2	3
1835-36	110	340	3	4
1837-38	188	695	4	N/A
1838-39	173	1190	6	17
1839-40	186	1244	6	17

The development of the Karen mission during this period was characterized by two features. The first is the reduction of Karen languages into script. Among dozens of sub-groups in the Karen languages, the Sgaw Karen was the first to be reduced by the missionary Wade. He started learning the language as early as 1831, and realized that it could be reduced with a combination of Burmese and Mon scripts.⁽²⁰⁾ A small tract and a grammar book in the Sgaw Karen were already distributed in the following year, for each of which 3000 copies were printed.⁽²¹⁾ Translation of religious scriptures was continued, and the New Testament in the Sgaw Karen was published in 1847. Another effort to reduce another Karen language, namely Pwo Karen into script was made around the years 1838-39. However, too many dialects of the Pwo Karen prevented the establishment of one holistic writing system, which was not completed until the 1850s.

The second feature was the development of educational environments for the Karen mission. The Baptist missionaries started theological training for the local Karens in their own houses to work for the ministry. The missionary education became more organized when a boarding school for boys at Tavoy was established in 1830, where most students were actually Karens. Table 1 also shows that the number of schools for Karens was on an increase in the 1830s. A large number of religious documents published in the Karen languages were used in the school education. And in this way, publications in the Karen languages and school education for Karen Baptists certainly helped the mission to grow rapidly.

As for Baptist missions in Asia, the Baptist Board opened up a new mission in Siam (Thailand) in 1832. Yet, the mission works were also for the Chinese, since the missionary journals reveal that prayer services were always conducted in both the Siamese and Chinese languages.⁽²²⁾ In 1837, a Siamese printing press was prepared, and 500,000 copies of a religious tract were printed and distributed. Overall the Baptist missions in Asia were relatively prosperous, mainly led by the huge success of the Karen mission.

While the missions in Asia seemed to be in a favorable situation, the Home mission in America was on shaky ground. The Baptist missions were not warmly welcomed by the Native Americans, obviously not as much as the Karen mission. For example, the mission to the Creek was suspended in 1829 because of its little success, and furthermore, the Indian Removal policy was in effect in the 1830s, and so the missionaries could no longer use their facilities including churches and educational assets, which they established in Native American old (and original) lands.⁽²³⁾ According to the statistics for 1838-39, there were only 170 converts from the Cherokee, 29 from Shanowah and Ojibwa respectively.⁽²⁴⁾ On comparing this with the number of Karen converts it is obvious that the mission for Native Americans was declining, and this made the Karen mission the only promising mission of the Baptist Board.

This brief early history of the American Baptist mission shows that the mission in Burma had been the first and leading mission for the Baptist Board since the beginning. And in the 1830s, the mission for Karens started and soon became a prominent work among the other Baptist missions. In particular, whereas the Home mission for Native Americans declined due to its unpopularity and the government's domestic policy, the Karen mission appeared as the most successful mission among the Baptist missionary works. By the end of

the 1830s the Karen mission had almost become the sole promising and firm mission of the Baptist Convention, and hence it must have occupied a very prominent place among all the mission activities of the American Baptists.

II. The Mission Policy of the American Baptists and Its Change in the 1840s.

Having examined the early history of the American Baptist missions and the significance of the Karen mission, this section aims to understand how Baptist missionaries tried to reach the non-Christian indigenous people. The mission policy will be examined in detail, and in particular, the change in the mission policies and their details will be discussed. The following discussion argues that the economic situation of the Convention in the late 1830s through 1840s was a crucial factor that made it necessary to change the mission policy accordingly.

2.1. Baptist Understanding of Christian Doctrines

First of all, some fundamental doctrines of the Baptists need to be articulated. One of them is their strong belief in scripture. The Bible is considered most important, as it reveals the holy words of God. Bible study is in need of the believers' own learning, and a deep understanding of the Bible, and the Baptists carried out their mission work based on their own evangelical faith. The enlightenment of the non-Christian indigenous people and their pious devotion to God was aimed at, by spreading the gospel and public preaching. Each individual's awakening to the truth of God was important, and they believed that realization of the truth would be gained through the individual's dedication to God by prayer. Thus, prayer is another important doctrine for the Baptists. Certain missionary journals of 1837 explained that God would eventually hear prayers of devotion, and that his mercy would be granted to missionary works.⁽²⁵⁾ For the Baptists, evangelical work could never be accomplished without sincere prayer.

As the foremost individual service to God, working as a missionary was considered a task of high esteem. Foreign missions were encouraged as the ultimate goal for Baptists by William Carey, who was the very first England Mission Society's (hereafter EMS) foreign missionary. According to his mission policy, the Baptist's duty was to carry God's words and to spread the gospel to all non-Christian people on the earth.⁽²⁶⁾ It should be noted that both founders of the Baptist Convention, namely Judson and Rice, were encouraged by the mission works of the EMS. Furthermore, it was decided that the proceedings of the Board would "be communicated to the Baptist Mission Society of England and to their missionaries at Serampore, assuring them that it was the desire of the board to hold an affectionate intercourse with them" at the meeting of the Board on May 24th 1814.⁽²⁷⁾ Those facts suggest that the core policy of the Baptist Convention coincided greatly with Carey's policy on foreign missions.

2.2. The Mission Policy of the American Baptists at their Foundation

The aforementioned doctrine was reflected in the principal mission policy of the Baptist Convention. A letter written by Rice to the Baptist Board on May 25th 1814 explains well how Biblical study and evangelization through vernacular languages were central to the Baptist foreign missions. He articulated as follows:

“The grand object of that establishment has been and still is, the translation of the scriptures...A mission now to be established, should fix itself in some important place, make itself master of the language and literature of the people, ultimately carry to very considerable correctness a translation of the scriptures into that language, and diffuse the effectual knowledge of the gospel throughout the region in which such language is spoken”.⁽²⁸⁾

This statement shows that Rice thought it important to work along with the concepts of Biblical Study, and in order to spread the Bible’s teachings among the indigenous people, the translation of the Bible into vernacular languages was necessary. The same view of mission work was preached and underlined in the Sermon at the meeting in which the Baptist Convention was formed.⁽²⁹⁾

Rice’s opinion on the mission policy should also be understood in relation with the mission principle of the aforementioned William Carey. As the Baptist Board decided to work in cooperation with the EMS, its mission policy became similar to the EMS’s policy as well. There were five major principles that were emphasized by the missionary Carey for foreign missions, which the Baptist board followed as well. Those principles are translating the Bible as well as mission documents into the vernacular, understanding native customs, conducting mission work through vernacular languages, and localization of missions.⁽³⁰⁾ Here it can easily be stated that evangelization and working through vernacular languages were the central idea for the Baptist foreign missions. While foreign missions ought to be conducted according to those major principles, there were a few detailed restrictions for them. A relatively free hand was given to foreign missionaries in the field, “in the name of God”.

2.3. Change of Policy in the 1840s and the Financial Situation of the Baptist Convention

In the period spanning the 1830s and 40s, several very important regulations for mission work were made. In 1841, the Board announced its decision to modify the mission policy at its tenth annual meeting, and there were two important modifications can be found at that time. The first was a strong recommendation for the appointment of indigenous assistants. The addressing report of the Baptist Board to the president of the Convention explained the importance of the work of the indigenous Baptists, and strongly recommended more appointments, as “[g]reat importance is attached to indigenous instrumentality in the prosecution of the missionary work....[T]he history of the church, from the earliest times to the present, abundantly shows, that the divinely appointed agency for its perpetuation of enlargement is the sanctified talent of the native population.”⁽³¹⁾ The second issue was about missionary publications. The Board clearly articulated its concern about the publication

procedure and its expenditure, as it says, “[i]n regard to the number of copies of Scriptures and tracts printed, the general limitation is the current demand for judicious distribution. And one of the principal requisites in judicious distribution is, that “every copy of the Scriptures and every tract should, if possible, be sustained by personal remark, and where there is not a reasonable prospect of their doing good, they should be withheld.”⁽³²⁾

These two particular concerns were articulated in this specific period because of the financial status. The president of the Baptist Convention explained the reason why these modifications were needed in front of the participants of the general meeting. He said:

“No restrictions were laid in regard to the employment of native assistants, or the establishment of schools or any other suitable expenditure involved in the right conduct of the missions....To relinquish this system of operation and thus to forbid our missionaries, who were toiling in the field, from gathering up the sheaves which seemed ready to fall into their bosoms, was exceedingly painful. But the necessity had come; the funds committed to the Board were liable to be overdrawn; and in pursuance of its settled policy to incur no burdensome debt if by any means it could be averted, the requisite limitations were made.”⁽³³⁾

According to this statement, these changes in policy were introduced due to the deteriorating financial status of the Convention. Annual treasury reports show that the Baptist Board indeed faced a serious financial crisis around that time. The direct cause for the decline was the economic depression in America in the late 1830s. After President Jackson announced in 1836 that only standard money such as gold and silver would be accepted for money transactions ever after, the American economy experienced a serious depression in the following years owing to the escalation of inflation. Many major banks in the East coast went bankrupt after 1837,⁽³⁴⁾ and the economy would not recover from the inflation until about 1842.⁽³⁵⁾ As for the financial situation for the Baptist Convention, Table 2 clearly shows the decline of its annual revenues and balance of the Convention. When economic depression occurred in 1837, the effect first manifested itself as a decline in the balance of the accounts. The balance started to decline immediately and culminated in a deficit in 1840, and the amount of the deficit during the early 1840s skyrocketed exorbitantly, and the Convention did not see it recover until in the late 1840s.

Table 2: Revenue and Balance of the Baptist Convention during the 1830s-40s⁽³⁶⁾

	Annual Revenue	Balance
1834-35	56,764.67	3,494.70
1835-36	54,988.53	149.13
1836-37	64,954.86	2,808.54
1837-38	76,857.53	1,499.50
1838-39	101,903.90	528.42
1839-40	65,672.56	893.97
1840-41	82,164.78	-1,190.62
1841-42	54,743.95	-7,215.34
1842-43	69,311.22	-17,236.62
1843-44	87,721	-31,585.02
1844-45	93,002.33	-45,412.99
1845-46	112,246.33	-39,015.30
1846-47	88,906.72	-35,035.06

The financial situation was a serious matter for the Baptist Board, since it always had to consider it to maintain its mission activity. The expense of the missions, such as the salary of missionaries and local preachers, printing costs, and costs for transferring resources was always a major concern for the Board. Therefore, the financial crisis in the 1830s and 1840s had a large influence on urging the Baptist Board to make its mission policy more strict and rigid. To rephrase this in more general terms, the mission policy of the Baptist Board was very vulnerable to the state of the American society and economy at that period. And hence, when the mission policy was subject to secular matters, how did this influence the contents and statements in mission documents? Most mission records were written and sent to the Baptist Board to appeal each success, hardship, or current situation. Did the manner of appealing to the Board and church members follow the change of the mission policy? If so, how?

III. Tha Byu as “The Karen Apostle” in the American Baptist Mission Context

As stated earlier, *The Karen Apostle* was written as a memoir concerning Tha Byu’s death in 1840. Mason explained in his own memoir that the reason for writing such a biography was the following: “After his death one of my associates suggested that I should write a memoir of his life, which I did, as a means of creating a deeper interest in the Karen Mission.”⁽³⁷⁾ Hence, this depiction of Tha Byu was meant to evoke a greater interest in the Karen mission, but the interest of whom? In general, the chief readers of missionary records were people living in the world outside of Burma, that is, the church members in America as well as the Baptist Board members.⁽³⁸⁾ So, it can be said that Mason wrote *The Karen Apostle* to evoke the interest of *Baptists in America*. In the following paragraphs, the actual content of *The Karen Apostle* will be gauged, with a brief explanation concerning the author’s background and his missionary work, and finally the parallel between the particular description of Tha Byu and the mission policy will be discussed.

3.1. *The Author of The Karen Apostle, a Prominent Karen Missionary, Francis Mason*

Francis Mason, originally born in York, England in 1799, arrived in America in 1818. He received Baptism in Missouri in 1825 and was appointed a foreign missionary in 1829, to support the Karen mission.⁽³⁹⁾

Arriving in Burma in 1831, Mason settled in Tavoy to work for the Karen mission, and within a few years, one of his accomplishments for the Karen mission was launched. Mason started to translate the Bible into Sgaw Karen in cooperation with Wade, who had already started working on reducing the language into scripts. The book of Matthew was translated in 1837 first, and the New Testament in Sgaw Karen was completed in 1843. Mason continued his work to translate the Old Testament, which was concluded in 1853.⁽⁴⁰⁾ In accordance with the development of the missionary educational environment, Mason’s translations contributed to spreading the Gospel among the Karens, as the Sgaw Karen

Bible was widely used in schools and churches.

Another his accomplishment consisted in a number of publications concerning the Karens. As early as 1834, Mason expressed his highly unique view on the Karens in his letter to the British Chief Commissioner Maingy, entitled ‘Traditions of Karens.’ In this letter he described the Karens as a lost tribe whose oral traditions and customs had originated from Hebrew, and this became a masterpiece of his writings concerning the Karens.⁽⁴¹⁾ Mason then continued to write on the Karens based on his own experiences in field. He published *The Natural Production of Burmah* in 1852, and later published other articles.⁽⁴²⁾ He continued to work in the field and moved from Tavoy to Toungoo in 1853, and remained engaged in the mission work mainly in Toungoo, until he passed away in Rangoon in 1874.

As his entire carrier suggests, Mason contributed in many ways towards the development of the Karen mission. Ikeda explains that his works had a considerable influence at that time, in terms of accumulating knowledge on the Karens. A set of his writings was the first attempt to consolidate knowledge and information on the Karens, using linguistic, theological, and ethnographical perspectives.⁽⁴³⁾ Hence Mason was the most well-known Karen missionary and a reliable expert on those people in the mid-nineteenth century. *The Karen Apostle* may therefore be said to form a part of the body of knowledge on the Karens, which Mason compiled through his own writings. The next section will take a look at *the Karen Apostle*’s contents, and Mason’s opinion on them.

3.2. Description of Tha Byu in *The Karen Apostle*

Tha Byu was born around 1778 in Oo-twau, a small village lying about four day’s away from Bassein. According to Thah Byu’s own description of himself to Mason, “he was then a wicked and ungovernable boy, and, when he left his parents, he became a robber and a murderer.”⁽⁴⁴⁾ Unable to pay his debts he was taken into Judson’s house. And later, interactions with missionaries led him to believe in Christianity, and he eventually accepted baptism. However his baptism was postponed for the time being, due to his moving to Tavoy with Boardman, Thah Byu was finally baptized by Boardman in Tavoy on May 16th 1828.⁽⁴⁵⁾

Immediately after his baptism, Thah Byu began his work among the Karens, especially for those living in remote areas. He worked around Tavoy and later moved to Maulmein. Around 1837 he moved farther north up to Rangoon or Bassein, where he remained working until his death in 1840. Although he was never an ordained minister, yet Thah Byu involved himself deeply in spreading the Gospel. He often visited villages in mountains and stayed there for as long as a month, searching for individuals who showed an interest in Christianity, and later he either went to a mission station with those people, or came back alone and returned to those villages with a missionary, so that they could be converted. Thah Byu passed away on September 9th 1840, due to the sufferings he experienced from rheumatism.⁽⁴⁶⁾

In the last two chapters of *The Karen Apostle*, Mason examined the significance of Thah Byu’s success. First, he illustrated the life of Tha Byu as follows. “The doctrines of the cross [s]till live to humanize inhuman man; to change a villain, from whose presence the virtuous instinctively shrink, into a “good man, full of the Holy Ghost and of faith,”

who scatters blessings wherever he goes, whose path through the world is traced by a track of glory.”⁽⁴⁷⁾ Although Mason never mentioned Tha Byu’s personal name in this sentence, it is quite obvious that it refers to his actual life course. Tha Byu, as he explained, committed thefts and murders before receiving baptism. From being “a villain,” he was reborn as “a good man who scatters blessings wherever he goes.” So here Mason related Thah Byu’s accomplishments, undertaken due to the blessing and power of God.

Mason provides two specific examples as to how the power of God worked through Thah Byu. The first concerned his devotion to mission work. Here it is worthwhile taking a look at Mason’s description in length.

“[I]f ever a man loved the gospel, Ko Thah-byu was that man. It was his love for the Gospel that kindled that unconquerable desire to proclaim its precious truths to his fellow men...And yet in accounting for the wonderful success that attended his preaching, we must look to other causes. One of our eldest and ablest assistants said, “Ko Thah-byu was an ignorant and stupid man; and yet he did more good than all of us, for God was with him.” ...[H]e who gives himself exclusively to the work of the Lord, will find that God will be with him, to assist him in his work and grant him every needed blessings. This was emphatically true of Ko Thah-byu; God was with him.”⁽⁴⁸⁾

The description above shows that Mason attributed the ultimate cause of Thah Byu’s success to the grace of God. It was also explained that Thah Byu often read the Bible or prayed to God when he was not out on mission works. And when he prayed, he did so until it was as late as ten or eleven o’clock at night, which must have been a very late hour back in the mid-19th century. Mason also boldly declared the cause of this praying behavior of Thah Byu as being due to the power of God.

“At the time I knew him, he used seldom to spend a night without praying as many as three times, or at least as often as he awoke; and I have heard it said of him, that he has occasionally spent whole nights in prayer of God. Is it, then, a matter of wonder that such a man should be honoured of his God?...It is known to all who are at all used in the deep things of God, that there is a peculiar power in prayer to give point to all our conceptions upon Divine subjects; and it is equally known, that a man who has a clear and vivid conception of any great truth, can hardly fail to exhibit that truth with point and with power. Here, then, is one of the secrets of Ko Thah-byu’s success as a preacher.”⁽⁴⁹⁾

This statement informs us that Mason described Thah Byu as a man of prayer and reasoned that Thah Byu succeeded in his mission only because of his devotion to prayer. God blessed him for his piety and prayers. Mason’s purpose here was to proclaim the importance of piety and dedication to God through the description of Thah Byu. His passion for the mission and devotion to prayer are explained as evidence that God’s grace and power actually worked through an indigenous convert.

After having presented the example of Tha Byu as a successful instance of the fruit of God’s blessings and the work of the Karen mission, Mason finally discussed the future

prospects of the mission and his reasoning concerning this issue in the last chapter. He stated that his argument was “to show that the Karen mission is the cheapest of American missions in the world.”⁽⁵⁰⁾ There were three reasons why Mason thought that the Karen mission was the most affordable mission. The first reason was that it was easier for the Karens to accept Baptism, thanks to their traditions. Mason believed that the Karens had their own oral traditions and beliefs, that were similar to the accounts of the Creation, Fall, and Salvation. Hence, the missionaries did not have to explain to the people fundamental notions as to “what is taught in Christianity.” This would reduce both the amount of time and labor needed for the mission work. Second, he pointed out that the efficiency of distributing publications among the Karens. Here, he makes a comparison with a case of the English Baptist Mission in India, where only one tenth of the religious publications if distributed, were likely to be read and utilized by the locals. And he stated that the Karen mission distributed its religious documents only to those who had studied in schools. Hence, the religious documents would be read thoroughly without waste, and so the mission could spread the Gospel teachings efficiently.⁽⁵¹⁾ The third evidence was the fact that the Karen mission was actually conducted by many of the local Karen Baptists, among whom Thah Byu was the best example. Mason argued that a local preacher could be supported with just one tenth of the money needed to support a foreign missionary, and it would be equivalent to approximately 25~50 U.S. dollars. Based on these reasons, Mason concluded that the Karen mission was the cheapest when compared with other American Baptist missions, and hence the most sustainable.⁽⁵²⁾

In his final words, Mason stated that although the native preachers were useful and capable, they needed to be educated by the missionaries. Mentioning the fact that Thah Byu as an example, he explained that the major role for missionaries at that point was to “instruct the native Christians; and yet in this department it is remarkably deficient” and to do so Karen missionaries needed to be “amply provided with means.”⁽⁵³⁾

3.3. Mason’s Argument in The Karen Apostle under the Influence of the Mission Policy

As reviewed above, there were two major arguments stressed by Mason in *The Karen Apostle*. The first was to document and prove the success of the Karen mission, and so Thah Byu was depicted as the best example of the fruit of the mission. The description of Thah Byu as being passionate about evangelical work corresponded precisely with the Baptist doctrine of evangelism with regard to the Gospels. For Baptists, evangelization and dedication in works were very essential in their faith. Thah Byu’s character as a dedicated man of prayer is also very distinctive, since prayers were another important activity of the Baptists. Mason described Thah Byu in such a manner as to attest the fact that God’s power is working through such converts. With regard to the American Baptist doctrine, the description of Thah Byu as a good example of those Karen Baptists, who were diligently engaged in mission work, corresponds exactly with the Baptist belief in evangelism.

By depicting Thah Byu as a pious and reliable indigenous Karen Baptist who could be supported with much lesser expense, Mason emphasized the low expenses involved in the Karen mission. This argument corresponds with the mission policy that was recently

modified in 1841. The financial situation of the Baptist Board reached a crisis point in the late 1830s and 1840s, and since it was urgent, missionaries were encouraged to hire native preachers and assistants for evangelical work. Hence this point also seems to prove that Mason's argument was precisely to assure the Mission authorities that the Karen mission was desirable and suitable for a stricter mission policy.

What those two significant points suggest is that Mason's writing about Tha Byu was an act performed under the strong influence of the American Baptist mission policy and its doctrines. The American Baptists accepted with sincerity Biblical study, evangelical works in foreign lands, and prayer as an act of devotion to God. And in the 1840s, the Baptist Board shifted its mission policy to reduce mission expenses by encouraging more appointments of native preachers and regulating publication works in the field. In *The Karen Apostle*, Mason portrayed Tha Byu in exact response to the policy change, as a pious and devoted Karen Baptist, who was always passionate with regard to mission work and prayer. In addition, he stated that the Karen mission was maintainable because of the affordability of hiring native workers and its efficiency regarding distribution of publications and evangelical work. These parallels are so apparent that it is difficult to ignore them.

It is equally important to stress the fact that these parallels are not "strange" at all. As already stated, Mason wrote *The Karen Apostle* "as a means of creating a deeper interest in the Karen Mission."⁽⁵⁴⁾ There were always letters and reports in the missionary records that appealed for more funds, and hence the manner of describing the situation in the missionary fields and the indigenous people, was always embedded in the larger context of the mission society. This interaction between the mission policy and doctrine and the writings of missionaries has been little discussed, perhaps because it was considered something natural. However, close attention needs to be paid to it, since it discloses the dynamics of the interaction between the mission society in America, and the Baptist mission in Burma and the Karen Baptists.

Concluding Remarks

This paper examined the historical background of the Baptist Convention and its mission policies, and it later analyzed the relationship between the Baptist Convention's mission policies with the manner of depiction of the Karen Baptists by missionaries. In conclusion we might say that the mission policies and the situation of the Baptist Convention in America played a principal role in determining how to describe the Karens in Burma. The social, economic, and possibly political situations in America were equally crucial to comprehending the discourse on the Karen Baptists, for as this paper argues, they were indeed factors that worked towards having the Baptist Board change its mission policy. Mentioning the economic situation in America during the 1830s to 1840s in order to grasp the state in which the Baptist Board was at that time is also something unavoidable.

Finally, let us consider how the whole discussion helps us to interpret the Karen Baptists in the 19th century. The great influence of the American Baptist Convention's

doctrine and policy on writings about the Karens, suggests that the Karen Baptists in Burma should be understood and placed within the history of the American Baptist missions. The historical context of the missions and their doctrines need to be taken into consideration as well. The Baptist mission records might be insufficient when it comes to grasping the history of the entire Karen community, as recently assessed, but they are the most reliable sources in order to get an idea of those Karens who were viewed simply as Baptists. This analytical viewpoint is significant because it helps prevent us from overstating the “Karenness” of the Karen Baptists, and hence it needs to be expanded more.

Emphasizing the significance of the missionary records and its historical context does not necessarily mean to support or justify the missionaries’ Orientalist views which was common and widespread in the Western world at that time. We do not deny that the American Baptist missionaries saw the Karens as one nation, as a myriad of missionary records and journals reveals they certainly did so. Yet, what was more important to the missionaries, with more focus on the missionary context, must have been the issue as to who accepted Christianity and baptism, and whether the newly converted Karens were true and pious Baptists. As this paper tries to point out, the Karens appearing in the missionary records of the 19th century should be simply understood as Baptists, not as the representatives of the whole Karen nation.

An emphasis on the relationship between the Baptist missions and the writings of the missionaries on the Karens in Burma also highlights the historical connection of two different regions, namely Burma and America. An analysis of various historical situations in America is crucial to interpreting the history of Baptist Karens in Burma, because it is plausible to state that factors in America made the Baptist Convention change its mission policy. In historical terms, most scholars reveal an interest in Burma’s relationship to its suzerain in the 19th century, since Burma was under British colonial rule prior to its independence. As this paper shows however, when the Karen Baptists are discussed within the context of the American Baptist missions, it is possible and even necessary to view the 19th century from another analytical viewpoint, focusing on the relationship between Burma and America. The analytical viewpoint of considering the Karen Baptists through the eyes of the American Baptist mission, will not only provide another interpretation of the baptized Karens in Burma, but it also has the possibility of broadening our research horizon, by shedding light on an alternate aspect of Burma in the 19th century.

Notes

- (1) This paper is based on the author’s recently published article in Japanese; “Reconsideration of the Karen Image in Mid-Nineteenth Century Burma within the Context of the American Baptist Mission,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 52(2), 2015, pp. 295-322. Although the argument here is based on the article in Japanese, this paper is a fully revised version.

- (2) Here are some of the major works describing the Karens as Christianized people. In the colonial period, an English officer Smeaton described the Karens as totally pious Christians [Smeaton, Donald M., *The Loyal Karen of Burma*, London: K Paul, Trench & co., 1887]. As one of the earliest descriptions by a Baptist Karen, San C. Po made a comparison between the Karens and Burmese and represented the Karens as “Baptists” [Po, San C., *Burma and the Karens*, London: Elliot Stock, 1928]. Among scholarly research specializing in Karens, the followings could be named in which the Karen people was described mainly focusing on the Baptist Karens; Iijima, Shigeru, “Kokumin Keisei to Shōsu Minzoku Mondai: Biruma niokeru Karenzoku no Higeki” [国民形成と少数民族問題：ビルマにおけるカレン族の悲劇, Nation-building and Issues of Minority Groups: Tragedy of the Karen People in Burma], *Studies of Linguistics and Culture in Asia and Africa* 8, 1974, pp. 117-135. Gravers, Mikael, “Conversion and Identity-Religion and the Formation of Karen Ethnic Identity in Burma,” in Mikael Graevrs (ed.), *Exploring Ethnic Diversity in Burma*, Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2007, pp. 227-258. Smith, Martin, *Burma: Insurgency and the Politics of Ethnicity*, London, Zed Books Ltd., 1991.
- (3) The Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma. *1983 Population Census*.
- (4) Ikeda, Kazuto, “An Outline of Knowledge Formation on the Karen People of Burma and Saw Aung Hla's "A History of the Pgakanyaw" (1939)” [ビルマのキリスト教徒カレンをめぐる民族知識の形成史：カレン知の生成と「プアカニョウの歴史」の位置づけについて], *The Memoirs of the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia* 162, 2012, pp.154-266 (in Japanese), 105-120.
- (5) Thawngmung, Maung Ardeth, *The Other Karen in Myanmar: Ethnic Minorities and the Struggle without Arms*, New York: Lexington Books, 2011.
- (6) Although usually considered as a part of his name, Ko is just a prefix to refer to a young man. Since it is not his original name, this paper hereafter calls him simply Tha Byu. An exception will be made when it appears in referred paragraphs.
- (7) Mason, Francis, *The Karen Apostle; or, Memoir of Ko Thah-Byu, the First Karen Convert, with Notices Concerning His Nation*, Gould Kendall and Lincoln: Boston, 1843.
- (8) Go Lām Pau, *Ahceipya myanma hkari'yan thamâin 16 yazùale hma 21 yazù pahtama sezùhni' ahtì* [A Brief History of Myanmar Christianity: since the mid-16th century up to the first ten years of the 21st century], Aloun, Yangon: Phileo Mission, 2012.
- (9) Grammell, William, *A History of American Baptist Missions in Asia, Africa, and Europe and North America*, Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1854, p. 7.
- (10) Peck, Solomon, “History of the Missions of the Baptist General Convention,” in Joseph Tracy, Solomon Peck and others (eds), *History of American Missions to the Heathen, from Their Commitment to the Present Times*, Howland: Spooner, 1840, pp. 353-620, 362.
- (11) *ibid.*
- (12) *ibid.*, pp. 358-60.
- (13) *ibid.*, p. 377, 384.
- (14) The mission for Native Americans was important in terms of domestic political interest.

The conversion of the Native Americans was very crucial for the federal government to open up the western frontier and acquire more lands.

- (15) Peck, *op.cit.*, pp. 439-445.
- (16) During the war, Judson himself was put in jail by the Konbaung Court under the suspicion that he must have been an English spy. Wades and other missionaries left Rangoon for India to escape for the time being.
- (17) It was annexed to the British colony after the war, as well as the Arakan region.
- (18) Those numbers included converts in all mission stations.
- (19) Data was retrieved from the annual reports of the Baptist Board. Board of Managers of Baptist General Convention (hereafter BMBGC), *The American Baptist Magazine* 8-15, Boston, 1828-1835. *Baptist Missionary Magazine* 16-20, Boston, 1836-40.
- (20) BMBGC 1833 (13), p. 201. The Mon scripture is as old as the Burmese script, and it was said that the Burmese alphabet were created using the Mon script. The Mon language has mainly been spoken by the Mon people, but as of now, the Mon speaking population is decreasing.
- (21) *ibid.*, p. 356.
- (22) Peck, *op.cit.*, p. 590.
- (23) BMBGC 1839 (19), pp.124-28.
- (24) Ito, Takaaki, “Jyūkyū Seiki Bengal niokeru “Orientalist” [19世紀ベンガルにおける「オリエンタリスト」], The Orientalist in Bengal of the nineteenth century], *The Christian Memoirs of Momoyama Gakuin University* 34, 1998, pp.17-33.
- (25) BMBGC 1837 (17), pp.74-75.
- (26) Ito, *op.cit.*, 1998.
- (27) BMBGC 1814. *Proceedings*, pp.13-14.
- (28) *ibid.*, p. 26.
- (29) *ibid.*, pp. 17-24.
- (30) Ito, *op.cit.*, pp. 25-28.
- (31) BMBGC 1841 (21), p.168.
- (32) *ibid.*, p.169.
- (33) *ibid.*, p.170.
- (34) Miyata, Michiya, “America niokeru 1837 nen Kyoukou to Shinyou Seido” [アメリカにおける1837年恐慌と信用制度, The Depression of 1837 and Credential System in America], *Memoirs of the Economic Department in Kanazawa University* 9(3), 1989, pp.14-52, 17-18.
- (35) In the early 1830s, the American economy enjoyed a wave of land speculation. Bank notes were heavily used for purchasing public lands. People relied on notes for almost all transactions in land speculation. Thus, President Jackson’s order had a severe impact on newly landowners.
- (36) Data was retrieved from the annual treasurer reports of each year in *American Baptist Magazine* 1835 (16); *Baptist Missionary Magazine* 1836-1845 (16-25); Executive Committee of American Baptist Mission, *Baptist Missionary Magazine* 1846-48 (26-28).
- (37) Mason, Francis, *The Story of Working Man’s life*, Oakley: Maison & co., 1870, p. 278.

