The Changing Food Culture of Anauk Phwa Saw, Bagan After Natural Disaster

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ABSTRACT
This paper focuses on the changes of the food and culture practiced by the Anauk (West) Phwa Saw villagers in relation to disasters. It was chosen for this study due to its local population; in contrast to many parts of the Bagan-Nyaung U area affected by new foods introduced through tourism, West Phwa Saw has retained its traditional way of life. Natural disasters and food availability have nonetheless altered the diet of the past. The study highlights the historical main food staples and their availability. In doing so, the paper shows the significance of food change in the stability of village customs.

The research documented main factors stimulating food and culture change and the effect on local food practice. The study is of Anauk Phwa Saw village but the processes of change are also relevant in understanding the relationship of the many villages at Bagan to the central administration – whether the Township office today or the ancient court of kings such as Anawrahta and Narapatisithu.

Keywords: Food, Food Culture, Disaster, Culture change

Figure 1. Common snack of jaggery and peanuts

1. Introduction
This main factor stimulating food change is availability, with social processes showing how local people adapted and accepted this. One tactic has been to change their main dish periodically when external causes forced substitution not just of side dishes but their staple food. Looking at these changes through cultural and anthropological perspectives rather than solely economic ones has shown how traditional food culture is central to many aspects of the intangible cultural heritage. From social life at food markets, to
communal preparation of special dishes for offering monks and snacks at pagoda festivals, these patterns are put into disorder with major disasters.

Bagan, as discussed below, is subject to drought and earthquakes and various man-made disasters. This research on ‘the changes of food and its culture’ explored the relationship of these upheavals on Phwa Saw food culture change. This is shown in the conceptual diagram below.

Figure 2. Food Culture concepts used in this paper

2. Food Culture and Disaster
Food culture is part of many wider social issues: the ideals and values that shape rules of conduct, the tools and means of food preparation, and basic survival. In these ways, food culture is part of social education to enable people to become functioning members of their society (Hess, 1991). Another way of looking at culture is the way it shapes how people experience the world and express meaning. Different foods carry symbolic meaning in every culture. Indeed, it has been noted that the human capacity for an evolving use of symbols is the key to cultural cooperation. In this context, a symbol is a sound or object or event that signifies nothing in and of itself except the purely arbitrary meaning that members of a group attach to it (Hess, 1991).

Each group, community or society’s food culture includes social, religious, medical and ‘cultural’ foods. Food availability, food preparation and consumption is also important in the tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Each people has characteristic ways of gathering and preparing food, constructing homes, structuring the family and promoting standards of right and wrong (Schaefer, 2011, p. 55).
Disaster is also an important factor in cultural change. In this paper, two types of disaster are examined: natural disaster and man-made disaster. Natural disaster means very severe fire, storm or accident, floods and earthquakes. Man-made disaster is the elements caused by human intent or negligence that lead to human suffering and environmental damage (www.disaster-survival-resources.com, 5-5-2017). In East Pwasaw, earthquakes have been severe.

Figure 3. Phayani pagoda and Ordination hall Sutaungbye

According an interview with a Pwasaw villager, Kyaw Kyaw (forty years old) said that there was no big effect on their village except at the Phayani pagoda (Key informant interview, 27-4-2017). Phayani was damaged by the massive earthquakes in 1975 and 2016. Destroyed, it was renovated by the Department of Archaeology (DOA), Ministry of Religious and Cultural Affairs (MORAC). By law, anyone wishing to renovate a pagoda, is required to contact the DOA and declare the donation amount. If the donor gives 500,000- Kyats (360 US$ in April 2017) for pagoda’s renovation, the responsible person from DOA would match to covering a pagoda’s renovation cost and allow the donor to renovate the pagoda. In 2016, because the 1975 renovated part of the Phayani pagoda collapsed in the 2016 earthquake, the DOA official decided to repair it according to its former style after the 1975 earthquake.

Pywasaw villager Kyaw Kyaw also explained the soil became desiccated after the earthquakes and villagers lost produce. Farmer did not grow anything on that kind of land. He pointed out a large plot and told us ‘you thought these lands were our own’ but in reality, ‘the land owners are elite and rich men from cities’ (Key informant interview, 27-
Geertz defines culture is idea based on cultural learning and symbols (Geertz, 1973, p.44). Kottak also described that a symbol is something verbal or nonverbal, within a particular language or culture that come to stand for something else (Kottak, 2013, p. 27). In this paper, food availability means the local, regional, national and international food production for the villagers from Anauk Phwa Saw based having sufficient quantities of food or an appropriate quality supplied through domestic production or imports, including food aid (www.fins.usda.gov, 5-5-2017).

Figure 4 Food availability, preparation and consumption

Food preparation is how the villagers prepare or cook their meals for breakfast, lunch and dinner. Food consumption is the amount of food available for human consumption. The methods of food preparation and consumption, how the villagers define social food, cultural food, religious food and medical food are described as symbolic culture in Section 4. Because society is a largest form of human group and its members share their common heritage and culture by learning their culture and transmit to generation to generation (Schaefer, 2011, p. 55). In summary, their culture especially food related culture will be explored to see how it has changed cautiously or incautiously according to disaster as defined below.

3. Research Methodology

3.1 Research Design

For collecting the relevant data, observations, participant observations, transact walking, and key informant interviews were undertaken from November 2016 to April 2017. This enabled seasonal change to be assessed. The research findings on changes of food and
its culture in Phwa Saw are presented below as narratives, and through comparative and descriptive case studies.

