

Introduction

Under the British colonial regime, and during the 1950s, there was a small but vibrant community of scholars in Myanmar, notably those associated with the Burma Research Society, which was founded in 1910. A number of major works were published by local figures, some in English or by foreign publishing houses. Also, the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (JBRS), which began publication in 1911, was the outlet for over 1,300 peer-reviewed articles and commentaries, in both English and (mainly after Myanmar regained its independence from the British in 1948) the Burmese language.¹ In 1960, when the society celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, the society published two volumes of articles and papers read at a celebratory conference.² After the 1962 coup, the journal was permitted to continue publication but was closely monitored by the government. Both the Burma Research Society and the JBRS were closed down by General Ne Win in 1980. The baton was picked up to a certain extent by the officially sponsored Burma (later Myanmar) Historical Commission, which was created in 1955. However, until the advent of a more tolerant quasi-civilian government in 2011, academic research inside the country was still crippled by the lack of access to sources and other restrictions.³

Under Ne Win, Myanmar scholars were limited not only in what they could study but also in what they could write, and how they could publish their findings. For example, as David Steinberg has noted in the foreword to this book, all academic research results (even in science and medicine) were considered classified until they

had been cleared for public release by the government.⁴ Publications were carefully vetted for political correctness. One result of this demand for intellectual orthodoxy was a split between national and international research traditions. There was an effective division of Myanmar studies into what Hans-Bernd Zollner has described as “research from within” and “research from without”.⁵ “Research from within” tended to focus on Myanmar as a national entity (and then only within permitted bounds). Research conducted outside the country did not face such constraints, but was obliged by a lack of access to focus on aspects of Myanmar that could be examined relatively easily or, being deemed “safe” by the authorities, could gain a measure of official sponsorship. Such subjects included archeological discoveries, aspects of ancient civilizations, the traditional cultures of certain ethnic groups and Myanmar’s Buddhist traditions.⁶

In any case, before the rise of a new democratic movement under Aung San Suu Kyi, Myanmar was neglected by the international academic community. The difficulty of gaining access to primary sources, and of reading them in local languages, tended to deter all but the most dedicated researchers. Also, from the time the armed forces (known as the Tatmadaw) first seized power in 1962, until they took back direct political control of the country in 1988, Myanmar retreated into economic isolation and strict neutrality in international affairs. “The imposed censorship of all media and imported books and materials was a comprehensive, if less than successful, attempt to isolate the population from politically modernising external influences”.⁷ Foreign residents were kept to a minimum and tourists were actively discouraged. Outsiders wishing to study the country were viewed with suspicion, either as potential challengers to the official version of Myanmar’s history or as purveyors of “alien cultural influences”.⁸ Fieldwork was very difficult and access to reliable data almost impossible. Interviews with officials and even members of the general population were subject to draconian constraints. This inevitably had an impact on the production of academic publications.

There were a number of notable exceptions, but following the 1962 coup relatively few serious works were published in the major Western languages about Myanmar’s history, politics, economy or contemporary society.⁹ Occasionally, travel books featured a chapter or two on Myanmar, but they tended to deal only fleetingly with the state of the country and its people. From time to time,

the international news media published stories about particular developments in Myanmar, but they tended to be short and lacked nuance. Also, they were not always very accurate or balanced. To understand the country's complex internal dynamics, expatriate Burmese and foreigners were obliged to read "the Rangoon tea leaves".¹⁰ Widespread ignorance of the country meant that questionable claims were rarely challenged. Around the same time, global support for geographically defined "area studies" declined. Starved of funding and unable to conduct original research during the twenty-six years that General Ne Win ruled the country, many academics turned elsewhere for subjects to explore. Myanmar studies languished. As David Steinberg observed in 1981, for many years "contemporary Burma has been considered *terra incognita* by many scholars, journalists and development specialists".¹¹

However, following the dramatic events of 1988, when nationwide pro-democracy demonstrations were crushed by the Tatmadaw, there was a remarkable resurgence of interest in Myanmar among officials and foreign scholars. A wide range of important studies has since appeared, offering "a variety of perspectives that reveal particular and sometimes contested perceptions of the Burmese past, present and future".¹² Also, over the past thirty years the struggle against military rule (in various forms) by both opposition political groups and the country's ethnic minorities has been the subject of hundreds of books, research papers and reports. Since 2016, the spotlight has fallen on the plight of the predominantly Muslim Rohingyas found in Myanmar's west. Close attention has been paid to Myanmar's defence policies and foreign relations, issues also highlighted by the February 2021 coup. New publications have been devoted to aspects of Myanmar's culture and society. There have also been important contributions to Myanmar studies in broader works covering subjects such as the involvement of armed forces in politics, the development problems of "failed" states, urban life in Southeast Asia, ethnic minorities in Southeast Asia and the re-emergence of Islam as a political force.¹³

This increased level of academic and official interest has been matched by a much greater awareness of Myanmar among the general populations of Western and regional countries, prompting the publication of numerous books designed largely for the mass market. These include travel guides, memoirs, collections of photographs, cookery books and novels. After a long hiatus, the Second World War's China-Burma-India (CBI) theatre has attracted renewed

interest.¹⁴ In 1998 alone, there were forty-four books published on this subject.¹⁵ Between the 1988 uprising and the election of a National League for Democracy (NLD) government in 2015, there was a flood of political tracts, usually produced by Burmese exiles and activist groups of different kinds. Many took as their starting point the extended house arrest of NLD leader and Nobel Peace Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi. Also, since 1988 think tanks like the International Crisis Group and United States Institute for Peace, and non-government organizations such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, have commissioned detailed analyses on specific issues, albeit from quite different perspectives.¹⁶ Most of these publications have been posted on the internet, but many have also been released in hard copy.

The military coup of 1 February 2021 has provided another spur to public interest in Myanmar and prompted numerous questions about the country, its institutions and its people. The level of international interest has reached a new peak. In these circumstances, the need for an updated bibliography or checklist of Myanmar-related publications, produced in English and hard copy since 1988, has become even more pressing.

Burma Bibliographies before 1988

Before 1988, Myanmar did not feature prominently in bibliographies or published source surveys. Reflecting the nature of the times, and the Victorian passion for taxonomy, a number of checklists and catalogues were produced during the colonial period, both by institutions in Britain and by the colonial administration. However, they tended to be rather specialized.¹⁷ One listed the books and manuscripts (in Burmese and Pali) that were found in the royal library (and survived the vandalism that occurred) after Myanmar's monarchy was finally overthrown in 1885.¹⁸ Other official publications, such as the gazetteers produced on the colony's twenty-six administrative districts, included reading lists, but these tended to be focused on the relevant geographical areas.¹⁹ Myanmar also attracted its fair share of scholar-officials and missionaries who wrote articles and books, including reference lists, for public consumption. Examples included a list of works on Catholicism in Myanmar, published by two Roman Catholic priests in 1915, and a bibliography of Anglo-Burmese relations published in 1939 by the

historian D.G.E. Hall.²⁰ During this early period, however, such bibliographical efforts were rare.

After the Second World War, which gave the country and surrounding region much higher public profiles in the West, Myanmar was mentioned in most bibliographies of South and Southeast Asia, including works produced by commercial publishing houses and official bodies.