- (38) Ikeda, *op.cit.*, p.125.
- (39) Mason, *op.cit.*, p. 37, 185.
- (40) *ibid.*, pp. 296-7.
- (41) Mason, Francis, "Tradition of Karen," *American Baptist Magazine* 1834 (14) 1834, pp. 328-393.
- (42) Mason, Francis, "Notes of the Karen Language," *Journal of the Asiatic Society* 27(2), 1858, pp.129-168.; "Religion, Mythology, and Astronomy among the Karens," *Journal of the Asiatic Society* 34(3), 1865(a), pp.173-188.; "Religion, Mythology, and Astronomy among the Karens," *Journal of the Asiatic Society* 34(4) 1865(b), pp.195-250.; "On Dwelling, Works of Art, Laws, etc. of the Karens; Embracing Query 50 to Query 76," *Journal of the Asiatic Society* 38(3), 1868, pp.125-169.
- (43) Ikeda, *op.cit.*
- (44) Mason, 1843, p.10.
- (45) *ibid.*, pp.12-13.
- (46) *ibid.*, pp. 41-70.
- (47) *ibid.*, p.70.
- (48) *ibid.*, pp.71-76.
- (49) *ibid.*, pp.76-77.
- (50) *ibid.*, p. 90.
- (51) *ibid.*, pp. 92-93.
- (52) *ibid.*, pp. 94-95.
- (53) *ibid.*, p. 95.
- (54) Mason, 1870, p. 278.

特集外論文

『新しい黎明』 — 1960年代カイロのフィリピン・ ムスリム留学生論文集邦訳・解説 (9)

原書監修・発行：カイロ在住フィリピン人ラナオ学生イスラーム宣教委員会
邦訳：堀井 聡江*
解説：川島 緑**

*New Dawn : A Collection of Essays by Philippine Muslim Students in
Cairo in the 1960s.*
Japanese Translation with Explanatory Notes (9)

Translation : HORII Satoe*
Explanatory Notes : KAWASHIMA Midori**

『新しい黎明 (*Fajr jadīd*)』は、アズハル大学をはじめとするカイロの教育機関で学んでいたミンダナオ島ラナオ地方出身ムスリム学生のグループが、1966年にカイロで刊行したアラビア語論文集である。本稿では、本誌にこれまで掲載された『新しい黎明』(1)～(8)の続編として4篇の論文と巻末の辞等を紹介する。

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I . 解説：『新しい黎明』とその著者たち（9）

川島 緑

1. ナフィーサ・アブドゥルカディール・ルクマン

ラナオ州(現南ラナオ州)バヤン町の有力一族ルクマン家出身⁽¹⁾。父アブドゥルカディール・ルクマン (Abdulkadir Lucman) は1950年代後半から1960年代にかけて、在カイロ・フィリピン領事館に勤務し、領事補佐官を務めた。父のカイロ赴任に伴い、当時幼かったナフィーサも1957年前後に家族とともにカイロに渡った。本論文執筆時、ナフィーサはカイロ市内の公立高校で学んでいた。卒業後はフィリピンに帰国し、フィリピンの大学で薬学を学んだ。この論文でナフィーサは、ムスリム女性の英雄、ヌサイバ・ビント・カアブの自己犠牲と献身を讃えている。

2. アフマド・ドモカオ・アロント二世

1942年、ラナオ州の州都ダンサラン町(現マラウィ市)で生まれる。父のアフマド・ドモカオ・アロント一世は、ラナオ州ラマイン町の伝統的支配層出身で、フィリピン大学法学部を卒業し、1950年代に下院・上院議員を務めた有力政治家であった。アロント一世はフィリピン・ムスリムの教育の向上に積極的に取り組み、エジプトをはじめとするムスリム諸国や国外イスラーム機関からの支援により、アラビア語教員招聘や留学生派遣事業を推進した。フィリピン・イスラーム大学の創設者でもあり、1966年にカイロ大学に派遣された留学生は、主に同大学教員や卒業生から選抜された。

息子のアロント二世は、フィリピンの大学で農学を学んだ後、カイロ大学大学院で農業経済学を専攻し、修士号を取得した。帰国後はフィリピン・イスラーム大学、および、ミンダナオ国立大学で教鞭をとり、1986年から1992年までミンダナオ国立大学学長を務めた⁽²⁾。アロント二世はこの論文で、人間のあくなき欲望のために不正や犯罪が蔓延していることを指摘し、社会に公正と秩序をもたらすためには、イスラーム法にもとづいて経済活動を律する必要があると論じている。

3. スライマン・アンティガン・アミゴス

ラナオ州ルンバタン町出身。フィリピン・イスラーム大学卒業後、1966年、エジプト政府奨学金を受けてカイロ大学に留学した⁽³⁾。スライマンはこの論文で、人間の生存、進歩発展にとっての農業の重要性を指摘し、それはイスラームが教えるところであると論じている。

4. ミノマ・ブボン

ラナオ州ラマイン町出身。スライマン・アンティガン・アミゴスらとともに、1966年、エジプト政府奨学金を得てカイロ大学に留学した⁽⁴⁾。ミノマはこの論文で、ラナオのムスリム社会では、名誉・体面(マラタバット)⁽⁵⁾の観念の誤解から生じる悪習がはびこっており、そのためにキリスト教徒社会に比べて後進的状态にあると述べ、こうした悪習はイスラームに反しており廃止すべきと主張している。

今回で、『新しい黎明』全訳が完結する。合計45人の執筆者には、後にイスラーム教育改革や政治・社会運動において重要な役割を果たした人々が含まれている。この邦訳と

解説が、フィリピン・ムスリム研究の発展に役立つことを願っている。適確で丁寧な翻訳をしてくださった堀井聡江氏、二十年にわたって調査研究に全面的に協力くださり、本年6月に亡くなられた故ウスマン・イマーム氏、聞き取り調査に応じてくださった元カイロ留学生とご家族の方々、文献調査に協力してくださったムスリム・ミンダナオ大学学長マフディ・バシール氏、同図書館スタッフの方々に心より御礼申し上げます。

註 I

- (1) 『新しい黎明』には、ナフィーサの大叔父ユスフ・ルクマンとその妻ザフラ、叔母ノーラ、叔父アレクサンダーの論文も収録されている（『新しい黎明 (2), (7), (8)』参照）。ナフィーサ・ルクマンに関する記述は、同時期に留学していたウスマン・イマーム氏からの聞き取りに基づく。
- (2) Abdullah T. Madale, *The Maranaws: Dwellers of the Lake*. Manila: Rex Book Store, 1997, pp.147-148, 209。
- (3) ウスマン・イマーム氏からの聞き取りに基づく。
- (4) ウスマン・イマーム氏からの聞き取りに基づく。
- (5) マラタバットについては、邦訳の註 34 参照。

II. 『新しい黎明』 邦訳 (9)

堀井 聡江

カイロ在住フィリピン人ラナオ学生イスラーム宣教委員会監修、アラブ連合共和国在住ラナオ出身学生編『新しい黎明』(カイロ、1966年)⁽¹⁾

Lajnat al-da‘wa al-Islāmiyya li-ṭalibat Rānaw al-Fīlībīniyyin bi-al-Qāhira (bi-ishrāf), Ṭalibat Rānaw bi-al-Jumuhūriyya al-‘Arabiyya al-Muttaḥida (i‘dād), *Fajr jadīd*, Cairo, 1966. (Islamic Da‘wa Council of the Filipino Ranao Students in Cairo (Supervised), Ranao Students in the United Arab Republic (eds.), *New Dawn*.)

凡例

- 1) 原文のアラビア語原語ローマ字表記を () に入れて示す。ローマ字表記は文頭、および、固有名詞冒頭は大文字、他は小文字とする。
- 2) フィリピン出身者の人名については、フィリピンにおける一般的な読み方に基づいて片仮名表記し、フィリピンで通常用いられているローマ字つづりを < > 内に示す。
- 3) 訳者による補足は [] に入れて示す。
- 4) アラビア語やイスラームに関する註は主として堀井、フィリピンに関する註は主として川島が執筆した。註末尾の (h) は前者、(k) は後者を示す。

1. ヌサイバ・ビント・カアブ

ナフィーサ・アブドゥルカディール・ルクマン

ヌサイバは、アカバの夜 (lailat al-‘aqaba)⁽²⁾ に列席して改宗し、〔神の〕使徒〔ムハンマド〕に忠誠を誓った⁽³⁾ (bāya‘at al-rasūl)。彼女は幾多の遠征とフダイビーヤの和議 (sulḥ al-ḥudaybiyya)⁽⁴⁾、ハイバル〔遠征〕⁽⁵⁾、追完の小巡礼 (‘umrat al-qaḍā’)⁽⁶⁾、ヤマーマの日⁽⁷⁾をその目で証し、ヤマーマの戦いでは手を切り、預言者から数々のハディース⁽⁸⁾を聞いた。ヌサイバ曰く、「私は、アカバの夜、預言者とご一緒の場で信仰告白し、人々 (al-qawm) と共に忠誠を誓いました」。彼女はまた、夫ギズヤ・ブン・アムルおよび2人の息子と共に、ウフド〔の戦い〕に参戦している。彼女は負傷者 (al-jurḥā) に水を飲ませるために革袋を担ぎ、彼らと共に早朝出発したのだが、射撃隊 (al-rumāḥ) が〔神の〕使徒の軍事作戦 (khiṭat al-rasūl al-ḥarbiyya) に違反したことでムスリム勢 (al-muslimūn) が敗走するという戦況のなか、いきおい戦闘 (al-qitāl) に参加することになったのである。そのとき彼女は、「私は良い試練 (balā‘an ḥasanan) に見舞われた」と言った。彼女は〔身体の〕12か所にわたって負傷した。

ウナム・ウマーラ⁽⁹⁾曰く、「人々 (al-nās) は〔神の〕使徒から離散し、部隊 (nafar) には10名しかいませんでした。私と息子たちと夫は、人々 (al-nās) が敗走するなか、彼の前を護っていました。彼は、私に盾がないのを見て、盾を持った退却中の男 (rajlan muwalliyan) を目を見ると、「まだ戦っている者 (man yuqātil) に盾を投げてやれ」と言うてくださり、その者が盾を投げてきたので、私はそれを受け取って、神の使徒を防御しま

した。〔敵の〕騎馬兵たち (aṣḥāb al-khail) は我々を翻弄しましたが、彼らが我々と同じ歩兵 (rajjāla⁽¹⁰⁾ mithlinā) だったなら、神が望み給えば、我々は彼らをやっつけたことでしよう。すると馬に乗った男 (rajīl ‘alā fars) が近づいて来て、私を殴りました。私は盾で身を護り、剣を防ぎながら、相手が間近に迫った時、馬の膝を強打すると、ひっくり返りました」。それで預言者は思わず、「イブン・ウマーラ、お前のお母さん (ummka) が、お前のお母さんが」と叫んだ。彼女曰く、「そこで〔息子が〕私に加勢してくれました」。また、ヌサイバは、ムスリム軍 (jaish al-muslimīn) の負傷者のための包帯を携行袋に用意しており、預言者が戦闘再開を命じるまで彼らを介抱していた。預言者は彼女に、「お前ほどのことをできる者はいない (man yuṭīq mā tuṭīqīna)」と言ったものである。ある男 (rajīl) が彼女の息子を襲撃した折、神の使徒が「あれがお前の息子を襲った者 (dārib ibniki) だ」と教えた。彼女曰く、「私が思い知らせようと、彼の足を打つと、相手は跪いて倒れました。すると神の使徒が、齒 (nawājīdhahu)⁽¹¹⁾が見えるほど大笑いするのが見えました。そして彼は、“ウンム・ウマーラ、かたきを討ったぞ (istaqadti)⁽¹²⁾”と仰いました。私たちは剣を持って彼の駱駝に近づき、ご本人 (nafsihi) の許に辿り着きました。すると彼は、“貴女を勝たせ、敵 (‘adūwki) に対して奮戦させた神に称えあれ。貴女の復讐 (tha’rki) はしかと見た”と仰いました」。

以上の記述は全て、預言者伝 (al-sīra) の書物がヌサイバから伝えるところである。ウフドの戦場 (mauqa‘at Uḥud) における彼女の立場 (mauqi‘hā) は、ムスリム勢支援 (nuṣrat al-muslimīn)、使徒の守護 (difā‘ al-rasūl) およびこの戦場における多神教徒 (al-mushrikīn) に対する戦いのさなかの負傷者救助 (mu‘āwanat al-jurḥā) にみられる彼女の積極的な役割 (daurhā al-ijābi) から明らかなように、看護と戦闘を兼ねていたのは確かである。また、預言者伝の書物によれば、預言者は、彼女の首 (‘unuqiḥā)⁽¹³⁾の傷を見て、彼女の子 (waladihā) アブダッラー・ブン・ザイドに、「お前のお母さんが……。傷の手当をしてあげなさい。神が一家 (ahl baitin) のなかでお前たちを嘉し給うように。お前のお母さんの格 (maqām ummika) は、何某 (fulān) と何某の格より上だ。神が一家と貴女の義理の息子の格 (maqām rabībiki) を慈しみ給うように」と言った。使徒の後継者たち (khulafā’ al-rasūl)⁽¹⁴⁾も、ヌサイバの神の道のためのジハード (jihād Nusaiba)⁽¹⁵⁾と試練 (balā’hā) を称賛していた。ヌサイバは、ウフドの日に、神の使徒がこう述べるのを聞いた。「左右を見渡すと必ず、彼女が私の側で戦っているのが見えた」。

ウフドの戦場におけるヌサイバの立場 (mauqif Nusaiba) に関する神の使徒とウマル⁽¹⁶⁾の証言 (shahāda) は、およそ自己犠牲 (al-taḍḥiya) に関する最も強力な証言である。ヌサイバと彼女の2人の息子 (ibnaihā) は、常に使徒の隣にいたが、主だった教友たち (kibār al-ṣaḥāba) ですら必ずしもその限りではなく、戦場を走り回って神の敵 (a‘dā’ Allāh) に対抗する者 (ba‘dhum) もいれば、使徒が殺されたと〔いう誤報を〕耳にして降伏しかけた者も、戦死した者もいた。身を挺して使徒を庇った者たち (alladhīna waqafū dūna al-rasūl bi-anfusihim) の中に、アブー・ドゥジャナー (Abū Dujāna) がいる。彼は〔使徒〕に覆い被さって背中に多数の矢を受けた⁽¹⁷⁾。アブダッラフマーン・ブン・アウフ (‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Auf) も、口 (fammihī)⁽¹⁸⁾を撃たれ、20箇所以上負傷し、うち足の負傷がもとで歩行が不自由になった⁽¹⁹⁾。

ウトバ・ブン・アビー・ワッカース (‘Utba b. Abī Waqqāṣ) は神の使徒に〔石を〕投げ、彼の右下の犬歯を折り、下唇に怪我を負わせた。また、アブダッラー・ブン・シハーブ・アッ＝ズフリー (‘Abd Allāh b. Shihāb al-Zuhri) が彼 ―使徒― の額に裂傷を負わせた。さらに、イブン・カミーア (Ibn Qamī’a) は、彼の頬を切りつけ、かぶと (al-mighfar) ―甲冑の類

(shabīh al-dir‘) — の輪の2つが彼の頬にめりこんだ。神の使徒は、ムスリム勢 (al-muslimūn) が落ちるように掘られた穴の1つに落ちた。彼らは神の使徒に起きたこれら全てのこと (kull hādha ḥadathin) に気がついた。そこで、このウンマ⁽²⁰⁾の守護者 (amīn hādha al-umma)、アブー・ウバイダ・ブン・アル＝ジャッラーフ (‘Abū ‘Ubaida b. al-Jarrāh) が起ち、使徒の顔から輪の1つを抜くと、自分の前歯が1本抜けた。続いてもう1つの輪を抜くと、別の前歯が抜けた。こうして彼は前歯を2本失った⁽²¹⁾。さらに神の使徒は、マーリク⁽²²⁾について、「自らの血が私の血と混じった者 (man massa⁽²³⁾ dammhu dammī) は、業火 (al-nār) に襲われることはない」と述べた。

ウフドの日のウンム・ウマーラに関する使徒の報告 (taqdīr al-rasūl) を、彼と共にいた彼の教友たちに関する彼の報告と照らして確認すれば、ウンム・ウマーラに関する報告量は、主だった教友たちと比べても豊富であり、むしろ彼女は、一部男性の多くの者 (kathīrīna min ba‘d al-rajl) よりも勇敢であったとさえいえる。後に、ザカート⁽²⁴⁾の義務 (farīḍat al-zakāh) を表向きの理由とするイスラームからの背教者たち (al-murtaddīna ‘an al-Islām)⁽²⁵⁾ に対するムスリム勢の勝利にあたり、ウンム・ウマーラは、ヤママから手に傷を負ってマディーナに帰還した。当時カリフ (khalīfa)⁽²⁶⁾であったアブー・バクル (Abū Bakr)⁽²⁷⁾は、彼女の安否を尋ねていたが、ヌサイバと彼女の家族 (usrathā) はすでに到着していた。神の使徒からの栄誉の殊勲の数々 (al-ausima al-taqdīriyya) が永遠ならんことを。

しかしながら、我らがヒロイン (baṭalatnā) は一体なぜ、彼女の信仰と生活 (al-‘aqīda wa-al-ḥayāh lahā) のうえで、かくも完璧な形 (al-ṣūra al-shāmila wa-al-jāmi‘a) の自己犠牲 (al-taḥiyya)、献身 (al-fidā‘)、私利私欲の否定 (nukrān al-dhāt wa-al-ghanā‘) に徹することができたのだろうか。彼女がこれほどでいられたのは、彼女がムスリム勢にとっての最大の試練 (a‘zam ibtilā‘in li-al-muslimīn) のさなかに使徒の側近くにあつて、使徒の不屈の精神 (thabāt al-rasūl) と信仰の強さ (quwwat īmānihi)、そして彼が最も危険な時にあつても必ず救われたことを目の当たりにし、心底 (aghwār nafsihā) まで唯一なる神への信仰 (al-īmān bi-Allāh) に満たされ、彼女以外の男たち (ghairhā min al-rijāl) よりも彼から与えられた水を多く飲んでいるからである。ウンム・ウマーラが彼女のジハードのなかで、あらゆる現世的苦難 (kull maṣā‘ib al-dunyā) をものともしなかった原因 (al-asbāb) は詮索する必要もない。彼女が使徒に、「私たちが天国 (al-janna) であなたにお会いできるよう、祈ってください」と言うと、彼は、「神よ、彼らを天国における私の仲間 (rufaqā‘ī) と給え」と言った。すると彼女は、「この世 (al-dunyā) で何が起ころうと、私はもうかまいません」と言ったのである。

2. 社会の基盤としての経済 〔原註1〕 (28)

アフマド・ドモカオ・アロント二世

イスラームは、無知 (al-jahl) と戦い、その信奉者たち (atbā‘hu) に知識の探究 (talab al-‘ilm) を奨励する。それは知識がムスリムの進歩 (taqaddum al-muslimīn) とイスラーム文明の発展 (taṭawwur al-ḥadāra al-Islāmiyya) のための唯一の手段 (al-wasīla al-wahīda) とみなされているからである。本小論では、同胞 (ikhwānihi) そして同じ人類 (banī jinsihi) と安寧に暮らすために、自分が生きている社会の進歩 (taqaddum mujtama‘ihi) に参与したいと願う全ての人間 (kull insānin) が知るべき重要な分野 (al-furū‘ al-hāmma) の1つについて論じてみたい。全てのムスリム (kull muslimin) は、正しい道 (sawā‘ al-sabīl) から逸れた考え (tafkīrhu) や行動 (sulūkhu) をとらず、現世および来世の幸福 (al-sa‘āda

al-dunyawīyya wa-al-ukhrawiyya) を手にするためにも、これを理解しなければならないからである。

人間 (al-insān) は、この物質界 (hādihā al-‘ālam al-mādī) における生存 (al-baqā‘) のために、周囲の自然 (al-ṭabī‘a) から必要 (hājathu) を充足すべく努めねばならない。だが、必要や要求のある人間は1人 (waḥdah) ではなく、同様に生存 (al-ḥayāh) を望んでいる他の人間たち (anās akharūna) がいる。このなかで、利益 (maṣāliḥhum) を同じくする人々の集団 (al-jamā‘a min al-nās) によって、いわゆる社会 (al-mujtama‘) が形成される。経済 (al-iqtiṣād) というものはといえば、周囲の自然の貴重な資源 (maṣādirhā al-nādira) から物質的必要性 (hājathu al-mādīyya) を満たすための人間の営為・活動 (nashāt al-insān wa-majhūdāthi) を対象とする学問 (al-dirāsa) である。ゆえに経済は、社会の存続 (qiyām al-mujtama‘) のための礎 (asāsan) をなし、人間生活の維持 (ḥafẓ ḥayāt al-insān) のための根幹 (di‘āma asāsiyya) をなすものである。

あらゆる経済活動 (kull nashātin iqtisādiyyin) の出発点は、人間の欲求の存在 (wujūd raghabāt al-insān) である。原初社会 (al-mujtama‘āt al-badā‘iyya) の人間は、自らの活動 (majhūdātihi) からじかに生存している。つまり自分が食べる作物を植えたり、自分が住む家を建てたりする。そして欲求が増すにつれて、自らの生産物の余剰を他者 (al-ghayr) の生産物の余剰と引き換えに売るために、自分以外の者 (ghayrihi) の必要性も日々高まる。売買は初め、物々交換 (al-muqāyada) によって完了し、農民 (al-fallāh) は自分の穀物を職工 (al-nassāj) の毛布や漁師 (al-ṣayyād) の魚と交換した。しかし、売買の普及につれて事情が複雑になり、貨幣 (al-nuqūd) のように、商品 (al-sil‘a) の対価となるものを創る必要が生じた。農民は自分の収穫物を貨幣と引き換えに売り、その貨幣で必要なものを買うようになった。売買におけるこうしたシステム (hādihā al-nizām)こそ、現在の経済の基礎 (asās al-iqtisād) である。

こうして、貨幣が集まるところが社会の営み (nashāt al-mujtama‘) の中心となったが、時が経つうちに、貨幣はごく少数の人々 (al-qilla al-qalīla min al-nās) の手に集中するようになり、貨幣の蓄積という行為 (‘amaliyyat jam‘ al-nuqūd) が人間の種々の基本的欲求 (raghabāt al-mushakkala al-asāsiyya) を満たすようになり、経済ひいては社会と対立するようになった。すなわち、戦争 (al-ḥarb)、窃盗 (al-sariqa)、奴隷制 (al-istirqāq)、横領 (al-istikhlās)、貧困 (al-faqar) が現れた。これら全ての問題 (kull hādhihi mashākila) は、より多くの安楽 (al-rāḥa) と他者への支配力 (al-saytara ‘alā al-ghayr) を求める人間の活動 (nashāt al-insān) から生じたものである。ゆえに、公正 (al-‘adl) と秩序 (al-nizām) が支配する社会の構築 (binā‘ al-mujtama‘) のためには、人間の経済活動 (nashāt al-insān al-iqtisādī) を律する法 (al-qānūn) の制定が、必要不可欠となった。そこで神は、人間を教化し、その権利と義務 (ḥuqūqihī wa-wājibātihi) を示し、その裁量 (ṭaṣarrufātihi) に他者 (al-akharīna) との関係で制限を設けるべく、こうした法を啓示したのである。

財産の獲得 (al-ḥuṣūl ‘alā al-māl) は最終目的 (al-hadaf al-akhīr) ではなく、平和 (al-istiqrār) と幸福 (al-sa‘āda) が支配する生活 (ḥayāh) をもたらす1つの手段 (wasīla) である以上、私有制度の尊重 (murā‘at nizām al-tamalluk) が必要である。つまり人 (al-insān) は何であれ望み通りに所有できるが、それは他人 (al-akharīna) を害しないことを前提とする。このためにイスラームがもたらされ、財産の獲得のための実力行使 (isti‘māl al-qūwwa) を禁じると共に、偽計 (al-iḥtīyār) や弱い他者の搾取 (istighlāl ḍu‘f al-akharīna) によるその蓄積も禁じた。いと高き〔神〕はかく言われた。「汝ら、おのれの財産をお互いにくだらぬ事 (al-bāṭil) で食べてしまってはならぬ。また裁判官 (al-ḥukkām) に賄賂をつかって、

人の財産 (amwāl al-nās) の一部を〔悪いこと〕知りながら不法に (bi-al-ithm) 食ってならぬぞ」〔クルアーン2章188節〕。また、かく言われた。「孤児 (al-yatāmī) の財産を不当にも (zulman) 食らう者どもは、結局自分の腹の中に燃えさかる火を食っているようなもの。そのうち必ず、ほうぼうと燃える火に焼かれることであろうぞ」〔同書4章10節〕。また、イスラームはリバー (al-ribā)⁽²⁹⁾を通じた財産の蓄積を禁じた。なぜなら、リバーは、元本の価値 (qīmat ra's al-māl) を倍増するだけでなく、資産家 (aṣḥāb al-amwāl) の怠惰 (tark al-ʿamal) を促進し、困窮者の心 (nufūs al-muḥtājīn) に怒り (al-ghadab) を掻き立てるところ、そんな状態では、安心 (al-amān) と安寧 (al-ṭumʿanīna) に満ちた健やかな社会 (muḥtamaʿ salīm) の樹立は不可能だからである。いと高き〔神〕曰く、「リバーを喰らう人々 (alladhīna yaʿkulūna al-ribā) は、〔復活の日〕すっと立ち上がることもできず、せいぜいサタンの一撃をくらって倒されたような〔情けない〕立ち上がり方しかしないであろう。それというのも彼らは、“なかに商売も結局はリバーを取るようなもの”という考えで〔やっている〕。神は売買はお許しになったが、リバーは禁じられた。神からお言を頂戴してそんなことをやめるなら、まあ、それまでに儲けた分だけは見逃してもやろうし、ともかく神が悪くはなさるまい。だがまた逆戻りなどするようなら、それこそ地獄の劫火の住人 (aṣḥāb al-nār) となって、永遠に出しては頂けまいぞ。神は〔最後の審判の日には〕利息の儲けをあとかたもなく消して、施し者には沢山利子をつけて返して下さる。神は誰であろうと、罪業深い不信仰者 (kuffār athīm) はお好みにならぬ」〔同書2章175 - 76節〕。

また、全ての財産 (jamīʿ al-māl) は最終目的ではなく、安楽と幸福を模索するための人々の協力 (taʿāwun bayna al-nās) を生み出す1つの手段である以上、イスラームは、所有および、必要を超えて得るために不法な手段 (al-ṭurq ḡhayr al-mashrūʿa) を行使するに至る人間の際限なき欲求 (raghabāt al-insān al-mutazāyada) に制限を設けた。高貴なるクルアーンには、財産や富 (al-ghinā) に言及している章句が多数あるが、神はこれらを制限している。神こそ、人々の持てるもの (mā ʿinda al-nās) の増減を支配する唯一のお方 (al-wahīd) である。

今日の我々の社会 (muḥtamaʿ nā al-yawma) には、不正 (al-zulm) と無知 (al-jahl) がはびこり、この中の個々人 (al-afrād) は常にどこでも窃盗や犯罪 (al-ajrām) に脅かされているし、リバー、詐欺 (al-ghashsh)、政府役人による人々の財産の搾取 (ikhtilās muwazzafī al-ḥukūma li-amwāl al-nās) も横行している。我々は本当に神に帰依しているのか、またはそう見せかけて、宗教 (al-dīn) を我々の特定の利益 (maṣāliḥnā al-khāṣṣa) のために利用しようとしているだけなのか。それとも、我々は実は財産に帰依しているに過ぎないのか。ならば正義 (al-ʿadāla) はどこにあるのか。また、我々がその信仰者 (muʾminīna bi-hi) だと称するところの宗教はどこにあるのか。

3. 生存における農業の重要性

スライマン・アンティガン・アミゴス

イスラームは、神への帰依 (ʿibādat Allāh) を我々に命じるだけではなく、生存手段の保持 (al-muḥāfaẓa ʿalā wasāʾil al-ḥayāh) を教えている。そのことは高貴なるクルアーンおよび預言者のハディース⁽³⁰⁾に見られる通りである。農業 (al-zirāʿa) は原始 (al-badāʾiyya) より中心的な職業 (al-mihna al-raʾisiyya) であり、今日まで、我々の殆どの日常的な必要 (muʿẓam ḥājātīnā al-yawmiyya) を満たす手段 (al-wasīla) であり続けている。農業〔の発展〕は止まることなく、進歩 (al-numūw) を続けて高度化し、幾世代 (ajyāl) に豊かな奉仕 (khidmāt

muthmira) をなした。農業は、生活水準の刷新 (tajdīd⁽³¹⁾ mustawī al-ma‘īsha) に重要な役割 (dawran hāmma) を果たした。現在、過去の生活様式 (tarīqat al-ḥayāh) を比べてみると、大きなギャップ (huwwa kabīra) があるのがわかる。現代では、農業は我々の家庭内の問題 (al-mashākil al-qā‘ima fī buyūtina) の多くを解決すると共に、貧農の小集落 (jamā‘at ṣaghīra min al-fallāḥīna al-fuqarā‘) の間に平和 (al-salām) と安定 (al-istiqrār) をもたらしたが、これは科学の進歩 (taqaddum al-‘ilm) に帰される。優れた学者たち (al-‘ulamā’ al-‘izām) が研究 (al-baḥṭh) のために、動植物 (al-nabātāt wa-al-ḥayawānāt)、およびこれらを取り巻く環境 (al-bī‘a al-muḥīt bihā) の最善の活用手段 (aḥsan al-ṭurq li-istighlāl) を見つけるために、科学の進歩のために、彼らの時間と努力を注いでいるからであり、我々は日々新しい暮らし (ḥayātan mutajaddidatan) を生きている。古代の農耕および栽培・牧畜の手段 (al-ṭurq al-qadīma li-al-zirā‘a wa-‘ināyat al-nabātāt wa-al-ḥayawānāt) は、より便利で有益な手段 (ṭuruqin akthara saḥūlatin wa-fā‘idatin) に替わり、品種改良 (taqdīm al-zurū‘) や農地の害虫駆除 (taṭhīr al-mazra‘a min al-ḥasharāt) のための科学的発見 (al-ikutishāfāt al-‘ilmiyya) や化学的革新 (al-ikhtirā‘āt al-kīmā‘iyya) は、生活水準を向上させた。

我々は農業によって、自然的景観 (al-manāzīr al-ṭabī‘iyya) や美しい庭 (al-ḥadā‘iq al-jamīla) に囲まれ、余暇を楽しむ手段 (wasā‘il al-rāḥa) を備えた快適な家・住居 (buyūtan wa-manāzila murīḥatan) をもつことができる。ここには薬 (dawā‘) や衣料 (malbas) 〔になるもの〕も豊富であり、病気・疾患 (al-amrāḍ wa-al-‘ilal) の危険は少なく、我々の身体の適温と健康を保ち、我々を飢餓 (al-jū‘) や貧困 (al-faqar)、また寒さのような気温の変化から守ってくれる。農業は我々により良い生活 (ḥayātan afḍala) と真の幸福 (sa‘ādatan ḥaqīqatan) を与えてくれるのである。