![Figure 5. Key informant interview by team member](image)

### 3.2 Research Area

Anauk Phwa Saw was chosen as the research area due to its long cultural and social history, and its significant feature. Most villagers care deeply and value their village and their culture. They have their own cultural heritage and pride in their village. Queen Phwa Saw is regarded as their guardian spirit not only for Sutaungpyae pagoda but also the villagers. They show Sutaungpyae pagoda built by Queen Phwa Saw and the shrine for Queen Phwa Saw built by the villagers to explain how she is viewed. The village became a ‘model village’ during the military government thanks to the ‘Visit Myanmar Year 1996’. Because of this, the government urged them to keep and practice their traditional culture especially in dress, hair style and housing. This background influenced my choice of Anauk Phwa Saw Village as the study area.
3.3 Research methods and tools

As noted, transact walking, informal interview and key informant interviews were used for the relevant data collection. Research tools included questionnaires, recorders, cameras and note books. Transact walking was used to observe village construction, and places: religious buildings such as pagodas, *dhammayon* or assembly halls, monasteries, schools and other outstanding buildings of the village. Before transact walking, the village administrator was met to request his permission to conduct research in his village. After receiving his permission, the research aims and objectives were explained to the village administrator and other village elders. For this purpose, first informal interview was conducted. Research questionnaires were also explained and shared with them. After studying the research questionnaires, the village administrator selected key interviewees. Fifty were selected based on their age and experiences: 20 males and 30 females, mostly over 60 years old.

3.4 Study population

There are 120 houses in Anauk Phwa Saw Village. Their population is 592 with males being 272 and females totaling 320 according to the data collected in 2017. Among them, 20 males and 30 females are chosen as the key informants according to the village administrator’s guidance. The interviewees were very forthcoming in interviews and gave a rich set of examples about their village. When the informal interviews and key informant
interviews were conducted, the same questionnaire was applied. Data used in finding and discussion section were representative for all interviewees.

![Figure 7. Location of Anauk Phwa Saw on east side of Bagan](image)

**4. Finding and Discussion**

**4.1 Location and summary of the founding of East and West Phwa Saw**

Anauk (West) Phwa Saw Village is 4.8 kilometers south of Nyaung U, 1.6 km east of New Pagan. On its east is Ashae (East) Phwa Saw village and to the west is the Pagan-Nyaung U road. Important religious buildings linked to the local food culture include Phayarni (Red Pagoda), Shitmyathnar Phayar (eight faces or corner pagoda), Sutaungpyae Phayar (wish-fulfilling pagoda), Thamahtee monastery and Thantithukha Dhamma house. Secular buildings linked to foot culture are the Lacquerware Training School and the government Middle School.

Queen Phwa Saw is said to have donated the Sutaungpyae Phayar, stone inscription, monasteries and ordination hall (*Thein*) within her pagoda compound. A manmade earthen pool or lake is outside the pagoda compound. As she lived near the pagoda with her followers, this village was named Phwa Saw village. (*Key informant interview with a venerable monk and U Aung Win, 28-4-2016*)

Later, it was divided into two parts: Ashae Phwe Saw and Anauk Phwa Saw. One key interviewee (Venerable monk, 28-4-2016) explained the division. Formerly, Phwa Saw was one village where farmers lived and cultivated. During 1970s and 1980s unstable
times, robberies were frequent in the area so they returned to their village for safety. Some lived around the lake on the east part of Phwa Saw so Ashae Phwa Saw and Anauk Phwa Saw became two villages. Similarly, some people lived near the Thahtaykan which means a rich man dug a lake. This group or community was called Thahtaykan village with those preferring place near water to live.

4.2 Staple foods of Anauk Phwa saw (West Phwa Saw)

Our study documented the food staples and their availability to understand the reasons for food related culture changes. Their crops and livestock, and foods from local, regional, national and international products were recorded. Food preparation for main dishes for everyday and special days were compared to see available versus chosen food choices. Differences were seen in social, cultural, medical and religious foods as explained below.

4.2.1 Main cultivation crops and livestock

According to data collected in 2007, the main crops were peanut, sesame, pigeon (pe:zin:ngoun), cow pea (Pe:lun:), cotton plant, maize, mung bean (pe:naù/ Pe:di:sein:) and millet. Their main livestock animals were cows, goats, and chickens. In 2017, their main crops are beans, pigeon (pe:zin:ngoun), cow pea (Pe:lun:), horse gram (pe:bi zá), mung bean (pe:naù), hsu: bou (kind of vegetable with a strong odor), groundnut, sesame, corn and maize (millet). There are also cultivated tamarind trees, cotton plants, a medium-sized tree providing edible leaves and flower buds (me: za li), jujube trees (Zi:bin), a thorny tree with whitish bark growing in dry region (Hta nau:), lead tree (aweija) and Gandara trees. Their main livestock animals are cows, goats, and pigs. Dogs are also raised as guardians of their houses (Key informant interviews, 2017).

From this it can be seen that crops and husbandry is now more diverse. Their cultivated area became smaller, however. According to the group survey in 2007, there were 590 acres for cultivation (46 acres for peanut, 150 acres for sesame, 15 acres for cotton, 45 acres for mung bean (pe:naù/ Pe:di:sein:), 10 acres for pigeon (pe:zin:ngoun) and 314 acres for millet. In 2016, their cultivated areas is only 60 acres. Some sold their cultivated lands and substitute other business. Some people save their money in banks, while three persons bought cars to rent for tourists, 15 persons invested in lacquerware workshops and four persons bought oil machines to produce peanut oil (Key informant survey, 20-5-2016).