In 1964, for example, Cecil Hobbs, the celebrated head of the Southern Asia Section of the Orientalia Division of the US Library of Congress, published *Southeast Asia: An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Reference Sources in Western Languages*, which included a chapter on Myanmar.²¹ This was in fact a revised version of a bibliography published by the Library of Congress in 1952, itself an expanded version of a work produced by Hobbs in 1946.²² Hobbs compiled several other bibliographies of Southeast Asia, most with sections on Myanmar.²³ Also worth mentioning in this regard is B.E. Moon's 1979 *Periodicals for South-East Asia Studies: A Union Catalogue of Holdings in British and Selected European Libraries*, and Patricia Herbert's chapter on Myanmar in J.D. Pearson's *South Asian Bibliography: A Handbook and Guide*.²⁴ Official publications around this time included a chapter on Myanmar in *Peninsula Southeast Asia: A Bibliographic Survey of Literature*, published in 1972 by the US Department of the Army.²⁵ In 1978, Thomas Willer published an index of references to Southeast Asian countries in British Parliamentary Papers between 1801 and 1973.²⁶

To a greater or lesser degree, Myanmar also featured in specialized publications that focused on specific subject areas, such as Southeast Asian ethnic groups, languages and activities.²⁷ In 1963, for example, the American scholar Donn V. Hart published "Southeast Asia and Education: A Bibliographical Introduction", which devoted four pages to Myanmar and listed some rather obscure titles.²⁸ Hart also compiled a "Preliminary Checklist of Novels with a Burmese Background" and a "Draft Tribal List for Upper Burma". Bound copies of both can occasionally be found online and in private libraries, but it does not appear that either work was ever formally published.²⁹ A 1966 bibliographical guide to Christianity in Southeast Asia, produced by the Missionary Research Society and Yale University's Southeast Asian Studies Department, included a chapter on Myanmar.³⁰ In 1982, Fan Kok-sim compiled a bibliography about women in Southeast Asia that included numerous references to works on Myanmar.³¹

The most comprehensive list of works associated with Myanmar, however, was associated with an academic journal. From 1941 to 1991, the US-based Association of Asian Studies (AAS) published an annual bibliography of Asian studies as a supplement to its journal, the *Journal of Asian Studies* (and, before 1956, its predecessor the *Far Eastern Quarterly*).³² These were occasionally supplemented by specialized reading lists compiled by scholars and librarians, such as Cecil Hobbs.³³ Generally speaking, the AAS lists were wide in scope but tended to favour the humanities and social sciences. These bibliographies typically included a list of monographs, journal articles and book chapters on Myanmar written in the main Western languages, sub-divided into broad categories such as history, biography, economics and politics. From 1991, the journal's bibliographies were made available to subscribers in electronic form, with online entries dating back to 1971. Cumulative printed volumes covering the period 1941–70 were produced in two separate multivolume sets, one in 1969–70 and the other in 1972–73.³⁴

Such was the general lack of interest in Myanmar by Western scholars and officials that, prior to the 1988 uprising, there were relatively few bibliographies that looked at the country itself, in all its diversity.

There were, however, a few notable exceptions to this rule. They included works by the American scholar Frank Trager, who between 1956 and 1973 compiled four bibliographies through the Burma Research Project at New York University and the Human Relations Area Files at New Haven. Two were selected and annotated bibliographies that surveyed a wide range of subjects.³⁵ Another was a bibliography of the works of the British civil servant and celebrated Myanmar scholar John Furnivall.³⁶ It was initially planned to compile separate volumes on Chinese and Japanese language sources on Myanmar, but in the event these two projects were combined and only one volume was produced.³⁷ Trager and his research team also published a fifth volume, which detailed Myanmar's voting record at the United Nations (UN) and listed all the UN documents that made references to Myanmar. It was released in 1956 by the Institute of Pacific Relations.³⁸

Three decades later, the Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars in Washington DC published three bibliographical guides to coincide with an international conference on Myanmar studies being held in the US capital in 1986. Prepared in collaboration with the Library of Congress, one looked at scholarly resources,

another listed international doctoral dissertations since 1898, and a third provided a selective guide to the periodical literature.³⁹ All three volumes made valuable contributions to the field. The Wilson Centre followed these works a year later with *Glimpses of the White Elephant: International Perspectives on the Study of Burma*, a special report based on the 1986 conference. It was edited by Ronald Morse and Helen Loerke and inter alia outlined the centre's bibliographical efforts.⁴⁰ The same year, Morse and Loerke edited *Burma: A Study Guide*, which drew three of the earlier reports together. It not only had nine discrete country sections but, harking back to the Centre's three bibliographies, also included selective guides to scholarly resources and the periodical literature.⁴¹

A number of other bibliographical works on Myanmar were produced during this period, and need to be included in a survey such as this.

In 1957, *A Select Bibliography for the Study of Buddhism in Burma in Western Languages* was published by the American scholar Richard Gard.⁴² In 1961, John Davis compiled a bibliography of works relating to Myanmar's biology and natural history for the University of Florida.⁴³ In 1963, Annie Grimes of the US Weather Bureau produced *An Annotated Bibliography of Climate Maps of Burma*.⁴⁴ In 1972, James Scott published a bibliography that looked at land, peasants and politics in Myanmar and Thailand.⁴⁵ In 1975, William Tuchrello compiled his first list of source materials on Myanmar.⁴⁶ The following year, the Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies in Tokyo compiled a list of its microfilms about Myanmar.⁴⁷ In 1979, Michael Aung Thwin produced a short annotated guide to research tools on Myanmar for the University of Hawai'i.⁴⁸ A bibliography compiled in 1981 by Khin Thet Htar for the World Health Organization (WHO) covered the literature written in English relating to medicine, and allied subjects such as zoology and botany, in Myanmar from 1866 to 1980.⁴⁹ In 1985, a comprehensive guide to Myanmar studies in Japan was released by the Burma Studies Group in Tokyo.⁵⁰ In 1988, William Tuchrello published "A Survey of Selected Resources for the Study of Burma" in the journal *Crossroads*, published by Northern Illinois University (NIU).⁵¹

Another work that deserves mention here is Denise Bernot's multilingual and multivolume *Bibliographie Birmane*. The first instalment, published in 1968, was compiled from Myanmar-related items found in Paris libraries. While nominally covering the period

1950–60, it included numerous references outside that period.⁵² This work was prepared in part to update the Myanmar section of Henri Cordier’s monumental *Bibliotheca Indosinica*.⁵³ It was also designed to supplement the section on “Burma and the Burmese” in the *Bibliography of the Peoples and Cultures of Mainland Southeast Asia*, compiled by John Embree and Lilian Dotson, and published by Yale University Press in 1950.⁵⁴ During the 1980s, Bernot and her colleagues at the National Centre for Scientific Research in Paris planned to produce two more volumes covering the period 1960–70. Four fascicules were to cover subjects and another four would alphabetically list works by author. It appears, however, that the project was never completed. Only four fascicules were ever published, two organized by subject and two organized by author.⁵⁵

Nor were British bibliographers idle. In 1969, Kenneth Whitbread published a catalogue of Burmese printed books in the India Office library.⁵⁶ It included books translated from Burmese into a European language (almost invariably English). Ten years later, Andrew Griffin of the India Office Library and Records produced a brief guide to sources for the study of Myanmar.⁵⁷ In 1982, the British Library Board approved a proposal to compile a “South Asia and Burma retrospective bibliography” (dubbed the SABREB). It was to be a comprehensive database that would eventually cover the entire subcontinent (including Afghanistan) and Myanmar from the introduction of printing technology in the sixteenth century up to 1900. Not only was it planned to draw on the British Library’s own holdings but also on works held by institutions like the India Office Library, the School of Oriental and African Studies, the National Army Museum and the Royal Asiatic Society. Support was also to be sought from libraries and archives in relevant countries, including Myanmar.⁵⁸ The project was divided into three stages, but it appears that only a volume on stage one was produced in hard copy. It covered the period 1556–1800.⁵⁹