農業は、その近代的手段 (wasā‘ilhā al-ḥadītha) を通じて、仕事のない惨めな男女 (al-bu’sā’ wa-al-baṭṭālīna min al-rijāl wa-al-nisā’) や、人殺し (al-qatl) か物乞い (al-shaḥādhā) か盗み (al-sariqa) しかやることのない無為の輩 (al-‘aṭīlīna) にとって、この領域 (ḥadḥa al-midān) における農業・牧畜生産 (al-intāj al-zirā‘ī wa-al-ḥayawānī) の目に見える進歩発展 (al-izdihār wa-al-taqaddum al-malmūs) ゆえに農業に従事する転機 (al-furaṣ) となった。彼らは、彼らは自分たちが豊かな生活 (ḥayātin rukhā‘in) を享受し、〔世の〕必要に応え (talbiyat iḥtiyājatin)、彼ら自身 (anfusihi) および彼らの同胞 (muwāṭinīhim) と祖国 (waṭanihim) にとって、のみならず諸国民全て (‘āmmat al-umam) にとって大いに有益な勤め (khidmāt ‘azīmat al-naf‘) に与っていること、ひいてはこうした活動が純粹にいと高き神の御顔を拝する行為⁽³²⁾ (‘ibāda khālīṣa li-wajhi Allāh ta‘ālā) であることに気がついた。こうした状況においては、〔人々〕は、自分たちの活動 (a‘mālihim) を堅持し、自分たちの同胞 (muwāṭinīhim) を愛し、これを苦しめることはない。なぜなら、農耕生活 (al-ḥayāh al-zirā‘iyya) は、彼らに確かな将来 (mustaqbalan maḍmūnan) を与え、彼らは自分たちの家の城主 (mulūkan fī buyūtihi)、自分たち自身の主 (asyādan li-anfusihi) となり、信頼でき (aḥlan li-thiqa)、彼らを必要とする隣人たち (jirānīhim al-muḥtājina ilayhi) と愛し合い (mutaḥabbīna)、理解し合って (mutafāhimīna)、相互扶助 (musa‘adati ba‘ḍihim ba‘ḍan) のため丸 (quwwatan wāḥidatan) となり、苦楽 (al-sarrā’ wa-al-ḍarrā’) を共にするからである。このように、農業は、彼らを義しい同胞 (muwāṭinīna ṣāliḥīna) とする手段 (wasīla) であり、彼らの間に連帯 (al-taḍāmun) と結束 (al-tamāsuk) を生み出し、支え合う1つの建物 (al-bunyān)⁽³³⁾ のようにする手段である。

農業とは、その諸問題の解決に向けた助け合い (tasā‘ud ‘alā ḥalli mashākilihā) である。すでに多くの産業 (‘iddat ṣinā‘ātin) が興り、道路 (al-ṭuruq)、橋 (al-kabārī)、病院 (al-

mustashfayāt)、学校 (al-madāris)、また原料 (al-khāmāt) や農工産物 (al-muntajāt al-zirā'īyya wa-al-šinā'īyya) の別の場所への適正料金 (fawā'id murđiyya) による適時の移動を可能とする運搬設備が建設された。農業は、我々により多くのより良い職 (waḡā'ifan akthara wa-aḡsana) をもたらし、我々が民 (sh'ūbinā) から青ざめた顔 (al-wujūh al-shābiḡa) を消し、人類 (al-bashariyya) を脅かす旱魃 (al-qaḡṡ) から我々を護ってくれる。農業専門家 (al-khubarā' al-zirā'iyūn) も手助けして、我々の貧しい農民たち (fallāḡhīnā al-fuqarā') が農業の諸問題 (mashākil al-zirā'a) を解決し、彼らが適任の指導者 (qādati dhawī kafā'atin) として、人間性 (al-insāniyya) にもとづく健康的で清潔な暮らし (ḡayātan ṡiḡḡiyyan naḡīfatan) を送れるように導いてくれる。

農業は、家庭 (al-manāzil) および学校における教育水準 (mustawī al-ta'lim) を向上させる。なぜなら、書物や冊子、紙および教育に必要な物資の一部 (ba'ḡ al-mawādd al-lāḡima li-al-ta'lim) は、農業から得られるからである。これらのものが豊富で手に入りやすければ、知識 (al-ma'rifa) の習得が容易になる。家庭内菜園として果実を栽培すれば、野菜や果物の消費にかかる家計の負担 (al-maṡrūfāt al-manziliyya al-istiḡlākiyya) も、出荷のための輸送費の上昇 (tawaffur ujratī al-muwāṡalāt) も抑えられ、大いに重要な点 (aṡḡyā' akthar aḡammīyyatin) で有益である。農業は、その特性 (ikḡtiṡāṡātihā) ゆえに、極めて重要な数々のこと (aṡḡyā' dhāt aḡammīyyatin bāliḡhatin) を実現してきた。農業は、その他の科学的発明や進歩 (ikḡtirā' wa-taḡaddum al-'ulūm al-ukḡrā') をもたらすからである。農業の永遠の支え (muṡānadata al-zirā'ati allatī lā nihāyata lahā) がなければ、世界の明日 (nihāra al-'ālam) はない。なぜなら、農業こそ、諸国の生存のための屋台骨 (al-'umūd al-faqrī li-ḡayāti al-umam) であり、個々人の安楽の源泉 (maṡdar mut'atin li-kulli fardin) であり、我々は今、等しくこれを享受している。

神は、土地を生かし、活用する農業を通じて糧 (al-arzāq) を得るよう命じられた。農業のための土地を下さった神の恩恵 (ni'mat Allāḡ) に目を向けると、神は高貴なるクルアーンのなかで、このように述べておられる。「人間 (al-insān) め、己が食いのものこと考えてみるがよい。まず我ら、どっとばかりに雨をそそぎ、次いで大地に裂け目をつくり、そこに生やしてやったのは、穀類、葡萄に青葉、橄欖に棕櫚、鬱蒼たる緑園、果物に牧草。お前たちが楽しめるよう、お前たちに役立つようにとの心づかい」[同書80章24-32節]。偉大なる神の言葉は真実なり。

4. 「マラタバット」⁽³⁴⁾ の濫用

ミノマ・ブボン

疑いの余地のない真実として、我々ラナオのムスリム (naḡnu muslimī rānawū) には従前から、良い慣習・伝統 ('ādāt wa-taḡālīd ḡasana) があるのと同時に、建設的 (bānnā'a) とはほど遠い破壊的 (haddāma) な慣習・伝統がある。後者は、その数々の悪しき結果 (natā'ijhā al-sayyi'a) はもとより、我々が純粋一神教の諸原則 (mabādi' dīninā al-ḡanīf) と合致せず、我々が祖国 (waṡāninā) における我々の後進性の根本的原因 (al-asbāb al-asāsiyya li-ta'akḡkḡurīnā) となっている。これらの慣習・伝統のほとんどは、いわゆる「マラタバット」(maratabat) の誤解 (su' fahm) や濫用的行使 (isti'mālhu isti'mālan sayy'an) である。それは我々を駆り立てて、些細なこと (shay' tāfiḡ) のために自分たちの生命 (ḡayātā) を賭したり、まともな論理 (al-manṡiq al-salīm) とは相いれないような行動を取らせることすらある。ゆえに、我々フィリピン・ムスリム全て (naḡnu muslimī al-filibīn

‘ammatan)、とりわけラナオ住民 (ahl rānawū) は、惰眠 (nawminā) から覚醒し、無気力 (subātīnā) から立ち上がり、我々のキリスト教徒たる同胞 (muwāṭīnīnā al-masīhīnā) と比較した我々の後進性の原因 (asbāb ta’akhkhurīnā) についてよく考え、自問せねばならない。さもなければ、我々はいつまでもずっと、今のよう遅れたままであるに違いない。ゆえに我々自身 (anfusinā) を振り返り、慣れ親しんだ伝統・慣習 (ba‘d al-taqālīd wa-al-‘ādāt allatī alifnāhā) の一部を現実的かつ論理的観点 (naẓaratan wāqī‘iyyatan maṭṭiqiyyatan) から見直すことにより、良し悪し (ḥasanahā min sayy’ihā) を区別し、今のような時代の生活の論理 (maṭṭiq al-ḥayāh) にそぐわないものや、真正なイスラームの諸原則 (mabādi’ al-Islām al-ṣaḥīḥa) と合致しないものは廃止または修正すべきである。例えば、死者 (al-mayyit) に対し、手持ちの範囲にとどまらない喜捨 (al-sadaqāt) を出す我々の伝統 (taqlīdnā) のせいで、我々は葬儀の後先のことも考えず、合法な手段 (ṭarīqin mashrū‘in) か否かを問わず第三者 (al-khārij) から借金までしてしまう。このように、賄える以上を支出し、支払えない額の喜捨を渡すため、葬儀後は我々自身が破産して何もなく、一切失い、日々の生活 (ḥayātīnā al-yawmiyya) を支えるものも残らないだけでなく、借金の海 (bihār al-duyūn) に沈むことになり、これらの借金の返済資金を得る方途 (al-ṭuruq) が尽きれば、犯罪者 (muḥrimīnā) になることもある。このような伝統は、まともな論理と相いれないだけでなく、明らかな逸脱 (bayyin al-inḥirāf) であり、地上 (arḍiyyatan) であれ天上 (samāwiyyatan) であれ、かかる慣行 (hādthā al-‘amal) を認めるような宗教 (dīn) はどこにもない。まして、現実的かつ論理的観点からの生活の考察を根本とする諸原則 (mabādi’ asāsīhā al-naẓra ilā al-ḥayāh naẓratan wāqī‘iyyatan maṭṭiqiyyatan) によってたつ我々が宗教 (dīnnā) イスラームは、人 (nafsān) にはその能力に応じたこと (wus‘ahā) しか義務づけない。たしかに、困窮者 (al-masākīn) や気の毒な人々 (al-maḥrūmīn) に喜捨を施すことは、立派な尊い行為 (‘amal jalīl wa-nabīl) であるが、能力の範囲 (ḥudūd al-maqudara) 内でそのようなのである。イスラームは、死者の財産の3分の1を超える支出や喜捨⁽³⁵⁾を禁じているのだから、我々が借金までして財産を使い果たしてよいはずがない。

こうした破壊的な慣習・伝統 (hādhihi al-‘ādāt wa-al-taqālīd al-haddāma) の例はほかにもある。例えば我々が目にしている時間と金の無駄遣い (tadyī‘ al-waqt wa-al-māl bi-lā fā‘idatin)、というより、かりに利点 (maḥāsīn) があつたとしても、それよりはるかに弊害 (masāwī‘hā) が大きいものがある。これは、多くの者 (al-kathīrūn) が、完全なイスラーム〔教徒〕(kāmil al-Islām) か否かを問わず、彼らの子供たち (awlādhūm) の初等・中等・高等教育機関 (al-madāris al-ibtidā‘iyya aw al-thānawīyya aw al-kullīyya) いずれかの卒業時に行うのを目にするが、親戚 (aqāribihim) に知らせて、パレード (mawqib) 用の自動車のレンタルを義務づけるというもので、彼らは親戚がみな裕福というわけではないことを忘れている。また、自分のことで精一杯の貧者 (al-faqīr al-maghlūb ‘alā amrihi) のほうも、無鉄砲に反応し、「マラタバット」の意味の誤解による度し難いプライド (kibriyā’ihi al-munḥarifa ‘inānihā) に流され、自分だけが一族 (al-usra) と同じだけ支出できないのを嫌がるため、自動車のレンタルのために借金に及ぶのである。このように、自分の身 (quwwatihi) と家族の日々の糧 (ṭa‘ām usratihi al-yawmiyya) にも事欠く状態で、彼が債務返済を約束したならば、債務返済のために盗みをし、犯罪者となることは確実である。

以上その他の悪しき慣習・伝統 (al-‘ādāt wa-al-taqālīd al-sayyi’a) は、いわゆる「マラタバット」の我々の悪しき理解と行使 (sū’ fahminā wa-isti‘mālīnā) から生じるものである。我々としては、いわゆる「マラタバット」には利点 (mazāyāhā) もあり、それこそが他 (ghayrinā) ならぬ我々を特徴づけるものであると認めねばならない。我々がその意味を理解し、これ

を称揚し、高邁な目的 (ghāyatin sāmiyatin) と高い理想 (muthlin ‘ulyā) の達成のために用いるなら、〔マラタバット〕は、我々が一步前進し、あらゆる困難 (jamī‘ al-mashaqqāt) に耐えるための、我々と我々が目指す高い理想と貴い目標 (ahdāfin nabīlatin) を隔てる障害 (al-ḥawājiz) を砕くための根性・忍耐力 (qūwwat al-taḥammul wa-al-ṣabr) を身につける、強い動機 (ḥāfiz qawīyin) となるだろう。ゆえにこれを我々の子供・兄弟・親戚の教化 (tathqif awlādīnā wa-ikhwānīnā wa-aqāribīnā) のために利用しよう。我々の彼らに対する出費は問題ではない。現時点ではマニラ等の他の自治体 (al-muḥāfazāt al-ukhrā) で適用されているように、手工業者 (al-‘ummāl fī al-a‘māl al-yadawiyya) でも、ハイスクール卒業免状 (al-shahāda al-thānawiyya) を得られる日がやがて来るからである。我々が彼らの教化を怠り、こうした環境 (mithli hādhihi al-zurūf) に彼らを放置するなら、彼らはたとえ犯罪者 (muḥrimīn) でなくとも、必ずや生計を立てるために物乞いをする非自立者 (‘ālatan yatakaffafūna) となろう。彼らに財産を遺したとしても、彼らが無知 (juhalā‘) のままでは、〔我々の〕死後、適切な管理保全を知らないために、財産を蕩尽してしまうだろう。

神よ、我々は祈らん。我々を正しい導きの道 (subul al-hidāya) に導かれ、成功 (al-najāh) を可能ならしめ給え。我々を彼への服従 (tā‘atihi) とそのご命令の遵守 (imtithālī awāmīrihi) に至らせ給え。我々が目指す進歩 (al-taqaddum) と繁栄 (al-izdihār) を達成するために。神こそ栄達を司るお方なり。

5. 巻末名簿

(1) イスラーム宣教委員会メンバー (a‘dā‘ lajnat al-da‘wa al-Islāmiyya)、本書に論稿を掲載していない委員 (al-‘āmilūn)

クスググ・(ハッジ・ルクマン)・ブンバヤ <Kunug (al-Hajj Lucman) Pumbaya>⁽³⁶⁾

プサヨド・マカランボン <Pesayod Macarambon>

ママリカウ・サンサロナ <Mamarikaw Sansarona>

アリ・マクノ <Ali Makno>

フサイン・マミントル <Hussain Mamintal>

アルベル・アロント <Alber Alonto>

サリパダ・(ムハンマド・シャリフ)・タマノ <Saripada (Muhammad Sharif) Tamano>

サアド・ムハンマド・ユソフ・ルクマン <Saad Muhammad Yusof Lucman>⁽³⁷⁾

(2) 名誉会員

アブドゥルカディール・ルクマン <Abdulkadir Lucman>

(3) イスラーム宣教委員会メンバー、帰国した賛助会員 (al-muntasibūn)

ムハンマド・サリフ・ウスマン <Muhammad Salih Usman>

ムハンマド・アンワル・バシール <Muhammad Anwar Bashir>

アブドゥッラー・ハッジ・ラフマン <Abdullah Hajj Rahman>

アブルカイル・アロント <Abulkair Alonto>

サリム・シャイク・ムニール <Salim al-Shaikh Munir>

シャリフ・パキヌガン <Sharif Pakinegan>

サリフ・アブドゥルラフマン <Salih Abdulrahman>⁽³⁸⁾

サリフ・バスマン <Salih Basman>

アグアム・ムハンマド・ムティヤ <Aguam Muhammad Mutiya>
 ハサン・ムクタール <Hassan Mukhtar>
 ワハブ・アロント <Wahab Alonto>
 マストウラ・ハッジ・アブドゥッラー <Mastura Hajj Abdullah>
 マギギン・マロアニ <Mangingin Maloani>
 ハビーブ・アリ <Habib Ali>
 アリ・シャリフ <Ali Sharif>
 マヤマン・マゴンドヤ <Mayaman Mangondaya>
 サロマンダン・ロマンコ <Saromandang Lomangko>
 マガソ・ガダンドマン <Magaso Gadandaman>
 タヒル・ジュナイド・アリ <Tahir Junaid Ali>

(4) 他のアラブ諸国在住のラナオ出身留学生 (*ṭalibat rānawū bi-al-dawla al-‘arabiyya al-ukhrā*)

イスラーム大学 (*al-Jāmi‘a al-Islāmiyya*)/サウジアラビア王国神護の都マディーナのラナオ出身留学生

シャイク・ムスタフィ・パカンバン <Al-Shaikh Mustafi Pakambang>
 ルクマン・アフマド・アラウィ <Lucman Ahmad Alawi>
 フサイン・シャリフ <Hussain Sharif>
 アラブ・アグアム <Arab Aguam>
 ムスタフィ・アラウィ <Mustafi Alawi>
 ファルーク・カディ <Farouk Kadi>

ムハンマド・ブン・アリー・アッ＝サヌーシー・イスラーム大学 (*al-Jāmi‘a Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Sanūsī al-Islāmī*)/リビア連合王国アルバイダ⁽³⁹⁾のラナオ出身留学生

アブドゥルガニ・マンダガラ <Abdulgani Mandagala>
 アブドゥルマジド・アンサノ・ディゴロ <Abdulmajid Ansano Digoro>
 アブドゥッラー・サイド・アミン <Abdullah Said Amin>

シャリーア学部 (*kulliyat al-sharī‘a*)/ヨルダン・ハシミテ王国アンマンのラナオ出身留学生

フサイン・マラギット <Hussain Marangit>
 ムハンマド・アブドゥルワハブ <Muhammad Abdulwahab>

ザイトゥーナ大学 (*Jāmi‘at al-Zaytūna*⁽⁴⁰⁾)/チュニジア共和国チュニスのラナオ出身留学生

ザイナル・アベディン・サリフ <Zainal Abedein Salih>
 スライマン・アフマド <Sulaiman Ahmad>
 ムハンマド・アリ・シャイク・ラビ <Muhammad Ali Shaikh Labi>

6. 巻末の辞

我々イスラーム宣教委員会メンバーは、我らが父 (wālidnā) ハーッジ・カーミル・ミ

スバーフ (al-Hajj Kāmil Miṣbah) とそのご子息方 (awlādihi) が、イスラームの書籍と思想の発信 (nashr al-kutub wa-al-afkār al-Islāmiyya) を通じてイスラームとムスリムへの奉仕 (khidmat al-Islām wa-al-muslimīn) に参与したいとお気持ちから、この皆さんの印刷所 (maṭba‘ihim) である「新時代印刷社」(Dār al-‘ahd al-jadīd li-al-ṭibā‘a)⁽⁴¹⁾で本書を印刷してくださるにあたっての多大なるご尽力 (khidmātin jalīlatin) と有難いご協力 (musā‘adāt mashukūra) に対して、心からの感謝 (akhlaṣ shakrinā) を捧げるものである。神が皆様に現世 (al-dunyā) でも来世 (al-ākhirā) でも、格別の褒賞 (ḥusun al-thawāb) を授けられ、皆様の印刷所にご発展 (al-taqaddum)、ご繁盛 (al-najāḥ) をもたらせてくださいますように。

かくして、神のお助けにより、ヒジュラ暦1386年ラビー・アッサーニー月／1966年7月28日、本書の印刷が完了した。

神が我々をして、イスラームとムスリムのためになること (mā fīhi al-khayr li-al-Islām wa-al-muslimīn) を成し遂げさせ給え。げに彼こそ成功を司るお方、彼にこそ常に称えあれ。我らが師 (sayyidinā) ムハンマドおよび彼の一族 (‘ālihi) と教友たち (ṣuḥūbihi) にみな祝福と平安あれ。

[原註1] 本稿および以下最後の論稿までは、原文は英語であり、マヒド・ミルアト・ムティラン(Mahid Miraat Mutilan)によりアラビア語に翻訳された。〔訳註28参照〕

訳註Ⅱ

- (1) 本稿に訳出・収録した論文4点の原題と著者名は以下のとおり。著者名はフィリピンで一般に用いられている表記にしたがっている。(h, k)

1. Nusayba bint Ka‘b	<Nafisa Abdulkadir Lucman>
2. al-Iqtisād asās al-mujtama‘	<Ahmad Domocao Alonto, Jr.>
3. Ahammiyyat al-zirā‘a fī al-ḥayāh	<Sulayman Antingan Amigos>
4. Sū’ isti‘māl (maratabat)	<Minoma Bubong>
- (2) 生まれ故郷のマッカでイスラームの布教を開始したムハンマドは、迫害に遭い、十余年後の622年、約350キロ北方に位置するマディーナ（ヤスリブ）の信者の招聘でこの町に移住した（ヒジュラ）。これに先立ち、マディーナのハズラジュ族が、マッカ郊外のアカバでイスラームを受け容れ（アカバ第一の誓い）、彼らの説得により、他の諸部族が改宗とムハンマドへの服従、および信仰のための戦いを誓った（アカバ第二の誓い）。ヌサイバは後者に立ち会った女性2名のうちの1人である。イスラーム原典叢書『預言者ムハンマド伝1』（岩波書店、2010年）、456-76参照。(h)
- (3) 忠誠の誓い（バイア）は元来、商売で契約が成立した際の手打ちを意味するが、後にはイスラーム共同体の支配者であるカリフ以下、支配者の即位の際に行われる臣従の誓いを指す。(h)
- (4) ヒジュラ（注1）後のマッカとの数回の戦闘を経た628年、ムハンマドと信徒たちがマッカ巡礼を目指し、マッカの聖域の境界の地フダイビーヤに滞在中、マッカ側の使者を介して締結した和議。10年間の休戦を定めたが、マッカ側の違反により破られ、630年のマッカ征服に至った。(h)

- (5) ハイバルは、マディーナから約150km北にあり、アラビア半島最大のユダヤ教徒居住地であった。ムハンマドは、ヒジュラの後、バドルの戦い（624年）でのマッカに対する大勝を機に、マディーナのユダヤ教徒を討伐または追放したが、うちハイバルに逃れた一族を追って628年にここを征服した。(h)
- (6) フダイビーヤの和議（注3）の締結の条件として、巡礼を断念させられたムハンマドたちが、1年後の629年ズー・アル＝カダ月（ヒジュラ暦11月）に行った小巡礼。小巡礼（ウムラ）とは、ムスリムの5つ宗教的義務（五柱）の1つである大巡礼（ハッジ）がヒジュラ暦12月のズー・アル＝ヒジジャ月8-10日にマッカのカーバ神殿とその周辺の聖地を定まった順序・日程に従い、集団で参詣するのに対して、個人が任意に行うマッカ参詣を指す。なお、「追完（カダー）の小巡礼」は、『預言者ムハンマド伝3』（岩波書店、2011年）、213では「成就の小巡礼」と訳されているが、カダーとは、礼拝等の宗教的義務を履行できなかった場合にやり直すことを指すイスラーム法上の術語であり、「追完」とするのが正しい。(h)
- (7) 預言者ムハンマドの死後に現れた偽預言者の1人で、アラビア半島内陸部のナジュド地方の一部ヤマーマ（今日ではサウジアラビアの首都リヤドがある）で活動したムサイリマ（633年没）の討伐を指す。(h)
- (8) 預言者ムハンマドの言行（スンナ）を伝える個々の伝承を指す。(h)
- (9) ヌサイバの通称。(h)
- (10) 原文では、語末のター・マルブータの点が脱落し、رجالهاとなっている。(h)
- (11) 原文では、dhā'がzā'に誤植され、نواجزهとなっている。(h)
- (12) 原文では、qāfがfā'に誤植され、استفتتとなっている。(h)
- (13) 原文では、長母音が入り、عنلقとなっている。(h)
- (14) イスラーム共同体の指導者たるカリフを指す。(h)
- (15) ジハードは、狭義には信仰のための戦いを指すが、広義には信仰のための有形・無形の「努力」を指し、例えば宣教活動や宗教諸学への従事も含まれる。クルアーンではしばしば、この文におけるように、「神の道のための奮闘努力」と表現される。(h)
- (16) 後の第二代カリフ、ウマル・ブン・アル＝ハッターブ（在位634-44年）。(h)
- (17) 『預言者ムハンマド伝2』（岩波書店、2011）、416-17参照。(h)
- (18) 原文では、mīmがyā'に誤植され、فيهとなっている。(h)
- (19) 『預言者ムハンマド伝4』（岩波書店、2012）、212【611】参照。(h)
- (20) ウンマ（umma）とは、広義には、ある預言者を介して神から啓示を受けた人々の集団という意味での宗教共同体。ここではイスラーム共同体のこと。(h)
- (21) 『預言者ムハンマド伝4』、205-6。(h)
- (22) マーリク・ブン・スィナーンという人物で、穴から引き上げられたムハンマドの顔の血をすすり、飲み込んだとされる。前掲書、205参照。(h)
- (23) 原文では誤植でمسيとなっている。(h)
- (24) ムスリムの5つ宗教的義務（五柱）の1つの社会福祉税で、農産物や金銀など一定の品目の財産の一定量以上を1年以上保有する者に対し、各品目の一定割合の現物納付義務を課するもの。(h)
- (25) 預言者ムハンマドは、マッカ征服（630年）後、アラビア半島の各地に使節を派遣してイスラーム共同体への服属を呼びかけたが、多くの部族は、ムハンマドが死去すると同時に離反したため、初代カリフのアブー・バクルによって討伐された。これはリッダ（背教）戦争と呼ばれる。(h)

- (26) 預言者ムハンマドの「後継者、代理人」を意味するイスラーム共同体の指導者。(h)
- (27) 初代カリフ (在位632-34年)。アラビア半島統一を成し遂げた。(h)
- (28) 原注にいう「本稿および以下最後の論考まで」とは、本稿とスライマン・アンティガン・アミゴス、ミノマ・ブボンの論文、および「新しい黎明 (8)」(『上智アジア学』31号)に収録されたハジ・サリフ・ハサン、アレクサンダー・ルクマン、メディオル・ディグ、バラオントン・ソマギナの論文、合計7篇を指す。これらの執筆者は「フィリピン・イスラーム大学 (Jamiatul Philippine Al-Islamia)」(南ラナオ州マラウィ市)の教員または卒業生で、フィリピンで英語による高等教育を受けており、同大学教員等を対象とする奨学金を得てカイロ大学に留学し、各自が専攻する世俗的学問分野を英語で学んでいた。アズハル大学留学生に比べてアラビア語の習熟度が低かったため、同時期にアズハル大学に留学しアラビア語が堪能なムティラン(「新しい黎明 (2)」『上智アジア学』25号、pp.325-327参照)が翻訳した。(k)
- (29) しばしば「利息」と訳されるが、利息を含む不当な利得一般を指す。(h)
- (30) 註8参照。(h)
- (31) 原文ではjīmの点が落ちてḥā'に代わり、taḥdīd (制限、確定、定義) となっている。これでも意味をなさないわけではないが、後出の「日々新しい暮らし」と照らし合わせると、正しくはtajdīd (刷新) ではないかと推測される。(h)
- (32) 神の崇拜を意味するイバーダは、イスラーム法学の専門用語としては、信者間の法律行為 (ムアーマラート) との対比で、神に対する人間の義務としての宗教儀礼およびこれに準じる行為を指す。(sh)
- (33) 預言者ムハンマドに帰せられる「信者と他の信者に対する関係は、互いに支え合っている1つの建物のようなものである」(『日訳サヒーフ ムスリム』磯崎定基・飯森嘉助・小笠原良治訳、全3巻、日本ムスリム協会、1987年、第3巻、536) に由来する。(h)
- (34) マラタバットとは、マラナオ社会の伝統的身分秩序と密接に関連する社会的威信・名誉・体面の観念で、マラナオ人の行動を律する行動規範とされる。マラナオの個人や親族集団は、伝統的マラナオ社会秩序における各自の地位に応じたマラタバットを有しており、それを維持し高めるように行動する義務を有し、それに反した場合は一族全体の不名誉とみなされる。マレー・インドネシア語や他の南部フィリピン諸語 (タウスグ語、マギンダナオ語等) にも、アラビア語martaba (地位) を語源とし、地位とそれにふさわしい威信や自尊心を意味するmaratabatの語があるが、マラナオ社会ではマラタバットの維持が親族全体の義務とみなされる点に特色があり、ときに世代を超えて続く報復殺人の原因とみなされてきた(Mamitua Saber et al. "The Maratabat of the Maranao", In *The Muslim Filipinos: Their History, Society and Contemporary Problems*, (eds.) P. Gowing and R. McAmis, Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1974, pp.230-234). (k)
- (35) イスラーム相続法の大原則としての遺贈の制限を指す。(h)
- (36) 以下、サリパダ・タマノまでの7人は、カイロ大学留学。(k)
- (37) アズハル大学大学院留学生ムハンマド・ユスフ・ルクマンの娘。(k)
- (38) 以下、タヒル・ジュナイド・アリまでの13人は、カイロ士官学校留学。(k)
- (39) リビア北東部の都市名。(h)
- (40) 原文ではザイトゥーナの定冠詞が脱落。(h)
- (41) ‘ahdには知識、時代の二つの意味があり、「新しい黎明 (1)」解説では「新知識印刷所」と訳したが³ (p.188)、al-‘ahd al-jadīdという表現は「新時代」と解する方が自然で

あるため、「新時代印刷社」の訳語がより適切であろう。(h, k)