4.2.2 Regional and National products

According to the data collected in 2007, most of their main dish and snack are the local products or their cultivated plants, wild plants (natural plants) and vegetables except rice. Fish and meat were not consumed in those days because of transportation and few
peddlers arriving to their village because of transportation and few consumers. Only the wealthy could eat meat and fish once or twice a month.

In 2017, this has changed to mostly regional and national products like rice, glutinous rice, water products and vegetables for their food. Most avoid the eating of pork and beef. Fork tailed catfish (nganu dhan), Hamilton’s carp (nga gjin:), croaker (ngapoú thin), giant (ka dha baun:), golden hued pike conger (nga shwei), loach (ngathale:dou:), banded snake head (ngajan) and bream (ngaphama) are available in Nyaung U bazaar and frequent peddlers in their village.

Other products that the villagers buy at Nyaung U or from peddlers include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product Description</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Go rakha: (kind of creeper bearing edible fruit)</td>
<td>(a*:&amp;cg;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moun njin: (mustard)</td>
<td>(rkefYnSif;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khajan:gju (plant of the solanum species bearing pale gram fruit)</td>
<td>(c&amp;rf;*RwfoD;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomato</td>
<td>(c&amp;rf;csOfoD;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eggplant</td>
<td>(rkefvmO)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bamboo shoot</td>
<td>(rQpf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mushroom</td>
<td>(rId)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gourd</td>
<td>(Al;oD;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guava</td>
<td>(refvumoD;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cucumber</td>
<td>(ocGm;oD;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaggery</td>
<td>(xef;vQuf ^ xef;nuf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sugarpotato</td>
<td>(uefZGef;O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka la be (gram or chick pea)</td>
<td>(ukvm;yJ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kajaú hpa Joun (marrow ash pumpkin)</td>
<td>(ausmufz&amp;HkoD;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hpa joun (pumpkin)</td>
<td>(z&amp;HkoD;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>green tea</td>
<td>(vufzufajcmuff)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pickle tea</td>
<td>(vufzufokyl_vufzuftpdk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mango</td>
<td>(o&amp;ufoD;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papaya</td>
<td>(oabFmoD;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lady finger</td>
<td>(&amp;Hk;yawoD;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banana, coconut</td>
<td>(iSufaysmoD;? tkef;oD;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pe:gadiba (a smooth tasting, slightly bitter lablab)</td>
<td>(yJuwÂDyg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsin doun: ma new (mooseseed vine)</td>
<td>(gifwkef;rEG,f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pe; di bin baú (bean sprout)</td>
<td>(yJwDyifayguf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha:zaun:lé pá (aloe vera)</td>
<td>(oQm;apmif;vufyw)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha:zaun:ga: (bitter variety of cactus)</td>
<td>(oQm;apmif;cg;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muin: khwa (a penny wort used medicinally and as vegetables)</td>
<td>(jrif;CGm&amp;Guf)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pounjëi gji: (thick brown sauce made from horse gram) (ykef;&nfMuD;)
Hsanwin (turmeric) (eEGif;)
danjin: (hardwood tree bearing a pungent edible fruit) ("nif;oD;)
pau pañ: bju (kind of flowering tree) (aygufyef;jzL)
kjú hin: ga: (bitter gourd), (Muuf[if;cg;oD;)
hsu: bou: (kind of vegetable with a strong odour) (ql;ykwf&Guf)
Yé ga zun: (water convolvulus), (uefZGeş;&Guf)
kjaun sha (Indian trumpet) (aMumifvQm)
apple (yef;oD;)
thanakha (a tree bark and root used in making a fragrant paste for cosmetic purposes) (oeyfcg;)
sein: zar; u) (succulent edible tuber from plant) (pdrf;pm;O)
kin bun: (soap acacia) (uif;yGef&Guf)
mink (yipdrf;&Guf)
dan dglun (horseradish tree) ("'efY'vGef)
tha khú bún (the trumpet flower) (ocGyfyGifh)
cabbage (a*:bD)
lettuce (qvyf&Guf)
cauliflower (yef;a*:bD)
salt (qm;)
chilly (jiKyfoD;)
sugar (oMum;)
ajinomono (tcsdKrIefY)
chicken powder (Muufom;rIefY)
egg (chicken and duck) (MuufO^ bJO)

4.2.3 International food

Available international foods and products from Nyaung U bazaar in 2017 include milk powder, soap, shampoo, juice, tinned fish, tinned meat and readymade foods. The main types of these are noodles, rice noodles, sugar from Myanmar, China and Thailand, Ovaltine drink, mollusk oil, cutlet-fish sauce, and sauces made in Thailand.