It should also be noted that, despite the relative dearth of books devoted to Myanmar before and after the Second World War, a number included lengthy bibliographies. One good example is Alleyne Ireland’s 1907 report for the University of Chicago, *The Province of Burma*, which incorporated a twenty-five-page “Contribution to a Bibliography of Burma”.⁶⁰ J.G. Scott’s classic *Burma: A Handbook of Practical Information* included a “Classified List of Authorities”.⁶¹ The second edition of John Christian’s *Burma and the Japanese Invader*, published in 1945, had a comprehensive

bibliography.⁶² Hugh Tinker's study *The Union of Burma*, first published in 1957 and updated three times, included a useful "Note on Printed Sources".⁶³

Before 1988, Myanmar had no national bibliography, although there were several lists of the old folding manuscripts known as *parabaiks*.⁶⁴ Perhaps the best-known list was one compiled by U Yan, a high court official under the last four Konbaung kings. After Myanmar regained its independence in 1948, lists of books published within the country "appeared only as registered in occasional issues of the government gazettes".⁶⁵ A guide to public documents, however, could usually be found in the *Catalogue of Books: Union Government Book Depot*, which was published annually.⁶⁶ Also, during the 1950s the Rangoon Hopkins Centre for Southeast Asian Studies at the University of Rangoon published two research guides. In 1953, Joseph Fisher produced a *Research Bibliography of Books, Documents, and Pamphlets on Burma* and Rose Calder compiled a guide to local library resources.⁶⁷ In 1961, the library of the Institute of Public Administration and Management in Yangon published a surprisingly long (sixty-six pages) bibliography of relevant works in English.⁶⁸ In 1966, Khin Thet Htar compiled a list of 709 titles on British Burma as part of her Diploma of Librarianship at the University of London.⁶⁹

Myanmar (Burma) Bibliographies since 1988

The 1988 pro-democracy uprising in Myanmar launched a major new phase in the country's national development. Over the next twenty or so years, it experienced a series of events that arguably changed its entire political, economic and social landscape. They also had a significant impact on the country's foreign relations and strategic environment. This transformation in Myanmar's internal and external circumstances was capped by the adoption of a new national constitution in 2008 and the stage-managed "election" in 2010 of a hybrid civilian-military parliament, which was ensconced in the newly built capital of Naypyidaw. In 2011, to the surprise of almost everyone, President Thein Sein and his pro-military government introduced a wide-ranging reform programme.⁷⁰ In 2015, the National League for Democracy, led by Aung San Suu Kyi, won a resounding victory in general elections, taking office the following year. The NLD won an even more emphatic victory in 2020, but in February 2021 the armed forces took back direct

power in a military coup. They declared a state of emergency that would last at least one year.⁷¹

As a result of all these developments, Myanmar has attracted more international interest over the past thirty or so years than it probably has for any other period in its modern history. This level of attention is likely to continue for the foreseeable future as the country grapples with a wide array of seemingly intractable political, economic and social problems, and continues to be the focus of criticism in international fora because of its latest military takeover and its harsh policies towards its ethnic minorities, notably the Muslim Rohingyas.⁷² The outpouring of publications—of almost every kind, and on almost every conceivable facet of Myanmar—seen in the years following the 1988 uprising has continued unabated. This has prompted the compilation of numerous bibliographies and checklists designed to bring the record up to date and to help fill gaps in the literature.⁷³ Some of these works warrant mention here.

In 1990, Patricia Herbert, then head of the Southeast Asia section in the British Library's Oriental and India Office Collections, and a Myanmar scholar in her own right, compiled a list of publications produced during the 1988 pro-democracy uprising in Myanmar and held by the British Library.⁷⁴ In 1991, she followed this up by publishing what was described as “the first and most fully annotated multi-disciplinary guide to English-language publications about Burma to appear in twenty years”.⁷⁵ Altogether, it contained over 1,500 references in 850 numbered entries, listed under thirty subject headings. There were brief biographical notes on the authors of each work. Because of its comprehensiveness, extensive annotations and helpful layout, this book soon established itself as a standard reference work for scholars, librarians and booksellers interested in publications on Myanmar. A new edition is eagerly awaited by Myanmar-watchers.

From August 1992, the Burma Studies Group of the AAS, based since 1987 at Northern Illinois University in the United States, began printing lists of relevant publications in the *Bulletin of the Burma Studies Group*.⁷⁶ Initiated by the *Bulletin's* then editor, reference librarian May Kyi Win, the project was described as “an attempt to bring together all current articles and books on Burma in English and other European languages”.⁷⁷ The items listed were drawn from popular books and magazines as well as from publications designed for a more academic readership. Entries also covered ephemera such as conference papers, newsletters and

even statements about Myanmar by government officials. One issue included a bibliography of maps of the country.⁷⁸ For a period, the *Bulletin* also published an annual bibliography on Myanmar.⁷⁹ Inevitably, there were gaps in these lists, as the effort to maintain them outstripped the resources of the Burma Studies Group. By 2002, the printed lists had been overtaken by more efficient and widely available electronic databases, but the *Bulletin* still occasionally has book reviews and other items about new publications.

Even before then, the staff of the Donn V. Hart Southeast Asia Collection, part of the Northern Illinois University Libraries group, had compiled a *Bibliography on Burma, 1988–1997*.⁸⁰ It was completed in June 1997, probably under the guidance of the collection's curator, May Kyi Win.⁸¹ The bibliography included some material that had already been listed in the *Bulletin of the Burma Studies Group*, but it was above all an effort to provide students and specialists at NIU with a comprehensive reference to books, monographs, academic articles and news media reports that had been published during the decade following the 1988 pro-democracy uprising. Printed as an eighty-seven-page booklet on recycled computer paper by the NIU libraries, it does not appear ever to have been published commercially, or posted online. Occasionally, however, copies appear for sale on various websites.

From 2001, Michael Charney at London University's School of Oriental and African Studies periodically produced a detailed list of sources entitled "Bibliography of Burma (Myanmar) Research: The Secondary Literature". The full document was last updated in 2004, when it appeared online as a supplement to the twice-yearly *SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research*.⁸² It was hoped that a new, updated version would be posted on the internet in 2012.⁸³ In the event, that did not happen, Charney ruling a line under the project that year. The SOAS compilation made no claims to completeness. Indeed, it was described as a "living" bibliography. It invited contributions from Myanmar-watchers and other scholars, and periodically published the details of new works online. The list of works became quite extensive, however, and ultimately ran to 264 pages. Importantly, it included references to journal articles and individual book chapters, categories of publication that were largely omitted from Pat Herbert's volume. Another SOAS publication worth mentioning in this context is Oliver B. Pollak's list of "Forgotten Scholarship on Burma". As he demonstrated, "The number of scholarly works

concerning Burma in the quest for masters and doctorate degrees is prodigious.”⁸⁴

In addition, the library of the South Asia Institute at the University of Heidelberg has long been working on an ambitious bibliographic project, initially prompted by the acquisition of Frank Trager’s extensive Myanmar collection in 1974. Additional titles have been found by investigating the holdings of major libraries and other institutions around the world. Since July 2005, four “pre-print” volumes have been produced, which list alphabetically and cite the locations of a large number of works on Myanmar, many published since 1988.⁸⁵ It seems to be envisaged that, when completed, this bibliography will consist of two major parts. The first will comprise eight volumes, covering monographs, periodicals and official publications on Myanmar in West European languages. The second part will cover articles in periodicals and “multi-author publications”.⁸⁶ A date for the release of these works does not seem to have been set.