19.....	10-4 الفن
20.....	11-4 السياسة
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- [119] ينظر الوصية الجلية للسالكين طريق الخلوتية للشيخ مصطفى البكري، وفيه أن الشيخ إذا رأى إقبالا من مريديه وتواجدا لا يقطع عنهم الذكر، بل يدعهم حتى يعلم أنهم قد أخذوا بعض حظهم من الذكر، وبعد ذلك يختم. 26، دار الخليل، 2005، الجزائر.
- [120] ينظر جامع العلوم والحكم لابن رجب عبد الرحمن بن أحمد الحنبلي، وفيه: وذكر حرب أنه رأى أهل الشام يقرءون القرآن كلهم جملة من سورة واحدة بأصوات عالية. قال حرب وكل ذلك حسن جميل. 1: 345.
- [121] السماع: هو مصطلح عربي الأصل، استعمله الصوفيون للدلالة على الإنشاد الديني والذي يكون ضمن مجالسهم العلمية أو التعبدية. وهو بالفارسية والأردية: سماع، وبالتركية: Sema، وينظر القرضاوي في فتواه عن سماع الأغاني، وفيها يرى أن حسنه حسن وقبيح قبيح، بالة أو بدونها. كتاب فتاوى معاصرة، ص 688-693، مكتبة رحاب، 1988، الجزائر.
- [122] ينظر الكواكب الدرية في تراجم السادة الصوفية، المسمى الطبقات الكبرى: زين الدين محمد عبد الرؤوف المناوي، تح محمد أديب الجادر، دار صادر، ط 1، بيروت، لبنان، 1999م.
- [123] ينظر ترتيب المدارك وتقريب المسالك لمعرفة أعلام مذهب مالك 2: 54. وهذا الكلام لا ينطبق على الصوفية، لأن أولى خطواتهم في الطريق هي الجوع.
- [124] سورة الصافات: 69-70.
- [125] ينظر الكواكب العرفانية في شرح المنظومة القدسية، للحسين بن محمد الوريثاني البجائي الجزائري، مخطوطات المكتبة القاسمية، الجزائر.
- [126] ينظر قراءات في الفنون الإسلامية فن المنمنمات بين التراث والحداثة، د علي ثويني.
- [127] ينظر كتاب: موسيقى المواجيد مقاربات في فن السماع الصوفي المغربي، لمحمد التهامي الحراق. منشورات الزمن، المغرب.
- وكتاب: تكايا الدراويش: الصوفية والفنون والعمارة في تركيا العثمانية، لرايموند ليفشيز Raymond Lifchez (ترجمة) عبلة عودة، هيئة أبو ظبي للثقافة والتراث، 2011. وكتاب الفن في الإسلام للشيخ القرضاوي.
- [128] (خيركم من تعلم القرآن وعلمه) وعملا بحديث: {يعبد ربه حتى يأتيه اليقين ليس من الناس إلا في خير} رواه مسلم وابن ماجه.
- [129] سورة الشمس: 9.
- [130] رواه أبو داود والطبراني في الصغير والبيهقي، والألباني في السلسلة الصحيحة: 1046.
- [131] رواه الترمذي: 2516.
- [132] سورة آل عمران: 104.
- [133] الآية: {الَّذِينَ إِذَا مَكَأَهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ أَحَقَمُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَآتَوُا الزَّكَاةَ وَأَمَرُوا بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَنَهَوْا عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَاللَّهُ عَاقِبَةُ الْأُمُورِ} سورة الحج: 41.
- [134] ينظر مجموع فتاوى الشيخ ابن تيمية.
- [135] ينظر مجلة المنار السنة الأولى ص 726 من كتاب حقائق عن التصوف.
- [136] ينظر فتاوى الشيخ القرضاوي في موقع إسلام أونلاين.
- [137] ينظر ورد الطريقة الرحمانية من الكتاب والسنة، تعليقا، دار الخليل، 2005، الجزائر.
- [138] ينظر التعريف بزاوية الهامل، مطبوعة نشرت في ملتقى تزكية النفس، بزاوية الهامل. وهي تضم أكثر من 60 علما اقتصرنا على بعضهم فقط. وينظر كتاب الأعلام للزركلي، والأعلام لنويهض، ونهضة الجزائر الحديثة لدبوز، وتعريف الخلف للحفناوي، وأعلام التصوف في الجزائر لعبد المنعم القاسمي.
- [139] L. Rinn, Marabouts et khouans, Etudes sur l'Islam en Algérie, Alger, Jourdan, 1884
- [140] Berque Augustin : essai d'une bibliographie critique de la société de Géographie et d'Archéologie de la province d'Oran
- [141] De Neveu: les Khouans ordres religieux chez les Musulman, Jourdan, Alger, 1913
- [142] Edmond Doutté, l'Islam Algérien. OTORAVER -Alger, 1900
- [143] Général J. ANDRE (C.R.), de l'Académie des sciences Coloniales CONTRON A L'ET DE DES confréries religieuses musulmanes, préface de J. SOUSTELLE, Ancien gouverneur- général de L'Algérie TOE, Ca tre 4, L'ordre des Khalouatia. Les Rahmania, les Tidjanian, s263/289 EDITION LA MAISON DES LIVRES, ALGER, 1956
- [144] كتاب مواجهات ثقافية للجزائر المحتلة، الطبعة الثانية، عن المؤسسة الوطنية للكتاب، 1986م. قراءة صلاح الدين الأخضر، نشرت في جريدة الشعب الصادرة يوم 18/12/1986م. ص: 11.
- Turin Yvonne، 1971، 'Affrontements culturels dans l'Algérie coloniale (1830-1880)'، Paris، Maspero

- [98] ينظر: ثبت محمد بن محمد الأمير المالكي، وهو من القرن الثاني عشر. مخطوط بالمكتبة القاسمية. وفيه يقول: والمدعون اليوم أقصدوا الأوضاع واقتصروا على الصورة الظاهرية... وبعد قرن قال القاسمي: (...) وما أكثر من أشير إليهم بالمشيخة في زماننا هذا، فأنهم قبلوا الموضوع، وغزروا الرسم المطبوع، يفنون غالب أعمارهم في تحصيل الدنيا وتنظيم المعاش، فمنهم من يسجد له من دون الله، ومنهم من يجزه استدراجه إلى أن يبيع المحرمات، ويحسبون أنهم على شيء، ألا إنهم هم الكاذبون... ينظر: محمد بن محمد القاسمي في كتابه الزهر الباسم في ترجمة الشيخ محمد بن أبي القاسم. فصل المشيخة، ص 98 طبع في تونس 1308 هـ. وينظر مجموع محاضرات ومقالات وفتاوى الشيخ عبد القادر العثماني، مطبعة قرفي، 2005، الجزائر، وكلامه عن شيوخ لا نصيب لهم من التصوف
- [99] ينظر مشجرات الخلافة الإسلامية في أكبر تواريخ الإسلام، لاروس، 1990، فرنسا.
- [100] كنت أوليت فيما مضى اهتماما بجمع أسانيد الوالد في طريق السادة الصوفية، وجهدت في البحث عن أصول إسناد الطريق، فلم أجد عند الأوائل إلا ما اصطاح عليه من عهد النبوة بالصحية، أما كيفية التلقين، فلم تنتظم بشكلها المعروف الآن إلا في القرن الخامس الهجري ورغم ذلك جمعت كراسة سميتها (السبيل إلى أسانيد الخليل في طرق السادة الصوفية). وهي على سبيل التبرك بأسماء رجالها أقرب إليها من التوثيق، إذ لاحظت في جملة من الأسانيد المذكورة عندهم انقطاعا. أما كيفية التلقين التي اعتنى بها المتأخرون، مستندين إلى حديث الإمام علي، فقد ذكر غير واحد من رجال الصوفية، منهم الشيخ عبد الوهاب الشعراني أنه غير صحيح. ينظر طبقات الشعراني، ومن وحي الذاكرة حياة الشيخ خليل في كلمات، لكتابته، والسبيل إلى أسانيد الخليل، لكتابته أيضا.
- [101] ينظر ديوان لشيخ محمد بن عبد الرحمن الديسي، قصيدة، يرثي فيها السلطان عبد الحميد العثماني ومطلعا: ثَنَانِي على عبد الحميد حميد ~ وخزني عليه ما حبيب جدي... وفيها: فيا خالعيه قد خلعتهم بخلعه ~ قلوب جميع المسلمين فيبيدوا ~ غدر ثم أمير المؤمنين وخنتهم ~ عقابكم عند الإله شديد،
- [102] الآية 69 من سورة النحل.
- [103] الآية 41 من سورة النور.
- [104] الآية 69 من سورة العنكبوت.
- [105] ينظر ورد الطريقة الرحمانية من الكتاب والسنة.
- [106] قال ابن عطاء السكندري: "لا تترك الذكر لعدم حضورك مع الله فيه، لأن غفلتك من وجود ذكره أشد من غفلتك في وجود ذكره، فعسى أن يرفعك من ذكر مع وجود غفلة إلى ذكر مع وجود يقظة، ومن ذكر مع وجود يقظة إلى ذكر مع وجود حضور، ومن ذكر مع وجود حضور إلى ذكر مع وجود غيبة عما سوى المذكور، وما ذلك على الله بعزيز." الحكم العطائية.
- [107] رواه البخاري برقم: 174، والإمام مالك في الموطأ باب انتظار الصلاة والمشي إليها، برقم 446. ولفظه: مَنْ جَلَسَ فِي الْمَسْجِدِ يَنْتَظِرُ الصَّلَاةَ، لَمْ يَزَلْ فِي صَلَاةٍ حَتَّى يُصَلِّيَ.
- [108] قال تعالى: {ذَلِكَ بِأَنَّهُمْ لَا يُصِيبُهُمْ ظَمَأٌ وَلَا نَصَبٌ وَلَا مَخْمَصَةٌ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ وَلَا يَطْنُونَ مَوِطًا يَغِيظُ الْكُفَّارَ وَلَا يَنَالُونَ مِنْ عَدُوٍّ نَيْلًا إِلَّا كُتِبَ لَهُمْ بِهِ عَمَلٌ صَالِحٌ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُضِيعُ أَجْرَ الْمُحْسِنِينَ} * وَلَا يُنْفِقُونَ نَفَقَةً صَغِيرَةً وَلَا كَبِيرَةً وَلَا يَقْطَعُونَ وَادِيًا إِلَّا كُتِبَ لَهُمْ لِيَجْزِيَهُمُ اللَّهُ أَحْسَنَ مَا كَانُوا يَعْمَلُونَ} سورة التوبة: 120-121.
- [109] الحديث متفق عليه.
- [110] ينظر في الملحق إجازة القادرية والشاذلية للسادة القاسمية. وهو مما يدل على أن هذه الطرق طريقة واحدة بأسماء متعددة.
- [111] تنظر الآيات 76-84 من سورة القصص.
- [112] الآية: {وَأَمَّا إِذَا مَا ابْتَلَاهُ فَقَدَرَ عَلَيْهِ رِزْقَهُ فَيَقُولُ رَبِّي أَهَانَنِ} الفجر: 16.
- [113] قال ابن عطاء الله السكندري في حكمه: (ربما أعطاك فمنعك، وربما منعك فأعطاك، ومتى فتح لك باب الفهم في المنع صار المنع عين العطاء} 77.
- [114] الآية 3 من سورة الإنسان.
- [115] الآية: {فَلَا وَرَبِّكَ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ حَتَّى يُحَكِّمُوكَ فِيمَا شَجَرَ بَيْنَهُمْ ثُمَّ لَا يَجِدُوا فِي أَنْفُسِهِمْ حَرَجًا مِمَّا قَضَيْتَ وَيُسَلِّمُوا تَسْلِيمًا} النساء: 65.
- [116] ينظر البطولة والفداء عند الصوفية، 178-183. وينظر في الملحق: رأي الفرنسيين في الطريقة الرحمانية، وكلام اللواء أندريه.
- [117] ينظر البطولة والفداء عند الصوفية، دراسة تاريخية، أسعد الخطيب، دار التقوى، ط 5، د ت، دمشق. 209-229.
- [118] قال بعض من المتأخرين بعدم جواز الاجتماع للذكر، مع ما ورد في ذلك من النصوص، فلقد أجاز السلف رفع الصوت بالذكر والدعاء، ودليلهم قوله تعالى: {ولا تجهز بصلاتك ولا تخافت بها وابتغ بين ذلك سبيلا} 110 الإسراء. ولما روي عن ابن عباس رضي الله عنهما، أن رفع الصوت بالذكر حين ينصرف الناس من الصلاة المكتوبة كان على عهد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، قال: (كنت أعلم إذا انصرفوا بذلك إذا سمعته). رواه البخاري ومسلم. وأجازوا الدعاء والذكر جماعة، ودليلهم قوله تعالى: {واصبر نفسك مع الذين يدعون ربهم بالغداة والعشي يريدون وجهه} 28 الكهف. قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم: (أما أنكم الملائكة الذين أمرني الله أن أصبر نفسي معكم، ثم تلا الآية، ثم قال: (أما إنهم ما جلس عدتكم إلا جلس عدتهم من الملائكة، إن سبحوا الله تعالى سبحوه، وإن حمدوا الله حمدوه، وإن كبروا الله كبروه) الحديث، رواه الطبراني. وقال: (ما من قوم اجتمعوا يذكرون الله عز وجل، لا يريدون بذلك إلا وجهه، إلا ناداهم مناد من السماء ان قوموا مغفورا لكم، قد بذلت سيئاتكم حسنات) رواه أحمد والبيهقي والطبراني والزرار وأبو يعلى. وقال: (لا يقعد قوم يذكرون الله إلا حقتهم الملائكة وغشيتهم الرحمة ونزلت عليهم السكينة وذكرهم الله فيمن عنده) رواه مسلم والترمذي وابن ماجه. وقال: (إذا مررت برياض الجنة فارتعوا، قالوا وما رياض الجنة، قال: حلق الذكر) رواه الترمذي. والنصوص الواردة في هذا كثيرة من الكتاب والسنة.

- [69] ينظر الوصية الجليلة للسالكين طريق الخلوتية للشيخ مصطفى البكري، وفيه يستدل بكلام للسادة الشاذلية والرافعية والقادرية وغيرها، دون أدنى تفرقة، وكانهم من نفس الطريقة، دار الخليل، 2005، الجزائر.
- [70] ينظر الطرق الصوفية لكويولاني، وينظر الطرق الصوفية في الجزائر لأندريه.
- [71] ينظر موقع الطريقة الخلوتية الرحمانية الجامعة.
- [72] ينظر ترجمته في: تعريف الخلف 2: 457، دائرة المعارف الإسلامية، 10: 79، تاريخ الجزائر العام، 4: 47. تاريخ الجزائر الثقافي: 1: 514.
- [73] الشيخ الحسين بن أعراب: فقيه مدرس عالم صوفي، من أهل القرن الثاني عشر الهجري (12 هـ = 18 م)، أخذ العلم بمسقط رأسه، رحل إلى مصر لطلب العلم، أسس زاوية بتنزي راشد، كان لها دور رئيس في بعث الحركة الفقهية والصوفية في المنطقة والمناطق المجاورة، أنظر: تعريف الخلف 2: 69، تاريخ الجزائر الثقافي 3: 185.
- [74] الشيخ محمد بن سالم بن أحمد الحفني: (1101 - 1181 هـ = 1690 - 1767 م): فقيه شافعي لغوي وصوفي، ولد بقرية "حفنة" وبها ينتسب، درس بالأزهر الشريف ثم، تولى التدريس فيه سنة 1122 هـ، ثم تولى مشيخته بعد ذلك. له تأليف عديدة، أخذ الطريقة الخلوتية على يد الشيخ مصطفى البكري، وصار فيما بعد من أبرز ممثلها وأكبر شيوخها على الإطلاق. أنظر ترجمته في معجم المؤلفين 10: 15، الأعلام 6: 134.
- [75] ينظر مناقب الشيخ محمد بن عبد الرحمن للحاج محمد الجندي: (توفي بعد 1281 هـ / بعد 1864 م) مخطوط في المكتبة القاسمية. وشجرة النور الزكية في تراجم طبقات المالكية، محمد مخلوف، 1485/372.
- [76] ينظر أعلام الفكر والثقافة في الجزائر المحروسة، د يحيى بوعزيز، دار الغرب الإسلامي، بيروت، ط 1، 1995.
- [77] ينظر فصل الطريقة الرحمانية في كتاب زاوية الهامل مسيرة قرن من العطاء والجهاد، د عبد المنعم القاسمي الحسني، دار الخليل، 2008 الجزائر.
- [78] ينظر منار الإشراف في فضل عصاة الأشراف، فصل الترجمة، الشيخ عاشور الخنقي، مكتبة ردوسي، 1914، الجزائر.
- [79] ينظر إجازة الشيخ محمد خليل الهيجاني في الطريقة القادرية للشيخ القاسمي، مؤرخة في 10 ذي الحجة عام 1315 هجرية. مخطوطة بالمكتبة القاسمية.
- [80] ينظر طي الأسماء والأنفس السبعة. للشيخ محمد بن عبد الرحمن الأزهر، مخطوط، المكتبة القاسمية.
- [81] ينظر المقدمة الوثيقة في بعض أحكام الطريقة، لمؤلف مجهول، تعليقات، دار الخليل، 2005، الجزائر. ونفس هذه الأسماء نجدها في الطريقة القادرية.
- [82] ينظر أبواب الرسالة القشيرية.
- [83] ينظر: التعليم في زاوية الهامل قبل استقلال الجزائر، إعداد محمد فواد القاسمي الحسني، محاضرة أقيمت في جامعة صوفيا بطوكيو 2012/5/19.
- [84] ينظر المؤلفات الصوفية في الجزائر، عبد المنعم القاسمي، دار الخليل، 2005، الجزائر.
- [85] ينظر: الطريقة الخلوتية الرحمانية: الأصول والآثار، د عبد المنعم القاسمي، رسالة دكتوراه، مخطوط مرقون على الحاسوب. الجزائر.
- [86] بدءا من السعدي إلى ابن الحداد إلى نسومر إلى الزعاطشة إلى بن شبيرة ... ينظر خلاصة تاريخ الجزائر، المقاومة والتحرير، د / أبو القاسم سعد الله، دار الغرب الإسلامي، 2007، لبنان.
- [87] ينظر الزهر الباسم، وفيه: (وكان) الشيخ محمد بن أبي القاسم) إذا أوصي على يتيم يجعل متروكه على حدة وبحركة بالتمية، فلا يزال ينمو الشيء القليل حتى يصير كثيرا، ثم يدفعه له بعد رشده بنصرف، الزهر الباسم، فصل رجوعه إلى بلده، ص 57.
- [88] رغم أن جمال عبد الناصر كان اشتراكي الفكر والسياسة، إلا أن بدايته كانت مع جماعة الإخوان المسلمين، وفي آخر حياته قام ببناء مقام السيدة زينب في القاهرة، وهو من أهم مراكز الطرق الصوفية في مصر.
- [89] ما يستغرب أننا لا زلنا إلى الآن نستند إلى الإحصاء الفرنسي للزوايا والطرق والمريدين رغم توفّر وتطوّر وسائل الاتصال والنقل.
- [90] يقول شيخ الطائفة أبو القاسم الجنيد: (من لم يحفظ القرآن ولم يكتب الحديث، لا يقتدى به في هذا الأمر، لأنّ عملنا هذا مقيد بالكتاب والسنة). هذه التعريفات متداولة في كتب الصوفية كثيرا، كالرسالة القشيرية، وعوارف المعارف للسهروردي، والحلية لأبي نعيم، وقوت القلوب لأبي طالب المكي، والتعرّف للكلاباذي والطبقات للشعراني، وغير ذلك، وينظر المقدمة الوثيقة لمعرفة بعض أحكام الطريقة، من تحقيقنا، الصادر عن دار الخليل، 2005، الجزائر.
- [91] ينظر الرسالة القشيرية، من كلام أبي العباس أحمد بن محمد الدينوري، وفي ترجمته أيضا في طبقات الشعراني.
- [92] ينظر إحياء علوم الدين للغزالي، كتاب العلم، الأول من ربيع العبادات، الباب الأول، في فضل العلم والتعليم والتعلم، بيان العلم الذي هو فرض عين.
- [93] الشيخ محمد بهاء الدين النقشبند البخاري، الذي تنسب إليه الطريقة النقشبندية، في رسالته الوصية. مخطوط بالمكتبة القاسمية.
- [94] ينظر: الاعتصام للإمام أبي إسحاق الشاطبي. ومقدمة الرسالة القشيرية للإمام أبي القاسم عبد الكريم القشيري. وشيخ الإسلام زكريا الأنصاري في هامشه على الرسالة القشيرية، والشيخ ابن تيمية، في مجموع الفتاوى، جزء التصوف. والشيخ ابن القيم في مدارج السالكين، باب الفناء.
- [95] البخاري برقم: 6137.
- [96] ينظر عدة المريد الصادق، زروق القاسي ص 106.
- [97] ينظر في الملحق نموذج إجازة في الطريق، وإجازة في إطاء الورد، وإجازة القادرية.

- فيهم زهاداً، فانفرد خواص أهل السنة المراعون أنفاسهم مع الله تعالى الحافظون قلوبهم عن طوارق الغفلة باسم التصوف...
- [43] الرسالة القشيرية لأبي القاسم عبد الكريم بن هوازن القشيري، المقدمة، 1: 6. أولئك الزهاد الذين كانوا على عهد النبي عليه الصلاة والسلام من فقراء المهاجرين والأنصار، بنيت لهم صفة في مؤخرة مسجد الرسول الله يقيمون فيها، ويتعبدون بها، وفيه قال تعالى: {واصبر نفسك مع الذين يدعون ربهم بالغداة والعشي يريدون وجهه ولا تعد عيناك عنهم تريد زينة الحياة الدنيا ولا تطع من أغفلنا قلبه عن ذكرنا واتبع هواه وكان أمره فرطاً}. وقاله زروق في القول الخامس من القاعدة السابعة.
- [44] ينظر: التعرف إلى أهل التصوف للكلاباذي، وعوارف المعارف للسهروردي.
- [45] ينظر: قواعد التصوف للإمام زروق الفاسي، القاعدة الثانية. ويقول في القاعدة الثالثة: الاختلاف في الحقيقة الواحدة، إن أكثر، دل على بعد إدراك جملتها.
- [46] ينظر: إيقاع التصوف في إفريقيا للكاتب الدكتور عبد الحميد محمد أحمد. وينظر: الصوفية والدعوة في قلب أفريقيا، الشيخ عثمان حدك، رئيس لجنة الإفتاء والبحوث العلمية في المجلس الأعلى لعلماء أهل السنة والجماعة بالصومال. www.islamic-sufism.com
- [47] ينظر أعمال مؤتمرا حول الصوفية والإسلام في إندونيسيا الذي نظمته جمعية نهضة العلماء في إندونيسيا التي تأسست في عام 1926 في سرايا في جاوا الشرقية على يد العالم هاشم الأشعري.
- [48] ينظر تاريخ الإسلام في القوقاز الدكتور محمد السيد علي بلاسي عضو اتحاد الكتاب - القاهرة، <http://www.attarikh-alarabi.ma>.
- [49] ينظر: الإسلام في البوسنة المعاصرة للاستاذ أنس كاريثش عميد سابق بكلية أصول الدين بساراييفوا و عضو مؤسسة آل البيت الأدنية. www.monazh.com. وينظر: الصوفية في البلقان، لعبد الباقي خليفة، جريدة الشرق الأوسط. وفيه: المولوية هي أول طريقة صوفية تصل إلى البوسنة، أي أول طريقة تبني لها زاوية في البوسنة وغرب البلقان، وهي تكية عيسى بك اسحاقفيتش، ثم توالى بناء زوايا وتكايا الطرق الصوفية الأخرى، مثل الخلوتية، والقادرية، والنقشبندية، والرفاعية، وتنتشر في الوقت الأخير الطريقة الشاذلية بشكل جيد، <http://islamyun.net>
- [50] ينظر: المؤتمر الدولي حول جلال الدين الرومي متاح على موقع جامعة ماريلاند.
- [51] قالت اليونيسكو: "إن جلال الدين الرومي كان ولا يزال أحد المفكرين والعلماء الكبار الذين أثروا الحضارة الإسلامية. فهو شاعر عالمي؛ إذ تعتبره الشعوب في كل من أفغانستان وجمهورية إيران الإسلامية وتركيا شاعراً. فقد كان في شعره يخاطب البشرية جمعاء". ينظر قرار منظمة اليونيسكو للاحتفاء بجلال الدين الرومي العام 2007 متاح على موقع اليونيسكو على الشبكة الإلكترونية الدولية.
- [52] وحتى حركة طالبان هي ماتريديدة الاعتقاد، جشئية الطريقة. ينظر خليل أحمد السهرانفوري، في كتابه (المهند على المهند): ليعلم أولاً قبل أن نشرع في الجواب أنا بحمد الله ومشايخنا، رضوان الله عليهم أجمعين، وجميع طائفتنا وجماعتنا مقلدون لقوة الأنام وذروة الإسلام الإمام الهمام أبي حنيفة النعمان رضي الله تعالى عنه في الفروع، ومتبعون للإمام الهمام أبي الحسن الأشعري والإمام الهمام أبي منصور الماتريدي رضي الله عنهما في الاعتقاد والأصول، ومنتمون من طرق الصوفية إلى الطريقة العلية المنسوبة إلى السادة النقشبندية والطريقة الزكية المنسوبة إلى السادة الجشئية وإلى الطريقة البهية المنسوبة إلى السادة القادرية وإلى الطريقة السهروردية، رضي الله عنهم أجمعين.
- [53] ينظر الجزائر في قلب التصوف، شيخ الشيوخ أبو مدين شعيب، تأليف زعيم خنشاوي، منشورات زكي بوزيد، 2011، الجزائر.
- [54] ينظر الطرق الصوفية في الجزائر لكوبولاني، وتاريخ الجزائر الثقافي لسعد الله، الجزء الرابع، وتاريخ الجزائر العام لعبد الرحمن الجيلالي، الجزء الثالث، والطرق الصوفية والزوايا في الجزائر لصلاح مؤيد العقبي، وزوايا العلم والقرآن في الجزائر لمحمد نسيب، 2005، الجزائر.
- [55] ينظر: أساس البلاغة للزمخشري، و مجاز القرآن لأبي عبيدة معمر بن المثنى التميمي، والمعجم الوسيط لمجمع اللغة العربية، والمنجد في اللغة لويس معلوف. ونجعة الرائد وشرعة الوارد في المترادف والمتوارد لإبراهيم اليازجي.
- [56] ينظر. (Le Robert micro, dictionnaire de la langue française, Alain Rey, 1998, canada) Modern dictionary Arabic (English, Elyas, modern press, 1969, Cairo)
- [57] ينظر: الغزالي، في إحياء علوم الدين، 4، كتاب التوبة، الأول من ربع المنجيات، بيان ما تعظم به الصغائر من الذنوب.
- [58] ينظر: Les Confréries Religieuses Musulmanes, Octave de Pont, p214 & Xavier Coppolani.
- [59] ينظر التعريفات للشريف الجرجاني.
- [60] ابن عجيبة الحسني، في كتابه «موقف الهمم في شرح الحكم» عند قول ابن عطاء الله السكندري في الحكم العطائية: (ما ترك من الجهل شيئاً من أراد أن يحدث في الوقت غير ما أظهره الله فيه)،
- [61] ينظر اصطلاحات الصوفية لابن عربي وللغاشاني، وتعريفات الجرجاني.
- [62] رواء البخاري في بدء الوحي، برقم 3.
- [63] ينظر المنح الربانية في شرح المنظومة الرحمانية لمصطفى باش تارزي، ط تونس.
- [64] رواء مالك والبخاري ومسلم والنسائي.
- [65] رواء البزار بإسناد صحيح، قاله المنذري في الترغيب والترهيب.
- [66] رواء البخاري في علامات النبوة، برقم 3405.
- [67] ينظر البحوث السنية عن بعض رجال أسانيد الطريقة الخلوتية، للشيخ محمد زاهد الكوثري، دار الكتب العلمية، 2004، لبنان.
- [68] ينظر نص إجازة القادرية في الملحق.

- هذا ونرى أن الأشاعرة كانوا أمة وسطا، ونقرأ للجهداني: (قام الإمام أبو الحسن الأشعري بتجديد وإعادة صياغة لمذهب سلف الأمة في مواجهة التحديات الناشئة عن اتساع رقعة الإسلام واستيعاب حضارته لثقافات وحضارات أخرى). ينظر: الإمام أبو الحسن الأشعري ومؤلفاته، للأستاذ عبد الواحد جهداني، دار الكتب العلمية، ط1، 2011، لبنان.
- [22] ينظر الحوار الإسلامي-البوذي الذي دار في قسم الإلهيات الإسلامية بجامعة مرمرة بتركيا، 1995 الهنـد، وفيه: أن النبي ذا الكفل المذكور مرتين في القرآن يشير إلى بوذا؛ وذلك أن "كفل" هي الصيغة العربية لاسم مملكة قوم بوذا، أي كابيلافاستو. وأن شجرة التين التي ذكرها القرآن تشير إلى شجرة البوذي التي تحتها أظهر بوذا تنويره. وينص القرآن أن أتباع ذي الكفل هم أخيار صالحون. وينظر: مقدمة عن البوذية بروية إسلامية 1996 القاهرة، و: العلاقة بين البوذية والصوفية، رداً على ماجد الطهراني، 2006. لندن، أرشيف بيرزين، مجموعة أعمال للباحث والمؤلف الأمريكي ألكسندر بيرزين. <http://www.berzinarchives.com>
- [23] في القرآن: {وَرُسُلًا قَدْ قَصَصْنَاهُمْ عَلَيْكَ مِنْ قَبْلُ وَرُسُلًا لَمْ نَقْصُصْهُمْ عَلَيْكَ} سورة النساء: 164. وفي عقيدة المانوية في الشرائع والأنبياء: أن أول من بعث الله تعالى بالعلم والحكمة آدم أبو البشر ثم بعث شيثا بعده ثم نوحا بعده ثم إبراهيم بعده. ثم بعث بالبددة (بوذا) إلى أرض الهند وزرادتشت إلى أرض فارس والمسيح كلمة الله وروحه إلى أرض الروم والمغرب وبولس بعد المسيح إليهم ثم يأتي خاتم النبيين إلى أرض العرب. ينظر الملل والنحل للشهرستاني، فصل المانوية، الجزء الثالث، فيمن لهم شبهة كتاب.
- [24] بدأ الأستاذ محمد فتح الله كولن -ولا سيما بعد عام 1990- بحركة رائدة في الحوار والتفاهم بين الأديان وبين الأفكار الأخرى متممة بالمرونة والبعد عن التعصب والتشنج، ووجدت هذه الحركة صداها في تركيا ثم في خارجها. ووصلت هذه الحركة إلى ذروتها في الاجتماع الذي تم عقده في الفاتيكان بين الشيخ فتح الله وبين البابا إثر دعوة البابا له. لقد آمن بأن العالم أصبح -بعد تقدم وسائل الاتصالات- قرية عالمية لذا فإن أي حركة قائمة على الخصومة والعداء لن تؤدي إلى أي نتيجة إيجابية، وأنه يجب الانفتاح على العالم بأسره، وإبلاغ العالم كله بأن الإسلام ليس قائماً على الإرهاب - كما يصوره أعداؤه - وأن هناك مجالات واسعة للتعاون بين الإسلام وبين الأديان الأخرى.
- [25] قال أول الخلفاء الراشدين أبو بكر الصديق، وهو يوصي قائد جيشه: {لا تخونوا ولا تغدروا ولا تغلوا ولا تمثلوا ولا تقتلوا طفلاً ولا شيخاً كبيراً ولا تعزفوا نخلًا ولا تحرقوه ولا تقطعوا شجرة مثمرة ولا تنبخوا شاة ولا بقرة ولا بعيراً إلا للأكل، وإذا مررتم بقوم فرغوا أنفسهم في الصوامع فدعهم وما فرغوا أنفسهم}.
- [26] الآية: {فَلَمَّا بَلَغَ مَعَهُ السَّعْيَ قَالَ يَا بُنَيَّ إِنِّي أَرَى فِي الْمَنَامِ أَنِّي أَذْبُكُ فَانْطَرُ مَاذَا تَرَى قَالَ يَا أَبَتِ افْعَلْ مَا تُؤْمَرُ سَتَجِدُنِي إِِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ مِنَ الصَّابِرِينَ} الصافات: 102.
- [27] قال ابن عبيدة الحسني في تفسير قوله تعالى، 100-110 من سورة الصافات، في كتابه البحر المديد في تفسير القرآن المجيد: الحق غيور، لا يحب أن يرى في قلب خليله أو وليه شيئاً سواه، فأمر بذبح ولده؛ لإخراجه من قلبه، كما فرق بين يوسف ووالده، وامتحن حبيبه صلى الله عليه وسلم في عائشة صديقته، وهذه عادة الله مع أصفيائه. قال القشيري: يُقال في القصة: أنه رآه راكباً على فرس أشهب، فاستحسنه، ونظر إليه بقلبه، فأمر بذبحه، فلما أخرجه من قلبه، واستسلم لذبحه، ظهر الفداء. وقيل له: كان المقصود من هذا فراغ قلبك منه، لا ذبحه.
- [28] الآية: {الْمَالُ وَالْبَنُونَ زِينَةُ الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا وَالْبَاقِيَاتُ الصَّالِحَاتُ خَيْرٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّكَ ثَوَابًا وَخَيْرٌ أَمْلاً} الكهف: 46.
- [29] سورة الكوثر: 2.
- [30] في الحديث النبوي: {ازهد في الدنيا يحبك الله}.
- [31] قال الله: {فِي بُيُوتِ أَزْنِ اللَّهِ أَنْ تُرْفَعَ وَيُذْكَرَ فِيهَا اسْمُهُ يُسَبِّحُ لَهُ فِيهَا بِالْغُدُوِّ وَالْآصَالِ * رَجَالٌ لَا لُتْهِمُهُمْ تِجَارَةٌ وَلَا بَيْعٌ عَنْ ذِكْرِ اللَّهِ وَإِقَامِ الصَّلَاةِ وَإِيتَاءِ الزَّكَاةِ}. سورة النور: 36-37.
- [32] الحديث (لو أنكم كنتم تاكلون على الله حق توكله لرزقكم كما يرزق الطير تغدو خماساً وتروح بطاناً) رواه الترمذي: 2344.
- [33] {تِلْكَ الدَّارُ الْآخِرَةُ نَجْعَلُهَا لِلَّذِينَ لَا يُرِيدُونَ عُلُوًّا فِي الْأَرْضِ وَلَا فَسَادًا وَالْعَاقِبَةُ لِلْمُتَّقِينَ} سورة القصص: 83.
- [34] في الحديث (اعملوا فكل ميسر لما خلق له) رواه البخاري: 4666.
- [35] وفي الحديث النبوي: (من خير معاش الناس لهم، رجل ممسك عنان فرسه في سبيل الله يطير على منته. كلما سمع فزع طار عليه. أو رجل في غنيمة في رأس شعبة من هذه الشعف. يقيم الصلاة ويؤتي الزكاة. ويعبد ربه حتى يأتيه اليقين. ليس من الناس إلا في خير). رواه مسلم برقم 1889.
- [36] الحلاج، شهيد التصوف الإسلامي، طه عبد الباقي سرور، لبنان.
- [37] ينظر تاريخ ابن خلدون، عن طه سرور.
- [38] قال تعالى: {وَمِنْ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ خَلَقْنَا زَوْجَيْنِ}، سورة الذاريات: 49.
- [39] فتاوى معاصرة، 735، د يوسف القرصاوي، ط1 مكتبة رحاب، الجزائر، 1988.
- [40] قال المؤرخ ابن الأثير عن هذه الفترة: (... فرقة واحدة بقيت بعيدة عن التعصب، ألا وهي فرقة الصوفيّة، فقد كانوا يمتازون بسلامة الفكر والعفة والأخلاق الحميدة، فأكسبهم هذا حب كثير من الناس...) ابن الأثير بواسطة طه سرور.
- [41] مصداقه الحديث القدسي: (إذا أحب الله العبد نادى جبريل إن الله يحب فلانا فأحبّه، فيحبه جبريل، فينادي جبريل في أهل السماء إن الله يحب فلانا فأحبّوه، فيحبه أهل السماء، ويوضع له القبول في أهل الأرض) البخاري عن أبي هريرة برقم 3037.
- [42] قال القشيري: (اعلموا رحمكم الله تعالى، أن المسلمين بعد رسول الله عليه الصلاة والسلام، لم يتسم أفاضلهم في عصرهم بتسمية علم سوى صحبة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، إذ لا فضيلة فوقها، فقيل لهم الصحابة، ولما أدركهم أهل العصر الثاني، سمي من صحب الصحابة التابعين، وراوا ذلك أشرف سمة، ثم قيل لمن بعدهم أتباع التابعين، ثم اختلف الناس، وتباينت المراتب، فقيل لخواص الناس ممن لهم شدة عناية بأمر الدين الزهاد والعباد، ثم ظهرت البدع وحصل التداعي بين الفرق، فكل طريق ادّعى أن