4.3 Main meals

4.3.1 Breakfast

They eat their breakfast with their family members in their houses from 6 to 7 am before they go to work. In 2007, most interviewees listed their breakfast as cooked and leftover rice, htamajie (surplus water that is drained off while is being cooked) and rice gruel. To
this could be added boiled green peas and beans, fried egg, fried roselle, fried shrimp paste and poured oil. In 2017, the replies were similar except a small number of interviewees answered tea, milk, coffee, Ovaltine, htamajei with cookies, cake, and bread as their breakfast.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cooked rice</td>
<td>(xrif;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boiled green peas</td>
<td>(yJjyKwf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fried egg</td>
<td>(MuufOaMumf) ~ bJOaMumf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fried Roselle</td>
<td>(csOfaygifaMumf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fried shrimp paste</td>
<td>(rQifigaMumf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leftover rice</td>
<td>(xrif;Murf;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Htamajei</td>
<td>(xrif;&amp;nf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rice gruel</td>
<td>(qefjyKwf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cooked rice poured oil</td>
<td>(xrif;qDqrf;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>(vbuf&amp;nf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>(EdkY)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oval tine</td>
<td>(tdkAmwif;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cookies</td>
<td>(*sHKzifh jykvyfxm;aomtcxKrkefY)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cake</td>
<td>(udwfrkefY)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread</td>
<td>(aygifrkefY)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 8 Chinese snack and traditional fried snack

4.3.2 Lunch

According to the data collected in 2007, their main dishes were the cooked rice and fried small and dried fish curry, small fish curry, tomato and fish paste sauce, fried chili,
fried egg, fried hsu: bou: (kind of vegetable with a strong odour) with egg or not, salad of baked eggplant, eggplant and potato curry, tofu and tamarind curry, fried Roselle, Roselle soup, rice soup, bean soup, Kajaú hpa Joun (marrow ash pumpkin) curry, Hpa joun (pumpkin) curry, green tea, and pickle tea. In addition, fried and pounded peanut was used as ajinomono. Meat and fish were bought from peddlers once or twice a month. These meals were for rich persons in that village.

These days, they had no chance to eat their lunch with their family members. They packed the cooked rice and curries or lunch box to their work places. Only breakfast and dinner could be eaten with their family members in their houses. According to the 2017 data collected, cultivators and workers in lacquerware factories which are in their village came back to their houses for lunch at 12:00. They ate their meals with their family members. Sometimes, if he or she comes back late, she or he could eat separately. According to the interviews in 2007, they had to go to another village like Myingabar Village which is far from their village. At these times, they brought lunch boxes to their work places and ate their lunch in their work places. The mothers from most houses take responsibility for preparing meals for their family’s members. Sometimes, daughters also take this duty instead of their mothers and with their mothers.

![Figure 9](image) Cooking with electricity

Most of their dishes are vegetables. Meat and fish are eaten once or twice a week but they do not eat pork and beef. Their side dishes are fried roselle, thin soup and cucumber, bamboo shoot, and lady finger. Fried roselle, fried dried fish such as fork tailed catfish, loach, banded snakehead, and croaker are their favorite dishes. Tamarind in the summer and tomato in the rainy season and winter are favorite side dishes.
As their preparation of several of these showed a particular village way of preparing, details of how to cook tamarind and tomato side dishes were inquired from two housewives (Key informants, Ma Kyi Win and Daw Khin Win, 28-4-2016).

**Tamarind side dish** (*magjithi jet* or *majithi ngapijet*)

Firstly, tamarind is put in a bowl of water to become juice. Secondly, oil is poured in a pan put on the fire. Chopped onion, garlic, pounded chili and pounded peanut are put in the pan. Thirdly, they pour tamarind juice, salt, shrimp paste and ajinomono or chicken powder in the pan. After boiling the tamarind juice, it can be eaten as a side dish. Dried fish can be added in the tamarind sauce, called *magjithi jet* or *majithi ngapijet*.

![Figure 10. Cooking with firewood](image)

**Tomato side dish** (*Pan htwei bjo*)

Firstly, the housewife boils the tomato and removes the tomato’s skin. Secondly, she puts tomato in the bowl or on a plate and adds chili, baked shrimp paste, mink (*yifpdrf*) and ajinomono (*tc sdKrIefY*) and mixes them to become a sauce called *Pan htwei bjo*.

With these side dishes, fried egg or fried water convolvulus (*uefp Gef; & Guf*) are their favorite dishes. Although they are side dishes, in reality, they are main dishes because the tamarind sauce or tomato sauce is taken every day. Chicken curry and fish curry are
eaten once or twice in a week. Some key interviewees like to eat the cooked rice and fruits such as mango, papaya, and banana. Some prefer the cooked rice and jaggery in addition to roasted peanut.

Key informant interview was the main data collection method in this field work, most elder persons (males and females) prefer to take leftover rice with fried eggs and fried shrimp paste and plain tea. Most male interviewees like jaggery and roasted peanut with plain tea as snacks. One interviewee, U Aung Win, 60 years old, said that he did not like readymade coffee and tea. Instead of coffee and tea, he drinks milk mixed with jaggery. After eating lunch, he eats jaggery and roasted peanut with plain tea. These make him satisfied. He served us jaggery and roasted peanut with plain tea when we interviewed him. Some housewives with children choose Ovaltine, coffee, tea, cake and readymade noodles as snacks in place of the cooked rice and leftover rice and curries.

4.3.3 Dinner

Formerly, they ate dinner together after come back from the work places at 7 or 8 pm. Now their eating style changed due to new social customs.

1. After a bath, youth and adult person especially go around the village to meet their friends.

2. Some family members want to watch TV programmes.

3. Some people are interested in using Facebook and playing the games with their hand phones. According to these reasons, their dinner style also changes.

In their dinner, they arranged like the lunch but some did not want to eat the same menu twice in the same day. So many times, the housewife changes the menu slightly. Instead of fried egg, fried dried fish was substituted. Sometimes, they left some amount of fried roselle and tamarind or tomato sauce and fried dried fish to have the next day for their breakfast.
4.3.4 Snack

Snacks are an important indicator of local cuisine. In 2007, snacks included jaggery (xef; vQuf), fried peanut, roasted peanut, boiled peanut, pickle tea plus fried beans, oil, salt and Ajinomono, boiled sweet potato, watermelon and ice milk sticks.