Since 1988, there have also been a number of specialized works in this vein. In 1993, for example, Alan Meech published an annotated bibliography of Myanmar philately that named 536 monographs and journal articles.⁸⁷ In 1998, Eugene Rasor produced a study of sources on the wartime CBI theatre, covering the period 1931–45.⁸⁸ The same year, Win Tint compiled an annotated bibliography of the works of pioneer Myanmar scholar Gordon Luce and a catalogue of books in his private library.⁸⁹ This was followed in 1999 by a “descriptive catalogue” and bibliography of works relating to the 1942–45 Burma campaign.⁹⁰ A list of Japanese sources on the campaign was published in Tokyo the following year.⁹¹ In 2008, Mandy Sadan published a guide to colonial sources on Myanmar held in the India Office Records of the British Library. The guide was designed to provide a general introduction to sources for “the study of minority histories of Burma” during the period 1824–1948, but it also touched on works outside this frame of reference.⁹² Another bibliography of the Burma campaign, listing 3,135 works, was published by Justin Corfield in 2015.⁹³

From time to time, *The Journal of Burma Studies*, produced since 1997 by the Burma Studies Centre at Northern Illinois University, has published a number of specialist bibliographies. For example, in 1997 Sun Laichen compiled a detailed list of Chinese historical sources on Myanmar, which was released as a special edition of the journal.⁹⁴ In 2004, *The Journal of Burma Studies* published

a bibliography by Pat Herbert of works written by the eminent Burmese scholar Pe Maung Tin, who had died in 1973.⁹⁵ In 2011, a similar honour was accorded to NIU emeritus professor F.K. Lehman (also known as F.K.L. U Chit Hlaing), who in a long academic career published more than sixty books and articles, many of them on Myanmar and related subjects.⁹⁶

Other lists can be found on the internet. The *Online Burma/Myanmar Library*, launched in 2001 under the guidance of David Arnott, carries “classified and annotated links to more than 30,000 full-text documents on Burma/Myanmar”.⁹⁷ It also has a section listing a number of bibliographies, library catalogues and check-lists of works relating to Myanmar, and a separate page listing the publications of a number of individual Myanmar scholars.⁹⁸ A search of the World Wide Web reveals other works of this nature. In 2008, for example, Gandhimathy Durairaj from the library of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore compiled a “select list” of 723 sources on Myanmar’s “Road to Democracy”.⁹⁹ It covered books, journal articles and even audiovisual materials. The same year, annotated bibliographies of Myanmar’s geology and hydrology were compiled by the US Army Corps of Engineers, probably in anticipation of US involvement in relief efforts after Cyclone Nargis devastated southern Myanmar.¹⁰⁰ Pamela Cross has posted a list of works on Myanmar’s ethnic minorities and their textiles online, and the University of Bristol has compiled a check-list of publications related to Buddhist death rituals in Myanmar.¹⁰¹

Most secondary works on Myanmar published since 1988 have included lists of sources or suggestions for further reading, and in some cases these have been quite comprehensive. For example, Donald Seekins’s 2017 *Historical Dictionary of Burma (Myanmar)* includes a comprehensive bibliography, divided into subjects.¹⁰² Robert Taylor’s revised study of *The State in Myanmar* also has an extensive bibliography of English and Burmese language sources, helpfully divided into pre-1988 and post-1988 sections.¹⁰³ Other good examples are Monique Skidmore’s edited collection *Burma at the Turn of the 21st Century*, Chie Ikeya’s *Refiguring Women, Colonialism, and Modernity in Burma*, Michael Leigh’s *Conflict, Politics and Proselytism in Burma* and Roger Lee Huang’s *The Paradox of Myanmar’s Regime Change*.¹⁰⁴ The bibliography at the end of Mandy Sadan’s *Being and Becoming Kachin* is twenty-six pages long.¹⁰⁵ Many other academic works contain similar aids to research. One unusual example in this genre is Jean-Marc Rastorfer’s 1998 study of books

reprinted—or photocopied for resale—in Myanmar itself.¹⁰⁶ Many of the works listed in his paper were originally published in English.

A valuable new bibliographical resource has been launched by the *Tea Circle* blog, which was established in November 2015, with the explanatory subtitle, “A Forum for New Perspectives on Burma/Myanmar”. Based initially at Oxford University but now run by volunteers out of the University of Toronto, the objectives of *Tea Circle* were described as follows:

It highlights analysis, research, opinions, book reviews, multimedia presentations and other types of submissions from a global audience of contributors. *Tea Circle* ... is particularly focused on creating opportunities for contributors from Myanmar.¹⁰⁷

It is this last aim that seems to have prompted the compilation of a new list of publications.¹⁰⁸ Although it has the generic title “Bibliography of Burma Studies”, this resource is devoted largely to publications on Myanmar by women and Myanmar scholars, who, most would agree, have so far been under-recognized in the field of Myanmar studies.¹⁰⁹ Contributors have been invited to add new material to the site.¹¹⁰

In Myanmar itself, the compilation of bibliographies has been a slow process, but it was given a boost in 1971 by the establishment of the Postgraduate Library Diploma Course at Rangoon Arts and Sciences University.¹¹¹ This prompted the production of several specialized subject bibliographies in English. A *Research Bibliography of Books, Documents, and Pamphlets on Burma* was published in 1972, but it appears simply to have been a revised version of Joseph Fisher’s 1953 volume of the same name.¹¹² Since then, there have been efforts to compile more comprehensive lists, but none have been able to keep up with the dramatic surge in local publications that has occurred under the three quasi-civilian governments elected since 2010. A *Myanmar National Bibliography* is currently being compiled by the Myanmar National Library, to cover imprints since 1997. To date, however, no comprehensive bibliography of works published in Myanmar appears to have been produced in any major foreign language, although some helpful lists have been compiled, and commentaries on the literary scene provided, by private individuals.¹¹³

Content and Methodology

Inspired by all these projects, this bibliography aims to provide a readily accessible selection of books, reports and other monographs devoted to Myanmar, or with major components focused on Myanmar, that have been published, or in some cases republished, since the 1988 uprising. It is not intended to be exhaustive, either in its listings or in its coverage. As Heidelberg University's Siegfried Schwertner has written, "the collection of publications for a bibliography is a story that never ends, and a complete coverage cannot be achieved".¹¹⁴ Also, as Alfred Johnson once wrote, "The compiler of a selective bibliography is always liable to criticism for faults of omission."¹¹⁵ Even so, a conscious attempt has been made to include a wide range of publications representing all the main subject areas and political viewpoints. Broader works touching on Myanmar, or which include specific chapters on Myanmar, have not been listed, unless Myanmar has been specifically mentioned in the main title or subtitle. Also, with a small number of exceptions, entries have been restricted to works that have been produced in hard copy and released for sale or public distribution.¹¹⁶

The items listed have been restricted to those produced in whole or in part in the English language.¹¹⁷ This is because both Myanmar studies and the wider public discourse on Myanmar since 1988 have been dominated by English speakers and English language publications, including on international websites. It is important to note, however, that there is also a rapidly growing body of work published in other languages, including of course Burmese, which reflect the high level of interest now being shown in Myanmar by scholars, activists, journalists and others in a wide range of countries around the world. Chinese, Japanese, French and German Myanmar-watchers, for example, have made notable contributions to the field, usually in their own languages.¹¹⁸ There are also active circles of Myanmar-watchers in the Scandinavian countries. The Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS) in Copenhagen, for example, has published several well-regarded books about Myanmar.¹¹⁹

Where possible, an effort has been made to sight and verify each entry. This has become increasingly difficult as the checklist has grown, but many of those works not found in my own collection were personally inspected at the National Library of Australia or the Menzies Library of the Australian National University (ANU). Both have extensive holdings on Myanmar (in both English and Burmese). As far as possible, other works have been cross-checked

using the resources of multiple booksellers. In a number of cases, I have contacted authors or publishers directly to confirm certain details. As a general rule, bibliographical “ghosts” and books listed by authors or publishers as “forthcoming” have not been included. These include works described in catalogues and advertised on retail websites but not yet released for sale.¹²⁰ Nor has any attempt been made to list all books described in catalogues and online as “printed on demand”. Not only would this make the bibliography unwieldy but, certain e-books aside, such works tend either to be reproductions of books published prior to 1988 or unrefereed compilations of materials drawn from websites like Wikipedia.¹²¹

The categories into which the publications in this work have been divided broadly mirror those found in Pat Herbert’s 1991 bibliography, which in turn follow established international library practice. Additional subheadings have been included in many places to help readers more easily find books and reports on subjects of particular interest. Where a publication could fit into more than one category—as is often the case—it has been listed once only, according to its dominant themes. If books have been given more than one title, as has sometimes occurred when a book published in Britain has been republished in the United States, or vice versa, usually only the title of the original version has been listed. For example, Zoya Phan’s 2009 memoir *Little Daughter* was republished in the United States the following year as *Undaunted*.¹²² Emma Larkin’s 2010 book *Everything Is Broken* was released in the United States a year later under the title *No Bad News for the King*.¹²³ If a work does not include a specific place of publication, the country of publication is named, where that is known.