- [1] الطريقة الرحمانية موضوع ضارب في عمق التاريخ بين أصول التصوف في الإسلام والديانات السابقة، متشعب في الواقع بين علوم شتى، وذلك يستلزم منا طرق أبواب كثيرة دون التوغل فيها، وإنما هي عناوين وإحالات نضعها للتخفيف والتذكير.
- [2] {اللَّهُ خَالِقُ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ وَهُوَ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ وَكِيلٌ} 39 الزمر: 62.
- [3] {اعْبُدُوا اللَّهَ مَا لَكُمْ مِنْ إِلَهٍ غَيْرُهُ هُوَ أَنشَأَكُمْ مِنَ الْأَرْضِ وَاسْتَعْمَرَكُمْ فِيهَا فَاسْتَغْفِرُوا لَهُمْ تُمْ تَوْبُوا إِلَيْهِ إِنْ رَبِّي قَرِيبٌ مُجِيبٌ} 11 هود: 61.
- [4] {وَمَا نُرْسِلِ الْمُرْسَلِينَ إِلَّا مُنْذِرِينَ وَمُنذِرِينَ فَمَنْ آمَنَ وَأَصْلَحَ فَلَا خَوْفٌ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا هُمْ يَحْزَنُونَ} 6 الأنعام: 48.
- [5] {اللَّهُ الَّذِي أَنْزَلَ الْكِتَابَ بِالْحَقِّ وَالْمِيزَانَ وَمَا يُدْرِيكَ لَعَلَّ السَّاعَةَ قَرِيبٌ} 42 الشورى: 17.
- [6] {لِكُلِّ جَعَلْنَا مِنْكُمْ شُرْعَةً وَمِنْهَاجًا} 5 المائدة: 48.
- [7] {مَا كَانَ مُحَمَّدٌ أَبَا أَحَدٍ مِنْ رِجَالِكُمْ وَلَكِنْ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ وَخَاتَمُ النَّبِيِّينَ وَكَانَ اللَّهُ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ عَلِيمًا} 33 الأحزاب: 40.
- [8] {وَإِنَّا نَحْنُ نَزَّلْنَا الذِّكْرَ وَإِنَّا لَهُ لَحَافِظُونَ} 15 الحجر: 9.
- [9] {وَأَنزَلْنَا إِلَيْكَ الْكِتَابَ بِالْحَقِّ مُصَدِّقًا لِمَا بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ مِنَ الْكِتَابِ وَمُهَيْمِنًا عَلَيْهِ} 5 المائدة: 48.
- [10] {الْيَوْمَ اكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا} 5 المائدة: 3.
- [11] الحديث (بني الإسلام على خمس: شهادة أن لا إله إلا الله وأن محمداً رسول الله، وإقام الصلاة، وإيتاء الزكاة، والحج، وصوم رمضان) رواه البخاري في كتاب الإيمان، باب الإيمان، رقم 8.
- [12] ابن بطلان عن المهلب: فما ازداد المؤمن من أعمال البر كان من كمال إيمانه. في شرح الحديث 8 من صحيح البخاري.
- [13] رواه البخاري في الأدب المفرد رقم 273، والحاكم في المستدرک بلفظ صالح الأخلاق 4221، ومالك في الموطأ بلفظ حسن الخلق: 2655. وقال: (ما من شيء يوضع في الميزان أثقل من حسن الخلق وإن صاحب حسن الخلق ليبلغ به درجة صاحب الصوم والصلاة) رواه الترمذي، رقم 2003. وقال (إن من أحبكم إلي وأقربكم مني مجلسا يوم القيامة أحسنكم أخلاقا) رواه الترمذي، وفي رواية (الموطؤون أكتافا الذين يألفون ويؤلفون) رقم 2018. وقال: (إن الله كريم يحب الكرم ويحب معالي الأخلاق ويكره سفاسفها) رواه الحاكم في المستدرک رقم 151. وغيرها كثير.
- [14] سورة: القلم: 4.
- [15] أبو بكر الكتاني البغدادي، من تلامذة أبي القاسم الجنيد شيخ الطائفة، ينظر عوارف المعارف والرسالة القشيرية.
- [16] يقول علي عزت بيقوفيتش: الإسلام ليس مجرد دين أو طريقة حياة فقط، وإنما هو بصفة أساسية مبدأ تنظيم الكون، فكما أن الإنسان هو وحدة الروح والجسد، والنظام الاجتماعي، وكما أن الجسم في الصلاة يمكن أن يخضع لحركة الروح، فإن النظام الاجتماعي يمكن أن يخدم بدوره المثل العليا والأخلاق هذه الوحدة الغربية عن المسيحية وعن المذهب المادي معا، ميزة في الإسلام، بل هي من أخص خصائص الإسلام. ينظر كتاب الإسلام بين الشرق والغرب لمؤلفه الرئيس اليوسني الراحل 1925-2003 (علي عزت بيقوفيتش). Islam-between-East-and-West.
- [17] مايكل هاملتون: (وتستمر الفتوحات حتى تشهد سنة 732 ميلادية بعد مضي 100 عام على وفاة الرسول (صلى الله عليه وسلم) أكبر مملكة إسلامية شاسعة يتمركز محور قوتها في دمشق وتمتد من إسبانيا في الغرب إلى أقصى حدود مغوليا في الشرق، ومن جنوب فرنسا في الشمال حتى المحيط الهندي وأفريقيا في الجنوب) تاريخ ضائع، التراث الخالد لعلماء الإسلام ومفكره وفنانه، للدبلوماسي الأمريكي مايكل هاملتون مورجان، ينظر الفصل الأول والثاني: 1-43.، ترجمة أميرة بدوي، نهضة مصر 2008.
- [18] ينظر كتاب الملل والنحل لأبي الفتح محمد الشهرستاني.
- [19] خليفة المسلمين المأمون العباسي (170 - 218 هـ = 786 - 833 م) عبد الله بن هارون الرشيد: سابع الخلفاء من بني العباس في العراق، وأحد أعظم الملوك، في سيرته وعلمه وسعة ملكه. تمت ما بدأ به جده المنصور من ترجمة كتب العلم والفلسفة. وأتخف ملوك الروم بالهدايا سائلا أن يصلوه بما لديهم من كتب الفلاسفة، فبعثوا إليه بعدد كبير من كتب أفلاطون وأرسطوطاليس وبقرات وجالينوس وإقليدس وبطليموس وغيرهم، فاختار لها مهرة التراجمة، فترجمت. وحض الناس على قراءتها، فقامت دولة الحكمة في أيامه. وأطلق حرية الكلام للباحثين وأهل الجدل والفلسفة، لولا المحنة بخلق القرآن، في السنة الأخيرة من حياته. ينظر كتاب الأعلام، لخير الدين الزركلي، دار العلم للملايين، ط1، بيروت 1980.
- [20] قال أبو الحسن الندوي: (لقد كان الاتجاه العقلي الذي تزعمه المعتزلة والذي كان يقوم على تمجيد العقل وتأليه وإخضاع النظام الديني بما فيه من عقائد وخلائق بل إخضاع الذات والصفات والأفعال الإلهية له، وعلى قياس الغائب على الشاهد اتجاها خطرا على الإسلام، وفتح باب فساد عظيم في المجتمع الإسلامي، لقد كان هذا تحولا للدين البسيط العملي الذي جاء به الرسول عليه الصلاة والسلام، يستسيغه العقل البشري بكل سهولة إلى فلسفة نظرية دقيقة يعجز عن فهمها وإساعتها كثير من العقلاء والأذكاء، وإضعافا للإيمان، وإثارة للشكوك والشبهات، وعدم الثقة بما يقوله النبي عليه الصلاة والسلام، ويعجز العقل عن تعليقه وإقامة الدليل على وجوده، وما أكثر في العالم ما يعجز العقل عن تعليقه وإقامة الدليل عليه). ينظر: رجال الفكر والدعوة في الإسلام، لأبي الحسن علي الحسيني الندوي، 1: 113. دار ابن كثير، ط1، 1999، دمشق - بيروت.
- [21] رواية الدارمي 2518 وأبو داود 4597، تطرف بعض من أهل هذه الطوائف، وادعى كل منهم أنه هو الناجي دون الآخرين، والذي يصدق النظر بعين العقل يجد أن هذا الأمر لا يستقيم، ولا يمكن حمل الحديث على هذا الفهم على الإطلاق، لأن هذا الانقسام بدأ في زمن الخلافة الراشدة، ولا نستطيع بحال أن نجزم بأن نصف المسلمين كانوا من الفرقة الضالة، وبالتدرج قد نصل إلى قول أن كل المعتزلة كذلك بمن فيهم لا على الحصر الزمخشري، وفي عهدنا الصورة أجلى، إذ قولنا أن الشعراوي مثلا من الفرقة الناجية، هذا يقتضي أن القرضاوي أو التسخيري أو العنيمين ليسوا منها، والعكس صحيح، وهذا ما لا اعتقده أبدا، بل الذي أعتقد وأطمئن إليه أن الفرقة الناجية هم المخلصون أعمالهم لله من هؤلاء وهؤلاء. كانوا معتزلة أو سلفية أو أشعرية أو غيرهم.

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لأنّ الزوايا كانت بدورها مدارس، فقدت المكاتب العربيّة قوّتها، وخسرت المعركة. وجاء دور الطبّ، ولم تقترح الزوايا بديلا لها، ولكنها تدخلت من جديد بإحداث ضجّات عن عمليّات الاستشفاء وتأويل أبعادها، والتحذير من اللّعبة، والدعوة إلى مقاطعة عمليّات التطعيم وتعقيم النساء وإرسال الشباب إلى الثكنات... لقد نجحت الزوايا كليّا في المدرسة، ونسبيّا في الطبّ، حيث عهد بالتطعيم بعد ذلك إلى العرب... وخلاصة البحث تعريف للزوايا أنّها مراكز مقاومة ثقافيّة في كلّ الميادين. وتستند هذه الباحثة في دراستها إلى محفوظات الجيش الفرنسيّ، والوثائق الرسميّة للإدارة.¹⁴⁴

هذا هو رأي المستعمر في الصوفيّة الرحمانيين، وكيف لا يكون كذلك، بل وكيف لا يكونون كذلك وهم يردّدون في الغدوّ والأصال بعد وردهم :

ربّ احينا سعداء وأمتنا شهداء ولا تخالف بنا عن طريقة الهدى

7-7 نموذج خط مؤسس الطريقة



قطعة نادرة من إحدى رسائل الشيخ محمد بن عبد الرحمن الأزهرى بخط يده تحتفظ بها المكتبة القاسمية بزاوية الهاملا

المسيحي ... لأنّ هؤلاء المضطهدين، هم للمسلمين مسلمون، وهذا ما لا يناقش بالنسبة لمن عاشوا مطوّلاً في بلاد الإسلام ... اذا كانت زاوية الهامل الأمّ، تريد في الظاهر المحافظة على العقيدة بكلّ صفاتها، فإنّ أقارب الشيخ قد اتجهوا نحو الحياة السياسيّة البرلمانيّة، ونستنتج من هذا تطوّراً، يُظهر بأنّ الرحمانيّة - والتي تبقى دوماً غامضة - قد تخلّت نوعاً ما، عن التفكير الأحادي ... ولزاوية الهامل عدد مهمّ من الفروع الفاعلة والنشطة، تتمركز بوضوح في مناطق يسودها الإرهاب في هذه الآونة (1955) قد يكون للمشايخ والمقاديم أثر محليّ خاص ... ومن هنا تبدو مدى أهميّة دراسة الطريقة الرحمانيّة على حسب الظروف (الحالية...) ¹⁴³

6-6-7 توران

وجاء في كتاب (مواجهات ثقافيّة في الجزائر المحتلّة) للمؤرّخة الفرنسيّة الأستاذة ايفوان توران، ما نستخلص من قراءته الآتي: (... كان أهل القرن التاسع عشر، والفرنسيّون أولهم، يتساءلون باستمرار عن منظّمي المقاومة الشعبيّة غير المسلّحة، ولا يعرفون مخترعيها، وما تفاجئهم به حيناً بعد حين. وفوجئ الفرنسيّون برفض الجزائريّين لمفهوم النهضة عند فرنسا، من تعلّم وتمدرس، وحتّى الاستشفاء، ووجدوا المقاومة تسلّلت إلى هذه الأماكن. واكتشف الفرنسيّون وجود (الزاوية) كمركز أساسيّ يأوي المقاومة، ولاسيما المقاومة النفسيّة، إذ هي الحرب الحقيقيّة الدائمة، أمّا المقاومة فهي ذات طبيعة سياسيّة مؤقتة. وكان الفرنسيّون لا يعرفون شيئاً عن الزوايا إلّا نتائج أعمالها، التي تقف حائلاً دون بسط سلطتهم على الشعب...) وتقول الباحثة: (...وأنا أيضاً أجهل كيف تمّ للزوايا ذلك...) ثمّ تضيف: (...إنّ ما نفهمه هو أنّ الطلبة كانوا كنسيج العنكبوت الذي تحرّكه الزاوية ثمّ تلقى به إلى الساحة الاجتماعيّة الثقافيّة والشعبية، وهذه شبكة مقاومة مناسبة، لا يمكن التحكّم فيها أو محاصرتها، وقد سمّت فرنسا هذه الحركة وأثار نشاطها ضجيجاً. ولكن هذا الضجيج يسبّب اضطراباً مستمراً للمحتلّ، ويحضّر إلى الثورة، بنشر نصوص تحرّض على ذلك. وهناك ضجّات مرتبطة بالعناصر السياسيّة، وفي فرنسا بالذات، فلهذه الزوايا مخبرون يحيطون بكلّ الأنباء، ولكننا لا نعلم شيئاً عن ذلك. إنّها المراكز التي تنطلق منها كلّ الأخبار السيئة عن فرنسا. لذلك، عمدت فرنسا إلى مصادرة الحبوس وبيعها، فتراجعت الزوايا إلى مواقع خلفيّة، وكلّما ابتعدت زادت تحرّراً. وأحسّ الفرنسيّون بفداحة خطئهم في إبعادها. كانت فرنسا كلّما حرصت على معرفة أيّ شيء عنها، حرصت الزوايا على التخفيّ أكثر، وقد أعطى الجنرال شارون تعليمات عن كيفية محاصرة الزوايا بأعوان أذكّياء، فقال أحد الضبّاط: إنّ في حراستها ومراقبتها صعوبة لا يمكن تجاوزها... ولكن هذه الزوايا وصلت إلى مستوى من الدقّة والكمال حتّى أدهشت السلطات في سرعة ودقّة المعلومات التي كانت تصل إليها، ثمّ تبّنها بطرقها الخاصّة، منها الحوار الذي دار بين نابليون الثالث وزوجته، حين قالت له: لا بدّ أن تجد وسيلة للقضاء على هذه الزوايا، وأن لا يستهين بأمرها فإنّها شبكة رهيبة، واقترحت عليه تطعيم المسلمين لتعقيمهم... كانت المدرسة المبدأ الأوّل لفرنسا في خطّة الاحتواء، ثمّ يليها الطبّ. فأنشأت المدارس، ثمّ المدارس الفرنسيّة العربيّة، ثمّ المكاتب الإسلاميّة، ثمّ مدارس عربيّة بحتة. ولم يلتحق الجزائريّون إطلاقاً بأيّ من هذه المدارس، بل هدموها في انتفاضة 1871 لأنّها مدارس النصارى، واشتكى أحد الضبّاط من تأثير الزوايا في الشباب،

3-6-7 دونوفو

وقال دونوفو في كتابه (الإخوان): (... لقد صُوِّرَ لنا إخوان ابن عبد الرحمن على أنهم جدّ متعصّبين، والظاهر أنهم أكثر تحفظاً تجاه الفرنسيين من إخوان الطرق الأخرى ... ولإخوان الرحمانيين كراهية واحدة، هي كراهية الرومي، والرغبة في طرده...) ¹⁴¹

4-6-7 دوتيه

ويقول إدمون دوتيه في كتابه (الإسلام الجزائريّ) التالي: (... قد تكون الرحمانية أهمّ الطرق، وأكثرها شعبية في كلّ الشرق الجزائري، كما أنها تكتسي في هذه المنطقة طابعاً شبه وطني ... ويظهر لنا التاريخ مدى مساهمة مشايخ الطريقة الرحمانية - على وجه الخصوص - في كلّ التمرّدات، كالتمرّد الكبير لسنة 1871 للشيخ سي محمّد أمزيان الحداد... ويتوزّع أتباع الطريقة الرحمانية على أقاليم عديدة، فمنها سي محمّد بن أبي القاسم، في زاويته الكبيرة بالهامل، بوسعادة 43000 مريد و 29 زاوية ثانوية...) ¹⁴²

5-6-7 اندريه

وفي الفصل الرابع من كتاب (الطرق الصوفية بالجزائر) للواء الفرنسيّ أندريه الصادر سنة 1956 أي أثناء الثورة، وبتقديم رئيس الحكومة السيّد سوستيل، نجد الآتي: (... ورغم تطوّر العصر، فإنّ الرحمانية بقيت محافظة على الطقوس القديمة للخلوتية، وعلى وصاياها الصارمة والدقيقة، ففي كبرى الزوايا، مثل نفطه، وطولقة، وخاصة الهامل، لا زالت القواعد القديمة سارية، ومنها الطاعة المطلقة للشيخ، حتى ولو لم يكن هناك مجال للخلوة. كما أنّ الروابط المتينة التي تجمع المريد بشيخه لم تفقد قوتها ... ولقد تحوّلت الرحمانية من جمعية زهاد ونسّاك إلى مجتمع سياسيّ دينيّ يهتمّ بالمصالح الظرفية والدنيوية ... ففي حوادث ماي 1945 الدامية ظهر تأثير الرحمانية ... وقد يكون مهماً أن نعرف مدى تأثيرهم في حوادث 1954-1955 ... للطريقة الرحمانية أكثر من 50000 مريد في الجزائر العاصمة وحدها، تنزعمهم زاويتا الهامل وقسنطينة، وتأثيرهما، ولا سيما زاوية الهامل، يكون ممثلاً الى عمالات الجزائر و وهران وقسنطينة ... تضمّ عمالة غرداية 31000 مريد، من أتباع الطريقة الرحمانية، منهم 30000 في الجلفة، و 1000 في الأغواط، وفي الأونة الأخيرة، المنتسبون للرحمانية جلّهم تابع لزاوية الهامل، وأيضاً 2500 مريد بواحات ورقلة. وفي الكريشيا توجد مدرسة قرآنية، هي أيضاً تابعة لزاوية الهامل... على بعد 12 كلم من بوسعادة، توجد الزاوية الأمّ، زاوية الهامل، التي تضاهي وتنافس زاوية ابن الحملاوي على الزعامة الروحية للطريقة الرحمانية ... أسست زاوية الهامل عام 1849، وبدءاً من 1879 وبعد مرحلة التقهقر، عرفت ازدهاراً كبيراً، بفضل الشيخ محمّد بن أبي القاسم ... تنفرد زاوية الهامل بزعامة الرحمانيين في عمالة وهران بجميع مناطقها، تلمسان، وتيارت، وعمّي موسى، هاته المناطق التي تعتبر مراكز للتعليم الدينيّ ... ومن غير المجدي أن ننفي أهميّة الطريقة الأكثر أتباعاً بين الطرق الصوفية في الجزائر، والتي نشعرنا بحدّة، بتأثيرها في ناحية قسنطينة، وعمالات الجنوب، وخصوصاً ببلاد القبائل ... التقاليد القديمة للخلوتية، والتي هي أصل الرحمانية، تدفعهم الى الدفاع عن المضطهدين، وبالتالي إلى مقاومة الحاكم

تعد مكتبتها من أغنى المكتبات الخاصة في القطر الجزائري، وتحتفظ بمخطوطات في شتى فنون المعرفة الإنسانية، وقد حرص شيوخها على الحفاظ عليها وتمكين الباحثين والدارسين من الوقوف عليها، فهي تشمل مخطوطات في علوم القرآن، الفقه، اللغة، الأدب، التصوف، السيرة...

9-5-7 زاوية نفطة

أسسها الشيخ مصطفى بن عزوز البرجي، أصبحت في ظرف قصير جدا من أهم مراكز الطريقة الرحمانية، وذلك بفضل شخصية المؤسس، وأصبحت مستقلة تمام الاستقلال عن الرحمانية بالجزائر حتى أنها تسمى أحيانا بالعزوزية، وأصبح لها بدورها مقادير وزوايا بالقطر التونسي، ولا تعرف الرحمانية هناك إلا من خلال شخصية مصطفى بن عزوز.

10-5-7 زاوية الهامل

أسسها الشيخ محمد بن أبي القاسم الشريف الحسني الهاملي، قرنا قبل استقلال الجزائر، صارت مركزا علميا ومنازة يقصدها العلماء والطلبة من كل أركان القطر، وكثر أتباعها وفروعها حتى احتلت الصدارة، واستمرت في نشر العلم وتعليم القرآن الكريم وإطعام الطعام إلى اليوم.

6-7 رأي الفرنسيين في الطريقة

جدير بنا أن ننقل باختصار بعض الفقرات عن الفرنسية مما جاء في كتبهم عن الزوايا عموما وعن الطريقة الرحمانية وزاوية الهامل تحديدا، وليلاحظ بدقة ما قالوا:

1-6-7 رين

قال رين في كتابه (المرابطون والإخوان) ما ترجمته: (...كنا نعتقد كلما سعينا إلى قمع تمرد خطير، أننا يجب أن نقضي على الزوايا، لأنها مصدر إلهام المتمردين. ومنه فقد طوّل بإنشاء منصب شيخ الإسلام تحت مراقبة فرنسية لتسيير شؤون الإسلام في الجزائر...) ¹³⁹

2-6-7 بارك

وقال أوغستين بارك، والد المستشرق الفرنسي الأستاذ جاك بارك ما يلي: (... نلاحظ تعصّب الرحمانيين الذين شاركوا في كل الانتفاضات، وجهود الطرق الدينية في تحريض أتباعها ضدّ الاستعمار... إنّ الأمير عبد القادر ما كان يستطيع ضمّ الناس إلى صفّه لو لم يكن هو مقدّم إحدى الزوايا. وكان الاستعمار على دراية بالدور الفاعل للزوايا في انتفاضات الشيخ الشريف بو بغله، والشيخ سي صدوق بن الحاج، والشيخ الحدّاد والمقراني. وحتى في انتفاضات بني مناصر...) ¹⁴⁰

شيخه الأزهرى، ساهمت في إضفاء نوع من المهابة والجلالة على الطريقة، إذ عرف عن الشيخ باش تارزي تمكنه من العلوم الشرعية. وكانت زاويته حلقة وصل بين بلاد القبائل والزوايا الجنوبية، وقد ساهمت الزوايا في ثورة الرحمانيين سنة 1864، حيث هاجم أتباعها قوات الجنرال "بريقو" حاكم مقاطعة قسنطينة بالوادي الكبير، واستمرت الثورة إلى غاية 1865.

5-5-7 زاوية ابن الحملاوي

أسسها الحاج علي بن الحملاوي بن خليفة. شارك الشيخ بن الحملاوي في ثورة 1871، ونفي بعدها إلى جزيرة كاليدونيا أربع سنوات عاد بعدها إلى الوطن حيث زج به في سجن تبسة وبعد قضاء ثلاث سنوات أطلق سراحه ليسجن مرة أخرى في قسنطينة، وبعد مدة قضائها على رأس الزاوية توفي سنة 1317هـ = 1899م. امتد تأثيرها إلى مناطق واسعة من الوطن، ووصل إلى الخارج: تونس، طرابلس، القاهرة، جدة.

6-5-7 زاوية بني عبد الصمد

أسسها علي بن عبد الصمد بن وضاح أواخر القرن الثامن عشر في تازولت بباتنة، كانت ملجأ للفقراء والمساكين زيادة على تدريسها للعلوم الشرعية. كما شاركت في إغاثة الناس في مجاعة 1867، ولما توفي الشيخ محمد سنة 1891 خلفه على رأس الزاوية ابنه الشيخ محمد

7-5-7 زاوية بن عزوز البرجي

أسسها الشيخ محمد بن عزوز البرجي، بناحية طولقة بولاية بسكرة، تم تأسيسها في حياة الشيخ عبد الرحمن باش تارزي وبأمر منه، وتعتبر زاوية الشيخ بنعزوز هي ناشرة الطريق الرحمانية بمناطق الجنوب، إذ عنها تفرعت عدة فروع لعل من أشهرها: زاوية سيدي علي بن عمر، زاوية عبد الحفيظ الخنقي، زاوية المختار الجلالي... ساهمت في حياة شيخها في نشر العلوم الدينية، شاركت في الثورة مع الأمير عبد القادر، ونتيجة لذلك أغلقت سلطات الاحتلال الزاوية وصادرت كل ممتلكاتها، ومنعت الزيارة إليها، مما أدى إلى خروج أبنائها إلى تونس، وإنشاء زاوية أخرى هناك واصلت مسيرة الزاوية الأم هنا.

8-5-7 الزاوية العثمانية

أسست من طرف الشيخ علي بن عمر، وتسمى بالزاوية العثمانية نسبة إلى جد الشيخ علي بن عمر سيدي عثمان، تم تأسيسها سنة 1191هـ، بمدينة طولقة بالقرب من مدينة بسكرة. يمتد تأثيرها على مناطق واسعة، وينضم تحت لوائها الآلاف من المريدين بكل من: بسكرة، بوسعادة، عين التوتة، عين السلطان، باتنة، بريكة، أولاد جلال، خنشلة، أم البواقي، تقرت، الوادي.

القاسم الديبسي (ت 1941 م) صاحب كتاب تعريف الخلف، والأديب الشاعر الشيخ عبد القادر بن إبراهيم بن الشيخ المسعدي النائلي (ت 1956 م) ، والشيخ محمد الخضر بن الحسين بن علي بن عمر الطولقي (ت 1958 م) شيخ الأزهر، والشيخ الطاهر بن علي بن أبي القاسم بن العبيدي (ت 1968 م) العالم الجليل، والشيخ مصطفى بن محمد بن أبي القاسم القاسمي الحسني (ت 1970 م)¹³⁸

كما لا نغفل هنا أنّ مؤسس الطريقة التيجانية الشيخ أحمد التيجاني كان رحمانيا، والشيخ عبد الحميد بن باديس مؤسس جمعية العلماء المسلمين أيضا كان رحمانيا.

5-7 من زوايا الرحمانية

1-5-7 زاوية سيدي محمد بن عبد الرحمن الأزهري

تقع بقرية آيت إسماعيل، دائرة بوغني. تأسست حوالي 1765م. وهي مركز الرحمانية الأول، تم تأسيسها بأمر من الشيخ الحفناوي، جمعت بين التعليم والتربية الروحية. وهي مركز تجمع الرحمانيين من مختلف المناطق. وصفها كتاب الاحتلال أنها مركز تجمع كل معاد للقضية الفرنسية، وكل من يريد إخراج فرنسا من الجزائر، وأنها كانت وراء معظم الحركات التي تمت ضد قوات الاحتلال. ويذكر الأستاذ محمد نسيب أن سلطات الاحتلال أغلقت الزاوية ثم هدمتها إثر ثورة 1857، ثم سمحت بإعادة فتحها، وانتقلت مشيخة الطريقة إلى زاوية الشيخ ابن الحداد بصدوق. وهدمتها ثانية بعد ثورة 1871، التي تزعمها الشيخ الحداد.

2-5-7 زاوية بن أبي داود

وهي الزاوية التي درس بها الشيخ محمد بن أبي القاسم الهاملي، أسسها أولاد أبي داود القرن التاسع الهجري، إلا أنها تنسب إلى الشيخ السعيد بن عبد الرحمن بن أبي داود (ت 1256هـ = 1840م). وهي تقع بتاسلنت، أقبو. اشتهرت بتدريس الفقه كما اشتهرت زاوية شلاطة بتدريس القرآن الكريم. هدمها الفرنسيون في ثورة التحرير سنة 1958م.

3-5-7 زاوية البوجليلي

من الزوايا التي ظهرت بعد ثورة 1871، في عهد التشديد على المؤسسات الدينية الإسلامية، أسسها الشيخ محمد بن أبي القاسم البوجليلي، اكتسب شهرة واسعة في المنطقة واكتسب خبرة عالية في التدريس، إذ ظل مدرسا بزاوية اليلولي لمدة تجاوزت الثلاثين سنة. اشتهرت زاويته بتعليم اللغة العربية. احتلها الفرنسيون في ثورة التحرير، وجعلوها معتقلا.