In 2017, the list expanded to include roasted peanut, and jaggery, sesame brittle, maize, jam melting jujube and jaggery, and majwei moun (made of popped rice and palm sugar). Besides, moun lé kaù (doughnut made from glutinous rice), moun pja thā lé (batter cake shaped like a honeycomb, made of rice flour with or without palm sugar syrup), moun loun jei bo (small glutinous rice dumplings stuffed with palm sugar), moun lé hsaun: (drink made of sugar or jaggery and coconut milk mixed with small lumps of rice jelly), moun: kjwe: dhe: (made of coarse rice flour boiled in palm sugar and lime water), Shwei dā min: (confectionery made of glutinous rice and jaggery), Shei gji hsganwin:makin: (kind of pudding made with flour from the heart of wheat grain, sugar, coconut milk, oil, and butter), and moun zi: gjaw: (fried sweet pan-cake made from glutinous rice).

Other snacks are guava and mixed hsei: dha gja: (synthetic sweetening agent such as saccharin), salt and chili pounder, pickle tea, sweet potato, sein: za: u (succulent edible tuber from plant), dried noodle, dried rice noodle, rice noodle soup, and rice noodle in peppery fish soup, cake, and bread. Tamarind juice, lime juice, Coca-Cola, and Pepsi as cold drinks and tea, coffee, and milk were popular as drinks.

Some snacks were made occasionally for ritual and special days and special cases. For example, moun loun jei bo (small glutinous rice dumplings stuffed with palm sugar) were made to be get good fortune during the Myanmar Water Festival. Moun zi: gjaw: (fried sweet pan-cake made from glutinous rice) were used in ritual celebrated for their
traditional spirit and other spirits). Coconut and comb of banana take an important role in offering ceremonies to the spirits and religious festivals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jaggery</td>
<td>(xef;vQuf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fried peanut</td>
<td>(ajryJaMumf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roasted peanut</td>
<td>(ajryJavSmf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boiled peanut</td>
<td>(ajryJjyKwf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pickle tea plus fried beans, oil, salt and Ajinomo</td>
<td>(vufbufokyf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boiled sweet potato</td>
<td>(uefZGeojyKwf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watermelon</td>
<td>(z&amp;JoD;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ice milk sticks</td>
<td>(a&amp;cJaCsmif;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sesame brittle</td>
<td>(ESrf;jyPf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maize</td>
<td>(ajymif;z1;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jam melting jujube and jaggery</td>
<td>(ZD;,dk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majwei moun (made of popped rice and palm sugar)</td>
<td>(ra&amp;G;rkefY)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moun lé kaú (doughnut made from glutinous rice)</td>
<td>(rkefYvufaumuf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moun pja tha lé (batter cake shaped like a honeycomb, made of rice flour with or without palm sugar syrup)</td>
<td>(rkefYjym;ovuf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moun loun jei bo (small glutinous rice dumplings stuffed with palm sugar)</td>
<td>(rkefYvHk;a&amp;ay:)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moun lé hsaun: (drink made of sugar or geggery and coconut milk mixed with small lumps of rice jelly)</td>
<td>(rkefYvufagmif;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moun: kjwe: dhe: (made of coarse rice flour boiled in palm sugar and lime water)</td>
<td>(rkefYuRJoJ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shwei da min: (confectionery made of glutinous rice and geggery)</td>
<td>(a&amp;Txrif;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shei gji hsanwin:makin: (kind of pudding made with flour from the heart of wheat grain, sugar, coconut milk, oil, and butter)</td>
<td>(a&amp;TMunfqEGif;rueif;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moun zi: gjaw: (fried sweet pan-cake made from glutinous rice)</td>
<td>(rkefYqDaMumf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guava and mixed hsei: dhâ gja: (synthetic sweetening agent such as saccharin, etc.), salt and chili pounder</td>
<td>(refvumoD;ESifh aq;oMum;+ qm;+jiKyfoD;rIefY)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamarind juice</td>
<td>(refusOf;azsmf&amp;nf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lime juice</td>
<td>(oHyk&amp;m&amp;nf)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.4.1 Cultural Food

In this paper, cultural food means their traditional foods and seasonal foods and how they prepare or cook them. It also means when and how, with whom and where these are eaten. Medicinal food, social food and religious food are under the same umbrella as cultural food. Medicinal food, social food and religious food are explored separately. Here, their traditional food and seasonal food, and their behavior connected with food are focused on to describe how they prepare or cook their cuisine, when they eat, how they eat, where they eat and with whom.

Their food related behavior can be divided into four types: breakfast, lunch, and dinner and snack time. Before 1974-1975, thoun: lun: din hta min: (common millet, bean and maize) (oHk; vGef; wifxrif;) were cooked and eaten as their main dish with the curries. Broken rice (qefuGJ) was cooked as their main staple food. After 1975, they could eat cooked rice and curries as their main dish by virtue of cooperation practiced by the Myanmar Socialist Program party (Key informant interview, Venerable monk, 28-4-2016).

Nowadays, their traditional foods have become cooked rice and curries made from fish, dried fish, meat, and vegetables. Htamajei (surplus water that is drained off while rice is being cooked), plain tea and milk are their traditional drinks today. According to the survey conducted in 2017, they could also taste other additional foods: regional/ national and international foods as mentioned above in comparison with the previous times. Later they have had to rely on regional or national and international foods as their staple foods
because of reduced area of their cultivated land. Some cultivators change their livelihood to car owners, owners of lacquerware workshops, and producers and sellers of peanut oil and sesame.