In this book, the name “Myanmar” has been used in preference to “Burma”, except in specific cases where use of the old name seemed more appropriate. This has mainly been in references to the country before 1988, some formal titles, and direct quotations. Also, the preference for “Burma” demonstrated in the first three prefaces has been left unchanged. David Steinberg’s foreword reflects his personal preferences. Publications have been cited exactly as they have appeared in print. Hence, in the checklist, the country is referred to both as “Burma” and “Myanmar”. Similarly, the former national capital has been shown as both “Rangoon” and “Yangon” (the new name adopted in 1989), depending on the choice of the authors and the publishers. The descriptor “Burmese” has been retained both as an adjective and to describe the dominant language of the country.¹²⁴

Although it raises its ugly head from time to time, strictly speaking there is no such word as “Myanmarese”.¹²⁵ The vexed question of names is also discussed in the following chapter, on “Protocols and Politics”.

Authors, editors, compilers, photographers and translators are listed under the names given on their books. Unless provided, no attempt has been made to identify pseudonyms, although these have long been common in the field of Myanmar studies.¹²⁶ Similarly, Burmese names are cited as they are given on the publications in question, although in some cases hyphens have been removed, for consistency. While strictly speaking this is not correct usage, it is hoped that this will help avoid any confusion arising from the fact that Burmese do not usually have first names and surnames, and many use honorifics or other identifiers as an integral part of their name. Thus, for example, Daw Than Han, Maung Aung Myoe and Ma Thanegi are cited as if the titles “Daw”, “Maung” and “Ma” are part of their actual name.¹²⁷ The same principle has been applied to names like “Tekkatho” (University) Sein Ti, “Theippan” (Science) Maung Wa and “Pagan” (the place) U Khin Maung Gyi. Where first names are clearly given, however, as in Margaret Aung Thwin, Frankie Tun Tin or Ardeth Maung Thawngmung, they have been recognized and listed as such.

Although the later editions of this bibliography have become more comprehensive, and thus more balanced in their listings, it is acknowledged that it still displays a slight geographical bias in that it cites a large number of works on Myanmar that have either been written by Australians or published in Australia. In large part, this reflects my own research base at the Griffith Asia Institute in Brisbane, and the holdings of the National Library of Australia and the ANU’s Menzies Library, both situated in Canberra. No attempt has been made to correct this bias, as it does not distort the overall thrust of the checklist. Indeed, by including a number of works not cited in other bibliographies it helps to round out the list and demonstrates the increased attention that Myanmar has received over the past thirty or so years from Australians and Australian research centres.

No claims are made regarding the academic or literary merit of any of the works listed. As can be seen from even a cursory glance through the titles, they cover a very broad spectrum in terms of style, length, content and purpose. Indeed, given the highly politicized nature of the Myanmar-watching community over the

past three decades, and the tendency of some observers to express moral judgements as readily as analytical views, it is perhaps also worth recording that the various personal and political positions represented by the publications in this checklist are noted without comment or wider implication. The bibliography is intended simply to draw attention to the wide range of books and reports on Myanmar that has appeared over the past thirty years or so. It is hoped that a work of this kind will help officials, scholars, students, travellers and others who might be looking for a readily available directory of contemporary sources, produced by a wide range of authors and institutions. As noted in successive prefaces, it is ultimately for the reader to decide on their quality and worth.

Indeed, a few works may be considered to have only slight links to Myanmar. I include in this category a couple of books on Burmese and Birman cats, whose actual ties to the country are rather slight. The links between Myanmar and so-called “Burmese glass” are even more tenuous.¹²⁸ Given its prominence in some countries as a pet (or a pest), I have also included a book or two on Burmese pythons. Following Patricia Herbert’s lead, however, such works have been listed for completeness.¹²⁹ Similar thinking underpins the inclusion of Norval Morris’s book *The Brothel Boy and Other Parables of the Law*, which uses George Orwell and Myanmar as a literary device to discuss broader points of British, Indian and Burmese customary law.¹³⁰ Also, the bibliography lists a number of novels that have appeared since 1988 and that are either set in Myanmar or in some way refer to developments there. While many are of dubious literary value, they have been included both for completeness and to give readers an idea of publishing trends as they relate to modern Myanmar.

The first appendix attempts to provide a comprehensive reading list for anyone intending to visit Myanmar for the first time, or who might wish to familiarize themselves with the country before undertaking more detailed studies. It was initially prepared for the Asia Bookroom in Canberra in 2006, but has been regularly updated to take account of various publications that have appeared since then. Like all such exercises, it represents a purely personal view and should not be considered as either authoritative or exhaustive. However, it is included in the hope that it may help provide an introduction of sorts to a dynamic and fascinating country of enormous complexity that is still little known and poorly understood. Also, the essay refers to a number of works that are not mentioned

in this bibliography, either because they were published before 1988 or because they are journal articles or chapters in books. It can profitably be read in conjunction with other lists of books on Myanmar compiled by subject experts.¹³¹

In *Letters from Iceland*, the poet Louis MacNeice wrote of running away from “the excess of books”.¹³² This is not a frame of mind familiar to bibliographers, who happily embrace the growing number of publications on any chosen subject. Nor should it appeal to Myanmar-watchers, who, as even this “select” checklist attests, can now enjoy reading many works, of all kinds, published on the country over the past thirty years or so.

Notes

1. For the early years of the JBRS, see C.A. Boshier, *Mapping Cultural Nationalism: The Scholars of the Burma Research Society, 1910–1935* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2018).
2. *Fiftieth Anniversary Publications*, 2 vols. (Rangoon: Burma Research Society, 1960 [vol. 2] and 1961 [vol. 1]).
3. See, for example, James Cemmell, *Academic Freedom International Study: Burma* (London: University and College Union, May 2009), https://www.ucu.org.uk/media/3422/Academic-Freedom-International-Study-Burma-chapter/pdf/academic_freedom_burma.pdf.
4. See also Andrew Selth, *Myanmar-Watching: Problems and Perspectives*, Regional Outlook no. 58 (Brisbane: Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University, 2018), pp. 6–7.
5. Hans-Bernd Zollner, “Die langen Schatten der Politik – zum Stand der BirmaForschung” [The long shadow of politics – Research on Burma], *Internationales Asienforum: International Quarterly for Asian Studies* 39, nos. 1–2 (May 2008), pp. 55–79.
6. For example, Pam Gutman was granted special permission to conduct field research around Myohaung in 1972 and 1974. One result was Pamela Gutman, *Burma’s Lost Kingdoms: Splendours of Arakan* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2001). See also “A Conversation with Mikael Gravers: Research among the Karen, Past and Present”, *The Irrawaddy*, 7 July 2017, <https://www.irrawaddy.com/opinion/guest-column/a-conversation-withmikael-gravers-research-among-the-karen-past-and-present.html>.
7. D.I. Steinberg, “Moving Myanmar: The Future of Military Prominence”, *Kyoto Review of Southeast Asia*, no. 14 (September 2013), <https://kyotoreview.org/issue-14/moving-myanmar-the-future-of-military-prominence/>.
8. See, for example, Khin Nyunt, “Address to the 11th Myanmar Traditional Cultural Performing Arts Competitions”, *New Light of*