4-5-7 زاوية باش تارزي

من الزوايا الرحمانية الأولى التي تأسست في حياة الشيخ الأزهري نفسه. وتعتبر أم جل الزوايا بالشرق الجزائري وجنوبه. أسسها الشيخ عبد الرحمن باش تارزي بأمر من

إله لا الله من أستاذه ثلاثا المعتقد فيه التوصل إلى الله تعالى، ثم يقول المريد الكلمة والأستاذ يسمع ثلاثا. الأصل الثاني هو مقام الأدب، يجب على المريد إذا تلقى هذه الكلمة من أستاذه أن يتلقاها بقلب تقّي نقيّ سليم. الأصل الثالث هو الاستقامة على ما تلقن من الشيخ. الأصل الرابع المشاهدة دوما من غير فترة ولا وهم كثرة. الأصل الخامس العزلة عمّا نهى الله عنه، والعزلة باشتغال الله وقطع النظر من غيره. الأصل السادس الزهد، فهو رهبة عن ما لم يكن ورغبة فيما لم يزل. فهذه أصول ستة لازمة لبنيان هذه الطريقة والله أعلم بحقيقة ذلك. أمّا بعد فإنّ الأخ الصالح والمؤمن الفالح والعبد الناجح ذي الأصل العريق والعهد الوثيق وحسن أولئك رفيق النائب إلى الله تعالى الحسيب النسيب السيّد محمد بن الحاج محمد بن أبي القاسم الحسنّي الهامليّ من بوسعادة إقليم الجزائر الغرب، طلب منّي أن أجيزه بما أجازني أهلي ومشايخي أنا الفقير إلى الله تعالى محمد خليل بن السيّد الشريف الشيخ عليّ الهيجانيّ القادريّ نسبا البغداديّ، من أولاد الغوث الأعظم سيدنا السيّد عبد القادر الجيلانيّ قد أجزته وأذنت له بكلّ ما أجازوني مشايخي، بعد أن سمعت به السمع الفاشي أنّه أهلا لإجراء الخير والسعادة ومحلاّ لنقل العلم والسجادة، وأذنت له بلبس الخرقة القادرية التي لبسها سيدي وأستاذي والذي المرحوم السيّد عليّ الهيجانيّ وهو لبسها عن والده السيّد الشريف الشيخ خليل الهيجانيّ وهو لبسها عن والده السيّد الشريف الشيخ عليّ الهيجانيّ، وهلمّ جرا إلى الغوث الأعظم سيدنا الشيخ عبد القادر الجيلانيّ قدس الله سرّه العالي، ومن سيّدنا السيّد الشيخ عبد القادر إلى حضرة السند الأعظم سيد العرب والعجم محمد صليّ الله عليه وآله وسلّم معلوم وشهير. كتبه الفقير محمد خليل الهيجاني في 10 ذي الحجة عام 1315 هجرية.

4-7 أعلام الطريقة

أعلام الطريقة الرحمانية لا يحصون كثرة، ولا يسعنا استقصاؤهم هنا، ولكننا نحيل على أهم المراجع التي تناولتهم، إجمالا أو تخصيصا، ولا بأس إذا ألمحنا إلى بعض منهم كالشيخ محمد بن أحمد بن عزوز البرجيّ (ت1818م) الذي نشر الطريقة في صحراء الجزائر حتى صارت تعرف باسمه العزوزية، وابنه الشيخ مصطفى بن محمد بن عزوز البرجيّ (ت1865م) الذي نشرها في تونس، والشيخ عبد الحفيظ بن محمد الخنقيّ (ت1850م)، والشيخ عبد الرحمن بن أحمد باش تارزيّ (ت1807م) صاحب المنظومة الرحمانية، وابنه الشيخ مصطفى بن عبد الرحمن باش تارزي (ت1870م) الذي شرحها، والشيخ محمد أمزيان بن عليّ الحدّاد (ت 1873 م) الزعيم الروحي لثورة 1871، والشيخ محمد بن أبي القاسم البوجليليّ (ت 1882م) المتخصص في القراءات، والشيخ الحسين بن عليّ بن عمر الطولقيّ (ت1891م) صاحب كتاب فاكهة الحلقوم، وهو والد شيخ الأزهر الشيخ الخضر، والشيخ محمد بن أبي القاسم الهامليّ (ت1897م) مؤسس زاوية الهامل وحامل لواء الطريقة، وابن أخيه الشيخ محمد بن محمد بن أبي القاسم الحسنّي الهامليّ (ت1913م) صاحب كتاب الزهر الباسم، والشيخ المكي بن مصطفى بن عزوز البرجيّ (ت1915م) صاحب الكتب الكثيرة، والذي استقر به المقام بالآستانة، والشيخ محمد بن محمد بن عبد الرحمن الديسيّ (ت1922م) صاحب الديوان والتأليف، والأديب الشاعر الشيخ عاشور بن محمد بن عبيد الخنقيّ (ت 1927 م)، والشيخ محمد أبو القاسم الحفناويّ بن أبي

الرحمانية لمن رغبها منه كأمثاله من مشايخ الطرق، ومن أخذ عنه فكأنما أخذ عني، هكذا أجازني مشافهة وكتابة بخطه العارف بالله تعالى العلامة الفاني في حب الله عز وجل ورسوله صلى الله عليه وسلم شيخنا سيدي أحمد الأمين بن المدني بن عزوز، دفين بقيق الغرق، قدس الله سره أمين. وقال لي من أخذ عنك فكأنما أخذ عني، وهو أخذها عن الشيخ سيدي سعيد باش تارزي، وقال له من أخذ عنك فكأنما أخذ عني، وهو عن المعمر سيدي علي بن موسى، مقدّم العارف بالله سيدي محمد بن عبد الرحمن الأزهرّي، دفين حامة الجزائر، الشهير. فيكون بيني وبين الشيخ الأزهرّي ثلاثة شيوخ فقط، وهذا أقرب سند فيما نعلم، أمّا بقيته فهو معلوم من الأثبات، فليؤخذ منها عند الحاجة إليه. والحمد لله على الدخول في زمرتهم والتشبّث بأذيالهم، أعاد الله على الجميع من بركاتهم، آمين. هذا وإنّ كيفية التلقين وتفاصيل الأوراد مشهورة معروفة في كتب القوم، والقصد الوحيد هو إرشاد العباد، وتخليصهم من ربة الجهل، وتصفية بواطنهم وتعليمهم ما يصلح دينهم ودنياهم، وتحريضهم على الطاعات في سائر الحالات. وأوصيه وإياي بتقوى الله تعالى التي هي ملاك كلّ شيء، ومجاملة الخلق وملاطفتهم، واستجلاب قلوبهم بما لم يكن فيه مخالفة شرعية. والله أسأل، وبنيّه صلى الله عليه وسلم أتوسّل أن يهديه ويهدي به، ويجعله خير مثال لسلفنا، ويصلح حاله وماله بما تقرّ به عينه دنيا وأخرى، وبرزقنا وإيّاه التوفيق في السرّ والعلانية. والرجاء منه أن لا ينساني وشيخي من صالح دعائه. قاله وكتبه بقلمه فقير رحمة ربّه، الراجي منه سبحانه غفران ذنوبه، محمّد بن عزوز القاسمي، أخذ الله تعالى بيده، وجعل غده أحسن من يومه. يوم الجمعة فاتح شعبان عام 1387).

3-7 نموذج إجازة الطريقة القادرية

إنّه من سليمان وإنّه بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي أطلع على أنوار السادة القادرية في سماء العهود، وجلا جمالها في مرآة الوجود، واختار منهم أولياء وجعلهم أحبّاءه فنالوا بفضل السعادة والسعود، وأورثهم أرضه، وأخذ عليهم عهده، فقاموا بواجب طاعته ورغبوا فيما عنده فأسكنهم جنّات الخلود، أحمده سبحانه وتعالى على ما أنعم علينا وأعطانا غاية البيعة والمقصود، واشكره وأتوب إليه وأستغفره من كلّ ذنب وجحود، وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له في الوجوب القديم الصمد المحيط بنفسه في إحاطة حيطه سواء ولا أحاط به فيما أبرم الحيّ لذاته بذاته في ذاته من غير زيادة عليه فتعرض للعدم ويعرضها العدم القيوم من لا سمائه بأسمائه في سمائه من حيث لا سواء قام وقوم، وأشهد أنّ سيّدنا ونبيّنا وكنزنا وذخرنا يوم الحشر الأعظم إلى الصراط الأقوم والقرب الأحكم محمّد صلى الله عليه وسلم عبده ورسوله المبعوث إلى سائر الأمم صلاة شاملة زاكية متصلة بالكرم عائدة بالصلاة الذاتية على من نفخ في صورته بعد صعقة كون باعث الرمم وعلى آله وأصحابه أهل الدرجة العليا والروضة الفيحاء والحكمة الغراء والمقدع الأسمى ما غرّد بلبل الأفنان برقائق دقائق حقائق العرفان على أغصان قلوب أهل الإحسان وترنم، وبعد فإنّه لما كان الطريق مبنياً على أصول مقامات ستّة هي أمّهات الستّة الأيام التي فتق الله بها عالم الشهادة العلويّ والسفليّ التي سابع سبعتها يوم الجمعة التي أوجد [الله] فيه آدم عليه السلام فلذلك كان مقدار أجله سبعة أيّام من أيّام ربّك، وإنّا نريد في هذه المقدّمة بيان معرفة الستّة التي عليها بيان طريق الله تعالى، الأصل الأوّل هو مقام التلقين العهديّ وشرطه الصدق، والتلقين هو قول لا

عليه. والفوائد في العقائد، فاعرف قدره ترى بركته وخيره إن شاء الله تعالى. ثم بحزب البحر لإمام العارفين سيدي أبي الحسن الشاذلي رضي الله تعالى عنه. قال ابن عطاء الله: هو ورد بعد صلاة العصر. وأجيز الولد المذكور في حزب النووي، بقراءته بعد صلاة الصبح مرة، وبعد صلاة المغرب مرة. وسندي في هذه الأحزاب الشريفة بأخذي لها عن العلامة الكامل أستاذنا وملاذنا وعمدتنا العارف بالله والدالّ عليه الشيخ سيدي أحمد الأمين بن المدني بن عزّوز التونسي. وعن الولي الكامل العلامة العامل الشيخ سيدي يوسف بن إسماعيل النبهاني، بأسانيدهم إلى مؤلفيها، رضي الله عنهم وعنا بهم، ونفعنا ببركاتهم وجعلنا من أتباعهم ونفعنا بمحبّتهم. وهذين السندين العاليتين كفاية. والله أسأل، وبنبيّه عليه الصلاة والسلام أتوسّل، أن يجعلك من الهداة المهديين، ومن حملة الشريعة العاملين، موقفاً منصوراً مؤيداً محفوظاً بما حفظ به عباده الصالحين. راجياً في الختام من ولدنا، وأعزّ كلّ ولد عندنا، أن لا ينساني من صالح دعواته في خواتم ما أذن له فيه خصوصاً، وفي مواطن الإجابة متى تيسّر له ذلك عموماً. والله الموفق والهادي، وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل، ولا حول ولا قوة إلاّ بالله العليّ العظيم، وصلى الله وسلّم على سيّدنا محمّد النبيّ العربيّ الأمين، وعلى آله وأصحابه وحملة شريعته وصالحى أمته إلى يوم الدين، وسلام على المرسلين والحمد لله ربّ العالمين. كتب 28 صفر يوم الأربعاء في سنة 1368).

وكتب الشيخ محمّد بنعزّوز من تلقاء نفسه إننا بإعطاء أوراد الطريقة الخلوتية، للشيخ خليل القاسمي. نصّه:

(بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. الحمد لله الذي هدى من شاء من عباده إلى الطريق الأقوم. والصلاة والسلام على سيّدنا ومولانا محمّد ذي المقام الأفخم والجناب الأعظم، وعلى آله وصحبه حملة شرعه، المهتدين بهديه، وعلى كلّ محبّ لجنايه متّبع لسنته. أمّا بعد؛ فمن المعلوم الضروري أنّ المدد الساري من عين الرحمة صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وصحبه وسلّم، يسري إلى أصحابه مباشرة، ثمّ إلى من بعدهم ممّن تلقّى عنهم رعن من تلقّى عنهم، وهكذا طبقة بعد طبقة إلى يوم القيامة. ومن لم يكن منلقياً بطريق ثابت صحيح يكون منقطعاً منفصلاً. نرجو الله أن يبرزنا مقام الوصل والفناء بمثله وكرمه. أمين. لهذا جرت عادة الشيوخ سلفاً وخلفاً تعلّق خواطرهم بالانتساب إلى أوليائه، والتشبّث بطرق الكمل من أصفياه، بعد أخذهم علم الشريعة بآلاتها، ليشربوا من الكأسين ويحوزوا الفضيلتين. ولكلّ زمان تصوّف ورجال، وعلى حسب النيات تتكوّن الأعمال. وكان ممّن شرب من منهل العلم ما قدر له وأخذ منه طرفاً مهماً، يصحّ له به أن يعبد الله ويتّقيه حقّ تقاته ويخشاه، مع ما ظهر عليه. والحمد لله الذي بنعمته تتمّ الصالحات. من مخايل السيادة في مكارم الأخلاق، ونرجو له من الله سبحانه المزيد من فضله، ابننا قلباً وحبّاً البارّ السميع المفضل خليل القاسمي، قسم الله له من كلّ خير ما تحمّد به عقباه في أولاه وأخراه. عنّ لنا أن نجيزه في بثّ أوراد طريقتنا الخلوتية على سبيل التبرّك، وبقصد إرشاد الخلق لطريق الحقّ، وتعليمهم الآداب الشرعية والأخلاق السنية. ولو أنّي لست أهلاً لذلك، ولا ممّن يخوض تلك الحوالك، إلّا أنّي رجوت له النفع بذلك مع ما فيها من سنّة الشيوخ والتعلّق بهم والتشبّث بأذيالهم. فالمرء مع من أحبّ، وإن لم يعمل بعمله، لطفاً من الله ورحمة ببركات شفيع هذه الأمة صلى الله عليه وآله وصحبه وسلّم. فأقول قد أجزت وأذنت لابننا المذكور أن يلقّن أوراد الطريقة الخلوتية القاسمية

7-ملحق Annexe

7-1 ورد الطريقة الرحمانية

تذكر بعد صلاة الفجر: يا حيّ يا قيّوم لا إله إلا أنت برحمتك أستغيث. أربعين مرّة. ثمّ: سبحان الله وبحمده سبحان الله العظيم أستغفر الله. مائة مرّة. ثمّ الصلاة الكاملة، وهي: اللهم صلّ وسلّم على سيّدنا محمّد وآله صلاة أهل السموات والأرضين عليه وأجر يا ربّ لطفك الخفيّ في أموري. ثلاث مرّات. ثمّ: اللهم ربّ جبريل وميكائيل وإسرافيل وعزرائيل ومحمّد صلى الله عليه وسلّم أجرنّي من النار. ثلاث مرّات. وبعد صلاة الصبح، بعد المعقّبات، تذكر: لا إله إلا الله. ثلاثمائة مرّة، المائة الأولى بالمدّ والثانية بالتوسّط والثالثة بالقصر. وبعد صلاة العصر كذلك: لا إله إلا الله. ثلاثمائة مرّة. وبعد صلاة عصر الخميس: تترك الهيللة، وتنقل إلى الصلاة على النبي صلى الله عليه وسلّم بقولك: اللهم صلّ على سيّدنا محمّد وعلى آله وصحبه وسلّم. ثلاثمائة مرّة. وبعد صلاة الجمعة: تصلّي بهذه الصيغة: اللهم صلّ على سيّدنا محمّد النبي الأميّ وعلى آله وصحبه وسلّم. ثمانين مرّة. ثمّ المعقّبات. ثمّ لا إله إلا الله، كما هي العادة. وبعد كلّ صلاة بعد المعقّبات: تصلّي على النبي صلى الله عليه وسلّم عشر مرّات، بالصيغة الآتية: اللهم صلّ على سيّدنا محمّد وعلى آل سيّدنا محمّد وسلّم.

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7-2 نموذج إجازة في الطريقة الرحمانية:

(الحمد لله والصلاة والسلام على رسول الله وعلى آله وصحبه ومن والاه. الحمد لله الهادي من جاهد في سبيله إلى الصراط المستقيم، صراط الذين أنعم عليهم من النبيّين والصديقين والشهداء والصالحين. والصلاة والسلام على سيّدنا محمّد المرشد الأعظم والنبيّ الأكرم وعلى آله وصحبه. أمّا بعد فقد اختار الله لولدنا البارّ الشهم الأديب، من نرجو الله أن يكون قرّة عين لنا وللسلفنا في الدارين، القاسميّ سمّي سيّدنا إبراهيم الخليل، على نبينا وعليه الصلاة والسلام، الاندماج في سلك من تتجافى جنوبهم عن المضاجع يدعون ربّهم خوفاً وطمعاً، والانخراط في صفّ المتوسّلين والداعين الراغبين القرب من الله تعالى، والراغبين المغتربين النفحات الإلهية والفتوحات الربّانية، عساه أن يكون ممّن تقرب إليه سبحانه بالنوافل حتّى أحبّه، فإذا أحبّه كان سمعه وبصره. ورغب من الحقير الفقير إلى رحمة الله محمّد بنعزّوز القاسميّ، الإذن له في بعض أحزاب القوم، فأعجبت بفكره وساعدته على مرامه ترغيباً له وتنشيطاً، راجياً من الله أن يكون خير خلف لخير سلف، قائلاً وعلى الله سبحانه متوكّلاً: قد أدنّت لولدنا حفظه الله ورعاه في الأذكار النبويّة علماً وعملاً قلباً ولساناً، وهي في كتب الحديث متفرّقة، وأجمع ما رأينا في هذا الشأن وأقربه متناً، أوّلاً كتاب الأذكار للإمام النووي، وكتاب عمل اليوم والليلة لابن السنيّ، وسفر السعادة للفيروزآبادي، بأسانيدٍ إلى مؤلّفيها، رضي الله تعالى عنهم. ثمّ أجيزه بحزب السحر لسيدّي مصطفى البكريّ، بحقّ أخذي له عن وليّ نعمتي الوليّ الكامل العلّامة الواصل دفين بقيق الغرقد الشيخ سيّد أحمد الأمين، قدّس الله سرّه ونور ضريحه وجزاه عناً بأفضل ما يجازى به أمثاله، العارفون الكاملون العلماء العاملون. ثمّ بالدور الأعلى للشيخ الأكبر سيّدّي محيي الدين بن العربيّ رضي الله تعالى عنه. ويحتاج وقت قراءته إلى حضور القلب وإخلاص النية والمواظبة

6-خاتمة

أخيراً؛ أعلم أن البحوث الجامعية تتطلب الدقة والموضوعية والمنهجية، ولكن طبيعة هذا الموضوع متشعبة تقتضي التمهيد والطرح والتفريع والاستدلال، ولأنه أيضاً موضوع رحب وخصب يتراوح بين ميادين شتى، من سنن السلف إلى فضائل الأخلاق إلى فنّ السماع إلى فلسفة الوجود إلى علم الاجتماع وهلم جرا، ولولا التقيد بالمساحة المحددة زماناً ومكاناً لتطوّر البحث حتى يصير كتاباً، لأنّ التصوّف منذ نشأته وهو محل جدال وأخذ وردّ إلى يومنا هذا وفي كلّ المستويات، لأنه ببساطة أيضاً منتشر في كلّ المستويات الاجتماعية والعلمية، وبمنظرة معمّقة في كتب التراجم نجد أنّ معظم علماء المسلمين كانوا صوفيّة، بمن فيهم السلفيّة.

أرجو أن يكون هذا البحث ثمرة تستفاد، أو لبنة تستجد، نضيف إليها ما به يكتمل العمل ويصح الفكر والنظر، شاكرًا للأستاذ الدكتور ماساتوشي كيسايتشي ثقته فيّ وتشجيعه لي، وشاكرًا لمعهد الدراسات الشرقية بجامعة صوفيا بطوكيو دعوتي وتشريفي بالمحاضرة فيه، وشاكرًا لكم الإصغاء والاعتناء، سائلاً الله لنا ولكم التوفيق في الدارين.

محمد فؤاد القاسمي الحسني

المقطع في 24 ربيع الأول 1434 الموافق 2013/2/5

5- نتائج

1-5 الماضي والحاضر

لعلنا نستنتج من هذا البحث حول الطريقة الرحمانية في الجزائر أنها؛

- طريقةً سنّيةً علميّةً خلوتية الأصل ملتزمة بحدود الشريعة، لا غلو فيها ولا تعصّب.
- حافظت على المرجعية الدينية المستمدّة من مذهب مالك وعقيدة الأشعري وطريقة الجنيد.
- حافظت على اللغة العربية في المجتمع. وعلى كثير من تقاليده وأعرافه.
- أدّت وتؤدي واجبها نحو الدين والمجتمع والوطن منذ نشأتها إلى اليوم.
- شغلت وقتها بترقية الإنسان والحفاظ على الوطن، إذ مقومات الحضارة هي الإنسان والتراب والوقت.

2-5 الآفاق

وبعد هذه اللوحة عن التصوف والطريقة الرحمانية، بين ماض وحاضر، هل ستبقى كذلك، وهل سيكون لها من الحضور في المجتمع ما يحفظ بقاءها، في خضم ما يشهده العالم من تطوّر في التكنولوجيا، والعلوم والاتصال، ورفاهية ماديّة، وكل محدثات العولمة التي نعيشها اليوم؟ يُفترض أن تكون الإجابة نعم، بل يجب أن يكون حضورها أقوى، لأنّ البشر كلّما ازدادوا تطوّرًا علميًا وتقنيًا وترفا كلما ازدادت حاجتهم إلى الصفاء الروحي والراحة النفسية، ليكون التوازن بين المادة والروح، وهذا ما نجده في التصوّف، وربّما في التصوّف فقط. على أن يكون هذا التصوّف مبنيًا على أسس سليمة قوامها؛

- الالتزام بالقرآن والسنة النبويّة. لأنّهما المبدأ وبهما يصحّ المنتهى.
- الالتزام بالتعليم الديني المجاني، ونشر الإسلام، وقبول الآخر، والحوار بالتي هي أحسن.
- الالتزام بإطعام الطعام، ومساعدة الفقراء والمساكين، وبكل الأعمال الإنسانية.
- الابتعاد عن التوجيه السياسي وطنيا كان أو دوليا، لأسباب أدناها نفرة الناس من تسييس الدين.
- الابتعاد عن الماديّات ابتعاد تجريد من القلب لا ابتعاد ترك وتواكل.
- نشر الإسلام والتصوّف بكلّ وسائل الاتصال المتاحة، مع عدم الاستغناء عن التربية بالحال.

فإذا صار التصوّف صافيا من كل شائبة دنيوية بلغ بأتباعه السعادة، التي هي مطلب وغاية البشرية جمعاء، قال أحد الصوفية: (نحن في سعادة لو علمها الملوك لجالدونا عليها بالسيف).

وقال : نستطيع أن نأخذ من الصوفية الجوانب المشرقة، كجانب الطاعة لله. وجانب محبة الناس بعضهم لبعض، ومعرفة عيوب النفس، ومداخل الشيطان، وعلاجها، واهتمامهم بما يرقق القلوب، ويذكر بالآخرة. نستطيع أن نعرف عن هذا الكثير عن طريق بعض الصوفية كالإمام الغزالي مع الحذر من شطحاتهم، وانحرافاتهم، وغلوئهم، ووزن ذلك بالكتاب والسنة، وهذا لا يقدر عليه إلا أهل العلم وأهل المعرفة.¹³⁶

الله شاهد عليّ). وفي الحديث: (احفظ الله يحفظك احفظ الله تجده تجاهك إذا سألت فاسأل الله وإذا استعنت فاستعن بالله واعلم أن الأمة لو اجتمعت على أن ينفعوك بشيء لم ينفعوك إلا بشيء قد كتبه الله لك ولو اجتمعوا على أن يضروك بشيء لم يضروك إلا بشيء قد كتبه الله عليكم رفعت الأقاليم وجفت الصحف)¹³¹.

15-4 الإرشاد

في القرآن الكريم: {وَلْتَكُنْ مِنْكُمْ أُمَّةٌ يَدْعُونَ إِلَى الْخَيْرِ وَيَأْمُرُونَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَيَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ}¹³²، وفي الحديث: (من رأى منكم منكرا فليغيره بيده فإن لم يستطع فليसानه فإن لم يستطع فقلبه وذلك أضعف الإيمان). قال القرطبي: "قال العلماء: الأمر بالمعروف باليد على الأمراء، وباللسان على العلماء، وبالقلب على الضعفاء، يعني عوام الناس. ثم قال في تفسيرها: يدل على أن الأمر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر فرض على الكفاية، وقد عينهم الله تعالى بقوله: {الَّذِينَ إِنْ مَكَّنَّاهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ أَقَامُوا الصَّلَاةَ} الآية¹³³. وليس كل الناس مكنوا". وبعض الناس يأمر بالمعروف ولا يأتيه، وينهى عن المنكر ثم يبتلى به، وما ذاك إلا أنه في حال أمره ونهيه لم يكن مخلصا لله. ولذلك رأى الشيوخ أن هذا الأمر لا يتولاه إلا من تمكن، ولا يدرك ذلك إلا من تخلص من ربة الدنيا، ولا يعرف ذلك إلا الراسخون، فيأذنون لمن رأوا فيه الأهلية للإرشاد. ومن هنا نجد الإرشاد متاحا لديهم فقط للخاصة وليس لمن هب ودب، وعليه فالسكوت ليس عن عجز وإنما عن إخلاص.

16-4 الإنصاف

تحدث الشيخ أحمد بن تيمية عن تمسك الصوفية بالكتاب والسنة في الجزء العاشر من مجموع فتاويه فقال: (فأما المستقيمون من السالكين كجمهور مشايخ السلف مثل الفضيل بن عياض، وإبراهيم بن أدهم، وأبي سليمان الداراني، ومعروف الكرخي، والسري السقطي، و الجنيد بن محمد، وغيرهم من المتقدمين، ومثل الشيخ عبد القادر الجيلاني والشيخ حماد والشيخ أبي البيان، وغيرهم من المتأخرين، فهم لا يسوغون للسالك ولو طار في الهواء أو مشى على الماء أن يخرج عن الأمر والنهي الشرعيين، بل عليه أن يعمل المأمور ويدع المحذور إلى أن يموت. وهذا هو الحق الذي دل عليه الكتاب والسنة وإجماع السلف، وهذا كثير في كلامهم)¹³⁴.

وقال الشيخ رشيد رضا رحمه الله تعالى (لقد انفراد الصوفية بركن عظيم من أركان الدين، لا يطاولهم فيه مطاول، وهو التهذيب علماً وتخلقاً وتحققاً، ثم لما دونت العلوم في الملة، كتب شيوخ هذه الطائفة في الأخلاق ومحاسبة النفس..¹³⁵).

وقال الشيخ يوسف القرضاوي في معرض سؤاله عن صوفية الإخوان المسلمين في أنها دعوة صوفية كما جاء في تعريف جماعة الإخوان للمؤسس الشيخ حسن البنا: إن الإخوان المسلمين هي دعوة صوفية لأنهم يعملون على أساس التزكية وطهارة النفس، ونقاء القلب، والمواظبة على العمل، والإعراض عن الخلق، والحب في الله، والارتباط على الخير. فهذا هو التصوف، وهذه هي الصوفية الحقيقية عند حسن البنا.

11-4 السياسة

الصوفيّة والطريقون عموماً، وخصوصاً الرحمانية يلتزمون بوظيفتهم الأساس، ألا وهي تركية النفس وتعليم القرآن وإطعام الطعام، إذ الخير كلّ الخير لهم وللأمة في ذلك¹²⁸. قال الإمام الحسن بن علي: (نحن أهل بيت لا تجتمع فيه النبوة والخلافة)، وليس أجمع لخيري الدنيا والآخرة من كتاب الله وخدمته، والصوفيّة كلّ في زاويته قد اجتمعوا بذلك على تعليم وتربية الخلق. ولا دخل لهم في السياسة إلاّ إذا تدخلت السياسة في الدين بتعطيل أحد الأركان، حينها يقومون بواجبهم ولا يخافون في الله لومة لائم.

12-4 التنوّع

مما يميّز مشايخ الزوايا عموماً، دون غيرهم من شيوخ العلم والفقهاء والأئمة وبقية رجال الدين، أنّ مريدتهم يكونون من كلّ أطياف المجتمع، من أعلى مستوياته إلى أدناها، وغالباً ما يكون هؤلاء المشايخ في أحسن مستوى للتعامل مع هؤلاء وهؤلاء، من رؤساء ووزراء ورجال سياسة وعسكر، إلى علماء وأطباء وأثرياء وفقراء، وقدماء وأحداث، وكبارا وصغاراً، ومفكرين ودراويش، وربما حتى العصاة والمجانين. يعاملون كلا بما يليق به، ويأخذون كلا بالرفق والكلمة الطيبة والوجه الطلق، عملاً بالسنة النبوية والأخلاق المحمّدية.

13-4 الأوقاف

لعلّ من أهمّ المآخذ التي يعائب عليها القائلون على الزوايا هي الجانب المادي، المتمثّل في الأوقاف، أو في مداخل هذه المؤسسات الخيرية سواء من إحسان أتباعها أو من أوقافها هي، وهذا الجانب لا يمكن بحال التحكّم فيه، ومرجعه أساساً إلى أنّ الشيخ الذي اختير لتولّي مسؤولية تسيير الزاوية إنّما هو محل ثقة لأتباعه وطلبته، فيوكل أمره إلى الله، إن أحسن فلنفسه وإن أساء فعليها، والمفترض أن يحسن الظن به.

أمّا عن الأوقاف الشخصية التي اقتضاها القانون الفرنسي الذي كان يؤمّم الأوقاف الدينية، ما حدا بالجزائريين إلى أن يوقفوا أوقافاً شخصية عائلية للحفاظ عليها من المحتل، فظنّوا أنها وقفت على الشخص لينال الموقوفة عليه الثواب باستعماله للمستحقين فيها لا ليستغني بها، وكلّ يعمل على شاكلته.

14-4 الإصلاح

الإصلاح عند الصوفية يبدأ بالنفس، {قَدْ أَفْلَحَ مَنْ زَكَّاهَا}¹²⁹ وفي الحديث (ثلاث من فعلهن فقد طعم طعم الإيمان : من عبد الله وحده، وأنه لا إله إلا الله، و أعطى زكاة ماله طيبة بها نفسه، رافدة عليه كل عام، وزكّى نفسه، فقال رجل: وما تركية النفس ؟ فقال: أن يعلم أن الله عز وجل معه حيث كان)¹³⁰، وهذا ما يسمّى لديهم بالمراقبة، أن يراقب الله في جميع حركاته وسكناته، فإذا تمكّن من ذلك اتسعت دائرة مراقبته وتركيبته لمحيطه، وكلّ ما زاد التمكين اتسعت الدائرة. قال سهل بن عبد الله التستري: (قل بقلبك: الله معي، الله ناظرٌ إليّ،

ينطبق وصف الحضرة على حلقة الذكر. في جمال وجلال يصل بالحاضرين إلى حالات منها، سمو روحي، ورقي فكري، ونقاء نفسي، وارتياح بدني. وهذه أمور كلها إيجابية تعود بالخير على الفرد والمجتمع.¹²⁰

9-4 السماع

ومن جملة ما ينصرف عنه لفظ (الحضرة) المدائح التي تنشد في المولد النبوي منها على سبيل المثال لا الحصر قصيدة البردة للإمام البوصيري، ومدى انتشارها في العالم الإسلامي دليل على قبولها لدى الكل، كما تنشد قصائد أخرى لبعض السادة الصوفية، ويكون لها كبير الأثر عليهم في وصل السامعين بربهم، وهو ما يسمّى اصطلاحاً بالسماع الصوفي¹²¹، وقد سئل الإمام الجنيد عن بعض المريدين يطربون للقصائد، فقال لأنها ممّا عملت أيديهم ولأنّه كلام المحبّين¹²².