Figure 13. Types of social food

4.4.2 Social food

Social food means that plain tea and jaggery and pickle tea are their social food. In the 2017 survey, they used roasted peanut, fried potato, jaggery, pickled tea, and plain tea for guests as social foods. Moun: kjwe: dhe: (made of coarse rice flour boiled in palm sugar and lime water), Shwei da min: (confectionery made of glutinous rice and jaggery), Shei gli hsa nwin: ma kin: (a kind of pudding made with flour from the heart of wheat grain, sugar, coconut milk, oil, and butter), and moun zi: gjaw: (fried sweet pan-cake made from glutinous rice) were made in their homes and shared to other persons who came to visit their homes. They were also made and brought to the monastery on Sabbath days. When they arrived at the monastery, their foods are offered to the Buddha image and monks and eaten together with their friends who came to take and keep the Sabbath.

According to their tradition, Moun hin: ga: (rkefY[if;cg:]) is cooked for wedding ceremonies. The bride and bridegroom’s family get the villagers’ help for cooking moun hin: ga: (rice noodle and soup made with chicken, chick pea, onion, garlic, oil, salt, ajinomono, fish sauce). These persons are called Ogyichet (tdk;MuD;csuf) (cook with big pot or pan). If moun: hin: ga: soup is cooked for a mou: bje: de (rdk;jAJ’,f) (large bell-mouthed pan), 4 viss of chick pea, 2 viss of onion, 25 tickle of garlic, 1 viss of oil, 1 viss of fish sauce, 4 spoon of ajinomono, and 50 tickle of chicken are necessary. A mou: bje: de of Moun: hin: ga: soup is for 50 persons. 12 or 13 mou: bje: de of Moun: hin: ga: soup is cooked for guests who come from near and far villages. At least, 600 persons are invited to attend the wedding ceremony.
Nowadays, some new couples wanted to change their traditional food, moun: hin: ga: as they did not like it. They want to choose cooked rice and curries instead of moun: hin: ga:.

Elder person more favor moun: hin: ga: than cooked rice and curries for wedding ceremonies. Youth thought that if they prepared the cooked rice and curries for their wedding, they must not cook additional foods for guests who came from other villages and towns. If they prepared moun: hin: ga: for the guests, they must prepare the cooked rice and curries for the guest who came from other villages and towns.

According to their culture, they specified moun: hin: ga: for a wedding ceremony. When they have communication with other person living in Yangon, Mandalay and Taungyi and other places, they want to change their traditional food, moun: hin: ga: for wedding ceremony to cooked rice and curries, vermicelli (ʻefayguf), butter rice and chicken curry, as well as ice cream and cake. Another reason is not to spend extra money by servicing with moun: hin: ga:. The elder persons nonetheless want to keep their traditional food, moun: hin: ga: as their social or wedding ceremonial food.

If there is a funeral ceremony in their village, they will serve pickled tea with oil, fried beans and sesame, plain tea, jaggery, and give cheroots to the guests. At the seventh day of a person’s demise, they hold an offering ceremony of alms food to monks and guests attending the ceremony. In this ceremony, they prepare cooked rice and pork curry, fried chili, vegetable soup or chick pea soup and fermented bean sprouts for the monks and guests. It is their traditional food for funeral. Although they do not eat pork and beef as their daily menu, pork is used for funeral ceremony as the social and inauspicious affair. It can be said that is a kind of symbolic culture.

When an Anauk Phwa Saw Villager passed away, they bring the cooked rice and curry and other donation materials to the Sutaungpyae Pagoda to make offering ceremony to the Buddha image and invited monks for the dead person. To the left side of the Buddha image, there is a chair (throne or Palin in Myanmar) for the monk. In front of the Buddha image, there is an earthen bowl to put cooked and curries. After preaching Buddha's teachings, they offer Swansansein such as rice, peanut, sesame, candle, readymade dried noodle, dried rice noodle, oil, salt, ajinomono, cookies, coffee mix, tea mix and dried cakes to the monks.

If someone wants to celebrate a donation such as initiation ceremony or sadudithar which is a kind of donation for every person come from East, West, South and North directions, they prepare: cooked rice, fried dried fish, steamed fish (orngagjin:), chicken curry, fried chili, sour chick pea soup, or thin soup and fermented bean sprouts for guests. They choose only banded snakehead to cook for fried dried fish. The most favorite dish is the fried dried fish. They can buy these raw materials from Nyaung U bazaar. These dishes are regarded as their special menus for auspicious affairs such as initiation ceremony and sadudithar. These menus are accepted as their traditional foods from generation to generation.

As the method of preparing is particular to the village, we enquired how to cook the fried dried fish:
The ingredients are 6 viss of onion, 1 viss of dried fish, and 6 viss of oil (peanut oil). Firstly, they boil the oil. And they put chopped onion to the mou: bje: de. When the onion’s color changed, they fetch them by sieve and put in another pan. And then, they put dried fish in the pan and put fried onion a few minutes later and mix them by using flat wooden ladle and back part of the pot which is used to put the palm juice in it. The reason of the using back part of a pot is to mix well fried onion and fried dried fish.

Donated foods for the birthday are rice noodle soup (kya zan hin: ga:) (MumZH[if;cg;]) and rice gruel (qefjyKwf). The ceremony for birthday could not be found in 2007 survey. Kya zan hin: ga: is new menu for them. These practices are the effects of media and extended social network boundary.