- Myanmar*, 4 November 2003, <http://www.myanmar.gov.mm/NLM-2003/enlm/Nov04 h2.html>. See also Gustaaf Houtman, *Mental Culture in Burmese Crisis Politics: Aung San Suu Kyi and the National League for Democracy*, Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Monograph no. 33 (Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 1999), pp. 126–28.
9. Andrew Selth, “Modern Burma Studies: A Survey of the Field”, *Modern Asian Studies* 44, no. 2 (March 2010), pp. 401–40. An earlier version of this article was posted online by the City University of Hong Kong’s Southeast Asia Research Centre, as Andrew Selth, *Modern Burma Studies: A View from the Edge*, Southeast Asia Research Centre, Working Paper no. 96 (Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong, 2007), http://www6.cityu.edu.hk/searc/Data/FileUpload/289/WP96_07_ASelth.pdf.
 10. D.I. Steinberg, *Burma: The State of Myanmar* (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2001), p. xxv.
 11. D.I. Steinberg, *Burma’s Road toward Development: Growth and Ideology under Military Rule* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1981), p. 1.
 12. Matrii Aung Thwin, “Introduction: Communities of Interpretation and the Construction of Modern Myanmar”, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 39, no. 2 (June 2008), p. 187.
 13. See, for example, M.P. Callahan, “Burma: Soldiers as State Builders”, in Muthiah Alagappa (ed.), *Coercion and Governance: The Declining Political Role of the Military in Asia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp. 413–32; and Marco Bunte, “The NLD-Military Coalition in Myanmar: Military Guardianship and its Economic Foundations”, in Paul Chambers and Napisa Waitookiat (eds.), *Khaki Capital: The Political Economy of the Military in Southeast Asia* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2017), pp. 93–130.
 14. All US forces in China, Burma and India were united in one command, referred to as the “CBI Theatre”. This term has since gained popular currency. However, it was not one of the recognized theatres of the war, since it extended geographically across the boundaries of India Command and of the South-East Asia and China theatres. See Mountbatten of Burma, *Report to the Combined Chiefs of Staff by the Supreme Allied Commander, South-East Asia, 1943–1945* (New Delhi: The English Book Store, 1960), p. 7.
 15. See, for example, Gordon Graham and Frank Cole (eds.), *Burma Campaign Memorial Library: A Collection of Books and Papers about the War in Burma 1942–1945* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 2001). Also of relevance is Gordon Graham and Jotika Khur-Yearn, “Browsing through a Treasure House: The Literature of the Burma Campaign”, *SOAS Research Online*, 6 April 2011, <http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/11668/>.
 16. See, for example, Bertil Lintner, *Why Burma’s Peace Efforts Have Failed to End Its Internal Wars*, Peaceworks no. 169 (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, October 2020); and *Dashed Hopes: The*

- Criminalisation of Peaceful Expression in Myanmar* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 31 January 2019).
17. See, for example, L.D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of Burmese Books in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1913).
 18. *Catalogue of Pali and Burmese Books and Manuscripts Belonging to the Library of the Late King of Burma and Found in the Palace at Mandalay in 1886* (Rangoon: Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, 1910). Early European visitors described the large libraries of Myanmar's kings. See, for example, Anis Khurshid, "Library Development in Burma", *Journal of Library History* (1966–1972) 5, no. 4 (October 1970), p. 323.
 19. The number of districts, and thus the number of gazetteers, varied over time. For details of all these works, see Henry Scholberg, *The District Gazetteers of British India: A Bibliography*, Bibliotheca Asiatica no. 3 (Zug: Inter Documentation Company, 1970), pp. 50–51 and 66–70.
 20. See, for example, Henry Hosten and E. Luce, *Bibliotheca Catholica Birmana* (Rangoon: British Burma Press, 1915); and D.G.E. Hall, "Bibliography of Anglo-Burmese Relations", *International Committee of Historical Relations* 11 (October 1939), pp. 545–54.
 21. Cecil Hobbs, *Southeast Asia: An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Reference Sources in Western Languages* (Washington DC: Orientalia Division, Library of Congress, 1964), pp. 25–41.
 22. Cecil Hobbs, *Southeast Asia, 1935–45: A Selected List of Reference Books* (Washington DC: Orientalia Division, Library of Congress, 1946), pp. 1–17.
 23. As a result of all these efforts, Hobbs was dubbed "the Dean of Southeast Asian bibliographers". See Cecil Hobbs, *Southeast Asia: A Bibliography of Writings, 1942–1978* (Carbondale: Centre for Vietnamese Studies, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, 1980), p. i.
 24. B.E. Moon, *Periodicals for South-East Asia Studies: A Union Catalogue of Holdings in British and Selected European Libraries* (London: Mansell, 1979), pp. 58–66; and Patricia Herbert, "Burma", in J.D. Pearson (ed.), *South Asian Bibliography: A Handbook and Guide* (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1979), pp. 328–51.
 25. "Burma", in *Peninsula Southeast Asia: A Bibliographic Survey of Literature* (Washington DC: Department of the Army, 1972), pp. 67–89.
 26. T.F. Willer, *Southeast Asian References in the British Parliamentary Papers, 1801–1972/73: An Index*, Papers in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series no. 48 (Athens: Ohio University Centre for International Studies, 1978), pp. 16–41.
 27. See, for example, F.E. Huffman, *Bibliography and Index of Mainland Southeast Asian Languages and Linguistics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); and Christian Bauer, *A Guide to Mon Studies* Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Working Paper no. 32 (Clayton: Monash University, 1984), pp. 41–75.

28. D.V. Hart, "Southeast Asia and Education: A Bibliographical Introduction", *Silliman Journal* 10, no. 3 (3rd Quarter, 1963), pp. 241–71.
29. A copy of the "Draft Tribal List for Upper Burma" forms part of the Luce Collection, in the National Library of Australia.
30. G.H. Anderson (ed.), *Christianity in Southeast Asia: A Bibliographical Guide: An Annotated Bibliography of Selected References in Western Languages* (New York and New Haven: The Missionary Research Library and Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1966), pp. 18–23.
31. Kok-sim Fan, *Women in Southeast Asia: A Bibliography* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1982). The bibliography was divided into subject chapters, but most carried a section on Myanmar-related publications.
32. The print version of the *Bibliography of Asian Studies* was available as a stand-alone title from 1969 to 1991, but before then was included as part of these journals.
33. See, for example, Cecil Hobbs, "Reading List on Burma", *Far Eastern Quarterly* 5, no. 1 (November 1945), pp. 60–66.
34. 'Burma', in Association for Asian Studies, *Cumulative Bibliography of Asian Studies, 1941–1965: Subject Bibliography*, 4 vols. (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1970), vol. 1, pp. 118–155; and "Burma", in Association for Asian Studies, *Cumulative Bibliography of Asian Studies, 1966–1970: Subject Bibliography*, 3 vols. (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1972), vol. 1, pp. 108–31. See also Association for Asian Studies, *Cumulative Bibliography of Asian Studies, 1941–1965: Author Bibliography*, 4 vols. (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1969).
35. F.N. Trager, J.N. Musgrave and Janet Welsh, *Annotated Bibliography of Burma* (New Haven: Burma Research Project, New York University, 1956); and F.N. Trager, *Burma: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1973).
36. F.N. Trager, *Furnivall of Burma: An Annotated Bibliography of the Works of John S. Furnivall* (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asian Studies, 1963).
37. F.N. Trager et al., *Japanese and Chinese Language Sources on Burma: An Annotated Bibliography* (New Haven: Burma Research Project, New York University, 1957).
38. F.N. Trager, Patricia Wohlgenuth and Lu-yu Kiang, *Burma's Role in the United Nations, 1948–1955* (New York: International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1956).
39. Anita Hibler and W.P. Tuchrello, *Burma: A Selective Guide to Scholarly Resources* (Washington DC: Asia Program, The Wilson Centre, and Asian Division, The Library of Congress, 1986); F.J. Shulman, *Burma: An Annotated Bibliographical Guide to International Doctoral Dissertation Research, 1898–1985* (Lanham: Asia Program, The Wilson Centre and University Press of America, 1986); and Anita Hibler and W.P. Tuchrello, *Burma: A Selective Guide to Periodical Literature, 1970–1986*