ولكن في المقابل نجد إخضاع المدائح لأغراض مادية وتقنيها وجعلها وفق الطلب منكراً، لأنّ جمال الحضرة وجلالها إنما يكمن في بساطتها وعفويتها. أما ما صار يفعله بعض الراقصين ممن يدعون الانتساب إلى طريقة صوفية ما، من تحديد مواعيد وإشهار لحفل راقص تعد له إعدادات ضخمة تنظيمًا وتسجيلاً وبثاً فضائياً، ويؤدون وصلات على طريقة الأوركسترا لجلب السياح واستدراار المال، فهذا ممّا لا علاقة له بالتصوّف إطلاقاً. ولاسيما إذا وجدنا أكثر من يدعون التواجد فيه هم تاركو صلاة. يروي القاضي عياض عن عبد الله بن يوسف التنيسي أن رجلاً من أهل نصيبين قال للإمام مالك: يا أبا عبد الله عندنا قوم يقال لهم الصوفية يأكلون كثيراً ثم يأخذون في القصائد ثم يقومون فيرقصون. فقال: ما سمعت أن أحداً من أهل الإسلام يفعل هذا¹²³. وقال الأخضري في القدسية: والرقص والصراخ والتصفيق * عمداً بذكر الله لا يليق * وإنما المطلوب في الأذكار * الذكر بالخشوع والوقار... نقل الورتيلاني في شرحه لها ما نقتطفه من كلام زروق الفاسي: (وقد يتعلق بعض الواصلين به (أي السماع) لإفادة غيرهم أو رفقا بأبدانهم وموافقة للحال في وقتهم، فهو موقف الأبطال ومزلة أقدام الرجال وأكثر ما يعتني به أهل البطالة والضلال، قال أبو الحسن الشاذلي رضي الله عنه: "سألت أستاذاً عن السماع فأجابني بقوله تعالى: {إِنَّهُمْ أَلَفُوا آبَاءَهُمْ ضَالِّينَ * فَهُمْ عَلَى آثَارِهِمْ يُهْرَعُونَ¹²⁴}¹²⁵.

10-4 الفن

وربما نلاحظ في هذا الباب أن التصوّف والصوفية لما اتّسموا به من سمو روحي وخلق وحسن معاملة انتسب إليهم معظم الفنانين في العالم الإسلامي من شعراء ومهندسين وخطاطين وأطباء وغير ذلك¹²⁶، ومن أجمل التراث المخطوط المنمنمات التي زينت كتب التصوّف كدلائل الخيرات وبردة البوصيري وغيرهما، وإذا نظرنا في التكايا والخانقاهات والزوايا المنتشرة في العالم الإسلامي من أقصى المشرق إلى أقصى المغرب نجد كلها جميعها قد بنيت بطراز يجعل النفس تهذاً والقلب يخشع والروح تسمو وتتألق، وما ذاك إلا من صدق بُنائتها وإخلاصهم¹²⁷.

ولكن للأسف بعض الناقدين يطلقون أحكامهم جزافاً، ظانين أنّ هذه القواعد تنطبق على أمثالهم من العلماء والعقلاء، أو أنّ كلّ الناس في مستواهم هم العلمي والعقلي، فيأنفون من تلك القواعد، وهذا ما غاب عنهم أو غيّبوه.

7-4 التخاذل

وصف بعضهم الصوفيّة بالتواكل والتخاذل، مع أنهم كانوا في طلائع المجاهدين بأموالهم وأنفسهم، ولكي لا يضرب في التاريخ فيطول بنا الحديث عن شقيق البلخيّ وحاتم الخراسانيّ وغيرهما، نقتصر على أقربهم إلينا زماناً ومكاناً، الأمير عبد القادر الجزائريّ (1847)، الذي لا ينكر علمه وعمله في المشرق والمغرب إلّا جاحد، فقد كان من أوائل المجاهدين في الجزائر للغزو الفرنسي، وانضمّ إلى جيشه أكثر أتباع القادرية والرحمانية، تلتها ثورة الزعاطشة (1849)، ثمّ الشيخ الحاج عمر مقدم زاوية ابن عبد الرحمن في ثورته التي انطلقت من ذراع الميزان (1851)، وثورة لالة فاطمة نسومر بالقبائل (1854)، ثمّ الثائر المجاهد الشيخ أمزيان بن الحداد شيخ الطريقة الرحمانية (1871)، مروراً بثورة الشيخ ابن جار الله المصمودي بالأوراس (1879)، وثورة الشيخ الهاشمي بن علي دردور بالأوراس أيضاً (1880)، وصولاً إلى أول من أسس حركة شعبية في الجزائر الأمير خالد، وهو من رجال الطريقة القادرية، ثمّ تزعم الحركة مصالي الحاج، وهو من الطريقة الشاذلية، وحين اندلعت ثورة التحرير كانت أكثر المناطق توتّراً هي المناطق التي تنتشر فيها الطريقة الرحمانية¹¹⁶.

وإذا التفتنا صوب المشرق نجد في الهند الشيخ أحمد فاروقي السهرندي النقشبدي (1624) الذي أدخل الحكومة المغولية التي كانت تحكم الهند إلى الإسلام، والشيخ شاه وليّ الله الدهلوي النقشبدي، (1762) الذي قاوم أتباعه وتلاميذه الاحتلال الإنجليزي، كما قاوم في القوقاز الاحتلال الروسي الشيخ منصور أوشورما النقشبدي (1793)، ومن بعده المجاهد العالم الشيخ شامل الداغستاني النقشبدي (1871)، والإمام سعيد النورسي في تركيا (1958)، والشيخ محمد عز الدين القسام القادري في فلسطين (1935)، وغيرهم كثير لا يحصون.¹¹⁷

8-4 الحضرة

حلقة الذكر في الطريقة الرحمانية هي أن يجتمع الشيخ أو نائب عنه بعدد من المريدين يزيد وينقص، بحسب الظروف، كلّ يوم بعد صلاة الصبح وبعد صلاة العصر. يفتتح الشيخ بالبسملة، ثمّ الشهادتين، ثمّ يشرع معه المريدون في ذكر كلمة التوحيد (لا إله إلاّ الله) ثلاثمائة مرّة، كأدنى عدد، ثمّ ينتقل إلى ذكر الاسم المفرد (الله) مائة مرّة، ثمّ يختم بحزب من القرآن الكريم. هذا هو المبدأ.¹¹⁸

وفي المناسبات الدينية والأعياد والمواسم، تتسع حلقة الذكر، ويزيد عدد المريدين، فقد يصل أحياناً إلى خمسمائة شخص أو أكثر، وفي الحالة هذه وحين تسمع كلمة التوحيد ترتفع في كل لحظة خمسمائة مرة بخمسمائة صوت، سيكون الموقف لا شك مذهلاً، ويكون الحماس على أشده، وقد يزيد الشيخ إذا لمس ذلك من مريديه في عدد التسبيحات¹¹⁹، وهنا

كانت هجرته إلى الله ورسوله فهجرته إلى الله ورسوله، ومن كانت هجرته إلى دنيا يصيبها، أو امرأة ينكحها، فهجرته إلى ما هاجر إليه¹⁰⁹.¹¹⁰

4-6 الاستسلام

الاستسلام في التربية، يعتبر محط انتقاد للصوفية، حيث يعتبره البعض تعطيلا لفكر الإنسان، ولست أدري لماذا لم ينظروا بنفس العين إلى أحكم مؤسسات الدول والمجتمعات، أعني المؤسسة العسكرية، ولنتساءل، هل إذا أمر قائد جنوده بأمر ما، هل يراودونه ويطلبون المبررات والتعليلات قبل الاستجابة، أم أنهم ينفذون الأوامر، وينقادون في كل الحالات، سلما كانت أو حربا، لثقتهم بأن قائدهم مطلع على ما لم يدركوه، وأن غايته مصلحتهم ومصلحة مجتمعهم، فذلك الأمر بالنسبة للشيخ الذي يتعهد صاحبه بالتربية والتوجيه، في خوض معركة الحياة الدنيا، وهي دار الامتحان بالابتلاء كرما أو هوانا، فيأخذ بيده، لكي لا يقول إنما أوتيته على علم¹¹¹، أو يقول إن ربي أهانني¹¹²، إلى سبيل الفهم عن الله في العطاء والمنع¹¹³، فيكون من الشاكرين في الحالين، قال تعالى: ﴿إِنَّا هَدَيْنَا السَّبِيلَ إِنَّمَا شَاكِرًا وَإِمَّا كَفُورًا﴾¹¹⁴.

ودفع آخر لهذا الإشكال، وهو بكل بساطة أن أمر التسليم - فوق أنه وارد في القرآن الكريم في قوله تعالى: {وَيُسَلِّمُوا تَسْلِيمًا}¹¹⁵، ونحن نعلم أن البعض يقول إنه خاص بالرسول عليه الصلاة والسلام - الذي ورد في كثير من آثار الصوفية، بعبارات متعددة: منها من قال لشيخه لم لا يفلح، وعلى المريد أن يكون لشيخه كالमित بين يدي مغسله، وما إلى ذلك. ونقول إن اتهامهم بتعطيل العقل مردود من وجهين؛

الأول؛ لأن الطرق الصوفية ظهرت في عصر اهتم فيه العالم الإسلامي وأصابه الوهن، وكان في تدهور مطرد على جميع الأصعدة، السياسية والأمنية والاجتماعية والعلمية وغير ذلك، وهذا الحال اقتضى تردي مستوى الإدراك لدى العامة لتفاهت السليبيات عليها، وهو ما وسّع الهوة بين الأستاذ والتلميذ، أو الشيخ والمريد، فتجد الشيخ منشغلا بحيث لا يسعه الوقت للإجابة على أسئلة تكاد تكون تافهة لكثرة ترديدها عليه، أو هي فعلا تافهة ومكررة. ومع همّة الشيوخ الذين نطقوا بمقولة: (الوقت كالسيف إن لم تقطعه قطعك)، وحبًا منهم في اغتنام تلك الأوقات فيما كانوا يرونه أهم من إجابات مكررة، فرضوا في المقابل أيضا مقولة تعتبر قاعدة، ألا وهي: من قال لشيخه لم لا يفلح أبدا.

الثاني؛ أن هذه القاعدة لم تكن تطبق من الشيوخ على مريديهم ذوي الكفاءات والقدرات العقلية والعلمية أبدا، بل عكس ذلك تماما، فتراهم يتناقشون في أكثر المسائل تعقيدا ولا يضرجون منهم، ويتراسلون في موضوعات علمية، بل إن بعض الشيوخ يعاملون المريدين الأكفاء وكأنهم هم أساتذتهم، هذا ما قرأناه ورأيناه أيضا، وهذا ما تدلّ عليه رسائلهم وكتبهم.

والزامها بالشريعة والسنة المحمدية في الباطن والظاهر، ولذلك لما سئل الإمام مالك رضي الله عنه عن علم الباطن قال للسائل (اعلم بعلم الظاهر يورثك الله علم الباطن)⁹⁸.

وربما نجد في مبايعة المريدين للمشايخ وجها ولو شكليا لمبايعة المسلمين للخلفاء، التي استمر العمل بها من عهد النبي محمد عليه الصلاة والسلام سنة 622 م إلى غاية إلغاء الخلافة الإسلامية في الدولة العثمانية، سنة 1922 بتنازل آخر الخلفاء العثمانيين محمد السادس⁹⁹، فتقاليد المبايعة على الخلافة وطقوسها إن صح التعبير لا تزال ماثلة بنفس الشكل لدى شيوخ الطرق الصوفية، وفي هذا التمسك دلالة قوية على عمل الطرق لأجل إرساخ فكرة الخلافة لدى الأتباع ومن ثمة المسلمين عساها تعود يوما ما ولو بعد حين.¹⁰⁰

وبالمناسبة فقد كانت الطريقة الرحمانية ممثلة في زاوية الهامل ضد التيار القومي وضد إلغاء الخلافة الإسلامية العثمانية في تركيا. بينما أيد مخالفوها آنذاك إحلال النظام العلماني بدل الخلافة¹⁰¹.

4-4 التعدد

يتساءل بعض عن سبب تعدد الطرق الصوفية، فالأمر كما هو الحال في تعدد المذاهب الفقهية والعقدية كما أسلفنا، وحتى القراءات للقرآن الكريم وهو واحد، فالنبي واحد والشراب واحد {مُخْتَلِفٌ أَلْوَانُهُ فِيهِ شِفَاءٌ لِلنَّاسِ إِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ لَآيَةً لِّقَوْمٍ يَتَفَكَّرُونَ}¹⁰². وقال تعالى: {كُلُّ قَدْ عَلِمَ صَلَاتَهُ وَتَسْبِيحَهُ}¹⁰³. وقال: {وَالَّذِينَ جَاهَدُوا فِينَا لَنَهْدِيَنَّهُمْ سُبُلَنَا وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ لَمَعَ الْمُحْسِنِينَ}¹⁰⁴. وينظر كلام ابن عجيبة الذي أسلفنا في النشأة.

4-5 الذكر

اتفقت معظم الطرق الصوفية وبنيت على أن أفضل الذكر ذكر كلمة التوحيد، ثم الاستغفار والصلاة على النبي عليه الصلاة والسلام، وأدلة ذلك في الكتاب والسنة مشهورة فلا داعي للاستدلال¹⁰⁵. وقالوا: (الذكر تختلف أنواعه وتعدد؛ والمذكور واحد، فقد يكون الذكر باللسان، وقد يكون بالجنان، وقد يكون بأعضاء الإنسان، والجامع لذلك كله ذاكر كامل). وفي الحكم أن الذكر لا ينبغي أن يترك مهما كانت غفلة الذكر¹⁰⁶، فالذكر كالدواء يعطى بحسب حاجة المتلقي، وهذا ما تخصص فيه المشايخ، فجعلوا أعدادا معينة لأذكار معينة لمقامات معينة، والعبرة في كل ذلك بالوقت الذي يخصصه المسلم للتعبد ولو كان انتظارا لعبادة ما، كما جاء في الحديث {لا يزال العبد في الصلاة، ما كان في المسجد ينتظر الصلاة}¹⁰⁷، وليس بأن يكثر من نافلة ما، كأن يصلي أربع ركعات في ساعة أو عشرين ركعة في ساعة، فالأمر يكاد يكون سيات. إذ الأذكار التي تعطى للمريد بأعداد معينة إنما هي لضبطه وإلزامه بالتفرغ للعبادة، ولو لدقائق معدودات كل يوم، ويتدرج المريد في زيادة الأوراد حتى يصل إلى مرحلة يكون متفرغا بالكلية للعبادة، وهذا التفرغ لا يعني انقطاعه عن أعمال الدنيا، وإنما يعني تحول نواياه بالتدرج أيضا من الحسن إلى الأحسن حتى تصير حركاته وسكناته وكل أعماله الدنيوية هي أوراده وأذكاره، وذلك مقام الجمع كما اصطلاح عليه¹⁰⁸. ومدار كل ذلك في حديث {إنما الأعمال بالنيات، وإنما لكل أمرئ ما نوى، فمن

4- مآخذ وردود

4-1 البدع

الصوفية يقولون إنهم أكثر الناس تمسكا بالسنة، كما هو الحال في مقدمة الرسالة القشيرية⁹⁰، بينما يرميهم غيرهم بأنهم أحدثوا بدعا في الدين، كالأوراد وأعدادها، وصيغ الصلوات المبتكرة، وطريقة الذكر الجماعي، وما إلى ذلك من اختلافات عقدية وفقهية. وكل ما هنالك في الحقيقة راجع إلى تعدد المفاهيم للنص الواحد، والنتيجة أن الصوفية لهم مفاهيم للقرآن والسنة، ويفهمون مفاهيم الآخرين، ويتقبلون الرأي المخالف، ويجادلون بالتالي هي أحسن، ولكن غيرهم للأسف يريدون فرض مفاهيمهم بوسائل تتنافى أحيانا مع الأخلاق الإسلامية.

4-2 الشطحات

الشطح في اللغة هو التباعد والاسترسال، وفي اصطلاح الصوفية هو المعبر عنه بكلام القوم، الخارج عن المؤلف، مما عدّه أبو العباس الدينوري خروجاً عن الحق⁹¹، واعتبر الغزالي الشطح بعد تفصيل في الإحياء على صنفين، أحدهما من المدعين وضرره عظيم، والآخر من مشوّش العقل أو عاجز عن التعبير، ومن كليهما كلامه فتنة، أمّا كلام البسطامي فمنسوب إليه، أو كان في استغراق⁹². ونجد بهاء الدين النقشبندی يحدّر من مطالعة كتب القوم ويأمر أتباعه بظاهر الكتاب والسنة⁹³، بينما يرى كلّ من القشيري والشاطبي وشيخ الإسلام زكريا الأنصاري وابن تيمية وابن القيم أن من كان في حال فناء غير متعمّد ونطق بشيء من هذا القبيل فلا ملام عليه⁹⁴، والمرجع في ذلك إلى الحديث القدسي: (فإذا أحببته كنت سمعه الذي يسمع به، وبصره الذي يبصر به، ويده التي يبطش بها)⁹⁵، وهذه الشطحات هي ما اصطلاح عليه مؤخرًا بالتصوّف الفلسفي، الذي اعتنى به المستشرقون ونشروا نصوصه كطواسين الحلاج ومواقف النفري وغيرهما. أمّا من جهة الأحوال التي وردت في تراجم بعض رجال الطريقة، ولاسيما في طبقات الشعراني، فالأرجح أنها مدسوسة عليه كما ذكر هو ذلك في بعض كتبه في معرض حديثه عمّا دسّه البعض في كتب الشيخ محيي الدين بن عربي.

4-3 العهد

العهد عند الصوفية هو الميثاق الذي يوافق به المريد شيخه على السمع والطاعة فيما يرضي الله ورسوله، والالتزام بالأوراد التي يرتبها له الشيخ. ويتمّ ذلك عمليا بما اصطلاح عليه بالتلقين. ولهم في ذلك مستند، وإن ضغفه البعض، فقد يقال إنها من المصالح الدينية، لما فيها من التثبيت والتأثير الظاهر والفائدة الجلية⁹⁶. ومن أشكال العهد ما كان موثقا على شكل إجازة مكتوبة محدّدة المعالم مبيّنة للمنهج الذي يأمر به الشيخ المريد أن يسير عليه ويلتزم به⁹⁷، ومنها ما كان على شكل خرقة يكسو بها الشيخ المريد، أو عمامة أو راية يمنحها إياه، وكل ذلك ليس هو المقصود الأصلي من الطريق، بل مدار أصل الطريق مجاهدة النفس

تبعاً لحركات التحرر في الستينيات من القرن الماضي، والتأثر المفرط لأول رئيس للجزائر بالرئيسين المصري⁸⁸، والصيني، والماركسية عموماً، ممّا حدا بالنظام آنذاك إلى إحداث قطيعة فكرية في المجتمع الجزائري عن أصالته وثقافته وتقاليده، بفرض برامج دراسية مناهضة لكل ما هو صوفي طرقي، وذلك بتصوير الطريقة على أنّها خرافات وبدع وشعوذة وأنّ الطريقين إقطاعيون وعملاء للاستعمار، وفي المقابل عملوا على تحسين مظهر التيار المخالف لهم بكل الوسائل، ونجحوا في ذلك إلى حدّ بعيد، حيث صار لدى معظم أجيال السبعينيات وما بعدها صورة سلبية عن كلّ ما هو طرقيّ، وحدثت الفجوة بين جيل الاستقلال وبين أصوله، وصار أحسنهم حالاً من لا يعرف التصوّف أصلاً. وما نتج عن هذا أنّ الدراسات التاريخية والاجتماعية التي أنجزت خلال ثلاثة عقود التي تلت الاستقلال معظمها كان يكتب بخلفية الناقد للطرق الصوفية لا المحايد، وفي الأغلب بمجاهرة العداء غير المؤسس، ونتيجته أن كُتب تاريخ خلاف الواقع، وثمره ذلك أن صار الشباب الجزائري لا يثق في علمائه إلا إذا كان مصدر علمهم مشرقياً، ومن هنا اتسع الشكّات ووصل الأمر إلى ما وصل إليه في العقد الرابع بعد الاستقلال. وفي العقد الخامس بدأ الاستجداء بالطرق الصوفية لإنقاذ الجزائر.

ورغم كلّ الأزمات والمضايقات التي امتُحنت بها الزوايا في عهد الاحتلال، وبعد الاستقلال، إلا أنّها صمدت وبقيت إلى اليوم راسخة رسوخ الجبال؛

وكم من جبال قد علت شرفاتها * رجال فزالوا، والجبال جبال

ولا زالت الطريقة الرحمانية في الجزائر تؤدّي دورها الأساسي المنوط بها، ولا سيما تعليم القرآن ومبادئ الشريعة، وإطعام الطعام، في زوايا عديدة منتشرة عبر معظم أرجاء الوطن، خصوصاً في الوسط والشرق، ولعلّ من أكبر زوايا الرحمانية في الجزائر الآن هي زاوية الهامل وزاوية طولقة وزاوية الحملوي. كما أنّ فروعا لها جديدة ظهرت على الساحة واستقطبت طلبة القرآن والمريدين، مثلما هو الحال بالنسبة لزاوية الشيخ العموري بولاية البويرة وزاوية الشيخ محفوظي بولاية الجلفة وزاوية الشيخ الأزهرى بولاية الأغواط.⁸⁹

كما أسس شيوخ الطريقة عام 1989 (الرابطة الرحمانية للزوايا العلمية) ضمت معظم زوايا الرحمانية وأولوا رئاستها لشيخ زاوية الهامل الشيخ الخليل القاسمي، ومن بعده آلت لأخيه الشيخ المأمون، وهي تشرف الآن على الزوايا بالتوجيه والمساعدة قدر الطاقة.

ونسجّل هنا قيام وزارة الثقافة الجزائرية بترميم العديد من زوايا الرحمانية في بلاد القبائل وإعادة تشييدها، وأيضا بعض زوايا الجنوب كزاوية الشيخ المختار الجلاي، وهي الآن بصدد ترميم زاوية الشيخ محمد بن عبد الرحمن الأزهرى الواقعة في الحامة بالعاصمة. كما أشرفت على عدّة ملتقيات وطنية في زوايا رحمانية، وتبنّت مؤخرا الملتقى الدولي للطريقة الرحمانية الذي سيقام في زاوية الهامل نهاية العام الجاري بحول الله.

8-3 تراث الطريقة

ترك مؤسس الطريقة الرحمانية عدّة تآليف ذكرناها في ترجمته، وسار على منواله خلفاؤه ومريدوه إلى اليوم في نشر العلم، والمجال لا يسعنا هنا لاستقصائها، ولكن نذكر بأن نسبة الكتب التي ألفها أتباع الرحمانية في الجزائر إلى مجموع ما ألف في التصوّف منذ البدء تفوق العُشر⁸⁴، وهي نسبة عالية قياسا بالفترة الزمنية، ما يدلّ على اهتمام رجالها بالتأليف والكتابة، على أنّها لم تخرج عن المعهود في تلك الفترة، ككتب تعليمية وأخرى في التصوّف، والتراجم، والشعر والشروح.⁸⁵

كما كانت ولا زالت مكتبات الزوايا عموما وزوايا الرحمانية خصوصا من خير المؤسسات التي حفظت للإنسانية تراثا مخطوطا لم يجتمع مثله في غيرها، ونسجل أنّ أكبر المكتبات الخاصة في الجزائر هي المكتبة القاسمية بزاوية الهامل والمكتبة العثمانية بزاوية طولقة. وكلاهما رحمانية.

ويلاحظ مع مطلع الألفية الثالثة اهتمام غير مسبوق بالطرق الصوفيّة، من قبل الجامعات ومراكز البحث في العالم، ما أدّى إلى تعدّد الدراسات الأكاديمية التي تعنى بالزوايا والطرق الصوفية في جامعات الجزائر، فإذا نظرنا إلى أقرب نموذج إلينا وجدنا أكثر من عشر دراسات أكاديمية بين رسالة تخرج وماجستير ودكتوراه، أجريت حول الطريقة الرحمانية متخذة زاوية الهامل نموذجا لها، منها التي تناولت الجانب التاريخي، ومنها الجانب الصوفي، ومنها الجانب الاجتماعي، ومنها الجانب السياسي، ومنها الجانب الجهادي، وحتى الجانب الاقتصادي والعمراني.

9-3 دور الطريقة

أساس الطريقة الرحمانية هو نشر الإسلام بتعاليمه السمحة، وتعليم القرآن وما يتعلّق به، وإطعام الطعام للمحتاجين، ومع الاحتلال كانت الرحمانية أوّل من حمل لواء الجهاد، قبل الأمير عبد القادر، ثمّ انضمت إليه، وبقيت كذلك رائدة لمعظم الثورات إلى غاية الاستقلال⁸⁶.

وكمعظم الطرق الصوفيّة، تؤدّي زوايا الطريقة الرحمانية واجبات جدّ حساسة ومهمّة، فوق واجب التعليم والتربية والحفاظ على اللغة العربية وعلومها، منها في الجانب الاجتماعي كحلّ الخصومات والنزاعات العائلية والقبلية، ومنها في الجانب النفسي ك معالجة بعض الحالات التي تستعصي على أطباء علم النفس، وفي الجانب الاقتصادي بالاستصلاح والاستثمار في المجال الزراعي، وأيضا الاستثمار في مدخرات بعض مكفولي الزوايا وهو ما اعتبره بعض الباحثين نظاما بنكيا استثماريا بطريقة إسلامية⁸⁷.

10-3 واقع الطريقة

للأسف، كانت سياسة الجزائر بعد الاستقلال مضادة لتيار المحافظين الممثل في الطرق الصوفية باعتبار أنها إقطاعية بالمفهوم الاشتراكي الشيوعي الذي تبناه النظام آنذاك،

3-5 أركان الطريقة

أركان الإسلام خمسة وهي الشهادة والصلاة والصيام والزكاة والحج. وأركان الطريقة عشرة وهي جوع وسهر وصمت وخلوة وطهارة وذكر وفكر وحب وامتنال وتوكل. ومقامات الطريقة ستة؛ التلقين والأدب. والاستقامة والمشاهدة والخلوة والزهد.⁷⁹

وأسماء الطريقة سبعة؛ وكل اسم هو دواء لكل مقام؛ وهي: كلمة التوحيد (لا إله إلا الله) لمقام النفس الأمّارة. الاسم المفرد (الله) لمقام النفس اللوامة. الاسم المضمّر (هو) لمقام النفس الملهمة. اسم (الحق) لمقام النفس مطمئنة. اسم (الحي) لمقام النفس الراضية. اسم (القيوم) لمقام النفس المرضية. اسم (القهار) لمقام النفس الكاملة.⁸⁰ وأقدام الطريقة ثمانية، التوبة، والنية، والتزكية، والمحاسبة، والذكر، والمراقبة، والتخلية، والمرشد.⁸¹

3-6 أخلاق الطريقة

من أخلاق رجال الطريق ما يعتبر أدوات للتربية، يؤدي الالتزام بها إلى الكمال الإنساني، الذي غايته رضا الله عن عبده، فتؤتى في مجملها أو ببعضها مع إقامة أركان الدين، منها: التوبة، والإرادة، والاستقامة، والذكر، والصحية، والأدب، والفتوة، والمجاهدة، والخلوة، والتقوى، والورع، والزهد، والصمت، والخوف، والرجاء، والحزن، والجوع، والخشوع، والتواضع، ومخالفة النفس، والقناعة، والتوكل، والشكر، واليقين، والصبر، والمراقبة، والرضا، والعبودية، والإخلاص، والصدق، والحياء، والحرية، والجود، والغيرة، والدعاء، والشوق إلى لقاء الله.⁸²

3-7 علمية الطريقة

في بحثنا السابق حول منهج التعليم في زاوية الهامل، ذكرنا تفاصيلاً نحيل عليها، ونكتفي هنا بالمقدمة التي قلنا فيها إنّ القرآن الكريم هو مدار فلك التعليم في الزوايا عموماً، ولا يوجد علم يدرّس فيها إلّا وله ارتباط وثيق به، فهو المبدأ وهو الغاية. يقرأون قواعد اللغة العربية من نحو وصرف لفهم ما تيسر من القرآن، ويقرأون الأدب والشعر العربي لمعرفة البيان والبلاغة في القرآن، ويقرأون الحديث النبوي لتفسير القرآن، ويقرأون المنطق والفلك لمعرفة أوقات الفرائض الأمور بها في القرآن، ويقرأون الحساب والرياضيات لأداء الزكاة المفروضة في القرآن، ولحساب الموارد والمناسبات الواجبة بأمر القرآن، ويقرأون علوم الطبيعة لحفظ نسل البشر وبقية المخلوقات إعماراً للأرض كما ورد في القرآن الكريم... وهذا دأب معظم الزوايا العلمية وعلى رأسها زوايا الرحمانية. ولذلك نجدها قد تكفلت بجلّ مستويات التعليم، بدأً بمحو الأمية وصولاً إلى مستوى العالمية. ونتاج ذلك أنّ أكثر من 90 % من طلبة القرآن الكريم هم خريجو الزوايا.⁸³

3-3 مؤلفاته

1. رسالة فتح الباب: ألّفها في آداب الخلوة، وشروطها ودخولها ونتائجها.
2. رسالة طي الأنفاس: يتحدّث فيها عن آداب الطريقة الخلوتية بشكل عام، وآداب الخلوة، وطي النفوس السبعة وهو المبدأ الذي تقول به الطريقة الخلوتية من الأسماء السبعة والنفوس السبعة التي يجب قطعها بالأسماء السبعة المعروفة.
3. دفتر الدفاتر: وهو أيضا عبارة عن مجموعة رسائل في الطريقة، والذكر والخلوة، وهي امتداد للرسائل الخلوتية المكتوبة في هذا الشأن.
4. شرح على الريفاي: شرح لقصيدة (قوته قولي) لصاحبها عبد الله الريفاي، ويجمع هذا الشرح بين أصول الطريقة وأركانها، وآداب المريد، انتهى من تأليفه سنة 1172 هـ.
5. شرح لامية الزقاق: في الأقضية، قال عنه أنّه ألفه بإذن شيخه الحفناوي.
6. زلزلة النفوس: وكان لا يفارقه لعزّته عليه.

4-3 خلفاؤه

توفي الشيخ محمد ابن عبد الرحمن وكان قد أوصى بالخلافة بعده إلى تلميذه الشيخ علي بن عيسى المغربي، وترك له جميع كتبه وأوقافه وأشهد على ذلك أهل آيت إسماعيل، وظلّ الشيخ علي بن عيسى يدير شؤون الزاوية إلى وفاته 1251 هـ = 1836 م. ثمّ تولّى بعده سي بلقاسم بن محمد الحفيد من المعاتفة، ولم يدم عهده إلا سنة. ثمّ تولّى بعده سي الحاج البشير وهو أيضا من المغرب (1836-1841). ثمّ تولّى بعده محمد بن بلقاسم نايت عنان لمدة سنة واحدة أيضا (43-1844).

ثمّ تولّى بعده الحاج عمار سنة 1844، وأدّى دورا هاما في مقاومة زواوة 1857، وقد هدمت الزاوية في عهده على يد الجنرال "ديفو" واضطر الحاج عمار إلى الهجرة إلى الحجاز. وكانت الرحمانية في هذه الفترة هي زعيمة الطرق في زواوة. وهذا التضيق والهدم أدّى إلى انتشار سريع للطريقة، عكس ما كانت تتوقعه السلطات الاستعمارية.