4.4.3 Medicinal food

The concept of “Food is medicine and medicine is food” is very important to understand the Phyaw Saw Villagers’ attitude, choice and the value on foods for their health. Some house wives stick the list of foods (not to eat together) on the wall near cooking place to avoid food poison. There are also some local adages or saying:

- They said that if the color and smell of chick pea soup changed, it was not suitable for eating.
- The following foods are not good for health. Drinking the ice and ice water are not good for health especially in summer. Hsu: bou, Danjin:, Nga pha ma (rohtee cotio), bamboo shoot, bitter gourd, milk and limes, melon and egg, papaya and jinja, western medicine and traditional herbal medicine, bitter variety of cactus and mushroom, pork curry and ice cream, apple and thanakha, chicken curry and Indian trumpet, mushroom and frog, fried shrimp paste and bitter gourd, moun: hin: ga: and pork curry, moun: hin: ga: and cold drink or water. For example, mushroom and frog, and fried shrimp paste and bitter gourd should be avoided for person with high blood pressure. Western medicine and traditional herbal medicine must not be used in the same time to avoid food poison.
- They believe that if water is boiled with the seeds of pe:zin:ngoun (yJZif;iHk) and drunk, it can cure cancer. Hta ji ga: (sap from toddy palm) is good for ruin. Milk and egg is good for energy. Hta ma jei (surplus water that is drained off while rice is being cooked) is good for ruin.

Their favorite foods are potato and chicken, pork curry and sour soup, fried fish and bean soup, pork curry and poun jei gji: (thick brown sauce made from horse gram), chicken and chick pea curry, fried hsu: bou and egg, and fried hsu: bou, egg and green bean.

Je: jou (&JY,dk&Guf) (a specie of morinda), pumpkin, lady finger, me: za li (medium-sized tree providing edible leaves and flower buds), hsin doun mä new (moonseed vine), sha: zaun: lé pá, sha: zaun: ga:, mjın: khwa (kind of pennyroyall used medicinally and vegetable), tamarind, paú pan: bju (kind of flowering tree), ga zun: (water convolvulus),

10/26/17
dan da lun (horseradish tree), tha khú boú (the trumpet flower), awei ja (lead tree), and bean sprout, India trumpet and chick pea are prepared as their main dishes or side dishes are for the medicinal purposes.

4.4.4 Religious food

Every day, they offer cooked rice and jaggery, cooked rice and fruit, cooked rice and snack made of popped rice and palm sugar to the Buddha images in their houses. They do not offer the meat and fish curries to the Buddha images in their houses.

In the evening of the first day of the New Year, most unmarried persons go to Shit myet hnar pagoda to clean the pagoda and its compound and offer to the pagoda with flowers. They recite the Buddha’s teachings (paritta) and pray for themselves and all living things. If someone is feeling not well, he or she goes to the Shit myat hnar pagoda with a donation of foods, flower and water and praying his or her desire. After someone consulted his or her problem with an astrologer, he or she goes to that pagoda to follow the astrologer’s instruction. They do not go to other pagodas. It is also their traditional belief. In other way, they always go to the Sutaungpyae pagoda to conduct funeral ceremony for the dead person by donation of alms and other materials to the pagoda and Buddhist monks. All villagers believe and follow their traditional belief and customs as their culture.

- Before and after the Buddhist lent (Waso (July), wagaung (August) and Tawthalin (September)), they go to Shwezigon pagoda to offer the alms into the golden bowls. There are seven bowls in the East side of Shwezigon pagoda. Every person
can put their foods into the middle bowl and pray for auspicious and inauspicious affairs. It is called Shwetabaikhut.

- In the full moon day of Wagaung (during August), they offer provisions and various articles to the Buddha and monks.
- In the full moon day of Kason (during May), they offer provisions and various articles to the Thamahtee pagoda and monastery.
- In the new moon day of Tawthalin (during September), they celebrate the pagoda festival for Sutaungpyae pagoda. Cooked rice and curries, rice noodle soup, moun lé kuá, shwe gji has nwin ma kin: moun: kjwe: dhe: are offered to the Buddha image and invited 50 monks and participants and guests. In addition, they offer the provisions and various articles to the invited monks. Most of the provisions are rice, oil, salt, sugar, jaggery, soap, soap powder, bean, coffee mix, tea mix, dried cakes, and dried noodles (made from rice and wheat), candle and money and so on.
- During month of Pyartho (October), they offer alms into the bowl of Ananda and Dhammayazika pagodas. They are called Thabaiklonthut.
- In the month of Tapoetwe (during October), they celebrate the Phayani (red pagoda) festival. In this festival, all villagers cooked hta ma ne: (delicacy made of glutinous rice, oil, sesame, groundnut, coconut, salt and sugar or ajinomono) and offer to the Buddha images from Phayani and shared all the participants and guests.
- Month of Natdaw (during September) is regarded as the time for offering to their traditional, regional and guardian spirits. The villagers from Anauk Phwa Saw offer the spirits. They are guardian spirit of house, traditional spirits who are matrilineal and patrilineal spirits, Anauk Phwa Saw Gadaw and guardian spirit of the village. When they offer to the spirits, they prepare the foods and other necessaries such as the white and red fried sweet pan-cakes made form glutinous rice, fried giant sea perch, pickle tea, plain tea, betel, banana, coconut, cheroot, flower and candle. A new couple has to offer to their matrilineal or patrilineal spirit after wedding ceremony. The white and red fried sweet pan-cakes made from glutinous rice, fried giant sea perch, pickle tea, plain tea, betel, banana, coconut, cheroot, flower and candle are necessary for their offering. In other words, they have to show and introduce their new family member to their traditional spirit by offering the foods and other necessities. After introducing and offering to the spirit, the new couple has to eat these foods in front of the shrine.