- (Washington DC: Asia Program, The Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars, 1986).
40. Ronald Morse and Helen Loerke (eds.), *Glimpses of the White Elephant: International Perspectives on the Study of Burma* (Washington DC: The Wilson Centre, 1987).
 41. R.A. Morse (ed.), *Burma: A Study Guide* (Washington DC: The Wilson Centre, 1987).
 42. R.A. Gard, *A Select Bibliography for the Study of Buddhism in Burma in Western Languages* (Los Angeles: Asia Foundation, 1957).
 43. Davis, J.H., *Selected Bibliography: Burma and Adjacent Regions, Biology, Natural History* (Gainesville: University of Florida, 1961).
 44. A.E. Grimes, *An Annotated Bibliography of Climate Maps of Burma* (Washington DC: US Weather Bureau, 1963).
 45. J.C. Scott, *A Bibliography on Land, Peasants, and Politics for Burma and Thailand* (Madison: Land Tenure Centre, University of Wisconsin – Madison, 1972).
 46. William Tuchrello, “Recent Articles on Burma, Chronologically Arranged” (Washington DC, 1976).
 47. *List of Microfilms Deposited in the Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, Part 8: Burma* (Tokyo: Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1976).
 48. Michael Aung Thwin, *Southeast Asian Research Tools: Burma*, Southeast Asia Paper no. 16, Part III (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i, 1979).
 49. Khin Thet Htar, *Annotated Bibliography of Medical Literature on Burma (1866–1976), with Supplement up to 1980* (New Delhi: World Health Organisation, South-East Asia Regional Office, 1981).
 50. *Burmese Studies in Japan, 1868–1985: Literary Guide and Bibliography*, edited by the Burma Studies Group (Tokyo: Burma Research Group, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 1985) (in Japanese and English).
 51. William Tuchrello, “A Survey of Selected Resources for the Study of Burma”, *Crossroads: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 4, no. 1 (Fall 1988), pp. 128–51.
 52. Denise Bernot, *Bibliographie Birmane, Annees 1950–1960* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1968).
 53. Henri Cordier, *Bibliotheca Indosinica: Dictionnaire Bibliographique des Ouvrages Relatifs a la Peninsule Indochinoise*, 4 vols. (Paris: L’Ecole Francais d’Extreme Orient/Leroux, 1912–15), vol. 1, columns 1–516.
 54. “Burma and the Burmese”, in J.F. Embree and L.O. Dotson, *Bibliography of the Peoples and Cultures of Mainland Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale University, Southeast Asia Studies, 1950), pp. 159–317.
 55. Denise Bernot et al., *Bibliographie Birmane, Annees 1960–1970*, 4 vols. (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1982–4). The latter two fascicules, both dated 1984, covered authors from A to F and G to L. See also Denise Bernot et al., *Bibliographie Birmane – annees 1950–1960* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1968).

56. Kenneth Whitbread, *Catalogue of Burmese Printed Books in the India Office Library* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1969).
57. Andrew Griffin, *A Brief Guide to Sources for the Study of Burma in the India Office Records* (London: India Office Library and Records, 1979).
58. B.C. Bloomfield, "The South Asia and Burma Retrospective Bibliography", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, n.s., 115, no. 1 (January 1983), pp. 83–84.
59. Graham Shaw, *The South Asia and Burma Retrospective Bibliography (SABREB), Stage 1: 1556–1800* (London: The British Library Publishing Division, 1987). As the British conquest of Burma did not begin until 1824, there are few references to Burma in this volume. It was anticipated, however, that Burma would receive greater attention in the volumes covering stage 2 (1801–1862) and stage 3 (1868–1900).
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61. J.G. Scott, *Burma: A Handbook of Practical Information* (London: Daniel O'Connor, 1921), pp. 519–27.
62. J.L. Christian, *Burma and the Japanese Invader* (Bombay: Thacker, 1945), pp. 390–408.
63. Hugh Tinker, *The Union of Burma: A Study of the First Years of Independence* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 401–3.
64. See also Myaingkaing Myo Sa, *A Bibliographic Account of the Pitikas and Other Burmese Literature* (Rangoon, 1906) (in Burmese).
65. H.F. Conover, "The Bibliography of Newly Developing Areas", *Library Trends* 8, no. 2 (1959), p. 325.
66. *Catalogue of Books: Union Government Book Depot* (Rangoon: Superintendent of Government Printing and Stationary, annual). Some editions of this work listed "documents dating back to the mid-19th century". See H.F. Conover, *Current National Bibliographies* (Washington: Reference Department, The Library of Congress, 1955), p. i.
67. Joseph Fisher, *Research Bibliography of Books, Documents, and Pamphlets on Burma* (Rangoon: Rangoon Hopkins Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Rangoon, 1953). See also R.E. Calder, *Guide to Library Resources in Rangoon* (Rangoon: Rangoon Hopkins Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Rangoon University, 1958).
68. *A Selective Bibliography on Public Administration in Burma* (Rangoon: Institute of Public Administration and Management Library, Union of Burma, March 1961) (mimeograph).
69. Khin Thet Htar, *Select Bibliography of Books in English on British Burma, 1826–1948* (London: The author, 1966).
70. See, for example, *Reform in Myanmar: One Year On*, Asia Briefing no. 136 (Jakarta/Brussels: International Crisis Group, 11 April 2012). See also Andrew Selth, "Assessing Burma's Reform Program",

- The Interpreter*, 24 January 2012, <http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/post/2012/01/24/Assessing-Burmas-reform-program.aspx>.
71. Andrew Selth, “The Coup in Myanmar: What Do We Know?”, *The Interpreter*, 3 February 2021, <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/coup-myanmar-what-do-we-know>.
 72. See, for example, “Myanmar’s Genocide against Rohingya Not Over, Says Rights Group”, *The Guardian*, 24 November 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/nov/23/myanmar-is-still-committing-genocide-against-rohingya-says-rights-group>.
 73. A useful resource in this regard is H.C. Kemp, *Bibliographies on Southeast Asia* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1998), pp. 982–85.
 74. “List of Burmese Pro-democracy [August–September 1988] Publications in the British Library”, *South-East Asia Library Group Newsletter* 34–35 (December 1990), pp. 25–38.
 75. P.M. Herbert, *Burma* (Oxford: Clio Press, 1991), p. xv.
 76. From its first issue in Spring 1973, the frequency of publication varied between one and four times a year. See Centre for Burma Studies, Northern Illinois University, *Bulletin of the Burma Studies Group*, <https://www.niu.edu/clas/burma/publications/Bulletins/index.shtml>
 77. May Kyi Win, “Bibliography: Books and Articles on Burma”, *Bulletin of the Burma Studies Group*, no. 59 (March 1997), p. 9.
 78. “Bibliography of Maps of Burma”, *Bulletin of the Burma Studies Group*, no. 71 (March 2003), pp. 17–29.
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 81. Personal communication with NIU librarian, 12 January 2021.
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 83. Personal communications with Michael Charney, 21 December 2011 and 25 April 2012.
 84. O.B. Pollak, “Some Forgotten Scholarship on Burma: A Bibliographic Note”, *SOAS Bulletin of Burma Research* 1, no. 2 (Autumn 2003), pp. 1–7. The list was published (with permission) by Michael Charney in 2003, but was actually compiled by Pollak about thirty years earlier.
 85. S.M. Schwertner, *Burma/Myanmar Bibliographic Project: A Collection of Publications in West European Languages for Preparation a [sic] Burma/Myanmar Bibliography*, 4 vols. (Heidelberg: South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg, 2005–8), <http://crossasia-repository.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/254/>.