وبعد الحاج عمار تولى الشيخ محمد الجعدي (أو الجندي صاحب المناقب) والذي لم تطل مدة ولايته، إذ انتخب المريدون الشيخ محمد أمزيان الحدّاد شيخا للطريقة مع الاستقرار بصدوق، وفي عهده اشتهرت زاوية صدوق بالعلم، وعادت للطريقة حركيتها ومكانتها السابقة، وفي عهده أيضا قامت ثورة 1871 م التي كان من نتائجها سجن الشيخ الحداد وإغلاق الزاوية. وأوصى الشيخ الحداد قبل وفاته بالخلافة للشيخ الحاج الحملاوي شيخ الزاوية الحملاوية بتلازمة بنواحي قسنطينة.⁷⁷ كما أوصى أتباعه بملازمة الشيخ محمد بن أبي القاسم الهاملي.⁷⁸

3- الشيخ محمد بن عبد الرحمن

1-3 حياته

محمد بن عبد الرحمن الأزهرى، ينتهي نسبه إلى فاطمة بنت رسول الله عليه الصلاة والسلام، ولد بين 1127 و1133 هـ، بقرية بوعلاوة، التي تقع ببلاد جرجرة، وإليها ينسب، كما لقب بالأزهرى نسبة إلى الأزهر الشريف الذي جاور فيه مدة طويلة.⁷²

نشأ ببلاد زواوة، وتتلّمذ في بداية أمره على يد الشيخ الحسين بن أعراب⁷³، ثم ذهب إلى الحج في حوالي التاسعة عشر من عمره أي حوالي سنة 1152 هـ = 1734 م، وفي طريق عودته أعجب بالأوضاع العلمية بمصر فاستقر هناك مجاوراً للأزهر الشريف، وتلقى العلوم على أيدي علماء أجلاء منهم: الشيخ أحمد بن محمد العدوي وعلي بن أحمد الصعدي، والشيخ علي العمروسي، والشيخ محمد بن عبد الله التلمساني.

وبعد تحصيل العلوم الفقهية من هؤلاء الأعلام، اتجه إلى الشيخ محمد بن سالم الحفني الخلوتي⁷⁴، فأخذ عنه الطريقة الخلوتية، وسلك على يديه، ثم كلفه بالدعوة إلى الله في السودان، فأقام ست سنوات في دار فور فانتشرت على يده الطريقة الخلوتية حتى كثر أتباعه فيها، ثم أمره شيخه بالعودة إلى القاهرة فأجازه وكلفه بنشر الطريقة في وطنه الجزائر.⁷⁵

أسس زاوية بقرية آيت إسماعيل وشرع في الوعظ والإرشاد، وسرعان ما أصبحت قرية آيت إسماعيل قبلة لطلاب العلم والطريقة، حتى بلغت شهرته الجزائر العاصمة، وضواحيها. وظل لمدة 16 سنة لا يفارق زاويته، ثم شرع في نشر طريقته في الوطن. إلى أن بلغ مداها مستغانم والبليدة والمدينة، والجزائر العاصمة التي استقر في ضاحيتها بالحامة، وبنى فيها زاويته التي اتخذها مركزاً لنشر الطريقة وملتقى للإخوان والمريدين والتفّ حوله عدد كبير من الطلاب، فانتشر صيته وذاعت شهرته.⁷⁶

ولم يستقر به القرار حتى شنّ ضده بعض العلماء حملة لاتّهامه بالزندقة، وألبوا عليه محمّد عثمان داي الجزائر، فعقد له مناظرة في ثوب محاكمة، وكان الحق معه، وبالرغم من موقف الداي إلا أن الشيخ رأى وجوب مغادرة الجزائر والعودة إلى مسقط رأسه آيت إسماعيل بجرجرة وأسس هناك زاوية جديدة وتفرّغ للتعليم والطريقة. إلى أن لقي الله سنة 1208 هـ = 1793 م. ودفن بزاويته.

2-3 تلامذته

ترك الشيخ محمد بن عبد الرحمن الأزهرى مجموعة كبيرة من التلامذة كانوا بدورهم من شيوخ الطريقة ونشروها في مختلف البقاع، ومن أشهر تلامذته: علي بن عيسى المغربي، عبد الرحمن باش تارزي، محمد بن عزوز البرجي، محمد العمالي والد حميدة العمالي.

بن أحمد الحفني (ت 1181هـ/1767م)، الذي أخذ عنه الشيخ الأزهرّي، وتنسب إليه في بعض المناطق، ويدعونها الحفنيّة. وتسمّى في الجزائر الرحمانية نسبة إلى الشيخ محمّد بن عبد الرحمن الأزهرّي، (ت 1208هـ/1794م). وهي في صحراء الجزائر والجريد التونسيّ العزّوزيّة، نسبة إلى الشيخ محمّد بن أحمد بن يوسف بن عزّوز البرجيّ، (ت 1233هـ/1818م).⁶⁷

وهي على العموم الطريقة الخلوتيّة، طريقة أهل السنّة والجماعة، الأصل فيها واحد، والأوراد تكاد تكون متطابقة، وإنما تزيد وتنقص بحسب الشيوخ، إما في الأعداد أو في بعض الأسماء، بل هي تتوافق في كثير من الأوراد مع الطريقة القادرية والطريقة الشاذلية⁶⁸، ولذلك نجد أن الشيخ محمد بن أبي القاسم قد كتب رسالة أثبت فيها بأن الطريقتين الرحمانية والشاذلية هما طريقة واحدة⁶⁹. فتلبّس الطرق بأسماء الشيوخ لا يغيّر في الأصل شيئاً، وهذا ما يدلّ على أنّ الأساس هو كلمة التوحيد، وعليه كان توحيد الأصل مع تعدّد المظاهر وتغيّر الإضافات.

10-2 نشأة الرحمانية

الرحمانية نسبة إلى الشيخ محمّد بن عبد الرحمن الأزهرّي، من قبيلة آيت إسماعيل بجرجرة، تعلّم في الأزهر بمصر، وأخذ الطريقة الخلوتيّة عن الشيخ محمّد بن سالم الحفني، ونشرها في دارفور بالسودان، وفي المغرب العربيّ، فنسبت إليه، (ت 1208هـ/1794م).

وتعتبر الطريقة الرحمانية من أكثر الطرق الصوفية انتشاراً في الجزائر في القرنين 19-20 م، وبالرجوع إلى الإحصائيات الفرنسية نجد أن عدد أتباعها قد بلغ حوالي ثلث أتباع جميع الطرق الصوفية في الجزائر، كما أن عدد زواياها بلغ النصف من زوايا الجزائر الذي كان نحو 350 زاوية في نهاية القرن 19، واستمرّ الأمر كذلك إلى غاية ثورة التحرير 1954.⁷⁰

ومن الطريف أن نجد بفلسطين زوايا للطريقة الرحمانية الخلوتية القاسمية، تنتسب إلى الشيخ عبد الرحمن الشريف الحسني الذي نشرها هناك سنة 1274 هـ 1857م، تقع زوايتها الأم في مدينة الخليل، وتمتد فروعها إلى قضاء طول كرم وباقي قرى وسط فلسطين.⁷¹

النبي عليه الصلاة والسلام فيها حتى تقول لا أفضل منها، تطيبها لخطر أهلها، ليكونوا فيها على بيّنة من ربهم، ولم يأمرهم عليه السلام بالانتقال عنها، إذ مراد الله منهم هو تلك الحكمة، فأقرهم عليه السلام عليها ورغبهم فيها، حتى يظن من يسمع أحاديثها أنه لا أفضل منها، وهو كذلك، إذ لا أفضل منها في حق أهلها⁶⁰.

2-8 نشأة الخلوتية

الخلوتية نسبة إلى الخلوة، من خلا يخلو خلواً وخلاء، والكلمة عند اللغويين تحتل عدة معانٍ، منها: الانفراد، والانعزال، والاستثناء، والاعتماد، والإرسال، والإطلاق، والتجرد، والتفرغ، والترك، والكلام، والبراءة، والتسليم، والموادعة، والمضي، والموت. وعند الصوفية: (هي محادثة السرّ مع الحق، حيث لا أحد ولا ملك سواه)⁶¹. وبهذا يتحقق الإخلاص في الأعمال، قال السوسي: (الخالص من الأعمال ما لم يعلم به ملك فيكتبه، ولا عدو فيفسده، ولا النفس فتعجب به). ويرون أنّ الخلوتية مستمدة من معانيها، فقالوا: (هي طريقة مؤسسة على الكتاب والسنة)، مستندين إلى حديث السيدة عائشة رضي الله عنها، قالت: (أول ما بدئ به صلى الله عليه وسلم الرؤيا الصالحة في النوم، فكان لا يرى رؤيا إلا جاءت مثل فلق الصبح، ثم حُبب إليه الخلاء، فكان يخلو بغار حراء، فيتحنّث فيه، وهو التّعبد الليلي ذوات العدد)⁶². وقال القسطنطيني: (قال القسطلاني إنّما حُبب إليه الخلوة لأنّ معها فراغ القلب والانقطاع عن الخلق. وفيه تنبيه على فضلها وسنيتها، لأنّها تريح القلب من أشغال الدنيا وتفرغه لله تعالى)⁶³. ويستندون أيضاً إلى حديث: (سبعة يظلهم الله في ظلّه، يوم لا ظلّ إلا ظلّه) من جملتهم (رجل ذكر الله خاليا ففاضت عيناه)⁶⁴. وإلى الحديث القدسي: (يا ابن آدم إذا ذكرتني خاليا ذكرتني خاليا)⁶⁵. وأيضاً في الحديث (يأتي على الناس زمان، تكون الغنم فيه خير مال المسلم، يتبع بها شعف الجبال، في مواقع القطر، يفر بدينه من الفتن)⁶⁶، ونسب بعضهم الخلوتية إلى أخي محمد بن نور الخلوتي، وهو السادس بعد أبي النجيب السهروردي في سلسلة رجال السند. والقول الأول هو الأرجح لأنّ محمداً نفسه نسب إليها، والله أعلم.

2-9 شمولية الخلوتية

مما تجدر الإشارة إليه أنّ الطريقة الخلوتية فوق أنها متعددة الأسماء كما هو آت فإنّها متعددة الأعراق، إذ ليست حكراً على جنس معيّن ولا هي مرتبطة ببلد محدد، فنجد فيها عرباً وأتراكاً وفرنساً وأكراداً وتركماناً وزنوجاً وقوقازاً وغيرهم، وانتشارها يمتد في معظم العالم الإسلامي. ويتبيّن ذلك طبعاً من خلال شيوخ سندها الذين نسبت إليهم الطريقة الخلوتية، فهي في العراق الدينورية نسبة إلى مشاد علو كردي الدينوري (ت 299هـ/911م)، وفيه أيضاً وفي بلاد الشام السهروردية، نسبة إلى شهاب الدين أبي حفص عمر بن محمد السهروردي، صاحب «عوارف المعارف» (ت 632هـ/1234م). وفي القوقاز وأذربيجان الباكوية نسبة إلى يحيى جلال الدين بن بهاء الدين الشرواني الباكوي أو الباكوبي (ت 868هـ/1464م)، كما تسمّى في تركيا القربشية أو القراباشلية، نسبة إلى عليّ علاء الدين العربي كيري قره باشا (ت 1097هـ/1686م)، وتسمّى في مصر البكرية، نسبة إلى الشيخ أبي المواهب قطب الدين مصطفى بن كمال الدين البكري الصديقي (ت 1162هـ/1749م). وهو شيخ شمس الدين محمد بن سالم

الطريقة لغة هي نسبة إلى طُرُق، وطرق جمع طريق، كأن ننسب فنقول جزري، نسبة إلى جُزر بدل النسبة إلى جزيرة بقول جزيري. فكلمتنا بدل أن تنسب إلى مفرد اللفظ الذي هو طريق فتكون طريقي، نسبت إلى مجموعه فصارت طريقي، وعليه، فنسبة الفرد إلى الجمع يحتمل داليتين؛ الأولى شمولية الفرد، الثانية اتحاد الجمع. لأنَّ المبدأ واحد والغاية واحدة، والطرق متعدّدة. والطريق والطريقة لغة هي: الصراط، والمسلك، والشرعية، والنجد، والسبب، والدأب، والعادة، والهدي والحالة، والمذهب، والكيفية، والنهج، والسيرة، والسبيل، والأسلوب، والنمط، والوتيرة، والنحو. والملة، والسهل، والطبقة، والإمام لدى بعضهم، تجمع على طرق، وطرائق بمعنى طبقات، وطرقات وطرقان وأطراق وطوارق في معان أخرى⁵⁵.

وترجمة لفظ الطريقة إلى اللغة الفرنسية يفترض أن يكون كالاتي: *Méthode, Mode, Style, Routine, Voie, Ressource, Chemin, Manière, Façon.* وإلى اللغة الإنجليزية، يكون: *Way, Art, Method, Quality, Mode.* ولكن الترجمة التي اصطلح عليها لدى الفرنسيين في كتبهم للطريقة هي: *Confrérie* و *Ordre* و *Ecole* التي يقابلها في اللغة العربية بالمفهوم الفرنسي: جمعية دينية أخوية خيرية، درجة كهنوت، أو تنظيم، أو جماعة، أو فصيلة، أو نقابة. أو مدرسة. وفي اللغة الإنجليزية: *brotherhood* أو *Confraternity* أو *Ordre* التي يقابلها في اللغة العربية بالمفهوم الإنجليزي: جمعية خيرية أو دينية، أو منظمة أو رهبنة أو فئة أو أبناء مهنة واحدة، أو نقابة صناع⁵⁶.

وكلا المفهومين لا ينفك عن البعد الإداري للمسمى، وهو ما لا يطابق بالضبط المعنى الحقيقي للطريقة. إذ أنَّ الطريقة بمعانيها اللغوية التي ذكرناها أنفا تصطبغ بها اصطلاحاً. وهي بالمفهوم البسيط للفظ: الطريقة أي الأسلوب الذي يختاره الشخص ليعبد ربّه. ولذلك نجد أحد الصوفيّة قال: (عدد الطرق إلى الله بعدد أنفاس الخلق). وقال أبو حامد الغزالي: (قد يكون طريق العبد إلى الله العلم فالطرق إلى الله تعالى كثيرة وإن كانت مختلفة في القرب والبعد)⁵⁷. ومثال على هذا التنوّع الطريقة المكحالية في الجزائر، التي اشتهر مريدوها بحمل (المكاحل جمع مكحلة) أي البندقية، كرمز للجهاد⁵⁸.

ومعنى الطريقة اصطلاحاً هي السيرة المختصة بالسالكين إلى الله تعالى من قطع المنازل والترقي في المقامات⁵⁹. ولذلك نجد كلّ مسلم قد اختار طريقة ومنهجاً ليعبّد ربّه به في إطار ما ورد في القرآن والسنة، فمنهم من اختار الصلاة فأكثر من نوافلها ومنهم من اختار الزكاة فأكثر من الصدقات، ومنهم من اختار الصيام، ومنهم من اختار الذكر الذي تنتج عنه المراقبة، وهكذا، ولابن عجيبة كلام نفيس حول ما يقرب هذا المعنى، حيث قال: (إنَّ النبيّ عليه الصلاة والسلام كان يقرّ الناس على ما أقامهم الله في حكمتهم، ويرغبهم فيها، فلذلك تجد الأحاديث متعارضة ولا تعارض في الحقيقة، فإذا نظرت في أحاديث الذكر قلت لا أفضل منه، وإذا نظرت في أحاديث الجهاد قلت لا أفضل منه، وإذا نظرت في أحاديث العلم قلت لا أفضل منه، وإذا نظرت في أحاديث الكسب والخدمة على العيال، كذلك، فكلّ حكمة رغب

2-3 تسمية التصوف

تعددت الأقوال في تسمية التصوّف، فنسبه بعضهم إلى أهل الصفة⁴³، ونسبه آخرون إلى الصفاء، وإلى الصفة، والصوفة، وصوفة القفا، وقبيلة صوفة، وصوفانة، وصوفيا من الحكمة لدى اليونان. والأرجح لغة واصطلاحاً هو نسبته إلى الصوف، والتصوّف أي لبس الصوف، كالتعمّم من لبس العمامة، فبه يستقيم اللفظ والمعنى⁴⁴. إذ هو لباس الأنبياء والأولياء، وقال زروق: (وقد حُدّ التصوف ورُسم وفسّر بوجوه تبلغ نحو الألفين. مرجعها كلها لصدق التوجه إلى الله تعالى، وإنّما هي وجوه فيه، والله أعلم).⁴⁵

2-4 انتشار التصوّف

انتشار التصوف يعني انتشار الإسلام، ويعرف الكل أنّ الإسلام انتشر في أفريقيا برجال الصوفية، ولاسيما التيجانية والسنوسية والخلوتية والقادرية والإدريسية⁴⁶، وفي آسيا برجال الطريقة الجشتية والنقشبندية من ماليزيا إلى اندونيسيا⁴⁷، إلى القوقاز⁴⁸، وفي أوروبا برجال الطريقة الرفاعية والقادرية والمولوية والخلوتية والنقشبندية⁴⁹، وغيرها، كما ينتشر الآن في أمريكا⁵⁰ برجال الطريقة المولوية الخلوتية الأصل والنقشبندية والبوتشيشية والعلوية شاذليتا الأصل، ويمكن مراجعة كل ذلك في مصادر ومواقع كثيرة.⁵¹

2-5 فروع التصوف

التصوّف هو روح الإسلام، ومهما تعددت طرقه إنّما هي مظاهر لجوهر واحد، ونذكر بأن الطرق التي سنأتي على ذكر بعضها مهما تعددت فعمادها كلمة التوحيد، كما ننّبه إلى أنّ التصوّف قد تفرّعت منه حركات وجمعيات كان أساسها التصوّف ولكن نحت منحى آخر مثل حركة الإخوان المسلمين التي أسّسها الشيخ حسن البنا وهو أحد أبناء الطريقة الشاذلية، وجماعة الدعوة والتبليغ التي أسّسها الشيخ محمد إلياس الكندهلوي وهو من رجال الطريقة النقشبندية، وجمعية العلماء المسلمين التي أسّسها الشيخ عبد الحميد بن باديس وهو من رجال الطريقة الرحمانية الخلوتية. وهذا ما يؤكّد أنّ الصوفية ليسوا طائفة بعينها، فقد يخرج منهم غيرهم، وقد يخرجون من غيرهم⁵².

2-6 الجزائر والتصوف

أول عهد للجزائر بالتصوّف كان على يد الصوفي الجزائري الشهير أبي مدين الغوث شعيب بن الحسن التلمساني (ت 594هـ / 1199م) الذي انتشرت طريقته المدينية في الحواضر والبوادي من بجاية إلى تلمسان⁵³، ومنها تفرّعت المشيشية والشاذلية والشيخية واليوسفية والزروقية وغيرها. وفي العهد العثماني دخلت الطريقة القادرية إلى الجزائر بيد العالم الكبير الشيخ محمد بن عبد الكريم المغيلي التلمساني (ت 909 هـ / 1503 م)، وفي عهد الاحتلال نشأت عدّة فروع لهذه الطرق كالكرزازية والطيبية والمكحالية والسنوسية والدرقاوية والعيساوية والهبرية والعلوية وغيرها، ودخلت إلى الجزائر الطريقة الخلوتية على يد الشيخ سيدي محمد بن عبد الرحمن الأزهري.⁵⁴

2-التصوف

1-2 أصل التصوف

لم يكن أمر {إِنِّي أَرَى فِي الْمَنَامِ أَنِّي أَذْبَحُكَ}²⁶، لأبي الأنبياء إبراهيم عليه السلام امتحانا له فحسب، وإنما كان أيضا محوا لكلّ تعلّق بالدنيا من القلب²⁷، ف{الْمَالُ وَالْبَنُونَ زِينَةُ الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا}²⁸، بدأ بالمال، ولذلك قال لأمة الإسلام موجّها الخطاب لنبيهم {فَصَلِّ لِرَبِّكَ وَانْحَرْ}²⁹، وفي السُنّة أن ينحر المضحّي بيديه، شاته أو بدنّته، فمهما تعلّق قلبه بها وجب عليه أن يختار أحسنها وينحرها، وهو ترويض من الخالق لعبده ليقطع صلّته القلبية بالدنيا. وهذا الزهد في الدنيا من أجل محبة الله³⁰ لا يعني أن يركن العبد إلى الكسل، فالله كثيرا ما قرن الزكاة بالصلاة في القرآن الكريم، وأثنى على المتصدّقين، والزكاة فرضت على الأغنياء، والغنى يكون بالمال، والمال يكون بالعمل. فاعتكاف المصلّين في المساجد إنّما جاء بعد أن حقّقوا نصابا من المال يؤدّون به زكاتهم المفروضة³¹. على أن لا تتعلّق همهم به، ولا يحرصون عليه، إنّما هو كما تفعل الطير، تغدو خماسا وتروح بطانا³². فلا كبر لديهم ولا بطر ولا علو³³، لأنّ مجرد إرادة العلوّ في الأرض، لا العلو في ذاته، مهما كان ذلك العلو، مصير صاحبه الخذلان، وإنّما هو عمل واجتهاد، وكل ميسر لما خلق له³⁴، وعلى الله قصد السبيل³⁵.

2-2 نشأة التصوف

كلّ منهج من مناهج المعرفة في الإسلام انبثق كما انبثق التصوّف من القرآن، وجوهر رسالته، وبدأ كما بدأ التصوّف مع الإسلام. فالفقه نشأ مع الإسلام، وهذا لا يعني أنّ التفريعات الفقهية، والاستنباطات والمصطلحات الفنية، كانت في صدر الإسلام وفي الكتاب والسُنّة، وإنّما كانت هناك البذور الأولى، والمادّة الأولى، التي نمت وتطوّرت³⁶، فلمّا فشا الإقبال على الدنيا في القرن الثاني اختصّ المقلّبون على العبادة باسم الصوفيّة والمتصوّفة³⁷، ففي بداية القرن الثالث للهجرة بلغ المسلمون من الترف والتهافت على الدنيا مبلغا أوصلهم حدّ الصراع والتحزّب، فبلغ في المقابل³⁸ التصوّف اكتماله ووضعت قواعده وانتظمت مدارسه بظهور المحاسبيّ وذي النون المصريّ والبسطاميّ وشيخ الطائفة أبي القاسم الجنيد. ومن هنا ظهر هؤلاء ليسدّوا ذلك الفراغ، الذي لم يستطع أن يشغله المتكلّمون ولا أن يملأه الفقهاء، وصار لدى كثير من النّاس جوع روحي، فلم يشبع هذا الجوع إلّا الصوفيّة³⁹، لما امتازوا به من سلامة الفكر والعفة والأخلاق الحميدة، ما أكسبهم حبّ النّاس لهم⁴⁰، وهو نتاج الحب الذي كان من الله⁴¹. فالتصوّف صحبة من صحب الرسول وتربّى بأخلاقه وهو الكمال الإنسانيّ. كما قال ابن رشد الحفيد: (الكمال هو التشبّه بصفات الله)⁴².

المهمة¹⁹، فذهب المعتزلة إلى محاولة إخضاع كل شيء للعقل، حتى كاد العقل أن يكون إليها، بينما التزم الظاهرية النقل حتى أوقع كثيرا منهم في الخل²⁰. وخرجت عقائد أخرى عن القواعد، وهذا مصداق لنبوء الرسول عليه الصلاة والسلام حين قال: (إنّ هذه الأمة ستفترق على ثلاث وسبعين، اثنتان وسبعون في النار وواحدة في الجنة)²¹.

1-4 أهل الكتاب

أهل الكتاب ينقسمون إلى من له كتاب محقق مثل التوراة والإنجيل، وإلى من له شبهة كتاب مثل: المجوس والمانوية. وأيضاً البوذية الذين عدّهم البيروني والشهرستاني منهم وسماههم البوديسعيين، وبوذا بدا، كما اعتبر بنو أمية البوذيين الذي كانوا في مملكتهم من جملة أهل الكتاب²²، يجري عليهم ما يجري على النصارى واليهود والصابئة المندائيين. بالنظر إلى دعوة هذه الأديان كلّها إلى مكارم الأخلاق²³. وهذا الاستطراد محاولة للتقريب من أجل الفهم، لأنّ الأصول إذا اتحدت لا شك ستتحّد الغايات.²⁴

1-5 التدافع

من تعاليم الإسلام في التدافع أو الحرب، قانون خاص لم يتمكّن جميع البشر من الالتزام به للأسف، حتى المسلمون أنفسهم بعد الخلافة الراشدة، إذ سرعان ما تظهر على المتحاربين العدوانية الهمجية، التي لم تقيضها مواثيق حقوق الإنسان ولا المعاهدات الدولية ولا غير ذلك، وعليه لا ينبغي أن نصف قوماً دون آخرين بالعدوانية، إذ التاريخ سجّل ولا يزال يسجّل جرائم حرب صدرت من مجتمعات تدّعي المدنية، وليتها كانت مظلومة، بل والحال أنّها ظالمة، وأقرب مثال على ذلك ما جرى في الحربين العالميتين. فأخطاء بعض المسلمين لا يصحّ أن ننسبها للإسلام كدين، وأخطاء بعض النصارى لا ننسبها للمسيحية كدين.²⁵

1- تمهيد¹

1-1 البدء

الله خلق الخلق²، واستعمرهم في الأرض³، وأرسل الرسل⁴، ونزل الكتب⁵، وشرع الشرائع⁶، وختم الوحي السماوي بمحمد عليه الصلاة والسلام⁷، وحفظ القرآن الكريم حفظا مطلقا⁸، وجعله مهيمنا على ما سيق⁹، فاكتمل دين الإسلام وتمت به نعمة الله على البشرية جمعا¹⁰. وفي الحديث النبوي أن قواعد الإسلام خمس¹¹. ومقتضى الحديث أن الإسلام ليس هذه القواعد وحسب، وإنما هو أيضا ما يُبنى عليها¹². ولذلك قال نبي الإسلام: (إنما بعثت لأتمم مكارم الأخلاق)¹³، بعد أن خاطبه الخالق بقوله: {وَإِنَّكَ لَعَلَى خُلُقٍ عَظِيمٍ}¹⁴، ومن هنا نجد أبا بكر الكتاني البغدادي قد عرّف التصوّف بقوله: (التصوّف خلقٌ فمن زاد عليك في الخلق زاد عليك في التصوّف)¹⁵.

2-1 المسار

إتباعا لسنن الله في الكون؛ أيما شيء يخلقه الله إنما يخلقه صغيرا ثم ينمو ويكبر، ويتفرّع، كالشجرة، تتغلغل جذورها في الأرض وترتفع أغصانها في السماء، الجذور تمتد وتغذي في خلوة وخفاء، والأغصان تزهر وتثمر في بروز وجلاء، ولا غنى لهذه عن تلك. اتسعت دائرة الإسلام¹⁶، شكلا ومضمونا، حتى بلغت الذروة بعد قرن من وفاة النبي عليه الصلاة والسلام¹⁷، ثم بدأت الانقسامات، وعلى محمل الإيجاب نقول هي انقسامات كانتقسامات الخلايا، التي تكون روافدها الوفاء ونتائجها النماء، وتعددت المفاهيم، واختلفت الآراء، وتفرّعت المدارس في كل فنّ، وصارت للعقيدة مشارب ولفقه مذاهب، ففي الفقه ما اشتهر منها المذهب الحنفي والمالكي والشافعي والحنبلي والجعفري والظاهري وغيرها، وفي العقائد لما كانت من علم الكلام والفلسفة كانت فروعها أكثر، تقسم في مجملها إلى ثلاثة، سنة وشيعة وخوارج. والأول بدوره يتفرّع عنه الأشاعرة والماتريدية والمعتزلة والجهمية والسلفية وغيرها، والثاني يتفرّع عنه الإمامية والزيدية والإسماعيلية وغيرها، والثالث يتفرّع عنه الأزارقة والدروز والقاديانية وغير ذلك كثير¹⁸.

3-1 الاختلاف

لاشك أن الاختلافات العقدية كانت نشأتها سياسية محضة، إثر وفاة النبي عليه الصلاة والسلام، في سقيفة بني ساعدة، بين المهاجرين والأنصار، واستمرت على العموم في مدّ وزجر إلى خلافة عثمان بن عفّان، وبلغت الذروة بقتله، أين تحول الخلاف النظري إلى صراع واقتتال في خلافة عليّ بن أبي طالب، فوقع الانقسام الأول، بين المسلمين، فصاروا سنة وشيعة وخوارج، وتبلورت هذه الاختلافات لتصبح فيما بعد مذاهب فقهية، وعقائد ذكّتها كتب الفلسفة الإغريقية التي عرفت طريقها إلى العالم الإسلامي تدريجيا بتناسب طردي مع انتشار الإسلام، ولاسيما بعد إنشاء الخليفة العباسي المأمون لبית الحكمة الذي تولّى

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الطريقة الرحمانية في الجزائر

La Confrérie Rahmania en Algérie *

The Rahmaniyya sufi order in Algeria

محمد فؤاد القاسمي الحسني

Kacimi El Hassani Mohamed Foued * *

* This paper is based on a speech delivered at the Seminar of Islamic Area Studies Program and Institute of Asian Cultures , Sophia University, Tokyo, Japan; on March 15, 2013

* * Directeur de L' édition de Livre DAR EL KHALIL.

『上智アジア学』執筆要領

I 『上智アジア学』について

1. 本誌は年1回発行される。
2. アジア（東南アジア、南アジア、中東）に関する論文、資料、研究ノート、調査研究活動報告等を掲載発表する。
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 - (2) 本研究所が受入れた各種所員
 - (3) その他本研究所において適当と認めた者
5. 締切期日は毎年3月31日とする。
6. 著作権は上智大学アジア文化研究所に帰属する。
7. 寄稿論文は、必ずしもアジア文化研究所の立場と一致するものではない。

II 執筆要領

1. 原稿の種類、分量
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 - (3) 日本語の原稿には、原則として英文による梗概（500ワード程度）と題名をつけるものとする。その他の言語による論文の場合は編集委員会に相談する。
 - (4) 図はデザインソフト等で作成したデータをCDにて提出もしくはトレーシング・ペーパーまたはケント紙などに墨入れすること。写真、付図、付表などは挿入箇所、大きさを指定すること。
2. 用語、表記
 - (1) 用語は日本語に限るものではない。ただし、特殊文字（タイ文字、アラビア文字など）を用いる場合は、編集委員会に相談するものとする。
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(例) ……………である⁽¹⁾。
 - (3) 図版、挿図、図表等の番号は本文内に（ ）を付けてアラビア数字でくりいれる。
(例) (図版1) または (挿図1)
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 - (1) 参照注方式の場合
 - ① 日本語文献例
a 単行本
E. W. サイード『文化と帝国主義』大橋洋一訳、第1巻、みすず書房、

1998 年、336-342 頁。

b 論文

寺田勇文「日本のフィリピン占領とキリスト教会」『上智アジア学』19 号、2001 年、123-148 頁。

② 外国語文献

a 単行本

Ileto, Reynaldo C., *Filipinos and Their Revolution: Event, Discourse, and Historiography*, Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1998, pp.62-71.

b 論文

Syed Hussein Alatas, "Intellectual Imperialism: Definition, Traits and Problems," *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science* 28 (1), 2000, pp. 23-46.

(2) 文献目録方式の場合

論文末尾に参照文献目録一覧を付ける。本文中では[サイド 1998: 336-342]のように参照部分の出典を示す。文献目録中の文献表記は、著編者名、発行年、論文名、書名、頁の順とする。

サイド、E. W. 1998 『文化と帝国主義』大橋洋一訳、第 1 巻、みすず書房。

Ileto, Reynaldo C. 1998 *Filipinos and Their Revolution: Event, Discourse, and Historiography*, Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

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