4.4.5 Their food choices and food related culture changes
Their staple food, food availability, food choices and foods related cultures were mentioned above. When their food choices were considered, they were depended on the health of knowledge, and available foods. These villagers have faced natural disasters over several decades - both natural disaster and manmade disaster. For example, 1975 and 2016 earthquakes were the natural disasters. During 1970s, 1980s, 1990s and 2000s, they faced with many manmade disasters. They had to sell their cultivated areas as they were afraid of authorized persons. They worried that if they did not sell their land to the high officials or well-connected businessmen that their cultivated lands could be occupied by government officers. So, they sold their lands to the business men as documented below.

U Kyaw, interviewee, 40 years old said _

“You can think that the lands from the opposite side of the village, Bagan – Nyaung U road are villagers’ lands. In reality, all were sold out and owners are living in Yangon, and Mandalay and so on. After the strong earthquakes, the soil becomes dried out. They cannot use some plots of land as their cultivating lands (Kyaw, 27-4-2017).”

Bagan is Myanmar’s cultural heartland in its numerous and precious tangible, intangible and natural beauty and also as a tourist attractive area. For these reasons, the business men bought the plots of land and constructed hotel, motel, inn, restaurants and shops for their business. As the villagers cannot choose the suitable crops for their soil, they cannot change their variety of crops for their staple foods. They must follow the instruction of Department of Archaeology. For example, they must choose the crops which are not higher than 5 or 6 feet not to cover the scene of ancient pagodas and monuments and so on.

When the data collected in 2007 and 2017 are compared, their local products are not different but the products of regional and international foods can be found in their main dishes. They now have the chance to choose their preferable and favorite foods as they like. Most villagers choose the cooked rice and curry, and plain tea as their breakfast although some become choose coffee mix, tea mix and Ovatine plus hta me jei, cookies, cakes, Mon: hin:ga:, fried wheat (Ei kyar kywe or samuzar and so on) because of the good transportation and many snack shops. Similarly, they can choose and taste many varieties of meat, fish and vegetables for their lunch and dinner. Chinese foods, Thailand foods, Shan foods and Indian foods are also available in their village and near villages.

In 2007, they preferred to eat their breakfast and dinner with their family members but they had no chance to eat their lunch with their family members. In 2017, they ate their breakfast and lunch with their family members, but they could not eat
together in dinner time. In 2007, there was a television in their village which was in the office of village level administrator. After eating their dinner, they went to the office to watch the television. In 2017, the television, rice cooker, red pan, 3 minutes boiled water pot and refrigerator could be seen in every household.

The varieties of social food, cultural food, medicinal food and religious food become more and more day by day. Their habits and food related culture also change day by day. Their cooking style also changed. Formerly, they used fire wood for cooking. In 2017, they used electricity and fire wood for cooking. Their staple food and food availability changed periodically. Before 1975, their main dish was Thon: lun: Tin Hta Min: (maize + bean + common millet), curry and vegetables. After 1975, they ate the cooked rice and curries. Some ate cooked broken rice and curries. In 2017, they eat cooked rice and curries. It can be highlighted how their main dish or staple foods changed periodically depended on National policy makers.

As water supply, they used water from river, lake and rain for their daily use. In 2007, there was a deep well in the compound of primary school. They could buy for their daily use. They had to buy oil to run the generator for pulling out the water from the underground. They had to pay 3000 kyats per day to get water for the villagers. In 2017, there are three deep tube wells. Water from the deep tube well is not good for cooking and drinking because of lime salts in the water. Water from river and lake are also used for cooking and drinking. Nowadays, they can get water in their compound thanks to public supporting organizations. These public supporting organizations supported them to get water in their compound by attaching the water pipes from the deep well to their compound. Although they can buy purified water from private stores and markets, they need to make water from river, lake and deep well to become purified water.

5. Conclusion
This paper focused on the changes of the food and culture practiced by the Anauk (West) Phwa Saw Villagers. For this purpose, the data collected in 2007 and 2017 were compared to highlight the changing of food and its related culture. The study highlighted the main food staples and their availability by introducing local, regional, national and international products. How local people adapted and accepted the changes of foods and their culture based on food and its availability are also mentioned with their main food: breakfast, lunch, dinner and snack, and food preparation and consumption: cultural food, social food, medicinal food and religious food are mentioned to explore their food related culture and its changes.

In addition, their food choices and food related culture changes were also described in social food, cultural food and religious food sections. Finally, natural disaster and
manmade disaster were introduced as the main factors of their staple food and food availability. Furthermore, good transportation and social and economic networks were also strong influence on their food and its culture change.

The government’s policies related to community development were the main facts of their food and food related culture change. Food and food related culture are composed of tangible, intangible culture, cultural heritage and their respective symbols. This paper emphasized on how Anauk Phwa Saw villagers tried to adapt natural environment, their livelihood strategies for their survival by substitution lacquerware workshops, oil machines, car renting business and other jobs in the place of cultivation. Some are still enjoying cultivation.

By learning their food and food related culture change, how they clarified their food such as social, cultural and religious foods, why they have many varieties of food correlated with auspicious and inauspicious affairs, and when they faced with so many disasters, how they solved their problems to be overcome were understood. But these above facts are still in important to conduct the next research to describe food and its culture changes in more detail.
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