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87. Alan Meech, *An Annotated Bibliography of Burma Philately* (London: British Philatelic Trust, 1993).
88. E.L. Rasor, *The China-Burma-India Campaign, 1931–1945: Historiography and Annotated Bibliography* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1998).
89. Win Tint, *An Annotated Bibliography of the Works of G.H. Luce and Catalogue of Books in His Library* (Meiktila: Meiktila University, 1998). Luce's library was purchased by the National Library of Australia in three stages, in 1980, 1985 and 1987. See "Guide to the Papers of Gordon Hannington Luce", National Library of Australia, <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-247076022/findingaid>.
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93. Justin Corfield, *The Burma Campaign, 1942–1945: A Bibliography* (Lara: Gentext Publications, 2015).
94. Sun Laichen, "Chinese Historical Sources on Burma: A Bibliography of Primary and Secondary Works", *Journal of Burma Studies* 2 (1997), pp. 1–116.
95. P.M. Herbert, "U Pe Maung Tin Bibliography", *Journal of Burma Studies* 9 (2004), pp. 130–76.
96. "Bibliography of F.K. Lehman's Published Works", *Journal of Burma Studies* 15, no. 1 (June 2011), pp. 59–67. Lehman died in 2016.
97. "Online Burma/Myanmar Library", <http://www.ibiblio.org/obl/>. See also David Arnott, "The Online Burma/Myanmar Library: A Brief Introduction", *Bulletin of the Burma Studies Group* (March–September 2002), pp. 19–21.
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107. "About Tea Circle", <https://teacircleoxford.com/about-us/>.
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110. This bibliography is separate from the Myanmar Manuscript Digital Library housed at the University of Toronto Robarts Library. See Tony Scott, "New Open Access Database of Myanmar Manuscripts

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111. Thaw Kaung, “Bibliographies Compiled in Myanmar”, in Pierre Pichard and Francois Robinne (eds.), *Etudes Birmanes: en homage a Denise Bernot* (Paris: Ecole Francais d’Extreme Orient, 1998), pp. 405–14.
 112. *Research Bibliography of Books, Documents, and Pamphlets on Burma* (Rangoon: Union of Myanmar New Administrative System, 1972) (typescript).
 113. The author and bibliophile Lucas Stewart, for example, keeps abreast of new publications and literary trends in Myanmar and often posts short articles about them on his blog. See Lucas Stewart, <https://sadaik.com/>.
 114. Schwertner, *Burma/Myanmar Bibliographic Project*, vol. 1, p. vii.
 115. Johnson, Review of Hobbs, *Southeast Asia: An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Reference Sources in Western Languages*, p. 147.
 116. These exceptions include a number of reports by the Brussels-based International Crisis Group, which initially produced hard copies but later seems only to have posted soft copies on the internet. Many of the reports, academic papers and publications produced by advocacy groups and listed here can also be found on the internet.
 117. In one case, for example, the book was published in France but contains several chapters written in English. A number of books contain both English and Burmese texts.
 118. A useful reference in this regard is Uta Gartner, “Myanmar Studies: An Overview”, in Georg Winterberger and Esther Tenberg (eds.), *Current Myanmar Studies: Aung San Suu Kyi, Muslims in Arakan, and Economic Insecurity* (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2019), pp. 19–28.
 119. More recent titles include H.M. Kyed (ed.), *Everyday Justice in Myanmar: Informal Resolutions and State Evasion in a Time of Contested Transition* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2020); and C.A. Boshier, *Mapping Cultural Nationalism: The Scholars of the Burma Research Society, 1910–1935* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2017).
 120. A few exceptions were made where I was persuaded that publication was imminent. It should be noted, however, that there are several works listed in online catalogues or on publishers’ websites that are no longer going to be published, or appear to have been postponed indefinitely. For example, Andrew Selth’s book *Burma’s Security: Myths, Mysteries and Misconceptions* is still listed on some websites, with a 2021 publication date. However, it was overtaken by events in 2011 and was shelved the following year.
 121. A good example of the latter is Frederic P. Miller, Agnes F. Vandome and John McBrewster (eds.), *8888 Uprising* (Germany: Alphascript,

- 2010). This book is largely drawn from unrefereed Wikipedia entries. Its front cover carries a photograph of British policemen confronting a street demonstration, probably in the United Kingdom.
122. Zoya Phan and Damien Lewis, *Little Daughter: A Memoir of Survival in Burma and the West* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2009); and Zoya Phan and Damien Lewis, *Undaunted: My Struggle for Freedom and Survival in Burma* (New York: Free Press, 2010).
 123. Emma Larkin, *Everything Is Broken: The Untold Story of Disaster under Burma's Military Regime* (London: Granta, 2010); and Emma Larkin, *No Bad News for the King: The True Story of Cyclone Nargis and Its Aftermath in Burma* (New York: Penguin, 2011).
 124. The majority ethnic group is known as the *Bamar*, or Burmans.
 125. See, for example, J.F., "Should you Say Myanmar or Burma?", *The Economist*, 20 December 2016, <https://www.economist.com/the-economist-explains/2016/12/20/should-you-say-myanmar-or-burma>.
 126. See, for example, Andrew Selth, "Burma and the Politics of Names", *The Interpreter*, 12 July 2010, <http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/post/2010/07/12/Burma-and-the-politics-of-names.aspx>.
 127. Other titles include Ko, Saw, Sai, Sao and Sayadaw. "Ko", "Maung" and "Ma", however, can also be integral parts of Burmese names, as in "Ko Ko Gyi", "Maung Maung" and "Ma Ma Lay".
 128. Burmese Glass was first manufactured in 1885 by the Mount Washington Glass Company in the United States. It was so named by Queen Victoria because the colour of the glazes "reminded" her of a sunset in Myanmar (although she had never seen one). See Debbie and Randy Coe, *Fenton Burmese Glass* (Atglen: Schiffer, 2004).
 129. Herbert, *Burma*, p. 39.
 130. Norval Morris, *The Brothel Boy and Other Parables of the Law* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).
 131. See, for example, the "FiveBooks Interviews" conducted by *The Browser* with several authors of works about Burma, <https://fivebooks.com/best-books/bertil-lintner-on-burma/> (Bertil Lintner); <https://fivebooks.com/best-books/emma-larkin-on-burma/> (Emma Larkin); <https://fivebooks.com/best-books/sean-turnell-burmese-economy/> (Sean Turnell); and <https://fivebooks.com/best-books/sue-arnold-on-describing-burma/> (Sue Arnold).
 132. "Letter to Graham and Anne Shepard", in W.H. Auden and Louis MacNeice, *Letters from Iceland* (London: Faber and Faber, 1937), p. 34.